Archives of the Australian Second Wave: History and Feminism after the Archival Turn

by

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Thesis
Submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

College of the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences

18th October 2018

Contents:

Abstract

This thesis writes a history of the second wave by reading objects in public Australian feminist archives; rather than searching for evidence and writing a history of a particular event, group, identity, text, idea or issue, I read selected pieces of second wave material culture in relation to their collection and location within a feminist archive. The thesis makes two contributions. First, I argue that there is much to be gained by further engaging with the archival turn within historical studies. Second, my reading of feminist objects in archives disrupts descriptions of feminist history that emerge in feminist studies. The objects and their archives disrupt, as they fail to neatly illustrate familiar feminist narratives of the past and offer a set of complex concerns and relationships that defy the conventional linear periodisation of feminist thought. I therefore demonstrate a methodology for writing feminist history that further addresses the archive after the archival turn.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this thesis:

1. does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and

2. to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Petra Mosmann

21 December, 2018

Acknowledgments

To begin, I would like to acknowledge my partner, Alexander Davis, for his thoughtful, constructive response to my writing, but also for his patience during the years this thesis unfolded.

I deeply and sincerely thank my supervisors, Catherine Kevin and Barbara Baird, for their intellectual contribution, for their patience, guidance and the time spent reading my work, but also for their unwavering support and certainty that the multi-directional components could coalesce into a finished piece of writing.

Thanks to Julia Davis and Peter Davis for their assistance with proofreading, but also generally for their support, especially during the final stages.

Numerous conferences and symposiums were crucial to the development of this thesis. In particular, the *Animate Archive Symposium* held in August 2013 and convened by Katrina Schlunke, consolidated and extended my interest in archives. *The Feminism and the Museum* conference in November 2013, convened by Margaret Henderson and Alison Bartlett, was particularly useful for determining the scope of this thesis. At the time, I was considering writing about feminist objects from across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I started writing about the 1970s and 1980s, and it never seemed necessary to move beyond this period. Finally, the Australian Women's and Gender Studies Association, the Australian Women's History Network and *Lilith* Collective each organise an annual or bi-annual conference, which were important for developing each chapter.

As well as conferences, publishing two chapters of this thesis was immensely helpful, and I thank the anonymous peer reviewers, but also the editors of each journal, Maryanne Dever and Lisa Adkins *(Australian Feminist Studies*) and Margaret Henderson and Alison Bartlett (Special Issue: Feminism and the Museum, *Journal of Australian Studies*).

I would like to thank Storm Graham for lending her digital camera until I acquired my own, and for helping photograph Sylvia Kinder's badge collection in 2013.

I was supported by an Australian Postgraduate Award, which was crucial to making this thesis possible, and benefited from an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

I thank the archivists, collectors or curators who indirectly or directly assisted with the research process. I contacted or accessed the following repositories: Adelaide University Rare and Special Collections; Art Gallery of South Australia; Flinders University Art Museum; Flinders University Special Collections; History SA; Jessie Street National Women's Library; Museum of Applied Arts or Science; Museum of Australian Democracy, National Library of Australia; National Museum of Australia; National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame; Northern Territory Archives Service; State Library of New South Wales; State Library of South Australia; State Library of Victoria;

University Art Gallery [Sydney]; University of Melbourne Archives and Verge Gallery [Sydney]. I also thank Megg Kelham for generously granting access to her extensive privately held Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp archive.

As part of doing research for this thesis, I undertook a series of interviews with donors, curators or archivists, and I thank everyone who gave their time, thoughts and memories. The following gave formal recorded interviews (organised by first name, to momentarily honour the organisation of the Lesbian Herstory Archives and Victorian Women's Liberation Lesbian Feminist Archives): Anni Dugdale; Ardy (Ardella) Tibby; Barb (Barbara) Friday; Barbary Clarke; Dianna Newham; Gail Radford; Jean Taylor; Julia Ryan; Marg (Margaret) Jacobs; Margy Burn; Molly Brannigan; Sara Elkas; Sue Jackson; Sue Wills; Sylvia Kinder and Vig (Virginia) Geddes. I would also like to thank the following for meeting to provide information or clarification: Annie Bickford; Frances Phoenix, Katrina Dean; Louise Mayhew; Marilyn Rolls, and curators at the National Museum of Australia. Given the focus of this thesis is on material within collections, the interviews mostly provided context and background. Hopefully in the future I will make further, more extensive use of the thoughts they contain.

Frances Phoenix, whose work is discussed extensively within this thesis, passed away in 2017. Although there is no chapter specifically addressing Phoenix, her art, activism and archives serendipitously found there way into many chapters, illustrating the power and appeal of her work.

I thank everyone who created or donated the material I accessed during the writing of this thesis, and anyone who fastidiously or incidentally archives feminist things.

List of Abbreviations:

AGNSW: Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney

AGSA: Art Gallery of South Australia

AWHN: Australian Women's History Network

AWLMA: Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement Archive

BSL: Barr Smith Library

CWA: Country Women's Association

FANG: Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group

FCAATSI: Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders

FUAM: Flinders University Art Museum

JSNWL: Jessie Street National Women's Library

MAAS: Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences

NMA: National Museum of Australia

NPWHF: National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame

PRG: Private Record Group

SLNSW: State Library of New South Wales

SLSA: State Library of South Australia

UAW: Union of Australian Women

VWLLFA: Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives

WAAC: Women's Abortion Action Committee

WAC: Women's Action Committee

WAND: Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament

WEL: Women's Electoral Lobby

LHA: Lesbian Herstory Archives

WFS: Women for Survival

WHIP: Work Honestly in Progress

WSRC: Women's Studies Resource Centre

List of Illustrations:

Figure 1: The First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation T-shirt Collection, partially processed, and stored in a salvaged cardboard box. Delivered to the beautiful and iconic Mitchell Library Reading Room, at the State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), Sydney, in June 2015 (Photograph by author).

Introduction

Across Australia, there are extensive public collections of second wave feminist material in public archives, libraries, galleries and museums. This material has primarily been collected and donated to public institutions with the aim of documenting the second wave of feminism in Australia, often on the assumption that activists will draw inspiration from the material or that researchers will use it to write histories of the movement (Fig. 1). This thesis writes a history of the second wave by reading objects in public Australian feminist archives; rather than searching for evidence and writing a history of a particular event, group, identity, text, idea or issue, I read selected pieces of second wave material culture in relation to their collection and location within a feminist archive. I treat archives as a process that mediates sources and makes them traceable. In this context, the archive is a 'system' of knowledge that allows particular, but often everyday, mundane material things to be collected and located in public institutions as second wave feminist historical statements. Reading feminist objects and archives in this manner builds upon 'the archival turn' and can be described as an archival approach to history.[1]

This thesis stages a series of encounters with second wave objects in feminist archives. Each encounter is framed by its location in a particular archive, but also by my location, as someone external to the second wave yet well versed in the feminist canon taught at Australian universities. Therefore, this thesis examines the relationship between sources, archives and feminist identities. Feminists active in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, regardless of the wave or strand of feminist thought with which they identify, are likely to find material in second wave archives familiar. In comparison, I experienced such archives quite differently, because I did not participate in, nor do I identify as part of the second wave. But I also never identified with the third wave and only learnt about 'the waves' and feminisms at university via feminist/gender studies. Encountering things, such as papers, clothing, badges, banners and other ephemera in second wave archives was revelatory, because the material was surprisingly unfamiliar;

[1] For an overview of the 'archival turn', see: Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 83-102.

simply viewing the material seemed to challenge the conventional representation of the second wave commonly found in feminist scholarship.[2] Second wave objects in archives produce a different affect to the descriptions in feminist scholarly texts. Therefore, in this thesis I argue that self-reflectively viewing and then narrating a selection of Australian feminist objects/sources in relation to their archives not only disrupts the linear narration of the movements, but also makes it possible to feel feminism differently in the present without reducing the complexity of the past.

Vertigo and the Writing of Feminist History

Early in my PhD candidature, when trying to formulate a topic, I read texts that questioned the temporality of feminist thought and the writing of feminist history. In particular, I focused on US historian Joan Scott's *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, published in 2011.[3] From the late 1990s and well into the 2000s many feminist scholars, particularly feminists influenced by poststructuralism, were concerned about the relationship between feminist pasts and futures.[4] Journal articles, conference keynotes and papers ruminated on successes and failures, and reflected on being unable to provide a 'blueprint' for future feminist thought and activism.[5] Scott's book, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, is to a large extent her response to this sense of crisis about the future. She examines contemporary feminist psychic investments in the past and the past's relationship with the present and future, and argues that feminists need to approach history, and feminism's history in particular, differently. She advocates feeling 'vertigo'.

Vertigo is a sensation. Vertigo leaves you in a state of dizziness – unwell and unstable – uncertain of the ground under your feet. Yet, Scott argues in *The Fantasy of Feminist History* that fostering vertigo should be the primary purpose of feminist historical analysis. Scott initially draws the term from Michel de Certeau. She quotes the following long passage from his 1988 text, *The Writing of History*:

[2] For an overview of conventional narratives in feminist theoretical texts, see: Clare Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 3-7.
[3] Joan Wallach Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
[4] Ibid., 23-46.
[5] Mary Eagleton, introduction to *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory*, ed. Mary Eagleton (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 1.

> To be sure, historiography is "familiar" with the question of the other, dealing especially with the relation which the present holds with the past. But its discipline must create proper places for each, by pigeonholing the past into an area other than the present, or else by supposing a continuity of genealogical filiation (by way of a homeland, a nation, a milieu, etc.…). Technically, it [historiography] endlessly presupposes homogeneous unities (century, country, class, economic or social strata, etc.) and cannot give way to the vertigo that critical examination of these fragile boundaries might bring about: historiography does not want to know this. In all of its labors, based on these classifications, historiography takes it for granted that the place where it is itself produced has the capacity to provide meaning, since the current institutional demarcations of the discipline uphold the divisions of time and space in the last resort. In this respect, historical discourse, which is political in essence, takes the law of place for granted. It legitimizes a place, that of its production, by "including" others in a relation of filiation and exteriority.[6]

In this passage, vertigo describes disrupting the supposed separation or homogeneity between historians in the present and historical subjects. Mentioning the artificiality of these relationships still feels subversive. Although the division between past and present is contested via historical scholarship, histories often tend to compound the division between past and present or alternatively assert connections with the present across time. Scott argues that existing historiography still provides self-fulfilling justifications for historical projects, meaning that it is unnecessary to interrogate the production of history or interrogate how historiography itself provides meaning. Originality and contribution to scholarship usually implicitly and sometimes explicitly rest on locating a 'gap' and the 'gap' is often created by secondary sources and is filled using primary source material. Historians, as Gayatri Spivak says, have often tended to

[6] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 3; Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History,* trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 343.

'excavate' texts, while philosophers 'concatenate' and literature 'figures'.[7] This is a simplification of the complexity and diversity of historical studies, but it does reveal some of the guiding impulses that underpin History as an academic discipline, which must be negotiated, and sometimes resisted. This is particularly relevant when writing a PhD thesis, because writing a thesis usually entails the explicit identification of a 'gap' in the scholarship, and often demands asserting an original contention primarily through the 'excavation' of primary source material. Something Scott calls 'vertigo' is one form of resistance, because in her study, vertigo is the affect of critical examination of the foundations of historical inquiry, which collapses the boundaries created by a canon of historical writing.[8] According to Scott, feminist futures and pasts can only be rethought when we embrace rather than resist vertigo. Thinking about and through the archive as subject rather than source for the extraction of information,[9] still interrogates the production of history, which can be described as feeling vertigo.

The central texts of Scott's career certainly induced vertigo for readers, both in her early work and recently.[10] Although there were precedents, her iconic text, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' has come to mark the shift from writing 'women's history' to 'gender history'.[11] However, in *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, Scott rejects both women and gender as 'useful' categories of historical analysis and turns to psychoanalysis and the unknowability of sexual difference. She explains:

> What psychoanalysis helps illuminate is the ultimate unknowability of sexual difference and the nature of the quest for knowledge of it, by the way of fantasy, identification, and projection. The vertigo that

[7] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 198.
[8] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 3-4.
[9] For discussion of the shift from archive as source to subject, see: Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86.
[10] For reflection and discussion of Scott's challenge to and for readers, and the appeal of her work, see: Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed, ed., *The Question of Gender: Joan W. Scott's Critical Feminism* (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 2011).
[11] See: Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-75. doi:10.2307/1864376.

> ensues for the historian deprives her of the certainty of her categories of analysis and leaves her searching only for the right question to ask.[12]

Here, Scott implicitly rejects her own scholarship and rejects the possibility of using either 'gender' *or* 'women' to anchor feminist scholarship. This leads to the question, though, what do we then write? What does feminist history look like when both women and gender are not the foundations of the questions we ask? What does it therefore mean to 'write feminist history'? And in particular, in relation to this thesis, what does it mean when considering past feminist activism? What might that look or feel like? As she intends, vertigo leaves her readers with uncertainty over what to write at all, over what questions are the best questions to ask. Like many feminists who draw on psychoanalytic frameworks, Scott embraces psychoanalysis for the space it opens and the language it gives to describe the space *of that which is not possible to imagine,* space for 'what has not yet been thought'.[13] In other words, psychoanalytic theory gives a framework where different understandings of sexual difference have been and will be possible, but never requires historians to define what this has looked or will look like. This means that the things we currently call 'gender' or 'feminism' need to be treated as a series of historically produced identities, categories or labels, and must be approached as having meaning only fleetingly in context. On the final page of her introduction Scott writes:

> The elusiveness of sexual difference is both unrealizable and, for that very reason, historical. It is a quest that never ends. As such, it interrupts the certainty of established categories, thus creating openings to the future.[14]

In this passage she echoes Irigaray's thought in "Sexual Difference":

> Is there not still something held in reserve within the silence of female history: an energy, morphology, growth or blossoming still to come from the female realm? Such a flowering keeps the future open. The world remains uncertain in the fact of this strange advent.[15]

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[12] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 6.
[13] Ibid., 44.
[14] Ibid., 22.
[15] Luce Irigaray, "Sexual Difference," in *The Irigaray Reader*, ed. Margaret Whitford (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 176.

Irigaray argues that woman as speaking subject has *yet to become*, but simultaneously has *always been*. This suspends any sense of linear or cyclical time and evokes time, and woman, as a process of becoming without end.[16] In *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* Scott appeals to a similar temporality, as she asks us to re-imagine feminism's history:

> as the story of a circulating critical passion, slipping metonymically along a chain of contiguous objects, alighting for a while in an unexpected place, accomplishing a task, and then moving on.[17]

A 'circulating critical passion' refers to a strong, yet shared feeling; the content or nature of such passions, Scott argues, remains undetermined, always in a state of ceaseless becoming with no beginning or end. This approach is somewhat similar to Ahmed's definition of feminism as an 'affect':

> the word [feminism] sticks and it sticks us together: not in a kind of 'happy sisterhood', but in a way that allows us to move through the world differently. And so, everyday, we might be compelled to declare 'I am/we are feminists', even when the meaning of the word is not decided in advance, indeed because it is not decided and because it has effects that are, as yet, not lived. So we say it, and we say it with a certain kind of love, a love that is impure, and not easy, but one that might give us life, a life that has all the vitality of the living, even if it is a life that has yet to take form.[18]

Ahmed argues that rather than understanding feminism as a movement with particular predetermined concerns or beliefs, feminism is better understood as something always in the process of being articulated in the present moment. Scott understands feminism similarly in *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, but unlike Ahmed, she explicitly applies this sense of time to the study of past feminisms. Scott argues that feminism is best understood historically as a form of origin-less and endless critique, which takes no fixed definitions and meaning across time

[16] Luce Irigaray, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*, Trans. Carolyn Burke and Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 97-115; Rachel Jones, *Irigaray: Towards a Sexuate Philosophy* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011), 29-30.

[17] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 33.

[18] Sara Ahmed, "Feminist Futures," in *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory,* ed. Mary Eagleton (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 252.

and instead flexibly undoes 'conventional wisdom' in particular historical and future contexts. Using Scott's definition, feminisms' past and future are understood as equally unpredictable, and both need be approached as unknown.

If I follow vertigo as a model for historical research I am, in practice, only really left with the possibility of doing genealogical work in the Foucauldian sense, unravelling the 'history of the present', which is what Scott has dedicated most of her working life to and is central to her most famous text.[19] 'Vertigo' is closely linked to 'genealogy'. Wendy Brown describes genealogical practice as:

> an alternative story of our commonplaces that aims to reveal their fictive and hence fragile character. It is a production that reveals the terms by which we live by rupturing them, through doing violence to their ordinary ordering and situation.[20]

Vertigo is therefore perhaps best thought of as an outcome of genealogical practice, as one of the effects of a feminist poststructuralist and/or psychoanalytic methodology. Scott's chapters in *The Fantasy of Feminist History* unravel familiar feminist historical narratives and leave in their place an empty space where we can 'become', but never articulates what that becoming should or could look like; that would undermine her point. She produces vertigo, as a particular way of writing about feminism, by choosing to never pin down, define or announce what feminism was, is or should be, at any moment, including during historical contexts. In other words, she refuses to write a conventional history of the movement and also refuses to provide an easy blueprint for others, on how to write a history of feminist movements.

To the Archives!

In late 2013 I was preoccupied with Scott's book and struggling to work out what to do with the empty space it seems to leave in its wake. While trying to imagine what a vertigo inducing 'circulating critical passion' might feel like, I went to the Adelaide State Library and looked at their archives. In particular, I viewed the Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement Archive (AWLMA). I found an amazing collection of

[19] Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 1053-75.
[20] Wendy Brown, *Politics Out of History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 100.

things, and I narrate the experience in detail in the second chapter of this thesis. I sorted through boxes of badges, posters, t-shirts, banners, newsletters, papers relating to events, conference information, reading lists and other ephemera; I found the material that anyone familiar with activism during the 1970s and 1980s would expect to find. But at the time, this simple act of opening boxes of South Australian feminist material dating from the 1970s and 1980s was quite profound and transformative; it was vertiginous, as everything I thought I knew about the 'second wave' was questioned. Rather than leaving an empty space to become, the second wave archive provided a cluttered yet defined space and concept, filled with material things, where it was possible to unlearn what the terms 'feminism' and 'second wave' mean in the present and past. Things in archives continued to surprise throughout the research process and allowed me to feel time, feminism and history differently.

It is now relatively common to identify the archive as a site of intimacy, transformation and affect. In 2013 when I first opened boxes at the South Australian State Library, I had not yet read Ann Cvetkovich's *An Archive of Feeling* from 2003, which outlines this point via lesbian public cultures. Cvetkovich argues that when considering archives, particularly archives from marginalised or traumatised groups, feeling the past in the service of the present and future is far more important than, but does not exclude, critically examining how pasts discursively operate.[21] According to Cvetkovich, the archive, and history in general, fulfils a particular psychic need.[22] Nor had I read *The Intimate Archive: Journeys through Private Papers* by Maryanne Dever, Ann Vickery and Sally Newman, from 2009, which explores intimacies between researchers and subjects that are evoked by reading archived papers.[23] Also, I had not yet read Kate Eichhorn's *The Archival Turn in Feminism* from 2013, which is a key text in this area, and argues that in a US context, the second wave feminist archive is central to contemporary feminist activism from the 1990s onwards and that third wave feminism reflects an archival turn towards rather than away from second wave

[21] See: Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*: *Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 7-12.
[22] Ibid., 239.
[23] Maryanne Dever, Sally Newman, and Ann Vickery, *The Intimate Archive: Journeys through Private Papers* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2009), 1-39.

feminist thought. Eichhorn's study examines the transformative possibility of second wave feminist material in the present.[24] She repositions inter-generational conflict narratives, but also implicitly counters Wendy Brown's argument outlined in 'Resisting Left Melancholy', from 1999.[25] Brown argues that the contemporary left turns social movements and their ways of knowing into fetishistic objects. So, for example, things relating to women's liberation and the women's liberation movement itself could be understood as fetishized feminist objects in the present. Brown argues that such attachments are conservative and limit political action in the present. Eichhorn argues that affection for the second wave feminist archive can potentially be a contemporary political action rather than political inertia, particularly when earlier iterations of feminist activism may no longer succeed in 'neo-liberal' political and economic contexts.[26] Given that my primary concern in this thesis is the writing of history, the archival activism she describes has a limited application here, but she does provide an eloquent framework for rethinking feminist archiving, archives as sources and the temporality of such archives. Rather than primarily serving historical researchers or revealing the past, the feminist archive emerges in Eichhorn's study as a core contemporary feminist epistemology and ontology, as a material practice where feminist activism, politics and knowledge-making begins rather than ends.

Crucially, when visiting the AWLMA in 2013, I had recently read Hemmings' 2012 study, *Why Stories Matter*, where she argues that feminist theory has a limited range of narratives to describe the past, present and future. The archive was an impetus to her study; she reflects 'I still remember my surprise when I first visited a feminist archive'.[27] As Eichhorn notes, within Hemmings' study of feminist theory, simply visiting a feminist archive allowed Hemmings to question contemporary feminist theorists' representations of the recent feminist past.[28] I had the same experience when visiting a women's liberation archive in Adelaide. However, although I had read

[24] Kate Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 1-23.
[25] Wendy Brown, "Resisting Left Melancholy," *Boundary 2* 26, no. 3 (1999): 19-27. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/3271.
[26] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 4-9.
[27] Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 13.
[28] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 78-9.

Hemmings' comment about the transformative experience of accessing feminist archives before visiting the AWLMA, I did not pay it much attention. Reading, talking or writing about the transformative potential of contact with the feminist archive is not the same as opening boxes of material and *getting things out.* Therefore, throughout this thesis, I narrate or stage such moments, moments of using or reading archived material.

Around the same time as visiting the AWLMA and opening boxes, I read Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson's edited collection, which particularly focuses on feminist material culture.[29] Henderson argues that in the 1990s and early 2000s, the second wave was primarily remembered through melancholic accounts and through narratives of loss.[30] They argue that writing through and about feminist material culture makes it possible to remember the past on different terms.[31] In the 1990s, second wave feminism was primarily assessed in terms of the extent to which it failed or succeeded in bringing about political and social change, which tends to assert a progressive or regressive past and imagines the future on the same terms.[32] Feminist activism in the 1970s and 1980s, which we now broadly refer to as the second wave, *was* an outcome of a specific historical moment. Narrating cause and effect can be useful in terms of positioning feminist activism and thought as part of a wider history of Australian politics;[33] however, this has limitations, as it tends to produce a narrative that cannot account for or communicate the affect of the material itself, which was integral to the movement. In 2003 Susan Margarey argued: 'Cultural disruption is a dimension of second-wave feminism that gains little, if any, attention in any of the

[29] Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson, "Working with Feminist Things: The Wunderkammer as Feminist Methodology," in *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer,* ed. Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 1-16.

[30] Margaret Henderson, *Marking Feminist Times: Remembering the Longest Revolution in Australia* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 13-26.

[31] Bartlett and Henderson, "Working with Feminist Things," 1-5.

[32] See: Gisela Kaplan, *The Meagre Harvest: The Australian Women's Movement 1950s-1990s* (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996); Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1999). For a summary of success and failure narratives in a US context, see: Victoria Hesford, *Feeling Women's Liberation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 1-24. For an overview in terms of transnational feminist theory, see: Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 1-27.

[33] See: Lake, *Getting Equal,* 1-12, 214-52.

histories written to date.'[34] Cultural disruption cannot easily be assessed in terms of progression or regression, progress or failure, and it is here that this thesis begins, with second wave archives as disruption in the present. Rather than assessing the success or failure of aspects of the movement, or narrating a particular issue, approach or concern, this thesis is primarily concerned with the affect of second wave feminist archives in the present.

Argument

This thesis mounts a two-fold argument, which addresses the History discipline on the one hand and Women's/Gender Studies scholarship on the other. First, I build on the scholarship of the archival turn, and argue that the archival turn is underutilised within History. There is much to be gained from integrating the analysis of a source's archive and the process of archiving into general historical studies. Integrating such analysis requires a different approach to sources and a different way of writing history. In this thesis, I make a distinction between archive and source, which makes it easier to pay attention to a source's archive/s, to inscription of sources *and* subsequent collection and distribution. This has the capacity to do particular epistemological work. Many histories, feminist histories in particular, undermine or critique historical empiricism and understand history as a narrative practice in the present; this general poststructuralist approach to history still tends to assume that writing/inscription (either in primary or secondary sources) is where history is made, which implicitly overlooks the way sources have material lives or affects of their own and it overlooks the way sources are always mediated by something we can call an archive. The approach within this thesis builds on the existing literature of the archival turn, and further undermines the archive as a place where knowledge is found and transforms it into where knowledge is *co-created* beyond, as well as by, researchers. My application of interdisciplinary archival theory and interpretation of the archival turn makes a contribution to research methodologies. Throughout this thesis I demonstrate a method for approaching and integrating an archival approach, which has general application within the History discipline.

[34] Susan Magarey, "Feminism as Cultural Renaissance," *Hecate* 30, no. 1 (2004): 235.

Second, I argue that my selection of objects disrupts descriptions of feminist history that emerge in feminist studies. Particularly since the late 1990s, feminist scholars have critically engaged with the representation of past feminisms in contemporary feminist thought. Hemmings' *Why Stories Matter* neatly summarises recent concerns, that if feminist theory has a limited range of narratives to describe the past, it limits the possibilities in the present and future.[35] The objects and their archives disrupt the narratives presented within most feminist theoretical texts and histories, as they fail to neatly illustrate familiar feminist narratives of the past and offer a set of complex concerns and relationships that defy the conventional linear periodisation of feminist thought. This thesis therefore makes a contribution to feminist methods and thought, via writing and exploring Australian second wave history.

Finally, I bring these two contributions together to ultimately demonstrate a methodology for writing feminist history that incorporates archival practice, understood to include the intentions of donors and the reading practices of end-users, and the desires of both to change the world. I argue that feminists need to use such methods to critically analyse the relationship between the circulation of feminist material *and* the circulation of narratives of feminist movements in order to best understand feminisms' histories.

Selection

The thesis begins with a theoretical and methodological discussion of the archive, and using archives, then moves on to examine each of the selected objects.[36] These are: Bon Hull's papers, which are held by the Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives (VWLLFA) in Melbourne; Germaine Greer's coat in the National Museum of Australia (NMA) in Canberra, which was initially planned to be part of 'The Australian Feminist Memory' collection; Faith Bandler's gloves also held by the NMA, initially from the 1995 *Women with Attitude* exhibition; the *Double Our*

[35] Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 1-27.

[36] Some women discussed are well known international figures, such as Germaine Greer, while others such as Bon Hull and Sylvia Kinder, are well known locally, while Faith Bandler is a national figure, but not well known as a feminist.

Numbers banner, created for the 1983 Women's Peace Camp at Pine Gap, and fragments of the banner are primarily held by Jessie Street National Women's Library (JSNWL); Sylvia Kinder's button badge collection, held by the AWLMA in Adelaide; and a series of feminist posters from poster art exhibitions held in Sydney and Adelaide in 2014 and 2015. Each object has some relationship with 1970s and 1980s Australian feminisms, with the 'second wave', and is held within something that I call a 'feminist archive'. Each object or series of objects is from a publicly accessible exhibition, archive or collection, which I understand as 'feminist archives'. With the exception of chapter eight, each chapter addresses an archive created by women involved in activism in the 1960s, 1970s or 1980s. With each archive, one of the central concerns is to organise and make material from the movement visible or locatable to others in the present or future.

Apart from each object selected being located in what I call a publicly accessible 'feminist archive', there is relatively little to connect the material before it was assembled together here in this thesis as 'my' feminist archive. Each object refers to a different time or place and reflects different concerns, issues and branches of feminist political/cultural thought or activism in the 1970s and 1980s. Some of the collections or objects reject the term feminist and use 'women's liberation' instead. Some objects appear to be peripheral to second wave. To the scrupulous eye, to someone who lived through second wave or to someone who has studied it closely, my selection of objects is unlikely to make sense beyond this thesis. My selection of objects *is* somewhat incoherent in terms of established narratives. Rather than reflect the movement, my selection reflects second wave archival practices that began in the 1970s and 1980s, and is still underway today in some form, with material being moved to university, state or national repositories following the mid-1990s or 2010s. My selection of objects therefore reflects what a few women involved in some aspect of what has become known as second wave have chosen to save and then place in a public archive. It reflects their individual or collective archival practice, but it also reflects how I read and experienced their archives, creating my archive and archival practice from theirs. The specific objects selected within these archives have been chosen for their porousness, their capacity to filter my thoughts without the donor, the object or

historical context dissolving or becoming entirely subsumed by my reading. Rather than documenting the movement or memories of the movement, this approach identifies objects that have the capacity to present cross-generational feminist archival practices and consciously understands this process as creating/crafting/writing feminist history. Things, to be locatable, are organised; they are archived. To put it simply, feminists or women's liberationists had to collect things, find a public institution to manage them, catalogue them, and put feminist things *in boxes* in order for me to open them in a reading room or view them in an exhibition; this thesis is therefore concerned with processes, things and their subsequent affect in the present.

Structure

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first two chapters are theoretical and methodological discussions, which frame and outline the approach taken within subsequent chapters of this thesis. The following six chapters each hinge on a particular object or series of objects that have been archived in a women's liberation or feminist archive. Each chapter explores the relationship between objects, events, donors, archivists and archive users, and concludes with a brief reconsideration and reiteration of its primary arguments.

The first two chapters address theory and methods, and establish or frame the approach I take in subsequent chapters. The first chapter, titled 'What is an archive?', discusses the archival turn in relation to the History discipline and establishes how I approach the terms in the thesis. This chapter first provides an overview of the archival turn and how it redefined and continues to redefine what 'archive' means. I secondly provide an overview of the usage of the term archive in the History discipline, and analyse the form of the archival turn in History. Historians have contributed and responded directly to the literature of the archival turn; however, I argue that History has a separate discipline specific usage of the term 'archive' and application of the literature of the archival turn and the archival turn has some untapped uses when writing histories. In the final section, I have written an 'archive story', which maintains that the flexibility of the term archive is crucial to the term's appeal and utility, but I also outline some limitations, which apply to the use of

'archive' in this thesis. Ultimately, in terms of writing history, all historical sources are mediated by something we can call archive/s, because to become a source/evidence for a study, a source must be locatable by other researchers and therefore must be mediated. The archival turn's utility in this thesis lies in its capacity to provide a framework to analyse a source's archive/s. This first chapter primarily establishes the framing for the following chapter, where I more specifically address the relationship between second wave feminism, archives and the archival turn.

In the second chapter I address a specific series of feminist objects in public archives in terms of the archival turn in feminism, but the chapter primarily serves to establish theory and methods used in subsequent chapters. In Chapter Two, I stage my encounter with 'second wave things' in Adelaide, focusing on a handful of badges, a poster, a book and a series of banners. All date from the 1970s or 1980s and are located in different South Australian libraries. I address feminism and the archival turn through these objects and their archives. In Chapter Two I argue that for feminists without firsthand memory of the second wave, merely having contact with second wave material culture has the potential to unpredictably reshape how feminism is thought and felt in a contemporary context. It lays the foundations for the second central argument of this thesis, where I argue throughout that things in the Australian second wave archive have the potential to reframe contemporary feminist thought. It demonstrates how things in feminist archives can be used to renarrate or rethink the relationship between past, present and future and establishes the approach I take in subsequent chapters. Rather than looking for specific material, in most chapters I work through sequences, and address both the source and its archive.

In the third chapter, I particularly extend the argument begun in Chapter One, that historians could pay further attention to the process of creating archives and the form archives take, and could analyse what this means in terms of reading sources held in archives. I also address the second argument, that using feminist archives has the potential to address inter-generational relationships. I do this by staging a series of encounters with a particular series of Bon Hull's papers, which are held by the

VWLLFA . I examine the relationship between papers, archivists and users of archives, producing different ways of reading or a series of readings of Hull's papers.

In the fourth and fifth chapters I move on to examine objects in museum collections, and treat those collections as 'archives'. Chapter Four analyses Germaine Greer's paisley coat, held by the NMA, where it was donated with the intention of forming a second wave feminist collection but the collection never eventuated. Therefore, this chapter addresses what happens when things identified as feminist objects are placed in general 'archives' or collections. I argue that in its current location at the NMA, Greer's coat and Greer can be read as a counter-cultural fashion icon. This re-narrates Greer as a fashionable figure, and prompts reinterpretation of Greer as a public figure, but on quite different terms to second wave feminist archives.

In the fifth chapter I continue the focus on the exhibition as archive and the NMA, and examine the NMA's use of Faith Bandler's white gloves. Bandler is largely remembered in the Australian national context as an activist for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. I argue that the way her gloves are archived and presented by the NMA provides an opportunity to read Bandler's gloves in relation to second wave feminism, and that this prompts an engagement with the relationship between anti-racist archives and objects, and feminist archives and objects, prompting reassessment of Australian feminism. Bandler's gloves challenge our assumptions as to what second wave feminism is and can be, and how it can be performed or remembered in the present.

In the sixth chapter I examine the *Double Our Numbers* banner, which was a part of feminist protest at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp in 1983. The banner has been divided into several pieces and only fragments survive in public archives. I therefore examine the relationship between the feminist archive and performances of protest, arguing that the archiving of the *Double our Number*s banner demonstrates how the repertoire or performance of feminist protest shapes what and how material is collected in archives, which ultimately shapes how histories in the present and future can be written.

In the seventh chapter, I return to the AWLMA to consider feminist protest ephemera in further detail, by reading Sylvia Kinder's button badge collection. I narrate her badges as a form of archiving or 'paper-work' and address her interviews as 'sound-work', and emphasise the material form and organisation of sources within archives. This chapter brings together several threads of the earlier chapters. I attempt to 'think with' Kinder's archive and read its form. This chapter stages a series of readings of the same material, readings that are ultimately unresolvable, but do so to illustrate how paying attention to the form of the archives produces unexpected and non-linear historical narratives. I also further address here conversations begun in Chapter Two, analysing the inevitability of re-reading or misreading the feminist archive.

In the eighth chapter I continue to read feminist paperwork, by looking at printed posters, which I have come across in various feminist archives over the course of writing this thesis. I reflect on finding these posters in archives, but primarily address what it means to see them exhibited as artworks at four art exhibitions held in 2014-2015. I argue that these four exhibitions borrow from the energy, aesthetic and activism of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s to make feminist interventions in the present, which is not dissimilar to the intention of this thesis. I argue that borrowing from the second wave archive is potentially useful, but is risky and can be seen as a form of appropriation. Ultimately, I suggest, the archival turn in feminism does not comfortably seek the past beyond archiving; rather, it borrows from the second wave archive in the present moment.

The conclusion reflects upon the archival turn and the relationship between feminism's past, the archive and the present moment. I do so by thinking through what the objects considered in this thesis might do in the present if they were presented together as an art exhibition.

Chapter One: What is an Archive? History and the Archival Turn

This chapter addresses the term 'archive' and the archival turn in relation to the History discipline. I address the way that the archival turn continues to 'refigure' the meaning of 'archive'. The archival turn has set the term 'archive' adrift to the point where archive has many usages depending on context, and any application of the term therefore needs to be explained. The archival turn's utility in this thesis lies in its capacity to provide a framework to analyse a source's archive/s. An archive or archives mediate all historical sources. To become a source or evidence for a study, a source must be locatable by researchers and therefore must be mediated by some kind of 'archive'. Sources can be data, language, objects, traces; they can be many different 'things', and whatever form they take, must be organised into archives, into systems that make things locatable. As already widely established by the archival turn, some kind of 'archive' therefore sets the limits of what it is possible to state.[1] Historians have contributed and responded directly to the literature of the archival turn,[2] and have also contributed to the foundations of the archival turn before 1990.[3] However, I argue here that History has a separate discipline specific usage of 'archive' and approach to the archival turn, which tends to treat it as the conclusion to a debate rather than as a starting point for further analysis. This chapter therefore argues that despite being a well established area of inter-disciplinary inquiry, thinking through the archive and archival turn has some untapped uses when writing History, which I establish here and explore in further detail in Chapter Two.

[1] See: Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans A.M Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 142-148. Originally published in French in 1969.

[2] See: Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002). In particular, see Burton's edited collection of 'archive stories': Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

[3] Stoler challenges the centrality of Derrida, and argues that several histories are foundational to the archival turn in the 1980s and 1990s, see: Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86. For historical scholarship on the archive, particularly see: Natalie Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. and ed. Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). Originally published in French in 1989; Richard Thomas, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993).

What is an 'Archive' after the 'Archival Turn'?

The 'archival turn' was a term developed by Ann Laura Stoler and refers broadly to what she calls the shift from 'archive-as-source to archive-as-subject', a shift from archives being sources for academic studies to the archive/s being treated as a subject of interdisciplinary academic inquiry.[4] According to Stoler, the archival turn began in the mid 1980s and was well underway by the mid 1990s.[5] Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* is usually cited as crucial to the theoretical foundations of the turn,[6] while Derrida's *Archive Fever*, published in English in 1996, is understood as central to the dissemination and legitimisation of the archival turn in Anglophone contexts.[7] Texts that engage in the archival turn tend to treat something called the 'archive' as 'worthy of scrutiny on its own'.[8] Archival Science, the discipline that specialises in the study of record keeping, has always treated the archive/s as its main subject of inquiry,[9] but within most Humanities and Social Science subjects, the archive or archives are historically either been irrelevant, peripheral or background to a study; this includes the History discipline, where the archive or archives are usually, until recently, only

[4] See: Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86. For Eichhorn's overview, see: Kate Eichhorn, "Archival Genres: Gathering Texts and Reading Spaces," *InVisible Culture: An Electronic Journal for Visual Culture* 12 (May 1 2008), http://ivc.lib.rochester.edu/archival-genres-gathering-texts-and-reading-spaces/. For another interpretation and summary of the archival turn from the perspective of Archival Science, see: Eric Ketelaar, "Archival Turns and Returns: Studies of the Archive," in *Research in the Archival Multiverse,* ed. Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish and Andrew J. Lau (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2017), 228-68.

[5] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86.

[6] See: Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*.

[7] See: Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Also see the earlier published essay: Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (1995): 9-63. For a range of different perspectives on the appeal and role of *Archive Fever* in the archival turn, particularly see: Carolyn Hamilton et al, ed., *Refiguring the Archive* (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

[8] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86.

[9] Archival science, also known as 'Archivistics', has a complex relationship with the archival turn and is its own area of study with dedicated journals such as *Archival Science* and *The Journal of Archives and Manuscripts*. Exploring Archival Science is beyond the scope of this chapter and thesis, as I address the archive and the archival turn largely from the disciplinary perspective of a feminist historian. For an overview of archival studies, see for example: Anne J. Gilliland, "Archival and Recordkeeping Traditions in the Multiverse and their Importance for Researching Situations and Situating Research," in *Research in the Archival Multiverse,* ed. Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish and Andrew J. Lau (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2017), 31-73. For reflection on the relationship between historians and archivists, see: Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape," *The American Archivist* 74, no. 2 (2011): 600-32. doi:10.17723/aarc.74.2.xm04573740262424.

discussed in the footnotes rather than addressed extensively in the text.[10] The archival turn describes an unexpected interdisciplinary turn towards something called the archive by scholars located outside of Archival Sciences. As several texts have noted, interest in the archival turn has persisted longer than anyone expected, and has become an established, if diffuse, area of interdisciplinary scholarship.[11]

In general usage, archive still primarily refers to a collection of sources, documents or data kept for future use or it refers to the process of storing sources, documents or data.[12] In texts influenced by the archival turn, archive often appears as an epistemological term or as a metaphor for an episteme, which may, but does not necessarily, refer to a source, collection, place or process. In *Refiguring the Archive*, one of the key edited collections that defines the archival turn, Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid succinctly describe how scholars tended to 'refigure' the archive. Such texts set out to

> look beyond the idea of archives as physical records, so as to engage the idea of the taken-for-granted often implicit, 'archive' that is the foundation of the production of knowledge in the present, the basis for the identities of the present and for the possible imaginings of community in the future. To investigate this idea of archive is to bring to bear on 'archive' an interrogation similar to that which concepts like 'canon' or 'orientalism' have undergone.[13]

Here, Hamilton, Harris and Reid evoke the archival turn as a poststructuralist and postcolonial critique of the empirical academic use of archives. In this statement, 'archives' refers to physical records while the 'archive' refers to an epistemological project that critically analyses the way that knowledge and identity are established. Within their edited collection, physical records or archives are one site where

[10] Durba Ghosh, "National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation, Britain and India," in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History,* ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 27.

[11] For feminist reflection on the unexpected relevance and longevity of the archive and archival turn, see: Dever, Newman, and Vickery, *The Intimate Archive,* 1-3*;* Kate Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 4-6.

[12] *Macquarie Dictionary*, s.v. "archive," accessed 1 July 2018.

[13] Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid, introduction to *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 8.

knowledge is created, but 'archive' is primarily used here as a metaphor for anything or any process that is foundational to the formation of knowledge and identity. For example, historians often rely on physical records (archives) for evidence, but historiography is also the 'archive' of the History discipline, as it legitimises, produces and limits what can be stated.[14] Stoler frames the scholarship of the archival turn in similar, but subtly broader terms to Hamilton, Harris and Reid. She says texts influenced by the archival turn are:

> concerned with the legitimising social coordinates of epistemologies: how people imagine they know what they know and what institutions validate their knowledge. None treat the conventions and categories of analysis (statistics, facts, truths, probability and footnotes) as innocuous or benign.[15]

Archive in this context can still mean records that operate as the 'coordinates' of a knowledge system, but archive also means the episteme that makes something possible to think, feel, state or know. Scholars influenced by the archival turn often focus attention on that which produces and then legitimises knowledge in a particular context, and refers to it, whatever 'it' might be, as an 'archive'.

The initial 'refiguring' of the archive opened up the term to further redefinition. Eric Ketellar, a specialist in Archival Science, argues that rather than one 'turn' towards the archive, there have been at least two 'archival turns' and countless 'returns'.[16] I am sceptical regarding his dissection of the 'two turns', particularly when read in terms of the History discipline's engagement with the archival turn. What he identifies as the 'second turn' appears to either be a 'return' or part of the original 'turn' towards the archive in this context. Ultimately, whether there is one, two or ten 'archival turns' or 'returns' is not particularly important. The point I draw from his article is that the archival turn operates in contemporary scholarship as something to *return to*, which facilitates particular scholarly work in that moment. This thesis constitutes a 'return'. In each 'archival return' the archive is 'refigured' anew to do particular academic

[14] See: Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 3; Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 343.
[15] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 88.
[16] See: Ketelaar, "Archival Turns and Returns," 228-68.

work.[17] Therefore, the term 'archive' after the archival turn is exceedingly flexible, to the point where I need to ask the question, 'what is an archive?' over and over again. After the archival turn there is the overwhelming sense that everything and anything can be called an archive.[18] Yet, despite a cacophony of definitions and usages, there is remarkably little disagreement or challenge between scholars about what an archive can be and what the term means. Instead, it seems generally agreed that archive/s has multiple meanings both within and across disciplines. Indeed, multiplicity or flexibility is central to the capacity to 'return' to the questions embedded in the archival turn and to 'refigure' something called an archive. In Anne Gilliland, Sue McKemmish, Andrew Lau's recently published edited collection, they describe this as the 'archival multiverse',[19] which aptly captures the way there are multiple overlapping and simultaneously conflicting definitions that are allowed to co-exist, as each area of scholarship or study has its own 'verse' or set of literature that informs usage.

The Archival Turn in History

In 2002, Stoler announced the end of the archive as 'means to an end' and as a 'pedestrian term' within the History discipline, but I would suggest her announcement was premature.[20] Within the History discipline there are still two general uses of the term 'archive'. Historians occasionally refer to the archive of the archival turn, to the archive described in the previous section, but archive usually refers to sources used in historical studies or to the place where sources are found. Although there is no agreement on what 'archive' means after the archival turn, texts influenced by the archival turn assume archives or the archive have a particular affect. Crucially, in studies influenced by the archival turn, the archive appears as a 'sexy' intellectual

[17] I draw 'refigure' from Hamilton, Harris and Reid's study, see: Hamilton, Harris and Reid, introduction to *Refiguring the Archive*, 7.

