A Genealogy of Unemployment: Press Representations in South Australia 1890s and 1930s

Ivan A. Krisjansen

B.A. Hons. B.Ed. (Adelaide)

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not include any material previously submitted for the degree or diploma in any University. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material previously written or published by another person unless duly acknowledged.

I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

May, 1997

Abstract

This thesis examines the constitution of unemployment during periods of depression in South Australia, in particular, the extreme economic downturns experienced in the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties. Previous studies have ignored the possibility that the determinate historical conditions established in England by the 1834 Poor Law were transplanted in substantive ways to colonial South Australia. This study follows a trajectory which explores the uncharted ideological and social terrain concerning the impact and significance of the English regime of thought and practice on the liberal mode of governance in colonial South Australia. That there is a direct parallel with the pattern of events in England is investigated through press representations in periods of severe economic contraction. The symmetry as well the discontinuities in relation to these modalities of thought become a central of concern in this study.

The archaeological - genealogical investigation seeks to determine the historical conditions of possibility for the emergence of the workless in terms of gender and race. This understanding of ethical subjectivity is sought in governmental-ethical practices. The kind of political-anatomy and the cultivation of aesthetic styles of existence or conduct are explored in relation to a liberal mode of governance. The multiple processes of discipline by which individuals, in a practice of liberty, gave themselves a particular self-relation, and the mechanisms of individuation which set in motion the ascetic powers of moral experience constitute a key focus of concern in this work.

Moreover, the changing ensemble of power-knowledge that constituted 'lines of force' directly impacting on the subjectivity of the unemployed are analysed in terms of culturally defined conditions which organise and support an exercise of normalising closure on social practices. With particular reference to the printing press the study concludes with an assessment of mass mediated culture and liberalgovernmentality.

Preface

This thesis seeks to contribute to a genealogy of the discourses and government of unemployment. The focus is on the forms of practice of liberal governance and the impact of this mode of government on those constituted as members of the unemployed population. The liberal mode of government is understood as 'an historically specific ensemble of discursive, legal, administrative, and institutional practices, which crosses and seeks to co-ordinate dimensions of the state, philanthropy, households, and the economy, with the objective of promoting particular forms of the conduct of life.'[1]

In terms of governance and the 'forms of life' which are promoted by it salient features of English governmentality are explored in a derivative South Australian context. Feminine and masculine subjectivity as well as race relations are analysed in relation to liberal governmentality. The work explores the changing relations between gender and race in connection to social issues of unemployment. The method which is adopted and applied in the research eventalises 'singular ensembles of practices', certain lines of force or diagrams, so as to elucidate them as specific regimes of jurisdiction and verification. The thesis explores the multiple processes which constitute unemployment, while also seeking to fulfil the demands of eventalisation, a technique for attempting to understand an event, in this case, unemployment, which is then analysed in its singularity - as a case history which is also open to revision and extension. The event 'serves as a marker for transition, and a means by which self-evidence about the nature of present social arrangements may be breached.' [2] Eventalisation 'defines a method that uses the delineation of an event to pose questions of continuity, rupture and transition, rather than construe events as manifestations or expressions of the structural principles or processes that govern a particular concrete society.' [3] This kind of case history analyses the plays of force, strategies and so on, which at a given historical conjuncture establish 'what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary.' [4]

Michel Foucault supplies the theoretical tools for this analysis. Central concepts which inform Foucault's method are elaborated in chapter one. The central features of Foucault's method are discussed in relation to discourse, power and bodies. The

archaeological-genealogical method is applied to self-proclaimed scientific and humanitarian interests or motivations which appear as self-enclosed truths and give the appearance of universality in certain historical periods. The chapter seeks to demonstrate the unmasking potential of Foucault's critical method and its efficacy in analysing the multiple processes which constitute unemployment in an historical context.

The second chapter explores the conflicts and invested interests that produced concrete procedures of normalisation which, in turn, divided and regulated members of the property-less population. The elaboration of a dense field of operative technologies for the manipulation of those subjected to a condition of unemployment is explored in relation to the protean and historical manner in which normalising federations of power develop their operations of discipline and self-enclosed truth. In this chapter conventional histories which focus on the constitution of unemployment and poverty in South Australia are challenged. It analyses the multiple processes which constituted unemployment as governmental-ethical practice, following the impact and significance of the English mode of liberal governance on the regime of thought and practice in colonial South Australia. In this regard the chapter explores an uncharted social terrain.

The many connections, encounters, strategies and plays of force which parallel the pattern of events in England are primarily investigated through press representations of unemployment in the eighteen nineties. The central focus is on the programmatic register of an ensemble of force - a *dispostif* - articulating the culturally defined conditions which organise and undergird an exercise of normalising closure on those social practices impacting on the unemployed in the colonial depression of the late nineteenth century.

A focal point of chapter three is press representations of the late nineteenth century in South Australia and their relation to social issues connected with the 'woman question'. This chapter challenges honorific feminist discourse which invokes a mystificatory 'history' in its attempt to reveal feminine subjectivity in relation to the eighteen nineties. The research questions the feminist resurrection of some pristine, naturalised doctrine or experience whereby female subjectivity is crystallised in a history which is highly idiosyncratic and garnished with historical constants and anthropological traits. Further, the work examines patriarchal aestheticism as a matrix of authority and custom, and as a

political investment of the female body. These social themes are analysed in relation to a micro-regulation of feminine subjectivity which is contiguous with the demands of liberal governance.

The chapter also considers the apparatus organising the establishment of a stylisation of conduct, and architectural arrangements ordering the individuation of the destitute. The study and development of a set of diverse conflicts and realities leads the research into a polymorphism which informs governmental-ethical practices, including the analysis of marriage, maternity, fertility, infanticide, sexuality and bachelorhood.

Race relations are analysed in chapter four in terms of liberal governmentality, with the aim of analysing racial issues existing between Europeans Orientals and Melanesians and presenting a new kind of exegesis of the 'race question' in the nineteenth century. This genealogical account provides a conceptual model of multiple processes and diverse trajectories of events, discourses and practices concerned with issues of race. In particular, the work analyses one of the controlling generalities of modernity - namely, science which becomes a key focus of concern, especially in relation to its impact on the White Australia Policy.

Maintaining the focus on unemployment, chapter five explores the changing interplay of relations and themes that were formulated and gradually altered their initial aspect in relation to the subjectivity of the property-less. The chapter presents results of an investigation into how the problem of responsibilisation was distinctively resituated in terms of a relationship between the insured citizen and the state. The heterogeneous elements (a new rehabilitative process, techniques of surveillance, discipline and prohibitions, ascetic and fascistic rationality) converging in specific social practices are explored in relation to the means by which this matrix was incorporated into the lives of property-less workers. A key locus of consideration is on the conflation of liberal and fascist themes. In the nineteen thirties, property-less labour was constituted through practices which characterised a changing ontological status of the individual, disrupting the forms and modalities of the relation of self by which the unemployed constituted and recognised themselves. How these two different though contiguous projects fuse in a general order of subjectivity relating to male unemployment is explored.

Chapter six, in turn, explores the programmatic aspirations and practical consequences of the 'living-wage' in relation to female subjectivity. The multiple processes of female subjectivity (issues of ethical comportment, scientific motherhood, domestic labour, the press, bio-power, consumerism, idealisation of marriage and maternity) are analysed in relation to practices of unemployment and female individuation. The mode of conduct emerges from rationalities of the early sex reformers, tenets of eugenics, hygienists and domestic science which is pivotal in understanding conventional subjectification of female work, accommodative responsibility and domesticity in the nineteen thirties.

The study concludes with an assessment of the government of individuation regarding unemployment in the depression of the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties. The delineation of unemployment as an event is assessed in terms of diverse and heterogenous elements: systems of classification, administrative practices and principles, strategies and programmes of governance which emerge in the complex historical conditions of emergence and existence in relation to those who were constituted as the unemployed.

Notes and References

1.   Dean, M. August 1992. 'A genealogy of the government of poverty.' *Economy and Society*. vol. 21, No. 3, p. 218.

2.   *Ibid.*, p. 217.

3.   *Ibid.*

4.   Foucault, M. 1991. 'Questions of Method.' In Burchell, G. Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. p. 76.

Chapter 1.

A Foucauldian Method

*'to speak of following 'Foucault's methods' is
as paradoxical as speaking of ascending stairs
or cascading water-falls in the graphic work of
M.C.Escher.'*

Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories* 1994

This thesis makes use of a number of important ideas developed by Michel Foucault in analysing representations of unemployment in South Australia in particular. As is well known, it is notoriously difficult to define Foucault's historical project and method because many of his ideas changed and developed with the appearance of each new text. Many different interpretations of Foucault's project have been defended with reference to his books and interviews. My aim is to present Foucault's thought in a framework which will contribute towards a 'politics of identity', a politics which will show that Foucault's historical approach is a valid research tool in unlocking the nature of representations concerning unemployment and the unemployed in the South Australian print media across specific historical periods: namely, the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties.

Archaeology
One of the major concepts drawn from Foucault's work is that of *Archaeology*. Archaeology addresses the rules of formation of discourses. As a method its principle focus is in 'locating historical similarities and dissimilarities among statements' so that the goal becomes one of 'isolating different uses of discourse according to their mode of presentation of knowledge, their role as instruments or objects of power, and in their view of the speaker.'[1] The principal aim becomes one of examining the 'characteristics of the statement'[2] in order to discover 'historical knowledges, power relations, and conceptions of the human as a subject.'[3] Foucault's archaeology is difficult to present in a schematic way because the text concerns itself with 'theoretical problems' rather than with 'questions of procedure'.[4] Archaeology is about the regularities[5] governing the discourse in which knowledge is produced; it seeks a middle ground between absolutistic and relativist

knowledge and as such 'it is always a discourse which must purchase validity on the tenuously sensible grounds of what can, must be, and is said.'[6] Archaeology in broad terms aims at revealing the delimitations of the *archive*,[7] that is, the 'historically differentiable kinds of assumptions about what counts as a body of knowledge.'[8]

It is not about seeking the 'truth' of a discourse but rather an approach which seeks to discern the kinds of discourse which 'rationalise or systemise themselves in relation to particular ways of saying the true.' In the archaeology Foucault distinguishes between several different thresholds across which discursive practices move, and the type of study that can be located. (1) *Positivity* is referred to when a single system of forming statements can be discerned, that is, when a discursive practice becomes positively distinct in its individuality and autonomy; the moment at which a group of statements forms a single system. (2) *Epistemolgization,* in turn, refers to when a dominant way of validating and verifying statements is achieved and unified into a single system. As Bernauer puts it, within a specific practice, a subgroup of statements is given responsibility for validating principles of coherence, and these statements are allotted the privilege of serving the dominant model according to which all statements in practice ought to be formed. (3) *Scientificity* occurs when the dominant function fulfils formal criteria for the construction of propositions, that is, a discourse explicitly defines formal criteria for the construction of propositions. (4) *Formalisation* is achieved when a discourse can be ordered into a formal system of axioms and defines its own axiomatic structure.[9]

'Archaeology' is a term Foucault has borrowed from Kant and is primarily meant to 'designate the investigation of that which renders necessary a form of thought.'[10] Its focus is aimed at dispensing with the 'things' anterior to discourse in order to allow discourse to 'emerge in its own complexity.' Foucault's historical method in its archaeological fashion is centred on the description of rules and conventions governing the discursive formation in four functional areas. A discursive formation is shaped by the following order of categories: objects, subjective positions, strategies and concepts. These elements are used to give shape to the conditions of existence 'but also the coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance' in a given discursive division. According to Foucault 'we are dealing with a discursive formation' when rules of formation which condition the character of a regularity can be discerned in a system of dispersion from which one may

find 'an order, correlations, positions and functionings, [as well as] transformations.'[11] The constitution of objects is composed under three questions which connect with the one concern: how does something become an object of discourse? (1) *Surface of Emergence* concerns itself with where the discourse occurs? In what places and spaces, that is, institutions or cultural fields, does a certain element emerge as an object of discourse?[12] For instance, as Foucault illustrates, psychopathological discourse in the nineteenth century emerged from institutions such as the family, social groups, the work place, art, and the religious community[13]: 'It was in these social and cultural contexts that madness was first systematically looked for and found.'[14] (2) *Authorities of delimitation* questions who has the power to name and define the object of discourse and what individuals, groups or disciplines are regarded as qualified for the identification of the objects of discourse? In other words, what societal roles are given legitimacy and status to engage in discourse on a given subject? In the case of psychopathological discourse, the foremost representatives were doctors, judges, priests and art critics. (3) *Grids of Specification,* in turn, calls for description of the systems by which the object of knowledge is defined and categorised. It refers to the system of concepts, by which, for example, 'the different kinds of madness' are divided, contracted, related, classified, [and] derived from one another as objects of psychiatric discourse.'[15] As Kusch suggests, new objects 'need to be investigated in terms of relations between institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification, [and] modes of characterization.'[16] These object-constituting relations refer to discursive relations and they can delimit a series, that is we can 'identify a series of objects by showing they have the same social, institutional and conceptual conditions of possibility.'[17]

Enunciative Modalities refer to subjective positions - (1) the societal role of the speaker or expert etc; (2) Arenas in which the discourse obtains its legitimacy and is subject to application, institutional sites which may affirm or disconfirm the competency of the speaker in terms of where the speaker speaks (e.g., assembly hall, laboratory, a book, a refuge etc); and (3) Relationship of the speaker(s) to other groups of speakers and domains of objects - further investigates the status of the speaker(s) both in terms of the web of human relations in which the speaker is found and the objects of discourse about which the particular speaker exercises his or her legitimacy to speak.[18]

3

Strategies apply to theories, themes and rules for the formation of objects, modalities of statements, concepts and theoretical choices. The purpose of the strategic determination is to force the critic to confront the pragmatic function of the discursive act. (1) The economy of the discursive constellation questions the determination of what is and is not consistent with the discourse under study. That is, a given discourse permits or excludes a certain number of statements e.g. psychiatric discourse allies with medical discourse while rejecting constructivist models. This amounts to a study of the mechanisms of closure and justification. (2) The concept of points of diffraction of discourse concerns itself with the relationship that one set of discourse has with a different causal chain that ends up referring back to the primary discursive act. For example, unemployment (x) may have two causal connections (a) inflation and (b) demand side economics; a and b are points of incompatibility and points of equivalence in that they relate to (x). Based on the same rules as (x), (a) and (b) as points of diffraction can be linked to points within a new systematisation of statements. (3) Assessment of the function the discourse serves for non-discursive practice, that is, the role a discourse serves when inserted into another domain e.g. the role of science in education. A further consideration is the possible positions of desire in relation to discourse, that is discourse may be used to achieve certain desired ends of certain groups e.g. entertainment, promise of purity, godliness, God's promise, status etc. Such an analysis serves two primary functions, calling for a determination of discursive formations that is based on both similarities and differences between discursive acts, and marking the boundaries not only according to the nature of the discourse but also according to the functions of the discourse.[19]

Concepts connect with the order and transformation of statements. Foucault offers a series of categories for the investigation into various relations between statements: (1) Forms of succession (2) Ordering of enunciative data (3) Types of dependence between and among statements. The objective is designed to discover changes in the system of knowledge. What may be discovered by examining the order and internal organisation of any particular group of statements might be incidental or unexpected patterns of interaction among speakers and distinct patterns of reasoning and expression common to various groups of statements. Thus some statements may engender competitive or co-operative responses among speakers, while other groups of statements may reinforce a particular theoretical or thematic approach to knowledge. An examination of 'concepts'

may disclose 'types and patterns of statements that are not sanctioned within either particular speaker - audience relationships or particular knowledge systems ... the critic is advised to investigate the 'procedures of intervention', or the ways in which statements are transferred from one domain to another e.g. how does the discussion of [unemployment change as the forum moves from the print media to a parliamentary hearing?].'[20] The assumption running through the panoply of categories offered by Foucault in his analysis of discourse is that discourse is 'presentative and pragmatic rather than representative.' One is able then to avoid analysing the arrangement of representation as, for example, mandated by a given social theory which demands the evaluation of the efficacy with which rhetorical action supports prevailing social practices. In this way it reverses the traditional historical views which 'view rhetorical theory being driven by the prevailing social order and social theory.'[21]

Foucault seeks to be rid of the unities of discourse tied to traditional histories, concepts such as 'influence', 'development', 'evolution', 'spirit', 'oeuvre' which are all implicated in ways of conceiving history as continuous. Paradoxically, Foucault's 'unities' are dispersed in 'discursive formations', by which is meant things like medicine, economics or grammar are understood as 'large groups of statements' unified by a 'system of dispersion'.[22] Archaeology is an abandonment of the history of ideas which was dominated by an understanding of three major themes: genesis, continuity and totalisation.[23] Archaeology does not view history as an impregnable edifice moving inexorably forward according to the laws of some evolutionary 'a priori' wherein the present is perceived as some inevitably realised future past, and is already the foundation stone of some predetermined future present. [24] As Murphy argues, writers like Aristotle, Spencer, Comte and Talcott Parsons are advocates of this kind of history, in which 'the a-historical principle involved in the endogenously conceived history is immanent to that process.'[25] The task of archaeology, in part, is to dismantle the 'seignorial status' attached to the devices which create histories of continuity, uniformity, and tradition.

Archaeology avoids the teleological ambitions present in the traditional study of history, where the 'quest for purposes, patterns, and values dissolves the singular event into an ideal continuity ... [and wherein the] field of investigation is constituted by periods that are regarded as noble, ideas that are considered major, and personages who are accorded

world - historical status.'[26] History in its classical or formalistic form, according to Foucault, has fetishized continuity and 'concerned itself with change chiefly to reduce it as much as possible by turning difference into similarity.' Discontinuity, the interruptions, accidents, discoveries and scattered events in history are reduced to a smooth sequence so that dislocation is largely removed. In schematic terms Foucault locates key problems raised by intellectual history, the history of philosophy, and the history of ideas: (1) Foucault challenges the rejection of discontinuity, chance, accidents and contingency as elements in the production of knowledge; (2) the inability of traditional histories to put 'the subject' and associated categories that sustain it into question; (3) the sovereignty of the 'self-reflexive Cogito' in relation to intentionality, universality and historical continuity (4) the commitment to a realist conception of history which asserts a dependence on recovering the 'real' past.[27] Principles such as the event, series, regularity and the 'condition of possibility' are designed to counter and replace notions embedded in traditional histories, in particular, concepts such as creation, unity, originality, and meaning, that is, notions connected to the idea of the subject that 'freely creates meaning'.[28]

In opposition to traditional history, archaeology does not treat documents, thoughts, themes and representations as signs of something else and supra historical elements are purged from the interpretative framework, with the central concern focussed instead on how discourse relates to a body of anonymous historical rules, which like 'monuments', are determined in the time and space that have defined a given period. An analysis of specificities and difference replaces the overriding concern with continuity, and the authority of the creative subject as the principle of unity in an oeuvre is resolutely rejected.[29] As Shumway argues, the archaeologist's task is to bracket the truth claim of the serious speech act (statement) under investigation, as well as the 'meaning claims' of the speech acts being studied.[30] This leads to an attitude which avoids treating discourse as being evaluated in terms of being 'old' or 'new', traditional or original, normal or deviant. The focus is removed from histories of transformation which signal 'a slow progression from error to truth, of the waking of consciousness to the awareness of things as we know them today - typified by The Great Chain of Being and today's Histories of Philosophy.'[31] Archaeology aims to avoid the confusion implicit in orthodox history, in which historical data is evaluated according to ungrounded presuppositions. 'Total'

history assumes and therefore finds sameness among the individual data it considers. The danger of this approach, according to Foucault, is that the unifying assumptions based on 'totalising' influences of tradition, the discipline, the transcendental subject and so forth are ungrounded, and yet carry a strong interpretive legitimacy within the overall focus of the historical analysis.[32] Foucault stated in one interview: 'I am completely opposed to a certain conception of history which takes for its model a kind of great continuous and homogenous evolution, a sort of great mythic life.'[33] Nevertheless, in the analysis of regimes of practice and programmes of conduct Foucault does not lose sight of continuity; in an interview concerning the prison, he stated: 'As you know, no one is more of a continuist than I am: to recognize a discontinuity is never anything more than to register a problem that needs to be solved.'[34]

Genealogy

Genealogy links archaeology and discourses with power and control. Genealogy marks a complementary shift in the construction of intelligible trajectories of events, discourses, and practices whereby discursive forms - contents released by archaeology - can be analysed in terms of social relations and organisation specifically situated as case-studies or case-histories. The new concern does not abandon archaeology but rearranges the focus onto a new set of entities and processes, that is, 'power mechanisms, power networks, interests, systems of exclusion and prohibitions, and coercive institutions.'[35] As Dean puts it, 'where archaeology had earlier addressed the rules of formation of discourses, the new critical and genealogical description addresses both the rarity[36] of statements and the power of affirmation. Genealogy will uncover a positive and productive form of power underlying every movement of institutional or discursive delimitation of statements.'[37]

The broadening of the conceptual framework as indicated by Dean sets a new demand in that both discursive and non-discursive elements are in need of explanation and analysis. Accordingly, Foucault developed a concept of power in order to meet the requirements for analysing power relations in the social domain.

In 'The Subject and Power' Foucault distinguishes power as a relationship which is different from violence or force that leaves the victim no choice between compliance and non-compliance. In a 'power relation', power is only exercised over a free subject; (a)

7

recognises that (b) (a free subject) is someone who acts and makes decisions; therefore, slavery does not constitute a power relation because a person in chains is not free to choose between compliance and non-compliance.[38] As Foucault puts it, 'power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free.'[39] If Table A (see page 27 below) is understood as a subset of possible power relations then it outlines thirteen principles which identify a range of power relations between (a) and (b) (individuals or groups of individuals). In this subset there exists a relation of power such that (a) exercises power over (b) if there exists a relation (R) between (a) and (b).