[18] For reflections on the question of archives being 'everywhere' or the 'semantic drift' of the term archive from referring to specific types of collections of papers, to referring to almost everything and anything, see: Mel Y. Chen, "Everywhere Archives: Transgendering, Trans Asians, and the Internet," *Australian Feminist Studies* 25, no. 64 (2010): 199-208. doi:10.1080/08164641003762503; Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 15, 18.

[19] Shannon Faulkhead and Kirsten Thorpe, "Dedication: Archives and Indigenous Communities: Our Knowing Allison Boucher Krebs (September 8, 1951 – January 26, 2013)," in *Research in the Archival Multiverse,* ed. Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish and Andrew J. Lau (Clayton, Vic: Monash University Publishing, 2017), 11.

[20] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86.

subject rather than as source.[21] As Carolyn Steedman implies, 'archives' as used within History seem distant to the powerful, sometimes malevolent yet evocative archive of the archival turn, which is eloquently captured by Derrida's 'archive fever'.[22] In History, archives are still mostly thought of as places or things, as sources that historians must use in order to write history. In this context, 'archive' is still mostly used as an everyday, mundane and ordinary term exempt from the intense 'epistemological pressure' of the archival turn.[23] To be clear, this does not mean that historians necessarily use sources uncritically, or that they have not considered similar epistemological questions to those embedded in the archival turn. However, there is a tendency in History to ask such epistemological questions while still treating something called the 'archive' as source rather than subject. Although the majority of historians use 'archive' as a 'pedestrian term' and primarily use the term archive to refer to sources, there has been careful and extensive engagement with the archival turn by some historians, and it is this scholarship I focus on here.

Ketellar implies that historians were relatively late to participate in the archival turn.[24] I would describe historians' engagement with the archival turn in two ways. On the one hand, texts such as Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* retrospectively make a crucial contribution to the theoretical foundations of the turn,[25] and Stoler cites historians such as Greg Denning, Natalie Zemon-Davis and Arlette Farge as central to the formation of the archival turn in the 1980s, before the turn had a name.[26] Therefore, many histories have engaged with the archival turn implicitly, particularly when doing genealogical studies, but have generally not used the term to describe their work. On the other hand, historians have occasionally and more recently engaged with the archival turn more explicitly. The landmark historical studies on the archive as subject and the archival turn were published in the 2000s. Carolyn

[21] Dever, Newman, and Vickery, *The Intimate Archive*, 1.
[22] Steedman, *Dust,* 2.
[23] Dever, Newman, and Vickery, *The Intimate Archive*, 10.
[24] Ketelaar, "Archival Turns and Returns," 235-36.
[25] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*.
[26] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86. See also: Davis, *Fiction in the Archives*; Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*; Greg Denning, *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1995).

Steedman's *Dust* from 2001, Antoinette Burton's *Dwelling in the Archives* from 2003 and her later edited collection featuring fifteen 'archive stories', are particularly important.[27] Stoler's *Along the Archival Grain* was published in 2009, and although she first addresses Anthropology rather than History, her study is important to historical studies and colonial history in particular.[28] All four books frame the archival turn in terms of History's central concerns about sources and evidence, but also explicitly address the archive as subject and as a site of power. In this section I analyse how Steedman, Burton and Stoler engage with the archive in order to illustrate the way that historians have approached the archival turn.

Steedman's *Dust* is a historiographical study of the 'archive' or past as a site of desire for historians.[29] She reframes and satirises Derrida's 'archive fever' in order to theorise and explore how the archive/s operate within the History discipline.[30] Although Derrida's *Archive Fever* is crucial to the archival turn, as Steedman notes, the archive is somewhat peripheral to his purpose in the essay.[31] In 1998 at a seminar in Johannesburg, Derrida seems genuinely astonished that *Archive Fever* significantly shaped the archival turn. As he says, the essay began as a lecture given at the House of Freud to honour the Jewish historian Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, and most of the text addresses his work.[32] In translation, 'archive fever' seems to have quickly developed a life of its own well beyond his text, but it is worth pausing to address his usage at the time, as it is crucial to Steedman's analysis.[33]

Derrida's 'archive', and the fever it brings, takes several material and immaterial forms within his text: archive describes Freud's stated desire to make an original

[27] Burton and Steedman are widely cited as key scholars of the archival turn outside the History discipline, for example, see: Ketelaar, "Archival Turns and Returns," 236.
[28] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 14-8.
[29] For desire and reading archives, particularly see: Steedman, *Dust*, 112-42.
[30] For humour, for 'the joke' in her text, particularly see: Ibid,. 17-37.
[31] Ibid., 2-3.
[32] Jacques Derrida, "Archive Fever (A Seminar by Jacques Derrida, University of the Witwatersrand, August 1998, transcribed by Verne Harris)," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 38.
[33] For her discussion of Derrida, see: Steedman, *Dust,* 1-16

contribution to scholarship, his desire to write an original thesis;[34] circumcision and psychoanalysis is referenced and questioned as an archive of Jewishness, which is figured as an archive of an identity or the desire for an identity;[35] archive also appears as a genealogy and refers to tracing the history of language;[36] archive refers to the writing of history, to, for example, holocaust deniers and historians addressing such denial; and history, regardless of its form or politics, appears in his account as one of the symptoms of archive fever.[37] Yet, archive also alludes to technologies that create multiple versions of texts, such as Freud's 'Mystic Writing Pad'[38] or computer word processing programs, and therefore gestures towards archives and digitisation.[39] Finally, archive also refers to the founding of brick and mortar archives or museums, such as the Freud Museum.[40] Archive in Derrida's text, Steedman observes, refers loosely to power.[41] 'Archive fever' or 'mal d'archive' therefore refers to an illness or compulsive desire to 'archive'.[42] Derrida explains:

> We are en mal d'archive: in need of archives … mal d'archive can mean something else than to suffer from a sickness, from a trouble or from what the noun "mal" [bad/evil] might name.[43] It is to burn with a passion. It is never to rest, interminably, from searching for the archive right where it slips away … It is to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement. No desire, no passion, no drive, no compulsion, indeed no repetition compulsion, no "mal-de" can arise for a person who is not already, in one way or another, en mal d'archive.[44]

[34] Derrida and Prenowitz, "Archive Fever," *Diacritics*, 13, 52.
[35] Ibid., 15.
[36] Ibid., 9.
[37] Ibid., 57.
[38] Sigmund Freud, "A Note Upon the Mystic Writing-Pad, 1925," in *The Archive,* ed. Charles Merewether (London: Whitechapel Gallery, 2006), 20-25.
[39] Derrida and Prenowitz, "Archive Fever," *Diacritics*, 22.
[40] Ibid., 10.
[41] Steedman, *Dust*, 1-2.
[42] See: Steedman, *Dust*, 1-16; Derrida and Prenowitz, "Archive Fever," *Diacritics*, 9-63.
[43] For discussion of translation, see: Steedman, *Dust,* 8-9.
[44] Derrida and Prenowitz, "Archive Fever," *Diacritics*, 57.

Here the desire to identify or found an archive is a compulsion for origins/power. In 1998 Derrida sought to clarify his usage of the term:

> So that's what I call in Archive Fever the archiviolithic power, the power to destroy the archive… something in us, so to speak, something in the psychic apparatus, is driven to destroy the trace [that the archive contains or is] without any reminder. And that's where the archive fever comes from.[45]

Here, archive fever is presented as an uncontrollable desire to keep or destroy the archive, as part of Freud's death drive. Overall, archive fever, as described by Derrida and as read by Steedman, is something we should want to avoid catching, but, like an illness, it is something we might accidentally contract.[46] Derrida famously 'begins' his study with the Ancient Greek Archon (the superior magistrate).[47] The archon's control of the archive is framed as central to the archon's power to enunciate law; the power to set the limits of law/speech comes merely from possession of an archive, from founding, from possession of the process and of the archive it creates. Crucially, as Steedman asserts, the desire to have or found an archive, or to destroy an archive, is more important than *using* an archive in Derrida's study.[48] Steedman's 'archive fever' is distinct from Derrida's version, as her archive fever affects historians using archives, rather than the founders or keepers of archives, and is likely to be familiar to anyone who has done research in an archive reading room.

Historians, Steedman satirises, catch archive fever when they breathe in the dust of the archive in a reading room, and this 'illness' reveals itself in the impossible desire to read *everything* in an archive.[49] The dust of the archives in her study is material as well

[45] Derrida, "Archive Fever (A Seminar by Jacques Derrida, University of the Witwatersrand, August 1998, transcribed by Verne Harris)," 42, 44.

[46] For Steedman's analysis, see: Steedman, *Dust*, 17-31. For some readers, such as archivist and theorist Verne Harris, archive fever is understood quite differently to Steedman. Harris states: 'there is the equally compelling demonstration [in *Archive Fever*] that this need for archives should be embraced with passion'. However, if as Harris points out, Derrida seeks to 'disturb positivist notions of the archive', then archive fever primarily appears to be one of the destructive outcomes of positivism, rather than something to embrace. See: Verne Harris, "A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 69, 81

[47] Derrida and Prenowitz, "Archive Fever," *Diacritics*, 9-11.

[48] Steedman, *Dust*, 1-2.

[49] Ibid., 17-19.

as metaphor, because the dust of the archive consists of potentially hazardous particles from decaying nineteenth century manuscripts.[50] Archive fever refers to the (cultural) historians' material search for the past in archives. Despite the overwhelming size of most archives, they represent a tiny fragment of the things that existed; the past is mostly dust. Therefore, historians largely search for that which they know exists only as dust.[51] Steedman, through her narrative, evokes the uneasy process of turning statements on bits of paper into historical evidence to demonstrate a contemporary point about the past. Dust *is* the material of the past and refers to commercial industries that produce dust, but dust is also a metaphor for the work historians do in archives and evokes the practices and desires of writing history. Steedman's study does not systematically critique the way that historians approach archives. Although Steedman is critical, particularly through humour, the primary purpose of *Dust* is to use the archival turn to evocatively describe and self-reflexively address the desires and practices of the History discipline.

Antoinette Burton's scholarship in the 2000s, unlike Steedman's text, uses the archival turn to explicitly critique History as a discipline.[52] A close analysis of Burton's *Dwelling in the Archives* demonstrates the complexity of applying the 'archive' evoked by the archival turn to historical studies.[53] Burton ultimately critically engages with sources and turns to the archive as subject, while still using archive interchangeably with source. *Dwelling in the Archives* focuses on Indian women's texts that use memories of house and home as evidence. She asks:

> What is an archive? Can private memories of home serve as evidence of political history? What do we make of the histories that domestic interiors, once concrete and now perhaps crumbling or even disappeared, have the capacity to yield? And, given women's vexed relationship to the kinds of history that archives typically house, what does it mean to say that home can and should be seen not simply as a

[50] See Steedman's conclusion in particular for a discussion of types of 'dust': Ibid., 17-37, 157-170.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Steedman tells a story that satirises herself, and by extension, specific historical practices, see: Ibid., 17-37.
[53] See: Antoinette Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

> dwelling-place for women's memory but as one of the foundations of history – history conceived of, that is, as a narrative, a practice and a site of desire?[54]

The questions in Burton's study emerge from and are crucial to feminist history. However, in terms of archive and the archival turn, in the above statement, the question 'What is an archive?' could just as easily be 'What is a source?' On the opposite page Burton defines the term archive and says she is using archive in two ways. First, she uses the term:

> in its conventional, disciplinary meaning: that is, as the source of evidence from which each woman produced historical accounts of life in colonial India.[55]

As Burton notes, this statement describes the conventional use of archive in the History discipline, archive as the sources or evidence used to write history. In *Dwelling in the Archives*, Burton focuses on Janaki Agnes Penelope Majumbar's history, titled "Family History", written in 1935.[56] According to Burton, Majumbar's history relies on her own memory of houses and home as evidence, meaning her memory is her archive. Majumber, as Burton beautifully implies from the title of her book, dwelt and remembers dwelling in her archive. Burton, in the tradition of feminist history, expands what counts as a legitimate archive/source in order to write about Bengali women, home and empire, as Bengali women's lives are rarely described in official colonial or state archives on their own terms.

Burton describes her second use of archive with reference to Majumbar's text; she states:

> I use the word "archive" also to indicate that a text like the "Family History" [by Majumbar] is itself an enduring site of historical evidence and historiographical opportunity in and for the present. This book [*Dwelling in the Archives*] suggests, that in addition to serving as evidence of individual lives, the memories of home that each woman

[54] Ibid., 4.
[55] Ibid., 4.
[56] Initially unpublished, edited for publication by Burton, see: Janaki Agnes Penelope Majumdar (née Bonnerjee), *Family History*, ed. Antoinette Burton (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003).

> enshrined in narrative act – for us – as an archive from which a variety of counter histories of colonial modernity can be discerned. I want to emphasise, in other words, the importance of home as both material archive for history *and* a very real political figure in an extended moment of historical crisis. I hope thereby to indicate a pathway out of one of the most vexing impasses of postcolonial history: the apparent dichotomy of "discourse" versus "reality"... We can begin, in short, to understand discourse and reality not as opposing domains but as a vast interdependent archive: a space where contests over colonial domination can be discerned and historicized.[57]

This description of her archive and her study is followed by a brief discussion of Derrida's magistrate, the *arkheion* and citation of *Archive Fever*. What Burton describes here could now probably be labelled as a feminist postcolonial and new materialist approach, but to return to my key question, what is an archive in this statement? Despite her qualification, archive still seems to refer to sources. Her framing implies that the 'vast interdependent archive' includes both narrative histories and actual homes, and understands these both as 'spaces' where power is contested. Here, Burton expands what can be called an archive/source to include *everything* from and relating to the topic or period, which includes an overlooked and unpublished history, memory, home and her own 'archive story' of how she came into contact with Majumbar's manuscript. She also explicitly addresses power and sources. As in her later edited collection, she illuminates how history involves writing 'archive stories'.[58] The archives she describes here, to use Stoler's term, is not 'mundane' or 'pedestrian';[59] she uses archive consciously and evokes archive as episteme and as a form of power, yet archive and source are still used interchangeably.

Burton engages with the archival turn here specifically in terms of the History discipline's postmodern debate about knowledge and evidence. Despite the citation of Derrida in the introduction, Burton only loosely uses his work and does not use his

[57] Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, 5-6.
[58] See: Antoinette Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History,* ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-24.
[59] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86.

definition of archive fever. She uses archive fever as a neat metaphor to describe 'anxieties about the contamination of both archival history and disciplinary empiricism'.[60] Here, archive fever is used to evoke contemporary desires/anxieties within the History discipline about the expansion of what counts as an archive/source.[61] Her use of the term 'archive' operates as a feminist epistemological and political critique of historical positivism.[62] Her text implies that positivist historians claim the term archive and its terrain as their own; her text intervenes, reframes the term and claims it back in order to write postcolonial feminist histories. Such work relies on the archival turn, but as with many other historians writing from various critical perspectives, she did not need to treat the archive *itself* as episteme in order to ask such questions and challenge the discipline. Within her text, and within most histories influenced by the archival turn, archive might be the subject, but archive still also means and can be used interchangeably with source.

Stoler's scholarship is crucial to thinking about the archival turn in general and within the History discipline.[63] She theorises and provides a method to forge a connection between archive as repository and archive as episteme.[64] Stoler tends to frame her work as relying on Foucault,[65] but her use of 'archive' is somewhat distinct from his cheeky usage. Foucault's use of 'archive' in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* seems to be have been designed to specifically irritate historians.[66] Foucault's 'archive' refers to the law of what can be said, to that which sets the limits of what can be articulated in a particular moment (historical or otherwise), which produces and legitimises particular

[60] Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive,* 138.
[61] For a Burton's approach and interpretation of Derrida, see: Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, 137-44. The central point about archives in *Dwelling in the Archives* is reiterated and refined in her editorial piece in *Archive Stories*, see: Burton, in "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," 1-24. For Burton's recent reflections on the archive, see: Antoinette Burton, "An Assemblage/Before Me': Autobiography as Archive," *Journal of Women's History* 25, no. 2 (2013): 185-88. doi:10.1353/jowh.2013.0022. Here, she addresses the way autobiography as archive challenges History's disciplinary notions of evidence, which open up what histories are written and could be written. She primarily understands 'archive' in this article in the same way as earlier texts, but again, further refines and reiterates her point and applies it to a new context.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain.*
[64] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 89-90; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 38-48.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 142-148.

statements as given truths.[67] Genealogy, which is the narration of the history of ideas in order to destabilise given truths in the present, undermines the 'archive' (or the limits of what can be said in a particular moment).[68] There are many other terms Foucault could have chosen to use to describe this 'archive', but using archive underscores his critique of the discipline. Foucault's 'archive' undermines the possibility of using conventional historical archives/sources to write conventional history. In practice, Foucault's approach has tended to result in a split between scholarship that understands archive as repository/process on the one hand and scholarship that understands archive as episteme on the other.[69] Terry Cook and Joan Schwartz, important scholars in the development of postmodern Archival Science, follow Foucault's thought here and argue that the 'Archive', often capitalised and singular, and archives plural are distinct terms.[70] In a recent text addressing the relationship between Historians and the Archivists, Cook summarised the central point:

> The former [archive or Archive] focuses on issues of power, memory, and identity centered upon the initial inscription of a document (or series of documents). The latter [archives] concentrates on the subsequent history of documents over time, including the many interventions by archivists (and others) that transform (and change) that original archive into archives.[71]

The distinction here is simply between archive as the power to inscribe or mark something, and archive as repository or storehouse of things. However, Stoler takes the opposite approach and brings archive as repository and archive as episteme together. She states:

> Whether the archive should be treated as a set of discursive rules, a utopian project, a depot of documents, a corpus of statements or all of

[67] Ibid., 145.
[68] Ibid., 142-148.
[69] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 86.
[70] For the key texts in the early 2000s, see: Terry Cook and Joan M. Schwartz, "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3-4 (2002): 171-185. doi:10.1007/BF02435620; Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1 (2002): 1-19.
[71] Cook, "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country," 600.

> the above is not really the question. Colonial archives were both sites of the imaginary and institutions that fashioned histories as they concealed, revealed and reproduced the power of the state.[72]

Stoler's methodological and theoretical framing seeks to connect the form and content of colonial papers (archives as repositories) with colonial epistemology (with A/archive as exercising power). By 'colonial archives' she means papers produced by and in relation to colonial rule which have been preserved in particular repositories, but she also means that these papers created or contested power/knowledge rather than merely being sources/evidence of past power/knowledge. Her work is particularly referenced by historians writing colonial or imperial history, which is the area that has been particularly receptive to the archival turn to the point where the word archive often stands in for colonial or imperial power.[73] Stoler's framing is particularly useful when using archives that were created to exercise power in a territorial, state or colonial context, as she also provides a way of analysing resistance within and to such archives. However, there are some limitations when using her work to study self-archiving beyond this context, particularly when considering women's private archives, or private archives transferred to public institutions.[74] Starting with Stoler's framing, women's private archives perhaps operate as 'anti-archives', as they can be marginal and may challenge 'archives' that govern.

Overall, when historians engage with the archival turn, there tends to be a particular approach to scholarship underlying their studies, which is distinct from the scholarship of the archival turn in other disciplines. For example, most humanities and social science scholars engaging with the archive are compelled to *begin* with Foucault or Derrida, and then either develop or refute their work. Linda Morra, a

[72] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 89-90.

[73] See for discussion and example: Tony Ballantyne, "Mr. Peal's Archive: Mobility and Exchange in Histories of Empire," *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History,* ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 87-110.

[74] Linda Morra, for example, argues that women's archives potentially disrupt configurations of power, both when included and excluded from public archives. See: Linda M. Morra, *Unarrested Archives: Case Studies in Twentieth-Century Canadian Women's Authorship* (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 8-10. For further discussion of women's private archives of many kinds, and their complex relationship public institutional collections, see: Dever, Newman, and Vickery, *The Intimate Archive;* Linda M. Morra and Jessica Schagerl, ed., *Basements and Attics, Closets and Cyberspace: Explorations in Canadian Women's Archives* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012).

Canadian English scholar, cleverly summarises the usual place of Foucault and Derrida after the archival turn:

> They [Foucault and Derrida] are inevitable starting points when grappling with the subject of archives: they provide the framework of the discourse in the law, the "law of what can be said" on the subject.[75]

However, in the History discipline, and in other disciplines that used the archive routinely before the archival turn, scholars can choose whether they engage with Foucault or Derrida when thinking about the archive/s. Historians tend to *start* with nineteenth century figures such as Ranke.[76] Within History, the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries poststructuralist or postcolonial 'archival turn' explicitly undermines the epistemological foundations of this earlier positivist turn towards the archive.[77] When poststructuralist or postcolonial historians approach the archive, Foucault, Derrida and the archival turn tend to be treated as the *conclusion* to a debate about historical evidence rather than as a starting point. This significantly shapes the way that historians approach the archival turn, and I would speculate, limits the discipline's contribution to the inter-disciplinary scholarship and undermines potential 'returns' to the archive. Historians have engaged with the archival turn and continue to do so, but particularly within the History discipline, the archival turn has further potential.

Apart from the tendency to collapse archive/source, the key difference between the History discipline's archival turn and the version that emerges in some other disciplines is the assumed temporality of the archive. Philosophy, Cultural Studies and Media Studies for example, tend to understand the archive or archives, whatever they may be, as present and future oriented.[78] Within these disciplines the archive is presented, regardless of content, as something that operates in the present moment and archiving is about the future. In *Dust,* Steedman's narrative describes the usual temporality of the archive within History. The dust of the archive *is* the past, and the

[75] Morra, *Unarrested Archives*, 4.
[76] See: Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, "Leopold Ranke's Archival Turn: Location and Evidence in Modern Historiography," *Modern Intellectual History* 5 (2008): 425-53. For a discussion of Ranke, historians and archivists, and gender, see: Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country," 608-10.
[77] Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive,* 138-44; Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," 1-24.
[78] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 5.

archive is the place historians go to commune with and to, literally in her study, inhale the past.[79] Historians have and still usually tend to imagine archives as sites that orientate us towards the past, while it is the writing of history that tends to be framed as present and future oriented. To imagine anything else requires a slightly different way of working. There is a small but significant difference between using archives to either discover pasts (as an empiricist) or to see how pasts are being produced/narrated (as a poststructuralist), and visiting archives to look at things that make it possible to feel time differently, and to see how those who created archives imagined the future.[80]

'Archive' and 'Thesis': An Archive Story

Any definition of archive I provide will inevitably be 'refigured'. As Harris notes:

> Ultimately it is impossible to say what these things [archives] are. They are what they are becoming. They open out of the future. We can, at best, mark their movements and engage their energies.[81]

Using the various contemporaneous definitions of archive after the archival turn that I have touched on here, there are several 'archives' that operate *within* this thesis, but a thesis itself *is* also an archive. First, in *Archive Fever* a thesis, as an original argument or as the desire to have an original argument, is described as an 'archive'.[82] Secondly, I have organised a series of feminist objects into what I call an 'archive'; I have created a new feminist archive through my selection of objects, as it is this thesis that brings them together and locates the material on new terms. These are two completely different definitions of archive, but both make it possible to call this thesis, or any thesis with Derrida's usage, an 'archive'. The archival turn marks the beginning of an ongoing academic game of 'spot the archive', which operates like a pretentious version of 'I spy with my little eye' where the answer is always 'archive', and the game is to figure out the questions in between. Being able to ask the question 'what is an archive?' keeps the archival turn alive and lively. The question matters more than the answer, as the open-ended nature of the question drives scholars to keep 'returning' to

[79] See: Steedman, *Dust*, 157-70.
[80] I return to this crucial point and elaborate in detail in Chapter Two.
[81] Harris, "A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive," 61.
[82] Derrida and Prenowitz, "Archive Fever," *Diacritics*, 13-52.

something called an archive. Within the History discipline where something called archive/s are central to the discipline's foundation in the nineteenth century and remain central to the discipline's methods, merely asking the question in a sustained manner still places critical pressure on the writing of history. However, in the conclusion of this chapter I offer some qualifications and restrictions on the term, qualifications that at least hold within this thesis and could be applied more broadly.

When I first started to engage with the archival turn, I kept seeing archives everywhere:[83] the washing-up in the dish rack, in the selection and location of my pot plants; but also twitter and any other online platform that sorts by hashtag or keyword; in art exhibitions, libraries and in the material from all collecting institutions; in the way Google search terms operate, in the relationship between names/bodies/spaces, in the unseen particles of pollution in the air; everything appeared to be an archive and there seemed to be archives everywhere. As well as archives being 'everywhere', I encountered very narrow uses of the term 'archive', where archive refers to specific types of collections of papers or other material. For example, libraries often have separate 'archives' distinct from their 'collections' and several of the objects in this thesis come from such institutions.[84] Archives in this context usually keep rare or sensitive material that requires particular care or has special access requirements. Museums and art galleries also often split their 'archives' and collections'.[85] In this context 'archives' tend to refer to supporting documentation, ephemera or papers that relate to the acquisition and care of a collection and 'collections' are far more important and of higher status than the 'archives' in this context. In this usage, the term is extremely narrow to the point where most repositories would only have relatively small 'archives'. Here the archive almost disappears; it is reduced to a number of boxes in specific spaces defined by an institution's idiosyncratic history and practice. Furthermore, most second wave feminist material would not count as 'archive' when using this narrow definition, as

[83] For discussion of 'everywhere', see: Chen, "Everywhere Archives," 199-208; Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 15; Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," 3-6. Each of these texts takes a very different approach, but all address what Eichhorn calls the 'semantic drift' of the term archive: see: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 18.

[84] See in particular, Chapter Two and Chapter Seven.

[85] See in particular, Chapter Four.

such material often falls under special collections rather than 'archives'. Using this definition, most second wave feminist things are not in an archive and cannot be called 'archives'. When using these two definitions of 'archive', archives firstly appear to be everything and everywhere, and then they almost disappear into the basement or offsite storage facility of an institutional collection. Neither of these will do.

In *Archive Stories* Burton reflects on the unease historians sometimes feel when the archive can be understood as everything and everywhere, and her framing implies that this unease is a problem mainly for historians who cling to 'canonical disciplinary notions' of what counts as evidence.[86] Finding archives everywhere and nowhere *does* make me uneasy, but not for the reasons implied by Burton. For Burton and many others, the appeal of writing about 'the archive' has been the term's flexibility, its capacity to critically engage with epistemological questions about knowledge and evidence; the archive's capacity to be found everywhere has been central to these possibilities.[87] Seeing archives everywhere has been immensely important in opening up what counts as a legitimate source.[88] Being able to find archives in unexpected places and paying attention to the form those archives take can make effaced subjects legible. By finding archives in unexpected places, the established hierarchy between different sources, subjects and materials can be challenged.[89] However, if the archive can be everywhere, if everything and anything can be identified as an archive, aspects that seem crucial to the archival turn are obscured.[90] When everything is an archive, it becomes difficult to remember that archives are not the sum of everything, but they determine the sum of what it is possible to state or know (epistemology) and operate as the context/way of knowing (methodology).

Not everything and everyone that has ever existed or exists leaves a traceable archive, an impression, and what is archived shapes what is possible to know, think or utter in

[86] See: Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," 5.
[87] This is illustrated by Burton's edited collection. For specific discussion of this point, see: Burton, "Introduction: Archive Fever, Archive Stories," 1-24; Chen, "Everywhere Archives," 202-3.
[88] Ibid.
[89] For example, see: Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*, 1-12.
[90] Chen's reading implies this point, but her resolution is quite different to mine, partly due to her focus on 'viral archives', see: Chen, "Everywhere Archives," 202-4.

a particular context. Rather than being everything and everywhere, archives (whatever form they take) are created and located, and their creation and locations have meaning. Even archive as an episteme or discursive archives are materially located, at least temporarily. Rather than archives being everything and everywhere, the archive is that which makes things locatable. Seeing archives everywhere and in everything is risky, as it obscures this crucial point. To loosely use Steedman's framing from *Dust*, some things, some people, leave no archive and only leave their dust.[91] Yet, some things are very well archived, and some people's lives, movements or ideas have extensive archives. Second wave feminism has an extensive and ongoing archive, both as a repository and episteme,[92] and are therefore not very dusty, and in the following chapter I address second wave feminism and the archival turn specifically. Rather than archives being everything and everywhere, the archive is that which makes things, whatever they may be, locatable.

[91] See: Steedman, *Dust*.
[92] Here I apply Stoler's framing, see: Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 89-90.

Chapter Two: Encountering Second Wave Things

In Chapter One I argued that History has a separate discipline specific usage of the term 'archive' and has a slightly different application of the literature of the archival turn; therefore the archival turn has some untapped uses when writing histories. The archival turn's utility in this thesis lies in its capacity to provide a framework to analyse a source's archive/s; the archive is therefore understood here as that which makes things, whatever they may be, locatable. In Chapter Two, I resume the story I began in the Introduction, and I address the archival turn, feminism and the second wave, and focus on the affect of using archives.[1] In this chapter, I address the temporality of the feminist archive as a way of expanding the scholarship within History. If historians imagine archives as sites that orientate towards the past, feminist archives, when read in terms of the archival turn, suggest something else. Feminist archiving gestures towards the present and future.

In this chapter, I stage my encounter with 'second wave things' in Adelaide, focusing on a handful of badges, a poster, a book and a series of banners. All date from the 1970s or 1980s and are located in different South Australian libraries. Each encounter is framed by its location in a particular collection/archive, but also by my position, as someone who did not participate in the second or third wave, yet is well versed in feminist theory taught at Australian universities. Bartlett and Henderson's edited collection, *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer*, argues that telling stories through second wave things, through material culture, has the potential to produce different narratives of the movement.[2] Their edited collection demonstrates that for feminists who remember the period, contact with, or memories of, second wave material culture

[1] A version of this chapter was initially published in the *Feminism and the Museum Special Issue*, see: Petra Mosmann, "Encountering Feminist Things: Generations, Interpretations and Encountering Adelaide's 'Scrap Heap'," *Journal of Australian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 172-189. doi:10.1080/14443058.2016.1157700.

[2] Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson, "The Australian Women's Movement Goes to the Museum: The 'Cultures of Australian Feminist Activism, 1970–1990' Project," *Women's Studies International Forum* 37 (March-April, 2013), 85-94. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2012.10.013; Bartlett and Henderson, "Working with Feminist Things," 1-4.

generates complex autobiographical narratives.[3] What can the second wave's objects mean in the hands of those who do not remember the wave? In this chapter I argue that for feminists without first hand memory of the second wave, merely having contact with second wave material culture has the potential to unpredictably reshape the way that feminism is thought and felt in a contemporary context. Contact with second wave things/sources in archives demands critical engagement with the narratives of the movement that circulate in feminist history and theory.

For feminists involved in the second wave, thinking with and through things rather than texts, activates memories. For feminists without memories of the movement, thinking through second wave things has different implications and resonances, as the object cannot easily be narrated. However, for both groups, thinking through things cuts across the generational tensions common in some popular and scholarly writing in the 1990s and 2000s,[4] while still taking into account that when working with second wave collections your relationship with the movement, whether you can remember it or not, continues to matter and shapes what these things mean and the way that they can be redeployed in the present. This particular way of understanding feminist archives/collections is not necessarily idiosyncratic, original or novel. Instead, contact with past feminist things is understood here as an emerging and productive way to collectively refigure feminist relations. There is a relatively small, but dedicated, scholarship that approaches the feminist archive on similar terms, as a way to collectively renarrate the recent feminist past. Particularly notable is Eichhorn's analysis of the archive,[5] but Deborah Withers, a curator and academic, particularly resonates, as she is interested

[3] See: Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson, ed., *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

[4] See: Ann Summers, "Letter to the Next Generation," in *Damned Whores and God's Police* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1994), 505-29; Helen Garner, *The First Stone: Some Questions about Sex and Power* (Sydney: Picador, 1995); Chilla Bulbeck, *Living Feminism: The Impact of the Women's Movement on Three Generations of Australian Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For critical analysis, see: Anthea Taylor, *Mediating Australian Feminism: Re-Reading the First Stone Media Event* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008).

[5] See Eichhorn's scholarship, and specifically see her analysis of Clare Hemmings' work: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 78.

in 'transmitting the feminist archive' through exhibitions.[6] The narrative I produce here, where I stage or narrate objects in each chapter, seeks to do similar work to her exhibitions. Some texts, such as Hesford's *Feeling Women's Liberation*, also begin with the question of the archive and also seek to address history and the archive on similar terms to this thesis, but overall, the archive, its form, is somewhat lost in her well theorised historical narrative, where she primarily addresses the content or language used within texts rather than their form.[7] Other feminist scholars, such as Cifor and Wood, take the inverse approach to this thesis and to the scholarship cited here, and argue that critical feminist studies could be used to challenge archivists and the way that archivists approach institutional collections, whereas this study focuses on how being attentive to the form and content of the feminist archive can potentially shape contemporary feminist thought.[8]

Drawing on Kate Eichhorn's redeployment of the 'feminist scrap heap' and Joan Scott's call to reimagine feminism's history as a 'circulating critical passion',[9] discussed in the Introduction, this chapter understands contact with the second wave archive as a way to collectively, rather than originally, reposition and redeploy late twentieth century feminisms. Here, I build the second central argument of this thesis, where I argue that things in the Australian second wave archives have the potential to reframe contemporary feminist thought. Importantly, in this chapter and, by extension, in this thesis, I do not seek to narrate the Australian Second Wave by constructing object biographies. At times I have incidentally written object biographies in order to facilitate analysis, but the narration of the second wave via objects is not the central purpose of this thesis.

[6] Deborah Withers, "Theorising the Women's Liberation Movement as Cultural Heritage," *Women's History Review* 25, no. 5 (2016): 847-62. doi:10.1080/09612025.2015.1132871. For the broader application of a feminist archival approach, see also: Maud Perrier and Deborah Withers, "An Archival Feminist Pedagogy: Unlearning and Objects as Affective Knowledge Companions," *Continuum* 30, no. 3 (2016): 355-66. doi:10.1080/10304312.2016.1166561.

[7] Hesford's study demonstrates how difficult it is to keep the archive, as either episteme or institutional collection, in sight when reading text. See Hesford's book, and for her analysis of the archive, see: Hesford, *Feeling Women's Liberation*, 6-14.

[8] They provide a concise overview of feminism, the archive and the archival turn, see: Marika Cifor and Stacy Wood, "Critical Feminism in the Archives," *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* 1, no.2 (2017). doi:10.24242/jclis.v1i2.27.

[9] See: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 2-9; Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 33.

Rather, I seek to stage encounters between feminist objects (sources), institutional repositories (archive/s) and feminist scholarship, which operates as a quite different 'archive' of the movement.

'Re-membering' the Second Wave

In 2004, Susan Magarey delivered a paper titled "Memory and Desire: Feminists Re-membering Feminism" at a feminist history symposium.[10] In the paper she reflects on the relationship between feminism, memory and history and applies the term 're-membering' in two intertwined contexts. She addresses women's liberationists' re-membering women's liberation, as memory 'remembers' or brings dispersed elements together, in the context of contemporary feminist debates.[11] She plays with the term 're-membering' to highlight the way that women's liberation operated, commenting 'we were never quite 'members'", making a point asserted in a later article that women's liberation was not an 'organisation' with formal membership, instead it was a 'movement'.[12] She notes that 1970s feminisms are now 'irrevocably past', but implies that re-membering past feminisms keeps feminism alive in the present, and that without re-membering, the feminist past is erased, which implicitly undermines feminism in the present.[13] Magarey also uses the term 're-membering' to address the writing of history, as the past is re-membered (or narrated) by historians in the context of the present debates.[14] Magarey uses the term 'dis-membered' to refer to aspects of the second wave that are difficult to incorporate into this narrative. She states:

> The Pine Gap feminists' views represented a socialist and anarchist dimension in feminist politics, a dimension of the political spectrum that has all but vanished since 1984, superseded by the hegemony of liberal feminism-equality feminism. And because it

[10] The symposium was convened by *Lilith*, a journal edited by Early Career Researchers and Postgraduate feminist historians, see: Susan Magarey, "Memory and Desire: Feminists Re-membering Feminism," *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 14 (2005): 1-14.
[11] Ibid., 11.
[12] Susan Magarey, "Women's Liberation was a Movement, Not an Organisation," *Australian Feminist Studies* 29, no. 82 (2014): 378-90. doi:10.1080/08164649.2014.976898.
[13] Magarey, "Memory and Desire," 11.
[14] Ibid., 10.

> has lost its political presence and traction in the present, no-one is asking about it in the past. It is in danger of disappearing from view in the historical archive, vanishing from the possibility of being remembered in the twenty-first century, dis-membered, forgotten.[15]

That which is 'dis-membered' is forgotten and difficult to articulate in the present, but it is also therefore difficult to actively *look for* within an archive. As Magarey's reading implies, the way that we navigate feminist archives, our selection and identification of material, are intertwined with contemporary feminist thought. However, when paying attention to the archive itself rather than excavating archives for sources, it is possible to get things out of archive boxes that do not necessarily make sense in the present, and which challenge contemporary feminisms and the 're-membering' of feminist movements.

Magarey's comments at the *Lilith* Symposium are largely directed toward the 'younger generation' of feminist postgraduates and ECRs who edit and publish in *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal*. The question pertinent to this chapter is what does 're-membering' the movement mean for feminists who never participated in the second wave, which Magarey implicitly understands in this article as 1970s feminisms? Feminists who missed the 1970s are generally positioned (and have often positioned themselves) as either inheriting or rejecting feminism from this period. 'We' are still often positioned as protectors or enemies, as receiving or rejecting this inheritance, as either committing matricide or merging with 'the mother'.[16] Many scholars have analysed feminist generational conflict narratives and I do not want to (re)establish a mother/daughter dichotomy.[17] However, when considering re-membering past feminisms, feminists without firsthand memories of the period will re-member on quite different terms. These differences do not

[15] Ibid., 6.

[16] For a brief overview of the Oedipus complex and the Australian women's movement, see: Henderson, *Marking Feminist Times*, 21-22. For a different discussion of matricide, where linking feminist texts is the proposed solution, see: Miglena Nikolchina, *Matricide in Language: Writing Theory in Kristeva and Woolf* (New York: Other Press, 2004).

[17] For the Australian context see: Taylor, *Mediating Australian Feminism;* Anthea Taylor, "Dear Daughter: Popular Feminism, the Epistolary Form and the Limits of Generational Rhetoric," *Australian Literary Studies* 24, no. 3-4 (2009): 96-107.

need to be understood in terms of animosity, but they do need to be accounted for. When re-membering past feminisms without first hand memory, it is via someone else's 'archive'. Feminism has many 'archives', many places where past feminisms are collected together and organised in order to make them assessable and possible to re-member in the present and future. For many feminists, past feminisms are largely understood through the narratives presented in feminist theory, which produce a particular 'archive', a particular collection of stories and ideas about past feminisms and a particular way of knowing. As outlined in the introduction, feminist theory can present a limited range of narratives to describe the past, which are organised to serve contemporary theoretical debates.[18] Therefore, particularly for feminists without first-hand memories of second wave, simply accessing a different 'archive', accessing collections of second wave feminist things, has the potential to feel past feminisms on quite different terms.

Archiving feminism, as Dever notes, is about 'futurity' on the one hand and 'memory' on the other.[19] On the last page of *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, Joan Scott reflects on the implications of leaving her archive in a public collection and considers how future scholars might read her material. She writes:

> We can't prevent the dullards from reading our papers, and they will surely represent us in ways we cannot abide. But the bet one makes in leaving behind the records of a life (or, for that matter, in writing a book) committed to critical thought is that some readers will be moved to think with us, albeit differently... Will they sense the same excitement that so moved Janet Malcolm and Elizabeth Weed? Will they experience the same pleasure or, indeed, any pleasure at all?[20]

[18] See: Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 33-7; Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter,* 1-7; Henderson, *Marking Feminist Times,* 13-26.
[19] Maryanne Dever, "Archiving Feminism: Papers, Politics, Posterity," *Archivaria: The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists* 77 (2014): 25-42.
[20] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 148.

Scott's thoughts reverberate in an Australian context, in relation to the feminist activist archive.[21] How do *we* ensure certain re-membering? How will future generations think with or against *us*? How will *they* experience the material? Will the movement be utterly misinterpreted by the 'dullards' who come? Scott continues:

> Archives—books too—can't contain or pre-serve jouissance, but they provide the materials for its recurrence. In the process it's not only the researchers who change, but the materials as well. The repository of papers then is anything but a dead-letter office; instead, it is the place and the space from which new ideas can issue forth without end.[22]

Following Scott's epilogue, the survival of feminist things provides 'space from which new ideas can issue forth without end,' and it is this 'space' that this chapter, and more broadly this thesis, considers.

In late 2013, I searched Adelaide's museums, art galleries, archives and libraries for 'second wave feminist things'. I found newsletters, conference programs, books, photocopied articles, periodicals, reading lists, tapes, event flyers, organisational correspondence and financial records. Alongside accumulated papers, I also found photographs, posters, sound recordings of interviews and songs, badges, film, banners and t-shirts.[23] I found the material that anyone familiar with feminist activism during the 1970s and 1980s would expect to find, but at the time, these things were unfamiliar and surprising. Despite familiarity with feminist scholarship, second wave things in public archives were largely illegible to me. Without further extensive research, I could not narrate the historical context of the material I found, nor fit it into a familiar narrative of the history of feminism. Merely having contact with second wave things seemed to reorganise the way that

[21] See Magarey's discussion of interviews, where participants reflect on how the movement is narrated within academic scholarship, see: Magarey, "Memory and Desire," 10-11. I had similar experiences in the interviews I conducted.

[22] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 148.

[23] Collection inquiries and database searches included: AGSA, FUAM, South Australian Museum, History SA, State Records of South Australia, SLSA, Adelaide University BSL Rare and Special Collections, Flinders University Special Collections.

I related to past and present feminisms. This simple act was quite profound and transformative; it was vertiginous, to use Scott's term,[24] as everything I thought I knew about 'second wave' was questioned. Rather than leaving an empty space to become, the second wave archive provided a cluttered yet defined space and concept, filled with material things, where it was possible to unlearn what the terms 'feminism' and 'second wave' mean in the present and past. Simply accessing such archives allowed me to feel time, feminism and history differently.

Feminists active in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, regardless of the wave they identify with, are likely to have some familiarity with the material found in women's liberation and second wave activist archives. In comparison, I experience and come into contact with second wave material under quite different circumstances. I never participated in the second wave, but I also never identified with third wave and only learnt about 'the waves' and feminisms at university. This sense of being beyond the waves model has intensified, as the term third wave is being repositioned by scholarly and archival practices. Rather than reflecting a contemporary scholarly feminist identity, the 'third wave' increasingly refers only to specific feminist groups that emerged in the 1990s.[25] Based on this, I have no 'activist' identity and call myself 'feminist' based on my research practice alone. The question of 'legitimate' scholarly interpretation looms large when working with the feminist activist archive.[26] Academic feminist research has an activist component, but produces a very different 'archive' and can be understood as a different 'site' for finding, remembering and archiving the feminist past. Finding second wave activist objects in Adelaide's repositories was revelatory because the material was unfamiliar. For feminists who find second wave activist objects surprising and new, this is one way to think through feminism's history that does not produce matricidal relations. The affect of encountering second wave archives is not predictable and the encounter would be experienced differently by different researchers, but collections of second wave things present such a different

[24] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 3-6.
[25] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 85-121.
[26] Dever, "Archiving Feminism," 39.

'archive' to the 'archive' of the second wave traceable in academic texts, that it seems likely that anyone unfamiliar with the activist archive of things, and vice versa, so anyone unfamiliar with academic texts but familiar with the activist archive, is likely to feel time, feminism and history differently in the present.

Searching the Feminist Archive in Adelaide

Until 2011, South Australia had a repository that effectively functioned as a centralised feminist 'archive' for the state. The Adelaide Women's Studies Resource Centre (WSRC) at one point held the majority of second wave material in one location in Adelaide. The centre held a series of different archives/collections, including a library, the AWLMA, an extensive poster collection, the Adelaide Women's Health Centre archive and several other collections of material relating to feminist activism or scholarship in Adelaide. Initially run by teaching staff seconded from the department of education, and later from TAFE SA, the centre aimed to provide access to feminist publications, teaching spaces and resources. In its later years, the WSRC was entirely run by volunteers. Although the WSRC was referred to as a 'library', it was part women's space, part library, part archives, part classroom and part museum collection.[27] The centre defied institutional and organisational boundaries. The WSRC opened in 1975 and closed in 2011, to the distress of many associated with it.[28] The centre's collection was subsequently divided along more conventional organisational lines and was scattered between various institutions. Adelaide University's Barr Smith Library (BSL) accepted many books. The BSL Rare and Special Collections accepted the posters and the centre organisational archives, and a few other things. AWLMA, which was considered a separate entity but housed in the centre, was moved to the State Library of South Australia (SLSA). Banners and t-shirts from outside the AWLMA collection were split between the Art Gallery of South

[27] For an overview of women's spaces/libraries/archives in the US, see: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 25-54.

[28] The WSRC website continues to welcome visitors to the centre. A plea for help to avoid "imminent closure" appears in the news feed in 2010. The WSRC committee continues to hold events. See: "Women Studies Resource Centre," WSRC, accessed June 24, 2018, https://womensstudiesresourcecentre.blogspot.com.

Australia (AGSA) and the BSL. Some posters were sent to the JSNWL in Sydney.[29] Some material still remains in storage and has an uncertain future.[30] When trawling Adelaide institutions for second wave material, I unwittingly followed the divided collection, as each object featured in the later section of this chapter is loosely connected to the WSRC.

Beyond WSRC material, some Adelaide based organisations have second wave feminist material. Feminist material is preserved primarily because it intersects with other institutional priorities. Donations by individual feminists do not seem to contribute directly to collective feminist memory; instead, such donations intervene and reshape other institutionally defined collective memories and histories. AGSA collects various things that intersect with art history.[31] Flinders University Art Museum (FUAM) has a poster collection as well as documentation of feminist performance art.[32] In both cases, feminist material reshapes and is reshaped by art historical narratives. State records have some material relating to women's organisations and services. Notably, the SLSA has an oral history collection titled 'A History of the Australian Women's Movement since 1967', which is integrated into their oral history collection.[33] The BSL rare and special collections have material relating to women's studies and the movement on campus. Flinders University Special Collections have feminist badges in their badge collection, and material relating to women's studies and the women's movement. In relation to university special collections, feminist material intervenes in narratives of higher education and university activism. For various reasons, the Migration Museum, Maritime Museum, National Motor Museum (all under History SA) and South Australian Museum have no material they identify as

[29] Marilyn Rolls, in conversation with author, 29 October 2013.
[30] The WSRC committee were still working to find new space. WSRC public meeting, National Council of Women House, 95 South Terrace, Adelaide, 22 November, 2014.
[31] EMu collection search undertaken at AGSA by author, 10 November 2013.
[32] Collection search undertaken by FUAM collections manager Nic Brown, e-mail message to author, 20 November 2013.
[33] See: "A History of the Australian Women's Movement since 1967: Summary Record [Sound Recording] Interviewers: Kate Borrett, Susan Magarey, Deborah Worsley-Pine and Sarah Zetlein," recorded from 1 February 1996, OH346, J. D. Somerville Oral History Collection, State Library of South Australia (hereafter cited as J.D Somerville OH Collection: SLSA)

relating directly to second wave feminism, but I am sure that if I undertook an extensive detailed search of their collections, I could find material that related loosely to the second wave, for example, objects sometimes enter collections under the influence of second wave feminist curatorial practices; the object may not directly relate to the movement, but there is likely to be material that was collected with feminist curatorial priorities in mind. Ultimately, this search is not exhaustive, but offers an overview of material in major public institutions in Adelaide. These scattered things, along with other material in private hands, form part of what Bartlett, Dever and Henderson call 'an Archive of Australian Feminist Activism'.[34] This 'archive' is what Eichhorn affectionately calls 'the feminist scrap heap'.[35]

Eichhorn's term 'the feminist scrap heap', is drawn from Faludi's 'American Electra: Feminism's Ritual Matricide', published in Harpers Bazaar in 2010. Faludi writes:

> These two legacies—the continued matricide and the shape-shifting contamination of commercialism and commercially infused relativism in feminist activism and scholarship—have created a generational donnybrook where the transmission of power repeatedly fails and feminism's heritage is repeatedly hurled onto the scrap heap.[36]

Faludi's controversial article is widely understood and critiqued as reiterating tensions in the US.[37] Eichhorn critiques Faludi, but does so by repurposing her terms. Eichhorn uses the term 'scrap heap' to refer to second wave material. As Eichhorn says, 'combing their scrap heap' defies matricidal logic and provides a location to rework desire and resentment.[38] The 'combing' of the 'scrap heap' in

[34] Alison Bartlett, Maryanne Dever and Margaret Henderson, "Notes towards an Archive of Australian Feminist Activism," *Outskirts: Feminisms Along the Edge* 16 (May 2007). http://www.outskirts.arts.uwa.edu.au/volumes/volume-16/bartlett.

[35] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 25.

[36] Susan Faludi, "American Electra: Feminism's Ritual Matricide," *Harper's Magazine*, December 10, 2010, 29-42.

[37] Further discussion and from a different perspective to Eichhorn, see: Jack Halberstam, *Gaga Feminism: Sex, Gender, and the End of Normal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 1-8.

[38] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 27.

this context implicitly also includes Faludi's article even as she rejects the premise. In Eichhorn's re-reading, collecting feminist material is a form of 'temporal drag', where the past is neither rejected nor accepted. Instead, the second wave archive is another location to strategise 'present and future political interventions' and such interventions disrupt normative historical time.[39] Eichhorn draws the term 'temporal drag' from Elizabeth Freeman's *Time Binds*.[40] Freeman focuses on queer performance art, as do other scholars who employ her term.[41] However, Eichhorn argues that understanding feminist archiving as temporal drag radically changes the way we can read second wave material. Rather than being sites of 'refuse/refusal', the scrap heap is where past feminisms accumulate in the present, as a source of parody and pleasure, but also waiting to be 'redeployed'.[42]

Eichhorn argues that, for 'a generation or two' of feminists born after the rise of second wave, the feminist archive is central to their activism, lives and scholarship.[43] She reads the creation and management of feminist collections as moments and places where generational envy and resentment are resolved by 'third wave' care practices of 'second wave' material.[44] In particular, archiving feminism is, for Eichhorn, where activism and scholarship meet and she reflects on her own archiving practices, which focus on lesbian feminist ephemera.[45] According to Eichhorn, resolution particularly comes when second wave material is archived alongside more recent feminist activist ephemera.[46] In an Australian context, Anna Szorenyi's memory and narration of a second wave poster in *Things that Liberate* functions in this manner, to an extent. Szorenyi narrates a second

[39] Ibid., 54.
[40] Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 59-93.
[41] For example see: T.L Cowan, "I Remember... I Was Wearing Leather Pants': Archiving the Repertoire of Feminist Cabaret in Canada," in *Basements and Attics, Closets and Cyberspace: Explorations in Canadian Women's Archives*, ed. Linda M. Morra and Jessica Schagerl (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 65-86.
[42] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 29.
[43] Kate Eichhorn, "D.I.Y. Collectors, Archiving Scholars, and Activist Librarians: Legitimizing Feminist Knowledge and Cultural Production since 1990," *Women's Studies* 39, no. 6 (2010): 626. doi:10.1080/00497878.2010.490716.
[44] Ibid., 624-26.
[45] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 16-17.
[46] Eichhorn, "D.I.Y. Collectors, Archiving Scholars, and Activist Librarians," 642-44.

wave poster kept on a share house wall, and like Eichhorn, Szorenyi positions herself as inheriting both the poster and the movement. Using Eichhorn's framing, resolution in Szyorenyi's narrative is ultimately withheld because she discards the poster, but her narration of the object based on her memory questions supposed conflicts, and presents both the poster and share house as 'feminist things'.[47] As Eichhorn writes, the archive is integrated into what it means to identify with feminism:

> If touching the past once felt impossible for feminists or conversely at odds with more immediate political concerns, for women born during and after the rise of second wave feminist movement both touching history and being engaged in its making have become part and parcel of what it means to be an engaged feminist activist, cultural worker, or scholar in the present.[48]

However, unlike Eichhorn and Szorenyi I did not 'archive' second wave activist things before visiting a public institutional archive. I had no idea how second wave activist material 'felt' until I visited archives in Adelaide. Rather than archiving second wave being where activism and scholarship meet, working with activist feminist things in public collections can be understood as part of exorcizing my particular 'straw feminist within'.[49] I gain some sense of competency beyond an academic context through scholarly research in the activist archive. This chapter therefore further refocuses Eichhorn's analysis, as contact with the archive is discussed here on slightly different terms. If such archives are unfamiliar, rather than 'touching history' being 'part and parcel' of feminist work, contact with the feminist archive, with second wave things, is surprising and transformative in ways that challenge contemporary feminist historical writing.

[47] Anna Szorenyi, "Poster," in *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer*, ed. Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 143-50.
[48] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 54.
[49] The 'straw feminist within' refers to feeling inadequately feminist and therefore ambivalent about claiming the term, see: Monica Dux and Zora Simic, *The Great Feminist Denial* (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), 27-42.

Encounters with Second Wave Things

In late 2013, I was preoccupied with *The Fantasy of Feminist History* and other scholarship on feminist pasts and futures, and struggling to work out what to do with the empty space they leave. While trying to imagine what a 'circulating critical passion' might look or feel like when applied,[50] I came into contact with a few feminist things.[51] Here I expand on the story I started in the introduction, and present the following objects: Anni Dugdale's badge collection, Frances Phoenix's paper centrefold, Sylvia Kinder's book and banners from the Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG).

Figure 2 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 2: Selection of button badges, Anni Dugdale's personal file, AWLMA, SLSA (Photograph by author)

[50] For previous discussion, see in the introduction of this thesis, but also see: Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 33.

[51] This was before venturing further into scholarship such as Scott's "Epilogue" and Hemmings' work, see: Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 141-48; Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 191-227.

Anni Dugdale was involved in women's liberation groups in Adelaide. She donated a box of material to the AWLMA sometime in the 1980s. At the time, the archive was located in an area of the WSRC; in 2009, it was transferred to the SLSA before the centre closed.[52] Dugdale's box contains correspondence, various conference programs, press releases, photographs and 53 badges.[53] Her papers are ordered by conference, collective or issue under titles such as 'Papers relating to the Women's Movement Unity Conference' and 'Papers relating to Women's Action Against War, the Adelaide Sound Women's Peace Collective and IWD Disarmament'.[54] In comparison, the badges are arranged by material rather than by issue, and appear on the catalogue under the title 'Feminist Badges'.[55] If they were in a museum collection, each badge would probably have an accession number, title, photograph and individual searchable record. In the archive, they are wrapped in paper in no particular order, in two yellow manila envelopes at the back of her personal file. There is no way to know exactly what each bundle contains until you unwrap them, and they contain such gems (Fig. 2).[56] The badges now document, as well as commemorate, particular campaigns, strategies and commitments, and a period of feminist activism in Adelaide. Some badges seem like they were produced for a feminist audience with knowledge of the movement, while others seem to have been made for general campaigns. I can identify some badges, particularly the familiar International Women's Day and women's symbol badges.[57] However, many are appealingly illegible and cannot necessarily be read in relation to other papers in the AWLMA. What were they created for? How did women read them during the 1970 and 1980s? Who were they worn for? Am I

[52] Rolls, in conversation with author, 29 October 2013.

[53] "Anni Dugdale: Summary Record," PRG 1499, Anni Dugdale: Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement Archive, State Library of South Australia (hereafter cited as Anni Dugdale: AWLMA, SLSA).

[54] "Papers Relating to the Women's Movement Unity Conference," PRG 1499/3, Anni Dugdale: AWLMA, SLSA; "Papers relating to Women's Action Against War, the Adelaide Sound Women's Peace Collective and IWD Disarmament," PRG 1499/6, Anni Dugdale: AWLMA, SLSA.

[55] Summary of record notes: "Comprises: Feminist Badges Promoting Women's Sport; Sound Women's Peace Action; Repeal of Abortion Laws; Lesbian Liberation; Women Raped in War; Tuesday Afternoon Group; and Women's Liberation." See: "Feminist Badges," PRG 1499/8, Anni Dugdale: AWLMA, SLSA.

[56] Ibid. Although the badges are grouped under her name, not all of the badges belonged to Dugdale. She is certain that some of the badges were placed in her file by accident. Anni Dugdale, interview with author, 18 November, 2015.

[57] On badges and memory, see: Gail Green, "Badges," in *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer*, ed. Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 31-38.

misreading irony and humour? These questions cannot be answered through Dugdale's archival material. Instead, badges evoke an entirely different feminist language and hint at a different way of speaking to one another. What would it mean if I were to wear such things? They represent political commitments I have never made, and never had the opportunity to make. They are in someone else's cultural language. In the hands of those who do not remember the period, these things and their slogans can only be adopted as a form of temporal drag.[58]

Figure 3 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3: Frances Phoenix/Budden (and Lip Collective), *Soft Aggression Centrefold*, 1976, paper and paper doilies, 29.6 x 39 x 8cm when open, Adelaide, BSL: MSS 0149. (Photograph by author)

[58] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 27-28.

Frances Phoenix [Budden] (1950-2017) was a South Australian based artist, originally from Sydney.[59] *Soft Aggression* featured as the 'centrefold' in *LIP: A Journal of Women in the Visuals Arts* (Fig. 3).[60] These folded paper 'd'oylies' formed the other lips at the centre of *LIP* magazine's first edition in 1976. Every copy of the publication included a copy of Phoenix's design, hand stitched and cut by the journal's editorial collective.[61] The script around the edge of *Soft Aggression* says: 'Female culture is in the minds, hearts, and secret dialogues of women. Use your culture in your own defence: Use soft aggression'. Finding the folded paper centrefold amongst a stack of uncatalogued feminist posters at the Adelaide University BSL was a surprise.[62] At the time I was unfamiliar with Phoenix's work. The centrefold was unlabelled, had no accompanying information and was unidentifiable, based on the Barr Smith's current records. The posters were collected and held by the WSRC, and only transferred to BSL following the centre's closure in 2011.[63] The stacks of posters are arranged, to some extent, in size order. Hand screen-printed posters from the 1970s and 1980s rest alongside glossy government-funded material from the 1990s and 2000s, and somewhere in the middle of them lies the centrefold from *Lip*.[64] Identification came only via Jude Adams' article in *Outskirts*.[65] Finding the plain A4 page, opening to the rosy pink paper vulva, was a delightfully shocking moment. This encounter requires intimacy; to prop the centrefold open to photograph, you literally touch the folds. If this work were in an art gallery or museum, carefully flattened and displayed on a wall, there would be no possibility to experience the work through touch. Such

[59] For an overview of Phoenix's work see: Jude Adams, "Looking from with/in: Feminist Art Projects of the 70s," *Outskirts: Feminisms Along the Edge* 29 (November 2013). http://www.outskirts.arts.uwa.edu.au/volumes/volume-29/adams-jude-looking-with-in.

[60] The centrefold has been reproduced in print, see: Vivian Ziherl, ed., *The Lip Anthology: An Australian Feminist Arts Journal 1976-1984* (Melbourne: Macmillan Art Publishing, 2013). See also: Catriona Moore, "The More Things Change... Feminist Aesthetics, Then and Now," *Artlink* 33, no. 3 (2013): 22-24.

[61] Janine Burke, "Love and Pain and the Whole Damn Thing: Collaboration as Biography," *Colloquy: Text Theory Critique* 22 (2011), 3. http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/colloquy/458/.

[62] For the location of this copy of the centrefold, see: Women's Studies Resource Centre Poster Collection, MSS 0149, Barr Smith Library: Rare Books & Special Collections (hereafter cited as WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL).

[63] Initial search completed in 2013, not long after the poster collection was donated. Rolls, in conversation with author, 29 October 2013.

[64] WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL.

[65] Adams, "Looking from with/in," Figure 9.

encounters make it possible to enact different ways of being in the world, even if it is only possible for a fleeting moment through contact in the archive.

Figure 4 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 4: Contents page from Sylvia Kinder's *Herstory of Adelaide Women's Liberation 1969-74* (Adelaide: Salisbury Education Centre, 1980), held by several lending libraries including Flinders University Library (Photograph by author)

Sylvia Kinder was involved in women's liberation groups in Adelaide from 1974.[66] Kinder has the largest personal file in the AWLMA, including papers, sound recordings, video, badges, banners and t-shirts.[67] Kinder, along with other women, was part of the collective that founded the archive.[68] She consciously set out to

[66] Sylvia Kinder, interview by Susan Magarey, 7 February, 1996, OH 346/17, A History of the Australian Women's Movement since 1967, J.D Somerville OH Collection: SLSA.
[67] "Sylvia Kinder: Summary Record," PRG 1500, Sylvia Kinder: Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement Archive, State Library of South Australia (hereafter cited as Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA).
[68] "Papers Relating to the Women's Liberation Movement Archive Collective," PRG 1500/39, Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA.

collect and preserve women's liberation material in Adelaide. She wrote a history of the movement in 1980 titled *Herstory of the Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement 1969-1974* (Fig. 3).[69] Kinder's *Herstory* is not an academic history, but it was produced as part of her ongoing studies, and is an early attempt to historically, rather than autobiographically, narrate the women's liberation movement in Australia. She recounts women's liberation using the language of liberation. There is no tension between the period in question, the method of narration and the politics of production.

The book is held by several South Australian libraries and is located alongside histories and reports from women's organisations in South Australia. Kinder's book is grounded in the WSRC library, as she was part of the group that founded the centre and worked there for a period.[70] The book was produced and distributed using laborious printing methods and women's liberation networks. Reading Kinder's book is a strange, dislocating experience. It is remarkably different to histories written in the 1990s and 2000s. This is partly because the text primarily describes rather than analyses the movement but it is also, more importantly, because Kinder's narrative is written in the language of the second wave rather than self-reflexively longing for a lost language. Kinder historicises, but her writing is difficult to read in a historiographical mode because the paper, typed text, and style of communication *feel the same* as newsletters and other ephemera in the women's liberation archives. Unlike archival material, the book can be borrowed and read beyond the contained and particular temporal geography of an archive. Like badges, past writing styles and ways of speaking are grounded in contexts, and although a book can never be worn or displayed on the body like a badge, past writing styles and texts can also only be performed as temporal drag.

[69] Sylvia Kinder, *Herstory of Adelaide Women's Liberation 1969-74* (Adelaide: Salisbury Education Centre, 1980).
[70] Sylvia Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.

Figure 5 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 5: 'Women's Peace Camp' banner, FANG, AWLMA, SLSA (Photograph by author)

Figure 6 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 6: 'Women are Hopping Mad about Pine Gap' pillow case, from a protest organised in Adelaide and in solidarity with the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, FANG, AWLMA, SLSA (Photograph by author)

In November 1983, around 800 women and a few men converged outside Alice Springs and camped around the Joint Defence Space Research Facility at Pine Gap. The Women's Peace Camp inspired by and in solidarity with the Greenham Common Peace Camps, sought to draw public attention to global violence and nuclear war.[71] A series of painted pillowcases and a banner are part of FANG organisational file, and are held by the AWLMA.[72] The pillowcases never journeyed to Pine Gap. Instead, women and children painted and presented them as part of a vigil held on the steps of Parliament House in Adelaide. A few feature signatures and are identified with a particular activist, but most are anonymous. Created in response to the dreams of a nuclear free future, and exhibited in Rymill Park, 57

[71] For discussion of the protest, see: Megg Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat: The Pine Gap Women's Peace Protest 1983," *Hecate* 36, no. 1-2 (2010): 171-85. For a discussion of material culture and Pine Gap, see: Alison Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, Australia, 1983," *Women: A Cultural Review* 24, no. 2-3, 179-95. doi:10.1080/09574042.2013.791065.

[72] See: "Banners and pillowcases for the Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG)," D 8268 (Misc) OUTSIZE 2, Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group: Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement Archive, State Library of South Australia (hereafter cited as FANG: AWLMA, SLSA).

pillowcases, are now preserved in the archive.[73] 'Women Want a Nuclear Free Peaceful Future', one pillowcase declares. Flowers decorate the border and a barely discernible stamp reads 'central linen services', perhaps indicating that the pillow cases were bought at a op shop. Another pillow states: 'Women are hopping mad about pine gap' (Fig. 6). A bright red kangaroo, mid hop, visualises the idiom and also subverts an Australian national symbol. A handwritten note, slipped inside this particular pillow case reads:

> If you can't find the right person to hand this back to at the end of the march please return to Women's Studies Resource Centre: 64 Pennington Tce north Adelaide SA 5006.[74]

'Trees and Sunshine and Flowers Not Bombs' sits beside another pillowcase featuring no words at all, which instead pictures an abstract landscape of bodies and dead trees, the ruins of a nuclear future. The collection also includes an enormous bright yellow, fraying cotton banner with the women's symbol and 'Peace Camp' in roughly painted letters (Fig. 5). It seems that the banner was left to dry a little too long on a layer of newspaper, and bits of newspaper still cling to the back where the paint soaked through. Scraps fall away as the banner is unfolded in the reading room and safety pins have left rust stains. The banner is longer than the table at the SLSA, and the tabletop's power-points get in the way. The State Library never imagined such large material would be unfurled in its reading room.

The second wave, as represented in texts, does not look or feel like these things. Nor do the international second wave feminist classics, compulsory reading in undergraduate gender studies, manage to capture the specificity and variety evident in these collections. These things demonstrate the complexity and specificity of past feminisms and none easily produce tidy histories. From these things, I failed to cohesively narrate the movement. Instead of offering narration, each thing is a moment, when a group of women were able to articulate an entirely

[73] "Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG) (1982 - 1984)," The Australian Women's Register, accessed June 24, 2018, http://www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/PR00077b.htm.

[74] "Banners and pillowcases for the Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG)," D 8268 (Misc) OUTSIZE 2, FANG: AWLMA, SLSA.

different future, and it does not seem to matter if that future succeeded or failed. What matters is that it was possible to imagine in that moment. The futures articulated by this material were never settled. Rather, they were always contested between women, and each thing offers a different vision of what that future could be. To draw on Scott's terms, addressed in the Introduction, there were many imagined futures, each founded on collective critical passion, which was transformed into something else as soon as the moment was over.[75] What materially remains, what is archived from each moment, are these things.

According to Eichhorn, finding past feminist activist material is often a transformative experience.[76] Such moments are often the starting point for rethinking current feminisms and feminist narratives. Eichhorn recounts her own transformative experience of touching things in the archive and of finding and archiving material from the 1970s and 1980s.[77] Clare Hemmings recounts how encountering unfamiliar feminist material prompted her influential book, *Why Stories Matter*. As Eichhorn argues, the feminist archive partly made it possible for Hemmings to critically engage with the representations of past feminisms in feminist theory.[78] In terms of making archives and imagining their use, Joan Scott imagines her archive being used to rethink the future present; she imagines that feminist archives will be places where future scholars can think through their own historical moment, differently.[79] A flyer, sent by the AWLMA collection around 1988 states:

> Over the past few years the A.W.L.M.A Collective has been collecting and organising material that would often have been destroyed or lost to researchers who wanted to make women's herstory visible...[80]

[75] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 33-44.
[76] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 79-84.
[77] Ibid., 80.
[78] Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 13; Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 78.
[79] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 141-48.
[80] "Papers Relating to the Women's Liberation Movement Archive Collective," PRG 1500/39, Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA.

In an interview, Sylvia Kinder tells me: 'We wanted to save stuff so that people like yourself, women, could read and write about it, and so that the issues didn't get lost'.[81] Clearly from these examples and, as Dever suggests, archiving is bound to 'futurity' on the one hand and memory on the other.[82] As Eichhorn argues, archives are sites where generationalism 'becomes undone' when 'younger feminists are quite literally brought into contact with the documentary traces of earlier generations of feminists'.[83] When I found a few feminist things in archives, I had no idea that I was partaking in a shared feminist experience.[84] Combing the feminist scrap heap, at least for those of us who have no feminist activist archive of our own under the bed, displayed on a wall, at the back of the wardrobe, or in a shed, is usually a solitary (but not private) experience, particularly when undertaken in a general library, archive, gallery or museum collection. A sense of 'being first' to use and find the material shapes the experience, and as Nikolchina outlines, the narrative of 'firsts' is part of feminism's matricidal impulse.[85] To experience combing the scrap heap as a feminist intergenerational collective experience is to refigure feminist relations, and can be described as part of the 'archival turn' in feminism.

Suzanne Bellamy's satirical performance 'The Lost Culture of Women's Liberation 1969-74, the Pre-Dynastic Phase' considers one possible future for Australian feminist things. She imagines that the feminist archive will be lost and finally unearthed in an illegible manner.[86] Her satire requires some fluency in Bellamy's understanding of second wave feminism and the humour comes primarily through deliberate misreading. The things traced in this paper are already somewhat illegible without first hand memory of the movement. Although this illegibility is risky, it is also part of the appeal and perhaps part of their capacity for 'wonder' to

[81] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.
[82] Dever, "Archiving Feminism," 41.
[83] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism,* 64.
[84] Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 13; Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 78; Hesford, *Feeling Women's Liberation*, 6-14; Withers, "Theorising the Women's Liberation Movement as Cultural Heritage," 847-62; Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 148.
[85] Nikolchina, *Matricide in Language*, 1-13.
[86] Suzanne Bellamy, "The Lost Culture of Women's Liberation, the Pre-Dynastic Phase 1969-74," *Feminism and the Museum: A Symposium* (Performance, The National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2 November 2013).

use Henderson and Bartlett's term.[87] This sense of illegibility is partly what allows me to 'redeploy' or stage the badges, poster, book and banners in this chapter. In terms of generations, feminists whose lives are woven into the story of women's liberation remember making and using this material and draw personal and collective memory around things, even when those things can no longer be materially located. For feminists without such memory, contact with feminist things is one way to collectively understand feminism differently.

Conclusion

This chapter staged a series of encounters with second wave material in Adelaide and theorised these encounters in relation to the 'archival turn' in feminism. Regardless of how contact with second wave things occurs, thinking through things cuts across the generational tensions and reshapes re-membering the second wave. For many who have first-hand memories of the second wave, second wave objects operate as triggers for autobiographical memory.[88] For feminists who have created archives of the movement, who live with the movement via an archive in their home (in some form, whatever that archive might look like), contact with the feminist archive looks and feels quite different to those who only have access to such archives in public repositories. For feminists without first-hand memory of the second wave *and* without an archive of second wave feminist things, merely having contact with second wave things in a public collection/archive has the potential to reshape how feminism is thought and felt in a contemporary context. This chapter primarily serves to establish my approach within this thesis. It lays the foundations for the second central argument, that things in Australian second wave archives have the potential to reframe contemporary feminist thought. Each encounter reveals something about past and present feminisms and makes it possible to feel feminism differently. The 'archive stories' I tell in this chapter, but more broadly in this thesis, demonstrate how things in feminist archives can be used to renarrate or rethink the relationship between past, present and future.

[87] Bartlett and Henderson, "Working with Feminist Things," 13.
[88] See: Bartlett and Henderson, ed. *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer.*

Chapter Three: Bon Hull's Papers

In Chapter Two, I staged a series of encounters with second wave material in Adelaide. I highlighted a range of different types of material, a banner, a book, badges and a poster, and emphasised the experience of finding things in archives. This chapter further stages an encounter with particular material, with Bon Hull's papers held by the VWLLFA, which are located at the Melbourne University Archives in Victoria. As well as considering what it means to use archives, here I address what it might mean to create feminist archives. What does it mean to organise and place papers in boxes, to make listings and place them in public collections? What relationships do archives create between donor/s who self-archive, the archivist/s who establish or develop an archive and people accessing archives? Here, I take on the task of reading papers as feminist material culture,[1] and like the previous chapter, I focus on how archiving feminist things (re)creates inter-generational relationships. In particular, I have selected a few papers from Hull's archive, papers where inter-generational relationships are visible via the marks on the page.

Jessica Marie, usually known as Bon, Hull was part of the Melbourne Women's Action Committee (WAC) from the first meetings in 1970.[2] She was part of significant well-publicised early actions, such as the 'Equality ride' in 1970, where a small group of women protested unequal pay by only paying 75% of a tram fare.[3] In 1980, she wrote a guide to women's health titled *In Our Own Hands: A Women's Health Manual*.[4] Her papers document activism and research from the early 1970s to the late 1990s; she died

[1] Scholarship exploring reading papers and materiality has influenced the way I approached the papers discussed in this chapter, see: Maryanne Dever, "Provocations on the Pleasures of Archived Paper," *Archives and Manuscripts*, 41 no. 3, (2013): 173, 180. doi:10.1080/01576895.2013.841550; Johanna Drucker, "Entity to Event: From Literal, Mechanistic Materiality to Probabilistic Materiality," *Parallax* 14, no. 4 (2009): 7-17. doi:10.1080/13534640903208834. Although Jean Taylor uses different terms to Dever and Drucker, her narration of the VWLLFA archives and archiving also addresses the materiality of paper, see: Jean Taylor "Gestetner," in *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer*, ed. Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 91-6.

[2] For an overview of Hull's activism, see the VWLLFA biographical statement: VWLLFA Collective, "Biographies for the Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives Inc: 1. Bon Hull (28 March, 1915 – 16 June, 2000)," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/1, Bon Hull: Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives, University of Melbourne Archives (hereafter cited as Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA). See D'Aprano's account of Hull, first published in 1977 and reissued in 1995 as an e-book: Zelda D'Aprano, *Zelda* (Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1995), Chapter 15, Chapter 18. e-Pub Format.

[3] D'Aprano, *Zelda*, Chapter 15.

[4] Bon Hull, *In Our Own Hands: A Women's Health Manual* (South Yarra, Vic: Hyland House, 1980).

in 2000.[5] In the 1990s she gave her remaining papers to the VWLLFA.[6] Papers like Hull's contain important information about the women's liberation movement in Australia and in particular cover women's health.[7] Rather than use Hull's papers to write a thematic, biographical, geographic or chronological history of the women' liberation movement, here I have 'read' her papers as material and visual culture, as things that are mediated by the archive/s *and* archivist/s.

In this chapter I start to deliberately intertwine the two central arguments of this thesis, as I demonstrate how the process of archiving can shape interpretation of the past and intervene in contemporary narratives. Chapter Two argued that merely accessing feminist archives has the potential to question representations of past feminisms in contemporary feminist theory, thereby challenging inter-generational conflict narratives. This chapter argues that Hull's papers demonstrate the way that the process of archiving feminist material and using feminist archives generates complex relationships between feminisms and feminists. I extend Eichhorn's theorising of archiving to archiving feminist material in Melbourne in the 1980s and 1990s. Although there are differences between the post 1990s context Eichhorn theorises and archiving in the 1980s, the more recent 'turn' towards the archive has parallels with and draws on a longer history of archiving feminisms. To repurpose Ahmed's phrasing, feminist archives both historically and in the present cultivate complex, sometimes joyful, yet also somewhat uneasy inter-generational relationships that 'stick us together' in some way, not in an easy 'happy sisterhood' kind of way, but in a way that 'allows us to move through the world differently'.[8]

This chapter is divided into three 'acts' and each presents a different way of reading Hull's material; the second and third acts undermine the first. In the first 'act' I interpret Hull's papers and stage my 'readings' of the marks on the page, focusing on

[5] VWLLFA Collective, "1. Bon Hull (28 March, 1915 – 16 June, 2000)," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/1, VWLLFA, UMA.
[6] Jean Taylor, interview with author, 17 July, 2015.
[7] Hull's archive includes 15 boxes of papers and badges (placed in the VWLLFA badge collection), which was listed by Jean Taylor, Ardy Tibby, Shirin Heinrich, see listing: 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1-15, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.
[8] Ahmed, "Feminist Futures," 252.

getting things out of files/boxes and reading them; in the second and third 'acts' I interpret her papers in terms of tracing the processes, motivations and context of archiving her papers (of filling files/boxes) and focus on the VWLLFA collective/s. There are many other 'archive stories' I could tell using Hull's papers, but by staging these encounters I argue and demonstrate that taking archivist/s or archiving into account changes the interpretation of the material/sources. Telling multiple archive stories about the same material illuminates the archivist's role in the production of history, but also reveals the inter-generational dynamics of archiving and using women's liberation archives.

Reading Bon Hull's Papers, Act I

The most common 'things' I have encountered when searching feminist archives are loose unbound papers inscribed with text. There are boxes and boxes of printed, photocopied, typed or handwritten papers. Collections of loose papers are held together with rusting metal staples or pins, or clipped into groups with brightly coloured plastic paper clips or just bundled in creamy brown folders. There are Women's Studies guides, conference programs, notes from planning meetings for actions or events, letters, unreadable scribbles on the backs of envelopes, annotated feminist publications, newsletters loosely folded together, copies of rally and conference speeches, drafts of leaflets or posters, unpublished manuscripts and drafts of publications, all typed, printed, photocopied, gestetnered or handwritten onto paper. When it comes to archiving the second wave feminist movement, the focus is overwhelmingly on the preservation of papers.[9]

In July 2015 I was at the VWLLFA in Melbourne and worked through boxes of papers in numerical order. The archive includes material from 156 donors,[10] from individuals or collectives connected with women's liberation and/or lesbian feminism or feminists in Victoria. I sorted through a relatively small segment of the archives - 37 boxes from

[9] For further reflection on the centrality of papers to second wave and the process of archiving, see Dever and Henderon's discussions of Thornton's archive: Margaret Henderson, "Archiving the Feminist Self: Reflections on the Personal Papers of Merle Thornton," *Archives and Manuscripts* 41, no.2 (2013): 99. doi:10.1080/01576895.2013.806013; Dever, "Archiving Feminism," 25-42.

[10] Jean Taylor, "Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives Inc," *Archives and Manuscripts* 46, no. 1 (2018): 76. doi:10.1080/01576895.2017.1402356.

25 donors.[11] Initially I whimsically chose donors and then systematically worked through one or two boxes from each donor to understand how the collective generally organised material across the archives, and to understand the relationship between the listings and the collection. The archives are numerically listed by the date the donor started to donate their papers to the archive and alphabetised by the donor's first name.[12] The first donor listed numerically is Bon Hull.

The first box of Hull's archive contains papers, mostly from 1970 to 1974.[13] The box's contents are carefully listed and include material from the National Women's Liberation Conference in 1971, where Hull was an organiser of the conference, WAC material, pamphlets from events she either ran or attended, letters and telegrams from friends from the early 1970s, speeches, unreadable notes scribbled on bits of paper and a mix of iconic women's liberation publications such as *Mejane*, printed in Sydney and *Vashti's Voice*, printed in Melbourne, alongside communist and union publications.[14] One particular file (1/1/4), within the first box is marked 'Personal: Letters Telegrams; Posters List'.[15] The file includes letters and telegrams, notes, receipts, her union

[11] Viewed files from: Bon Hull, Jo Phillips, Margaret Jacobs, Sue Jackson, Di Otto, Kathy Gill, Virginia [Vig] Geddes, Frances Ryan, Ruth Berman, Hinerangi Ferrell-Heath, Women's Liberation Centre, Feminist Publications Fund, Lesbian House, Robyn Martin, Judith Powers, Helen Rea, Zelda D'Aprano, Marie Rowan, 10/40 Conferences, Jean Taylor, Heather Chapple, VWLLFA (admin files), Badge collection, photograph collection, photographs of the banner collection. I viewed most of Hull's papers, except for boxes embargoed. See Melbourne University Archives listings for each collection, and see the following for an overview of each donation: "The Archives," VWLLFA Inc., accessed July 3, 2018, http://www.vwllfa.org.au/archives.html.

[12] In terms of order, I have some conflicting information. Taylor seems certain that Hull was first to give material, that she gave papers early on but donated most of her archive in the late 1990s, but the initial VWLLFA founders imply that Hull did not give her material until much later. Ultimately it does not really matter which account is accurate in this context, as the central point is that Taylor decided to place Hull's papers first on the basis that she thought Hull gave her material first. In other contexts, VWLLFA archives are listed in alphabetical order by the donor's first name, which is that same approach as the LHA in New York, which organise by women's first names as family names are patriarchal. Taylor, interview with author, 17 July, 2015; Sue Jackson, Virginia (Vig) Geddes, Margaret (Marg) Jacobs and Barbara (Barb) Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015; "The Archives," VWLLFA Inc., accessed July 3, 2018, http://www.vwllfa.org.au/archives.html.

[13] See: 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/1-15, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

[14] Spongberg's article addressing the writing of history in Australian feminist periodicals gives an overview of feminist publishing, see: Mary Spongberg, "Australian Women's History in Australian Feminist Periodicals 1971-1988," *History Australia* 5, no. 3 (2008), 73.2-3. doi:10.2104/ha080073. For discussion of *Mejane*, see: Suzanne Bellamy, "Newspaper: Mejane," in *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer*, ed. Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 105-114.

[15] "Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters List," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/4, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

membership card, a copy of a letter to the editor, a couple of speeches, and other bits of paper. The file seems to contain everything the archivists were unable to easily theme, so these odds and ends became listed under 'personal', and reading Hull's papers in this file certainly felt personal. The majority of women's liberation archives comprises either publications or newsletters that were available to subscribers, ephemera from events, actions and protests, or material produced by and addressing collectives or women generally rather than individuals, and such material does not necessarily feel 'personal'.[16] Overall, this folder contained papers that were either written by or addressed to Hull directly; they were not created for wider circulation. Going through this file initially felt like I was sifting through Hull's mail or her handbag without permission; however, this sense of illicitly sorting through her personal papers vanished when I opened her union membership book, read a speech and unfolded a letter; the three have no direct relationship with one another beyond being placed together in her archive. When examining these items I found notes attached or comments added to pages that seemed to address the reader of her archive; they seemed to address me. The notes could have been made to remind her of the context, but they seem to explain things that would be obvious to her, and would otherwise be difficult for a reader of her archive to understand. Through her comments, Hull seemed to be consciously attempting to communicate with future users of her archive, with me in this context, and to shape how her archive would be read.[17]

Within file 1/1/4 is a drafted speech delivered by Hull. On the back of one page she appears to have sarcastically scribbled 'XMAS Rotary Club Luncheon for members and 'woman folk' Dec 1970'.[18] The speech's audience and timing are striking, as Hull joined the WAC, the forerunner to women's liberation in Melbourne, six months before writing this speech. I assume from her note that she delivered the speech to a relatively hostile audience and she implies in her note that women could not be full

[16] Although it can sometimes be 'personal', see Chapter Seven for further analysis of the 'personal' and 'political' in terms of archives.
[17] See discussion of archives in the previous chapter, and also see: Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 148.
[18] "XMAS Rotary Club Luncheon for Members and 'Woman Folk' Dec 1970," in "Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters List," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/4, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

members of Rotary. Zelda D'Arpano, a key member of the WAC and friend to Hull, notes in her autobiography that the WAC was suddenly 'being asked to provide speakers for schools, church groups, women's committees and mixed groups' in 1970.[19] According to D'Arapano:

> Bon was the next woman [after D'Aprano] to accept a speaking engagement and appeared on a platform among several competent and articulate men. She was so nervous that she was unable to read her notes, however, she must have impressed at least one young man because, as soon as the meeting was over, he dashed up to her, introduced himself as being a reporter from the Sun newspaper and was delighted with her contribution to the evening. "I've never heard anything like it," he said. "What you said was terrific, but they'll never print that," and they didn't.[20]

In the speech given to Rotary, in the opening paragraph Hull says to her audience:

> Today I shall ask you to look/at the sex-roles which are imposed, super-imposed and developed from birth, and thru' our youth, and their cruel and stifling effect on women. How these imprints are hammered on by society, the family, by educational institutions and most perniciously by the mass media. It's an illusion to say you are free of these influences, how can you be free, they are all around and no one escapes? They operate at all levels and intrude in our personal lives. We see female sexuality exploited in every magazine and newspapers ~~making their profits by flaunting the beautiful bodies of young women and writing their captions as though they were sleek young animals up for sale to the highest bidder~~.[21]

In the above quote, the final line is crossed out, and then covered with paper, which was sticky taped to the page (Fig. 7). As I leafed through the speech, pieces of tape further peeled away from the paper, leaving dark sticky marks around particular

[19] For a discussion of the context that such speeches were delivered in 1970, see D'Aprano's account of the period: D'Aprano, *Zelda*, Chapter 15.
[20] Ibid.
[21] "XMAS Rotary Club Luncheon for Members and 'Woman Folk' Dec 1970," in "Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters List," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/4, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

sections of covered text. Throughout, Hull has edited her words in this manner, covering sections she presumably decided to remove from the final version. In the section quoted above, Hull is perhaps tempering her language to suit her audience.

Figure 7 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 7: Bon Hull's speech, 'XMAS Rotary Club Luncheon for members and 'woman folk' Dec 1970', from 'Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters list,' VWLLFA, UMA (Photograph by author)

In other sections of the speech, Hull's editing indicates she was still developing a vocabulary to describe women's liberation and experimenting with different language and phrases to articulate particular concepts. She annotated the following with a question mark and then crossed it out and covered it with paper and tape:

> ~~The sex-role thing is now completehnd the first destruction has taken place. She is now in competition with her sisters and completely consuming (?) all other things are necessary~~[22]

This sentence is incoherent and makes little sense, hence, we can assume, its subsequent deletion from the text; yet here it is possible to see how she is developing the vocabulary to articulate the key concepts of the women's liberation movement. We can track her intellectual process by tracing the physical marks and additions to the page. In this early speech, she is still trying to resolve how to speak about women's liberation and as a women's liberationist.[23] The women's liberation movement or any movement or event, when framed as a historical movement, is often presented as an inevitability rather than as something experimental and uncertain at the time.[24] When written about as a historical movement, the second wave tends to appear as the predictable outcome of historical forces from the late 1960s, as an outcome of Vietnam War protests or the sexual revolution. Paying attention to Hull's editing, preserved in marks on her papers, makes it possible to briefly glimpse the experience of women's liberation as a new movement. Reading Hull's papers as material things disrupts any sense of inevitability, and the usual affects/temporality ascribed to the period.

Near the speech, in the same file, is a letter to Hull from 'Barbara J' dated 'Nov 21' (Fig. 8).[25] In the letter, she asks Hull for news of the women's liberation movement in Victoria, recommends the Women's Vision Film Show, discusses her recent publications and upcoming panels, comments on 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness',

[22] Ibid.

[23] Her later speeches demonstrate how her speaking and writing developed, see: International Women's Day Speech, 8 March, 1985, in "IWD: Speech Article *The Age*," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/11/1, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

[24] For further discussion of this point in a US context, see: Hesford, *Feeling Women's Liberation*, 1-24. For discussion in terms of feminist theory, see: Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 1-27.

[25] Barbara Jones to Bon Hull, 21 November, 1973, in "Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters List," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/4, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

criticises two articles in the *Tribune*, a paper published by the Communist Party of Australia, and discusses mutual acquaintances. In one section she notes:

> I am still very hot and strong on the matter of whether the women's movement should have some structure, JUST in case you haven't read it [The Tyranny of Structurelessness] I enclose it.[26]

A copy of 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness' is held in many personal files in the AWLMA and VWLLFA, and Hull has a copy in the second box, grouped along with publications dating from 1973 to 1974.[27]

Figure 8 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 8: Letter addressed to Bon Hull from Barbara Jones, 21 November, 1973, from 'Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters list,' VWLLFA, UMA

[26] Ibid.

[27] "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," in "Assorted Publications – Out From Under (Sydney): Enough - Journal of the Bristol WL Group (UK) No 6 and ? [sic] 1973-74: The Political Economy of Women's Liberation: The Tyranny of Structurelessness," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/2/3, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

The letter gives a sense of the way women's liberation was constituted by debate and there were complex relationships between women involved rather than easy agreement. When compared with the speech, the tone and language are quite different. The speech reflects the process of crafting a public language of women's liberation, which sets out to convince women (and children and men) to liberate themselves and others. The letter is a conversation between two women involved in the movement and the letter therefore gives some sense of how things unfolded and were responded to rather than easily agreed. Finally, and crucial to my point here, Hull annotated the letter, adding the date, '1973' and the name of the author 'From Barbara Jones'. Either Hull made this note for her own records after she received the letter or she made this note sometime later, before she gave her papers to the archives, to ensure that all the information was available to anyone using her material. Either way, both can be understood as 'archival' or 'archiving' after the archival turn.