Given the parameters outlined in Table A it is correlatively clear that resistance is not in a position of exteriority in relation to power. As long as the power relation holds, it is always possible for (b) (a free subject) to resist, and be in possession of agency. As Foucault maintains, 'the relationship between power and freedom's refusal to submit cannot therefore be separated.'[40] This is not to deny the existence of 'states of domination' wherein the possible activity available to (b) is severely restricted and limited, but then, these are precisely the kinds of power relations that genealogy is designed to expose, analyse and criticise. Hence Foucault's study of the 'prison' in *Discipline and Punish*, the 'asylum' in *Madness and Civilization*, the 'hospital' in *Birth of the Clinic*. Not all effects of power are intended or foreseen, and furthermore, Foucault locates power relations in the social domain (or some similar device); that is, power relations presuppose institutions like the family, school, police etc. and also 'support' these institutions, making them possible in the first place. Power relations are viewed as matrices of transformations, forming networks which create the possibility of both mutual reinforcement or mutual annihilation; moreover, they impose an identity on human beings.[41]

In carrying out an analysis of 'power', Foucault offers a number of precautionary remarks regarding the character of the investigation. Power should not be studied merely as a form of repression or prohibition but rather one needs to examine its positive effects, what it produces, induces or invents. In broad terms, a society does not merely rule out certain practices in a prohibitive fashion, but rather the success of disciplinary power and its inculcation of normalisation lies in that subjects accept and maintain, in their actions, what is known to be acceptable action.[42] In other words, as one feminist writer maintains, power is genuinely enabling; disciplinary technologies, for example, produce specific

forms of embodiment for women via 'dietary and fitness regimes, expert advice on how to walk, talk, dress, style one's hair, wear make-up' and become attached to one's self-identity.[43] The exercise of power is best understood in its effects on the action of others, and in this regard, it incites, seduces, produces and is constitutive in its action and effects. As Sawicki puts it, disciplinary technologies produce 'new objects and subjects of knowledge, by inciting and channelling desires, generating and focussing individual and group energies, and establishing bodily norms and techniques for observing, monitoring and controlling bodily movements, processes and capacities. Disciplinary technologies control the body through techniques that simultaneously render it more useful, more powerful and more docile.'[44] Control takes place not through violence and coercion, because if these were the primary measure of power why would subjects willingly submit to its conditions? Rather, disciplinary technologies may produce new forms of identity, motherhood, the unemployed, juveniles etc. by and through which individuals may experience a sense of genuine enablement. Thereby, this is a model of power which rejects the notion of people as victimised by false consciousness. In other words, we are subjects of a government of individuation, and there is no 'true' consciousness existing just beyond the reach of extant subjectivity.

In the Foucauldian schema repression becomes merely one type of power rather than the essence of power itself. The notion of power as repressive, which is the model propagated and applied by Reich and Marcuse, attempts to comprehend the exercise of power-knowledge under the sign of repression. In the Foucauldian context, this becomes a highly limited and restrictive model because it attempts to establish a 'politically and cognitively restrictive binary logic stemming from a tendency to portray disciplinary power as monolithic, essentialist and totalistic.'[45] In Sawicki's terms, the application of the repressive model 'is limiting because it detemporalizes the process of social change by conceiving of it as a negation of the present rather than as emerging from possibilities in the present.'[46] One criticism has been that the repressive model tends to restrict the political imagination regarding conceptions of the present, as these become little more than negative possibilities regarding liberatory explorations. Ambiguities, contradictions and liberatory possibilities in the present are largely ignored. In this sense, possible alliances are overlooked, and new possible disruptions and types of resistance are left unexplored in a framework which discourages an outlook wherein multiple centres of resistance and

9

diverse relationships regarding subject positions are possible in the social field.[47] On the contrary, Foucault's model avoids ontological and essentializing notions of power wherein one does not assume 'a massive and primal condition of domination, a binary structure with 'dominators' on one side and 'dominated' on the other, but rather a multiform production of relations of domination which are partly susceptible of integration in overall strategies.'[48] For example, Sawicki and Wolf maintain that a feminism which blindly cuts itself off from valuable support and coalition because it cannot escape the limitations of the repressive model of power, which in itself persists in a perception of viewing men and women in a fixed binary opposition of 'them and us', remains in danger of losing legitimacy as a genuine force in the struggle of women's liberation.[49] Power and its techniques should be analysed in terms of its own specificity and not be reduced to a consequence of legislation or social structure; that is, power is not, as in liberal and Marxist theoretical methods, centralised in the law, the economy, or the state.[50]

The latter approaches amount to an overdetermination which brackets far too many other elements of power, precisely those which significantly impact on the social and the individual. A Foucauldian approach would emphasise analysing power in an ascending order rather than as exercised from the top down. The genealogist gives substantial attention to a 'micro-physics of power' showing how power relations at the micro-level of society make possible global effects of domination such as those of class or multinationals. Applying a micro-physics of power, an ascending analysis would start from a groundwork of infinitesimal mechanisms each with their own particular history and trajectory, and each with a different configuration 'invested, colonised, utilised, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc, by ever more general mechanisms.'[51]

The relations and mechanisms connecting the micro-level of power relations with the macro-level are not fully elaborated in Foucault's oeuvre. However, a Foucauldian approach requires that power should be studied in its exercise rather than enquiring who possesses power and what are the intentions of the power holder; that is, a focus on the tactics and techniques of power use should aid in an investigation which, in turn reveals how the exercise of power shapes the constitution of subjectivity, and how control over the body, the way it is trained, tortured, worked and marked, shapes 'the soul' or personal identity.

In *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, Foucault adds further to his list of precautionary prescriptions regarding the investigation and analysis of power relations. (1) The rule of immanence demands that power and knowledge should be studied as internally related, thereby dissociating power-knowledge relations from metaphysical 'truths'. (2) The rule of continual variations signals that power-knowledge relations are not static forms of distribution but, instead, are matrices of transformation. (3) The rule of double conditioning connects micro-level and macro-level power mechanisms in a relation of interdependence. (4) And the rule of tactical polyvalence of discourses, in turn, necessitates the study of discourse in relation to an understanding that discourses serve different functions.[52] In part, this last rule is designed to escape the narrow and unhelpful dichotomies developed by the Frankfurt School, in which the bifurcation of reason into emancipatory and the technico-strategic only masks 'endless multiple bifurcations' of different forms of strategic thinking, reinstalling 'a simple minded opposition between reason and power.'[53]

Under the rubric of genealogy a central concern for Foucault is an analysis of the birth and growth of dispositifs. This term reflects Foucault's predilection for the use of military terminology; a dispositif is synonymous with 'a diagram, or 'apparatus', a grid of force or intelligibility, which represents 'an ensemble of material precautions and means for carrying out a strategic, military operation.'[54] This 'ensemble' refers to institutions and the systems they form, the dispositif itself is a heterogeneous grouping of 'discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, administrative procedures, and so forth.' The examination of the historical emergence and development of dispositifs, that is the general mechanisms and power relations associated with the clinic, the boarding school, and the prison, becomes a focus of study in Foucault's work, and introduces an element of strategic thinking which moves beyond an archaeological liberation of themes that had been excluded or suppressed, and includes a series of tactical approaches which trace lines of force in a continuously shifting field of power-knowledge relations.

An examination of dispositif enters a familiar Foucauldian trope and that includes a suspension of a motivated consciousness, as well as the juridical-repressive model of

power and dialectical-semiotic approaches. These approaches threaten 'the specific knowledge-power relations as events that are produced by chance interactions as much as by intended objectives, and that are insubordinate to any meaning.'[55] The dispositif is an historical construction, a grid of analysis which seeks 'to isolate and establish precisely the kind of intelligibility that practices have' and the way these practices as apparatus, as tools, constitute subjects and organise them.[56]

As a research strategy the dispositif is concentrated on those cultural practices in which power and knowledge cross, and in which current understandings of society, the individual and human sciences are themselves fabricated. These 'practices' are studied with a method which reveals that truth itself is a central component of modern power. A dispositif emerges when disparate components are isolated in a specific historical problem, such that a strategy can be delineated in relation to harmonious and contradictory relationships between various elements, as well as the positive and negative consequences, which, desired or not, appear in the field under investigation.

An examination of the deployment of forces culminates in a decipherment of the strategic action of non-repressive power, a specific form of knowledge as strategy, and the unanticipated consequences of this action.[57] In concrete terms, meaning through the dispositif is achieved not in an objective analysis of hysterical women, for example, or the hidden intentions of hysterical women but rather in 'the organisation, coherence, and intelligibility of all the practices which make up the performances in Charcot's clinic. Foucault seeks to analyse exactly what these practices are doing.'[58]

The military resonance which underlies a genealogical critique generates the possibility of mapping a 'topography of the battlefield'. As Deleuze suggests, power is diagrammatic. It constitutes not so much a form, that is, a state form, class form or gender form, but rather, an unstable field of forces. Such a field of forces marks multiple twists and turns, resistance and inflections, which lend themselves to the possibility of being mapped diagrammatically in relation to points of application of force (a dispositif), that is to say, the action or reaction of a force in relation to others.[59] In this way a dispositif, consisting of a 'line of general force', which excludes, aligns and unifies particular features (affects) can be traced in a series which converge in the make-up of institutions, not only the state,

but also the family, religion, production, the marketplace, art, morality and so on. The diagram or dispositif demarcates 'a set of relations between forces from which the human compound emerges' - disciplined man, docile and useful bodies, occurring in an ontological order of the present.[60]

The military motif which subtends the study of dispositifs is equally applicable in Foucault's view of the social fields. He reverses Clausewitz's assertion, that war is politics continued by other means, into power is war continued by other means. Politics as war by other means views politics in an asymetrical relation, sanctioning a disequilibrium of forces characteristic of war, and thereby favouring certain tendencies which could reasonably be interpreted as a continuation and the result of a war - contest. Civil society is primarily analysed in terms of struggle, conflict and war, and as Foucault trenchantly notes 'even when one writes the history of peace ... it is always the history of ... war one is writing.' [61]

This reversing of Clauswitz's assertion is significant because it establishes the social field in a theatre of war, a battle-field, wherein a key variable is agonism (combat), and whereby the lines of force (dispositifs) are 'established at a determinate, historically specifiable moment, in and by war.' War becomes synonymous with political power, as the latter attempts unsuccessfully to neutralise the effects of war in favour of civil peace, and inscribes power relations in asymmetrical social and economic contest which affect bodies, practices, and language, etc.[62]

Genealogical Questions

Establishing a set of questions in a genealogical critique requires a certain vigilance and awareness that one is not trying to legitimise difference by appealing to some underlying or overarching unity. Questions should be set so that the dominant subject in the present lineage is displaced and denied dominance.[63] The will to truth is suspended as is any claim to subjective dominance, and uniformities that follow from that dominance are denied prominence.

Genealogical questions are set at a distance from authority, but, nevertheless, refer directly to mechanisms of disciplinary power which embody precisely those practices and

knowledges that are in need of being re-thought and re-ordered. Thereby, this is a distance that does not merely look on from afar but creates a 'clearing' that allows for a 'decentering of words, ideas and functions, [and] a distance that works transformations of institutions and reorders the spaces in which problems occur.'[64] In this 'clearing', questions function between the will to truth, erudite knowledges (*connaissance*) which discursive powers structure and control, and subjugated knowledges (*savoir*) that genealogy engages in critical counter-hegemonic strategies.

The ordering of questions in a genealogical critique is not directly concerned with issues of right and wrong but rather with targeting 'the limits, the inevitabilities, and above all the institutional and professional destinies that were set in a discourse with its particular configuration of knowing, perceiving, thinking and practising.' It is the deep and largely unconscious economies and values ordering the will to truth that become targets in a genealogical critique. The issue becomes one of exploring and examining the discursive and practical region in which those rights and wrongs were established, and enquiring into what elements were left out, ignored, destroyed or suppressed.

The critic is not examining whether or not people who rationalise something conform to principles of rationality, but is enquiring into the kind of rationality that is being applied. Therefore, the questions in a genealogical investigation are constructed on nominalist foundations. Why is an object field being created to be put into discourse? Who is doing the speaking? What position/rationalities do the speakers occupy? Which institutions prompt speech, and which store up what is said? What power-relations does an institution integrate in a particular historical formation? What 'relations' does an institution entertain with other institutions? How do these divisions change from one stratum to the next? What bodies of knowledge and techniques of domination are being exercised and applied? What are the effects of domination in relation to the exercise of power? [65] 'In what ways do different power regimes control, confine, nourish, and shape the human body?' [66]

The effects of power, the way power impacts on 'bodies' and 'souls' is of pivotal concern in a genealogical investigation. This Nietzschean theme adopted in 'genealogy' attempts to 'expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of

the body.'[67] Herculine Barbin's fate is sealed, only after her anatomy becomes invested with a particular mode of knowledge, a regime of truth with all its associated practices of power.[68] Herculine at the age of twenty two was forced to recognise herself as a male. Similarly, a new definition of tactics in the exercise of power fixes the fate of Pierre Riviere. In his case, 'for almost the first time a horde of experts stood about in a court theorizing about the crazed killer. The categories into which to slot him will determine what is to be done with him ... It is less the facts about Pierre than the possibility of thinking of him in these ways that fixes his fate.'[69]

Both Herculine Barbin and Riviere are subjected to the production of truth through power, and are condemned to the truth of power, the will to truth, that society demands. They are enmeshed in power's ceaseless interrogation, its inquisition and its registration of truth. As Foucault states: 'In the end, we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying, as a function of true discourses which are the bearers of specific effects of power.'[70]

In the 'Orders of Discourse' Foucault elaborates four methodological principles of analysis to be used in an investigation of power-knowledge relations. These strategies or regulative principles are used by Foucault as a means by which to understand the past, works of art, and systems of thought. They are designed to meet different historical tasks as Foucault attends to power mechanisms and exercises, and focuses on the training and disciplining of bodies, the way power relations and mechanisms shape personal identity of the dominated and the dominator, investigates power as a network of power relations; examines interconnections between micro-level and macro-level power relations; analyses states of domination in the shape of coercive institutions as social laboratories for development of power mechanisms; and reconceptualizes science as a process of exclusion and regimentation.[71]

The 'master trope' among the four strategies is reversal, which governs the other three, each of which is a form of reversal.[72]   (1) *Principle of Reversal*: reversal seeks the negative activity of discourse where traditional historians and philosophers have been preoccupied with its positive role. Reversal reorders the seemingly positive figures of author, discipline or will to truth which are to be treated as principles of rarefication and

exclusion. For example, in *Madness and Civilization* a 'reversal' reconceptualises the role of Pinel, heralded as liberator of the insane. His role is reformulated in terms of an even more insidious disciplinary technology, one which renews its victimisation and incarceration of the mad. Chains of iron are replaced by chains of discipline and meticulous rituals of power. (2) *Principle of Discontinuity*: in terms of discourses, this principle regards these as often excluding or ignoring one another. Although not a foundation principle it is used to challenge the basic assumptions of teleological histories. As has been stated earlier, Foucault's concern with ruptures, breaks, displacements, shifts and interruptions signifies his suspicion of continuity. Instead of seeking continuities Foucault prefers to focus on discontinuities. He doesn't offer a causal explanation for discontinuities that he locates and uses in his histories. Discontinuity violates traditional assumptions, and is a reversal of the fetishistic way traditional history attaches itself to universal laws and overarching theories which support historical continuity. (3) *The Principle of Specificity*: refers to alterity or the strategy of specificity which regards discourses as practices imposed upon things in their own temporality and space. Discourses, therefore, cannot be regarded as part of one great 'transcendental conversation' that has led inevitably to the present. 'Specificity' demands that discourses be accorded their radical difference in terms of their own episteme and temporality. (4) *The Principle of Exteriority*: regards discourses in terms of positivity (their surface appearance), and are therefore treated as unmotivated or unintentional. 'Exteriority' abandons the search for deep meanings hidden beneath the surface text of discourse. Therefore, hermeneutic notions common in Marxism, psychoanalysis, deconstruction and semiotics are abandoned in favour of an examination of the conditions of possibility pertaining to discourse. What range of possible statements can the discourse produce? What constraints exist in terms of what can be spoken or written etc? And what are the external conditions for the possibility of existence in regard to the discourse? The questions arising from 'genealogy' and the strategy of exteriority seek to establish the conditions for this kind of investigation.[73]

Such an investigation culminates in a history of the present which concerns itself with making historically contingent that which is taken for granted, or assumed to be pre-given and obligatory within contemporary social existence. A history of the present self consciously seeks to present a genealogical account as a counteraction in the field of

16

present day power relation and political struggle. Nevertheless, the ' 'present' refers not simply to the chronological present, but to the epoch of modernity.'[74] A history of the present unsettles established ways of thinking and calls into question prevailing regimes of truth. As Foucault states in one interview, 'things weren't as necessary as all that, it wasn't a matter of course that mad people came to be regarded as mentally ill; it wasn't self-evident that the only thing to be done with a criminal was to lock him up; [nor was it] self-evident that the causes of illness were to be sought through the individual examination of bodies.'[75]

A history of the present seeks to problematise dimensions and regimes of social existence and personal experience, suggesting that they could be the result of contingent historical circumstances, thereby making them less defensible and necessary from the present standpoint. Foucault exemplifies the 'nature of problematization' in *The Use of Pleasure* when he asks the question: 'What are the games of truth by which man proposes to think his own nature when he perceives himself to be mad; when he considers himself to be ill; when he conceives himself as a living, speaking, laboring being; when he judges and punishes himself as a criminal?'[76] Commonly held conceptions about events and social practices which are linked to the institution and functioning of regimes of truth are decentred and reordered, as current understandings of reality are transfigured with the aim of assisting existing movements seeking change. Unchangeable elements appear contingent as they are traced from the past to contemporary times, their temporary deterministic limits are made problematic as they are contrasted with a radically different past. That is why the strategic aim of a history of the present is to determine the contemporary limits of our being without taking recourse in the tantalising tropes of traditional histories, namelypresentism and finalism. [77]

A history of the present joins the struggle within a contemporary 'politics of truth', and focuses attention on a number of issues elaborated above: 'what are the values and truths that are built into the knowledges and institutions that give our lives place and order? And, what are the values and truths that order the language by which we describe and evaluate knowledges and institutions?'[78] Genealogical critique as a history of the present 'transforms history from a judgement on the past in the name of the present truth to a

"counter-memory" that combats our current modes of truth and justice, helping us to understand and change the present by placing it in a relation with the past.'[79]

Subjectivity, Ethics and Governmentality

The elision of the subject in Foucault's oeuvre does not mean an elimination of the subject entirely but is designed instead to allow for a new approach which abandons the sovereignty of the Cartesian cogito. This approach demands an examination of the way subjects are carried along, regardless of personal qualities, by a set of knowledges and practices that figure and re-configure in the anonymity of accidents, mergers, calamities and discoveries. The subject is relegated to a secondary position as the autos is viewed in relation to that which resides in practices and the language of a given historical period. The transcendental consciousness with which phenomenology prioritises the constituent role of acts, and the origins of historicity, is undermined in as much as the autos is superseded by an investigation of the complex possibilities of discourse which come to precede the phenomenological subject.[80] Thus the sovereignty of the consciousness of the Cartesian subject is displaced by the play of prescriptions that designate a certain range of exclusions and choices, understood as rules for statements which are not available to the participants' consciousness, and that these 'rules' remain 'relatively autonomous and anonymous.'[81]

The objective in collapsing the Enlightenment subject aims at disrupting the traditional ethics derived from the Enlightenment, and decentring the self-reflexive, self-disciplinary subject of modernity. Foucault recognised that this subject could so easily be drawn into networks of power-knowledge with their controlling and normalising characteristics. Moreover, modern anthropocentrism which emerged with the fall of metaphysics (the death of God) had led not only to the theology of humanism in the shape of 'man' (a generic term for the modern individual and a construct merely two centuries old), but to a host of aporias reflected in philosophers and human scientists trying to create objective truth from a being who is a transcendental-empirical doublet.[82] Foucault is suspicious of the reconceptualisation of the Absolute in the form of the Cartesian cogito, because the divinification of 'man', the humanistic theology of 'man' with its priesthood of scientific experts, does not in Foucault's view lead to a state of 'maturity' in the Kantian sense, where universal principles promise an escape from the unthought (irrationalism, unreason)

18

via the conduit of 'reason'. The sovereignty of this egocentric consciousness, where reason is a constitutive feature of humanity, encapsulated the promise of emancipation from unreason, the realisation of a workable free society with constant growth and progress, but nevertheless reveals a history with abundant dangers and the 'possibilities of awesome destructiveness.'[83]

For Foucault modern humanism is dangerous because it diminishes and falsifies the representation of the human being, and constrains freedom in so far as it 'presents a certain form of our ethics as a universal model for any kind of freedom. He is critical of the political programmes and programmes for human progress and institutional development justified in terms of their foundation in a humanistic conception of 'man'.'[84]

In the Foucauldian schema, the concept of 'man' becomes associated with incarceration, a kind of Weberian iron-cage which is succinctly described in a passage by Bernauer as the incarceration of human beings within a specifically modern system of thought and practice. The latter has become so intimately a part of human life that it is no longer experienced as a series of confinements, but is embraced as the very substance of a normative mode of being. This overarching order which traverses modernity finds the identity of man himself, subsumed by a truth which is power and a power which presents itself as truth.[85]

Foucault's displacement of the subject and privileging of power-knowledge challenges the History of Ideas and History of Philosophy in which historical accomplishment is seen as conditioned in some way or other by a universal subject. The latter kinds of history depend on a concept of a Cartesian cogito which 'precludes the possibility of raising any significant questions about the status of this subject' and makes it difficult to historise the development of a subject accorded universality.[86] In turn, the elision of the subject in favour of a site of substitution wherein the 'effects of discourses of truth on the real, on the formation of what it is to be a human being, a citizen, and a governed subject' reveal Foucault's deepest ethical concerns and his concerns with the operations of governmental power.[87]

Governmentality attempts to conceive the subject without relapsing into a humanistic framework, and tries to define the parameters of an ensemble of powers and domination

19

which set the groundwork for thinking about political norms without recourse to a universal subject. It is an attempt to work out how the techniques and rationalities concerned with the governance of the state impact on the ethical problem concerning the politics of identity. Rather than following an analysis mandated by a theory of the state, Foucault's analysis emerges from within 'the operation of governmental power, the techniques and practices by which it works, and the rationalities and strategies invested in it.'[88]

The government of individuation becomes a question concerning the art of governing, 'how subjectivity is itself governed by the multiple work of subjectification inscribed in the various ways in which humans are rendered governable and in which they govern themselves according to the forms of rationality.'[89] Governmentality addresses the political rationality tied to the art of governance and is linked to three domains: (1) self government; (2) the government of others; and (3) government of the state. It is an effort to link Foucault's microphysics of power and the macro-level of analysis without reduction of one to the other. The methodology applicable in this effort, in the analysis of governmentality, is outlined in four principles. These are principles worked out along four dimensions with which one can analyse the ethical practices of the self.

(1) *Ethical substance* concerns itself with 'that' which the individual seeks to govern in themselves or others by means of certain practices of the self. Graeco-Roman ethics, for example, was concerned with pleasures or the 'use of pleasures', observing their dangers and seeking their moderation. Christian ethical substance in turn was concerned with the work done on the 'flesh' which was the locus of impurity and sinful desires. (2) *Mode of Subjectification* refers to means by which the ethical substance is produced in ourselves and others in a process of self governance of this element. The ethical relation of the self to the self is characterised by a distinctive mode of subjectivation. In Greek antiquity, for example, the self- formation in relation to an 'aesthetics of existence' was an attempt to fashion a beautiful, noble and memorable life. The Christian method of subjectification related to creating a self in submission to a general law that is also the will of a personal God. Contemporary forms of subjectification - self formation - are often undertaken in relation to various forms of techniques and knowledge linked to the human sciences. (3) *Self-forming activity* encompasses a self-governing exercise which coheres with ethical

20

work carried out on how we govern the ethical substance. What means are employed in the self-forming governance or technologies of the self concerning the ethical substance e.g. dialogue, listening, meditation, memory training, self examination of conscience, letter writing, diary and note keeping, mortification rituals (Christianity), such as confession, penance and fasting? (4) *Telos*, in turn, enquires into what the aims of the practices are, the kind of world we hope to achieve by them, and the kind of beings we aspire to be. What is the teleology of the various ethical practices? The telos of various ethical practices has varied widely in terms of sexuality, for the Greeks it was mastery and governance of oneself by means of moderation of the use of pleasure. Christianity resolved itself in a form of salvation requiring self-renunciation and the contemporary movement, according to Dean, finds its goal of sexual/personal salvation and ethical self-fulfilment in the form of an emancipation of the self.[90]

The methodological principles become a resource with which an analytics of ethical practice can be investigated in a serial history, and allow for an examination of the 'different ways in which it has been possible for humans to constitute themselves as ethical subjects.'[91] Foucault's concern is particularly focussed on an understanding that the rational, self reflective subject of modernity could be drawn into networks of controlling, normalising power characteristic of the modern age. These modern forms of power he called in his later writings *bio-power*' and '*pastoral power*'.

This is a bio-power that brings norms based on science into every aspect of human life and is constantly in search of ever greater enhancement and control. Bio-power is tied to the normalising practices of the human sciences, powers which confer identities on human beings, subjugating bodies and pleasures according to the norm of a docile body.[92] Bio-power addresses 'life' cast at the level of the population, a power that organises populations for increased productivity, and 'sets norms and standards, makes measurements and diagnoses, imposing regulations on the basis of statistical generalisations or projections, and establishes mechanisms for dividing the normal and abnormal, the self-realised and the unfulfilled in the domain of the human being.'[93] The danger lies in that each person is led to seek the truth in a cogito that repeats the same, and affirms that all actions and thoughts in every domain of life fit an anthropological science

21

represented as the true, and which is hailed as normal, healthy and productive, free of deviance and the unthought.[94]

Bio-power is directed toward the performances of the body (political anatomy or the anatomo-politics of the human body), with attention to the process of life (that is, propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity). In the modern era the regulation and formation of the social body - the species body - witnessed a dramatic increase of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations. The body as a machine, 'its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls,'[95] characterises an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls in the modern epoch. In terms of this administration of bodies and calculated management of life, bio-power - the disciplines of the body and the regulations of the population - constituted the two poles around which the organisation of power over life is deployed.

Political anatomy and bio-politics are indispensable elements in the development of capitalism. What was significant in this process was, as Foucault suggests, 'the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes.'[96] As Foucault maintains, this 'adjustment of the accumulation of men to that of capital, the joining of the growth of human groups to the expansion of productive forces and the differential allocation of profit, were made possible in part by the exercise of bio-power in its many forms and modes of application.'[97]

Pastoral power in turn attends to the soul of every human being in order to know this soul. Secular society assimilates the social theme of religion in a quest for developing a modern politics of identity. The assimilated theme adopts secular connotations in a concern for 'care of others', and 'the development of a dynamics of self-decipherment as self-renunciation.'[98] Pastoral power is a concept devised by Foucault to characterise the power relations attendant upon the 'disciplining of societies in Europe since the eighteenth century.' The new 'pastoral power', according to Foucault, resides in the state and other modern institutions, and like the ecclesiastical power that it has replaced, is salvation-orientated. As Foucault writes 'It was no longer a question of leading people to their

salvation in the next world. And in this context the word salvation takes on different meanings: health, well-being (that is, sufficient wealth, standard of living),security, protection against accidents. A series of "worldly" aims took the place of religious aims of the traditional pastorate ... Sometimes the power was exercised by private ventures, welfare societies, benefactors and generally philanthropists. But ancient institutions, for example the family ... took on the pastoral functions ... Finally, the multiplication of the aims and agents of pastoral power focused the development of knowledge of man around two roles; one, globalizing and quantitative, concerning the population; the other, analytical, concerning the individual.'[99]

Pastoral power seeks to know the individual by means of rituals of examination ranging from the confession to the inquisition. This power permeates the entire social field, forming, shaping and governing individuality in a 'matrix of individualisation' which rejects the modern state constituted as a monolith confronting the individual from above. One primary technique in the secularisation of pastoral care is the adoption of a distinctive technique of Christianity, that is the religious practice of confession and the examination of conscience. Confessional practice becomes an instance of the normalising network of disciplinary power.[100] Since its inauguration in the eighteenth century 'the practice of confession, with its endless verbalisation of thoughts and desires in a process of self disclosure moved outside the Church and became all pervasive in our culture. Confession now plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relations and love relations, in the most ordinary as in the most solemn affairs of life.'[101] In short, we have become confessing beings.

Both bio-power and pastoral power are intrinsically linked to the 'dossier', the biography - a text which ties the identity of the autos to that of the nomos. As Steinhart maintains, power that individuates requires a psychology of memory and recognition in order to function. A politics of identity in modernity presupposes the establishment of a documentary system used by hospitals, factories, schools, police and the social security system, etc: 'These documentary systems are indispensable for a power which ties the individual to his (sic) identity; it is in these documentary systems that our self-representations are retained; it is in the information maintained in these systems that we are compelled to recognise ourselves.'[102]

Foucault's critique of the art of secular government includes an analysis of the problematisation arising from the emergence of the liberal political individual. This mode of being emanates from an agonistic relationship associated with a political rationality which fosters both an objective of increasing the state's strength and the happiness of the population. The problematisation grows from the paradoxical conundrum shaping the liberal subject - a self responsible agent, a citizen of liberty with laws and rights yet one who is dependent on order, security, welfarism and whose exploitation is essential to the strength of the state and the quality of life therein.[103] The ethical problem is not resolvable by attacking the state but rather by focussing on 'the ways in which the art of government, and the political rationality that invests it, have constituted various forms of individual and collective being and experience, various modes of political subjectification.[104]

Marshall's critique of neo-liberal political subjectification focuses on pertinent elements of political rationality linked to the agonistic elements outlined above.[105] According to Marshall, neo-liberal notions of the subject as an autonomous chooser amount to a human faculty of choice as a form of nature wherein the autos is born to choose, whereby choice can not be resisted and where the faculty of choice is exercised on commodities. Therefore the individual is, in fact, perpetually responsive to its environment and infinitely manipulable because the 'environment' can structure choices such that the life of the autos becomes an enterprise, the enterprise of the individual chooser, an autos penetrated and shaped by social patterns. 'Autonomy' becomes problematic in terms of the way individual needs, interests, behaviour, fashions etc. are contaminated and manipulated by the insertion of the political-economic rationality into the social.[106]

Life as an individual enterprise becomes a conception of the neo-liberal government of individuation such that the state enhances the ability to reproduce such individuals in and through techniques and technologies of government. Techniques include different forms of monitoring for surveillance of the production and reproduction of these new forms of normalised individuals, objects of knowledge made dossiers in systems of accounting, methods of organisation of work, subject to meticulous rituals of power in multiple sites of technology e.g. schools, medical practice, systems of income support, and forms of administration and corporate management.

This kind of neo-liberal rationality positing a personal autonomy antithetic to social control and totalisation is in fact paradoxically open to the same kind of critique liberalism employs against totalising systems. This culminates in a liberal critique of liberalism - another Foucauldian reversal. If the autonomous individual is, as Marshall argues, a victim, infinitely manipulable by market forces, then that individual is as much in danger of the totalisation structured by market forces as the subject is dependent and controlled by mechanisms of state.

Foucault seeks to use an 'effective' history as a means of detaching identity from the government of individuation posited by the neo-liberal conceptions of the self. 'History becomes "effective" to the degree that it introduces discontinuity into our very being - as it divides our emotions, dramatises our instincts, multiplies our body and sets it against itself.'[107] Discontinuity creates the possibility for a new grid of intelligibility regarding the politics of identity and introduces a memory without recognition, as the autos can no longer recognise itself in the history that has been made 'present'. Foucault's texts assist in constructing a return of memory 'other than what I was, and asserts that I become an other, that I detach myself from myself.'[108]

This form of escape from disciplinary power and the government of individuations is not about recomposing a new identity in an authentic disalienated subjectivity, as some Marxists and existentialists theorise. There is no authentic self or 'true' nature waiting at a distance for self discovery and self recognition. Detachment is not about a return to a lost origin of disalienated embodiment but rather encapsulates an experimental curiosity seeking ways of thinking differently, a thinking that is a limit experience and dares transgress, focussing a gaze which is not trapped in narcissism. As Steinhart queries: 'am I trapped within my self-representations, trapped within a mirror whose reflections seduce me, so that I become my own mirror-image, so that - like Narcissus - I sacrifice myself to become one with representations of myself?'[109]

Foucault's 'effective' histories enjoin a quest for understanding the amorphous subject, 'a volume in perpetual disintegration', a vicissitudinous self shaped and formed by practices and knowledges which are found in a circulation of power within cultural and social

relations. In Foucault's terms the self-detaching endeavour does not lead to a normative ethics but to a type of vigilance - a perpetual guard against domination.

The principles in this methodological excursus are applied in the following chapters. The historical investigation seeks to analyse the diverse processes of formation of a liberal mode of government of unemployment in the depressions of the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties. The history of the treatment of the unemployed and, by implication, welfare or social policy analysed in terms of eventalisation, which in turn focuses on the complex conditions of emergence and existence of those who are constituted as members of the unemployed. The history of the treatment of the unemployed concerns primarily 'the mechanisms of rule, the forms and uses of knowledge, and the ethics of the conduct of life'.

Table A

Power Relations
(a) - R - (b)

(a) exercises power over (b) in the context of
a relation (R), such that:

1.   Due to R, the actions of (a) reorder the set of
possible actions of (b).

2.   (a) recognises (b) as a person who makes decisions
and acts.

3.   (b) consents to the existence of R believing that
(a) has winning strategy if (b) does not comply to
demands or expectations set by (a).

4.   (b) is free to contest the existence of R.

5.   R holds in place of an open conflict between (a) and
(b).

6.   R is interrelated with other relations of
communication, kinship, exchange and production.

7.   The existence of R is dependent upon an objective of
(a) such as the maintenance of priviledge,
accumulation of profits.

8.   R is made possible by, and reinforces (possibly
increases and modifies a system of differention
determined by law, tradition, status, privilege,
economic differences, linguistic or cultural
differences, competence) operating between (a) and
(b).

9.   The existence of R is dependent upon specific means
at the disposal of (a), means that bring the power
relation in being, and uphold it (threat of arms,
effects of words, economic disparity, means of
control, surveillance rules).

10.   R has a specific form or degree of
institutionalisation.

11.   R is rationalised to some degree e.g. (cost
effective, certain in its results, related to and
productive of knowledge).

12.   The existence of R allows for changes with respect
to conditions 7. through to 11. and is related
to further relations of power R2, R3 etc. that hold
between (a) and (b), (or between (a) and other
individuals, or between (b) and other individuals).

13.   The identity of (a) and (b) is (at least in part)
determined by R.

Source: Kusch, M. *Foucault's Strata and Fields,* pp. 122-3.

Notes and References

1. Blair, C. and Cooper, M. 1987. 'The Humanist Turn in Foucault's Rhetoric of Inquiry.' *The Quarterly Journal of Speech.* vol. 73, p. 164.

2. *Statement*: Foucauldian statements are not restricted to formulations in natural language. They are not explicitly propositions, nor sentences, nor speech acts. The statement is a translucent term for an ordered structure involving a class of referentials, subjective positions, associated domains, limits of repeatability and systems of signs. The statement belongs to a dimension in archaeological methodology which describes the production of works of art, maps, graphs, photographs etc., as these may belong to certain rules of formation.

3. Blair, C. and Cooper, M. *op.cit.*

4. Shumway, D. R. 1989. *Michel Foucault.* Boston, Massachusetts: Twayne Publishers. p. 98.

5. *Regularities:* Refers to the mechanisms for the deployment and exclusion of discursive practices. These are defined by an 'order in successive appearance, correlations in their simultaneity, assignable positions in a common space, a reciprocal functioning, linked and hierarchized transformations' which occur between a number of statements and objects occurring in certain series, eg., the epistemological, the medical, the political, the economic and so forth.

6. Lemert, C.C. and Gillan, G. 1982. *Michel Foucault: Social Theory and Transgression.* New York: Columbia University Press. p. 51.

7. *Archive*: Is not literally the totality of documents collected by culture, but refers to the law of what can be said, the system governing the appearance of statements as unique events. The archive remains an opaque entity, as it is that which, outside ourselves delimits us.

8. Hoy, C.D. 1988. 'Foucault: Modern or Postmodern?' in Arac, J. (ed.), *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Post Modern Challenges.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. p. 32.

9. Dean, M. 1994. *Critical and Effective histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology.* London: Routledge. p. 29. and Bernauer, J. 1990. *Michel Foucault's Force of Flight: Towards an Ethics for Thought.* London: Humanities Press. p. 148-9.

10. Bernauer, J. 1987. 'The Prisons of Man: An Introduction to Foucault's Negative Theology.' *International Philosophical Quarterly.* vol. 27, p.369.

11.   Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* Trans. Sheridan, A.M.S. London: Tavistock Publications. p. 38.

12.   *Ibid.*, p. 41

13.   *Ibid.*

14.   Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* Trans. Smith, S. New York: Pantheon Books. p. 61.

15.   *Ibid.*, p. 42.

16.   Kusch, M. 1991. *Foucault's Strata and Fields: An Investigation into Archaeological and Genealogical Science Studies.* London: Kluwer Academic Publishers. p.66.

17.   *Ibid.*, p. 65.

18.   *Ibid.*, p. 67

19.   *Loc.cit.*

20.   Blair, C. and Cooper, M. *op.cit.,* p. 167.

21.   *Ibid.*, p. 168.

22.   Foucault, M. *op.cit.*, p. 37.

23.   Sheridan, A. 1980. *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth.* London: Tavistock Publishers, p. 103.

24.   See - Murphy, J.W. 1984. 'Foucault's Ground of History.' *Inter-national Philosophical Quarterly.* vol. XX1V, no. 2, p. 190.

25.   *Loc.cit.*

26.   Bernauer, J. 1990. *Michel Foucault's Force of Flight: Towards an Ethics for Thought.* London: Humanities Press. p. 93-4.

27.   Barker, P. 1993. *Michel Foucault: Subversions of the Subject.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf. pp. 44-5.

28.   Kusch, M. *op.cit.*, p42.

29.   Barker, P. *op.cit.*, p. 60.

30.   Shumway, D. R. *op.cit.*, p. 99.

31.   Barker, P. *op.cit.*, p. 62.

32. Blair, C. and Cooper, M. *op.cit.*, p. 162.

33. Lotringer, S. (ed.), 1989. *Foucault Live*. Trans. Johnstone, I. New York: Semiotext (e). Foreign Agents Series, Columbia University.

34. Foucault, M. 1991. 'Questions of Method,' in Burchell, G. Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmentality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. p. 76.

35. Kusch, M. *op.cit.*, p. 115.

36. *Rarity*: Concerns itself with the scarcity of statements as related to a certain topic. Rarity postulates that everything that is possible to say, in terms of the rules and lexical resources of language, is not in fact said; that the field of utterances confronting the historian is spotty and full of gaps. The principle of rarity constrains the space of options open to exploration; and the archaeologist examines the options as regulated ways of practising possibilities of discourse.

37. Dean, M. *op.cit.*, p. 33.

38. See Foucault, M. 1983. 'The Subject and Power' Afterword, in Dreyfus, H. L. and Rabinow, P. 1983. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

39. Foucault, M. 1983. 'the Subject and Power' Afterword, *ibid. p. 221*.

40. *Loc.cit.*

41. Kusch, M. *op.cit.*, pp. 126-127.

42. Lemert, C. C. and Gillan, G. *op.cit.*, p. 39.

43. Sawicki, J. 1991. *Disciplining Foucault*. London: Routledge. p. 64.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

46. *Loc.cit.*

47. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

48. Kritzman, L.D. 1988. *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture*. Trans. Sheridan, A. New York and London: Routledge. p. 142.

49. See Wolf, N. 1993. *Fire Against Fire. London:* Chatto and Windus, and Sawicki, J. *op.cit.*

50. Sawicki, J. *op.cit.,* p. 52.

51. Davidson, A. 1986. 'Archaeology, Genealogy, Ethics', in Hoy, C.D. (ed.), *Foucault A Critical Reader.* New York: Basil Black Ltd. p. 226.

52. Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1.* Penguin Books. pp.98-100.

53. Kritzman, L.D. *op.cit.,* p. 29 and p. 35.

54. Kusch, M. *op.cit.,* p. 143.

55. Bernauer, J. *op.cit.,* p. 146.

56. Dreyfus, H. L and Rabinow, P. 1983. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 124.

57. Bernauer, J. *op.cit.,* pp. 146-47.

58. Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. *op.cit.,* p. 122.

59. Deleuze, G. 1986. *Foucault.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p. 32.

60. *Ibid.,* p.37.

61. Gordon, C. (ed.), 1980. *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge.* London: Harvester Wheatsheaf. p. 91.

62. Kritzman, L.D. *op.cit.,* pp. 90-91.

63. Scott, C.E. 1984. 'Foucault's Practice of Thinking.' *Research In Phenomenology,* vol. 14, p. 76.

64. Scott, C.E. 1987. 'The Power of Medicine, The Power of ethics.' *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy.* vol. 12, no. 4, p. 346.

65. Bernauer, J. *op.cit.,* p. 164.

66. Foucault, M. 1984. 'Nietzsche, Genealogy and History.' in Rabinow, P. The Foucault Reader. London: Penguin Books. p. 83.

67. *Ibid.,* p. 87.

68. Foucault, M. (ed), n.d. *Herculine Barbin, Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth Century French Hermaphrodite.* Trans. McDougall, R. New York: Pantheon.

69.   Lotringer, S. (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 188. See Foucault, M. (ed), 1978. *I, Pierre Riviere, having slaughtered my mother, my sister and my brother-: a case of parricide in the 19th century.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

70.   Kritzman, L.D. (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 94.

71.   Kusch, M. *op.cit.*, p. 162.

72.   Shumway, D.R. *op.cit.*, p. 15.

73.   *Ibid.*, p. 40

74.   Donnelly, M. 1992. 'On Foucault's uses of the notion 'biopower', in Armstrong J.T. (ed.), *Foucault : Philosopher.* New York: Routledge. p. 201.

75.   Foucault, M. 1991. 'Questions of Method,' in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds.), *op.cit.*

76.   Foucault, M. 1985. *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality Vol.11.* Trans. Hurley, R. London: Penguin Books. p. 7.

77.   *Finalism*: teleological history; *Presentism*: when an understanding of the past is overdetermined by contemporary values and attitudes.

78.   Scott, C.E. *op.cit.*, p. 235.

79.   Arac, J. 1987. *Critical Genealogies: Historical Situations for Post Modern Literary Studies.* New York: Columbia University Press. p. 292.

80.   Barker, P. 1993. *Subversions of the Subject.* New York:Harvester Wheatsheaf. p. 181.

81.   Davidson, A. *op.cit.*, p. 222.

82.   *Transcendental - Empirical Doublet:* A Kantian term used by Foucault to question the existence of 'man', and awaken us from our anthropological sleep. The human sciences have posited 'man' ambiguously as both the object of knowledge and the subject of knowledge; a 'doubling' which structurally over-burdens 'man' as a controlling centre, that is, as a substitute of truth and the Absolute. Thereby the human sciences remain psuedo-sciences because 'they do not see through the compulsion to a problematic doubling of the self-relating subject; they are not in a position to acknowledge the structurally generated will to self-knowledge and self-reification - and thus they are unable to free themselves from the power that drives them.'

83. Bernauer, J. 1987. 'The Prisons of Man: An Introduction to Foucault's Negative Theology.' *International Philosophical Quarterly*. vol. 27, p.367.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. Barker, P. *op.cit.*, p. 183.

87. Dean, M. *op.cit.*, p. 186.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

92. Davis, C. 1990. 'Our Modern Identity: the formation of the self.' *Modern Theology*. vol. 6, p. 165.

93. Rawlinson, M. 1987. 'Foucault's Strategy: Knowledge, Power, and the Specificity of Truth.' *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*. vol. 12, p.373.

94. Dreyfus, H.l. 1987. 'Foucault's Critique of Psychiatric Medicine.' *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*. vol. 12, no. 4, p. 319.

95. Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality. Vol.1. op.cit.*, p.139.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

97. *Loc.cit.*

98. Dean, M. *op.cit.*, p. 183

99. Foucault M. 1983. 'Afterword', in Dreyfus H. and Rabinow P. *op.cit.*, p.215.

100. Davis, C. *op.cit.*, p. 168.

101. *Loc.cit.*

102. Steinhart, E. 1989. 'Self-Recognition and Countermemory.' *Philosophy Today*. vol. 33, no. 4/4, p. 313.

103. Dean, M. *op.cit.*, p. 185.

104.   Ibid., p.186.

105.   See Marshall, J. 1994. 'Personal Autonomy As An Aim of Education: a Foucauldian Critique.' *Conference Paper,* Foucault: The Legacy. Surfers Paradise.

106.   *Ibid.,* p. 34.

107.   Foucault, M. 1984. 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History.' in Rabinow, P. *op.cit.,* p. 88.

108.   Steinhart, E. *op.cit.,* p. 315.

109.   *Ibid.,* p. 314.

Chapter 2

Microphysics of Poverty: Characteristics of Destitution in the Late Nineteenth Century

*'the incidence of poverty, underemployment
and unemployment has been little explored
in the literature of social enquiry in South
Australia'*

Eric Richards (ed.),
The Flinders History of South Australia 1986

The following account introduces and investigates the relatively uncharted terrain of poverty and unemployment through the conceptual apparatus of a Foucauldian analysis. The opening section begins with a general exploration of the experience of unemployment in the nineteenth century at the micro-physical level of society, a perspective which targets the thematics of everyday life, and establishes its focus at the grass roots level, that is, the capillaries of the social. Against this backdrop, the analysis becomes increasingly stylised in content with a postmodern armature, as conventional histories are challenged with the aim of creating an alternative historiography.

According to Dickey, the depression in the latter part of the nineteenth century in South Australia was a heart rending, confusing and exhausting phenomenon after so long a period of economic growth which had nurtured and reinforced selective, moral notions of charity. One of the worst periods was in the winters of 1892-93, especially in Sydney and Melbourne.[1] It was the case that in the eighteen nineties 'the problem of unemployment received mixed and intermittent attention alongside efforts to support destitute families, children and aged people.'[2] Instruments of government, in the depths of the eighteen nineties depression included relief payments to destitute families, the creation of government funded and publicly sustained employment bureaus, and the provision of strictly limited opportunities for relief work.[3]

By the eighteen nineties 'the *Sydney Morning Herald* could be found arguing, ... that much unemployment and distress was not after all the fault of the individual involved. It was

instead, the *Herald* asserted, the product of economic problems outside the control of individual workers, however respectable and self-improving they might be. Such remarks called into question the whole structure of selective charity for the deserving poor.'[4] The depression of the eighteen nineties revealed poverty in unexpected places and this affronted the conscience of the respectable middle class, and demanded remedy. In South Australia it breached the utopian dream of systematic colonisation, with its vision of a colonial prosperity unhampered by the internal economic and political contradictions and misguidance common to the mother country.

Unemployment along with underemployment were real problems for unskilled workers. As Buckley and Wheelwright assert, a 'six months term of unemployment could be disastrous for a worker with no reserves to fall back upon and no unemployment pay from the state. Even skilled workers had to be highly mobile in search of work.'[5] Casual work was common with, for instance, unskilled workers employed in the sugar mills, seasonally, for six months of the year. Part-time work was also common to wharf labourers, building workers, and female outworkers. [6]

According to Buckley and Wheelwright, the common people suffered the most from unemployment and wage cuts with particular uncertainty of unemployment among unskilled workers. Many people lost their personal savings in banks and building societies or found them frozen, and there were significant increases in tenancy resulting from foreclosures and repossession of private homes by Building Societies because home loans could not be paid. In colonies other than South Australia, the poor and hungry were largely reliant on private charity as official institutions provided little, and there were none that accommodated invalid or destitute people.[7]

In the other colonies, charity was all that stood between survival and starvation. On a daily basis 'Benevolent asylums, hospitals and ration depots were besieged by desperate women destitute, homeless, [and] almost demented.'[8] Typical cases of destitution were reported in the press; the *Express and Telegraph* released a graphic account of the plight of the long term unemployed in Melbourne, many of whom had been unemployed from between six to eighteen months. The paper recorded that 'so lamentably hard have times been lately for the labouring classes that for a man to drop out of employment has been as

bad as to miss one's footing in the midst of a struggling, surging crowd. In each instance there are overwhelming chances against the unfortunate ever rising again.'[9]

According to the *Express and Telegraph*, the following brief sketches of destitution in Melbourne were taken from 'the fragmentary business-like reports of the inspecting officers of the Charity Organisation Society. :- A.B., blacksmith, aged 29, wife 25. Two children, nine years and four years. Out of work seven months. Everything gone. Not even a bed to lie on. Had no food for two days. Man of good character; C.D., plasterer, aged 40, wife 29. No work for 12 months. Four children under six years of age. Almost in rags and shoeless. Would sooner have work than charity; E.F., clerk, aged 30. Five young children and another expected. Most excellent character. No steady work for 12 months. Only one bedstead for the whole family. No blankets even. Has held good situations, but now in deepest poverty, only rags to lie on; G.H., painter, aged 34. Four children under 10. Wife expecting confinement. In great distress; J.J., labourer, aged 43. Seven children under 12. No work for nine months. Respectable people, neat and clean; R.L., labourer, age 33. Six children under 10. Wife ill for 18 months. Out of work six months. Most distressing case. Landlord has taken nearly all the furniture. Man had no food for nearly two days.'[10]

Skates demonstrates the importance of the pawnshop as an essential point of transaction for the unemployed. These transactions helped to resolve the problem of the relationship between necessity and starvation. It was a place essential in the domestic economy of the unemployed, and 'its grudging and careful use gives many insights into the priorities of the poor. First went 'jewellery', crockery and furniture; poverty left no room for sentiment or comfort. Women sold wedding rings to buy boots for their children, homes were 'stripped of everything to get bread'. Last to be sold was the mangle or the sewing machine. Some saw in them the promise of future self-reliance, all prized them as a symbol of a family's self-respect.'[11]

With families crowded into cellars, slums and tenements, the homes of the unemployed were visited with the daily struggle of sustenance and sickness. Women starved themselves in order to feed their children; 'female applicants to the Benevolent Society were often described as 'malnourished', while visitors to the homes of the poor found

women 'wasting away.' Women such as these gave what little they had to their children, starving themselves in order to feed their own.'[12] The domestic economy was crucial, according to Skates, to the survival of the unemployed. 'Women bartered goods with neighbours and begged the charity of relatives and friends. Families were sent to scavenge at markets and 'dust-tips,' and 'scratched out' vegetable gardens in vacant lots and back yards. Clothing was patched and repatched, shoes sewn together, tea leaves dried, and strained and dried again. So women learnt to become 'mistresses of the arithmetic of poverty.'[13]

In South Australia, the *Register*, in an expose' concerning the poor of Adelaide, set forth to 'find out the nature and extent of poverty in and around Adelaide.' The inquiry began with a salute to the wealthy colonists and their generosity in regard to the support of charity, and furthermore, positively proclaimed the general condition of the unemployed compared to the situation in other colonies. It was assumed that 'certainly here there is no unemployed battle to fight like they have in Melbourne and Sydney, nothing at all akin to the sore distress that is creating so much anxiety in Melbourne. We have unemployed, it is true. The ranks are swelled by men from Victoria and New South Wales, who do not rightly belong to us, and who should scarcely expect to have a serious claim upon our sympathies, at any rate before we are federated; but what unemployed we have are not allowed to starve ... They all share - intercolonial as well as colonial - in the practical charity that is so generously dispensed to the poor by our more prosperous colonists ... thanks to such institutions as the Destitute Asylum, the Adelaide Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society, the City and Suburban Missions, the Samaritan Fund of the Salvation Army, and, last but not least, the Poor Sick Fund.'[14]

Notwithstanding the unmistakably fashioned compliments concerning South Australian generosity in regard to the dispensing of charity, the *Register* had little difficulty in tracing numbers of destitute people living in squalid conditions. Carefully avoiding imposters, of whom the paper claimed there were many, it served notice that 'you drop across imposters, in every trade and profession, even in the matter of begging alms', and excluding professional beggars, the investigation attempted to confine itself to the genuine character of temporary distress and cases 'that were not of particularly long standing.'[15] The exposition propagated the image of a scandal, by dragging before the public a bleak

and insidious vignette about those who had been marginalised to the point of invisibility. The reader was confronted by 'partly demolished rotten buildings nothing better than hovels and dens, whose exterior and general surroundings gave one the impression that they were used as pigsties or fowlroosts, were all too filthy and unsuitable for possible accommodation of human beings. [The reporter continued his account with the following details] : To my surprise and horror I was confronted with families living (if one may call it so) in the midst of dirt and depravity of which civilized beings in a bright country like this cannot adequately conceive. Dwellings do you call them! They ought to be burnt down, and the people in them either removed - if they are old and decayed - to the Destitute, or if they are women with young families to places that would shelter them ... Where are the Sanitary Inspectors? The wonder is that fever is not rampant.'[16]

Contiguous with the deleterious state of accommodation was the general penury and indigence experienced by 'deserving members' of the poor; typical cases accounted for in the report included 'Mrs.R - in the direction of South Terrace, with a family of seven, with school age children having no boots to cover their feet and very inadequate dress to cover their bodies. The honest industrious husband had just returned from Happy Valley Waterworks, which he quitted for a while owing to wet weather. The wages were 6s. a day, or 36s. for a full week. The mother informed us that the rent of the cottage was 7s. "Too stiff altogether for us poor people," she said. "I only wish we could pull up the back rent; we owe six pounds now. We are compelled to pay it off by degree or what few things we have would be sold by the landlord." '[17]

The rent was a constant source of complaint 'all over the poor quarter', but with vacant houses particularly scarce 'agents [could] always find persons to occupy them at the price demanded.' The rent problem was endemic and its ramifications were graphically portrayed in the report by a family of eleven living near the Central Market. 'No work for the head of the family for a long time now, led the landlord to "sell up" the whole of the furniture, because three pounds owing for rent was not paid. The value of the furniture amounted to considerably more than the arrears, but the merciless owner of the house ordered the goods off with scarcely a day's notice, leaving the tenants no possible opportunity to try to realize upon the articles themselves. That house they had to quit, and they removed to another, for which they are asked to pay 14s. a week. It was at the door

of this dwelling we knocked. A couple of bedsteads and a table or two are the only pieces of furniture remaining of a comparatively valuable suite ... the father, a collar-maker, cannot earn a penny. He is willing to turn to the pick and shovel, to anything if only he can help to pay the rent and keep half clad children from hunger. The eldest daughter and the mother have been doing their best to raise a little income by shirtmaking; they have had nothing in this line for three weeks. Struggling as hard as they can they can only earn 15s. a week between them.' [18]

In response to these generally considered, deserving cases, shaped by the press in narrative forms which created a sense of pathos, and a climate of public concern, they led in part, to the beginnings of a rent-aid movement in Adelaide. Lady Kintore along with other gentry initiated the Rent Aid Society which was specifically geared to support deserted, widowed, and working women. The *Register,* quoting a circular which summoned the Society's inaugural meeting, stated that 'many a poor widow or deserted wife could keep the the (sic) little home together and honestly pay her way if respectable lodgings at a moderate cost could be found within reach of her daily work. This question, affecting as it does so large a section of the industrious poor, must be of interest to those who without pauperising desire to help them in their difficulties.' [19]

The gentry's support for rent aid was predicated on a specific image of the 'poor', and coalesced with the contemporary mode of liberal governance. The decent maintenance of a woman's family, it was claimed, could not be realized where, even if she earned a 'good wage', out of that a significant portion was paid in rent. Proposals for separate apartments for the 'inmates' were suggested, along with cottages for separate families, but the fear of these being regarded as charity houses, and the attendant concern with pauperism needed resolution. An unsectarian movement was proposed, with a work committee set up to see that no overlapping occurred with other Societies, and ensure that impositions could be quickly discerned and dismissed.

According to the *Register*, on this issue of selectivity, and the clear demarcation of which groups were to be supported Bishop Kennion advocated that 'care must also be taken not only to ascertain whether the cases were deserving, but whether husbands might not be indirectly induced to desert their wives, knowing that they would in a certain degree be

provided for. Also the character of the people to be assisted must be carefully looked into, and the contamination of the deserving cases prevented by a judicious selection.'[20] Despite these concerns, later in the same year the *Bunyip* reported in its 'items of news': 'As a result of the rent-aid movement in Adelaide, "Lady Kintore Cottages" are to be acquired and let at a low rental to deserving widows and deserted women.' [21] This was akin to work already being done by private charities such as the Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society, and the City Mission; the latter having successfully tried 'the experiment of having cheap cottages for the poor, and by a careful nursing of the funds had had a surplus out of the rents', while the former 'had cases of widows to whom small loans were made to help them in their rent year after year.'[22] A transitional conflict could be detected in some papers, concerning the issue of rent relief, as a new surface of emergence appeared regarding the provision of relief on a selective basis. Even though the *Express and Telegraph* elucidated 'normative notions' concerning rent relief by advocating relief for women in order to keep them out of the Destitute Asylum, and that otherwise rent relief should only be provided for the industrious poor,[23] the *Register,* in turn, was able to privilege a new kind of knowledge capable of reordering the 'proper objects' deserving of care. The new pattern of thought began to articulate an order of knowledge which allowed for 'need' over 'desert'. As one editorial stated: 'The danger of poor relief operations conducted by religious societies - and it is difficult to avoid it - is that personal merit of the applicant may more or less be made a measure of eligibility to receive assistance. The real requirement in all broad and general schemes of philanthropy is that need and not desert shall be the primary consideration ... and the suggested Rent-aid Association can find a field for its generous intervention without interfering with the labours of other effective agencies now engaged in mitigating the distresses of classes of the poor who have special claims upon the sympathy and help of the liberal-minded of all ranks of society.'[24] Nevertheless, the *Register* asserted that the rent question was considered 'the great trouble' in all the cases of deserted wives and widows and advocated thriftiness and self restraint on the part of the destitute, for after all, the Destitute Asylum would always be unpopular with the meritorious poor, as the 'majority of the inmates of the Asylum are all reaping the consequences of thriftlessness and dissipation'. In this context, the *Register* continued its defence of the established social system, demonstrating unrestrained satisfaction that the meritorious poor opposed the assistance offered by the destitute asylum, stating 'that [this] sentiment of dislike should exist is indeed a gratifying

41

fact which represents the animating motive in all the heroic struggles of the industrious and self-reliant.' Self restraint and reliance as a set of learned behavioural patterns was characterised by the *Register* thus: 'If a poor family can only keep the doctor and the medicine phial out of the house they can subsist on surprisingly little. The crumbs which fall from the tables of one fairly well-to-do man - the wasted food, and the discarded clothing - would almost support a whole indigent family. And if the supply of food runs a trifle short sometimes, a little pinching and a good deal of philosophy can accomplish wonders.' [25]

Destitution and unemployment can be brought into sharper focus in relation to the increasing incidence of theft and crime which was regularly reported by the press. A rather vexed letter to the editor complained that the 'residents of North Adelaide are now subject to nightly depredations in their gardens, most of my neighbours as well as myself have been robbed of our oranges, and I hear that theft is not confined to fruit, but that even hammocks have been cut down and carried away from verandahs. As the police are apparently powerless to deal with such offenders the sufferers must take the law into their own hands. If, therefore, any one is caught thieving in my grounds I shall deal with him summarily.' [26]

The papers in South Australia gave detailed accounts of the destitution and the state of unemployment in other colonies. The experience in Melbourne was considerably worse than that in Adelaide. Sentiments of resistance were presented in various circumstances. One such case concerned reports of furniture being forcefully removed from women unable to pay their rent. Furniture dealers were regularly confronted with demonstrations by the unemployed. The *Chronicle* explained one occasion, in which a furniture dealer had 'distrained upon a woman for the non-payment of rent and taken all her furniture from her, [and it was reported that] a demonstration was made to-night by the unemployed. A meeting was held and inflammatory speeches delivered, the avowed intention being to remove the furniture by force. A large body of police and several troopers were present, and consequently they desisted from their intention, and arranged to turn up in force at the City Court.' [27] The paper also recorded that at the District court twelve unemployed had been charged with walking in procession in public streets without the permission of local authorities, the accused pleading guilty and being fined but 'they expressed their intention

of going to goal, and were ordered to be imprisoned till the rising of the court.' Others were arrested for making 'inflammatory speeches', the *Chronicle* acquainted the case of 'Albert Moss, who was arrested on the charge of making use of inflammatory language.'[28] 'Mob violence' was reportedly common to Melbourne and was regularly visited on auctioneers, being overrun by the unemployed in search of furniture which had been seized for distraint of rent. Auctioneers were exposed to the efforts of resistance by the unemployed, which the papers exposed starkly as blatant acts of 'strongarm tactics'. One auctioneer, attempting to leave his premises in search of the police 'was struck two violent blows on the face ... a disorderly mob of unemployed [had] rushed in demanding instant delivery of some household furniture' and at another location 'a mob rushed a house where a bailiff was in possession. They locked the bailiff in an empty room till every article was removed.'[29]

The ideational meanings that constituted destitution were made particularly transparent in the funeral arrangements accorded the destitute living in Adelaide prior to 1855. The 'ghettoisation' of the destitute was signified in the calculated arrangements set aside for the treatment of deceased paupers - their bodies were segregated in public cemetries, and they were submitted to a different moral and religious order given that destitute funerals were 'conducted in the absence of any minister.' The elision of 'last rites' amounted to a coruscating display of a social limit imposed upon those who had been demarcated by the experience of penury.[30]

Nicol claims the destitute were 'buried like dogs' or as cases stigmatised by suicide, their bodies as cultural artefacts of occlusion became objects through which religious institutions exercised constraints and prohibitions. Bodies of deceased paupers were interned in drains, and even after 1873, when the South Australian government attempted to improve standards associated with destitute burials by instigating new regulations, practices such as 'the use of bodies of the destitute for anatomical examination' continued to be common. According to Nicol 'throughout the nineteenth century complaints continued [concerning the treatment meted out to the remains of deceased paupers] and concern was expressed that the destitute were not accorded decent burial.'[31] The use of anatomical examinations on the bodies of deceased paupers reflects a deeper cultural substrate; the submission and deployment of the pauperized body as a vehicle for medical

examination reveals equally well a political anatomy enmeshed in a mode of liberal governmentality.

Unemployment and Liberal Governmentality

Unemployment as an ethical substance in late nineteenth century South Australia emerged in and through the programmatic character of a liberal mode of governmentality. This term moves beyond 'liberalism' understood as liberal government because different axes of concern are included by the means of investigation. It not only concerns the techniques and instruments of government, such as 'the arts, skills and means by which rule is accomplished', but also the rationalities of government, 'the exploration of issues of the forms of expertise, knowledge, information and calculation that are the condition of government', and as well, the axis of self-formation, that is, how government seeks 'the cultivation and stylisation of personal attributes and capacities, and the marked out spaces for the supervised exercise and regulation of these capacities as arenas of freedom.'[32]

The frame of governmental and ethical practices through which the unemployed were constituted and invested with meaning in late nineteenth century South Australia appear in a line of force, a diagram, embracing public works, organised charities, deputations, print media representations, religious organisations, relief projects and public policy. This assemblage of power relations - dispositif - was underpinned by a rationality which shared a form of co-existence with the English 1834 Reformed Poor Law. The move taken here runs counter to histories of South Australia which have claimed that South Australia was exempt from a Poor Law because of the particular character of its origins and, by implication, developed along lines distinctly different from its English counterpart.[33] The 1834 Poor Law established a line of exclusion drawn against relief of able bodied men and those construed as their economic dependents.[34] The 'Poor Law' was an English instrumentality which, according to Dean, 'operated effectively to exclude able-bodied men from relief, and to offer relief to those construed as dependents, that is, their wives, whether lived with or not, mothers with children and children, only within the deterrent 'less-eligible' institution of the workhouse.' The poor laws emerged, according to Dean, as emblematic of a surface of emergence which 'perhaps for the first time' witnessed the constitution of poverty as a field of knowledge and intervention. The emergence of the 'liberal mode of government' of poverty in the early nineteenth century had long term

implications for the 'formation of a national labour market, notions of self-governance and responsibility, forms of patriarchy and household, and issues of morality, philanthropy, administration, and the state.'[35]

A number of assumptions tied to the new regime of knowledge, including the possibility that as a form of governance, a new order with determinative initiatives would expunge modes and conditions of life of the poor which 'produced pauperism, and coincident disease, crime, and political threat.'[36] And given that 'labour' was perceived as an ambiguous element of the moralisation of the poor, 'The poor-law reforms assumed that erecting a barrier of less-eligibility would ensure that the demoralisation of the labouring population would cease.' Embodying a distinctive project of social transformation the liberal mode of governance was 'distinguished by its aim of incorporating self-responsibility and familial duty within the lives of the propertyless.' [37]

The liberal mode of governance of the property-less stands in a contiguous relationship with the means by which this category of people are made to sell their labour freely, especially given the field of action of the state in the 'withdrawal of state responsibility for relief to specific categories of propertyless, the centralisation and bureaucratisation of the apparatus of the administration of relief, and the promotion of a particular conduct of life of the propertyless population, and generalisation of wage-labour within the transformed framework of patriarchal relations.'[38] The ethic of patriarchal self-responsibility was inscribed 'in the conditions placed upon poor relief by a system of central state superintendence.' Self-responsible conduct in the liberal transformation of governance 'sought to give effort to a self-responsible conduct of life by the deterrent institutional form of the workhouse.'[39]

Dean's genealogical account demonstrates that the relation between wage-labour and the labour contract is invested with moral concerns. 'The poor enter into and are transformed by Adam Smith's moral economy of exchange, not by virtue of a right of subsistence, but as bearers of labour and juridical subjects of the wage contract.' This results in characteristics which posit the 'dual nature of the civil status of wage labourer as worker and head of household, the latter involving his patriarchal mastery in the private, domestic sphere.' The independent labourer was constructed as a wage labourer and male

45

breadwinner, with wives and children as dependents, and consequently, the 1834 Report condemned what was constituted as nothing less than a major source of abuse, the granting of relief, 'all forms of relief, however administered and calculated, to able-bodied males for the support of themselves and their families. [And the granting of relief to] employed male labourers, underemployed or low-paid male labourers, and unemployed male labourers.'[40] The Report, however, revealed a gendered elision, in that it failed to address the responsibilisation of the single female without children or single female or separated female with children, although its definition of 'abusive relief' included able-bodied widows.