Within an unmarked envelope in file 1/1/4, Hull placed her union membership book and a slip of paper (Fig. 9).[28] Hull was trained as a dressmaker.[29] On the union membership book she notes 'HARTNELL', referring to a fashion house in Melbourne; they closed in 1971.[30] On a separate piece of paper folded beside the membership book she placed the following note:

> Took a few jobs as a cutter to see what unions were doing in these factories which employed only women. Answer was - nothing!! However call them up (union) more than once - finally came. Got a few changes - that [sic] hadn't been to Marjora Robes for 13 Years. What [sic] had collected Dues all that time. Hartnell - went up to 3rd (male tailors) but hadn't been on 1st and 2nd floor for 9 years.[31]

[28] The Clothing and Allied Trades Union of Australia membership card and note, in "Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters List," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/4, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.
[29] VWLLFA Collective, "1. Bon Hull (28 March, 1915 – 16 June, 2000)," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/1, VWLLFA, UMA.
[30] See for example: "Evening dress and stole, womens, silk, Hartnell of Melbourne, Melbourne, Australia, 1957-1960," Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences (MAAS), accessed July 4, 2018, https://ma.as/131356.
[31] The Clothing and Allied Trades Union of Australia membership card and note, in "Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters List," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/1/4, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

It seems unlikely that this note was created for her private use and records; it appears to address the reader of her archive. Perhaps she did not want anyone reading her archive to assume she was a satisfied member of this union. It seems she wanted to make sure anyone opening this envelope would understand the context of her union membership, that she was primarily testing the union and agitating to refocus the union's attention on women's pay and conditions.

Figure 9 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 9: Bon Hull's The Clothing and Allied Trades Union of Australia membership card, from 'Personal: Notes Letters Telegrams; Posters list,' VWLLFA, UMA (Photograph by author)

Throughout Hull's archive, when the context of her papers is not self-evident or when details are otherwise missing, she occasionally, somewhat haphazardly rather than

consistently, annotated her papers.[32] From these notes it seems she expected someone would come and use her papers and so she annotated them to ensure they could be interpreted. She may have labelled them for her own future use rather than for others, but when reading them in the reading room these comments seemed to address contemporary users of her archive. More specifically, when I was sitting in the Melbourne University reading room, it felt like Hull was directly addressing me - it was if she imagined that researchers would be reading her material in the future. This seemed to be a tangible example of the way archiving is about imagining, and potentially changing, the future rather than being about documenting the past. Derrida and many other scholars of the archival turn, notably in this context Eichhorn, frame archives around futurity rather than history. Here, reading Hull's papers, marked for a future reader, evoked both an intimacy and a sense of 'fond' connection with Hull through the marks she made on her papers.[33] I decided after reading file 1/1/4, that I would *do* something with Bon Hull's papers.

In September 2015, a few months after reading Hull's papers in Melbourne, I gave a short 10 minute presentation at the *Gender and Sexualities Postgraduate Conference* in Adelaide focusing on Hull's papers.[34] I decided to read sections of Hull's Rotary Club speech verbatim, and see how it was received. I was particularly interested in what happens when feminist archives are read outside the context of the reading room. Farge suggests the 'allure of the archives' resides in the unfurling of a document and the process of reading and faithfully transcribing the text.[35] Handling archival material is often crucial to archival affect or the 'allure of the archives', but the reading room itself seems equally important. The rituals and norms of the reading room, or

[32] Hull did not always annotate, for example, there is one folder with a pornographic image from a magazine, which has no explanation. It might have been kept by accident and its meaning to Hull is unknown. Jean Taylor, Ardy Tibby, Shirin Heinrich, who created the listing, labelled the image as 'without comment'. See: "Without Comment," 2000.0108 (100/108): 1/13/18, Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

[33] For a discussion of inappropriate 'fondness' for feminist or queer archives, see, Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 27.

[34] Petra Mosmann, "Bon Hull's Papers," *Transgressions 2015: Second South Australian Postgraduate Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies Conference* (presentation, Flinders University, September 25, 2015).

[35] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 15-17.

alternatively their disruption, are often crucial to historians' archive stories.[36] To what extent was my fondness for Hull contingent on reading her papers within the confines of a reading room? I was curious whether reading Hull's speech at the conference drew the feminist archive's 'energy' to address the present, which Eichhorn suggests is central to the appeal and use of feminist archives as present and future oriented.[37] What does it mean to momentarily 'dress' in the language of women's liberation in the present rather than analyse or discuss it in its historical context? Hull speaks in a way that is quite different to the present I inhabit. For example, I cannot easily use the language Hull uses to describe or analyse femininity and I disagree with her approach and perspective on many issues. What would happen if I re-enacted this speech at a postgraduate conference? Would it be received as parody? Would there be agreement? Disagreement? Debate? Or boredom? Would my audience feel the 'allure of the archives'? Would my audience also think fondly of Hull by hearing and seeing copies of her papers?

I was hoping for some kind of response to Hull's papers, so instead of giving an analytical presentation, I 'performed' Hull's Rotary Club speech for the postgraduate students in Adelaide. They were mostly my age and from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, but had some interest in feminist scholarship. I read most of her speech, skipping one page in the middle, and flashed the deleted sections on a PowerPoint to show how Hull edited her text. I deliberately avoided analysing her text and provided little historical context, and instead just read her words to see what would happen when the speech was read out loud outside the archive. As well as reading the speech, I showed copies of the union book and read the letter from Barbara Jones. Based on the questions following the reading, my audience seemed mostly just confused. Outside the reading room and without providing analysis or historical or theoretical context, Hull's speech and my intentions when reading her speech at the conference were mostly indecipherable. The power of Hull's papers, the way they made it possible

[36] Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 1-17; Steedman, *Dust*, 17-31; Ghosh, "National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation, Britain and India," 27-45; Jeff Sahadeo, "'Without the Past there is no Future': Archives, History, and Authority in Uzbekistan," in *Archive Stories: Facts, Fiction, and the Writing of History,* ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 45-64.

[37] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 28, 160.

for me to relate differently to the past, at least partially depended on the process of using her archive, on the process of opening boxes, sorting through things and handling papers in a reading room.

Reading Bon Hull's Papers, Act II

On July 17, two days after viewing Bon Hull's papers in Melbourne, I interviewed Jean Taylor.[38] Taylor became a member of the VWLLFA collective in 1984,[39] two years after the archive was initially founded.[40] By the late 1980s, Taylor was the only member of the archives collective still working on the archive.[41] At the time, the archives were located at Women's Liberation House and, when it closed in 1992, they were relocated to Taylor's house. By the late 1990s, the archives filled 'every nook and cranny' of her small home.[42] In 1999 she visited the Herstory Archives in New York, which reinforced the need to find a public space that could house the archives and make them easily accessible and organised a new collective,[43] and in 2000, the archives were relocated to the Melbourne University Archives. In the interview, we were discussing the organisation and listing of the archives and she mentioned Hull's papers:

> we decided that because we wanted to honour the activist work that lesbians and feminists had been doing that we would keep it under her name so that anything she gave us that was her archive so we've listed them all the way through
>
> so I think number 1 was Bon Hull [...]
>
> [gestures towards a filing cabinet in the room]
>
> this is Bon Hull's filing cabinet [...]
>
> it hasn't got her stuff in it anymore but I was really pleased towards the end of her life
>
> she was a lot older than the rest of us

[38] Taylor, interview with author, 17 July, 2015.

[39] At the time, it was called the 'Women's Liberation Movement Archives' or 'Melbourne Women's Liberation Archives'.

[40] For Taylor's own published account of the VWLLFA, see: Taylor, "Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives Inc," 70-77.

[41] Taylor, interview with author, 17 July, 2015.

[42] Taylor, "Gestetner," 96.

[43] Membership of the VWLLFA collective fluctuates, but in 2013-2015, apart from Taylor and the four founding members, the collective included: Ardella (Ardy) Tibby, Barbary Clarke and Sara Elkas.

> and she was moving out her place into a bedsit you know a retirement place […]
>
> a small place so she rang me up and said I've got this filing cabinet full of stuff would you come and get it I was absolutely rapt that she did that she was trusting us with her material
>
> she had already put in stuff so she became number 1 and then we got the rest of her material […]
>
> health was her major kind of thing
>
> she was very fiery
>
> Bon
>
> Zelda [D'Aprano] has a much better sense of herself and she likes to be seen as the public figure of the women's movement
>
> she gave us a few little things as befitted [as] she sees as her status[…][44]
>
> which is fine [and] made it doubly good that Bon and very appropriate that her stuff come to us rather than the state library[45]

In this context, Hull and D'Aprano represent an older generation of women's liberationists and women's liberation and Taylor locates herself here as part of a younger generation.[46] Taylor's tone implied that she was somewhat surprised that Hull gave her papers to the VWLLFA rather than sending them to the Victorian State Library. After the transfer of papers to Melbourne University Archives, Hull's filing cabinet now contains Taylor's papers, which will eventually also be passed to the VWLLFA. In the interview, the filing cabinet seemed to materialise a warmth and connection between Hull and Taylor, which was created by Hull trusting Taylor with its contents, even though they perhaps did not always agree. When considering Hull's annotations, rather than her notes communicating with future unknown users of her

[44] As Grimshaw outlines, D'Aprano is understood widely as a key figure or leader in several contexts, including in the women's movement. This may have meant splitting her archive across a few collections if it were organised thematically. Most of D'Aprano's papers are at the State Library of Victoria, archived under her name. For discussion of D'Aprano, see: Patricia Grimshaw, "Zelda D'Aprano, Leadership and the Politics of Gender in the Australian Labour Movement, 1945-75," *Labour History* 104 (2013): 101-117. doi:10.5263/labourhistory.104.0101.

[45] Taylor, interview with author, 17 July, 2015.

[46] For further discussion of this point from Taylor's perspective, see Taylor's account of the movement, particularly the first of her three part herstory of women's liberation, aptly called the 'Archive Trilogy': Jean Taylor, *Brazen Hussies: A Herstory of Radical Activism in the Women's Liberation Movement in Victoria 1970 - 1979 (*Melbourne, Vic: Dyke Books, 2009).

archive, it seems more likely that Hull's sporadic annotations on her papers were for the VWLLFA collective and possibly Taylor in particular. When sorting through her papers, before passing them to the VWLLFA, Hull would have known exactly who would be reading her papers in the immediate future.

D'Aprano, like Hull, annotated some of the papers before she passed them to the VWLLFA collective.[47] In comparison to Hull, D'Aprano's annotations explicitly address users of her archive; for example a note attached to one document explains:

> This paper was rejected for acceptance by the women and health conference held in Brisbane during 1975. So I printed numerous copies and personally distributed 75 to the women in attendance[48]

She stylishly signs her name at the end and, unlike Hull's notes, there is no mistaking the context of this annotation; it clearly addresses readers of her archive. In other notes, D'Aprano directly addressed Taylor rather than future readers:

> Dear Jean, I have just discarded all the research material for my equal pay book. The (Victorian State) archive were not interested in having it. I thought the enclosed should be in the WLM archives. Love Zelda[49]

This is written on a sticky-note, and seems it was never really intended to be the focus of historical analysis; instead, such notes are a by-product of the process of creating an archive. This note was written by D'Aprano (as donor) to guide Taylor (as archivist) on how to approach organising her papers. It is not clear whether D'Aprano expected her sticky-notes to remain in the archive for users, for me or others to see, or whether she thought they would be removed. Either way, the VWLLFA decided to keep D'Aprano's sticky notes attached to the relevant documents. The notes reveal the donor's directions, communications and relationship with the archive collective and they make the archivist and the archivist's labour visible to users of the archives.[50]

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[47] For D'Aprano's papers at the VWLLFA, see: 2000.0231 (100/231): 67/1/1-8, Zelda D'Aprano: Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives, University of Melbourne Archives (hereafter cited as Zelda D'Aprano: VWLLFA, UMA).

[48] Note clipped to "Human Sexuality," in "Articles, by Zelda; Articles, Conference Papers, Letters, Public Lecture; Melbourne, Victoria," 2000.0231 (100/231): 67/1/4, Zelda D'Aprano: VWLLFA, UMA.

[49] Sticky note attached to photocopied newspaper article, in "Newspaper Clippings," 2000.0231 (100/231): 67/4, Zelda D'Aprano: VWLLFA, UMA.

[50] This is important to the VWLLFA, for example, they unusually and usefully always note within each archive who created the listing.

The VWLLFA is a large collection and each donation within the archive would present different relationships between donors and archivists, but in this instance when considering Hull and D'Aprano's papers, archiving operates as inter-generational exchange, as an 'older' generation's material is archived by a 'younger' generation and then placed alongside the younger generation's own papers in the same space. This dynamic is somewhat similar to Eichhorn's analysis of contemporary inter-generational archiving in the US, and although her case studies operate in a different context, there are parallels between the more recent archival turn in feminism she describes and earlier feminist archiving. In the preface to *Outrage in Order*, Eichhorn states:

> the archival turn in feminism is as much about shoring up a younger generation's legacy and honouring elders as it is about imagining and working to build possible worlds in the present and for the future.[51]

In this statement, the 'younger generation' Eichhorn refers to herself, as it consists of US third wave/queer/poststructuralist feminists in the 1990s and 2000s and the 'elders' are broadly second wave feminists. Yet, out of context, this statement could just as easily refer to Taylor archiving Hull's papers. The inter-generational relationships created by archiving are sometimes uneasy, but archiving potentially '"sticks" feminists and feminisms together in uneasy ways, which makes it possible to 'to move through the world differently'.[52] In the interview, Taylor remarked that what drew her back to working on the archives was how each donation included something she had not come across before or provided a different point of view on a familiar event; in other words, the appeal of feminist archives for Taylor was how they continually and unpredictably refigured the movement, which resonates in curious ways with the contemporary 'turn' towards the feminist archive.[53]

[51] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, viii.
[52] Ahmed, "Feminist Futures," 252.
[53] See discussions of the contemporary archival turn in feminism in the previous chapter.

Reading Bon Hull's Papers, Act III

The VWLLFA was founded in the early 1980s by four women's liberationists:[54] Sue Jackson (usually called 'Jackson'), Virginia ('Vig') Geddes, Margaret ('Marg') Jacobs and Barbara ('Barb') Friday.[55] In the early 1980s they were thinking about reading or re-reading early second wave publications.[56] They were unable to easily locate copies, which led to a discussion of the survival of local material, particularly the survival of material from older women involved in the early years of the movement. From a casual conversation 'around a kitchen table', and without much sense of the task and with no background in archiving, they found themselves establishing a women's liberation archive. In November 2015, I interviewed the four founding members of the VWLLFA and they also discussed Hull's papers. I asked: 'So what inspired you to create the archive?' and they all laughed. I had already interviewed Jackson and Jacobs separately several months earlier, and had therefore heard two versions of the following story already. When I returned to Melbourne to do the group interview with the four of them, I wanted to hear how the four of them narrated the memory together, so I asked this question again. They never planned to created an archive, and they know that I know this, hence the laugher and the framing of their response:[57]

> we were sitting round a kitchen table
>
> well my memory is that it goes back beyond to Marg and I [Friday] having a conversation that [pause] we were on together [pause] having a conversation about the fact that already some of those early writers [pause] Shulamith Firestone
>
> G Greer
>
> yeah G Greer etc were already historical like even by 1983
>
> G Greer hadn't been resurrected

[54] Although initially called 'Women's Liberation Movement Archives' or 'Melbourne Women's Liberation Archives' and formally named Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives in 2000 to emphasise and acknowledge the extensive lesbian feminist material held within the collection. Taylor, interview with author, 17 July, 2015; Ardella [Ardy] Tibby, interview with author, 17 July, 2015; Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.

[55] Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Margaret Jacobs, interview with author, 29 March 2015; Sue Jackson, interview with author, 30 March 2015; Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.

no well of course it's only 69 the book had come out so you [Jacobs] and I [Friday] had a conversation about wouldn't it be we thought we should and wouldn't it be good to start re-reading some of those texts

that's right

do you agree with that?

yes I remember it we got all excited

we did! [Jacobs and Friday laugh]

at that point we must have decided we wanted more than us involved

and I suppose it's pertinent to say that ummm that Vig and I [Jackson] were in a relationship at the time you and Barb and Marg were in a relationship at the time and we were sitting around a kitchen table we were living together

we had already started thinking about re-reading

and then we had a conversation around the kitchen table there

yeah yeah

yes so we had already started to think about re-reading

you said something like what I'm really concerned about is all the material that's around now eg Bon's

yes

Bon Hull

yeah

that's right

you were particularly concerned about Bon's stuff because you thought she had a lot of material

and also she was getting on

yeah she was getting on

yeah

I think there was sort of this idea that there was all this stuff that Bon had then other people would too

and we also talked about at that time how we should try and go and interview people like Bon you know the real you know sort of

> initiators of the second wave organised movement in Melbourne
> ummm which we didn't really get to do
> we visited Bon
> yes
> yeah
> and Zelda was the other person I've got in my head as someone we were very very conscious of but by then she wasn't in Melbourne[58]

From 1982 or 1983, Hull would have known that the archives collective were interested in her papers. With this in mind, it seems likely that Hull continued to collect, organise and occasionally annotate her papers, perhaps thinking that one day they would be part of the VWLLFA collection. Jacobs, Jackson, Geddes and Friday were all younger than Hull. There was, from the beginning of the VWLLFA, an intergenerational conversation that operated through the desire to archive and the process of archiving, which can tentatively be traced in the notes and annotations made on papers now held in the archives.

Jacobs, Jackson, Geddes and Friday initially found it difficult to describe their motivations to archive an older generation's papers. Inter-generational conflict narratives, which emerged post 1990, shaped how they 're-membered' the 1980s in the interview.[59] Initially, memories of the 1990s and 2000s are intermingled with the 1980s:

> people didn't know about Zelda
> people didn't know about this stuff
> Thelma Solomon[60]

[58] Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.

[59] For inter-generational conflict narratives in the 1990s, see Chapter One and Two, and see: Summers, "Letter to the Next Generation," 505-29; Garner, *The First Stone.* On 're-membering' and contemporary historiography and memory of women's liberation in the early 2000s, see: Magarey, "Memory and Desire," 11. For Taylor's account of this period, see: Jean Taylor, *Lesbians Ignite!: In Victoria in the 1990s* (Brunswick East, Victoria: Dyke Books Inc., 2016).

[60] Another activist involved in the early years of women's liberation in Melbourne, well known to both Hull and D'Aprano, who chained herself with D'Aprano and Alva Giekie to the Arbitration Court 1969 to protest equal pay. For further discussion, see: D'Aprano, *Zelda*, Chapter 13. The VWLLFA archive holds two of Solomon's t-shirts and a folder of papers, see: 2000.0282 (100/282), Thelma Solomon: VWLLFA, UMA.

> what had it all happened and where it had come from and that there had *been* [emphasises] this history you know very briefly
> already a long history [pause] ah dear
> but you know a fairly brief amount of history in one way [pause] but that it was that people didn't know this and already has that sort of sense that you know am I wrong about this umm [pause] people sort of feeling ah [pause] like it's not relevant feminisms not relevant any more [pause] you know [pause] like rather than not knowing particularly younger women not knowing that what they were taking for granted was fought for[61]

One of the others interjects and disagrees, and the four of them try to sort out the timeline of their memories:

> I don't remember having as early as that sensation I still feel as though we were quite young I mean [pause] I mean we were [pause] I mean we're talking 83 [pause] we're talking 32 years ago
> ah babies [laughs]
> 32, ah well I was 40 or something
> we were still quite young
> ah I was under 30 [pause] my goodness!
> most of us *were* [emphasises] still those young people
> that's true
> so I think that [pause] that was a later sense
> maybe but
> [interrupts] because there was still a lot going on
> but that was still a sense that people didn't know
> yes
> and it was something we needed[62]

Here they initially struggle to articulate why they 'needed' an archive and struggled to articulate why they needed to archive an older generation's material as well as their own contribution to the movement. Initially, the archive figured

[61] Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.
[62] Ibid.

as an abstract need or desire. The 'need' they described reminds me of Cvetkovich's description of the purpose of queer/lesbian archives, where archiving is less about the writing of history and more about the desire to have a history.[63] This perhaps explains why they had trouble describing why they 'needed' the archive because it operates in the same way as a desire, which is not easy to explain or justify on normative terms. They elaborate further:

> we needed
> [interrupts] and it was about a contribution to the ongoing struggle in some way not an historical project *per se* or *only* [emphasises and then pauses] you know
> that's right that's right
> so ah yeah the idea of the umm [pause] calendar came up[64]
> and thank goodness it did really because when you think about it [pause] because it was so concrete and involved a product I think it probably really kept us [inaudible]
> A lot of work [laughs]
> distracted us from having to worry about how to file everything [laughs]
> we had no idea and we were never really [pause] I don't think we wanted to be archivists
> *god no* [emphasised]
> but we didn't really want that task but we were more activists sort of was
> [interrupts] we knew about it
> yeah
> we knew about [pause] that it [material relating to women's liberation] had to be got together and that was about as far as we wanted to go except to then yeah [pause] use it

[63] Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*, 239.

[64] They published a series of calendars using material from the archive, the Victorian State Library and newspapers. Some of the research material for the first calendar is held in Jackson's archive, see: "Bon Hull Box," 2000.0199 (100/199): 6/13, Sue Jackson, Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives, University of Melbourne Archives (hereafter cited as Sue Jackson: VWLLFA, UMA).

for a purpose that was relevant at that time so it was not just things for
the future
no that's right
for people coming to look at it later
we wanted to make history
yeah
not just record it [pause] you know [they all laugh][65]

Although they joke about 'making history rather than recording it', the four of them articulate feminist archiving on these terms, as changing the present rather than recording the past. There are parallels and continuities between archiving feminisms in the 1980s and contemporary theorising of the feminist archive that has emerged after the archival turn. Geddes, Jacobs, Jackson and Friday were reluctant archivists and committed activists, and it is the women's liberation calendar where archiving and activism met.[66] As with Eichhorn's analysis of a contemporary archival turn in feminism post 1990, archiving here is directed towards the present and future rather than History or the past. Archiving is described by the VWLLFA as a way of doing feminist activism/being feminist in the present. After founding the archive, they quickly moved on to circulate the material, ignoring the enormous stack of papers accumulating that needed to be filed, which seems to have been largely addressed by subsequent members of the VWLLFA collective. They created a series of calendars published with Sybylla Press, a feminist printing cooperative, as a way to share historical material, but also as a fundraiser for the archive collective. The calendars all focus on historical images and key protests. For example, an image of Hull and D'Aprano at the Equality tram protest in 1970 is featured in one month.[67] To use Eichhorn's term, the VWLLFA calendars 'redeployed' the archive and re-circulated past activism on new terms. In the 1980s for these reluctant 'archivists', the archive functioned as a location to strategise 'present and future political interventions'.[68]

[65] Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.
[66] Particularly in comparison to Taylor, who narrates archives and archiving as central to her activism, see: Taylor, "Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives Inc," 70-77.
[67] See: D'Aprano, *Zelda*, Afterword; "Bon Hull Box," 2000.0199 (100/199): 6/13, Sue Jackson, VWLLFA, UMA.
[68] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 54.

Although there are parallels between archiving feminisms in the 1980s and archiving feminisms post 1990s, there are a few crucial differences, which mostly relate to the temporality of the archive and the feelings that archives evoke. The archive that the VWLLFA describe evokes a different affect to the archive that Eichhorn theorises. For example, in the group interview, the VWLLFA founders described their relationship with the Union of Australian Women (UAW):

> UAW women more generally [...]
> the UAW was the lineage of umm [pause] activism that we sort of I think identified with and that they saw in us you know
> yeah and I have that sense of sort having almost [pause] and it sounds a weird word to use [pause] but a *fondness* [emphasizes the term]
> yes yes yes
> a sense of connection and warmth[69]

Here, Jacobs describes the relationship with earlier activism as marked by 'fondness' and Jackson, Geddes and Friday agree that there was a mutual 'connection and warmth' between themselves and the UAW, and that this was crucial to starting the archive. Eichhorn also uses the word 'fondness' to describe her relationship with earlier feminisms:

> For many years, I worried that my fondness for earlier eras of feminist and especially queer feminist activism, writing and cultural production was not only theoretically and politically problematic but also my own dirty little secret.[70]

Although both these statements use 'fondness' to describe their relationship with earlier eras of activism and with other feminists, and frame it as central to their desire to archive, their usages evoke different feelings and temporalities. In Eichhorn's study, the feminist archive figures as a place to be 'in time differently' to the present. The VWLLFA were proud of their connection with the UAW and set out to extend that connection by including them in the Women's Liberation Archives Calendars and, where relevant, including their papers in the archive itself. In comparison to the VWLLFA founding members, Eichhorn describes affection and archiving earlier

[69] Jackson, Geddes, Jacobs and Friday, interview with author, 27 November 2015.
[70] Eichborn, T*he Archival Turn in Feminism*, 27.

feminist material as a clandestine untimely practice, as 'temporal drag', which only became a public conversation much later.[71] As well as evoking different feelings, contemporary academic engagement with the feminist archive is intertwined with the literature of the archival turn, which places pressure on the archive as an episteme. For the first VWLLFA collective archiving was a medium to achieve something, to do particular work rather than a practice to theorise. However, although the more recent 'archival turn' in feminism is self-conscious of archiving and tends to focus on archive as a theory or on theorising archiving as an epistemological practice, it is clear that the contemporary archival turn in feminism reflects a longer history of archiving the movement. Eichhorn explores such relationships to an extent within her study and implies a longer history, but in terms of tracing a longer history she primarily addresses the question of how placing collections in privileged US university collections draws on aspects of community archiving such as the Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA) and is a form of activism particular to a neoliberal present.[72] She emphasises a change in the way that archives are perceived post archival turn, which is to an extent borne out in the interviews I have completed, but perhaps more critically, the archival turn in Australian feminism can be traced easily to earlier feminist archival practice, which precedes the 1990s.

Conclusion

This chapter has staged encounters with Bon Hull's papers from three perspectives. First, I staged my reading of Hull's papers inside and outside the archive reading room. In the second and third readings, I undermined my initial reading by discussing the way that Taylor remembered Hull and then turned to the four founding members of the VWLLFA. Understanding the relationships between Hull as donor and the VWLLFA as 'archivists' demanded reassessment of my interpretation of Hull's papers and the framing of the contemporary 'turn' towards the feminist archive. In broader terms, I argue here that tracing the history of an archive, even partially, can be

[71] Ibid.
[72] See: Eichborn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 44-54, 123-53.

revealing in terms of interpreting the material. In Cook's article reflecting on the relationship between archivists and historians, he states:

> I would assert that a major act of determining historical meaning – perhaps the major act – occurs not when the historian opens the box, but when the archivist fills the box.[73]

The opening of the box or a file figures in historians' collective imaginations, and was the focus of the previous chapter. When thinking about archives, the moment of opening a package of documents, the untying of records, the opening of a diary or unrolling a banner in an archive reading room resonates with historians.[74] However, someone needs to place things in boxes to make it possible for historians to get selected things *out* of boxes in reading rooms, and people who organise things into boxes are usually called archivists, regardless of their professional status. Thinking about using archives in reading rooms is useful, as it encourages reflection on the role of the researcher and the interpretation of sources/material. However, focusing on selection is equally revealing, but often invisible or impossible for users of an archive to trace. Archivists 'co-create' rather than administer archives, and yet their place in the process of determining what becomes a source is rarely visible within historical studies. Archiving, though, creates relationships between donors, archivists and researchers, and when considering feminist archives, these are often complex inter-generational relationships, which can occasionally be traced via the marks, notes and annotations made on actual papers in an archive.

[73] Cook, "The Archive(s) is a Foreign Country," 613.

[74] See the discussion in the previous chapter, and particularly see: Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, 1-17; Steedman, *Dust*, 17-31; Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, 3-5.

Chapter Four: Germaine Greer's Coat

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[1] A version of this chapter was initially published in the *Germaine Greer Special Issue*, published by *Australian Feminist Studies*, see: Petra Mosmann, "A Feminist Fashion Icon: Germaine Greer's Paisley Coat," *Australian Feminist Studies* 31, no. 87 (2016): 78-94. doi:10.1080/08164649.2016.1174928.

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Chapter Five: Faith Bandler's Gloves

Chapter Four narrated Greer's coat and its location at the NMA. Here I further explore similar material, as this chapter continues to examine the exhibition as 'archive', and continues to focus on dress practices, collections and the second wave. Again, I focus on a well-known national public figure and her collection at the NMA, as this chapter narrates Faith Bandler's gloves (Fig. 12).[1] I further address the way that archives create contexts for reading objects, arguing that, due to their archive, Bandler's gloves can be read in relation to second wave feminism and I extend my reading of fashion and feminism established in the previous chapter.

Faith Bandler (1918-2015) is primarily remembered in an Australian national context for her role in the 1967 referendum on the position of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the Australian constitution.[2] Bandler was not an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander woman, and she understood Indigenous rights as part of a wider campaign for equality.[3] Her father was a South Sea Islander and her mother was Australian born of Indian-Scottish descent. She later published biographical novels about her father and brother and campaigned for the recognition of South Sea Islander peoples.[4] Between 1957 and 1967, Bandler along with other activists from the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI), campaigned for the government to hold a referendum on two references in the Australian Constitution that prevented the Commonwealth from making laws in relation to the governance of Aboriginal people and excluded them from the census.[5] The effect of the referendum on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's lives is contested in the academic literature, but the campaign is remembered as a

[1] "Pair of Short White Cotton Gloves Worn by Aboriginal Rights Activist Faith Bandler," 1998.0003.0001, Faith Bandler Collection, NMA.

[2] She later published two books on the topic, one account titled *Turning the Tide* and the other an edited collection with Len Fox titled, *Time was Ripe.* See: Faith Bandler, *Turning the Tide: A Personal History of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1989); Faith Bandler and Len Fox, ed. *The Time was Ripe: A History of the Aboriginal-Australian Fellowship (1956-69)* (Chippendale, NSW: Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1983).

[3] Marilyn Lake, *Faith: Faith Bandler, Gentle Activist* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 2002).

[4] Faith Bandler, *Wacvie* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1977); Faith Bandler, *Welou*, *My Brother* (Glebe, NSW: Wild & Woolley, 1984).

[5] Bandler, *Turning the Tide,* 1-15.

success, because by the time the referendum was held, 90.7% of Australian voters marked the 'Yes' box.[6] It is remembered as an important moment in the history of Indigenous rights in Australia and Bandler is remembered as central to the campaign. In 1995, when invited by the NMA to present an object that was symbolic of her political life, she chose to donate her gloves.

Figure 12 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 12: Faith Bandler's gloves in storage at the NMA (Photograph by author)

The NMA identifies Bandler's gloves as a collection highlight and a key object within the 'Indigenous Civil Rights' Collections.[7] They were recently displayed in *A Change is Gonna Come*, an exhibition narrating the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander equal rights movement (Fig. 13).[8] However, Bandler's gloves were initially part of an exhibition titled *Women with Attitude*: *100 years of Political Action*, an exhibition that

[6] For a summary of the literature see: Frances Peters-Little, "Remembering the Referendum with Compassion," in *Passionate Histories: Myth, Memory and Indigenous Australia*, ed. Frances Peters-Little, Ann Curthoys and John Docker (Canberra, ANU E-Press, 2010), 94.

[7] "Faith Bandler's Gloves," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/highlights/faith-bandlers-gloves.

[8] See: "A Change is Gonna Come: Highlights," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/a-change-is-gonna-come/highlights.

particularly addressed histories of feminist activism.[9] Bandler would not usually be addressed in relation to the second wave, but, via this exhibition, her gloves found their way into this thesis. The *Women with Attitude* exhibition was an attempt in the mid-1990s to present a more complex story of feminisms past and present.[10] At the time, Margaret Coaldrake was director of the NMA and Marion Stell curated the exhibition.[11] The cover of the catalogue is a striking visual representation of the politics that the exhibition sought to address; it features a young woman with short hair, sticking her tongue out, surrounded by feminist button badges from the 1970s and 1980s. This chapter therefore brings together the first and second argument of this thesis as I contend that exhibiting or 'archiving' Bandler's gloves in the *Women With Attitude* exhibition invites us to understand Bandler in terms of feminist history, which subtly changes how feminism's recent past is understood. The first section briefly 'reads' Bandler's gloves in relation to her paper archive at the Mitchell Library in Sydney. The second section narrates the collection of Bandler's gloves by the NMA and the processes that led to them being included in this thesis; and the third section reads Bandler as a feminist. I close with a discussion of white gloves and feminist style, and the status of gloves as feminist things.

Reading Bandler's Gloves

Bandler's white cotton gloves are decorated with three zigzag patterned stitched lines on the back of each glove and they feature an overlapping folded cuff. There are no labels inside the gloves. Both gloves are damaged and split at the cuff seam. The right glove has a small hole on the palm. The tips of the fingers on the left hand glove are finely mended and one seam on the index finger appears split. There is a relatively large visible hole on the index finger of the right hand glove. The condition of the gloves demonstrates that they were worn extensively and mended.

Bandler gave an enormous number of speeches in the 10 years she spent campaigning with FCAATSI, and when giving speeches, she often wore these day gloves. The

[9] National Museum of Australia, *Women With Attitude.*
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

majority of these speeches were delivered to women's branches of church organisations, unions, Rotary clubs, Apex clubs, and Lions clubs.[12] She also delivered speeches to teachers' associations and women's colleges, the Quota Club, All Nations Club and View Club.[13] According to the NMA, 'white gloves were representative of the formal dress code' and by wearing the gloves, 'Bandler hoped to be taken seriously by her predominantly white female audience'.[14] Indigenous rights activist Roberta Sykes remembers Bandler wearing the gloves:

> I recall first meeting Faith in Townsville, my home town. Margaret Reynolds, now a Senator for that region, told me 'a lady from the south' was to speak at a 'luncheon' at the Queen's Hotel, and invited me to go with her. It was the first time I'd gone to a luncheon, and I found myself the only black in the otherwise white female audience. I regret I don't recall a thing Faith said as I was so overcome with her poise, dress and charming manner! She wore dainty white gloves and elegant shoes. I had never seen a black woman so elegantly groomed. I now consider it a put down really to be noticed only for how one is dressed or behaves, and in most instances it is. For me, however, Faith's presentation in Townsville was a mind-boggling occasion. In a flash, all the negative stereotypes of blacks were smashed down. I had always secretly hoped that it was possible… And suddenly… was possible![15]

For Sykes, Bandler's appearance and style, her gloves, elegant shoes and speaking manner, powerfully addressed negative stereotypes. Sykes implies that gloves, at the time, challenged rather than placated audiences. She indicates that a black woman wearing gloves challenged the presumed whiteness of respectable, elegant femininity.

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[12] For invitations to speak, see: "1945-1969: Correspondence," MLMSS 6243 A: 2196/1/1, Faith Bandler Aggregated Collection of Papers, State Library of New South Wales (hereafter cited as Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW). For discussion of Bandler's speeches, see: Lake, *Faith,* 90.

[13] See: "1945-1969: Correspondence," MLMSS 6243 A: 2196/1/1, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

[14] See: "Pair of Short White Cotton Gloves Worn by Aboriginal Rights Activist Faith Bandler," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/ce/faith?object=58444.

[15] Roberta B. Sykes, in the foreword to *Turning the Tide: A Personal History of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1989), xiv.

In an interview with Carolyn Craig from 1997, Bandler narrates a moment that perhaps illuminates another meaning of gloves:

> early in the sixties
> the fellowship decided that they should
> like
> bring the Aboriginal - more Aboriginal people into it
> a lot of Aboriginal people in NSW by then had tremendous faith in the fellowship
> there wasn't another organisation going who would protect them from the council who would
> bulldoze their houses or whatever
> so then I thought well I'd better go over to Redfern and see a few mates over there
> and see if - you know
> get them to
> pull their weight a bit more
> but Jack and Jean Horner I think it was who said 'well why don't we run a dance over there?'
> now I haven't talked about the dances over there and they were both for the Federal Council and the Fellowship to try
> and pull the people in you see[16]

After further discussion about organizing the dances, Craig asks: 'So Mum Shirl was a bouncer [at the Red Fern dances]?'

> absolutely
> she was our bouncer and the shows were a rip roaring success
> we shared the money with the footballers
> and we were a protection you see
> because - for the people
> because what normally happened would be
> the cops would come and arrest them

[16] Faith Bandler, interview by Carolyn Craig, 1997, Tape 11: Side A, MLOH 307, transcript, page 6, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

by the dozen
into the paddy wagons [...]
so they began to appreciate this little group of Fellowship people all looking
very prim and proper [laughs]
going over there [to Redfern]
you know
and Irene Grey with her thick glasses hanging down on her bosom and
everyone - *Gloves* if you please [laughs]
so
this went on and on[17]

The word 'gloves' is emphasized in the transcript; she lingered on the word 'Gloves' and then laughed. There is perhaps humour in Bandler's selection of a pair of day gloves for the NMA. Bandler's laughter in the above statement could imply that in retrospect, the presumed relationship between respectability, elegance, femininity and gloves is amusing. At the time though, for Bandler, it seems gloves were part of a wider political strategy, a way of challenging assumptions and also a form of protection when protesting or running events that challenged the status quo.

Collecting Bandler's Gloves

In 2015, while planning to view Germaine Greer's coat at the NMA, I asked if the NMA had anything else relating to 'second wave feminism' in their collection.[18] The duty curator responded and sent me a list of collections that she thought might interest me, noting that the NMA had a small collection of material relating to feminism and feminist activism dating from the late 1960s through to the 1990s.[19] Faith Bandler's gloves were included in her list along with a surprising selection of items. The list of potential collections to view included material donated by: Meredith Hinchcliffe, a member of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) in Canberra and Sydney; Natasha

[17] Faith Bandler, interview by Carolyn Craig, 1997, Tape 11: Side A, MLOH 307, transcript, page 7. Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.
[18] The NMA has an extensive online database, but much of its collection is not listed. Therefore, to find relevant material beyond the online database requires a conversation with the duty curator, where you describe your research project and the curator does a collection search based on your description.
[19] NMA, e-mail message to author, March 13, 2015.

Stott-Despoja, former leader of the Australian Democrats and former senator; Rosie Cross, an early cyber-feminist; the Country Women's Association (CWA), a long running women's organisation not usually connected with the second wave; Tanya McIntyre, a printmaker, Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker), an Aboriginal activist and poet; Carmen Lawrence, former premier of Western Australia; Edna Ryan, unionist, feminist and key member of WEL; cartoonists Bruce Petty and Judith Horacek; and Faith Bandler.[20] Most items were from one particular exhibition, *Women with Attitude*: *100 Years of Political Action,* curated by Marion Stell.[21]

Figure 13 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 13: Faith Bandler's gloves prepared for display and photographed by the NMA[22]

In 1995, 20 years after International Women's Year, Old Parliament House hosted the NMA assisted exhibition *Women with Attitude*.[23] The exhibition opened on

[20] Ibid.

[21] It was one of several feminist curatorial projects that, at the time, set out to increase collections of women's material culture. For discussion see, Mandy Paul, "Women Are Transmogrifying: History, Feminism and Australian Museums, 1975–2001," *Journal of Australian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 153. doi:10.1080/14443058.2016.1156723. See for example: Margaret Anderson, ed., *When Australia Was a Woman: Images of a Nation* (Perth, WA: Western Australian Museum, 1998).

[22] See: "A Change is Gonna Come: Highlights," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/a-change-is-gonna-come/highlights.

International Women's Day in Canberra, and toured for two years, visiting Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart and Perth.[24] At Old Parliament House in Canberra, the exhibition walls were painted in purple, white and green, the colours of the suffrage movement.[25] The exhibition was organised into two sections; one provided a history of feminist activism and a second section titled 'Individuals with Attitude' presented 24 self-chosen objects from Australian women.[26] The exhibition primarily addressed the history of feminism in Australia. The publication accompanying the exhibition includes articles from feminist academics: Ann Curthoys and Jill Roe; Aboriginal historian, activist and feminist scholar Jackie Huggins; and feminist author and academic Dale Spender. Each addressed women's histories or feminist histories, and intervened in the narration of the past in the present.[27] According to one exhibition reviewer, Stell, the curator, sought to broaden what constituted the women's movement and aimed to connect with younger women in particular.[28] When Stell notes that she aimed to connect with younger women, it seems likely that she wanted to connect across 'generational' conflicts and debates, which are central to the narration of feminism in the 1990s.[29] The exhibition was part of a wider feminist curatorial reassessment of institutional collections, which set out to expand women's material culture with new acquisitions and reassessed existing collections from a feminist perspective.[30] The exhibition is an example of mid 1990s feminist curatorial and historiographical practice.

The first section, the historical section, included a revisionist history of the women's movement. Women's groups often remembered as conservative, such as the CWA, were located alongside Women's Liberationists.[31] Material from the Woman's

[23] See: National Museum of Australia, *Women with Attitude.*
[24] Ibid.
[25] Linda Young, "In the Spirit of Political Action," *Canberra Times*, March 18, 1995, 9.
[26] For the NMA's discussion of the exhibition, see: "Crystal Glass Given to Alderman Edna Ryan by Women Employees of Fairfield Council After She Successfully Campaigned for Equal Pay For Them," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/ce/edna%20ryan?object=113905.
[27] See: National Museum of Australia, *Women With Attitude.*
[28] Emma Macdonald, "Call Me Ms: An Exhibition of Female Political Action," C*anberra Times*, March 5, 1995, 4.
[29] See: Summers, "Letter to the Next Generation," 505-29.
[30] On feminist curatorial practice in the 1990s in Australia, see: Paul, "Women Are Transmogrifying," 146-54.
[31] Young, "In the Spirit of Political Action," 9.