As Dean has demonstrated, the new Poor Laws and Benthamism, along with Malthusian abolitionism, existed in an isomorphic relation, in a kind of chiasmatic binding, which became evident in the discursive configurations of the poor law, and were exemplified in the patterns of thought and practice which disqualified certain members of those classified as indigent and pauperised. According to Dean, historians have failed to comprehend that the New Poor Law and Bentham's plan constitute virtually identical targets of national administration based on the same principles and ends. The conceptual concomitance appears in a concrete fashion in the poor laws administration of relief, a techne of government attempting to establish the 'freedom' and the 'individuality of the propertyless, male labourer, as an answer to both the requirement of the economy and the demoralisation of the character of the poor. Its Benthamite less eligibility solutions assumed an inherent capacity of the poor to consult their own self-interest and take up the more eligible condition of independent labourer.'[41] The dystopian disincentives of the workhouse inaugurated by the New Poor Law supported the virtues of thrift, hardwork, industry, paidwork and family responsibility, and set up through multiple institutional and discursive arrangements, rewarded with a limited form of social acceptance those members of the oppressed who conformed with the liberal individuality and economy of responsibility. The shape of this form of liberal governance can be traced through factory legislation, public health, educational measures and 'policing'. This political configuration and administration of life shaped public definitions and attitudes concerning the unemployed which represented a significant discontinuity with earlier forms of moral paternalism and 'police', but nevertheless maintained a 'recognition of worker's patriarchal rights over their wives in a newly privatised domestic sphere.' The move from paternalism

46

was not a break from patriarchy, as new obligations and rights emerged with the liberal mode of governance which sustained masculine social and political power. Dean argues that the new liberal policy was a rejection of paternal patriarchy which provided for relief of the Poor, and was instead a reinforcement of patriarchal relations of economic responsibility and dependence within poor families. The patriarch of the household had given way to the male breadwinner - the wage labourer. As Dean puts it 'The organisation of social life and governance around the father as head of household, which indeed was found to be a feature of eighteenth century conceptions of oeconomy and the wise administration of state, would be swept away by the freedom of the individual to enter contracts and for the poor to better their own condition.'[42] The poor law instituted the Malthusian objectives of abolition such that only able-bodied males would be held responsible economically for themselves and those said to be their dependants. If a capitalist ethic was being inculcated within the social body, it was not 'by positive means for the transformation of the 'consciousness' of the poor but by the reformation of the key practice of poor relief so as to repress relief to those who could constitute the workers and their dependants.'[43]

The development of these regulatory practices asserted a particular subjectivity of the poor, positioning them in a web of conventions, and an apparently natural order which assumed that a sphere of familial responsibility was both natural and the choice of property-less labour. 'The exclusion of this group from relief found the simple justification that it replicated the natural order in which men were also responsible for their families.' This natural order of things, organised via a strategy of relief provisions, with its multifarious interdictions, served the establishment and formation of a capitalist labour market.

The strategy of liberal governance established the union of freedom and servitude as natural and a vehicle of progress. This strategy provides an answer to the problem of why wage labour is willing to enter into wage contracts under adverse conditions, and improves on Marxist accounts which gloss over the making of the wage-labourer, as these perspectives have difficulty answering precisely this conundrum. It is in the making of a contract of rationality, set as a strategy which organises the wage contract, which creates the condition for the labourer to submit to relations of subordination. Carol Pateman

shows that 'the economic exploitation of the worker, that is, the appropriation of the surplus values, is a consequence of the fact the sale of labour power entails the worker's subordination. The contract legitimates ... the domination of employee by employer, the fact that the worker must act in accordance with the commands of the boss. The 'rational' individual who had means of procuring the socially necessary subsistence without contracting to be dominated would, all else being equal, choose such means.'[44]

The sale of labour power becomes the sole means of support for those defined as labourers and those constructed as their dependants. The delimitation of poor relief is justified on the grounds that it supports the disciplinary techniques accelerating the accumulation of capital via an ensemble of dogmas and technologies which in turn, possess instruments to regulate the behaviour of individuals, and increasingly become finely articulated. The labourers, efficiently manipulated and organised, are free and, paradoxically, collaborate in reproducing a society which makes servitude increasingly rewarding and palatable. Poor relief, then, is disallowed from preventing the 'full development and self-reproduction of the capitalist labour market', and the simulacra of freedom makes the goals of rational capitalism appear more opaque. Predicated on this specific image, the class of free labourers must reproduce themselves in the 'putatively natural operation of a private, domestic sphere', and remain 'a class who sell their labour power or services in the formal sense voluntarily, [actually do so] under the compulsion of the whip of hunger.'[45]

The legacy of the English 1834 Poor Law for South Australia is discernible in the programmatic register of the dispositif, which serves as a will to govern, a regime of truth imbricated in a certain mode of determination. It is integrally linked to the destiny of those classified as unemployed and to the development of their self understanding in the depression of the eighteen nineties. Newspapers and journals united to extol the virtues of work and the willingness to labour, and staked out a conceptual space in which a diffuse ensemble of power networks, a dispositif, communicated the profound sociality and patriarchal responsibility of those constituted as unemployed. The present genealogical account intends to diagnose the organising trends, the techne of government and self-formation which relate in a complex historical inheritance with the order and rationality found in the English 1834 Poor Law. This represents an historical trajectory displaying unique symmetrical events, one in which there is multiple, compact interconnection, but

no isomorphism. The register has shifted, problematising those organic associations, the male wage labourer and his dependants, domesticity associated with femininity, and the role of children, which by the eighteen nineties in South Australia had opened up to vistas of uncertainty.

Governmental - ethical practice

In the latter part of the nineteenth century in South Australia, unemployment as an ethical substance increasingly became imbricated in governmental-ethical practices, a conduct of conduct with its dimensions of self-formation, the relation of 'self to self'. 'Governmental' practices and techniques provided the horizon for the problematisation of the self-formation and self-relation of the unemployed.

In regard to nineteenth century South Australia, Dickey's assertion, that elements of social control need to be largely dismissed in relation to welfare service provisions, will be contested here. Dickey posits a relatively benign South Australian state control which he contrasts with Piven and Cloward's thesis, in which the manipulation of welfare roles by the state is a means of disciplining the reserve army of labour. Accordingly, Dickey warns against casting the South Australian state, in its welfare service provisions, as a manipulating weapon aimed 'to control, to discipline, to transform, some component of the community. On the other hand, it may well be that dependants gladly accepted the conditions upon which they received assistance, so gladly indeed that the notion of social control as a deliberate concept evaporates.'[46] Moreover, in terms of state control, Dickey argues that 'little explicit evidence exists of the desire to control the poor beyond the insistence that the able-bodied, however much they were suffering, should show that they deserved charity by working for it, usually in unpleasant manual work.'[47] As far as this is the case, Dickey's historical analysis, largely because it is localised on a primary focus of the state, trivialises the historical condition of the unemployed, and does not explain the rationality, the strategic unity, the programmatic register of the dispositif, with its antecedents in the English 1834 Poor Law, and which in turn, constitutes that from which the compound of the unemployed subject emerges.

Ethical substance: Unemployment (the subject to be governed)

In June of 1892, the *Bunyip* reported a lecture by Henry Taylor, which claimed that the

Mayor of Adelaide said 'There were poor in South Australia, but many were poor simply because they would not work. In Australia poverty is only a name; in London it was a reality.'[48] And as late as 1909, the Chairman of the Destitute Board denied responsibility for the able-bodied unemployed, referring to them as 'a lazy shiftless heterogeneous (sic) collection, dirty and objectionable', and that they seemed unwilling to work, and offended middle-class standards of cleanliness.[49] It was sentiments such as these which led in part to the niggardly and frugal provisions of public works provided by the South Australian government. The lecture, furthermore, asserted that 'even in this colony [South Australia] we found men begging the right to labor so that they can live, and being sent away by the government to work for the miserable pittance they have to work for at Happy Valley.'[50] The general hostility to state aid in South Australia partly incorporated the general parameters of the 1834 Poor Law, and was evident not only in the fact that there was little subsidy given to private charities compared with other colonies, but as late as 1902, the official position of the government was that 'The Government could not make work for the unemployed, and he [the Commissioner of Public Works] did not intend to adopt such a policy ... It was not the duty of the Government to keep the unemployed but it was their duty to keep them from starving.'[51]

The South Australian press resonated with complaints from unemployed workers. and from others who had procured work on government relief projects. The unemployed workers at Kadina, Gladstone, and Wallaroo were bewildered by the seeming indifference of the government commencing relief works, and sentiments of dissent emerged at the Happy Valley waterworks due to the state of both wage and work conditions. One writer to the *Express and Telegraph* wrote 'with reference to the way in which men are treated at Happy Valley' stating that 'I maintain that our condition is worse than that of the former slaves of America. They worked for food and clothing, while we cannot procure employment to enable us to clear our debts.' Also referring to the conditions of piece-work at Happy Valley' another wrote, 'All I can say is that the price payed (sic) to the men is far too little to expect a man to earn good wages.'[52] Letters to the editor were filled with bitter complaints from navvies who resented the inability to earn subsistence wages. One letter inquired as to the earning capacity at Happy Valley: 'I would like to ask how a man can support a wife and family on that amount and keep himself? ... it is far below any relief works ever started in the colony both as regards wages and work. Any one would

think that we were prisoners in the stockade the way we are kept at it. But that it is not what we have to complain of, if only they would give us the wages in accordance with the work ... If I am not mistaken, there is a Commission on sweating taking evidence; they had better come up here and we will let them know what sweating is.' Yet another, signing himself 'One Who Knows', enquired 'Will you kindly inform me who is responsible for the mens wage's at the Happy Valley Waterworks being lowered 6d. a day? How can men keep two homes, a wife, and six or seven children on 5s. a day?'[53]

The workers were not asking to be liberated from the responsibilisation of wage-labour, underwritten in the liberal mode of governance, but rather, they explicitly identified with the forces that aimed to enlist such practices and waged their sentiments of dissent at the level of socially necessary subsistence. The *Express and Telegraph* reported that a deputation had waited on the Commissioner of Public Works urging 'that the present rate of wages paid to the men on piecework at the Happy Valley Waterworks was not sufficient to enable them to earn a living.' The reporter gave an illuminating view on 'conditions of work' following his visit to the work site: 'when I reached the ground I found the men had been unable to resume operations, and that the place was in a state of idleness ... The wet weather has put a stop to work on numerous occasions, and the men complain bitterly in this respect as it causes such a loss of time to both on day and piecework ... Not one but a dozen men said they could not work the ground fairly - most of it is dense clay - and earn 3s. a day ... Talking to another man who has had a deal of experience of earthworks, he said - 'I don't care who the man is, be he a young or an old navvy, he could not earn a fair day's pay in that clay,' at the same time indicating the drain with his boot.' The reporter concluded with 'it does seem as if there is ample room for the Ministry to fairly look into the case of the men who are struggling against such unequal odds to maintain themselves and their families by working on the Happy Valley waterworks.'[54]

That an uneasy relation existed between workers on public relief works and the government seemed almost inevitable, given that the technologies of state were cast in a stylisation of conduct founded on the principle of the liberal mode of governance. Thereby, the unemployed were regarded as well-disciplined regulators of their own self-relation, and self-judgement, regarding liberal responsibilisation in a free labour market.

The state, therefore, was not intended to interfere in the setting of social welfare relief works which might upset the liberal mode of governance with its natural economy designed to produce a life of proper satisfaction. Moreover, this mode of governance helps explain the ascetic practices of government, that secular analogue of religious practice, in relation to relief works. Clearly they were not geared to emancipate individuals from the regulatory practices of the capitalist labour market.

In some respects, these works were established along the lines of less eligibility. A correspondent, signing himself 'Bijou', wrote of the conditions of work on the government Blyth and Gladstone railway line project. With derisive scorn this navvy wrote of the treatment of men on the line, 'treatment that would do discredit to a tyrant in the tenth century, to say nothing of the enlightened nineteenth century, and by the rulers of our sunny south, our land of milk and honey ... not one step has been taken to provide the men with wood and water. Placed out on a bleak plane in rain and frost, in bag tents some of them, with no shelter but a bit of calico at best, with brackish water to drink, and worst of all no wood to light a fire in the depths of winter, the navvies' lot on this line is indeed a hard one ... one look at the camp and men is enough to satisfy anyone as to the truthfulness of this statement. Again, the men have no choice. No work is obtainable elsewhere, and to ask for anything would, they fear, render them liable to be discharged. 'Half a loaf is better than no bread'.'[55] This critical reflection finds support, in a expositive article from the *Advertiser*, titled 'Government charged with Bungling', which outlined the feeble attempt made by the government to organise the relief works, with the inference that efforts being made could be described as supinely negligent. The *Advertiser* reported that 'The Bill authorising the line was passed eight months ago, but the surveyors did not start their duties until January, and apparently nothing was done while the survey was proceeding towards procuring land and materials ... A long interval then occurred, in which the Government in response to numberless enquiries as to whether they intended doing the work themselves, and if so, when they would start, gave no satisfaction, and no one, not even Ministers, appeared to know exactly what was being done. Meanwhile men in want of employment, hearing work would shortly be undertaken, had been flocking to this town [Gladstone] in hope of being taken on.'[56] The newspaper blamed the distress of the unemployed on the government 'bungling' the organisation of work operations: no depot for the men or stores had been arranged, negotiations over purchase of land had

been delayed with deadlocks between land evaluators, rails had not been ordered, and even the ground plans were not ready.[57]

Government works, however poorly provided, nevertheless represented a practice which was discontinuous with the English Poor Law. If unemployment was the substance to be governed under the auspices of self responsibility, then government work projects represented a divergence and difference in the backgrounds of beliefs and practices relating to the poor laws, no matter how connected aspects of their rationality might appear to be beneath the surface.

Self Forming Activity: the self relation of the unemployed

The complex of factors making up the ethical substance, an able-bodied unemployed worker who was willing to labour, included self forming activity, with its interplay of the practices of governmental-ethical self formation. The unemployed individual's self relation involved techniques of self-cultivation, practices of reflexivity (a form of action upon the self) which embraced a desire for mobility, a willingness to travel in a constant search for work; the ascetic practice of accepting labour under almost any 'condition of work' and remuneration; the willingness to perform and demonstrate one's desire for work by submitting to government and organised charity work tests; and participation in the signifying process that constituted the proper object of unemployment, that is, the constant demonstration and demands for work by the unemployed via a barrage of deputations on the door steps of government, pleading for public works rather than relief.

'Relief' was synonymous with charity and merged with a form of subjectivity which constituted the loafer, the pauper and those practising forms of imposition - a class of people classified by authorities of delimitation as slothful, idle, and unfit to fulfil the responsibilisation of the patriarchal wage labourer. The division between the self reliant, respectable, willing worker and the idle loafer was offered in an informal anecdotal portrait in the *Observer*, which was meant to provide confirmatory evidence of the fundamental difference between those classes of individuals. The paper's reporter wrote that 'There are small detachments of men travelling round in search of work, ... and many a tale of hardship might they unfold if they could be relied upon not to fall into the besetting sin of romancing. A friend told me yesterday that he was driving nto (sic) town the other

morning when he saw a very respectable - looking wayfarer sitting by the wayside eating a chunk of dry bread. He wore clothes which had seen better days, and had the aspect of a self-reliant, hard worker. He asked respectfully for a bit of tobacco, in the tone of a man who would have readily accorded the favour himself under similar circumstances. My informant, experienced in bush life, promptly responded with half his plug of tobacco, as he has no doubt done many a time to belated bushmen in the Far North, and the man, a clear eyed, resolute Scotchman, having filled and lighted his pipe, opened his heart - tobacco is a wonderful key to the soul when man meets man. He said, without a suggestion of boastfulness, that he could take almost any position requiring fair education, good penmanship, moderate skill, and industry. In his bearing and speech he appeared to be a good typical North country man; and it transpired that he had been for some time subsisting on a moderate proportion of bread washed down with water, and that he had been on the tramp from place to place, sleeping out at night and searching for work by day. He was ready for anything from posting up a tradesman's books to chopping a week's fire wood for him. On the other hand, I myself met a couple of young s wags (sic) men in a suburban township the other night, who carried far more sail than ballast, and who befouled the air with filthy oaths, and disturbed the quiet evening with ribald talk. They had a skinful (sic) of liquor, and disgusted peaceful householders by their course (sic) language and brutish behaviour. There are cases of men fairly hungering for work and food, while others idle about living on the liquor supplied them by injudicious chance acquaintances. It is truly a sad picture in every respect.'[58]

The 'hunger for work' was unambiguously written on a number of 'sign posts' in country areas of South Australia, such as Kadina, Wallaroo and Gladstone. The Clare newspaper, the *Northern Argus*, acting as an agent of pastoral care, the secular correlate of religious practice, pleaded that the 'hunger for work' must be tempered with restraint, such that the demands of unemployed workers, in terms of wages and conditions, should not be too exacting. The paper made a concerted effort to discipline unemployed workers in the political wisdom of an austerity offensive. For example, in an editorial, the paper reported that given the economic downturn which had contributed 'to the sanding of the wheels of progress ... the working classes are placed in an unenviable position. There is little or no money in circulation, and hence all labor that can be suspended with is held over. The farmers are putting in what crop they can without employing labor, and, in fact,

throughout the country districts things are as dull as they possibly can be. Semi-stagnation is observable everywhere, and is likely to continue till the banks complete their schemes of reconstruction, and regain public confidence ... Meanwhile it would be needful for all parties to cultivate the spirit of forbearance towards each other and by that means lighten the burden as much as possible.' In this regard the paper reported favourably that: 'there are a number of farmhands in want of employment, and who, under existing circumstances, would be willing to work and wait for their wages till the financial crisis is over. Providing they had bed and board they could rub along for a few months without much cash.'[59]

The signifying practice of mobility and willingness to work amongst the unemployed was made discernible and figured often in the columns of newspapers. The *Advertiser* directed attention to the unemployed men who had 'tramped' across the country in search of labour. A deputation in Gladstone, for example, had waited on the Mayor and 'the men said they had come from all parts of the country, as they understood work in connection with the Blyth railway had been started. They could not get work at Happy Valley or the Beetaloo pipe track, and most of them were penniless.'[60]

In a Foucauldian sense, the newspapers acted as a regulatory power inscribing a set of practices and interventions governing the movement of the population, a biopolitics with its target object being the demographic management of parts of the unemployed population. Unemployed workers followed the directions and regulatory interdictions of the press regarding the availability of work and urgency with which work was required. A letter to the editor in the *Advertiser*, by a sawyer seeking work on the Gladstone line, stated: 'We poor sawyers have no champion ... I know a lot of men like myself were expecting a job sleeper cutting. Where to look for work now I do not know. The tale of woe in your paper this morning from Happy Valley stops us going there.'[61] On other occasions the papers provided clear signals for men to pursue work, for example, in connection with the Mona and Paskeville pipetrack, and the *Advertiser* prompted the unemployed with: 'Work will be started tomorrow, when more men will follow.'[62]

The difficulty experienced by unemployed workers in their search for work was poignantly illustrated in letters to the editor. A correspondent to the *Chronicle* demanded that every post office should be turned into a labour agency so that the unemployed need

not travel 'around the country not knowing where to go.' The writer announced that 'It may not be generally understood that looking for work is a task, but it is; and sometimes a very hard one.'[63] Another writer directed attention to the unemployed seeking work on the railway track at Gladstone and Crystal Brook, declaring that unemployed workers 'belong to the army of submissive slaves who are never heard to speak out about their rights and wrongs. Owing to the very hard travelling that has to be done just now to obtain a job about 150 of this class of men are found on the track. At various places along the pipe track you will find men camped.'[64] Warnings that disgruntled unemployed workers might demonstrate their sentiments of discontent were evident in telegraphs from the country. For example, the *Chronicle* served notice that at Gladstone, 'Great distress exists here among the unemployed, and unless the men are soon given work some unpleasantness is sure to occur. Over 100 signed a requisition to-day to the mayor asking for bread or work ... The men are evidently in earnest, and state that all the trouble has been caused by most of the work being let in contracts, which are taken at low prices and only a few hands employed.'[65] The *Advertiser,* likewise, notified its readership on the urgency in supporting the unemployed seeking labour at Gladstone. 'The unemployed difficulty has assumed serious dimensions. About 120 men are now without food. These men have stayed in Gladstone expecting to get work ... The Mayor received telegrams from the Premier and the chairman from the Destitute Board saying that relieving-officer is to be sent today.'[66]

In spite of the perceived growing climate of resistance accounted for in the press, the papers set in motion, in line with a kind of pastoral agency, an expression of the ascetic powers of moral experience akin to religious practice, that is, a mode of subjection, isomorphic with the disciplinary technologies of liberal governance, which aided in delimiting the unemployed workers' demands for support. Within this rubric, the *Observer,* commenting on conditions in the country, gave an understanding which affirmed that the relieving officer for the district had visited Kadina, inquiring into 'alleged' cases of destitution which were in need of relief. The paper, disclosed that the officer had 'informed us that he did not hear of a single case either in Kadina or Wallaroo Mines where relief is required. The men with whom he conversed said they wanted work, not relief. It is well known that a large number of men have been out of work for several weeks, and that even provident heads of families cannot stand a severe strain upon their

savings. In the case of men with large families what can they do if they have no money but get credit? This state of things would not exist if work were available.'[67] Repeated requests for public works, and not relief, were made by unemployed workers. One meeting at Kadina typified the beleaguered requests made by unemployed workers generally. 'This meeting urgently requests the government to immediately commence the Snowtown and Gladstone Railway line from Snowtown, and to provide for facilities for the unemployed in this district obtaining work.'[68] The meeting concerned itself primarily with seeking work and not charity. The *Observer* related that the meeting had been 'called by the Mayor in answer to a requisition asking him to convene a meeting to consider the question of the finding of work for the unemployed in the district.'[69] By early June 1892, the paper reported, with the conviction of an axiomatic truth, that even though at Kadina and at Wallaroo there had been some individuals in receipt of rations for some time, 'those who were questioned said "We want work, not Government relief." '[70]

Asceticism was expressed in the press, in terms of the perennial fear of pauperising unemployed workers with rations. Reporting on Gladstone, the *Observer* approvingly noted that following a visit by the 'Destitute Board of Adelaide', and in lieu of the unemployed being placed in positions of paid employment, it was found that, 'With regard to destitute cases it was arranged that one fortnight's rations should be granted by the Destitute Board, subject to procuration orders, the men paying for the food advanced out of the first pay ... This was considered the wisest course to follow, as granting free rations would relegate a number of able-bodied men to the position of paupers ... This action to the Government is highly approved of by the residents and appreciated by them.'[71]

Intercolonial telegraphs, during the heart of the depression, expressed similar norms of individual conduct, which symmetrically meshed with the liberal programme of this dimension of life. However that may be, these telegraphs evoked a sense of transgression which was not part of the experience of unemployment in South Australia. The agonistic struggle between the unemployed and government authorities in the eastern colonies demonstrated a struggle which conjoined various strategies that remained somewhat distinct from those experienced in South Australia during this historical conjuncture.