Christian Temperance Union, the UAW and WEL was also included.[32] The historical narrative connected women's activism across the waves and across political lines. For example, a suffrage banner from the early 20th century was prominently displayed while second wave 'anthems' such as *I Am Woman* by Helen Reddy and *Menstruation Blues* by Robyn Archer played in the background.[33] Most of the historical section of the exhibition focused on things such as Australian produced t-shirts and button badges from the 1970s and 1980s, but it also included significant British suffrage material such as letters by the Pankhursts.[34] The historical section of the exhibition probably displayed Meredith Hinchcliffe's collection of ephemera, including posters, stickers, badges, t-shirts and a pillowcase dating from the 1970s and 1980s. Hinchcliffe was an early member of Canberra and Sydney WEL,[35] and Hinchcliffe's badges were presented on the cover and back of the catalogue.[36] Most of the badges relate to the WEL and International Women's Year.[37] There are badges from the Women's Abortion Action Committee (WAAC), a badge supporting Kathy Smith in the Denison election in Tasmania, women's symbol badges and some women's liberation badges. Judy Horacek's feminist cartoons were also included in the exhibition, presumably in the historical section.[38] According to reviews, relatively little didactic text was provided to connect the material,[39] and the physical organisation of the historical material aimed to evoke the feeling of participating in a political demonstration.[40]

For the second section titled 'Individuals with Attitude', the museum asked twenty-four women to 'identify one object that was symbolic of their life in the political arena for inclusion' and Bandler's gloves were included in this section.[41] According to the

[32] Macdonald, "Call Me Ms," 4.
[33] Macdonald, "Call Me Ms", 4; Michelle Arrow, "It Has Become my Personal Anthem," *Australian Feminist Studies* 22, no. 53 (2007) 213-30. doi:10.1080/08164640701361774.
[34] Macdonald, "Call Me Ms," 4.
[35] Marian Sawer and Gail Radford, *Making Women Count: A History of the Women's Electoral Lobby in Australia* (Sydney, NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 2008), 230.
[36] See: National Museum of Australia, *Women With Attitude.*
[37] See for example a badge held within her collection: "International Women's Year - A Woman's Place is Everywhere," 1994.0036.0015, Meredith Hinchcliffe Collection no. 1, NMA.
[38] See: National Museum of Australia, *Women With Attitude*, 10.
[39] Young, "In the Spirit of Political Action," 9.
[40] In her review, Young appears to be somewhat sceptical about the success of this aspect. Ibid.
[41] For a discussion of the exhibitions, see: "Crystal Glass Given to Alderman Edna Ryan by Women Employees of Fairfield Council After She Successfully Campaigned for Equal Pay For Them," NMA, accessed July 8,

NMA, this section aimed to link the 'historical' aspects of the exhibition with 'the future'.[42] The curator invited each woman to choose one object, write 250 words and provide her own image. This process was designed to ensure that women participating had some control over how they were presented. The exhibition presented them in alphabetical order and all images were the same size and printed in purple, black and white tones; each accompanying wall text was the same size and font. The aim was to present each woman equally regardless of her status. There were no didactic texts included to narrate or connect the objects. The selection aimed to include multiple perspectives, to include different 'political persuasions, ages, races, styles, familiarity, occupations and backgrounds'.[43] Most women were involved in formal politics, but they were from a variety of backgrounds or political parties. Alongside Faith Bandler's gloves, the 'Individuals with Attitude' section included: horse racing trainer Gai Waterhouse's trophy; former senator and leader of the Australian Democrats Natasha Stott Despoja's leather backpack; former Labor premier Carmen Lawrence's spectacles; feminist labour activist and author Edna Ryan's crystal drinking glasses; feminist blogger and online activist Rosie Cross's laptop; author and academic Dale Spender's replica suffrage outfit; former Liberal politician Bronwyn Bishop's blow torch, given to her by her colleagues; former Liberal politician Amanda Vanstone's mounted shark jaws; former Labor politician Jennie George's Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation mug; and author and politician Franca Arena's Republican of the Year certificate.[44]

2018, http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/ce/edna%20ryan?object=113905; Young, "In the Spirit of Political Action," 9.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] The catalogue does not include an object list. See the NMA Collection for a selection of objects donated and part of the 'Women with Attitude Collection': "1992 Telecom National Business Directory Golden Horseshoe Awarded to Gai Waterhouse," 1998.0001.0001, Gai Waterhouse Collection; "Senator Natasha Stott-Despoja's Leather Backpack," 1997.0028.0001, Natasha Stott Despoja Collection; "Pair of Renato Balestra glasses, Red Tortoise Shell Frames with Bayview Optix Claremeont Soft Carry Case," 1997.0030.0001, Carmen Lawrence Collection; "Crystal Glass Given to Alderman Edna Ryan by Women Employees of Fairfield Council after She Successfully Campaigned for Equal Pay for Them," 1998.0004.0001, Edna Ryan Collection; "Laptop Owned by Rosie Cross, aka RosieX or Geekgirl," 2003.0063.0001, Rosie Cross Collection; "Replica of an English Suffragette's Purple Woven Plant Fibre Hat", 2002.0004.0001, Dale Spender Collection; "Order of the Blowtorch', awarded to Senator Bronwyn Bishop in 1992," 2002.0003.0001, Bronwyn Bishop Collection; "Jennie George's Grey and Blue Enamel Mug Bearing a Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Sticker," 1997.0034.0001, Jennie George Collection; "Republican of the Year Certificate awarded to Franca Arena," 1997.0027.0001, Franca Arena Collection. According to the exhibition reviews, the exhibition also included former premier Joan Kirner, media figure

Young implies that the success of this section was mixed, but notes that Bandler's gloves are one of the highlights, and interprets them in the following way:

> Some of these [objects] are powerful, notably Faith Bandler's little white gloves, which she wore to make her black skin respectable at public meetings in the 50s and 60s. Some delight in turning ridicule on its head, such as Amanda Vanstone's mounted shark jaws ("She has the voice of a hammerhead shark", wrote Ian Warden in this very newspaper). Others are definitely peculiar, their political meaning not at all clear.[45]

At the end of the exhibition, each woman was asked if they would like to donate their object to the NMA.[46] As the NMA notes, the 24 objects provide a 'significant if quirky record' of women's political engagement.[47] By placing these objects alongside an exhibition of the history of feminism, these objects, regardless of the politics they materialise, can be read as feminist due to their archive.

Bandler is primarily remembered as a civil rights activist and for her role in FCAATSI and her gloves reflect and reiterate this memory. However, Bandler had a long relationship with feminist activism and activists, including a long friendship with well-known feminist Jessie Street and participation in WEL. Lake's biography of Bandler notes that she was involved in WEL, but does not focus on or discuss Bandler's relationship with feminism in significant detail.[48] It is important, however, to keep in mind that Bandler presented the gloves to the *Women with Attitude* exhibition. Although the exhibition also included conservative politicians such as Bronwyn Bishop, the exhibition was an attempt to revise the definition of 'feminist' and addressed the memory of the recent past. By agreeing to place her gloves in this exhibition, Bandler implicitly identified the gloves as 'feminist things'. This is perhaps

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Helen Razor, politician Amanda Vanstone and historian, activist and former Labor politician Anne Summers, see: Macdonald, "Call Me Ms," 4; Young, "In the Spirit of Political Action," 9.

[45] Young, "In the Spirit of Political Action," 9.

[46] For a discussion of the exhibitions, see: "Crystal Glass Given to Alderman Edna Ryan by Women Employees of Fairfield Council After She Successfully Campaigned for Equal Pay For Them," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/ce/edna%20ryan?object=113905.

[47] Ibid.

[48] For a brief discussion of WEL, see: Lake, *Faith*, 191-200.

a revisionist interpretation by Bandler or the curators, because the gloves themselves, as objects, present a different narrative, one that primarily addresses the referendum campaign. However, by including them in this exhibition, in this archive, whether intentional or otherwise, this focuses attention on a largely overlooked aspect of her life: Bandler as a feminist.

Remembering Bandler as a Feminist

Although it was not her primary focus, Bandler identified as a feminist and she understood the women's movement as part of a larger movement for equal rights. Bandler's framing of Australian Indigenous rights tends to be as part of a broader transnational human rights movement, as anti-imperial, anti-racist, as part of the peace movement and as part of feminist activism.[49] As well as working on Indigenous rights in Australia, she focused on Australia's broader colonial project in the South Pacific. In *Turning the Tide*, and as Lake notes, Bandler connects the segregation of Aboriginal people and the treatment of South Sea Islanders following Federation:

> We faced the almost impossible task of turning the tide against years of a flow towards segregation of Aboriginal people. Vivid in my own mind was the deportation of the Pacific Islanders from the shores of North Queensland, after they had given fifty years of their labour to the development of the Australian sugar industry.[50]

[49] For discussion of women's activism in this context, see: Lake, *Getting Equal*, 110-135, 191-213; Aileen Moreton Robinson, *Talkin' up to the White Woman: Aboriginal Women and Feminism* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 2000), 152-3; Alison Holland, *Just Relations: The Story of Mary Bennett's Crusade for Aboriginal Rights* (Crawley, WA: UWA Publishing, 2015); Jessie Street, *Jessie Street: A revised Autobiography*, ed. Lenore Coltheart (Annandale NSW: Federation Press, 2004); Stephanie Gilbert, "Never Forgotten': Pearl Gibbs (Gambanyi)," in *Uncommon Ground: White Women in Aboriginal History,* ed. Anna Cole, Victoria Haskins and Fiona Paisley (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2005), 107-126. For analysis of feminism and Aboriginal rights during the interwar period, see: Fiona Paisley, *Loving Protection? Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights 1919-1939* (Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2000).

[50] Bandler, *Turning the Tide,* 94; Marilyn Lake, "Federation and the Repression of Difference: The Gendered Relations of National and International Governance," *Tasmanian Historical Studies* 8, no. 1 (2002): 7.

When Bandler refused to accept an MBE, 'Bandler was quoted in the Sydney Morning Herald saying: "I can't possibly accept an award from an empire that kidnapped my father… and enslaved him as a cane worker"'.[51] According to Lake:

> In their [the Bandler family's] lifelong activism against racial discrimination, her family identified with black Americans and their history of slavery and subsequent fight for freedom. They subscribed to the publications of the NAACP and worshipped Paul Robeson, whom Bandler met at Sydney airport, when he first visited Australia, in 1960.[52]

Bandler's book collection demonstrates an interest in black power movements in the US and anti-apartheid activism in South Africa, as well as an extensive collection of writing on and by Aboriginal Australians.[53] This places her domestic activism in a transnational anti-racist and anti-colonial context, but in the post-war period, this was understood as related to feminist activism.[54]

In an interview in 1997, Bandler explicitly connects the women's movement, anti-racist activism and the peace movement, as an inter-related set of concerns:

> preventing another world war
> and more
> of feeding the hungry people
> and more
> doing things about women's rights
> and black's rights
> well my life with Jessie [Street] wasn't dull I can tell you [laughs][55]

[51] Karen Fox, "Ornamentalism, Empire and Race: Indigenous Leaders and Honours in Australia and New Zealand," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 3 (2014): 492. doi:10.1080/03086534.2014.895480.

[52] Marilyn Lake, "Nationalist Historiography, Feminist Scholarship, and the Promise and Problems of New Transnational Histories: The Australian Case," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 182. doi:10.1353/jowh.2007.0019.

[53] See: "Faith Bandler Collection [Books]," SLNSW.

[54] Lake, *Getting Equal*, 191-213.

[55] Faith Bandler, interview by Carolyn Craig, 1997, Tape 9: Side A, MLOH 307, transcript, page 10. Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

Bandler credits friends and well known feminist activists (Jessie Street, a white feminist and Pearl Gibbs, an Aboriginal activist), with her initial involvement in what became FCAATSI. She says:

> well I was awfully reluctant [to initially get involved in Aboriginal rights] to tell you truth
> I couldn't see why I would have to be involved
> in the rights of anyone else
> other than the rights of all Australians or the people of the world
> and it was at a time when the African Americans were having a great struggle
> for their rights
> and the people in the African states were fighting for independence
> and I sort of felt well I've been around the world why should I get involved in a local thing
> it's the people of the world who need their rights
> well who was I kidding [...] and it was Jessie who said to her [Pearl]
> 'now you must get Faith you simply must get Faith'
> and Pearl came and told me this[56]

Street drafted the initial petition calling for a referendum. In 1997, Bandler gave a speech to honour Jessie Street, which directly intervened in how Street is remembered.[57] She stated:

> We are celebrating the life of Jessie Street today. We remember her as the feminist. The one who argued for equal pay for women[.] We remember her as a fearless anti-war person, taking leading roles in conferences for World Peace throughout Europe, and also at home. Her inventiveness to prevent wars was considerable. It has been said her great reward was to be chosen by Prime Minister Curtin to be included in the first Australian delegation to San Francisco for the Foundation Conference of the United Nations. I venture to say, her

[56] Faith Bandler, interview by Carolyn Craig, 1997, Tape 10: Side A, MLOH 307, transcript, page 2. Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

[57] For an analysis of Street, see: Zora Simic, "Mrs Street—Now There's a Subject!': Historicising Jessie Street," *Australian Feminist Studies* 20, no. 48 (2005): 291-303. doi:10.1080/08164640500280308.

> greatest reward, for her energy and commitment to remove injustices, was the success of the 1967 Referendum which gave indigenous people citizenship. She initiated it. She saw it carried.[58]

In an earlier interview with Robyn Hughes in 1993 Bandler notes:

> Jessie actually involved me in the peace movement and I think it's sad today that Jessie is remembered as only a feminist. Jessie was more than a feminist, Jessie was one of the world's greatest fighters for peace and she belonged to the world, she didn't belong to Australia only.[59]

Here, Bandler is pointing out that Street and feminism in this period was one part of a broader transnational campaign for peace and justice, fighting against discrimination more broadly in terms both of sex and race. She is making a point about the contemporary narration of Street's activism, and perhaps we can read Bandler's political life on similar terms.

Bandler's archived correspondence includes letters relating to FCAATSI, letters from family and friends, and letters relating to her publications and publication processes.[60] Her correspondence demonstrates an ongoing occasional engagement with feminist thought, groups and activism. In terms of the period primarily addressed in this thesis, she was involved in WEL from 1972 and WEL formally supported South Sea Islander recognition.[61] She was a member of the NSW steering committee for the UN Decade for Women.[62] She corresponded with Edna Ryan occasionally. In a letter from the late 1970s Ryan asks Bandler about how the certain 'act(s) forbids women and men on

[58] Draft of speech delivered by Faith Bandler at the JSNWL, 11 April 1997, in "1994-1997; Speeches, being draft and final drafts of speeches given by Faith Bandler; and typescript copy of speech inscribed 'author unknown," MLMSS 6243 A: 2196/5/2, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

[59] Faith Bandler, interview by Robin Hughes, 24 March, 1993, Tape 3, transcript, "Faith Bandler Full Interview Transcript," Australian Biography: Australians Talk About Their Lives (Archived Website), accessed July 9, 2018, http://www.australianbiography.gov.au/subjects/bandler/interview3.html. See also: Frank Heimans, Robin Hughes and Sharon Connolly, *Faith Bandler: Civil Rights Activist* (Lindfield, N.S.W: Film Australia, 1993), DVD.

[60] Correspondence dating from the late 1980s onwards has restrictions, but the majority of correspondence dating from the 1960s and 1970s is accessible without restriction, see: "Correspondence, 1945-1996," MLMSS 6243: 2196/1/1- MLMSS 6243/4/5, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

[61] Sawer and Radford, *Making Women Count*, 59.

[62] Pam Simons to Faith Bandler, 19 December, 1979, in "1978-1979; Correspondence," MLMSS 6243 A 2196/1/5, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

reserves to join trade unions' and asks Bandler about access to abortion services on 'reserves'.[63] In the 1980s Ryan writes to Bandler:

> Do you know I still have your card dated 28 January telling me you'd read two thirds of a man & that it should be contemporary reading for all who claim to be feminists. Your praise meant a lot to me and I have not for a moment forgotten to reply - just never seemed to have time. I know you will forgive the long delay.[64]

It appears in Ryan's letters that Bandler seems to have thought of herself as feminist and in the 1970s as part of WEL in particular.

Bandler's papers demonstrate a relationship with transnational black feminist thought. In November 1973, she was invited to give a paper at a conference at La Trobe addressing the position of 'black women in politics'. She was invited by 'Margaret Briggs (Ms)' the sign off from the letter is 'hoping you will be able to join us. Your sister in black unity'.[65] In 1984 Bandler went to the UK for International Feminist Book Week. In a report about the trip, she mentions the particular pleasure of meeting unpublished black women writers and being invited to listen to their work.[66]

One particular letter in her correspondence files demonstrates how she might have connected feminist activism with Indigenous rights. In 1979, she sent a letter about the anti-abortion Lusher motion in the federal parliament to the S*ydney Morning Herald*:

> More than any other group, Aboriginal women have been denied the "right to choose" in the past. They have sometimes been forced to bear the children of the white invader, at other times been the victims of forced sterilization. I would not be satisfied with some face-saving amendment to this motion which exempts victims of rape and incest.

[63] Edna Ryan to Faith Bandler, 1 June 1976, in "1969-1975; Correspondence," MLMSS 6243 A: 2196/1/2, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.
[64] Edna Ryan to Faith Bandler, 14 July 1985, in "1983-1985; Correspondence," MLMSS 6243: 2196/1/8, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.
[65] Margaret Briggs to Faith Bandler, 22 November 1973, in "1969-1975; Correspondence," MLMSS 6243 2196/1/2, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.
[66] International Feminist Book Week report, "1983-1985; Correspondence," MLMSS 6243: 2196/1/8, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

> Aboriginal experience shows that those most in need of assistance are least likely to be served by complex legislation. As one of the largest of groups of rural poor Aborigines will bear the brunt of the Lusher motion we are tired of attacks on the Aboriginal family and call on all Parliamentarians to vote against the Lusher motion and amendments. Overseas news items suggest that as the result of reducing such health benefits in the USA, mainly Black and Chicano women have died.[67]

Her point about the US implies connection with a transnational multi-racial and anti-racist feminist thought. In the interview with Robyn Hughes in 1993 she makes connections between her various strands of activism, but implicitly argues against a particular form of activism based on personal experience:

> during the years that I've worked in the Aboriginal movement or for the Island people today or whoever it might be, or in the Women's Movement because I believe we've got to look after ourselves as well as we can if we want to go out and help others.[68]

Bandler does not locate her participation in these movements as driven by her own experiences; instead she takes a rights based approach. When reflecting on her relationship with Street, she comments:

> of course, she [Jessie] was a feminist and I often think that it must have been easier for her than it would have been for me, to have been a true feminist. But I don't think it was really, because I would imagine that her class would certainly think that women ought to know their place, even perhaps more so than my class but she influenced me in many things, particularly the need to work for peace.[69]

[67] Faith Bandler to the *Sydney Morning Herald* (copy), 13 March, 1979, in "1978-1979; Correspondence," MLMSS 6243: 2196/1/5, Faith Bandler's Papers: SLNSW.

[68] Faith Bandler, interview by Robin Hughes, 24 March, 1993, Tape 8, transcript, "Faith Bandler Full Interview Transcript," Australian Biography: Australians Talk About Their Lives (Archived Website), accessed July 9, 2018, http://www.australianbiography.gov.au/subjects/bandler/interview8.html.

[69] Faith Bandler, interview by Robin Hughes, 24 March, 1993, Tape 7, transcript, "Faith Bandler Full Interview Transcript," Australian Biography: Australians Talk About Their Lives (Archived Website), accessed July 9, 2018, http://www.australianbiography.gov.au/subjects/bandler/interview7.html.

Although it was not her primary focus, Bandler identified as a feminist and understood aspects of feminism as having an anti-racist agenda; she understood the women's movement as part of a larger movement for equal rights.

Corporeal Feminist Things: Reading Gloves as 'Feminist Objects'

At the *Feminism and the Museum* conference in 2013, there was a debate regarding what defines a feminist object. Henderson and Bartlett summarise the debate:

> with some participants arguing for a fairly broad definition: that women's objects are synonymous or semi-synonymous with feminist objects. Another related position argued that women's objects became feminist objects depending on the context - that is, one can claim an object produced by a woman for feminism, as in the gloves of the Indigenous activist Faith Bandler. Others, ourselves included, posited that feminist objects are defined by a direct connection with the women's movement: they are things made by proclaimed feminists for movement purposes.[70]

In this statement, Henderson and Bartlett imply that Bandler's gloves are not feminist objects because they do not have a direct connection with the women's movement in the period, and instead materialise and represent Bandler's activism for FCAATSI. Reflecting on institutional collections and feminist exhibitions in the 1980s and 1990s, Mandy Paul notes:

> Objects in museum collections interpreted through a feminist frame have ranged from christening gowns to cartoons, from lace to hockey sticks. These objects were being used to tell feminist stories in museums. But they were not "feminist objects" in the sense of objects

[70] See: Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson, "What is a Feminist Object?: Feminist Material Culture and the Making of the Activist Object," *Journal of Australian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 161-2. doi:10.1080/14443058.2016.1157701. Each article in the 'Feminism and the Museum' special issue implicitly took a position within this debate. For articles that have a slightly different definition of 'feminist object' to Henderson and Bartlett, see: Paul, "Women Are Transmogrifying," 140-155; Rachael Haynes and Courtney Pedersen, "Acting Out: Performing Feminisms in the Contemporary Art Museum," *Journal of Australian Studies* 40, no. 2 (2016): 203-214. doi:10.1080/14443058.2016.1157699.

> related to the stories of self-described twentieth-century feminists, the women of the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s.[71]

Bandler's gloves are used to tell 'feminist stories in museums', but Bandler's gloves have some relationship with the second wave, which is only legible when placed in context to feminism's longer history and Bandler's activism following FCAASTI.

Henderson and Bartlett offer a series of categories for identifying feminist things. One of those categories is 'corporeal things', things worn on and relating to bodies. As they note, particular corporeal things (or lack of things) are associated with second wave:

> corporeal things [lack of bra, activist t-shirts and overalls] announce a minority group identity in an often hostile climate. They become a method with which to make the body a key signifier of feminist identity, propaganda, and allegiance.[72]

As outlined in the previous chapter on Greer's coat, dressing differently aimed, to use Bartlett and Henderson's term, to confound the 'dress codes of conventional femininity',[73] which was central to second wave feminist politics and style, and is demonstrated by Greer's coat, but more obviously materialised via the extensive t-shirt collections in women's liberation archives.[74] Despite Bandler's participation in WEL, there are no t-shirts or other feminist activist ephemera such as badges in Bandler's archive; either she never owned such things or she chose not to archive them.[75] When considering activist t-shirts, Henderson and Bartlett note: 'T-shirts – inexpensive, low maintenance, unisex, and ideal for screen-printing slogans'.[76] Gloves are none of these things and are particularly associated with laborious or expensive dress practices, with femininity, oppression and respectability or with ironic self-

[71] Paul, "Women Are Transmogrifying," 153-54.
[72] Bartlett and Henderson, "What Is a Feminist Object?" 163.
[73] Ibid.
[74] For women's liberation t-shirts in Sydney (Fig. 1), see: "Women's Liberation T-Shirts," MLMSS 9782/96X-102X, First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Collection, SLNSW.
[75] Bandler's archive at the SLNSW, comprises papers, sound recording, video, paintings, books and photographs, but does not hold any activist material of the kind commonly discussed in other chapters of this thesis, such as badges, banners or other ephemera from public collective actions. See an overview of the collection: Faith Bandler's Papers, SLNSW.
[76] Bartlett and Henderson, "What Is a Feminist Object?" 163.

conscious performances of femininity. Day gloves are not part of the familiar 'repertoire' of second wave style, except in terms of their absence or lack.[77]

Wearing gloves was integral to women's daywear in the 1950s and into the early 1960s.[78] As Louise Mitchell notes: 'during the day a well-turned-out woman was expected to wear carefully selected gloves, shoes, umbrella and a hat'.[79] Wearing gloves, and wearing them well, was central to proper femininity, and had implications in terms of identity and respectability. As Gillespie and Clinton note in their study of Southern US women's history, taking off white gloves involves 'shedding' whatever practices or identities that white gloves evoke.[80] Throughout the 1960s, day gloves were often abandoned along with girdles, underwear, bras, curlers, stockings, make-up and hair products.[81] Taking off gloves was integral to 1960s and 1970s dress practices and body politics, and was often, at least initially, a form of protest against conventional femininity and sexuality, and also at times represented a rejection of class structures, racism, war and a previous generation's politics.[82] Feminist historian, Beverley Kingston, recollects the personal significance of abandoning such clothing, and she mentions gloves in particular, and describes refusing to wear gloves as part of a wider resistance to her mother's generation and their values.[83] Academic Lekkie Hopkins remembers wearing overalls as symbolising similar rejections, and that they represented:

[77] For the distinction between repertoire and archive, see: Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 20. For a detailed discussion of this term, see the following chapter.

[78] For an overview of fashion in the second half of the twentieth century in Australia, see: Bonnie English, ed., *Australian Fashion Unstitched: The Last 60 Years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[79] There were complex rules for glove wearing, which I do not address in detail here, see: Louise Mitchell, "The Fabulous Fifties: Glamour and Style," in *Australian Fashion Unstitched: The Last 60 Years,* ed. Bonnie English (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17.

[80] Michele Gillespie and Catherine Clinton, introduction to *Taking Off the White Gloves: Southern Women and Women Historians,* ed. Michele Gillespie and Catherine Clinton (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 1.

[81] As I argued in the previous chapter, rejecting such products eventually, if briefly, became integrated into fashion, see: Welters, "The Natural Look: American Style in the 1970s," 491-500; Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams,* 240.

[82] See the discussion of 1960s and 1970s dress and fashions in the previous chapter.

[83] Beverley Kingston, "Feminism and Fashion," (JSNWL Lunch Hour Talk, JSNWL, Sydney, 13 September 2012), CD.

> resistance to conventional female fashion which was full of zips and fasteners and corsets and pantyhose to keep everything firm and shapely, as well as a rejection of middle-class politics of war and greed and social conditioning as it was called.[84]

However, as Gillespie and Clinton state in their study: 'white gloves have considerably different legacies for southern [US] women depending upon their color, class, and heritage'.[85] Bandler wore her gloves between 1957 and 67, which predates the usual dates for the 'second wave' in Sydney. Although pinpointing the 'beginning' of second wave is a retrospective and historiographical project, the beginning of the movement in Sydney is usually cited as the Vietnam War protest, held on 14 December 1969. At the protest a leaflet proclaiming *Only the Chains Have Changed* was distributed, and the first Women's Liberation Sydney meeting was subsequently held in January 1970.[86] Bandler implies that she stopped wearing day gloves after the 1967 referendum succeeded. If Bandler's day gloves were a strategy, as they challenged and offered protection while campaigning in the 50s and 60s, then 'shedding' gloves post-referendum perhaps indicates that they were no longer necessary, but perhaps for different reasons to white women 'shedding' gloves in the same period.

In a letter to Jessie Street, Shirley Andrews notes: 'Faith is much better at handling these people (male members of FCAATSI) than I am. She is able to make the proper feminine approaches that are so valuable to the male ego'.[87] Day gloves were perhaps part of 'proper feminine' performance both within the organisation and beyond. However, gloves were no longer key to women's daywear or formal wear by the late 1960s and rejecting such items of clothing, as the previous chapter discussed, was central to 1970s feminisms. However, this is not the primary context for reading Bandler's gloves, as the gloves are mementos of her activism during the referendum campaign. According to the NMA, Bandler wore gloves in order to facilitate conversations when speaking to predominantly white audiences who, they imply,

[84] Hopkins, "Overalls," 115.
[85] Gillespie and Clinton, introduction to *Taking Off the White Gloves,* 1.
[86] See: Magarey, *Dangerous Ideas*, 25-26. For a national overview of the early actions, see: Lake, *Getting Equal*, 214-230.
[87] Lake, *Getting Equal*, 82.

valued wearing gloves, and the values that gloved hands represented.[88] As many women abandoned the femininity associated with gloves, Bandler continued to wear them to some events until the referendum succeeded. Taking off white gloves has quite different meanings for young white women than for Bandler, because black women had less access to 'proper feminine'. In this context, the performance of wearing gloves has a different resonance and meaning, which is demonstrated by Sykes's memory of Bandler, and the power of her stylish dress and manner when speaking.[89] Therefore, rather than reflecting the rejection of a previous generation dress and beliefs, Bandler taking off her gloves perhaps represents the success of a long worked for goal; it reflects the success of the referendum, when the performance of femininity associated with gloves no longer served her immediate political purpose. Perhaps Bandler's gloves can be read as objects that stretch the definition of 'feminism', as they can be read as anti-racist feminist objects and related to the second wave only due to their absence post-referendum and subsequent collection in a feminist 'archive', rather than due to context they were worn.

In a contemporary context, white gloves perhaps often evoke research rather than dress, and are perhaps most often worn when working with rare or delicate archival material and museum collections. As Gillespie and Clinton note:

> most of us involved in southern [US] women's history now find ourselves wearing white gloves only when we are handling photographs, prints or other rare material in the archives. Otherwise we keep the white gloves off, now that we have shed them.[90]

Women would mostly only find themselves in gloves when working with institutional collections, and, when handling Bandler's day gloves, the curator wore a pair of plain white cotton gloves. However, gloves also evoke third wave feminist or queer femme dress practices.[91] In some third wave or queer dress/politics, dress associated with the

[88] See: "Pair of Short White Cotton Gloves worn by Aboriginal Rights Activist Faith Bandler," NMA, accessed July 8, 2018, http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/ce/faith?object=58444.
[89] Sykes, in the foreword to *Turning the Tide*, xiv.
[90] Gillespie and Clinton, introduction to *Taking Off the White Gloves,* 2.
[91] See: Ulrika Dahl, "White Gloves, Feminist Fists: Race, Nation and the Feeling of 'Vintage' in Femme Movements," *Gender, Place & Culture* 21, no. 5 (2014): 604-621. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2013.810598.

post war period is assigned new value, and is consciously worn in ways that underscore the constructedness of femininity and gender or sexuality. Ulrika Dahl argues that white gloves have a particular place in queer femme body politics, as they evoke and consciously queer 1950s 'feminine' dress practices.[92] According to Ulrika Dahl's critical reading of such practices, such performances also 'flirt' with 'imperialist nostalgia' and are 'tied to a politics of whiteness'. She summarises:

> Although the raised [feminist] fist, dressed in a white glove, can point to the strength of [femme/queer] femininity, it also serves as a reminder of a second skin, the preciousness of whiteness and a colonialist and racialized order that unfolds from and is oriented towards some femmes and not others.[93]

Dahl's point could easily be extended to third wave feminist vintage practices beyond the femme queer context she addresses. Being feminist, being fond of vintage, liking 1950s gloves and repurposing vintage for a contemporary queer femme and/or feminist purpose certainly is raced.

When I first viewed Bandler's gloves, they initially reminded me of my maternal grandmother's gloves from the 1950s and 1960s; she was descended from early Van Demonian colonists, and wore her gloves in the context of a small town in Tasmania. Her gloves are almost identical to Bandler's gloves and I have, at points, worn them as daywear. According to Dahl's anonymous white glove wearing, white queer femme interviewee: 'Her love for objects and garments of the post-war era, she explained, is connected to her working class roots and in particular, to her relationship with her grandmother.' [94] Like Dahl's anonymous interviewee, for me, gloves from the 1950s evoke my family and a matrilineal genealogy. However, unlike Dahl's interviewee, for me this does not evoke a queer history or performance; but collecting, keeping and wearing my grandmother's gloves certainly challenges the writing of a patrilineal family tree and seeks to connect with a feminist history, but also represents an

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For another perspective and discussion of feminist fashion as a risky strategy, see: Groeneveld, 'Be a Feminist or Just Dress Like One,' 179-190.

[92] Dahl, "White Gloves, Feminist Fists," 604-621.

[93] Ibid., 618.

[94] Ibid., 613.

attempt to 'rewrite' the meaning of gloves by pairing them in unexpected ways. However, as Gillisepie and Clinton note, gloves can have a variety of associations in memory:

> Elbow length white gloves are a symbol of the debutante balls and coming out parties, whereas short ones can remind us [southern US women] of days when black maids were required to wear them to serve in white households.[95]

Dahl analyses this in a Australian queer femme context, and argues that for 'anti-racist activists and femmes of colour', white gloves, and specifically a white gloved fist have 'creepy associations with white supremacy, the upper class, and the importance of white skin and racial purity'.[96] Bandler's gloves curiously intervene here. As a black woman and well-known Australian public figure and activist, her pair of white gloves has a particular resonance for the present. The gloves, can perhaps be read using Henderson and Bartlett's terms, as feminist 'corporeal things', that effectively 'rework codes of femininity',[97] by challenging and revealing the presumed whiteness of such codes, both in the past and present. They also perhaps intervene in Dahl's argument about the risky 'whiteness' of femme queer and/or feminist vintage styles in the present, as Bandler's gloves challenge the associations that white gloves currently usually evoke.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Faith Bandler's gloves are 'feminist things', and can be read in relation to the second wave due to their archive, and has suggested that reading them as feminist things intervenes in contemporary feminist associations of glove. In this thesis, I understand placing things in feminist archives as activism, as a political, historiographical and material practice, which creates rather than documents the past. The purpose of identifying second wave feminist material via archival practices has been to consider how archives, and specific material within them, can reveal and create feminisms. Bandler placed her gloves in an exhibition that explicitly

[95] Gillespie and Clinton, introduction to *Taking Off the White Gloves,* 1.
[96] Dahl, "White Gloves, Feminist Fists," 612.
[97] Bartlett and Henderson, "What Is a Feminist Object?" 163.

set out to rewrite histories of feminist activism, inviting us to read her gloves through a feminist lens. Day gloves evoke everything that mainstream, white second wave feminism rejected, but by placing them in an exhibition that primarily set out to address contemporary feminist memory of the recent past, Bandler's 'archiving' can be understood as feminist activism and her gloves can be read as feminist anti-racist objects. 'Vintage', or wearing second hand clothing that is markedly no longer fashionable is integral to feminist and queer femme approaches to fashion, However, as Dahl argues, these styles sometimes carry with them racial connotations. However, perhaps thinking of Bandler's gloves as feminist anti-racist things, makes it possible to think about dress and feminism differently.

Chapter Six: *Double Our Numbers* Banner

In Chapter Five I narrated Faith Bandler's gloves and their collection by the NMA, and argued that the gloves' location in a particular exhibition, in a particular archive, invite us to read the gloves as feminist anti-racist objects. This chapter traces the *Double Our Numbers* banner, created for the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp in 1983; only fragments of the banner survive in public collections. The banner was 2 metres high and at least 130 metres long and it played a key role in the performance of protest at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp (Fig. 14). The enormous banner was carried to the gates of Pine Gap in the opening procession of the protest. This peripherally addresses whiteness, feminism and the archive, but this chapter primarily addresses the relationship between performing feminist protest and the creation of the feminist protest archive.

Figure 14 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 14: Slide of the *Double Our Numbers* Banner, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, JSNWL Archives (Photograph by author)

The Pine Gap US-Australia Joint Defence Facility, usually referred to as 'Pine Gap', is located in central Australia less than 30 kilometres from the town of Alice Springs. The facility is close to the geographic centre of Australia, but also to what is often the

symbolic 'centre' of the nation. Pine Gap became operational in 1970 and is still operational today; its activities are subject to investigation and speculation.[1] Protests were held outside the camp's gates in 1976, 1983, 1985, 1987, 2002, 2005 and recently, in September 2016.[2] For the 1983 protest, between 600 and 800 women from across Australia staged a women only two-week peace camp at the entrance to Pine Gap.[3] The camp was inspired by and in solidarity with the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in Berkshire, England. The spectacle of staging a large women's only peace camp in the desert made the camp a successful media event and it received extensive national coverage.[4] The Pine Gap camp was a complex protest, with multiple, sometimes conflicting, agendas. Closing the base was one of the camp's aims, as the lease was to be reviewed in 1986, but this was one relatively small aspect of a protest that addressed national and international concerns.[5] The camp called for an end to violence against women and children, an end to capitalism, global nuclear disarmament, Aboriginal land rights and an end to war.[6] At the time, there were genuine fears that the facility could make Australia a nuclear target or be used to guide nuclear missiles,[7] but camping at Pine Gap was primarily symbolic and theatrical, as were the non-violent actions undertaken during the protest.[8] The 1983 camp was organised by a national coalition of women's peace groups called 'Women

[1] See: Nautilus Institute For Security and Sustainability for research and summaries of suspected Pine Gap operations: "Pine Gap – An Introduction," Nautilus Institute For Security and Sustainability, accessed June 24, 2018, https://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/defence-facilities/pine-gap/pine-gap-intro/.

[2] The Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp was the only women's protest. For a summary of protests at Pine Gap, see: "Pine Gap Protests – Historical," Nautilus Institute For Security and Sustainability, accessed June 24, 2018, http://nautilus.org/publications/books/australian-forces-abroad/defence-facilities/pine-gap/pine-gap-protests/protests-hist/. For recent protests and activism, see: "#ClosePineGap," accessed June 24, 2018, https://closepinegap.org/.

[3] Reported numbers vary between publications, ranging from 600 and 800.

[4] For an analysis of the role of the media, see: Suellen Murray, "Mixed Messages: Gender, Peace, and the Mainstream Media in Australia, 1983–1984," in *Restaging War in the Western World: Noncombatant Experiences, 1890-Today*, ed. Maartje M. Abbenhuis and Sara Buttsworth (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 177-202.

[5] Women For Survival, *Women for Survival: Pine Gap Camp Handbook November 11-25 1983* (Darwin: Women For Survival, 1983), 2-3, 28.

[6] For an analysis of conflicting agendas before and during the camp, see: Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat," 171-85; Megg Kelham, "War & Peace: A Case of Global Need, National Unity and Local Dissent? A Closer Look at Australia's Greenham Common," *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 19 (2013): 76-92.

[7] Women For Survival, *Women for Survival: Pine Gap Camp Handbook November 11-25 1983*, 2-3.

[8] For a discussion of the symbolism and theatre of women camping in the desert at Pine Gap, see: Alison Bartlett, "Feminist Protest in the Desert: Researching the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," *Gender, Place & Culture* 20, no. 7 (2013): 914-926. doi:10.1080/0966369x.2012.753585.

for Survival' (WFS).[9] WFS groups were located across Australia, in every capital city and in many smaller regional cities and towns; most women protesting at Pine Gap travelled from coastal regions of Australia.[10] Many women interested in the camp were unable to travel to Pine Gap, and WFS groups organised local solidarity actions in their areas. Many women also showed their support by creating a panel for the *Double Our Numbers* banner, which is the focus of this chapter. I have found six panels of the *Double Our Numbers* banner in various public collections, which are fragments of a banner that included at least 1112 panels.

In this chapter, I turn attention to the relationship between the feminist archive and the performance of protest. Performance studies scholar Diana Taylor identifies different models of transferring knowledge.[11] She calls one model the 'archive' and another 'repertoire'. Taylor understands archival knowledge as residing in 'documents, maps, literary texts … bones, videos, films, cds', in things that are physically collectable and possible to label and order.[12] In the context of this chapter, the 'archive' would include fragments of the *Double Our Numbers* banner, and any representation of the banner on film, in photographs, in texts such as diaries and representations in publications. However, Taylor argues that there is another form of knowledge transfer, which she calls 'repertoire'. Taylor explains the difference between 'archive' and 'repertoire':

> The repertoire, on the other hand, enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing—in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge.[13]

In her study, repertoire is a conscious repeatable embodied act and she argues that repertoire is a learnt, transferrable practice and is, therefore, a form of transferrable knowledge. A repertoire can be learnt from its archive, as practices can be read about

[9] See: "Women for Survival - Organisation," accessed June 28, 2018, http://www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/PR00097b.htm.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
[12] Ibid,. 19.
[13] Ibid,. 20.

and re-established; for example, a style of music recorded on a tape that is no longer played is an 'archive' in this context. A tape could be listened to and become a contemporary style passed on by playing the style of music, which would be learning through 'repertoire'. According to Taylor, knowledge passed on through the archive and repertoire are different epistemologies. Her study primarily addresses colonisation and the 'Americas'. By addressing oral history and knowledge passed on through embodied performances such as dance as a legitimate way of knowing, Taylor challenges the authority of the written word as the only legitimate way to pass on knowledge, which in colonized societies, tends to privilege European perspectives on both the past and present. Taylor's approach has particular application in Australia on these terms.[14] However, feminist protest can also be understood as repertoire. A feminist protest can be understood as an embodied act or acts that are learnt and then consciously repeated, while impressions of protest, which includes banners or other material created for a performance, are placed or documented within archives.

This chapter presents two arguments. First, I argue that the *Double Our Numbers* Banner 'archive' documents an impression of a particular feminist repertoire, as it documents (rather than *is*) an embodied consciously repeatable act. Secondly, I argue that the *Double Our Numbers Banner* demonstrates how performances of protest themselves affect what material is collected and how material is collected. To be clear, I do not intend this as a criticism of either the performance of protest at Pine Gap in 1983 or as criticism of its associated archival practices. My intention in this chapter is to analyse the relationship between a feminist protest and its archive.

Academic Scholarship on the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp

An encounter with the Adelaide based FANG archive, which I discuss in Chapter Two, initially inspired this chapter.[15] FANG was part of the WFS coalition and during the

[14] See: Penny Edmonds' use of Taylor's work: Penny Edmonds, *Settler Colonialism and (Re)Conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 24-26.

[15] According to some sources, FANG withdrew support for the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp. See for example: "Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG) (1982 - 1984)," The Australian Women's Register, accessed June 24, 2018, http://www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/PR00077b.htm. Papers indicate there were concerns from FANG leading up to the camp, for discussion see: Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat", 177-8;

camp, FANG held a series of actions in Adelaide.[16] The pillowcases I refer to in Chapter Two were from a 'Pillowcase Protest' held on the steps of parliament house in Adelaide; it was one of the solidarity actions supporting the Pine Gap camp. Each pillowcase featured an image that related to 'dreams of a nuclear future'. The actions in Adelaide concluded with a women and children only picnic at Rymill Park in central Adelaide.[17] The AWLMA holds the pillowcases from the first action.[18] When I initially came across the boxes of banners, I had never heard of the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp. The pillowcases drew my attention, as there is a dissonance between them and contemporary feminist thought and feminist historiography. The camp represents a feminist practice and form of peace activism that is unusual post-Cold War, as peace camps in the 1980s asserted a connection between women, nature and peace. The material is surprising and offers a different way of thinking about feminist pasts. There is now a specific set of literature that focuses just on Australian women's peace camps and the peace camp has therefore emerged recently as a significant Australian feminist historical event.[19]

The camp has until recently been largely excluded from general histories of Australian feminist activism and from studies of the Australian peace movement;[20] however, the

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footnote 18. However, an interview with Colleen (Shrike) O'Malley about FANG's action in Adelaide does not mention any concerns and indicates full support for the camp, see: Colleen (Shrike) O'Malley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. 751136, transcript, Oral History Unit, Northern Territory Archives Service (Alice Springs) (hereafter cited as OH Unit: NTAS).

[16] O'Malley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. 751136, transcript, page 2, OH Unit: NTAS.

[17] Ibid.

[18] See: "Banners and Pillowcases for the Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG)," D 8268(Misc) OUTSIZE 2, FANG, AWLMA, SLSA.

[19] There is some debate over the camp's relationship with feminism. Murray and Bartlett argue that the camp was a feminist protest, while Kelham tends to argue that the camp was an assemblage of conflicting concerns and interests and, overall, that peace and racism mattered more than discussions of sexism. Ultimately it depends on how the author understands feminism. The camp is very well documented within feminist and women's liberation collections, and I therefore understand it as a feminist event. See: Murray, Suellen. "Taking the Toys from the Boys: Feminism and Australian Women's Peace Activism in the 1980s." *Australian Feminist Studies* 25, no. 63 (March 2010): 3-15. doi:10.1080/08164640903499893; Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," 181; Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat," 171-2; Kelham, "War & Peace," 89-90.

[20] Lake's *Getting Equal*, for example, does not mention the camp, neither does an overview of the peace movement, *The Australian Peace Movement: A Short History*, see: Lake, G*etting Equal*; Malcolm Saunders and Ralph Summy, *The Australian Peace Movement: A Short History* (Canberra: Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, 1986). The camp is mentioned in *Australian Feminism: A Companion*, see: Emma Grahame, "Anti-Nuclear Activism," in *Australian Feminism: A Companion*, ed. Barbara Caine et al.

Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp has an excellent public archive split across multiple institutions,[21] which has facilitated a significant focused literature. Unlike every other object featured in this thesis, there are several academic articles and book chapters that specifically address material culture at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp. The camp already has a significant literature: Alison Bartlett, Megg Kelham, Suellen Murray and Margaret Somerville have narrated and analysed the camp from different perspectives.[22] Kelham, Murray and Somerville were participants; Bartlett did not participate and has written extensively about Pine Gap as part of her broader project on feminist memory.

Margaret Somerville's writing about Pine Gap is informed by experimental corporeal life writing practices.[23] Somerville narrates her own archive and memories of the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp.[24] She addresses the way that the camp operated for her as a 'liminal space', a moment and space of transition, which allowed her to think differently about bodies, mapping and place.[25] She summarises the significance of the camp:

> In analysing the experience [of Aboriginal women's ways of knowing] now, it is clear that Pine Gap opened up a space of possibilities, a liminal space which continued for many of us for many years. For me, it was the Aboriginal thread that continued into my later work…

(Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 381-82. See Bartlett's first article for inclusions and exclusions within broader scholarship, as this is largely beyond this chapter's scope; see: Alison Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, Australia 1983," *Women's Studies International Forum* 34, no. 1 (2011): 32. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2010.10.002.

[21] Archives and Collections include but not limited to: JSNWL (Sydney), Melbourne University Archives (VWLFA), SLSA (WSRC/AWLMA), NPWHF (Alice Springs), Northern Territory Archive Service (Alice Springs). Most state and university libraries and even museums, such as the AGSA, NMA and the Museum of Australian Museum of Democracy, have Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp material.

[22] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp", 31-38; Bartlett, 'Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," 179-95; Bartlett, "Feminist Protest in the Desert," 914-26; Alison Bartlett, "Sites of Feminist Activism: Remembering Pine Gap," *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 30, no. 3 (2016): 307-15. doi:10.1080/10304312.2016.1166551; Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat," 171-85; Kelham, "War & Peace," 76-92; Murray, "Mixed Messages," 177-202; Suellen Murray, "Make Pies Not War': Protests by the Women's Peace Movement of the Mid 1980s," *Australian Historical Studies* 37, no. 127 (April 2006); Murray, "Taking the Toys From the Boys"; Margaret Somerville, *Body/Landscape Journals* (North Melbourne: Spinifex, 1999).

[23] See: Somerville, *Body/Landscape Journals*.

[24] Ibid, 18-43.

[25] Ibid, 11-7.

Her central concern throughout the book is methodological; she experiments with how to write about place in a manner that addresses Aboriginal and 'white' women's embodied experiences of place and she argues that writing open, somewhat unfinished, texts is crucial, as she concludes with 'Notes' that can be 'finished by us all'.[26]

Suellen Murray attended the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp and was part of the group who proposed the following Cockburn Sound Women's Peace Camp, which was held in Western Australia in 1984.[27] However, Murray's analysis does not focus on her own memories of the camp; instead, she locates the two peace camps within the broader context of the national and transnational Women's Peace Movement. Her first article argues that radical feminist thought was central to the Australian women's peace movement in the 1980s,[28] while her second refocuses her point and argues that a range of feminist approaches and theories were relevant to the Peace Movement rather than radical feminism in particular.[29] Her book chapter analyses the place of the media in the success of Australian women only peace camps.[30]

Megg Kelham's writing about Pine Gap reflects on her memories of the camp, but her approach is primarily historical and based on extensive archival research and oral histories with participants and organisers of the camp.[31] Her first article narrates the camp, and locates this narrative in relation to her memories of the protest,[32] while her second article focuses on the role of geography in shaping individual and collective memories of the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp. She particularly focuses on tensions between Centralian and coastal protesters, and argues that Centralian residents remember the protest quite differently to women who travelled from other parts of

[26] Ibid., 17, 218-26.
[27] Green, "Badges", 32.
[28] Murray, "Make Pies Not War," 81-2.
[29] Murray, "Taking the Toys from the Boys," 3-4.
[30] Murray, "Mixed Messages."
[31] Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat"; Kelham, "War & Peace".
[32] Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat".

Australia to attend the camp. Her second article particularly addresses the relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women.[33]

Alison Bartlett's discussion of Pine Gap broadly focuses on different ways of remembering and writing histories of feminist activism, but she also particularly addresses maternal feminisms.[34] Her first article on Pine Gap argues that maternal feminism was central to the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp.[35] She contends that despite leveraging the connection between motherhood and peace, political agency and maternity remained dichotomous at the Pine Gap Camp, as one still required, in theory and practice, the sacrifice of the other. For example, images of women and children were central to the camp and a particular understanding of motherhood was central to the philosophy of the camp, but women travelling to Pine Gap often had to leave children at home. The second article considers identity and geography from a personal point of view, analysing the symbolism of women protesting in the desert.[36] Her third article argues that Pine Gap's cultural production is embedded in material culture, and links 'political subjects, events and objects' in order to intervene in feminist historical writing practices.[37] The fourth article analyses how Pine Gap is being commemorated via feminist exhibition practices.[38] In each article, Bartlett particularly addresses or uses the material culture of Pine Gap to inform her reading.

What is my contribution to this already extensive and overlapping historiography of this event, a historiography that includes studies of experience, material culture and the archive? The Pine Gap camp is often self-consciously narrated or understood as a 'performance' or as a series of staged performances.[39] What exactly were women 'performing' via the *Double Our Numbers* banner? My broader thesis examines

[33] Kelham, "War & Peace".
[34] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp"; Bartlett, "Feminist Protest in the Desert"; Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp"; Bartlett, "Sites of Feminist Activism."
[35] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp."
[36] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest in the Desert."
[37] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp."
[38] Bartlett, "Sites of Feminist Activism."
[39] See: Somerville *Body/Landscape Journals*; Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp."

Australian feminist archival practice. I am therefore interested in understanding the relationship between this performance at the camp and its subsequent archive. Writing about the *Double Our Numbers* banner is an opportunity to extend my analysis to the relationship between the performance (or 'repertoire') of protest and the creation of a protest archive.

The *Double Our Numbers* banner as peace camp repertoire

In the early 1980s, in the northern hemisphere, a series of well-publicised women's peace camps explicitly connected the proliferation of nuclear weapons with male violence. The most famous of these is the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp; a permanent protest camp established in 1981 at a US military base in the UK and closed in 2000 to make space for a commemorative site.[40] Women's Peace Camps, internationally, have their own particular politics, and culture of protest or their own 'repertoire', to use Taylor's term.[41] The Pine Gap Camp was inspired by and in solidarity with Greenham Common in particular, and a piece of the Greenham Common fence was sent to Pine Gap.[42] Embroidered and appliqued banners, as well as singing, dancing, particular performance and speech were central to the repertoire of protest at anti-nuclear women's peace camps; a particular repertoire made such protests coherent and possible, as the success of women's peace camps depended on performing unity, on emphasising that women were collectively protesting together as women. However, what women were protesting for at Pine Gap was contested, as the camp brought a diverse group of women together and reasons for attending the camp varied.[43] Yet, the camp was philosophically premised on women performing, articulating and also feeling a shared collective identity. A leaflet, written by the Alice Springs WFS group demonstrates the range of issues covered and how they were connected by WFS:

[40] For an overview of Greenham Common, see: Jill Liddington, *The Road to Greenham Common: Feminism and Anti-militarism in Britain Since 1820* (London: Virago, 1989).

[41] On the culture of peace camps, see: Cynthia Cockburn, *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (London: Zed Books, 2007), 173-180; Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," 180-2. On repertoire, see: Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire.*

[42] See: Elizabeth (Biff) Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, page 18, OH Unit: NTAS.

[43] Kelham, "War & Peace," 171-2.

> We are a group of women who have joined together to affirm life and to bring a halt to the madness of the nuclear arms race. Nuclear power and nuclear weapons are the products of a social system in which we also find wife-beating, rape of women, rape of children, pornography, colonization, rape of the earth and despair.... women are using their compassion, their intuition, their love, their caring, their insight, their anger and power to say No More to this/ Yes to life.[44]

Here, male violence is connected with nuclear escalation, but also with colonisation, domestic and sexual violence, and environmental issues. Peace is feminised and women are positioned as maternally caring for the earth and all life. As with other women's peace camps, making these specific connections between alternative but essentialist ideas about women and peace was central to making the action possible, and banners had a particular place within this process. The practice of making and displaying embroidered, painted and appliqued banners draws on a historical feminist protest repertoire. As discussed in Chapter Four, since the late nineteenth century, women have occasionally used needlework to make feminist public political statements, disrupting the presumed relationship between textiles, virtue, domesticity and femininity.[45] At Greenham Common these practices took a particular form, as women attached embroidered and appliqued banners featuring peace and women's movement symbols to the facility's fence line. The *Double Our Numbers* banner from the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp developed and deepened this particular repertoire.

The *Double Our Numbers* banner was suggested and organised by artist Frances Phoenix, and co-ordinated by the Alice Springs WFS group.[46] Phoenix asked that each banner be six and half feet high, and portray a life-sized figure or figures.[47] There were

[44] See: "Typed A4 Leaflet: Alice Springs: Women for Survival," Item. 6, Pam Ditton Donation (from the Women for Survival and the Alice Springs Peace Group) - Associated Ephemera Collection, National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame (hereafter cited as Pam Ditton Donation - Ephemera, NPWHF).

[45] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch,* 1-16, 205-215.

[46] Frances Phoenix/Budden, "Four Decades of Artwork 1975 -2016" (presentation, WSRC Book Club Event, Adelaide, May 15, 2016); Frances Phoenix/Budden, in conversation with author, 31 May 2016.

[47] [Frances Phoenix?], "Double Our Numbers' Banner Project," *WAAGV: News Sheet of Women's Action Against Global Violence* 2 (October 1983), 8-9.

no requirements for length and no other content specifications apart from suggesting women 'think about what peace and survival means to you'. She defined the terms broadly, reflecting the scope of the camp:

> Peace and survival does not simply mean an end to nuclear development, but an end to what women call the 'nuclear mentality'. Women for Survival link their physical and social survival and their peace of mind with an end to rape and violence in their homes and on their streets, an end to harassment at work, an end to hatred between their races, an end to the stealing of land from its traditional owners, an end to the stealing of money from the poor and unemployed to finance wrongdoing, an end to economic and military imperialism in our country, an end to the rape of the earth, fear, oppression, and blind acceptance of scientific progress. Your portrait can be of a woman in any aspect of her life but with a focus on women and survival.[48]

Women could 'attend' the protest by sending an image of themselves on a banner. The banner figuratively 'doubled', or at least significantly increased, the number of women protesting at Pine Gap. Most sections of the banner included life-sized images of women and featured either a self-portrait or an image of a feminist heroine.[49]

According to Phoenix, at least 112 individual panels arrived in Alice Springs in the days before the protest.[50] They ranged between around 30 centimetres and over 12 metres long. They came from across Australia, from every capital city and many came from smaller regional towns, and one was also sent from Sweden and another from the UK.[51] No one expected so many panels to be sent.[52] In an interview, Biff Ward remembered:

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[48] Ibid., 8.

[49] See: *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp Collections: Jessie Street National Women's Library Archives (hereafter cited as Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives).

[50] Phoenix/Budden, in conversation with author, 31 May 2016.

[51] See: *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.

[52] Gillian Fisher, "Remember Pine Gap: Recollections of the Banners Carried by Women in the Peace Demonstration at Pine Gap," *Burn: Proud to Be Different*, November 1993, 30-3.

> she [Phoenix] came up with this idea of a 'Double our Numbers' banner, and told me all about it. I, you know, could hardly envisage it, thought it was very weird… I thought: That's too big. You know, I just — But she did it, she did it. These artworks started to come in [laughs] from all across Australia.[53]

In the days before the protest, the banners were displayed for people to view and then tied together. Gillian Fisher remembers:

> I spent two days in the Alice Springs YWCA sewing strips of fabric onto banners so they could be carried on poles. They were then tied together into a continuous streamer…[54]

Before the banners were tied onto poles, Phoenix documented every banner she could, taking slides of each.[55] Then they were hoisted onto poles to become a collective feminist art work and an example of protest performance art, which as Kelham says was a 'uniting force' preceding and during the camp. In her article, based on extensive research but also reflecting on memory, Kelham narrates the banner as having a significant role in the protest:

> The banner, sewn together in the days immediately prior to the protest's commencement, was a masterpiece of political community art which added half a kilometre's length to the protest's opening march, provided much needed shade and would, if the protest had actually managed to close Pine Gap down, be the Bayeux Tapestry of a truly independent Australian foreign policy.[56]

In 1984, a second women's peace camp was held at Cockburn Sound in Western Australia. The Alice Springs WFS group repeated the performance of the *Double Our Numbers* banner by making the *National Peace Quilt*.[57] The quilt features 28 small

[53] Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, page 6, OH Unit: NTA.
[54] Fisher, "Remember Pine Gap."
[55] See: *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.
[56] Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat," 179.
[57] Alice Springs Peace Group, *National Peace Quilt*, patchwork 7 x 4 squares, mixed media including appliqué, embroidery, paint, texta, pen, Peace Quilt no. 2, Alice Springs, Pam Ditton Donation (from the Women for Survival and the Alice Springs Peace Group) - Quilt collection, National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame (hereafter cited as Pam Ditton Donation - Quilts, NPWHF).

squares, each completed by a different member of the Alice Springs peace group. Not all members of the Alice Springs group were able to go to the Cockburn Sound camp, so they made and sent this quilt, reiterating the repertoire of the *Double Our Numbers* banner.[58]

'Remembrance Day Ceremony'

Most women planning to camp at Pine Gap arrived in Alice Springs on 8 November and camped temporarily at Roe Creek, which is 10 km from Pine Gap. Non-violence training workshops, parties and consensus decision-making processes were carried out on 9 and 10 November.[59] The camp officially began on Remembrance Day, on 11 November 1983 and concluded on 25 November. Each day featured an organised action.[60] Each action established, or was a recognisable iteration of, the repertoire of women's peace camps or more broadly of feminist protest. For example, this included a parody of a military parade where replica cruise missiles were returned to US territory; protesters held a 'die-in', lying on the ground to highlight the risks of nuclear war; and staged a mock interview with the Australian head of Pine Gap. As well as organised actions, there were many spontaneous acts such as: cutting the gates from the fence and declaring Pine Gap 'open to the public', road signs leading to Pine Gap were graffitied and the facility's wire fence was woven with flowers, wool and banners. The most widely reported action was held on 15 November when 150 women crossed the fence and police, somewhat reluctantly and over several hours, arrested 111 protesters. The majority of those arrested gave a false name, calling themselves 'Karen Silkwood' after the American nuclear technician who disclosed her concerns about the risks of radioactive material.[61] In the following days, an action called 'the whole world is watching' acknowledged the 111 women arrested, as 111 women organised themselves into the shape of a peace sign and read 111 telegrams and letters of support from across

[58] Natalie Flemming, "The Australian Women Working Together: Quilting Together a Pattern for Peace," *The Australian Women's Weekly*, February 1985, 26-7.

[59] Wendy Poussard, *Outbreak of Peace: Poems and Notes from Pine Gap* (East St. Kilda: Billabong Press, 1984), 25-26.

[60] For a concise list of the actions, see: WAAGV Sydney, "Close the Gap' Camp," *Girls' Own* 14 (March/April 1984): 17. Alternatively, see: "Women for Survival - Organisation," accessed June 28, 2018, http://www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/PR00097b.htm.

[61] Ibid.

the world. The *Double Our Numbers* banner was central to one particular action and it was used in the camp's dramatic opening 'Remembrance Day Ceremony'.[62]

Figure 15 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 15: Women carrying the *Double Our Numbers* Banner, slide taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, JSNWL Archives (Photograph by author)

On 11 November, the 600-800 women participating in the camp assembled one kilometre from Pine Gap, formed a long procession and very slowly 'marched' toward the facility (Fig. 14, Fig. 15). They carried the *Double Our Numbers* banner, and other banners, to the gates of Pine Gap. Local and interstate Aboriginal women led the procession. Wendy Poussard describes the procession and banner in her published diary:

> Today we move camp to the gates of Pine Gap. We start rushing about at 5 a.m., packing gear and tents and loading them on a bus. We're driven to an assembly point one kilometre from the gates. The banners are laid out by the side of the road, beautiful paintings, appliqués, pictures of men, women and children at home. I meet a friend walking

[62] See: Wendy Poussard, interview by Megg Kelham, 11 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1137, transcript, page 4, OH Unit: NTAS.

> along the road looking at them all. 'I could weep' she says. That is all. Gradually women assemble with water-bottles, sun-hats, sun-burn cream-covered faces and we pick up the banners and walk from no-where down the blazing road to the gates … where we see nothing because of the radomes, the concrete balls housing the communication equipment are far inside the gates out of sight.[63]

Poussard describes the *Double Our Numbers* banner. Memories of the banner and the opening march to the gate at Pine Gap are remarkably consistent.

All accounts remember it fondly and as an important moment in the protest. Chloe remembers:

> It felt strange to be walking and singing and carrying our magnificent "Double Our Numbers" banners out there in the desert, with no one to see but the police and the galahs and of course the TV cameras.[64]

A film of the procession shows women carrying the banner, which sways and flutters in the wind. It appears to be heavy and somewhat unwieldy, and as Fisher describes, it 'billows' like a sail.[65] Slides taken by Phoenix show the scale of the banner, moving in the wind. In the video, the procession clearly moves to the beat of drums and women sing songs about peace. Nancy Shelley remembers:

> …we had a march with banners and all sort of things, walking up to the gates, and all we could see were the gates, you see, and we didn't bargain on having wind, so the wind was making the banners very hard to hold and slowed up our walking…[66]

Biff Ward recounts:

> …some of them [the *Double Our Numbers* banner] were exquisite works of art, and many of them were very moving … on the day that we actually did that extraordinary march, it was led by the Aboriginal women, and all along the side of it, there were these banners which

[63] Poussard, *Outbreak of Peace*, 27.
[64] Chloe, "One Woman's Thoughts on Pine Gap Peace Camp," *Womanspeak,* February/March 1984, 18.
[65] Fisher, "Remember Pine Gap."
[66] Nancy Shelley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1141, transcript, page 2, OH Unit: NTAS.

> she'd [Phoenix] not only collected, but managed to get up on huge pieces of bamboo, with all these women carrying them. I mean it was really heavy, and they were really big, and they were massive artworks out in the desert there, alongside the march.[67]

Lee Rhiannon remembers:

> ...that fantastic opening march, when the women in all their hundreds and all the colours, and with all the musical instruments, and with a such a flair - yeah, it just makes me feel good to talk about it - when we all marched down to the Pine Gap Gates, Mum Shirl was there leading us, along with a number of other local Aboriginal women.[68]

When they arrived at the gates, according to Fisher, 'the banners were abandoned - propped up against the fences and bushes or laid out in the red dust'.[69] Once arriving at the gates, an 11-minute silent vigil was held for Remembrance Day on the 11th hour on the 11th day.[70] Then, Biff Ward, Veronica Golder, Nancy Shelley and Mum Shirl (Shirley C. Smith) were invited to speak.[71] Biff Ward initially suggested the protest, Nancy Shelley was a quaker peace activist, Veronica Golder was a local Aboriginal woman and Mum Shirl was a well known Sydney based Aboriginal activist.[72] According to Shelley, it was agreed that the youngest would speak first and the eldest would speak last.[73] Each speaker agreed to repeat the last sentence of the previous speaker and this 'was to achieve a flow of idea and not just have individual, you see'.[74] After the four speeches concluded, there was an unscheduled speaker. Wendy Poussard wrote in her diary:

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[67] Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, page 6, OH Unit: NTA.

[68] Lee Rhiannon, interview by Megg Kelham, 28 January 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1138, transcript, page 5, OH Unit: NTA.

[69] Fisher, "Remember Pine Gap."

[70] Shelley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1141, transcript, page 2, OH Unit: NTAS.

[71] Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, page 7, OH Unit: NTA; Shelley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1141, transcript, page 2, OH Unit: NTAS.

[72] See her autobiography for reflections on her life: Mum Shirl (Shirley C. Smith), *Mum Shirl: An Autobiography*, with the assistance of Bobbi Sykes (Richmond: Heinemann Educational, 1981).

[73] Shelley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1141, transcript, page 2, OH Unit: NTAS.

[74] Ibid.

> Mum Shirl had the job of introducing speakers and she produces one unscheduled one … Shorty O'Neill, male aboriginal land rights campaigner, out of the back of a truck. He is heard politely but this is the wrong time and place and what is said is somehow not quite 'full on', an expression used a lot here[75]

Shorty O'Neill was a well-known Aboriginal activist from Townsville. For many women, his appearance disrupted the carefully agreed terms of the protest, terms that were formed by consensus decision-making in the months before, which agreed that the protest would be a 'women only' event.[76]

On the evening before the camp officially began, there were still ongoing conversations about the role of Aboriginal men in the protest. On 10 November, Poussard wrote in her diary: 'There's a big debate in the camp about the possibility of Aboriginal men being present at tomorrow's ceremony, but I get tired of it and go to bed'.[77] The perceived outcomes of this discussion vary. Cook for example thought it was agreed that whether Aboriginal men participated in the protest 'was really up to them [Aboriginal people] to decide how they wanted to go about that.'[78] Shelley, Ward and Rhiannon for example, do not mention O'Neill's speech in their accounts of the protest, which may indicate that this moment was not important to their experience and memory of the camp, or that they may have chosen not to discuss this contentious topic.[79] However, it is quite clear from accounts that many women thought that men, including Aboriginal men, would not be invited to attend. Cook does note that it 'was hugely contentious, and a lot of women got very angry and upset about it.'[80] For many women attending the camp, Mum Shirl inviting Shorty O'Neill to

[75] Poussard, *Outbreak of Peace*, 27-28.
[76] Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat," 180. Kelham notes that, according to the Townsville based Mango affinity group, O'Neill blocked the local development of a women's shelter, see: Kelham, War & Peace," 82.
[77] Poussard, *Outbreak of Peace*, 26.
[78] Michelle Cook, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1140, transcript, page 4, OH Unit: NTAS.
[79] See: Shelley, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1141, transcript, OH Unit: NTAS; Rhiannon, interview by Megg Kelham, 28 January 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1138, transcript, OH Unit: NTA; Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, OH Unit: NTA.
[80] Cook, interview by Megg Kelham, October 2003, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1140, transcript, page 4, OH Unit: NTAS.

speak broke the agreed terms of the camp.[81] Poussard says 'It was a bit cheeky of her…'.[82] However, Shirl's actions could also be read as a deliberate intervention that asserted the Aboriginal rights and land rights agenda, which was one of the stated aims of the protest.[83] The debate was ongoing throughout the camp; on the 12 November, 2 days later Poussard notes: 'There are still big meetings about the "women only" issue'.[84]

'In the Days that Followed...'[85]

In the afternoon and evening after the first dramatic action, everyone returned to Roe Creek and collected food, tents and other gear, and set up camp in a thin 10 metre wide strip of road next to the recently constructed barbed wire fence. Fisher comments on the fate of the banners after the Remembrance Day Ceremony:

> In the days that followed most of … [the banners] simply stayed that way (propped up against the fence or bushes). Helicopters hovering low over the road and campsite caused everything to be covered with thick dust and stones and a sprinkle of rain one night left the banners looking pretty sad. It didn't seem appropriate to make an issue of the banners at the time. My enquiries met with surprise because the organisers were preparing for the next action.[86]

The dust described by Fisher still clings to the banners that survive in collections, and light coloured sections are stained a reddish colour. The slides provide a slightly different story to Fisher's narrative, as banners were turned into sun shelter tents, some appear quite carefully propped up against the fence and the bamboo poles are

[81] For details see notes by Jane Lloyd, taken in 28 October 1987 from a discussion with the Alice Springs WFS group. When I visited the NTAS in 2015, the papers had not been formally numbered. For the relevant papers, see the green 'Women Only Folder', held in one of three boxes. See: "Confidential: Reflections on 1983 Pine Gap Womens Camp," Pam Ditton/Women for Survival and Alice Springs Peace Group papers, Northern Territory Archives Service (NTAS) (Alice Springs).

[82] Poussard, interview by Megg Kelham, 11 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS1137, transcript, page 4, OH Unit: NTAS.

[83] See: "Typed A4 Leaflet: Alice Springs: Women for Survival," Item. 6, Pam Ditton Donation - Ephemera, NPWHF.

[84] Poussard, *Outbreak of Peace*, 29.

[85] Fisher, "Remember Pine Gap," 32.

[86] Ibid.

woven into the wire.[87] Some banners seem to have been collected and returned to their creators, such as the 'untitled' banner created by the Armidale-Uralla group. Most accounts of the protest, as discussed previously, the oral histories, autobiographical accounts and academic writing, mention the *Double Our Numbers* project at some point. Each account, discussed in the previous section, outlines how women sent banners from all across Australia and how they were tied together and carried to the gates of Pine Gap. No one can remember easily the process of untying the banners or what happened to them after the protest.

In an interview, Biff Ward mentions that she kept two significant things from Pine Gap. The first is a small section of the Greenham Common fence, sent by Greenham women to Pine Gap. The second is a wire and prickled plant formed into a women's symbol, which was a birthday gift created at the camp and given as a gift by Phoenix. She states:

> So these two things are like these concrete mementoes that I got from the occasion, and I've never been able to just throw them aside or put them somewhere else. They're like, you know, important.[88]

Silver Moon lived for several years at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp in the UK, and was there when the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp was held.[89] She, and a group of women at Greenham, contributed a panel to the *Double Our Numbers* banner. The panel featured two women using bolt cutters to cut a wire fence. As well as the banner, Moon notes they also sent a 'hanging of fence wire' created from a section of the Greenham common fence.[90] In return, women protesting at Pine Gap sent a wire sculpture, presumably created from a section of the Pine Gap fence. As Bartlett argues, material culture mattered greatly at Pine Gap and was central to the culture of protest at Pine Gap, which is demonstrated by extensive collections.[91] The

[87] See: *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.

[88] Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, page 18, OH Unit: NTA.

[89] Silver Moon, "Boltcutters," in *Things That Liberate: An Australian Feminist Wunderkammer*, ed. Alison Bartlett and Margaret Henderson (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge, 2013), 61-62, 222.

[90] Presumably, the hanging Moon refers to in her account is the same one that Ward refers to in the interview. Ibid., 61-62.

[91] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the 1983 Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp."

Double Our Numbers banner, as a complete banner, was probably too unwieldy and difficult to be easily collected as a memento, except when broken into individual panels.

The banners were untied and divided at some point and were transported. Biff Ward notes:

> So I think that [the *Double Our Numbers* banner] was a really important contribution, you know. And the pity is, as far as we can ascertain, it's all been broken up. It was stored in Adelaide for a while, and then bits got sent to different places and no one really knows where it is anymore... At one stage I know it was all covered in prickles. I mean it was probably when it came down out of the desert, it was all quite hard to handle, but I think some Adelaide women cleaned it up.[92]

Phoenix, the artist who suggested the project, was also uncertain about what happened to the banners, but mentioned that she is asked relatively often about their fate. She found a note in her archive saying that many banners were lost in transit while on the train to Sydney.[93] Fisher's account implies that at least some banners made it to Sydney and it seems they were briefly exhibited.

> At the first post action meeting of women against global violence in Sydney, I discovered some banners had been brought back in crates. In the final clean up women had rescued as many as possible and I found them roughly folded and packed tight. The elements had plenty of time to add another dimension to the fabric - to layers of sewing, appliqué and paint. The smell of the desert was strong when I shook them out; many were damaged. After consulting the group I took some of the banners home to prepare them for display. The record I made of these will eventually go to the NSW state library.[94]

There are no records of the banners at the Mitchell Library. When asked about the end of the camp, Nancy Shelly reflects: 'Well, we all packed up our things and moved

[92] Ward, interview by Megg Kelham, 2 February 2004, Series No. NTRS 1987, Item no. TS2005, transcript, page 6-7, OH Unit: NTA.
[93] Phoenix/Budden, in conversation with author, 31 May 2016.
[94] I was unable to find the banners at the SLNSW, see: Fisher, "Remember Pine Gap," 33.

off as we meant to. There was no sort of final ceremony, as I recall.' It is likely that the end of the protest was busy and time was short, and the given the size of the banner, it would have been awkward to keep the banner in one piece. It seems that collecting the *Double Our Numbers* banner in its entirety and keeping it together in one collection was an impossible task; it was impossible to archive the entire banner.

The Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp Archive: Fragments of a Banner

The Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp was expected to be an event worth recording. Reports and stories from participants at Pine Gap were published in newspapers throughout the protest. Reflections on the camp appeared in books, journals and newsletters almost immediately after the camp ended, particularly in 1984.[95] There was also a concerted effort by women who attended and by many WFS groups to preserve ephemera and papers relating to the camp. I have come across many copies of the Pine Gap Camp Handbook in different personal files. Hinerangi Ferrall-Heath's copy at VWLLFA includes a few notes in the book, probably written during a workshop, but also has "Karen Silkwood 139/(Women's Symbol) for Survival Camp Pine Gap" on the front in blue pen.[96] This short note seems to have been added later for the benefit of people reading her archive. Although the *Double Our Numbers* banner is fragmented, there is significant material culture from both the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp itself and from solidarity protests around the country, such as the protest in Adelaide.[97] For example, the National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame (NPWHF) in Alice Springs has several spectacular quilts that were used at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, but were not part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner, and they also have a homemade water tank used at the camp.[98] Collections of Pine Gap

[95] See in particular: Girls Own Collective, *Girls' Own: Sydney Feminist Newspaper* 14 (March/April 1984).

[96] See: Women For Survival, *Women for Survival: Pine Gap Camp Handbook November 11-25 1983* (Darwin: Women For Survival, 1983), in "Pine Gap: handbook, leaflets, handwritten notes, articles, press release, booklist, petitions, Pine Gap, South Australia," 2000.213 (100/213): 20/37, Hinerangi Ferrall-Heath: VWLLFA, UMA.

[97] See for example: "Banners and pillowcases for the Feminist Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG)," D 8268 (Misc) OUTSIZE 2, FANG, AWLMA, SLSA.

[98] See: *Women for Survival*, applique with padded figures, Peace Quilt no. 1, Alice Springs, Pam Ditton Donation - Quilts, NPWHF; Alice Springs Peace Group, *National Peace Quilt*, patchwork 7 x 4 squares, mixed media including appliqué, embroidery, paint, texta, pen, Peace Quilt no. 2, Pam Ditton Donation - Quilts, NPWHF; "Homemade water container, galvanised iron drum on stand," Pam Ditton Donation – NPWHF.

Women's Peace Camp material are spread nationally, across a diverse range of institutions, including museums and private collections. JSNWL has the largest collection of Pine Gap material and has set out to collect material relating to the camp, which culminated in an exhibition titled 'Remembering Pine Gap' in 2009.[99] I have located six 'fragments' or panels from the *Double Our Numbers* banner in public collections. It is likely that many of the panels of the *Double Our Numbers* banner survive in public or private collections across Australia, but are unlabelled and therefore unrecognised. They are not easy to locate, but we do have excellent documentation of the banners in the form of photographs, slides and written accounts.[100] In other words, we have an excellent 'archive' of the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp's 'repertoire'.

The six surviving banners come from Sydney, Tasmania, Armidale/Uralla and Alice Springs. The WSRC in Adelaide originally held two panels. They were transferred to AGSA decorative arts collection in 2010 after the WSRC closed. The JSNWL Archive holds the remaining four panels (3-6). The four held by JSNWL are identified as part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner, while the two held by AGSA entered the collection without clear identification. Many fragments of the banner probably survive in private collections, in garages or spare rooms. It is also likely that other public institutions have unidentified panels from the *Double Our Numbers* banner in WFS and personal archives.

The series of slides taken by Frances Phoenix document the front of the majority of panels that comprised the *Double Our Numbers* banner. The slides provide some significant detail such as the main themes, styles and slogans. The majority of banners feature self-portraits, while other images depict archetypal woman figures or feminist heroines such as Emma Goldman. Banners are from across Australia and several are identifiable as from Hobart, Derwent Valley (New Norfolk), Darwin, Perth, Sydney, Adelaide, Armidale-Uralla, Melbourne and one was sent from Sweden and others from Greenham Common in England. Each banner is unique and interprets the themes

[99] Bartlett, "Sites of Feminist Activism," 307-15.
[100] Locating the *Double Our Numbers* banner would require an independent project.

'peace' and 'survival' differently, but there are several major themes and styles. The six locatable panels in collections and archives, to an extent, exemplify the key themes and styles employed across the banner as a whole.

1. 'No Nuclear Bombs'

Figure 16 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 16: Marcia, Brenda and Rowena Ward, 'No Nuclear Bombs' from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, cotton, nylon, fabric dye, synthetic polymer paint on fabric, 200 x 83 cm, Adelaide, AGSA. (Photograph by author)

Marcia, Brenda and Rowena Ward painted 'No Nuclear Bombs' in Sydney in October 1983 (Fig. 16).[101] It is not labelled as being part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner and is instead labelled as a 'Pine Gap protest banner', but it is the right size and Phoenix's slides confirm that it was part of the banner.[102] This fragment was originally held by the WSRC, and was transferred to AGSA in 2013. The painted banner depicts a larger

[101] In AGSA's database, see: "No Nuclear Bombs [Pine gap Protest Banner]," 20134A84A, Adelaide Women's Liberation [Movement] Archive, AGSA.

[102] *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.

than life sized woman, wearing jeans, t-shirt and wearing an anti-nuclear protest sign. The background features an Aboriginal Australian flag. By presenting the flag behind a woman wearing an anti-nuclear sign, and in the context of the peace camp, the image appears to connect Aboriginal people's survival and 'peace' by calling for nuclear disarmament. Either the creators of this panel identified as Aboriginal, or they were unaware that the Alice Springs WFS group had requested that all non-Aboriginal women refrain from using the Aboriginal flag.[103]

2. 'Women Work for Life'

Figure 17 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 17: Section of 'Women Work for Life' possibly from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, cotton, velvet, hessian, wool, fabric dye, nylon rope on fabric, 200 x 200 cm, Adelaide, AGSA. (Photograph by author)

[103] Chloe, "One Woman's Thoughts on Pine Gap Peace Camp," 18.

'Women Work for Life' was created using appliqué, machine embroidery and sections are painted (Fig. 17).[104] I only speculate that this banner was part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner. The banner's maker and its origins are unknown and it is not labelled as a Pine Gap banner or as part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner. As with the previous banner, it was transferred from the WSRC in 2013. The style of the images and words stitched onto the banner indicate it was from a feminist anti-nuclear protest in the 1980s. The size suggests it may have been part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner, as it is two metres long and two metres wide, which meets Phoenix's size specifications. Furthermore, there is an additional roughly stitched section on the back, which appears to be a modification for carrying the banner on a pole. However, this banner is not documented within Phoenix's slides and it does not include a life sized figure, so I cannot be certain that it was part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner. Not all *Double Our Numbers* banner makers followed Phoenix's instructions and some painted or embroidered images of nature or nuclear disaster rather than life sized figures.

The themes of this banner reflect common themes and styles on other *Double Our Numbers* sections. The words 'Women Work for Life' are formed in large appliqué letters along the top of the banner. 'Let your fear become your power' and 'Reweave the web of life' are painted in the upper and lower right hand corners. At the centre of the image, a large black web is stitched into the cloth. On the right hand side, a tree with women and girls gardening and playing amongst flowers and trees represents 'life'. On the left, a painted nuclear mushroom cloud with red dollar signs spraying from the cloud represents the nuclear threat. 'Against nuclear destruction' is written above the mushroom cloud. The image appears to connect women and nature in opposition to nuclear weapons, a common theme seen in many banners, for example, several banners depict women watering or caring for plants.[105]

[104] In AGSA's database see "Women Work for Life," 20134A82A, Adelaide Women's Liberation [Movement] Archive.

[105] *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.

3. 'Untitled'

Figure 18 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 18: Section of the Armidale-Uralla Women For Survival group banner, 'Untitled' from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, paint on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL archives (Photograph by author)

An untitled banner created by the Armidale-Uralla WFS group is by far the longest banner discussed here (Fig. 18).[106] Unlike the previous banners, this banner is from JSNWL in Sydney, and is identified as part of the *Double Our Numbers* Banner. The banner is 12 metres long and 2 metres wide, and includes 14 life-sized portraits of women. Making this banner was a community art project in itself, as according to the JSNWL exhibition, the banner was 'drawn and painted in the Mall in Armidale'.[107] To draw the 14 figures, women lay on the banner and their outlines were traced and then painted. Each woman's name is written above her portrait. Many panels documented

[106] Armidale-Uralla Women For Survival, "Untitled" from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, paint on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL.
[107] Bartlett, "Sites of Feminist Activism," 308.

in Phoenix's slides are large-scale group portraits from WFS groups from across the country, and were painted or embroidered by groups to show collective solidarity with the peace camp at Pine Gap.[108]

4. 'For a Nuclear Free Future'

'For a Nuclear Free Future' is a self-portrait of a woman with her two children and is also held by JSNWL, and is identified as part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner (Fig. 19).[109] It was created from texta and appliqué. We know the makers' first names and that they lived in Sydney, but their last name or names is unknown. The upper right corner appears to have originally featured an Aboriginal flag, which was probably hastily removed to comply with the request to that all non-Aboriginal women refrain from its use during the camp.[110] To make this banner, Ellie, Bronwyn and Joanna cut up their clothes and sewed them to the banner. Several banners include figures created from clothing and there is an image of a woman wearing this banner at Pine Gap.[111] The woman in the image stands wrapped in the banner next to two children. Several other banners documented in the slide series are similar to 'For a Nuclear Free Future'. They depict women and children, and several are self-portraits created in the same way, using the makers' own clothes. For example, one features a woman and child in the foreground, standing with scorched earth in the background. The woman wears a button badge that says 'women for peace' and holds a photograph of green mountainous landscape. The words 'lest we forget' are written above her head, which appears to ask us to remember the effect of war on land, women and children. Linking images of motherhood, anti-nuclear statements and images representing life was a common theme, but there were several forms. For example, one banner from Perth reads: 'Ban all Nuclear Ships/We want our babies to live/Perth/from Debbie and

[108] *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.
[109] Ellie, Bronwyn and Joanna, 'For A Nuclear Free Future' from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, clothing, texta on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL.
[110] Chloe, "One Woman's Thoughts on Pine Gap Peace Camp," 18.
[111] *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.

Jessica'. It features a woman with short spiky hair breastfeeding, and represents her as angry, which is a variation on a common theme across the banners.[112]

Figure 19 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 19: Ellie, Bronwyn and Joanna, 'For A Nuclear Free Future' from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, clothing, texta on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL (Photograph by author)

[112] Ibid.

Figure 20 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 20: Rosemary Brown, 'My Irish Grandmother' from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, paint, embroidery, applique on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL Archive (Photograph by author)

Figure 21 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 21: Frances Phoenix/Budden, 'Ultimate Anarchy' from the *Double Our Numbers* Banner, 1983, paint on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL.(Photograph by author)

5. 'My Irish Great Grandmother'

Rosemary Brown painted 'My Irish Great Grandmother' (Fig. 20).[113] As with the previous banner, it is identified as part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner. It depicts a life-sized barefooted woman in a grey dress, with mountains in the background, Australian flora in the foreground and the branch of a gum tree on the right evoking a Tasmanian landscape. The panel depicts Brown's great grandmother, Mary Kinner. According to the banner, Kinner was transported as a convict to Van Diemen's Land in 1851 just before the end of transportation. The panel's formal elements are similar to 'No Nuclear Bombs' in some respects, as both include full length barefooted women. In the context of this protest, 'My Irish Grandmother' appears to represent the 'survival' of convict women.

6. 'Ultimate Anarchy'

Frances Phoenix/Budden painted 'Ultimate Anarchy' while in Alice Springs, and it is somewhat different to the usual iteration of images on banners featured in sections of the *Double Our Numbers* banner (Fig. 21).[114] Phoenix was also a practicing artist, and her wider practice shaped the design of this particular banner, but she also appears to have respond to the dominant images being sent from across Australia. The text reads: 'The Freedom to think creative thought is the Ultimate Anarchy/Biology alone is not destiny/Women's Liberation/Feminist Futures'. The red, naked figure in the centre meditates, opening her third eye. A small nuclear mushroom cloud is featured behind her head. Around her, a cage of snakes evokes Eve, but the snake cage unravels and they become almost placid in the woman's open hands. An egg shaped circle appears over her womb with the words 'Biology alone is not destiny', which perhaps questions the connection between nature, motherhood and bodies established in the images featured in other sections of the banner. In the lower section of the image, a woman with wings flies towards the viewer.

[113] Rosemary Brown, "My Irish Grandmother" from the *Double Our Numbers* banner, 1983, paint, applique on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL.
[114] Frances Phoenix/Budden, 'Ultimate Anarchy' from the *Double Our Numbers* Banner, 1983, paint on fabric, Sydney, JSNWL.

The few surviving locatable banners illustrate most of the major themes painted, embroidered or drawn on sections of the *Double Our Numbers* banner, as documented in Phoenix's slides.[115] Images of women tending the earth or gardens are often juxtaposed with representations of nuclear destruction, feminist historical figures and in particular depictions of women with children dominate the banner as a whole. However, there is one theme that is missing from these surviving locatable panels: representations of lesbian groups supporting the camp. One banner, which I did not manage to locate within a collection was called 'Lesbians without fear for their own survival'. It depicts two women kissing, holding a pink triangle. On the left the words 'the war against women is over' and the right 'then lets get out of the closets and ghettos and dance'. A black and white drawing of the banner was printed in *Grapevine* in 1984.[116] In an article, Margaret Merilees reflects on the exclusion of lesbian women from press coverage of the camp:

> in retrospect, I don't think that lesbians were visible enough in the image of the camp that we were projecting publicly… I wish I had said (in more than a mutter) "I'm not a grandmother or anything respectable. I'm a LESBIAN and that's why I'm here."[117]

The camp's media strategy was to focus on maternal figures such as mothers, grandmothers, or alternatively nuns, in order to undermine the press's representation of the Pine Gap camp.[118] However, this led to self-censorship. According to *Grapvine* the 'Lesbians without Fear' banner was 'twice censored' from public viewing. In Merilee's article, the banner is referred to as 'her' and 'she'. The banner's maker chose not to include 'her' in a public display of banners held immediately before the camp in Alice Springs. The banner was also withheld from a public exhibition of a selection of banners held in Sydney following the Pine Gap peace camp. However, the panel was part of the *Double Our Numbers* banner. None of the slides fully documents the

[115] *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.
[116] [Frances Phoenix?], "Double Our Numbers Banner (Censored)," *Grapevine* 48 (1984), photocopies held by Megg Kelham, Private Collection. The drawing of the banner was provided by Phoenix.
[117] Margaret Merilees, "Pine Gap and Separatism," *Liberation* 97 (1985): 5.
[118] Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," 32.

'Lesbians without Fear' banner, but sections can be glimpsed in slides taken during the procession (Fig. 22).[119]

Figure 22 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 22: Section of the *Double Our Numbers* Banner including 'Lesbians without Fear', 'My Irish Grandmother' and the banner from the Armidale/Uralla WFS group, slide taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, JSNWL archives (Photograph by author)

The Relationship between Repertoire and Archive

According to Rozsika Parker, making and using banners at the Women's Peace Camp in Berkshire England developed with a particular purpose, as the process evoked a sense of unity between women protesting. Parker argues that the Women's Peace Movement 'deliberately evoked the [feminine] meaning of embroidery to emphasise that they were campaigning against the nuclear threat *as women*'.[120] However, banner making did not simply 'emphasise' that protesters were campaigning against the nuclear threat as women. Instead, the repertoire of making and displaying banners momentarily *created* a shared identity between women and made such peace camps

[119] *Double Our Numbers* slides, taken by Frances Phoenix/Budden, AC 2002, Pine Gap Collections: JSNWL Archives.
[120] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 210.

possible. This reinterpretation of Parker's work applies Joan Scott's argument in *The Fantasy of Feminist History*.[121] In "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," Bartlett made a somewhat similar point about the importance of material culture in materialising identity, but here I bring this explicitly in relation to the archive and its relationship with performing protest, with Taylor's use of repertoire.[122] The *Double Our Numbers* banner was a particularly powerful iteration of this repertoire. The act of tying the banners together, banners from all across Australia, into one long streamer and carrying it to the gates of Pine Gap was central to the process of momentarily creating unity despite conflicts leading up to and during the camp. In sharp contrast, untying the banners was never treated as a ceremonial moment and is difficult to remember: it is barely archived. There are no images of women unpicking the panels, few memories of what happened to the panels and only a handful of the panels are identifiable in public collections.

What would it have meant if the process of untying and collecting the *Double Our Numbers* banner panels had been turned into an action at the end of the camp? What if 'archiving' the banner at the end of the camp was turned into a ceremony or performance? It is easy to imagine, through the lens of this thesis, the division of the *Double Our Numbers* banner as a deliberate performance creating an archive, and perhaps concluding the camp. Women came from all across Australia, momentarily worked together at the camp and then returned home, and the ceremonial division of the banners could have symbolised this process. However, this was not possible. Dividing the banner as a performance would perform division, and there were certain aspects of the camp that could not be performed for the wider public. According to Kelham, the camp developed its own particular temporal rhythm:

> Dissent in discussion, unity in action became the cyclical rhythm of a protest which seemed to develop a character of its own independent of … attempts to control its form.[123]

[121] See: Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 210; Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 48-54.
[122] See: Bartlett, "Feminist Protest and Cultural Production at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp," 181; Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire*, 20.
[123] Kelham, "Waltz in P-Flat," 181.

In other words, there were intense discussions before and after each action occurred. Conflict, disagreement and disunity could not be part of public actions. Instead, conflict was addressed collectively and when possible, discussed until those present agreed. Division, disagreement and conflict between women protesting were part of the repertoire of women's peace camps. Discussions and debate were central to such collective political actions.[124] Conflict is widely documented in the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp archive, particularly in the Alice Springs WFS papers, which outline the problems organisers encountered beforehand.[125] However, such division and conflict tended not to be integrated into public performances and actions. Making the division of the *Double Our Numbers* banners a performance at the end of the camp would undermine the presentation, and feeling, of women protesting collectively.