Demonstrations and sentiments of dissent amongst the unemployed were frequently

represented in intercolonial telegraphs; the *Advertiser* recounted that in Melbourne the unemployed 'about 500 strong, marched in procession two deep along the pavements of the principal thoroughfares this afternoon. The police have secured the names of several of the leaders with a view of prosecuting them. The man, Hart, who yesterday threw a piece of road metal at a police officer while dispersing a procession of the unemployed, was to-day fined 5s. on a charge of insulting behaviour.' [72] The papers recounted the arguments of 'agitators' at the government labour bureau, who were passing inflammatory circulars amongst the unemployed, which reportedly were 'informing them of a plot entered into by capitalists and newspapers to entirely crush the workers by reducing the rate of wages, and that advantage was being taken of the depression for the purpose.'[73] 'Agitators' were blamed for the daily demonstrations of unemployed marching on parliament. One telegraph, rehearsed how 'The agitators make continual appeals to the passions of the crowd and incite demonstrations. In pursuance of this scheme the men daily marched to Parliament Buildings when the House is sitting, and are dispersed by the mounted police.'[74]

In spite of daily deputations by unemployed workers to parliament in search of work, the intercolonial press managed to draw up dissuasive arguments against the government accommodating relief works. A telegraph in the *Register*, drawn from the *Argus* in Melbourne, boldly stated: 'The prediction that men would be attracted to Melbourne from the country and from the other colonies by the measures adopted for giving work and for relieving distress in the city was made some time ago with confidence. And experience has verified it beyond all question, for at the present time the embarrassment of the Government and the charitable Societies in connection with the city destitute is being aggravated by the arrival of hoards of applicants from abroad. Employers in the country districts add confirmation. They say that whereas a few weeks ago men in the localities were eager to obtain work, now they are eager only to get to Melbourne in the hope of finding employment under the government, or at any rate of receiving the bread of idleness at the hands of the benevolent agencies now relieving the distress ... if the Ministry had foolishly acceded to the demand for relief works near Melbourne the migration would have been overwhelming. As it is we should profit by the lesson at once, and adopt means not only to check the incoming strangers but to turn the tide in the opposite direction.' [75]

The bio-political inference denotes less an attempt at questioning the self constitution of the individual in terms of organising one's own mobility in relation to seeking employment, but instead seeks to question the means by which the state organises what Deleuze and Guattari have called the 'striation' of territory as a fundamental principle of state rule. They write, 'One of the fundamental concerns of the State is to striate the space over which it reigns ... It is a vital concern of every State not only to vanquish nomadism but to control migrations, and more generally to establish a zone of rights over an entire "exterior", over all of the flows traversing the ecumenon.'[76] In this sense, the *Argus* argued for a grid of striation, a specific bio-limit in terms of territorialty, advocating interdictions which would constrain labour's mobility across national terrain, thereby preventing overcrowding at the labour exchange, and attenuating the demands made by migrating populations of unemployed on the relief measures available in the urban centre of Melbourne.

The concerns were not inconsequential or perceived as trivial in the accounts given by the press. Relief works were caricatured as irrelevant and were assiduously negated as graphically representing a technique of government inextricably upsetting the demographics of the colony. Under the sub-heading "Victorian Distress", the *Register* quoted a telegraph report from Melbourne: 'The progress of the relief movement continues without much change, and in spite of the money spent on relief works started by the government and the efforts to bring the unemployed into communication with private employers the distress has not been affected in the slightest degree. The explanation is that the various efforts of relief had the effect of attracting the distressed from the country districts, also from other colonies, and the public are beginning to realise that as long as the relief continues there will be no end to the unemployed question.'[77]

The *Register*, reporting the *Argus,* conveyed a message of discontent concerning the surveillance of the unemployed at the labour bureau, and was disgruntled at the feeble attempt by which the government had attempted to instil the bio-political agenda. The paper accounted that the bureau 'With a view of ascertaining the exact character of the men applying for registration ... Mr. Morkham recently picked out 100 names at random from the register, and submitted them to the police for enquiry. The plain-clothes constable charged with the investigation found that of this number ninety-seven were

genuine workmen, mostly with wives and families the Minister of Public Works also denies that the Bureau has had the effect of attracting men from country districts ... This statement, however, hardly coincides with the experience of persons familiar with the working of the bureau, since it is impossible to overlook the fact that the majority of the men registered describe themselves as having been last employed in the country. Unfortunately, in the analysis of the registers now being undertaken by the officers of the Public Works Department, the men have simply been classified under their respective trades, and no attempt has been made to distinguish country from town applicants.'[78]

Notwithstanding these exhortations by the press aimed at delimiting relief works, deputations of the unemployed inundated parliaments in South Australia and the eastern colonies, demanding government relief projects be immediately implemented. In Sydney, deputations of the unemployed regularly waited on the 'Minister of Works' and the Premier, with repeated requests for public works to be 'pushed on', as well as making demands for facilities required for settling people on the land, and for mining on private property. There were even schemes whereby 'a number of unemployed proposed to combine and tender for works.' [79] A variety of committees and organisations working on behalf of the unemployed kept up a steady agitation in pursuit of works, food, funds and shelter. Meetings of the unemployed in Sydney, as presented by the press, reflected the potential subversive and adversary culture of this class of people, and conveyed an image of frustrated potential. The *Advertiser,* in a cable message, notified that 'A meeting was held to-day, at which resolutions were passed demanding work, and pointing out that unless the Government gave them employment the men would have no choice but to break the law or starve.'[80] There was a reluctance on the part of governments to begin relief works in response to deputations by the unemployed demanding labour, but the government did, via the press, make calls for employers to hire unemployed workers. In a cable message, the *Chronicle* reported from Sydney that 'The Government, ... will be glad if any persons willing to give ... employment will communicate with the officer in charge of the Government Labor Bureau, stating the number of men they are willing to employ and the wages they are willing to pay. The Government confidently invites assistance from private citizens for the purpose of dealing with the present difficulty.'[81]

Governmental authority enlisted a number of instruments and means by which the

unemployed were entreated to accept the ascetic practices of self denial, particularly in relation to wages. In Brisbane, the *Chronicle* related that a deputation of the unemployed waiting on the Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith, presented a resolution that the government 'devise some means for ameliorating their condition. The Premier, in reply, said he would positively refuse to again receive a deputation from a meeting at which abuse had been heaped upon the Government. The only hope for any relief was by working men consenting to a lower rate of wages. He believed capitalists would then employ many now out of work.' [82] Agitators and those unwilling to labour were blamed for the problem of unemployment. As the Premier said in response to a deputation from the Ministers' Union asking whether anything could be done to relieve the distress of the unemployed, 'Unfortunately it was not the work men who controlled labor, but the men who would not work nor allow others to work.' [83]

In Melbourne, the government labour bureau applied its own grid of classification, delimiting certain numbers of the unemployed from enrolment on the register, following their resistance to the ascetic practices of government policy. The *Advertiser* expressed the sentiments of discontent in the following cable message: 'A great annoyance is expressed over the action of the Minister of Agriculture striking off the list of persons seeking employment at the labour bureau the names of masons who would not accept 9s. a day ... Attempts have been made that show Mr. Graham's action demonstrates ... that the Ministry wished to reduce the price of labor and play into the hands of contractors.' According to the *Advertiser,* the Minister replied to these accusations, with the response that the bureau of labour was not a permanent institution, and was only set up to give assistance in the present distress 'and that men who will not accept a reasonable rate of wages in the depression had better not be considered on the list.' [84]

The *Northern Argus* in South Australia registered similar sentiments and, in an editorial, 'grieved to know that in this young, and in many respects prosperous, colony there should be a large number of able-bodied men out of employment, and consequently in straitened circumstances. Appeals are frequently made to the Government to provide work for the men who have nothing to do ... It is not pleasant to look at this situation, but it must be faced, and the proper means used to bring a more prosperous state of affairs.' The paper thereby heralded the contractors standing up to some labour organisations who had taken

it upon themselves, 'to pose as dictators and define the course which employers must take, and that non-compliance would be to court disaster.' Accordingly, the paper sharply rebuked the representative deputation from the Trades and Labour Council which had 'waited the other day on the Commissioner of Public Works to make complaint that the employees of Messrs. Fulton and Co. worked too many hours a week, and that that firm had given work to men from other colonies; also that payment had been payed (sic) to men in kind instead of cash.' The editorial concluded with 'were men willing to work a few more hours a week, and were they in these dull times less exacting about pay they would be better off than they are, and there would be few if any unemployed in the colony. The condition of the worker is not to be bettered by his attempts to rule his employer or by unreasonable demands. Were a little honey used instead of so much vinegar in the relations between employers and employed things would work more pleasantly and profitably.'[85]

The *Observer*, likewise, advocated an ascetic attitude on the wages front, asserting that 'the unemployed difficulty has really been created in the several centres of population in Australia. [Because] the men have, despite the prevailing depression of the past two or three years, held out for impossible wages in nearly every industry, and the result is that the employers have everywhere curtailed their operations and restricted the number of their hands.'[86]

In Melbourne, the tension between the influence of trade unionism over the men's wage rates, and offers of work from private employers, at rates of pay so small that even the official at the Labour Bureau refused to concern themselves with them, generated concerns over what levels of remuneration might be considered acceptable and legitimate in terms of rates of pay with which the government would expect the unemployed to commence paid employment. The interdependence of these two levels in relation to calculating an ideal, found in part its resolution, according to the *Express and Telegraph*, when Mr. Creer, the superintendent of the government labour bureau, gave 'an unqualified denial to the statement made in the Trades and Labor Council that the bureau was being used to reduce wages, in the interests of 'blacklegging'.'[87]

Nevertheless, representatives of the General Labourer's Union, according to the *Observer*,

argued that, in Melbourne, 'the Government Labour Bureau seems to have been built expressly for the purpose of crippling the bush unions' and was very pessimistic about the historical conditions and the nature of the impact which unemployment made. This was expressed in a circular to members by the General Secretary affirming that 'There are at the present time upwards of 50,000 men out of work in Victoria and New South Wales. The cities are crowded with unemployed, and the country towns are in a similar plight. Hundreds of men are glad to work for a miserable wage in order to get tucker, and every week the ranks of the great army of out-of-works is augmented ... the fact remains that there are three men anxious to obtain work that is offered one, and consequently a reduction of wages is the outcome ... The General Labourers' Union has to deal with the greatest problem of the age - that of idle hands and idle lands.'[88]

The union's case against the labour bureau, in Melbourne, gained credibility when the *Observer* declared that, through the auspices of the bureau, work in kind had been granted. The paper disclosed that 'About 100 men to-day obtained tickets entitling them to a bed and two meals by working half a day at cutting wood into short lengths, which is to be sent to town for the use of the unemployed.'[89] The labour bureau in Melbourne operated its regulatory practices around the organising principle that unemployed workers desired work, not relief and as one number of a deputation of the unemployed reflected in a letter to the editor, 'a hungry stomach was a hard master' but nevertheless, 'while many men refused to accept relief they were absolutely starving', and as yet, another unemployed worker reflected, 'they are prepared to accept any rate of wages which would provide themselves and families with food rather than accept charitable relief and be classed as loafers.'[90]

Charity: Work Tests and Relief

Relief, as charity, possessed feminine characteristics, akin to dependence, and was therefore opposed to the liberal notion of independent responsible masculinity. Moreover, for the responsibilised labourer, it was associated with the meaning of idleness, sloth, loafing, pauperisation and irresponsibility. It alienated masculinity, outside of the limits of its ethic of liberal responsibilisation. Relief as a form of charity negatively affected the culturally defined conditions shaping the micro-regulations of the male body and its movements according to the demands of efficient production and the natural economy of

the liberal labour market. Charity was problematic because it supported a pattern of life antithetical to liberal political investments of the body. The anatomo-politics of relief, outside of the exigencies of the labour market, recast the liberal individual in an economy of docility and irresponsibility. Therefore, it was anticipated and expected that property-less labour, self-reflexively, would conduct themselves according to the prevailing liberal mode of subjectivity. This found its consummate expression in a practise of liberty wherein property-less labour could reflect an asceticism which demonstrated a critical rejection in relation to a desire for relief.

In early 1893, an editorial in the *Northern Argus* paradoxically alluded to the social conditions which 'naturally' constitute men 'who are specially adapted to certain lines of business, some who are energetic, others who are slothful, thriftless, and a drag on the wheels of progress ... [but it was asserted] Society must advance. The men who to-day lag behind in the race for honor, distinction, and usefulness must wake up to a sense of their responsibility and duty, and try to overtake those who are ahead ... There must be no drones in the hive, no horse leeches in the body politic, no Judases in the camp, or Ananiases in society. Get society purged of its selfishness, littleness, sloth, and jealousy, and when such is the case the nations will make true progress. There will be employment for all, and class animosity would cease to exist.'[91]

In South Australia, those lagging behind in 'the race for honor, distinction, and usefulness' were made, according to Dickey, to 'show that they deserved charity by working for it, usually in unpleasant manual work ... Some aid was released in the form of rations or other outdoor resources, but normally on the application of strict selective criteria to ensure that only the deserving were recipients. But there was a large amount of aid given in the form of residence: to children, to disgraced women, to old ladies, to sick or disabled people.'[92] In comparison to the eastern colonies, South Australia 'had a much less active range of non-government or voluntary welfare agencies.' These agencies were not entitled to government subsidies and were relatively slow to emerge and were weak in effect compared to their eastern counterparts. [93]

Even so, the work test was a major provision in organised charity and government aid. As Dickey puts it: 'In response to the downturns in the colony's [South Australian] economy,

for example in late 1885, and then steadily through the 1890s, then on and off till the First World War, there were queues of able-bodied men seeking work. They turned, as always, to the Destitute Boards, which, as always, pressed for additional funds to establish a labour test.'[94] The Board's labour test inscribed the liberal mode of governance on the able-bodied unemployed. For example, they were set to work trenching and olive planting at Magill in 1885 and worked on the Murray Bridge in July 1886. According to Dickey, the Board provided for wives and children without food or means of subsistence but found the perennial problem of undeserving cases worrying. It was argued by the Board that the system of relief to families of the unemployed - that is, direct ration relief without the labour test when the government refused additional funds - tended to pauperise the working class generally.[95]

By the mid eighteen nineties, in South Australia, the Salvation Army provided a labour test along with its own tincture of Christianity and thereby in line with other organised charities; it provided a prescription for greater symmetry in the relationship between government and private charity, and the means by which they instituted procedures for disciplining able-bodied unemployed workers. The 'Army' provided rations for work, and accommodation for destitute men but only under the auspices of an effective labour test. This was, in part, viewed as a check on impositions and a means of surveillance of the unemployed.[96]

Under the sub-titled heading: 'Rescuing The Perishing, The Salvation Army and its Work, A Marvellous Record', the *Register* provided a complimentary portrayal of events, describing how the Army 'from the beginning until now ... [had achieved] one long record of bodies and souls saved from the curse of the baser human passions ... and was equally a record of the reformation of the moral nature of the very lowest of the low.'[97] Commissioner Coombs, on behalf of the Army, affirmed that: 'We do ... not stand upon an eminence and say to the people, "You must come up here." We go down to their level and help them up to the eminence. We take the people right out of their surroundings, take their thoughts away from evil and make them work for good. That keeps their minds occupied.'[98] On this note, the exposition went on to account for the means by which the Army had been dealing with the unemployed question in Victoria; the following gives a certain coherence to the words of the Commissioner, that is to say, the implicit meaning of

the words to 'make them work for good': 'We have been taking a leading part in the matter [of unemployment]. Previous to the Government establishing a Labour Bureau we had the whole matter in our hands. We had just made a new departure, and have taken a contract for clearing some 16,000 acres of land. We have taken the unemployed off the streets and put them upon the land. They start at 2s. 6d per week and their food, and what profits are over will be divided between them at the end of the contract. Of course it means a great deal of work and anxiety for us, but we think it is an infinitely better way to help the unemployed than giving them charity. We have also started a farm colony on a small scale. We have taken up 300 acres of forest land about thirty miles from Melbourne, and we intend to deal with the men on a graded scale. That is, the men are put into three or four grades. All the men start in the first at 2s. per week and their food, but we assist them with cast-off clothing. By their own exertions the men can rise into other classes and get 3s., 5s., and eventually 7s. per week. The last-named class is composed of officers, gangers, and overseers. By this means we make it possible for men to rise to positions of trust. The men are not paid every week; 1s. is given to them and the other amount is placed to their credit. By means of the latter they can clothe themselves, and out of it we hope they will eventually be able to secure tools and thus be in a position to work for themselves. In order to augment this fund and at the same time encourage the industrious we propose as soon as possible to give each man say half an acre of land, which he can till for himself in his spare time, the produce of which we will buy from him, and put the amount to his credit in the fund ... We are going in for intense cultivation, and hope to be able to teach men so that they can go and get their living from the earth, thereby greatly benefiting the country.'[99]

This was a social experiment by the Army, with its own experiential methodology and grid of ordered individuality, predicated on a specific image of the 'downtrodden'. Only single men 'obtained off the streets' and ex-prisoners from the Prison Brigade were allowed entry to the farm colony. Married men were temporarily disallowed. Production was set so as not to compete with capital; the report concluded with the words: 'We will try to produce things that are not yet grown in the colonies, such as flowers from which scent is extracted.'[100] The graded grid of ordered subjectivity was a step ladder on which an individual might reach a state of eminence, and whereby 'bad cases' could increasingly emancipate themselves, but always under the adjudicating gaze and under the auspices of

the pastoral agency of the Army, which could place the men in a taxonomy requiring constant, coded, systematic observation in relation to the moral imperatives and primary reality of a liberal mode of governance. Teaching an honest and true self-judgement, these practices were designed to produce and channel techniques of self-examination into forms acceptable to society.

Overseas accounts of the success of industrial villages, and their benefits in legitimating protocols which perpetuate forms of social relations acceptable to a liberal governmentality, were regularly described in the press. For example, the *Observer* gave an account of an industrial village started by Reverend H.V. Mills, of Kendal, which the paper asserted would 'serve to let a good deal of light upon the working out of such schemes. These statements asserted a form of co-existence, reasserting the effectiveness and confirming the general principles applied by the Salvation Army in their workings of the farm colony in Victoria. Quoting the Reverend, the *Observer* stated that: 'He says - "As soon as it was known amongst these able-bodied poor that we were establishing an industrial village we began to receive letters from the large towns containing applications for work in overwhelming numbers. There can be no doubt as to the existence of a multitude of suffering labourers, who would gladly accept honourable work even though its reward were no more than a simple livelihood and freedom from the threats of hunger. I have found none idle, disobedient, or frequenters of the public-house. The six months that have gone have been full of bright, hopeful days. We have worked harmoniously together on the great land, in the harvest field, on the pig farm, in the cornmill, and the erection of our new house; and the variety and healthy nature of the work during the day, and the music and talk and rambles of an evening have made life satisfactory and complete, and I have had no occasion to turn any away who had joined us. It is obvious to the casual observer that our colonists ... are sincerely earnest that the experiment should succeed."'[101]

The re-discovery and re-valorisation of the value of work and thrift was joyfully received and reiterated in specific kinds of religious discourse. The *Express and Telegraph* imparted the words of the Reverend Dr. Bevan, speaking at the anniversary of the Young Men's Christian Association, and referring to the land boom and the depression: 'said he thanked God for the depression, for out of it, he believed, would grow a truer and a nobler life and one full of blessing for the young men all around them ... They should have known

[the speculators] that no wealth can be made except by labor.'[102]   Three months later, the same newspaper announced that 'A meeting of the charitable workers of the city [Melbourne] was called by Dr. Bevan last week, and at this gathering two excellent suggestions were made. One proposal was that the relief funds should, as far as possible, be employed to help some municipalities in starting temporary works to provide employment. As soon as a man had a chance of getting better employment he could leave the relief works. It was also thought that unemployed women might be helped, and it was suggested that co-operative laundries should be established ... Dr. Bevan is of opinion that there is no cause for despair. He considers that the pressure of the times will drive people back into the country, and that men generally will learn to avoid rash speculation.'[103]

The central relief committee which provided provisions to the benevolent societies in Melbourne made efforts to palliate the effects of shame which was experienced by those in receipt of charity. An artifice of means was established by which charitable practices could be carried out with disguise and subterfuge. Touching upon this subject, the *Register,* quoting excerpts from the *Herald,* asserted that: 'One of the main objects which the Central Committee desire to attain is to make the distribution of relief not only as judiciously, but as quietly as possible. It is recognised that for the most part the really deserving cases are not thrust forward. There are many families, and this is particularly the case among clerks, who are ashamed to make their necessities public, and who prefer to suffer in silence rather than acknowledge themselves dependent on public charity. The Central Committee desire, therefore, to impress upon the local organisations not only that a rigid enquiry should be made with the object of discovering such cases, but that wherever it is possible provisions and firewood should be delivered at the houses of those needing relief. As a practical means of attaining this object provisions, such as flour, potatoes etc., received at the stores are made up into parcels of about 14lb. weight, so that they may be handled and delivered with as little observation as possible.'[104] The activities by which the able-bodied and responsible labourers participated in the liberal mode of governance, and through which they demonstrated themselves as well disciplined regulators of self-examination and self-judgement, allowed for a symbiosis between the individual and the community, which was governed by a distinct set of rules highly commensurate with the English Poor Law.