Conclusion

The *Double Our Numbers* banner was integral to the performance of protest at the Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp. It was central, I argue here, to momentarily unifying women at the camp, and feeling unity to an extent made such protests coherent. The banner's role in the 'Remembrance Day Ceremony' and procession are therefore very well remembered and extensively documented in impressions, in slides, photographs and in later written reflections and articles. However, the banner itself was divided and its division is difficult to trace or remember, and only a few fragments are identifiable in public collections. Although we have many impressions of the banner, the *Double Our Numbers* Banner itself has been almost impossible to archive. Division between women cannot easily be publicly performed when it comes to Women's Peace Camps, and this perhaps applies more broadly to the repertoire of second wave feminist protest.

Much of the literature of the archival turn tends to suggest analysing archives as mechanisms or practices that generate rather than document the past,[126] and this is my primary focus throughout this thesis. For example, Stoler argues that archives of

[124] See the diagram in the camp handbook for an overview of collective decision making processes: Women For Survival, *Women for Survival: Pine Gap Camp Handbook November 11-25 1983,* 8.
[125] Particularly see Kelham's discussion: Kelham, "Waltz in P Flat," 176-78.
[126] For further discussion of approaching the archive, see Chapter One and Chapter Two.

colonial governance are the mechanism that allowed colonial governance to function and can therefore be read for power and resistance, rather than for information or documentation of a period.[127] In terms of this thesis, for example, the VWLLFA is more than an impression of a movement, performance or experience. Instead, the VWLLFA archive is the mechanism through which particular feminisms operate in the present and by my use of that archive, particular relationships are created. In this thesis, I address the archive itself, its material form, as a way of 'knowing' second wave and as a way of doing activism. To use Taylor's terms, archiving operates as a feminist 'repertoire' or performance that creates a tangible archive. Sometimes though, the particular repertoire or performance of feminist protest resists creating particular kinds of archives, which is demonstrated by the *absence* of the *Double Our Numbers* banner in collections and its overwhelming *presence* in texts, slides and photographs of the protest. Without memories of the event, I primarily 'know' the banner through texts, slides and photographs rather than through the banner itself, which reveals the relationship between performances of protest and archiving protest. Sometimes it is the archive itself, its form and structure, which can be analysed to reveal what was possible and impossible to perform in a particular context.

[127] Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," 83-102.

Chapter Seven: Sylvia Kinder's Button Badges

Early chapters in this thesis, Chapters Two and Three, concentrated on collective women's liberation archives in Adelaide and Melbourne. Chapters Four and Five addressed museum collections and exhibitions as 'archives' of the second wave, and Chapter Six primarily dealt with absence, with what is missing or difficult to locate within archives, and argued that practices of protest, how protests occur, are central to the form an archive takes. This chapter returns to where this thesis began in Chapter Two, to the AWLMA. In Chapter Two I staged the affect of encountering objects in second wave archives, which involved placing a description of the encounter with a series of objects to demonstrate and hopefully replicate their affect within the text. Here, I stage readings or interpretations of objects in an archive. This chapter specifically reflects on what it means to read Sylvia Kinder's button badge archive, which is held by the AWLMA.

Sylvia Kinder presented the AWLMA with an extensive personal file including 160 badges, 50 paper-based files, 10 sound recordings, two dozen t-shirts and a banner, which is now held at the SLSA.[1] The material mostly dates from the 1970s and 1980s. Like many other activists who later donated their papers, she filed ephemera from campaigns or issues she worked on, her reading lists, photocopied articles, material from events or conferences she organised or attended, and drafts of papers. Kinder also wrote a short history of women's liberation in 1981 titled *Herstory of the Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement 1969-1974*;[2] therefore, her archive also includes research material and sources relating to the early years of women's liberation, such as a taped series of interviews with women involved in early actions, as well as drafts of the text. Kinder's archive has a structure that is easy to follow. Papers are carefully organised under titled files organised by theme, political issue or event, and the archive is organised by material type, into papers, t-shirts and banners, tapes and badges. This is a relatively standard archival practice within personal files and in collective women's liberation archives such as the AWLMA. Somewhat unusually,

[1] "Sylvia Kinder: Summary Record," PRG 1500, Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA.
[2] Kinder, *Herstory of the Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement.*

Kinder also labelled her material culture collections. In particular, she organised her button badge collection by attaching individual labels to specific badges and I read her labels as an invitation to 'read' her badge archive.

In this chapter I 'stage' several different readings of Kinder's button badge archive. I first theorise the term 'paper-work' and then outline two different interpretations of Kinder's badge archive as 'paper-work'. In the final section, I move from paper-work to 'sound-work', and narrate the badges using an interview I conducted with Kinder in 2014 and an interview conducted by Susan Magarey in 1996.[3] Together these different readings can be read as an 'archive story', examining what it means to read different kinds of material. This chapter is therefore a meditation on what it means to read things in archives, particularly when the donor is able to, intentionally or otherwise, intervene and re-shape a researcher's initial interpretation of their material held in a public archive through interviews.

At some point, future encounters with 1970s and 1980s activism will only be through second hand memory or what materially remains in archives, private and public. This chapter therefore begins where Chapter Two concluded, with Joan Scott's reflection on what it means for people to come and read her papers. She writes:

> We can't prevent the dullards from reading our papers, and they will surely represent us in ways we cannot abide. But the bet one makes in leaving behind the records of a life (or, for that matter, in writing a book) committed to critical thought is that some readers will be moved to think with us, albeit differently.[4]

Consciously creating public archives is to a large extent an attempt to ensure that a particular present or past can be narrated in the future. There is no guarantee that things will be read in the way intended, or even be legible, instead it is inevitable that material will be read differently even when users are affected by the material. This chapter therefore demonstrates an attempt to 'think with' Kinder's archive. It is also,

[3] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014; Kinder, interview by Susan Magarey, 7 February, 1996, OH 346/17, A History of the Australian Women's Movement since 1967, J.D Somerville OH Collection: SLSA.
[4] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 148.

unintentionally, a narrative about feeling like a 'dullard' for reading differently, even though different readings are not only inevitable, but also central to the purpose of this thesis. As with previous chapters, my underlying argument is that self-reflexive analysis of things in second wave archives generates unexpected, untidy historical narratives.

Paper-work

In 2014, the Australian Women's History Network (AWHN) conference, titled 'Paper-work: Gendering the Archive', invited the network to address 'paper and paper-work in history from a gendered perspective'.[5] Unusually, the call for papers used the terms 'paper-work' and 'the archive' as synonyms. Paperwork refers to: 'written or clerical work, as the keeping of records, especially considered as an essential but uninteresting part of some occupation'.[6] To do paperwork is to archive, and to archive is to do paperwork. Paperwork of any kind creates an archive and archiving often involves working with papers, but the two terms have different weight within academic scholarship. In the late 2000s, in *The Intimate Archive: Journeys through Private Papers*, Dever, Vickery and Newman began their study by reflecting on archives as 'sexy' intellectual terrain:

> The question for us is when did archives suddenly become sexy? Certainly that is how they appear to us today. Once considered the province of only the most dedicated literary scholar or historian, the archive has become something of a crossover success story in Academe and beyond. Researchers across the humanities are now writing about the concept of the archive and talking about their latest bout of 'archive fever'.[7]

They understand the term archive as being under immense 'epistemological pressure'.[8] 'Paperwork', though, has none of the 'epistemological pressure' or desirability of 'the archive' or 'archive fever'. Paperwork is usually used to refer to mundane and routine

[5] See: "2014 Symposium," AWHN, accessed May 25, 2018, http://www.auswhn.org.au/past-symposia-and-conferences/2014-symposium.
[6] Macquarie Dictionary, s.v. "paperwork," accessed 3 June 2018.
[7] Dever, Newman, and Vickery, *The Intimate Archive,* 1.
[8] Ibid., 10.

archiving, while archive in academic studies influenced by the archival turn evokes the study of systems of knowledge and knowing, and often implies an analysis of power and desire. The 2014 AWHN conference sought to place the term 'paper-work' under similar pressure to 'archive'. When placed under pressure, the term 'paper-work' becomes ambiguous and flexible. However, unlike archive, the term 'paper-work' demands analysis of the materiality of paper and the ontological aspects of paper or papers. In 2013, when reflecting on the ways 'paper traditionally "disappears" from the researcher's view', Dever argued that digitisation encourages researchers to rethink what is beneath their fingertips. She summarises:

> In short, any 'thinking through the archive' that digitisation sponsors should engage us equally in 'thinking through paper' with a renewed sensitivity to the work that paper does.[9]

The term 'archive', post archival turn, often deflects the materiality of the archive or archives, and can overlook tangible things and bodily experiences particularly in 'traditional' archives. Feminist and queer archival studies tend to challenge such assumptions.[10] Using the term 'paper-work' at the AWHN invited feminist historians to participate in this conversation, to analyse the materiality and labour associated with or created by an archive or archives when writing history.

At the conference I delivered a presentation on button badge collections. The 'paper-work' associated with button badges is neither routine nor mundane. I understand second wave badge collections as 'paper-work' in three respects. First and quite simply, making button badges usually requires inscribing and copying, and then cutting up paper, and can therefore be called 'paper-work'. Secondly, doing feminist 'paper-work' is another way of describing the process of archiving women's liberation, as archiving the movement requires that women collect, organise and label material to make it accessible, which involves paper, papers and extensive paper-work. Finally,

[9] Dever, "Provocations on the Pleasures of Archived Paper," 173, 180.

[10] See for example: Marika Cifor, "Stains and Remains: Liveliness, Materiality, and the Archival Lives of Queer Bodies," *Australian Feminist Studies* 32, no. 91-92 (2017): 5-21. doi:10.1080/08164649.2017.1357014. For recent questions and analysis of relationships between feminism, archives and labour, see special issues: Katrina Dean, "Editorial," *Archives and Manuscripts* 46, no. 1 (2018): 1-2. doi:10.1080/01576895.2018.1440109; Maryanne Dever, "Editorial: Archives and New Modes of Feminist Research," *Australian Feminist Studies* 32, no. 91-92 (2017): 1. doi:10.1080/08164649.2017.1357017.

writing histories of women's liberation often requires researchers to do paper-work, as accessing, sorting through, reading and interpreting papers, can also be a form of 'paper-work', which is also an archival practice.

Paper-work I

First, badge making usually involves creatively working with and wearing something made of paper. Most badges in women's liberation archives were pressed on a small portable badge machine and therefore feature several components: a plastic front cover, a plastic or metal backing with an inbuilt pin and clasp, and crucially in the context of 'paper-work', a slip of paper cut into a circle and featuring either a hand drawn, typed, letrasetted, photocopied or printed slogan or image. The VWLLFA has a collection of incomplete button badges, which demonstrates the centrality of paper to the process of badge making. The incomplete badges consist of a series of roughly cut, brightly coloured paper circles and squares that appear to have been replicated on a photocopier.[11] Most are printed with the women's symbol, lesbian liberation symbol or declarations such as 'Lesbians Unite', 'Women Unite and Fight' and 'Lesbians Demand Custody Rights'.[12] Occasionally badges were produced by laminating or marking metal and gluing the pin and clasp to the back, but most badges were created on a small portable badge machine and therefore feature inscribed or copied slips of paper.

Gail Green, one of the founding members of Western Australian based feminist peace group, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND),[13] vividly remembers WAND's badge machine, purchased in 1984:

> It was a simple pewter-coloured cast metal press kit, perhaps thirty centimetres long. The simple lever action pressed together the various layers of the badge – plastic coating, paper artwork sheet and hard plastic backing with pin attached. Success! Mass production![14]

[11] "Women and Children in Transition," 2010.0011, Badge Album No.2, Photographs and Badges: VWLLFA, UMA. Also locatable under: "Badge-making - photocopied sheets of badges on paper for cutting out," 2000.0300: 40/1/2, Women and Children in Transition: VWLLFA, UMA.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Murray, "Taking the Toys from the Boys," 6.
[14] Green, "Badges," 32.

Although badges were mass-produced on portable button badge machines, they could easily be modified so each badge was still unique. There are several 'Lest We Forget Women Raped in War' badges held in the AWLMA, and each features a photocopied image, but each is a different colour and one is modified with hand painted ink.[15] When reflecting on the badges WAND created, Green narrates the process, as her badge collection:

> reminds me of a badge making session at my house in the frantic few weeks before the [1984 Cockburn Sound peace] camp. Maybe half a dozen women were there, doing the creative jobs that should have been done earlier when we were not tired and worn out but still, as ever, just getting on with the job. We were armed with a typewriter, scissors, rulers, fine line black felt pens and possibly some leftover Letrasett. Letrasett – my goodness, I remember struggling with the high technology too - patiently rubbing letters on to sheets of paper and pretending they looked professional! On the first day of the camp in Cockburn Sound, all these badges were laid out on a table and we listened to telegrams from supporters from throughout the world, I remember looking with fresh eyes – they seemed paltry, amateur and so corny. Still I love the statements of intent [on the badge] that women would not continue to be victims of war…[16]

Making badges on a badge machine was labour intensive, but allowed the collective to mass-produce and personalise their message. In many respects, the badge machine functioned in the same way as the gestetner printer and visual printmaking practice,[17] as badge machines allowed individuals or collectives to mass-produce and distribute feminist texts, images or slogans; to experiment with and develop feminist protest cultures; and finally they were also a way to raise funds.

[15] "Badges relating to women's rights and feminism," PRG 1491/24/3, Molly Brannigan: AWLMA, SLSA; "Feminist Badges," PRG 1499/8, Anni Dugdale: AWLMA, SLSA; "Badges," PRG 1500/52, Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA.

[16] Green, "Badges," 35.

[17] For a discussion of Gestetner printing, see: Taylor "Gestetner," 91-6.

In *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, Eichhorn reflects on the temporality of second and third wave material:

> just as the content and aesthetic of a monthly newspaper and zine often share more rather than less in common, their promise is different. If the former [monthly newspaper] promises to return until proven irrelevant… the latter [zines] makes no such guarantee—its power to bring about change is located in, rather than despite, its unpredictability.[18]

Eichhorn focuses on printed publications and therefore overlooks the button badge. The production of button badges has more in common with what she calls 'third wave' paper practices from the 1990s than with 'second wave' practices in the 1970s and 1980s. Button badges, like zines, do not 'promise to return' as they are not printed according to a schedule and are unnumbered; instead button badges were stamped out sporadically in unknown numbers when an individual or collective could make time, or when it was timely to design and distribute a particular badge. Badges were usually sold, worn at least once and then unpredictably, may or may not be worn again, and may or may not be collected. Kinder describes how she acquired her button badges:

> most of them would have been … purchased at conferences and rallies… or we would have produced them to sell at the women's centre and I would have worn most of them at some stage for whatever it was [created for][19]

She notes that some badges, such as badges that refer to an annual march, may have been worn each year, while other badges would have only been worn once or twice.[20] When Kinder was finished with each badge she pinned it to a piece of hessian on a wall, and that was how they became a collection, she explained: 'I had them I had a big piece of hessian like backing material and had it hanging up like a great big banner'.[21] When I interviewed Julia Ryan, one of the founding members of Women's Liberation

[18] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, viii.
[19] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.

in Canberra,[22] she had pinned her favourite button badges to a pin-cushion, which she kept in her bedroom on display; the rest of her collection was stored along with her papers.[23] Molly Brannigan, a member of women's liberation in Adelaide pinned her favourite button badges to a fabric belt for display, and kept the rest in boxes.[24] The temporality of the button badge is unpredictable and is in the hands of the individual who makes or buys, wears and keeps the badge. Until they become part of a public institutional collection, they can be unpinned and worn whenever they seem timely, or conversely worn because they seem untimely, as temporal drag.[25]

Paper-work II

Secondly, and importantly in terms of the framing of this thesis, button badges often appear in women's liberation or feminist archives, and such archives are created by and require ongoing feminist 'paper-work', paper-work of a different kind to button badge making.[26] When considering Sylvia Kinder's button badge collection, paper-work took a particular unique form, which indicates that she consciously archived her badges. Before placing her button badge collection with her papers in the AWLMA, Kinder placed a tiny sticky paper label on the back under or below the pin (Fig. 23).[27] Kinder's labels often note the approximate date of production or place of origin, or alternatively imply where she wore the badge or how it was acquired. Seventy-one of Kinder's one hundred and sixty button badges are labelled, and no other button badge collection I have viewed includes individual explanatory labels. Such labelling can be understood as 'paper-work' as it literally involved working with paper, but more broadly, it is an archival practice.

[22] For Julia Ryan's discussion of women's liberation in Canberra, see: Julia Ryan, interview by Sara Dowse, 26 September 1990, Tape 1, Side 1, Oral History and Folklore Collection, National Library of Australia.
[23] Julia Ryan, interview with author, 17 February 2015; Julia Ryan, button badges, private collection.
[24] Molly Brannigan, interview with author, 24 November 2015; "Women's rights badges and sash," PRG 1491/24, Molly Brannigan: AWLMA, SLSA.
[25] Temporal drag is Eichorn's interpretation of Freeman, where creating or using a second wave archive is about being in time differently. See: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 27-28.
[26] Many collections and archives have collections of feminist badges: the AWLMA (discussed in this chapter); the VWLLFA held by UMA; The First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Collection held by the SLNSW; Flinders University Special Collections has a large button badge collection; The NMA holds feminist badges in Meredith Hinchcliffe's collection; Museum of Australian Democracy at Old Parliament House in Canberra and MAAS also have button badge collections and finally, the JSNWL hold a large number of button badges.
[27] "Badges," PRG 1500/52, Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA.

Figure 23 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 23: An example of Sylvia Kinder's badge labelling practice, AWLMA, SLSA. These badges specifically relate to conferences Kinder attended in the 1970s and 1980s, photograph sent to Kinder in June 2014 (Photograph by author and Storm Graham)

Kinder's badges are wrapped in tissue paper and placed in a brown box designed for standard A4 papers rather than 'realia' or material culture.[28] The badges do not appear to be placed in any particular order; instead, Kinder's labels loosely organise her collection. When I first viewed Kinder's badge collection, as with Anni Dugdale's collection discussed in Chapter Two, the badges were surprising and unfamiliar. They presented an unfamiliar feminist language and a different way of speaking and being feminist. However, using Kinder's paper-work, using her labels, I could read her button badge archive to an extent. Before I interviewed Kinder, I unwrapped all of her badges and then physically organised them into categories on the table, pushing them around like checkers until the order seemed to reflect the badges within the collection. I organised them into two categories that reflected how I read Kinder's badges: into 'common' widely available badges; and badges that were more unusual and surprised or shocked.

[28] Ibid.

A. Common Mass Produced Badges[29]

Within Kinder's collection there are many well-known badges, badges that were mass-produced and are still easily recognisable and symbolic of 1970s and 1980s feminist activism. For example, button badges featuring the women's symbol, such as a purple and white badge in Kinder's collection, which she notes on the back of the badge: 'Women's liberation symbol. Design USA combines liberation fist (black power) women's sign, colour of suffrage movement originally 1968'. There are five badges with the women's symbol in different colour combinations in Kinder's collection. Other iconic badges in Kinder's collection are from national or international events such as the three identical cream and pink 'International Women's Day' badges; she labels one as 'General Australia, late 1970s, approx. 1979' another as 'Adelaide early 1980s' and the third is unlabelled: the labels appear to document when she acquired the badge.

Another widely distributed series of badges are the green and black series produced for International Women's Year, such as 'A woman's place is everywhere', 'You are among equals', 'Never Underestimate the Power of a Woman' and 'Women on the move'; Kinder marked each badge as 'International Women's Year 1975 Aust'. Badges such as 'Women need unions need women/Aus Women's Department' from the Australian women's union of students and 'Abortion is a woman's right to Choose!' from the WAAC also fall into this category. Badges such as these call for action, but also announce Kinder's participation in and support for what is now broadly referred to as second wave feminism. Kinder's labels on these badges provide general historical context, but also sometimes imply when she acquired and wore the badge. Most women who participated in 1970s and 1980s feminist protests in Australia would have worn these badges at some point and I expected to find copies of them within women's liberation archives. I selected a few to illustrate the category and show Kinder's labelling system, but I quickly pushed them to one side.

[29] Ibid.

Figure 24 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 24: Selection of button badges from Sylvia Kinder's archive, from the AWLMA, SLSA, which I read as 'cultural disruption', photograph sent to Kinder in June 2014 (Photograph by author and Storm Graham)

B. Shocking or Rule Breaking Badges[30]

I primarily focused on badges that surprised me in some way, badges that affected how I perceived 'second wave' feminism and made it possible to think differently about the recent past. I therefore primarily focused on badges that prompted 'the shock of the feminist', to use Henderson's term,[31] or to use Magarey's terms, badges that 'recall the exuberance of Women's Liberation's cultural renaissance, its disorderly rule breaking'[32] which was, when I started this thesis, an entirely unfamiliar aspect of second wave to me. Many badges within Kinder's collection demonstrate how central provocative visual and creative practices were to women's liberation politics and culture (Fig. 24 & 26). Badges such as: 'We're not all straight in the festival state!' and 'IWD a new form of contraception?'; all three have B.A.M stamped on the back, which indicates that they were made on a local badge machine.[33] Another badge, 'If we can

[30] Ibid.
[31] Margaret Henderson, "Wonders Taken for Signs: The Cultural Activism of the Australian Women's Movement as Avant-Garde Reformation," *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal* 17-18 (2012): 115, 117.
[32] Magarey, "Feminism as Cultural Renaissance", 244.
[33] Green, "Badges", 32.

send one man to the moon why not send ALL?', which Kinder notes was from '1980s USA' and a second Australian copy, 'If they can send a man to the moon why can't they send them all?' which Kinder notes also dates from the 1980s. These badges appear to be humorous provocations, and appear to seek to shock, but also appear to use humour. Other badges such as 'Lest We Forget Women Raped in War' challenge the representation of Anzac. Three unlabelled International Women's Day badges from 1985 with 'B.A.M' stamped on the back state: 'I'm still angry', 'Feminist thugs for freedom' and 'The satisfaction badge'. The three badges appear to reference feminist visual practices and stereotypes for an audience familiar with the style of the movement. Such badges appear to demonstrate how central visual and creative practices were to women's liberation politics and culture; they reflect women's liberation as 'cultural disruption'.[34]

When describing her archive, Kinder primarily narrates her personal file from a historical perspective and as a historical source; for example, I asked, 'Why did you collect the material [held in your archive]?'

> first of all ummm it's good to frame it I studied History when I was studying at teacher's college so [that] made me aware of the importance of primary source material [...]
>
> and historiography in general
>
> what happens [later] of course is that *we* [emphasises] recognised that *we* [emphasises] didn't know about the suffragettes
>
> we actually thought that they were conservative in many ways [...] the resources weren't as easily available and I mean when we first started reading in the early 70s there was only really roneoed off papers from the First Second and Third Year [US] studies and later on *Sisterhood* and books like that [but early on] there was hardly any written material [...]
>
> then [later] we started to realise how much material there was around that had been lost in a way

[34] Magarey, "Feminism as Cultural Renaissance", 235.

> so uh I think that was the motivation to
> when we gradually became more aware of what of *we* [emphasises] didn't know and we started learning through women's studies what was around we realised we had to start saving stuff too for the future[35]

She frames archiving as preserving sources to write history, to ensure that herstories of women's liberation, histories of feminism, could be written in the future and that feminist activism in the period would not be lost or forgotten. Through archiving her material related to the movement, but also through writing *Herstory of the Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement 1969-1974,*[36] Kinder set out to ensure that primary and secondary sources were easily available to researchers or activists interested in the history of the movement in Adelaide. If archives construct rather than document their subjects, then the task of archiving women's liberation seems to primarily have been to construct the movement, not the self.

Within Women's Liberation Archives such as the VWLLFA and AWLMA, there is a division between private records and organisational records. Kinder's records, including her badges, are marked as a 'Private Record Group' (PRG). The central difference between private and organisational records in the context of these two archives is that 'private' records were usually donated by an individual and 'organisational' records were usually donated by an individual or group representing a collective. However, there is little difference between the material held within 'private' and 'organisational' files. Both tend to efface the 'personal' in favour of the 'political', [37] to the point where women's lives beyond their participation in political actions are often untraceable within their papers. When analysing the construction of feminist identity within an archive from well-known Brisbane based feminist, Merle Thornton, Henderson observes that there is almost no documentation of Thornton's private life:

> They [her papers] are conventional in terms of the form, organisation and style of documents that are included and in the separation of the

[35] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.
[36] See: Kinder, *Herstory of the Adelaide Women's Liberation Movement.*
[37] A reference to the iconic phrase associated with women's liberation: 'The Personal is Political'.

> personal from the public domains. At the same time, they are feminist in the content, specifically in the way in which all of her public activities have a political impetus and the fact that these activities often overlap. The personal is only a faint presence, perhaps attributable to what Thornton wished to see kept for the public record – the personal may be political, but it may also be kept private.[38]

Although Henderson stresses the specificity of Thornton as a feminist subject, this statement applies to most women's liberation personal files, including Kinder's archive. For example, Bon Hull's papers discussed in Chapter Three rarely included private material about her life beyond her political activism.[39] Within Kinder's personal files there is almost no 'private' material; there are no diaries, birthday cards, bills, shopping lists, notes or letters or other papers about or from family, friends, girlfriends or partners. There are no bits of paper, such as scribbled scrunched up notes that appear as if they were supposed to go in a bin, and appear accidentally caught in between other papers. Kinder's archive at the AWLMA is organised and edited to ensure that her papers directly relate to her political activities and the movement more broadly. Her papers document her participation in a collective movement, and her life beyond a public or collective political role is implied by ephemera from events or protests rather than directly addressed. However, Kinder's badges appear to be the exception. Her badge collection appears to more directly remember and document her particular participation in the women's liberation movement, her participation in collectives. Looking at her badges and the labels, it is possible to roughly sketch out Kinder's life as an activist, to trace the events, dances, actions and protests she attended in the 1970s and 1980s, and the declarations she embodied by wearing these badges. From her collection I can tell that they were meaningful enough to keep, label and place in an archive. Her badge collection, unlike the rest of her papers, appears to reflect aspects of her 'personal' and 'political' life.

[38] Henderson, "Archiving the Feminist Self," 99.
[39] See listing: 2000.0108 (100/108), Bon Hull: VWLLFA, UMA.

Sound-work

When I interviewed Kinder in 2014,[40] she remembered one particular badge well and asked: 'I hope you've got the one 'I'm a humourless feminist?' Before the interview began, before I started recording, Kinder narrated this particular badge vividly. After a protest, while wearing overalls, she said she was at the supermarket and an unknown woman came over and asked 'Why don't you have a sense of humour?' It seems understanding feminist humour required familiarity with how feminists spoke to one another and how feminism was often presented in the media. This badge is missing from her archive, and the only way I know it is missing, is because she remembered it and recounted this story. If badges are not collected, because they were not stamped with a number to indicate how many were produced, there is no way to trace their absence in an archive, except by asking donors. When considering newsletters released on a schedule, which are numbered and dated, or screen-prints inscribed with a number in one corner to track how many were printed, it is easy to know if a print or newsletter is 'missing'. Therefore, there are certain limitations with reading 'paper-work', as there are things that papers and paper based archives cannot reveal. Therefore, in this section I turn to consider 'sound-work'.

If 'paper-work' refers to creating, organising or reading paper or papers, then 'sound-work' is speech and speaking and includes recording, listening and interpreting speech. In 2014, I interviewed Kinder over the phone and I subsequently listened to an oral history conducted with Kinder by Magarey, dating from 1996.[41] In the previous section I demonstrated how I read Kinder's paper-work. Here I demonstrate how I listened to Kinder speak or to her 'sound-work'. If a source's materiality matters, then speaking or listening to sound is very different to inscribing and reading paper, and the two therefore do different 'work'. I primarily demonstrate how I used Kinder's 'sound-work' to read her badges. Here I construct a narrative around a single badge, around Kinder's 'International Women's Day Badge'.

[40] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.
[41] Kinder, interview by Susan Magarey, 7 February, 1996, OH 346/17, A History of the Australian Women's Movement since 1967, J.D Somerville OH Collection: SLSA.

For the interview in 2014, I selected badges from Kinder's archive that I thought were representative of the two categories and narrative in the previous section and sent her 15 photographs. I placed a few iconic, mass produced badges in the images, but I overwhelmingly focused on handmade badges, unique badges, badges that were given as gifts and badges that when worn were likely to either playfully or provocatively disrupt. After the interview, I realised I had 'curated' Kinder's badge archive; I had created a new archive from hers. By selecting and sorting her badge collection into categories, I unintentionally required Kinder to speak through my interpretation of her 'paper-work', which is evident in the way she discussed the badges in the interview. There are moments where there are long pauses and 'ummmms' while Kinder flicked through and searched for a particular badge:

> PM: are there any badges you remember vividly?
>
> SK: there is
>
> there's a very important one umm which is umm I'm just turning them [the page] over
>
> [long pause]
>
> there's one with uh it's uh where is it
>
> a white one with a women's liberation sign on it uh
>
> with a purple-y women's liberation sign it says I think it says 'International Women's Day' anyway urm
>
> anyway why can't I find it maybe I forgot to print it
>
> PM: there are a lot [of badges] in there [the archive] and this is just a tiny number of them
>
> SK: oh is there more than this? Ah here it is [Fig. 25]
>
> white International Women's Day and it has a women's liberation sign in the middle with a fist[42]

[42] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.

Figure 25 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 25: A selection of badges from Sylvia Kinder's archive, AWLMA, SLSA, chosen to give an overview of her collection. Photograph sent to Kinder in June 2014 (Photograph by author and Storm Graham)

Often, she would have to search through to see if the badge she had in mind was amongst the images, and they were not in an order that made any particular sense to her. Yet, there are points where our readings appear to align. At one point in the interview she discussed a badge I had become particularly fond of, a badge with the words: 'I'm enduring marriage as a undercover agent for women's liberation army' (Fig. 26).[43] She says: 'we had a ball actually … I suppose we reacted to the hoo haa [of Diana and Charles' wedding]'. She explains:

> you know
> and we were just reacting to that
> ummm but that was sort of [the] sort of thing that we would do
> and have a ball about it[44]

[43] "Badges," PRG 1500/52, Sylvia Kinder: AWLMA, SLSA.
[44] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.

What Kinder describes here as 'the sort of thing that we would do' could also be described using Magarey's term, as the *Don't do It Di Dance* is an example of 'disorderly rule breaking' and 'cultural disruption', which is how I interpreted this badge.[45] Unsurprisingly, given Kinder is the donor and I am the researcher using her archive, there were many points where Kinder narrated and valued the badges differently.

Figure 26 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 26: Selection of badges from Sylvia Kinder's archive, AWLMA, SLSA, including a badge from the *Don't do It Di Dance*, photograph sent to Kinder in June 2014 (Photograph by author and Storm Graham)

To my surprise, during the interview Kinder drew my attention to the pink and cream International Women's Day badge first and described it as particularly important (Fig. 25). Within her collection Kinder has three identical 'International Women's Day' badges and for the interview I chose the one labelled 'General Australia, late 1970s, approx 1979' to represent 'common' women's liberation badges. Until I spoke with Kinder, I did not take much notice of it. She explains:

> There were *loads* [emphasises] of those [International Women's Day badges] produced [be]cause International Women's Day was United Nations and it was during the Whitlam era and it was

[45] For relevant scholarship, see: Magarey, "Feminism as Cultural Renaissance," 235, 244.

> supported by the government and it was also supported by the states and
> uh there were committees all over the place and there were loads of those badges
> and what I like about it is the exact
> ummm [long pause]
> *symbol* [emphasises] is correct it's got the equal sign and the fist is correct and sometimes you'd see them *bad* [emphasises]
> and that was 1975[46]

Initially I was uninterested in this badge *because* the badge is widely available, but Kinder describes this badge as important precisely for this reason, because it was iconic and common, yet the women's symbol is correctly drawn. I was completely bewildered, and had no idea how to interpret her words.

Many months later, I listened to an oral history recorded by Susan Magarey in 1996, which she completed as part of an ARC project titled 'A History of the Australian Women's Movement 1967-1988'.[47] Each participant in the oral history component of the project was asked the same set of questions. The interview questions were shaped to produce a linear life narrative structured by feminism. For example, the first question asked was 'what was your life like before women's liberation?', the second asked the participant to recount their 'first contact' with the movement and so on. The last question was 'are you still involved?' and was followed by a request that participants 'reflect on the movement'. In the interview, Kinder seamlessly weaved the story of her life within and alongside the women's liberation movement. The structure of the interview, and, given Magarey and Kinder knew one another, generated a very different narrative of women's liberation to the interview I completed in 2014.

Susan Magarey asked: Kinder: 'So you'd heard stories about women's liberation (pause) what was your first direct contact?' Kinder responds:

[46] Kinder, interview with author, 14 June, 2014.
[47] Kinder, interview by Susan Magarey, 7 February, 1996, OH 346/17, A History of the Australian Women's Movement since 1967, J.D Somerville OH Collection: SLSA.

one of my education lecturers said to me 'oh you talk like Yvonne Allen in the library and sound like something out of Shulamith Firestone'
and the name sounded so bizarre to me, so I went to him later on and said
'what was that book you said and who is that person in the library that I sound like?'
and he told me
why he said it I have no idea I don't know what I said
so I went to the library
and I saw this woman and she looked a bit like my aunty Marion who was my mother's sister and I thought she looked so warm and so friendly
so I went up to her and I said
'are you Yvonne Allen?'
and she said 'yes'
and I said 'so and so said I sound just like you and like something out of Shulamith Firestone' and she told me who she was
I don't know what followed on from there but that's how I got in touch because Yvonne was very much involved in Adelaide women's liberation
and so then things started off and I met other women[48]

Magarey interrupts, asking, 'did you read Shulamith Firestone?' and Kinder replies that she thinks she might have, but not until later. She mentions she never had time to read much in comparison to other women in the movement, because of her younger sisters who were young children at the time and work.

Kinder migrated to Australia from the UK alone in the 1960s, and after her mother died, she organised her two younger sisters, aged seven and ten, to live with her in Adelaide, to ensure her abusive father was not given custody. At the time she was a psychiatric nurse, and some years later she gave up nursing to attend teachers

[48] Ibid.

college.[49] None of this is legible or hinted at in her papers, and because we focused on the badges, I never discussed or asked any questions about her life, therefore it was only through this interview, which primarily felt like eavesdropping, that I could understand why the International Women's Day badges might have mattered to Kinder. She continues to tell her story to Magarey:

> so I met all these women but I wasn't in a feminist group except for on campus [...]
> the reason was International Women's Year was coming
> now we knew a long time before and South Australia was setting up an International Women's Year Committee
> a very official sort of committee
> I remember going
> I went on behalf of our small our women's group on campus [...]
> and there was only one other woman there that looked to me vaguely *anything* [emphasises] like a feminist
> it was Judy McPhee actually
> she was representing women's liberation and I thought oh wonderful
> someone from women's liberation
> real radicals you know?
> we had someone come to our class and talk from women's liberation
> she wore dark glasses and was quite offensive
> but I thought she was *wonderful* [emphasises]
> [Magarey laughs][50]

Kinder continues:

> and umm I went and when this committee was being elected they wanted some younger women
> there were all these older women you know from the older women's groups
> it was not younger women's stuff they weren't interested because I think United Nations organised it and um

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

> Judy and I were elected
> although Judy ended up not going hardly at all as a result of this, they said why don't you come down to the women's centre? You know [the] women's liberation centre at Bloor Court?
> now I didn't know what I was going to do there but I wanted to go so because I'd met this person I went
> and I came up and guess who was on roster
> Sue Sheridan![51]

When listening to this interview, it is possible for me to read Kinder's International Women's Day badge as both personal and political, as political and personal, at the same time. Placing these overlapping, but very different narratives together implies that the badge represents International Women's Day and International Women's Year, important international political marches that many women participated in. Yet, the badge is also personal, because the badge reflects the moment when Kinder visited the women's liberation centre and became more deeply involved in women's liberation, an important moment in her life. When looking at an image of the badge in the interview in 2014, Kinder did not narrate the badge in this way or suggest or imply such a reading. The construction of the self appears incidental within Kinder's badge collection; however, archival practices construct on quite different terms to memory, and what a donor might forget or would or cannot articulate in a later moment, can become legible.

Conclusion

This chapter has primarily analysed what it means to read and re-read a series of objects in an archive after interviewing the donor. There is a paradox at the centre of desiring to document a historical movement such as the second wave. Consciously creating such public archives is, amongst other things, an attempt to ensure that historians or activists in the future can narrate, remember and draw inspiration from earlier periods beyond first hand memory. In terms of creating specific women's liberation archives, part of the purpose is to ensure that women who participated can

[51] Ibid. Sue Sheridan refers to Susan Magarey's partner, hence Kinder's emphasis.

document their activism on their own terms, which is crucial to the politics of the movement. However, it is inevitable that material will be read very differently, even when the reader attempts to read with the donor. At the end of the research process I had written several conflicting narratives of Kinder's badge collection, which each had their own internal coherence, as each emerged from reading different kinds of material in different contexts. Rather than select one particular interpretation and privilege that interpretation, I set out here to tell an archive story of how my interpretation depended on material and context. In terms of papers, it depended on where the material was viewed, how it was labelled and organised, its contents and my expectations of the material. In relation to the interviews, it depended on how they were conducted, when and who conducted them, as well as what I was seeking or expecting from them. Archives, whether they are made of sound or paper, or some other material or data, preserve the moment they are archived and the moment they are interpreted; they preserve whatever present they were made within. To use Steedman's term, the past is not the archive; instead, the past is dust.[52]

[52] See: Steedman, *Dust*.

Chapter Eight: Exhibiting Feminist Posters, 2014-2015

Chapter Seven staged several readings of Sylvia Kinder's button badge collection and particularly read button badges through the term 'paper-work', and paper-work continues to be relevant in Chapter Eight. When searching for material in Adelaide in 2013, I came across a different kind of feminist paper-work to the badges discussed in Chapter Seven; this chapter focuses on feminist posters. At the Adelaide University BSL Rare and Special Collections I flicked through the poster collection created by the WSRC, which holds feminist posters dating from the 1970s to the 2000s.[1] In 2013, I had not seen any of the posters at the Barr Smith before, but I was familiar with the style and technology of screen-printing and already associated it with the rise of 1960s and 1970s political art.[2]

At the Barr Smith, I came across what would become my favourite example of feminist paper-work: Frances Phoenix's paper centrefold (Fig. 3).[3] Titled *Soft Aggression*, it was featured as a centrefold in *Lip* magazine in 1976. *Lip* was an Australian feminist arts journal published by the Women in Visual Art Collective from 1976-1984; it was an important publication for the women's art movement.[4] Phoenix is best known for her textiles, particularly for *Kunda* dating from 1976 and for founding The Women's Domestic Needlework Group with Marie McMahon, but she also worked on paper and in many other media.[5] As I discussed in Chapter Two, my encounter with Phoenix's centrefold at the Barr Smith was a surprise. In Chapter Two, the centrefold was staged to reflect on how archives retain politics and language that are almost impossible to articulate in the present, except through the archive. I argued that such encounters

[1] WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL; For WSRC overview see: "Women Studies Resource Centre," WSRC, accessed June 24, 2018, https://womensstudiesresourcecentre.blogspot.com.

[2] See Lippard's discussion of posters, originally published in 1975 and reproduced in: Lucy R. Lippard, "(I) Some Political Posters and (II) Some Questions They Raise about Art and Politics," in *Get the Message?: A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York: E.P Dutton, 1984), 26-36. In 1975, Lippard visited Australia and her tour is remembered as one of the key moments in the early years of the Australian Women's Art Movement, along with Janine Burke's exhibition, *Women Artists: 100 years 1840-1940*. For an overview of feminist art in Australia in the 1970s, see: Catriona Moore, ed., *Dissonance: Feminism and the Arts 1970-1990* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1994); Adams, "Looking from with/in."

[3] See: WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL.

[4] For an overview of *Lip*, see: Ziherl, ed., *The Lip Anthology*.

[5] For an overview of Phoenix's work see: The Women's Domestic Needlework Group and Watters Gallery, ed., *The D'oyley Show: An Exhibition of Women's Domestic Fancywork (*Sydney: D'oyley Publications, 1979); Adams, "Looking from with/in."

make it possible to 'enact' or imagine different ways of being in the world, even if it is only possible for a fleeting moment through contact in the archive. As well as creating temporal disruption for me in that moment, it was also an encounter with paper and paper-work. The work is entirely made of paper: text is printed onto the page and an oval shaped piece of pink paper and three paper doyleys are stitched into the centre. Although Phoenix never thought of the centrefold as a 'poster',[6] it is can be found in poster archives and exhibitions, where it is held or exhibited alongside other printed posters dating from the 1970s and 1980s. To view Phoenix's centre-fold at the BSL requires sorting through an extensive poster collection. Then, to keep the centrefold open, to photograph it, you must touch the paper folds; the work was designed to be touched, to be opened and closed.

I saw Phoenix's centrefold again in 2015 in an exhibition titled *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Sydney Feminist Posters 1975-90*.[7] The 'Tin Sheds' was a legendary art space in Sydney, housed in a series of dilapidated tin sheds on the edge of the Sydney University campus.[8] Many feminist artists, including Phoenix, worked there in the 1970s and 1980s. In the exhibition, the centrefold was behind glass, and gently held open on a plinth for display. Viewing the centrefold in this context was a completely different experience. *Girls at the Tin Sheds* provided an overview of the key prints by women working at the Tin Sheds. Placing the centrefold in the middle of the exhibition behind glass asserts Phoenix's contribution to the Women's Art Movement, to the Tin Sheds and to the significance of her work. Without the moment of opening the centrefold and touching the paper, something integral to the work was lost; but something was also gained from viewing the centrefold in this exhibition. In this chapter, rather than primarily write or explore my own interpretation of posters, I reflect on how curators have recently presented feminist posters in art exhibitions and the kind of 'archive' these exhibitions created. As with the previous chapter, this

[6] Phoenix/Budden, e-mail message from author, January 24, 2015.
[7] For an overview of the exhibition, see: Katie Yuill, *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Sydney Feminist Posters 1975-90* (Sydney: The University of Sydney, 2015).
[8] For a discussion of the history of the Tin Sheds, see: Therese Kenyon, *Under a Hot Tin Roof: Art, Passion, and Politics at the Tin Sheds Art Workshop* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1995).

chapter reflects on the fraught but creative process of using, interpreting and presenting feminist archives.

Feminist Posters, c.1970-1990

In the 1970s and 1980s, feminist poster collectives pasted their prints illegally onto walls across cities, pinned their work to community centre walls or in other unexpected places, and presented in exhibitions that sought to challenge established art institutions.[9] Printed posters, in comparison to badges, have a clearer relationship with art, because prints were, and still are, often where art and activism consciously meet. Posters were often intended as ephemeral aesthetic and political statements,[10] but copies of the majority of feminist posters seem to have been collected. Artists, friends, communities, art workshops and organisations invested in feminist art and activism avidly collected them.[11] Poster collections are particularly held by feminist libraries, such as the JSNWL and were collected by the WSRC, and also by women's liberation archives. Copies in collections sometimes feature pinholes or tacks marks in the corners and were clearly displayed on a pin board or wall.[12] Feminist posters are also collected by the majority of state art galleries and many university art galleries, which is demonstrated by the extensive number of poster exhibitions held across Australia since the late 1980s.[13] As well as being collected by individuals or communities who supported feminist art and politics, as Chips Mackinolty notes, by the late 1970s posters started to become perceived as having some value on the art market, and were also collected by 'dark suited businessmen … as an investment'.[14] Overall, printed posters are collected on slightly different terms to other feminist material. Unlike badges and most feminist material, posters are usually organised by

[9] Roger Butler, "Walls Sometimes Speak," in *The Streets as Art Galleries - Walls Sometimes Speak* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1993): 44-59. The title refers to *Walls Sometimes Speak*, the 1977 exhibition of political posters organised by Toni Robertson and Chips Mackinolty, at Watters Gallery in Sydney.
[10] Ibid., 55.
[11] Butler, "Walls Sometimes Speak," 55.
[12] See for example: WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL.
[13] See later discussion of exhibitions of poster art in Australia.
[14] Butler, "Walls Sometimes Speak," 55.

medium in dedicated women's or feminist poster archives in libraries,[15] or as part of a larger print archive in art galleries.[16] Most feminist material in libraries is either held under a donor's name or is organised thematically or by publication, but posters are rarely organised in this manner.[17] The creation of separate poster archives is partly due to their size and the way posters were collected, and this means not only that accessing posters is quite different to using other feminist material, but also that they can be found in a wider range of private and public collections.