Mode of Subjectivity: What these practices hoped to produce and what self relation they were attempting to promote

The critical unmasking of instrumental rationality and self formation, as least as far as problematisations in the press were concerned, elucidated a mode of subjectivity which gave rise to a conceptual figure not highly differentiated from the kind of individual which emerged with the introduction of the Reformed Poor Law, and its attendant normalising federation of power. The kinds of practices which were in play, and the types of self-relation they attempted to promote, produced an individual responsibilisation, with its dependent dyad of male breadwinner responsible for his dependents, and antithetical with idleness, loafing and pauperisation. One correspondent, A.Dungey of Petersburg, referring to man's natural capital, aptly described in a letter to the *Chronicle*, 'Their natural capital is their labor or muscle. Give that free scope and the ingenuity and enterprise of man will soon show the world that he can live by his own exertions.'[105]

It was understood via the established norms that the responsible male breadwinner participated in activities enhancing prospects of employment, and consented in multifarious ways to the constructions of the dominant patriarchal social order. He remained bound to the social networks and engaged in socially acceptable practices that overcame kinds of forbidden conduct, which were named, classified and hierarchised down to the smallest detail: loafing, imposition, undeserving attitudes and behaviour, pauperisation, sloth, idleness etc. He freely submitted to a subtle, calculated technology of subjection, to an ever-proliferating network of disciplinary mechanisms, which, in turn, accelerated the accumulation of capital.

The self-responsible liberal mode of governance positioned the individual in a theatre of self-demonstration, whereby he could act on his desire to constantly participate in multiple ways within the moral economy of independent labour. It was a form of cultural identity which meshed with the capitalist labour market, that is, contract labour with its unity of freedom and servitude. In the thrall of discipline, the self-responsible unemployed male worker refused charity, demonstrating, instead a self-relation in line with a willingness to work under almost any condition. This had the effect of neutralising dependency. Liberal responsibilisation produced individuals seeking to apply their own biologically/socially

acquired attributes as a form of capital, demonstrating a willing subjectivity in the game of capitalist competitive freedom.

The clergy figured centrally in the maintenance of these kinds of practices, which were designed to combat the risk of dependency. There was no unified body of knowledge or consensus in regard to the diagnosis of poverty, and the nature of labour among the diversity of religious groups in South Australian society. Even so, a sermon quoted in the *Bunyip* demonstrated a truth about the natural condition of patriarchal responsibility, which was conventionalised, repeated, and disseminated by various religious denominations. The sermon stated that: 'There were two great sins from which a large family of vices sprang - the sin of idleness and the sin of greed. The idle man was a great monster in this universe, no matter who he was or where they found him. To work was a great duty and a great privilege. God made men to work - not only the masses but the classes ... God was the most active spirit in the universe, the great life-throb of the world ... The planet was a great working planet, accomplishing the great purpose of the Creator. Hence the man that lived in the world and did not work was a monster.'[106] The Reverend W.J. Hocking, with his sermons regularly printed in the *Observer,* made known that 'The instruments of Divine service are to be found as much in the plough as in the altar, in the factory as in the temple, in the forum as in the pulpit ... The ploughman is as dear to Him as is the priest ... The economy of life is based upon this inviolable principle - "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." There is no method by which life can be sustained, developed, ennobled, beautified, except by their method of toil - either by hand or foot, or brain. There is no endowment of Nature which ever brings anything to fruitfulness in human life without labour. Nature works, but when she works for man she only works with man. She will only minister to him when he through constant toil seeks to minister to himself. The general good of humanity, as well as the meeting of the wants of humanity, is effected by the labour of each individual ... The sweat of honest toil is a jewelled crown on the brow of the toiler ... What are we sent to earth for? Say to toil nor to seek leave thy tending of the vines For all the heat of the day till it declines, And death's mild curfew shall from work assoil ... all labour is of Divine appointment. Not only has God laid upon us the necessity of labour, but He has so constructed and organised us that without labour we fail to find any satisfaction in life. Like the strings of the harp and lute, our capacities and powers only make music when they vibrate. Idleness is not only a negation of the Divine

plan and purpose, but it is the damming up of all the faculties and functions of life that tend to happiness. Sloth and laziness may be consistent with mere animal enjoyment, but it is inconsistent with true manliness and all the high qualities that distinguish man from brute. The active man is not only the useful man, but if he is working on right lines and by right methods he is the happy man ... To recognise the dignity of labour, to seek to find happiness in labour, to grasp the truth that all useful labour is Divine service, and the endeavour to make labour a source of mental and spiritual education will do more for men than a million Acts of Parliament ... Give the working man all the advantages that a nobleman has; shut him out from no society for which he is mentally and morally qualified: teach him to beautify his home, and to live for his fellows, but do not interfere with his freedom to work. An Act of Parliament compelling the lazy in all classes of the community to some useful work every day would be of far greater benefit to humanity than any Government restrictions on the hours of labour.'[107]

The pristine, natural, living truth of labour as a Divine service established in this religious discourse installed an horizon of thought and truth commensurate with responsibility, based on a seemingly monolithic and metaphysical moral-aesthetic principle; that the corporeal reality of the body, its fixed biological and prediscursive essence, could only be realised in the exercise and practice of labour, in the adoption of a conduct embodying morally valorised uses of pleasure and desire, with a symptomatic expression of gender difference: the consignment of asymmetry in the relationship between men and women.

Telos: The utopian dimension of these practices

Whereas Dickey's historical analysis juxtaposed selectivity in the nineteenth century as a moralising practice alongside of a more progressive liberal universalism and Socialist needs based welfarism, the latter representing a move with its own implicit ideological direction the present study does not seek to either praise nor decry the objectives and means of the policy and political rationale of the system itself, but rather seeks to make clear the programmatic register of the system and what this role has come to crystallise as the social problem of the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the early eighteen nineties, years which characterised the heart of the depression, the liberal mode of governance was confronted with the paradox of maintaining patriarchal responsibilisation as a central social value and government objective during a period of severe contraction in employment

71

opportunities within the labour market. At this historical juncture, this volatile conundrum found a partial answer in a regime of truth, a configuration of subjectivity, and a liberal governmentality which was embedded in wider culturally-bounded discourse. The certitude of truth could not satisfactorily lead from immediate knowledge to apodicticity simply because employment was not available. Nevertheless, liberal governmentality furnished the conditions of emergence of the responsible worker, reflecting culturally defined conditions shaping the lines of liberal responsibilisation. The intense registration of this truth was discernible in the matrix of discursive modalities and power networks which constituted the dispositif. The outcome was that this organisation of terms constructed and constituted the kinds of self-representation, and the centrality of the disciplinary mode of knowledge formation in liberal governmentality.

Liberal governmentality possessed a form of governance as its telos, and a body of truth, the knowledge of which made freedom and servitude possible. The knowledge that circulates in and through the dispositif was employed in every-day work interaction, in relations of submission and domination. The responsible unemployed worker sought to participate, despite the liberal paradox, in a natural economy that would produce a life of proper satisfaction. This kind of participation was partly inaugurated by the blunt tool of sanctions, instituted via government and organised charity work tests, and moreover, by other more subtle forms of disciplinary power: the artifice of bio-power and pastoral agency regulating the maintenance of a wage-welfare society.

The ideal was a general politics or political economy of truth, with its infrastructures, its hierarchies, patterns and institutional framework for augmenting the responsibilisation of the able-bodied wage-labourer, and facilitating their entry into the labour force, and for the exercise of restrictive practices via a means for the discrimination of truth, the configuration of knowing and finding a pattern of thought and practice that disqualifies the dependency of the working population. A 'striation of territory' or spatial technology of government (bio-limit), as well as religious discourse and practise (e.g., the Salvation Army's farming communities), governmental relief and administration, private charity and philanthropy, business interests and the print media, participated in a relatively ordered system of signification and force which subordinated property-less labour to a regulation of conduct by the existence of a dividing practice. In other words, this line of force –

dispositif - united in technologies of transformation which sought, in relatively calculated ways to establish, commensurate with a liberal mode of subjectivity, a disciplined labour force. Herein, the ethical mode of self-evaluation of property-less labour identified with a device for a life of work, servitude and obedience to the labour market freed from the stigma of relief and charity.

The ideal of responsibilised liberal society was elucidated by what was left behind or opposed by such an ideal. In other words, the ideal of the analytic of governmental and ethical practice was realised through the establishment of dividing practices, with their strategies of responsibilisation, and tactical partitioning of those proper agents of responsibilised labour from others excluded from employment and thereby becoming the objects of taxonomic knowledge and correct governance. As objects of classification and administration, the practical art of liberal governance sought to define the proper and legitimate orientation and conduct of those who claimed support, predicated on the tactic of responsibilising the poor on the principle of the life-conduct of productive labour. This was evident in the regulatory practices of the labour farm, in work tests, and it informed the regimes of practice which instigated regular inquisitorial visits, carried out by the moral managers of the poor. The liberal mode of governance was not entirely discontinuous with earlier systems of relief, provision, and administration of the poor, and was not as benign as some historians have postulated. The deployment of state power to establish and maintain a preferred pattern of social order, particularly in the Destitute Board's important custodial service, found programmes of conduct based on those of less eligibility. The Asylum, for instance, although not as blunt an instrument as the work house nor designed for the same purpose, nevertheless instigated practices of body management akin to technologies applied by Bentham in his Industry houses, wherein the penal dressage of individuals faithfully conformed with the moral fibre shaping responsibilised labour, but always under an order of knowledge and practice which set conditions of less eligibility, and whereby the notion of passive relief outside of labour was reduced, as far as practical, to the point of invisibility.

Notes and References

1. Dickey, B. 1987. *No Charity There: A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin Publishers. pp. 74-5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 94

4. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

5. Buckley K. and Wheelwright, T. 1988. *No Paradise For Workers: Capitalism and the Common People in Australia 1788-1914.* Melbourne: Oxford Uni. Press. pp. 156-7.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

8. Skates, B. 1993. 'Knocking out a living': Survival strategies and popular protest in the 1890s depression.' cited in Magarey, S. Rowley, S. and Sheridan, S. (eds.), *Debutante Nation: Feminism contests the 1890s.* St. Leonards: Allen Unwin Publishers. p. 39.

9. *The Express and Telegraph*, June 27, 1892.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Skates, B. *op.cit.*, p. 42.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *The South Australian Register*, July 1, 1892.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *The South Australian Register*, August 24, 1892.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *The Bunyip*, September 16, 1892.

22. *The South Australian Register*, July 1, 1892.

23. *The Express and Telegraph* (Adelaide), August 24, 1892.

24. *The South Australian Register*, August 22, 1892.

25.   *Ibid.*

26.   *The Advertiser,* June 16, 1892.

27.   *The South Australian Chronicle*, June 18, 1892.

28.   *Ibid.*

29.   *The South Australian Register*, July 7, 1892.

30.   See Nicol, R. 'A Slanderous Parson and a Soaped Over Pauper Woman: The Ultimate Fate of the Destitute in Colonial South Australia.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia.*

    31.   *Ibid.*, p. 53.

32.   Dean, M. 1994. 'Governing the Unemployed Self in an Active Society.' *Unpublished Paper,* School Behavioural Sciences. Macquarie University. pp. 2-3.

33.   For example, See - Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources.* Netley: Wakefield press Publishers. p. 322.

34.   Dean, M. Aug. 1992. 'A genealogy of the government of poverty.' *Economy and Society.* vol. 21, No. 3, p. 232.

35.   *Ibid.*, p. 215.

36.   Dean, M. 1991. *The Constitution of Poverty.* London: Routledge. p. 209.

37.   *Ibid.*, p. 210.

38.   *Ibid.*, p. 211.

39.   *Ibid.*, p. 213.

40.   *Ibid.,* p. 161.

41.   *Ibid.*, p. 216.

42.   *Ibid.*, p. 112.

43.   *Ibid.*, p. 172.

44.   Carol, P. 1988. *The Sexual Contract.* Oxford Polity Press. pp. 146-51. cited in Dean, M. 1991. *The Constitution of Poverty.* London: Routledge. pp. 164-5.

45.   *Ibid.*, p. 164.

46.   Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources.* Netley: Wakefield Press Publishers. p. XV111.

47.   *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

48.   *The Bunyip*, June 3, 1892.

49.   Dickey, B. *op.cit.*, p. 124.

50.   *The Bunyip,* June 3, 1892.

51.   Forster, R.W. October 1902. Commissioner of Public Works, SAPD. cited in Dickey, D. *op.cit.*, p. 124.

52.   *The Express and Telegraph*, August 30, 1892.

53.   *The Express and Telegraph*, June 30, 1892.

54.   *The Express and Telegraph*, September 6, 1892.

55.   *The Advertiser,* August 25, 1892.

56.   *The Advertiser*, June 13, 1892.

57.   *Ibid.*

58.   *The Adelaide Observer*, December 24, 1892.

59.   *The Northern Argus*, May 12, 1893.

60.   *The Advertiser*, June 11, 1892.

61.   *The Advertiser*, July 1, 1892.

62.   *The Advertiser*, July 12, 1892.

63.   *The South Australian Chronicle*, July 2, 1892.

64.   *The South Australian Chronicle*, June 4, 1892.

65.   *The South Australian Chronicle*, July 23, 1892.

66.   *The Advertiser, July 16, 1892.*

67.   *The Adelaide Observer, July 9, 1892.*

68.   *The Adelaide Observer,* June 11, 1892.

69.   *Ibid.*

70.   *The Adelaide Observer, June 2, 1892.*

71.   *The Adelaide Observer, July 23, 1892.*

72.   *The Advertiser,* June 9, 1892.

73.   *The Adelaide Observer*, July 16, 1892.

74.   *The Adelaide Observer*, July 23, 1892.

75.   *The South Australian Register*, July 12, 1892.

76.   Deleuze G. and Guattari, G. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Trans. Massumi, B. Minneapolis: Uni. of Minnesota Press. pp. 385-6.

77.   *The South Australian Register, July 22, 1892.*

78.   *The South Australian Register*, July 19, 1892

79.   *The Express and Telegraph*, June 27 and July 27, 1892.

80. *The Advertiser,* July 19, 1892.

81. *The South Australian Chronicle*, June 6, 1892.

82. *The South Australian Chronicle,* July 2, 1892.

83. *The Advertiser*, July 2, 1892.

84. *The Advertiser,* August 29, 1892.

85. *The Northern Argus*, July 7, 1892.

86. *The Adelaide Observer*, June 2, 1892.

87. *The Express and Telegraph,* June 2, 1892.

88. *The Adelaide Observer*, August 20, 1892.

89. *The Adelaide Observer*, July 30, 1892.

90. *The Adelaide Observer,* June 11, 1892.

91. *The Northern Argus*, February 10, 1893.

92. Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources*. Netley: Wakefield Press Publishers.

93. *Ibid.*, p.xx.

94. *Ibid.*, p.122.

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Ibid.*, p.118.

97. *The South Australian Register*, August 20, 1892.

98. *Ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Ibid.*

101. *The Adelaide Observer*, December 31, 1892.

102. *The Express and Telegraph*, June 22, 1892.

103. *The Express and Telegraph*, September 7, 1892.

104. *The South Australian Register,* July 11, 1892.

105. *The South Australian Chronicle*, June 3, 1893.

106. *The Bunyip*, September 2, 1892.

107. *The Adelaide Observer*, August 6, 1892.

Chapter 3

Unemployment and Domesticity: Representations in the South Australian Press

According to Bacchi, the latter part of the nineteenth century was a period in which public debate about women's position in society came to be called the 'woman question'. [1] In South Australia, during the heart of the depression, the conventions of the age concerning womanhood were being problematised. The question of the conditions of possibility for the emergence of a 'new woman' developed as women themselves attempted to stake out a new conceptual space which problematised nineteenth century conventions of subjectivity. Beyond the confines of established social roles, new rules of social formation made their appearance as traditional forms of social cohesion and hegemony were increasingly problematised. The determinate historical condition of womanhood, with its general parameters and founding assumptions, were being challenged by so-called first wave feminists, and organised women's movements such as the suffragettes, and the Working Women's Trade Union Association (WWTU), among others. Recent feminist writing suggests that an ensemble of disparate elements initiated a gradual dissipation of the Victorian ideal of womanhood. [2] A genealogical analysis of this female experience, in relation to a certain configuration of power and regime of knowledge, reveals forms of social formation and hegemony which coalesce with points of concordance in the English 1834 Poor Law. Therefore, in the present chapter the contention is that as an historical event (eventalisation), the constitution of womanhood in feminist inquiry - an analysis that deals with the emancipation of women in the late nineteenth century - remains problematic.

At the height of the depression in the early eighteen nineties, South Australian women became participants in a form of governance set within the limits of the ethical ideal of a liberal mode of government, which included the category of the independent labourer, the self-responsible male breadwinner with his natural dependants. In accordance with the 1834 Poor Law, relief was denied able-bodied men and those construed as their dependants, that is, their wives, mothers of children and children. Childless, single unemployed women were placed in a similar position with unemployed males: that is, they were left relatively dependent on their own labour power as a means of sustenance and

livelihood. As this kind of treatment of some women problematised the rigidly constructed separation between domestic duties and paid employment, the eighteen eighties and eighteen nineties in South Australia witnessed a significant increase in the size of the female workforce. However, 'the increased incidence of women working outside the home provoked discussion about appropriate behaviour and spheres.'[3]

By 1891 the industrial composition of the female workforce had changed, with the steady decline in proportion of employed women engaged in domestic service giving way to an upsurge in manufacturing, commercial and professional sectors. The servant shortage created debate and factory work was blamed for luring women from domestic service. Industrial labour was 'condemned in the public press as unsuitable labour for young girls ... [as] factory work was unhealthy and could impair their reproductive capabilities ... [and] it offered no real training for their future role as wives and mothers.'[4] As Bacchi puts it: 'By the end of the nineteenth century [in South Australia] structural changes had won the single women approval to work in certain circumstances but that right was constrained by several assumptions. The most important was that women's time in the work-force would be mercifully brief and that eventually they would achieve their true destiny as homemakers. Marriage and childrearing were considered full-time occupations which precluded other work. Only about 10 per cent of married women whose husbands were alive worked in those years.'[5]

Insofar as married women were relegated to the domain of family life and the home, they were poorly represented in the workforce and barely registered amongst the ranks of the unemployed. In part, this was a result of the discourses of maternal function and the governmental-ethical practices of responsibilised male labour. The former has been well documented by contemporary feminists, who have emphasised the nineteenth century cult of true womanhood that idealised female piety, submissiveness and domesticity.[6] In regard to this idealisation of womanhood, Bacchi argues that between 1861 and 1876 there was a lower percentage of women in the paid work force than in later years, as the Victorian concept of a woman's role as homemaker and child-rearer had become well established.[7]

Of primary concern in the 'woman question' of the late nineteenth century was also the future of the race and society. Women were perceived as mothers of the race and the

nation, and were encouraged to take a more active role in the progress of the race.[8] The powerful discourses of motherhood converged with the ideas of healthy children and racial strength. This bio-political dimension of a woman's position demanded a regulation of births, motivated by a basic concern with population, along with the reproduction of labour capacity and the constitution of a sexuality which was economically useful and politically conservative. The female role became encompassed in a politics of demographic responsibility and a libidinal politics which centred on marriage as a locus of increased fecundity and reproduction.

However, well known feminist concerns have tended to elide the position of women in an even wider reproductive capacity. That is, in the sense of the family as an interchange of sexuality and alliance, on the one hand, conveying an economy of pleasure and an intensity of sensations amenable to the strict economy of reproduction, whose object was procreation, and, on the other, positioning the female as an ally in administering responsibility to her male counterpart. Women's role in the monogamous pairing of marriage was in part, then, to provide support and to motivate the activity of 'responsible labour', in an isomorphic relation to the needs and requirements of the reproductive capitalist labour market. In this sense, what feminist analysis has ignored or simply missed is that women supported the central objective of the English Poor Law, that is the establishment of a domain of 'natural' economic responsibility around the category of the male breadwinner, and they lent support for work discipline by increasing the motivation for a continuous and regular course of labour. Women's reproductive capacity extends in the conjugal relationship to maintaining and supporting masculine responsibility within the framework of liberal governmental-ethical practices.