In the early to mid 1990s, a cluster of exhibitions focused on Australian political posters, including one exhibition at the SLNSW that specifically addressed women's posters.[18] Recent exhibitions demonstrate a renewed interest in political posters, and feminist posters in particular.[19] In this chapter I discuss the following exhibitions: Celia Dottore's *Mother Nature is a Lesbian: Political Printmaking in South Australia 1970-1980s* shown at the FUAM City Gallery in 2014;[20] Macushla Robinson's *See You at the Barricades,* shown at The Art Gallery of New South Wales (AGNSW) in Sydney in 2015;[21] and two exhibitions held at Sydney University (Camperdown/Darlington campus) in 2015, which both focused on women printmakers at the Tin Sheds. The first of these two 'sister' exhibitions was titled *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Sydney Feminist*

[15] See for example: WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL; "First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Poster Collection," Posters/2015/237-526, First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Collection, SLNSW.

[16] See for example, the FUAM print collection. FUAM have copies of many of the same prints as the WSRC collection, but it is part of their larger political print collection, which addresses a range of political issues such as the environment, anti-apartheid activism and a range of other political issues.

[17] The VWLLFA is the exception. They keep posters separately, but all are traceable to a donor.

[18] For exhibitions in the early to mid 1990s, see: Clare Williamson, *Signs of the Times: Political Posters in Queensland* (South Brisbane, Queensland Art Gallery, 1991); FUAM*, Posters of the 70's: Work from the Tin Sheds, A Partial Survey: Earthworks Poster Collective* (Adelaide, Flinders University Art Museum, 1991); *Power to the People: Truth Rules OK? Revisited: An Exhibition of Political Posters: 13 - 22 October 1993* (Adelaide, Flinders University Art Museum, 1993); New South Wales Department for Women, *Out of Line: 25 Years of Women's Posters* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1995).

[19] As well as the four exhibitions discussed here, The University of Melbourne Archives held an exhibition early in 2013, which included political posters, but I did not view the exhibition and therefore have not discussed it. See: Verity Burgmann et al., *Protest! Archives from the University of Melbourne (*Melbourne: University of Melbourne Archives, 2013). For a very recent exhibition of feminist poster art, exhibited in Adelaide in August 2017, see: "FRAN FEST Poster Project," ACE, accessed June 24, 2018, http://aceopen.art/exhibitions/fran-fest-poster-project.

[20] Celia Dottore, *Mother Nature is a Lesbian: Political Printmaking in South Australia 1970s-1980s* (Adelaide, Flinders University Art Museum & City Gallery, 2014).

[21] Macushla Robinson, *See You at the Barricades* (Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2015).

Posters 1975-90 and was curated by Katie Yuill at the Sydney University Art Gallery.[22] The second exhibition titled *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Duplicated*, was curated by Louise R Mayhew and shown at Verge Gallery, an art gallery located on the site where the Tin Sheds once stood.[23] Each exhibition presented a large number of local feminist posters from the 1970s and 1980s. Many of the posters in the exhibitions were familiar, as copies were held in the BSL in Adelaide,[24] or The First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Document Collection at the Mitchell Library,[25] but by selecting specific posters and arranging them, each curator had created a new unfamiliar second wave 'archive', which felt quite different to the poster archives I had seen in storage.

Recently, working with feminist archives has emerged as a widespread method of doing feminist politics in the present and these four exhibitions reflect an archival turn in feminist art and curatorial practice.[26] It demonstrates an observation made by Eichhorn in the US context, that the archive is neither necessarily a 'destination or an impenetrable barrier to be breached, but rather a site and practice integral to knowledge making, cultural production, activism.'[27] My approach in this thesis to an extent reflects on the feminist archive on similar terms, albeit in the context of history rather than visual arts. I have focused on exhibitions in this chapter to get some perspective on how others have interpreted and presented feminist archival material and how people responded. Dottore, Robinson, Yuill and Mayhew are relatively young curators. To an extent they are my 'peers', as each curates material relating to the second wave without, or with limited, first-hand memories of the 1970s and 1980s. They 'know' the second wave primarily through its various archives and have created

[22] Yuill, *Girls at the Tin Sheds.*

[23] See the Verge Gallery website and relevant 'Roomsheet': "Girls at the Tin Sheds Duplicated: March 2015," Verge Gallery, accessed June 24, 2018, https://verge-gallery.net/2014/12/26/girls-at-the-tin-sheds-duplicated-feb-26-march-21-2015; Louse Mayhew, *From the Curator*, accessed June 24, 2018, https://vergegallery.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/room-sheet.pdf.

[24] WSRC Poster Collection, MSS 0149, BSL.

[25] "First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Poster Collection," Posters/2015/237-526, First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Collection, SLNSW.

[26] The 2017 Feminist Renewal Art Network program, titled *FRANFEST*, and the 2015 Contemporary Art and Feminism program, titled *Future Feminist Archive*, demonstrate how embedded an iteration of the archival turn is within Australian feminist contemporary art. See: Contemporary Art and Feminism (CAF), *Future Feminist Archive* (Sydney: Sydney College of the Arts, 2015); Feminist Renewal Art Network (FRAN), *FRANFEST Program* (Adelaide: FRAN, 2017).

[27] Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism, 3.*

exhibitions by selecting material from particular institutional archives. Ultimately, there are parallels between these four exhibitions and this thesis. I have assembled my own 'archive' of the Australian second wave, based on public archives of the movement, and staged encounters with this material for readers. These four exhibitions create new 'archives' from the institutional archives they had access to and stage this material to audiences in the form of an exhibition. This chapter therefore analyses the second wave 'archives' that my 'peers' have created to reflect on the potential, but also the risks, of an archival turn in feminism.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I stage a short narrative about posters and using poster archives, particularly focusing on the First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Collection. In the second section I provide an overview of the four exhibitions, of the way the curators arranged material from the collections they worked with, and discuss the curators' stated intentions. The third section narrates a series of responses to the exhibitions. This chapter returns to the questions relating to the legitimacy, perspective and interpretation of the second wave archive, which were established in Chapter Two and revisited in Chapter Three. I argue that for generations of feminists who have no first-hand memory of the second wave, understanding the second wave through its archive is a shared experience that produces new and unique interpretations and new archives. This is an inherently uneasy process where reinterpretation or misinterpretation is inevitable.

An Archive Story: Reading and Misreading the Poster Archive

Within The First 10 Years of Sydney Women's Liberation poster collection, held by the Mitchell Library, there is a poster from Adelaide created to advertise the 1975 Flinders Women's Studies Conference.[28] Unusually, when I turned the poster over, there was a large hand written statement in texta on the back (Fig. 27). The text begins with 'Diploma in Women's Studies' and states:

[28] See: "First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Poster Collection," Posters/2015/237-526, First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Collection, SLNSW.

Figure 27 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 27: Handwritten statement on the back of a poster advertising the 1975 Flinders Women's Studies Conference, held within the First 10 Years of Sydney Women's Liberation Poster Collection, SLNSW (Photograph by author)

> This is to certify that .... has raised her consciousness to such an extent that she can no longer converse with other women but can only agonise about the unraised possibilities they possess[29]

The statement is signed 'Arrogant Feminist Board of Collectives'. The statement is a complex criticism of Women's Studies. Using the composition of a diploma, it satirises and appears to imply that studying women is elitist, as it claims to know women better than they know themselves and that such an approach undermines collective activism. In the right hand corner, in pen, a second comment appears to respond to and critique the first; they argue: 'doom and depression are the function of anoxia'. 'Anoxia' refers to the deprivation of oxygen. For a brief moment, I read the poster in relation to the theory I had been using. I understood 'but can only agonise about the unraised possibilities they possess,' as cleverly satirising feminist poststructuralist psychoanalytic descriptions of the unknown and unknowable, as satirising the descriptions of the space that must be left to 'become'. Initially the poster reminded me of statements such as this one by Scott, quoted in the introduction of this thesis:

> The elusiveness of sexual difference is both unrealizable and, for that very reason, historical. It is a quest that never ends. As such, it interrupts the certainty of established categories, thus creating openings to the future.[30]

Here, Scott argues that identity is endlessly undergoing change and therefore must be approached as unknown in each new context, an approach that she argues should be applied to both the study of the past and when imagining the future. I read 'the function of anoxia' as a defence of the potential of creating space to become. This is a misreading of the statement on the back of the poster, but there is a similar tone and fluidity to the language used in later scholarship. Just for a moment, I read this poster in the context of this thesis, of the archive I create from other archives rather than The First 10 years of Sydney Women's Liberation Sydney collection. For me, this moment operated as brief, unexpected, temporal disruptions, where the linearity presented in feminist histories and theories became impossible to hold and the division between the past and present seemed endlessly permeable.

[29] Ibid.
[30] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 22.

To present this reading here is to wilfully misread the poster, as 'unraised possibilities' means something different in this context. I can tentatively read this statement in terms of its context to an extent, but I cannot do so with any fluency. By staging this misreading here, I seek to extend a point made throughout this thesis, that feminist material can recirculate in a meaningful yet ahistorical manner, but also possibly in an aggravating manner for anyone who remembers the context or seeks a more historically coherent narrative of the past than I am prepared to provide. It refracts Suzanne Bellamy's *The Lost Culture of Women's Liberation,* a satirical performance and exhibition set in the future, where the early years of women's liberation in Sydney are uncovered in an archaeological dig. The things uncovered are reinterpreted, misinterpreted or impossible to understand;[31] archiving is no guarantee that material will be legible or that those using the archive will read with the archive. Instead, the interpretation of archival material is flexible to the point where a coherent narrative or representation may have no relationship with the material's historical context and ahistorical readings or misinterpretations still have the potential to do feminist work in the present.[32]

The First 10 Years collection was founded in 1978 by a women's liberation collective, particularly by Joyce Stevens and Sue Wills. The First 10 Years collection at the State Library is primarily designed for researchers external to the movement, and the focus for the collection was to assemble complete sets of publications and other publicly available ephemera relating to women's liberation in Sydney, as well as some material relating to specific collectives.[33] Unlike the VWLLFA and the AWLMA, it is comprised primarily of complete sets of publications and documents rather than collections of papers from individual activists. I interviewed Wills and asked about the writing on the back of the women's studies conference poster. She thought it fell into the

[31] Suzanne Bellamy, "The Lost Culture of Women's Liberation, the Pre-Dynastic Phase 1969-74," *Feminism and the Museum: A Symposium* (Performance, The National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2 November 2013).

[32] On coherence, feminist history and identity, see Scott's discussion of 'fantasy echo': Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History,* 45-67.

[33] For a discussion of the collection, see: Sue Wills, 'They Think We Didn't Do Anything,' *Australian Feminist Studies* 22, no. 53 (2007): 167-71. doi: 10.1080/08164640701373423.

category of 'hand written documents of dubious worth'. 'Hand written documents of dubious worth' are:

> people's diatribes basically [chuckles]
> we did do some censoring
> we thought this really doesn't belong in a State Library collection for public researchers to access but we're not going to throw it out[34]

The collective decided that such papers would not be included in the public First 10 Years of Sydney Women's Liberation.[35] Rather than being part of the collection at the State Library where anyone could see it, unpublished hand written statements that attack individuals or collectives, or that illustrate internal conflicts within the movement, are supposed to be placed at the JSNWL. It seems that this statement on the back of the poster slipped into the first 10 years collection unnoticed, primarily because it was a poster. As a poster, it is located in one of the large, separately housed poster folders. If this statement had been written on a newsletter, photocopied text or on a conference program, it probably would have been located in the main sequence of papers, and if read in the way Wills interprets it here, it might have been removed from the sequence and archived elsewhere. It seems I am never supposed to have read this statement at the State Library, let alone misread it. Rather than reading with the poster archive, here, I unintentionally read against the grain of the archive and primarily read in terms of the 'archive' I construct within this thesis.

Four Poster Exhibitions, 2014-2015

In 2014 and 2015, not long after accessing feminist poster collections at the BSL and SLSA and just before using the First 10 Years of Women's Liberation Collection in Sydney, I viewed four exhibitions that incorporated or focused on feminist posters dating from the 1970s and 1980s. At each exhibition, I saw posters on the walls that I had seen before when searching through poster collections where they were just part of the hundreds of posters I could choose to write about and include in my 'archive' or thesis. Each exhibition had a slightly different approach, as each produced its own new

[34] Sue Wills, interview with author, 10 July, 2015.
[35] Ibid.

reading of the second wave. The following section narrates each exhibition, addressing how it presented the posters and the curators' stated intentions.

The first exhibition was *Mother Nature is a Lesbian: Political Printmaking in South Australia 1970-1980s,* curated by Celia Dottore, exhibited at FUAM in 2014.[36] Flinders University and student activism were central to the exhibition. Dottore opens the catalogue by stating:

> Established in 1966, at a time of rising student activism, the Flinders University of South Australia quickly established a reputation as a hotbed of radical politics, which culminated in 1974 with the infamous occupation of the Registry Building.[37]

Mother Nature is a Lesbian was held in the year of the fortieth anniversary of the registry occupation. Political posters, as acts of dissent, were presented as part of a larger global radical movement that began in the late 1960s, but also in terms of specific South Australian politics under Don Dunstan. All the posters dated from the 1970s and 1980s and were from South Australian artist/activists. The majority of the posters were from the FUAM permanent collection and the exhibition locates local South Australia, and Flinders University in particular, as part of international and national counter-cultures. The exhibition included a range of political prints from the period. The prints were divided by their political content. Feminist prints were prominently grouped together within the exhibition and the first part of the title 'Mother Nature is a Lesbian', refers to a print by the Anarchist Feminist Poster Collective. She explains in the conclusion:

> Mother Nature is a Lesbian captures the revolutionary spirit that shaped an era of printmaking in South Australia that to this day remains unmatched. Indeed, many of the themes and issues of the past resonate strongly with the present. Against the backdrop of the exhibition, our current social, political, environmental and economic

[36] Dottore, *Mother Nature is a Lesbian.*
[37] Ibid.

> concerns beg the question *just how far have we come?* [italics in original text].[38]

The exhibition focuses on and asked us to reflect on the relevance of these issues in a contemporary context and the extent progress has been made and the relevance of the issues today. At no point did the exhibition claim to provide a complete history of printmaking in South Australia, instead selection seems to have been based on the relevance of specific political issues to the present.

In 2015, two exhibitions both titled *Girls at the Tin Sheds* explored the contribution of women printmakers at the Tin Sheds.[39] The exhibitions were developed to coincide with the 40-year anniversary of International Women's Year. Unlike *Mother Nature is a Lesbian*, which placed feminist posters in relation to other forms of political activism happening at the time and organised by political issue. Both iterations of *Girls at the Tin Sheds* focused exclusively on women's art and activism. Tin Sheds artists taught an alternative radical arts program; there were dances and parties; there was a kiln for potters; but the Tin Sheds is probably best known for its activist artist printing collectives.[40] Many Tin Sheds artists in the early years understood their work as ephemeral; they bypassed the gallery system and pasted their posters illegally on walls across Sydney, but there were exhibitions held in the late 1970s and 1980s, and university, state and national galleries collected posters from the Tin Sheds, including Sydney University.[41] Many feminist artists worked at the Tin Sheds and the *Girls at the Tin Sheds* exhibitions demonstrated their contribution and influence. The two iterations of *Girls at the Tin Sheds* exhibitions are related. They are sister exhibitions and included some of the same posters, but had quite different curatorial styles. The first exhibition, titled *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Sydney Feminist Posters 1975-90,* which was curated by Katie Yuill and exhibited at Sydney University Art Gallery, carefully represented key women artists working at the Tin Sheds from 1975 to 1990. One entire wall of the small gallery presented a salon poster hang; it was covered in posters from

[38] Ibid.
[39] Yuill, *Girls at the Tin Sheds*, 15; Mayhew, *From the Curator*, accessed June 24, 2018, https://vergegallery.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/room-sheet.pdf.
[40] See: Kenyon, *Under a Hot Tin Roof.*
[41] For example, the National Gallery of Australia (NGA) started collecting Tin Sheds posters in 1973, see: Roger Butler, "Walls Sometimes Speak," 55-56.

floor to ceiling. The posters were arranged chronologically, with posters featuring calendars marking the change from one year or decade to the next. Placing the posters in chronological order, the curator made it possible to trace changes in content and style over the period. The other walls of the gallery were relatively empty, and focused attention on particular significant prints, including Phoenix's *Soft Aggression*. The exhibitions provided a coherent linear historical overview, but in the catalogue Yuill emphasised the present and understood exhibiting these historical posters as intervening in feminist politics now. Despite significant curatorial differences between the two versions of *Girls at the Tin Sheds*, Mayhew and Yuill speak with the same intent. Mayhew writes:

> …the posters function as time capsules of vitality, conviction and earnestness. To consume them is motivating and uplifting. They beckon us to dance, panic, kiss and sabotage . . . again.[42]

In a similar manner, but with a different focus, Yuill hopes that 'such exhibitions re-engage with feminism and activism in the digital age.'[43] Both curators are concerned with what the posters can do for contemporary art and politics.

The second iteration of the exhibition was called *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Duplicated* and was held at Verge Gallery, on the site where the Tin Sheds once stood. It was inspired by the printing process and by Sydney's University's collection practice. Printing produces multiple copies of the same image for presentation in different contexts. The Sydney University Archives have what is called the 'duplicates collection'. When the archives have more than one copy of a poster, the additional copies are placed in the duplicates collection. The Duplicates collection is not a representative collection and many important prints from the 1970s and 1980s produced at the Tin Sheds are missing.[44] The *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Duplicates* exhibition drew primarily on the duplicates collection and, given the collection on which it was based, could not and did not intend to provide an historical overview or representative exhibition. Duplication means the same poster can be presented in different ways, in different

[42] Mayhew, *From the Curator*, accessed June 24, 2018, https://vergegallery.files.wordpress.com/2017/03/room-sheet.pdf.
[43] Yuill, *Girls at the Tin Sheds*, 15.
[44] Mayhew, in conversation with author, 23 September, 2015.

contexts and can be used to do different interpretive work; and the two iterations of *Girls at the Tin Sheds* intentionally underscored the nature of the medium of printing. The second exhibition was presented very differently to the first, despite including some of the same prints. The second did not include a salon or poster hang; instead, posters were presented individually with white space around them, focusing attention on each poster as an artwork. Instead of presenting the posters chronologically or thematically, or according to their politics, the posters were categorised by colour.[45] Classifying by colour intentionally made it impossible to produce a coherent narrative of poster making and focused the audience's attention on the form of the poster and each poster's individual message. The first exhibition presented a history of women's printmaking at the Tin Sheds, while the second focused on women's posters as having a particular aesthetic and technique. The second exhibition deliberately deprived its audience of the specific historical context and emphasised the printed poster as a feminist medium, relevant to the past and present.

The fourth exhibition, *See You at the Barricades* was curated by Machushla Robinson at the AGNSW in Sydney in 2015.[46] Of the four exhibitions considered in this chapter, it was the largest in terms of floor space. *See You at the Barricades* was about the aesthetics of protest and the relationship between protest and art. The exhibition promised to study 'the complex entanglements of art and protest after the "year of the barricades", 1968.'[47] Like the *Mother Nature is a Lesbian*, the focus was on political art rather than specifically feminist art, but the focus was international, placing Australian printed posters from the 1970s and 1980s alongside work by the New York based Guerrilla Girls. The exhibition was divided into four themed rooms. The first room was called 'Declarations', and was the size of the entire FUAM gallery. It was the only room to include prints. One entire wall was covered with prints. Several prints were made by the Women's Domestic Needlework Group, others focused on environmental protest, land rights, workers' rights, covering the full range of political issues central to the left in the 1970s and 1980s. On the adjacent wall, large posters from the Guerrilla Girls

[45] Ibid.
[46] Robinson, *See You At the Barricades.*
[47] Ibid., 3.

were presented and on the other wall, Richard Bell's large painting from 2009 titled *Pay the Rent* faces the poster hang.[48] In the middle of the poster hang, Marie McMahon's poster from 1981 titled *Pay the Rent: You Are on Aboriginal Land,* faces Bell's later work.[49] Bell is an Aboriginal man, while McMahon is a non-Aboriginal woman, and, according to Robinson, the intention of placing these two works across from each other was to reflect on solidarity,[50] on who can speak for whom and on the relationship between slogans and identity, which illustrates the central concerns of the exhibition. Many of the posters selected were iconic Tin Sheds posters from the period, but there were also some less well-known posters selected in order to demonstrate conflicts and inconsistencies between different issues. Robinson's selection of posters appears to be guided by how the posters speak or fail to speak to contemporary art and activism, how they speak to the work in the following rooms.

Unlike the other exhibitions discussed here, *See You At the Barricades* addressed directly how artists have used images or materials of protest and explored the aesthetics and politics of protest art. The second room was called 'screenings' and was about protests on television, in archives and documentaries; it was about the mediation of protest. The third room was called 'left wing melancholy' and explored political art and nostalgia. This space included Raquel Ormella's banner, created as part of a series in the 2000s; the work is a large banner stitched with the words 'I'm worried I am not political enough', words which sum up sometimes unspoken concerns within this thesis.[51] The other side of the banner is stitched with the following statement: 'Julia Butterfly Hill lived for 2 years in a 300 year old redwood tree to stop it from being chopped down.' Ormella's work can be read in several ways, as her banners reflect on activist anxiety and are also a call for action, but she also

[48] See: Richard Bell, *Pay the Rent*, 2009, synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 240 x 360 cm, Sydney, SLNSW, 203.2010.a-b, accessed July 16, 2018, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/203.2010.a-b/?tab=details.

[49] See: Marie McMahon, *Pay the Rent: You Are On Aboriginal Land*, 1982, colour screenprint on white wove paper, 75.9 x 56.0 cm, Sydney, SLNSW, 204.1982, accessed July 16, 2018, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/204.1982/

[50] Robinson, *See You at the Barricades,* 5-6.

[51] See: Raquel Ormella, *I'm Worried I'm Not Political Enough (Julie)*, 1999-2009, double-sided banner, sewn wool and felt, 128.0 x 202.0 cm, Sydney SLNSW, 352.2015.a-c, accessed July 16, 2018, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/352.2015.a-c/.

engages with the media and form of protest art. Political posters or banners often make a declaration about a contemporary political issue and are a political action in and of themselves when pasted onto a public wall or when carried in a demonstration. Rather than making a declaration or being an action, Ormella's banners reflect on the symbols and aesthetics of protest; her stitched banners make no overt political declaration and make no specific demands, and, rather than being placed in a public space, they are propped against a gallery wall. The final room was a single contemporary work by US based artist Sharon Hayes.[52] The work from 2008 and titled 'Revolutionary Love: I am Your Worst Fear, I am Your Best Fantasy', was a protest, performance and installation. Hayes organised performances/protests outside the Democratic and Republican conventions and asked participants to read out a statement about love. The performances were filmed and projected in the gallery. Hayes' installation, presented in the final room, brings together the threads of the exhibitions, as Hayes' work *is* a protest, an organised and choreographed performance that references gay liberation, and an artwork created for display in a gallery.

These four exhibitions from 2014 and 2015 appear to promise histories of political art practices or promise to explore the relationship between art and activism. As well as delivering on this promise, each exhibition also, at some point, used second wave feminist material to renegotiate activist/art legacies with the intention of doing political work in the present. Despite differences between the four exhibitions in terms of the curatorial style, approach, collections accessed and selection, the four exhibitions shared a common thread: the contemporary political and visual possibilities of the poster archive was stressed either alongside or over their historical context. To return to Scott, each curator read 'with' but also read 'differently', and presented their interpretation of the second wave archive to audiences.[53] It is the question of reading differently that I want to hold onto here, as at the opening of the *Girls at the Tin Sheds,* the question of interpretation was addressed directly.

[52] See: Sharon Hayes, *Revolutionary Love: I Am Your Worst Fear, I Am Your Best Fantas*y, 2008, performance, multiple-channel video and audio installation, 10 PA speakers, 5 projection screens, helium balloons, coloured light bulbs, Sydney, SLNSW, 249.2014, accessed July 16, 2018, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/249.2014/.

[53] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 148.

Figure 28 has been removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 28: Jan Mackay and Chips Mackinolty [Earthworks], *The Oo Oo Ah Ah Oo Ah Ah Dance* poster, screen-print, 76 x 51 cm, Sydney, MAAS: 2007/56/72, narrated by Bickford at the *Girls at the Tin Sheds* Gallery Opening (Photograph by MAAS).

***Girls at the Tin Sheds* Gallery Opening, Verge Gallery, Sydney, 7 March 2015**

I was in Sydney for the exhibition opening of *Girls at the Tin Sheds* and at the time I had no intention of writing about the exhibition. The opening was held at Verge Gallery, the day before International Women's Day. It was a formal opening with good catering and waiting staff. Well-known Sydney figures, Tin Sheds artists and activists, younger contemporary artists, curators, academics and Sydney university staff attended the exhibition. Well-known feminist writer and femocrat, Anne Summers, spoke at the opening. After the formal speeches concluded, a woman hijacked the microphone. This was an incredibly rebellious act at a formal opening. The interloper was Annie Bickford. She was part of Sydney Women's Liberation. She was not a visual artist and did not make prints, but she sang at Tin Sheds dances in a band called the 'Early Kookas'; she is also an archaeologist and museologist. The curator of *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Duplicated*, Louise Mayhew braced herself, expecting criticism.[54]

Bickford drew attention to a particular poster from the Tin Sheds, *The Oo Oo Ah Ah Oo Ah Ah Dance* poster, created by Jan Mackay and Chips Mackinolty, both members of Earthworks collective (Fig. 28). The Earthworks collective are mostly known for printing explicitly political posters, but this one was created to advertise a dance at the Tin Sheds, a dance that featured Bickford's band.[55] According to Bickford, for people who were part of the Tin Sheds crowd in the late 1970s the *The Oo Oo Ah Ah Oo Ah Ah Dance* poster had a specific meaning. The 'Oo oo ah ah oo ah ah' which is written across it, refers to a song, 'Why Do Fools Fall In Love', which was originally recorded by an American band Frankie Lymon and The Teenagers. It was one of the many songs that Bickford's band sung in the late 1970s. She dramatically sang a section of the song, then explained that the band's name refers to an Australian made stove, the Early Kooka, which features a Kookaburra. Although it is based on an American song, in an Australian context the 'oo oo ah ah' is reminiscent of a kookaburra's birdcall. These connections are referenced in the poster, as a series of Kookaburras are printed across the man's jacket. The other band playing at the dance was called 'The Gents', hence

[54] Mayhew, in conversation with author, 23 September, 2015.

[55] Annie Bickford, "Girls at the Tin Sheds Opening" (uninvited speaker, 7 March 2015); Annie Bickford, in conversation with author, 6 November 2015.

the depiction of a man in a suit. Furthermore, there is a curious little note on the poster. It says that the performance was a fundraiser 'For Doris and Ray. Doris is a cat, and Ray is the cat's owner. It is impossible to tell from the poster's design that Doris is a cat needing to be desexed, hence the joke in the corner of the poster, that the event is being 'Assisted by the vet not the Visual Arts Board'. According to Bickford, the Visual Arts Board had recently stopped providing funding.

This sort of humour was part of the Tin Sheds' aesthetic and politics, and many other posters have similar details that are impossible to read in this manner without extensive explanation from the poster maker or from people involved with the Tin Sheds. None of the poster exhibitions discussed in this chapter provided this sort of detail for the posters they displayed. After Bickford finished telling the story of the poster and singing the song, she asked how would anyone be expected to know the context and understand such posters without narration?[56] Rather than criticize the curators, she addressed her comments to friends from the Tin Sheds in the room, and there were many in attendance, stating that people involved in Tin Sheds must work with institutions and young curators, who are my 'peers' to an extent, to improve documentation. She then dropped the microphone and re-joined the crowd.

This disruption to the formal gallery proceeding was unusual, and reflects on the interpretation and ownership of the posters. First, the Tin Sheds was a political and aesthetic experiment and it was often an anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical and a DIY art space. Bickford's intervention gave a sense of the spaces that these posters would have inhabited, which is not legible in the exhibitions. Verge is built on the site where the Tin Sheds once stood, where rowdy, very different exhibition openings would have been held. Gallery openings would not have included university administration and formal catering. Both the formal opening at Verge Gallery, which is a beautiful glass walled white cube, and the arrangement of the posters emphasised change. Here, the university perhaps claims a heritage that it did not fully support, which perhaps represents the de-politicisation of activist histories and contemporary

[56] Ibid.

practices based on those histories. Bickford's intervention illustrated how the context of the posters had changed in this respect. Secondly, Bickford was commenting on the exhibition, on collection practice and on the relevant communities' involvement in the process. All the exhibitions discussed in this chapter purposefully reinterpret the posters, and none include the kind of details Bickford described when telling this story. From the exhibition catalogues, it seems likely that the curators of each exhibition knew some poster stories and could have narrated some of them in detail; however, this was not the intention of any of the exhibitions discussed here. Even if people who created the posters or knew them well provided such details, it seems unlikely that they would have been presented to audiences in an art gallery. Clearly, the curators of all four exhibitions had different understandings of their purpose in relation to the exhibitions from those described by Bickford.

All four curators were concerned, to an extent, with what the posters can do for contemporary art and politics. With each exhibition, the specificity and context of each poster dissolves in the exhibition space if the viewer does not have extensive knowledge of posters. With each exhibition, the emphasis is on the visual and political possibilities in the present rather than documenting the past. It reflects a recent shift in the representation of the second wave, which is reflected in other media.[57] Celebrating, or explicitly using the visual and political culture of the second wave to address the present, felt very new when I attended the *Girls at the Tin Sheds* openings. These four exhibitions seem to represent a shift in thinking, as the exhibitions use 1970s and 1980s feminist art to call for action in the present. Quite suddenly, it seems that it has become possible for younger women to celebrate and reflect on, rather than critique or ironically perform, liberation.

WHIP Conference, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2016

In 2016, I told the story I have just narrated at the 'Work – honestly - in progress' (WHIP) conference, the humanities postgraduate conference at Flinders University. I

[57] See: Margaret Henderson, "A Celebratory Feminist Aesthetics in Postfeminist Times: Screening the Australian Women's Liberation in Paper Giants – The Birth of Cleo," *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 77 (2013): 250-62. doi:10.1080/08164649.2013.821727.

described the Two *Girls at the Tin Sheds* exhibitions and Bickford's speech. The conference was a mixture of established mid and late career academic staff, Early Career Researchers and postgraduates from a variety of humanities affiliated disciplines. Based on my description and analysis of the exhibition, several people expressed concern regarding the presentation of the posters at *Girls at the Tin Sheds*, particularly in *Girls at the Tin Sheds: Duplicated*. The central concern was that the exhibitions decontextualized the politics of the prints and therefore undermined the rich meanings of the Tin Sheds posters, as the exhibitions did not organise the material according to its politics. The other concern was the way that the University of Sydney was using this history. Such criticisms were not levelled at *Mother Nature is a Lesbian*, which was understood by many participants at the conference as having managed to provide context for the work, as the exhibition was divided by and highlighted different political issues. *Mother Nature is a Lesbian* could not be interpreted without paying attention to contemporaneous political issues, and political issues were the organising principle for the exhibition. In many respects, the *Girls at the Tin Sheds* exhibition is not that different to this thesis and the same concerns could apply here. There are times when I deliberately decontextualize or revel in the unknown, but affective, power of the material. There are also times when I deliberately misinterpret or overlook the context in order to undermine a linear narrative of the past.

Owning, Inheriting and Borrowing the Feminist Archive

In 2015, when I visited Sue Wills at her home in Sydney and interviewed her about the process of archiving the 'First Ten Years of Sydney Women's Liberation' collection,[58] her walls were covered in faded framed printed posters produced at the Tin Sheds. Sue Wills was part of Sydney Women's Liberation from the early meetings and is an important figure in the movement and she has a large number of posters. I had already seen several of the posters on her walls in various collections and exhibitions – particularly in the archive that Wills helped create. Rather than storing the prints, Wills exhibited them on the walls of her home, while also making sure that there was

[58] Wills, in conversation with author, 10 July, 2015.

a pristine copy held at the Mitchell Library archives. In the following year when I visited Frances Phoenix at her home in Adelaide, she also displayed posters on her walls. A copy of McMahon's *Pay the Rent*, featured in *See You at the Barricades*, was on her kitchen wall. Both Wills and Phoenix can easily express ownership of both the poster and its political message, an ownership that I cannot and would not claim.

In *Things that Liberate*, Anna Szorenyi describes living in a share house in Melbourne in 1988, a share house decorated by a feminist print from the 1970s and an anti-apartheid poster, along with milk crates and furniture rescued from hard rubbish collections.[59] The members of the share house were between 19 and 21 in 1988, and according to Szorenyi, the posters evoked 'an activist world when it was still new… which hovers in our earliest childhood memories, but which really belonged to our parents' generation'.[60] In terms of the framing of this section, Szorenyi occupies a 'generation' in between myself and Wills or Phoenix. In Szorenyi's description, displaying feminist posters represented a political, literary and cultural inheritance, but also represented hope. She reflects that in 1988 they did not 'question our right to inherit these things, to make them our own while our parents forget them'.[61] In 1988, Anne Summers had not yet published 'Letter to the Next Generation' and as Szorenyi says: 'so we don't know yet that we are other to feminism and that we have failed it'.[62] In her description, Szorenyi does not claim direct ownership of the poster on the wall of the share house or claim direct ownership of its politics; she describes it as a form of inheritance. The familial metaphor chosen here to explore this does not seem to be accidental.

Although printed posters meant something quite different to Szorenyi, Phoenix and Wills, they all live or lived with posters on the walls of their home. Rather than living with posters from the 1970s and 1980s, I went and looked at them in public collections. Simply due to the way I came across the posters, I cannot express ownership of feminist posters from the 1970s and 1980s, nor can I talk about them as a form of

[59] Szorenyi, "Poster," 143-50.
[60] Ibid., 144.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

inheritance. I do not own or inherit them, as I have to ask to look at them or look at them when visiting for interviews. Machushla Robinson opens the *See You at the Barricades* catalogue by describing how she developed the title for the exhibition:

> 'Well see you at the barricades' My grandfather said this to me in the parking lot of his local shopping mall. I'm not sure where he came across this phrase, but he has used it all my life. For him the saying is a way not only to identify himself as a 'old lefty', but also to invite amity through shared resistance. I have borrowed his catch phrase as the title of this exhibition.[63]

It is the word 'borrowed' that stands out to me in this statement. 'Borrow' is defined as 'to take or obtain (a thing) on the promise to return it or its equivalent; obtain the temporary use of'.[64] Robinson could have used the word 'inheritance'; she could easily 'inherit' her grandfather's phrase. Rather than speaking of an 'inheritance', to be given after death, borrowing implies that the ideas are still living, but also denotes ownership. To use the word 'borrow' implies familiarity and a friendly relationship, but locates Robinson as outside 1960 and 1970s political action. However, 'borrow' slips easily into 'use' or 'appropriate', which Robinson explores within the exhibition, but, perhaps deliberately, never fully resolves. The same tension lingers in the other exhibitions and in this thesis and remains unresolved. For anyone without first-hand memory of the second wave, understanding the second wave must be through its various archives; but using archives produces new and unique interpretation and new archives. This is an inherently uneasy process where reinterpretation or misinterpretation is inevitable.

Conclusion

All four exhibitions discussed in this chapter make an intervention in the present by 'borrowing' things from the political art archive, borrowing the politics, aesthetics and energy of 1960s, 1970s and 1980s political posters. In a specifically feminist context, to speak of 'borrowing' from second wave potentially disrupts the familial metaphor of 'inheriting' feminism from a deceased movement. Therefore, borrowing from the

[63] Robinson, *See You at the Barricades,* 3.
[64] *Macquarie Dictionary*, s.v. "borrow," accessed 24 June 2018.

second wave archive to speak, write, act, print, paint, exhibit and ultimately create a new archive in the present is potentially useful, as it avoids the mother/daughter dichotomy.[65] It acknowledges that if you are not part of the second wave, you have a different relationship with past protest, but that relationship does not have to be antagonistic. This undermines a linear understanding of the recent feminist past in productive ways.[66] However, borrowing is risky, as it can also operate as appropriation. Borrowing something and using it for your own purposes can be read as emptying something of its political meaning. When borrowing things, books, slogans or ideas, quite often one never gets around to returning them and they might not be in the same condition when they are returned. When borrowing from the second wave, issues of appropriation, institutionalisation and depoliticisation of radical or alternative political art is at stake.[67] The archival turn in feminism tends to borrow rather than inherit, which is creative, but there are risks with this playful archival approach. Ultimately, as with this thesis, the archival turn in feminism does not and cannot easily seek the past beyond the archive and instead borrows in the present moment.

[65] See discussion of this point in the Introduction and Chapter Two.

[66] This is another way of responding to Hemmings' work, see the introduction for central critique: Hemmings, *Why Stories Matter*, 1-28. On archives and linearity see: Eichhorn, *The Archival Turn in Feminism*, 53-84.

[67] *See You at the Barricades* by Robinson at the AGNSW was the only exhibition of the four to explicitly address these issues through the artwork selected, which is probably partially related to the AGNSW's remit and the opportunities that state galleries present via their extensive institutional collections. The other three exhibitions implicitly dealt with these issues.

Conclusion

Texts, such as the one I have set out to construct here, tend to resist conclusion. In Scott's Epilogue to *The Fantasy of Feminist History* she discusses the feminist theory archive.[1] She concludes by arguing that the feminist theory archive makes it possible for endless readings to continue, that there will be no 'end' to feminist thought. Instead there are endless critical reinterpretations that will always do something new and unexpected, settling for a moment to do particular work before moving on in unknown and unpredictable directions. The feminist theory archive, she concludes, is the 'place and space from which new ideas can issue forth without end'.[2] Indeed, that is where this thesis began, with fascination, yet deep dissatisfaction and uncertainty over what to do with such texts, texts that provide no blueprint, no conclusion, no signposts for how to do future research, no promise or foretelling of what should come, what has been or what anyone should do. Texts such as Scott's demand feminist historians think critically about how we write about the past, but provide no concrete guide on how to write history or approach archives; such texts provide no guidelines on how to think or do *anything*, apart perhaps from asking the reader to undertake the task of thinking. These texts promise merely to make space for the reader to 'become'. They make space for the reader to fill in, to make things happen, to do something or write something in that yet unimagined and unimaginable future. It was with this empty space that I began, and I filled it with things I found in various Australian second wave feminist archives and said, 'Look at that! Isn't it marvellous?' Sometimes, that is really all I wanted to say and perhaps that was all that was necessary. Therefore, the last thing I want to do in the conclusion of this thesis is to leave you with such an empty space. Leaving a void would destroy or undermine the idiosyncratic archive of things, texts, readings and misreading that I have drawn together here, that are contained within and are this thesis. In this final 'reading', to conclude and summarise, I therefore return to each object, and narrate this thesis as if it were an exhibition.

[1] Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, 141-48.
[2] Ibid., 148.

In the prologue to *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, feminist historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich imagines her book as an exhibition. She opens with these lines:

> If this book were an exhibit, I could arrange it as a room, one of those three-sided rooms you sometimes find in museums, open on one side like a dollhouse, with a little fence or rope across. My room wouldn't represent a time or place but an idea – New England's age of homespun.[3]

Her book, published in 2001, is about cloth, cloth making and history. Each chapter focuses on an object or series of objects from New England, dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century: so, baskets, spinning wheels, furniture, a niddy-noddy (a tool used when creating yarn), a bed covering, embroideries, a pocketbook, a tablecloth, a blanket and an unfinished stocking. Her book mostly follows the well-trodden path of using material culture as a primary source, but she writes from the premise that collections might operate as a form of historical consciousness. When reflecting on her own selection of objects, Ulrich comments:

> To the scrupulous eye, my room would seem an improbable assembly of objects from different times, places, and sensibilities, as eclectic as a colonial revival house museum or a New England bed and breakfast. There is no arguing with that. But this room isn't meant to represent a moment in time. It is a memorial to the nineteenth century Americans who saved all these things. Without them, this book would not exist. I could try another way. Honoring more modern curatorial practices, I could display each object with its kind… That approach would provide a precise context for each object, but it would make it difficult to explore the mythology that connects them.[4]

Ulrich's selected objects are based on a particular collection practice, which emerged, according to her study, in the nineteenth century. Like Ulrich's book, this thesis could also be imagined as an exhibition as it is also about things saved at a particular

[3] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 3.
[4] Ibid., 3-4.

moment in time. Each of my chapters features an object or series of objects related to second wave feminism in Australia and they are all from publicly assessable feminist archives. These things could be assembled together in one space, in one exhibition. Such an exhibition, an exhibition about the second wave archive, would a very different exhibition to the one Ulrich imagines.

All of Bon Hull's papers, and her filing cabinet, could become an interactive installation, where the archive itself is brought into a gallery. Each brown box could sit on a recovered library shelf. Two desks, facing one another, could sit beside the cabinet. I could provide a listing on the wall and the key papers discussed, the papers she annotated could be framed and displayed, demonstrating how she addressed users of her archive. Edited versions of the interviews with the VWLLFA, with Jean Taylor and other members of the archive collective, would play over the top, illustrating their role in the creation and management of Hull's papers, and the relationships that archives create. After Hull's papers, Greer's coat would hang on a mannequin, and images of Greer, wearing the coat for *Vogue* and *Life* could accompany it. Simply placing Greer's coat after Hull's papers reasserts the initial intention when collecting and donating the coat to the NMA, as the intention was to place material from well known international public figures alongside local, less widely known 'grassroots' activists. Bandler's gloves could be perched on a pedestal, with an extended discussion of what gloves evoke, contextualising them as both anti-racist and feminist objects. In the background, sections of interviews conducted with Bandler in the 1990s, where she describes gloves, could be played. The Pine Gap banners could be hung from the ceiling, away from the wall; they could be hung so you can walk around the back of them. A video of the procession could be projected onto the back of one of them, with rotating slides of the untraceable banners projected on the back of the found panels, emphasising absences in archives, and the relationship between the form of protest and the impressions in the archives. Sylvia Kinder's badges could all be pinned in a starry constellation on a large piece of hessian, showing how she initially collected the badges, while the recorded oral testimonies could play alongside them, edited in a way to confuse and disrupt as well as explain and narrate specific badges. Several screen-prints could be placed on the wall. Beside each print, I would give several different

interpretations without ever providing resolution or tidily providing an answer as to the meaning of the print. Each interpretation would be a different story that would make sense in terms of the poster's design and in the space, to illustrate the flexibility of interpretation. And finally, to complete this imaginary exhibition, and real thesis, a copy of Phoenix's centrefold would be included. As well as presenting a copy behind glass, a film, showing a hand opening and closing the centrefold, would be projected onto the wall above, and the sound of the paper would be amplified so it could be heard.

So these are the feminist things I have selected and written about: papers, button badges, banners, posters and two items of clothing. When I approached feminist archives I did not seek particular content, I was interested in the organisation of material and I have primarily discussed things that surprised me and that made it possible for me to rethink the relationship between past and present feminisms. My assembled objects, this archive or exhibition, make little sense beyond the framing of this thesis. Each object, and the stories that adhere to it, explores the relationships between reading archives, archiving and objects. It presents this new archive to a reader in order to write a history of the second wave that resists linearity and is conscious of its own construction. In this thesis, for the most part, merely bringing these things together disrupts a linear narrative of the recent past. Using these objects, it is impossible to construct a progress or loss narrative, as the focus is on the archive in the present, on the work it can do. The term 'archive' is and remains an uncertain term. But what I can say with some certainty is that the feminist archive, whatever that 'archive' may be, has been and is central to historical and contemporary feminist thought and activism, and is central to how feminists imagine futures.

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