Nevertheless, women as standard bearers of home life, organised around normative principles of domesticity and a model of masculine responsibility, became increasingly challenged in the latter part of the nineteenth century in South Australia. The historical emergence of a rapid fall in marriage and fertility coincided with growing fears of the associated social risk of increasing rates of prostitution, illegitimacy and irresponsible property-less unemployed labour, along with deep concerns about race suicide, and the dissipation of the Victorian tradition regarding the sanctity of marriage. These were contemporary concerns discontinuous with earlier South Australian experience. Prior to

1876, marriage and domesticity were an almost universal pattern because the 'relationship between women, home and children was particularly strong in South Australia, partly because its balance of the sexes was more even than elsewhere in Australia, and its marriage rate was consequently high.' [9] In fact, South Australian women were marrying at an earlier age than their contemporaries in Great Britain or the rest of Australia. By the eighteen nineties in South Australia, this seemingly determinate historical condition had receded in the public mind, creating in its void a moral dilemma concerning the status and danger of 'bachelorhood' and its influence on women. One correspondent to the *Advertiser* conveyed the public sense of misgiving about a vast pool of young unmarried men. 'It must strike all thoughtful persons that the fact of so many young men remaining single after attaining marriageable age is fraught with consequences most dangerous to the moral status of the community. Unfortunately many prefer bachelorhood to the honorable estate of marriage ... there are a vast number who are practically precluded from marrying on account of the low rate of remuneration attached to many pursuits, clerical especially. Constituted as we are this enforced celibacy means and must inevitably culminate in illegitimacy, prostitution, and disease.' [10]

In relation to the above issues involving the falling marriage rate the newspaper's 'pastoral concern' is representative of the popular press advocating ascetic practices. Men were instructed to give up smoking and drinking, and women to avoid habits of extravagance in dress and of bodily and mental indolence. They were admonished to start life together frugally, not expecting immediate success. Letters to the Editor were occupied with these kinds of concern. For example, addressing young men, one correspondent advocated frugality and a sparing spirit prior to the 'honorable estate of marriage', stating, 'first prove your manhood by showing yourself in all respects worthy of the confidence of some truely womanly girl ... then work and wait till prudence dictates that you may enter wedded life.' [11]

It was believed that the creation of a class of men refusing the 'honorable estate of marriage' would lead to an increase in the number of rakes, debauchers and seducers. Rather than admonishing men, one correspondent directed attention to this social malady by decrying the weakened moral imperatives of good motherhood. 'Surely our virtuous womenkind who suffer directly and indirectly so terribly from this class of men might do

much to save so many of their sex from scorn, contumely, ruin, and death for time and eternity; but alas ... the good and virtuous matron (if such deserves the name) will gather up her skirts lest they should be contaminated by the touch of her fellow sister, and yet smile to her betrayer, if he be well born, wealthy, and in 'society', and even encourage his addresses to her pure and inauspicious daughter not yet out of her teens. Shame on such a mother!' [12] Addressing the same concerns and declaring his Christian sentiment, another correspondent stated that 'all unlawful intercourse between the sexes is injurious to physical as well as moral health, and that the physically as well as morally best men of any age will be found to be chaste men.' [13] These narratives in the press established a sense of scandal which was indicative of a sensibility that increasingly reflected a growing concern about the need to foster asceticism and encourage rituals of mortification.

Feminist Critique

According to Magarey, between 1891 and 1901 the proportion of females aged between 25 and 29 who did not marry almost doubled. Contemporarily, the eighteen nineties experienced a dramatic fall in the fertility rate. Magarey reiterates the concerns of the woman question, stating that the late nineteenth century was 'a period engaged in contests between feminism and masculinism over definition of work, sexual practices, political rights, [and] behaviours deemed feminine and masculine.'[14] By this, Magarey is supposedly referring to masculinist explanations for the fall in the marriage rate, such as those represented by the New South Wales statistician J. A. Coghlan, who stated in his statistical account of the seven colonies that the drop in the marriage rate 1890-91 had occurred in all the colonies except Western Australia, and that 'this is another proof of the truth of the often repeated statement that times of commercial depression always exert an adverse influence on the marriage rate.'[15]

Nevertheless, Magarey's contestation - that there was more than economic and demographic forces at work in the fall of the marriage rate, and that marriage was not just decided by males but that women weighed up marriage as well - does not necessarily challenge masculinist discourse but, rather, tends to elaborate it. This remains the case when she argues that some feminists at the time treated marriage as a means to a livelihood, and viewed the hallowed institution of matrimony as analogous to prostitution.[16] According to Magarey, women preferred economic independence to

marriage, and she likens the fall in the marriage rate to a 'strike' by women against marriage. Here, the reference is to sexual labour, that is, a male's right over a female's body, with the associated risk of contracting contagious diseases, and the 'seeming inevitability of conception, pregnancy and childbirth, over and over again ... [as] constant maternity was grindingly hard work.' As well, there was the concern about desertion or being widowed, thereby being left with children to provide for but with nowhere to turn to.[17]

The 'strike' against sexual labour, akin to an industrial strike, whereby women resisted trading possession of their bodies in marriage for a livelihood, coincided with an increased drift into the industrial paid work force. In Magarey's analysis, this represented a move from unpaid labour, now increasingly understood as 'work' (sexual labour) by women in this period. This was a relatively new idea which allowed for the emergence of negotiations as, according to Magarey, marriage was recognised as more of a contract between unequal partners, compelling a shift in the notion of women represented in marriage as a 'God-given order of nature.'[18] In fact, it was improvements in the conditions of women's sexual labour which led in part to the low fertility rates which so infused debates concerning the woman question.

Women's independence then, according to Magarey, meant that women's self-knowledge and self-information implied one another, that is, the acquisition of a new attitude led women to recognise that the source of their empowerment lay in the region of their sex. Women's transcendence, then, beyond an identity constrained, delimited and formed by marriage, was evidenced in their move into paid employment. In masculinist discourse, such work was deemed immoral. Nevertheless, women began working in shops, offices and industry. Women also moved into white-collar employment, into new forms of employment in state instrumentalities. They also entered the least skilled jobs, as pupil-teachers in elementary school, as postal workers, telegraphists, and as clerical workers in colonial bureaucracies. Moreover, as 'traditional craftsmen were replaced by cheaper semi-skilled and unskilled machinists, most [of these employees] were young, and many of them women.'[19]

Magarey's contestation of masculinist discourse and power celebrates a new economy of

pleasure and experience, entered into by women in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Thereby, women overcame a vast array of ideological apparatuses, and disengaged themselves from the dystopian horizon of marital life-experience, entering instead a new subjectivity made available, if only for a short interval, by a new space of possibilities for a different kind of personhood. As determined self-fashioners, women governed and conducted themselves according to knowledge and practices counter to the normative regime of masculinist jurisdiction and veridiction. The strike against marriage, and the emergent feminist discourse and experience concerning a new kind of individual ascesis, a spiritual life free of the pollution of sexual labour and marriage, and the possibility of contraception and voluntary motherhood, established an emancipation and actualisation of a new individuality, constituted via a different telic modality of self recognition.

However, the South Australian experience makes much of this kind of feminist excursus highly problematic and fanciful, as this analysis emerges as little more than a feminist chimera. Marriage as a cultural artefact was in fact a central concern in the discourses within the newspapers and journals and attached itself to an assembly of power relations, namely: the state, religion, private enterprise, science, unions, and the press. Pastoral agency in the newspapers, manifested as a secularisation of religious themes, sought the 'development of a dynamics of self decipherment as self renunciation'. Dense narratives detailing female behaviour, dress, gestures, speech and bodily functions permeated news print, seeking to 'know the individual' via rituals of self examination. Marriage discourse worked on a principle operating below the threshold of description, that is, on an understanding that the internalisation of representation of the female body by women was fundamental to the formation of female identity. This was a powerful doctrine defending the existing social order, and was deliberately directed towards accommodation rather than resistance to the paramount reality of liberal governance, which, in turn, trapped women in a web of conventions and an apparently inexorable natural order. As Magarey recognises, by the late eighteen nineties, the return of marriage as a key cultural life experience for females had arrived, whereby women were back trading possession of their bodies in marriage for a livelihood.[20]

Marital Discourse: Domesticity

The dense and definitive narratives which characterised marital discourse in the South Australian press of the late nineteenth century reaffirmed a liberal governance which asserted the agency of the male breadwinner, and also the specific content of the position of housewife and mother. It was possible to discern a general pattern in the press which promoted the maintenance of strict gender differentiation, two discontinuous worlds, against a background of institutionalised differentiation and discrimination. Examining the dominant explanatory framework, one discovers that women were in a critical position for the realisation of colonial aspirations concerning social and cultural reproduction. Given the ongoing debate concerning the woman question, and contra Magarey's thesis, the newspapers' representation of 'the sacred office of maternity', the instinct of propagation, and expressions of female sexual desire and pleasure became orientated in a tendentious way, re-asserting the female body, as well as feminine experience and desire, within the domain of patriarchal power.

Female individuation, as circumscribed by tradition and elements of reform positioned the female body as a contingent entity in the depression of the eighteen nineties. As reformers struggled to move beyond the confines of established social roles with their inherent modalities of confinement and notions of fixed biological or prediscursive essence, the press, in turn, provided a rich field of conceptual and strategic schemata, via a masculine mediation, through and by which women could internalise representations of the female body and female identity commensurate with the experiences of a liberal mode of governance. The socio-sexual discourse which appeared in the press corresponded with an essentialist conceptualisation of sexuality, an intrication of genetic and erotic logic which was morphologically female in so far as it aligned itself with deep cultural norms about the bearing of the body, and the minute details of stylisation which explained the mystery of a women's attractiveness in the heteronormative understanding of society.

Under a sub-titled heading 'The Woman Who is Admired Every Time', the *Northern Argus* directed women's attention to the approved ways of 'winning a husband' and keeping him. Quoting from Verona Jarbeau, the paper reported that 'a girl wins a husband unconsciously. Ask any of your friends how they captured their other half, and they will

85

tell you frankly, "I don't know". A man's heart is ensared (sic) by a pretty hand, nice teeth, a round, low voice, frank eyes, beautiful hair; by the way a girl walks, talks, plays, rides, puns; by her gifts, her smile, her amiability, good taste, generosity, or the very manner in which she greets, fascinates, or abuses him. She may not know how she won him, but if she doesn't know how to keep him the best thing for her to do is to find out. There are many things we know by intuition: the rest have to be learned by experiment. Conscious of her abilities and inabilities as a wife, a wise woman will learn how to keep a husband just as she learns how to keep house, to make chicken croquettes, chocolate creams, bread, beds, or lemonade, and if she doesn't, why some siren, with the sunshine in her tresses and the perfume of the wild olives about her, will secure for her a permanent vacation. A man loves to see his wife well dressed. When she goes about in tatters, with big shoes, untidy skirts, soiled collar, and a halo of curl papers, if he doesn't swear, he thinks it. [Setting herself as a model worthy of imitation, Verona Jarbeau continued with] ... I never take a dress that is done for and wear it in the house. When the life has gone out of it, it goes to the rag-bag. I make a duty of nice linen, with plenty of laces, and my house-gowns are not old, they are not wrappers, and they are not ugly. Another hobby of mine is my hair, which I will have as near the poet's conception of 'her fragrant tresses' as possible. Then I have a whole lot of little devices - I perfume my eyebrows and lips; keep my hands soft and cool, my teeth in good order, and I make my doctor prescribe for a sweet breath ... I only tell you to give you an idea of the care required to keep a man in love with you. Men like to preach down extravagance, and style, and dress; but the woman who bangs her hair, powders the shine off her face, hides a blotch or scar under a piece of court plaster, who wants pretty gloves and stockings, trim slippers, perfumes, balms, cold creams, finger curls, and fancies notions to increase her charms is the woman who is admired every time. Those long, lean, lank, common sense women may gad about in their wholesome ugliness and cheap simplicity, but the procession of men who follow is not a long one.'[21]

In an equally sententious fashion, and under the title 'Advice for Girls', the *Bunyip* conveyed advice aimed at instructing girls in the matrimonial stakes in the shape of a sermon. 'An American minister once gave the following advice to the young ladies of the flock:- "The buxom, bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked, full-breasted, bouncing lass who can darn a stocking, mend trousers, make her own frock, command a regiment of pots and kettles,

feed the pigs, chop wood, milk cows, wrestle with the boys, and be a lady withal in company, is just the sort of girl for me and for any sort of man to marry; but you, ye pining, moping, lolling, screwed-up, wasp-waisted, putty-faced, consumption-mortgaged, music-murdering, novel-devouring daughters of fashion and idleness, you are no more fit for matrimony than a pullet is to look after a family of fourteen chickens. The truth is, my dear girls, you want, generally speaking, more liberty and less fashionable restraints, more kitchen and less parlour, more leg exercise and less sofa, more pudding and less piano, more frankness and less mock-modesty, more breakfast and less bustle ... and become something as lovely and beautiful as the God of Nature designed".'[22]

Over the whole surface of contact between the female body and the objects of duty a woman required to establish herself as a desirable spouse lies a masculine aesthetic judgement reaffirming women's dependence. Patriarchal aestheticism as a matrix of authority and custom revealed itself in the mode of conduct, manners and minute regulations of daily life which belonged for the most part to a bodily rhetoric of female servitude with romantic love offering a powerful source of justification and providing a legitimating context to the shape of liberal governance. As a form of disciplinary power, patriarchal authority sought subjected and practised female bodies, docile bodies, which emerge in Foucault's account as a form of discipline which seeks to increase utility of the body while at the same time diminishing those same forces which appear antithetical to obedience and subjection.[23] Patriarchal discipline appears as a configuration of power with meticulous controls and as 'a political anatomy of detail' marking out the meticulous political investment of the female body and, in fact, affecting a micro-regulation of the female body and its movements according to the demands of liberal governance, namely the efficient inclusion of women in the 'honorable estate of marriage'. It contributes to the shaping of a micro-physics of power which maps the detailed characteristics and functions required for a woman planning on a life in the sacred state of matrimony.

In a dense narrative titled 'The Australian Woman', the *Northern Argus* characterised Australian femininity in the idyllic frame of patriarchal aestheticism. The text positioned the Australian woman in line with domestic duties, and supra-cultural truths relating to women's nature (Nature). In this sense, the newspaper proclaimed 'a land where Nature paints her swans black and allows her fruits to grow stones out-ward should, in

accordance with the eternal fitness of things, give us a unique type of womanhood.'[24] Her uniqueness was exemplified in 'her distinctive peculiarities' such that the paper could assert that 'the Australian woman is naturally not remarkably reverent [as she] has no reverence for tradition, and very little for conventionality - Courteous by nature, not by rule - Warm hearted and of cordial face, she sometimes shocks the British matron by her frankness.' House keeping was not overlooked, and the scientific concerns which were emerging at the time in relation to hygiene, fitness and diet among other things, were also alluded to. 'She is a thorough housekeeper, and her love of outdoor sports does not interfere with the perfect performance of her domestic duties.'[25]

The Australian woman's hospitality was lauded in line with her love of femininity and domesticity. The newspaper informed its readership that 'the Australian born woman is aggrieved if a visitor leaves her house without breaking bread with her. The bread is usually in the form of strong tea and home made cake. An Australian born hostess may be distinguished from an English or foreign one by her extreme hospitality and her readiness to make friends with her visitors.'[26] The minutiae of dress, education, self-effacement, beauty, were also referred to in the proliferation of thoughts, images and fantasies inhabiting the patriarchal aesthetic, with its infinitesimal concerns regarding female conduct. 'The Australian woman has what Mark Twain calls "a natural and faultless taste in dress". She is not racist, nor harbours class hatreds 'any more than unreasonable prejudices against different nationalities.' She was portrayed as cosmopolitan particularly in relation to the mix of various nationalities, but was not overly educated given that 'the mental atmosphere of the Australian woman has not as yet been favourable for intellectual development. The climate of Australia is not favourable to hard study. The "low beginnings" of art and literature do exist, and in time to come the Australian woman may throw into study the energy she now devotes to pleasure and exercise.'[27]

As manifested in the masculine aesthetic, the political anatomy of the female body enters a machinery of power that explores, breaks it down and rearranges it, and is illuminated in an admirable image with its symbolic weight given to national and natural comparisons. 'The Australian woman, though often very pretty, is a smaller, slighter, paler edition of her English sister. Her beauty is like that of a white rose ... She is very active, with a lithe, slim figure, developed by indoor and outdoor exercise, and a bright, intelligent face ... The

88

stimulating climate, which forces the growth of trees and flowers, has the same effect on Australian girls - they bloom early ... New Zealand, the Switzerland of Australasia, produces the finest specimens of Australian women. Snow capped mountains, volcanoes, beautiful lakes, ferny gorges, and a cool, bracing climate are the physical features of the narrow, windy islands that comprise this colony. A New Zealand belle is particularly bright, active, and energetic, and her complexion vies with that of the dame of Kilkenny celebrated in the old ballad -

> Her lips are like roses, her cheeks much the same,
> Or the dish of fresh strawberries smothered in
> crame.[28]

The female body, weighed down by inscriptions of natural geography and a prediscursive essence, was safely inscribed with the proper markings and morphology which coalesced with the disciplinary modality of liberal governmental practice and a masculine aesthetic. The female body as a metonym for nature blended docility with a metonymy of desire, which was consonant with a model of aestheticism by which men applied nature to their own ends, and likewise, so too did they women. 'From New South Wales, where the tropical plants grow in the gardens, and from Queensland, where 'tis always afternoon', come lily-like girls with creamy complexions. The description of Mr. Browning's Italian Court Lady might answer for that of the belle:-

> Her hair was tawny with gold, her eyes with purple
> were dark, -
> Her cheek's pale opal burned with a red and
> restless spark.[29]

The women of Nature were also characterised in the peculiar thematics of woman as child or child-like, as the *Northern Argus* observed in a text titled 'Boy to Man'. The account informed that 'I believe that boys change more than girls do in their progress from childhood to years of discretion ... [in this passage of time] A girl is generally pretty much the same, same in appearance, at 10 that she is at 20. You find her, at the first age, making dolls' dresses of bits of calico and silk, putting a rag baby to sleep in a miniature cradle, setting a top table with mimic tea cups and saucers, and visiting her sister (who keeps house in the opposite corner of the room), with mamma's parasol held affectedly over her head, and the skirt of her exceedingly short dress gathered up mincingly in one hand. You

meet her ten years after. She is making frocks for live dolls, while she rocks a real cradle, with a real baby reposing on its pillows, or is preparing tea on a larger scale than formally, or paying calls with her own parasol held over her head, and a very long skirt gracefully held from contact with the mud. She will chat about her neighbor's dresses and furniture as she chatted about her schoolmate's coral necklace or new doll house. Her little affections have grown to be great ones. Ice cream has taken the place of sugar candy.'[30]

Even though adult women are infantilised in this discourse, representing an organic metaphor suffused with weakness and frailty which dovetails with Bacchi's claim that the colonial press portrayed women as weak and dependent, this portrayal in itself presents a generalisation which misses the more complex understanding of women in terms of utility and docility.[31] Advertisements elucidating the cause of women's frailty could state: 'It is a cause which has its origin in the life and condition of the women themselves. Most women are weak, and not in good health. When a woman is sickly, her feelings are quickly aroused and she suffers keenly. This is the real, actual cause of it all.'[32] In turn, many other representations extolled the virtues of a woman's utility. For example, a selected poem entitled 'The Farmer's Wife' expressed sentiments which alluded to a woman's unreluctant acceptance at being used, that is, her state of docility:

> Her tasks are long and tedious
> And filled with tiresome hours;
> But she drains each passing moment
> As the bee the sweetened flowers.
> She receives the choicest blessings
> For deeds of endless good,
> And wins a road to heaven
> By her noble womanhood.
> Free from all this world's temptations
> And its false, bewildering life -
> She wears a crown of glory,
> The farmer's gentle wife.[33]

Women's stoicism and docile body were eulogised in poetry. 'The Bravest Battle', for instance, asserted that:

> The Bravest Battle that ever was fought ...
> 'Twas fought by the mothers of men ...
> deep in welled up women's heart,
> A woman that would not yield,
> But bravely, silently bore her part,

90

Lo, ye with banners and battle-filled! ...
Oh, ye with banners and battle shot,
And soldiers to shout and praise,
I tell you the kindliest victories fought
Are fought in the silent ways.[34]

Paradoxically, in the colonial press, this silent struggle remained as opaque as it appeared transparent, as invisible as it was visible. The multitude of discourses, and the many ways in which the image of the female was enunciated and prescribed, provided a signification that produced on the flesh the illusion of an ineffable depth, that is to say, a pristine, true femininity. As female iconography expanded in terms of visibility and pellucidity, the privileged sight of women's disappearance occurred through the prism of masculine images and aesthetic, which in turn, reflected portraits and statements of femininity in the popular press. This masculine representation simultaneously, in a strategic fashion, delimited women's voice, their right to speak, understand and represent themselves. The discursive constellation concerning femininity in the Colonial press was effectively masculine and patriarchal.

Concerning women's role in masculine discourse, the locus of pastoral care in the press focussed on instruction which programmed movements and activities, subjecting these to a number of gestures and habits which reflected culturally defined conditions shaping the lives of women in a gender-regulated alignment with patriarchy. These representations included a shift from characterising women as ornaments to one concerned with the paradoxical development of a natural mystique, a transcendental quality aimed at increasing a woman's 'fascination' commensurate with masculine desire and a liberal mode of governance. Under the title 'The Woman Who Fascinates', the *Observer*, quoting the *Exchange,* directed women's attention to this concern: 'A fascinating woman may have beauty; she must have brains ... The Woman who poses on a pedestal, who makes a parade of amiability, whose virtue constitutes a sort of star attraction, is unquestionably very tiresome. And while all the world knows that very bad women are often very fascinating, at the same time a man of clear brain and manly instincts avoids such women as he would a pestilence. The woman who is not too good for human nature's daily food, who understands life and its responsibilities, who possesses a strong vein of sentiment ... who, holding lofty ideals, has yet a spice of Mother Eve in her

composition, will not prove unattractive to the prince of cynics who finds a "goody" woman insipid. The woman who would fascinate must be interested as well as interesting. She must study the man she wishes should study her. She must listen to him a part of the time - not monopolise the conversation. There is one quality without which all the fascinations of women are futile. Beauty, grace, wit, erudition are in vain without that undefinable something we call personal magnetism. This mysterious influence has never been dissected by science. Its source is unknown, its extent unlimited. The lack of it repels us from many estimable people, and it is the strongest weapon a woman can wield. A man is quick to recognise its presence, and very many ugly women possess this quality ... Can this magnetism be acquired! To a certain extent, yes.'[35]

As reflected in the press, the spectacle of the feminine image was one of self-effacement. The seemingly immutable characteristic of this exclusive site of their disappearance was that the press, with the plenitude of its force, extruded the voice of women. The iconography which made its appearance in the Colonial press tended to define a particular embodiment of womanhood, which in a Biblical sense projected the female body as an off-shoot of masculinity. The press carved out the space for this kind of embodiment, and metonymically, carved the entire body to fit that space.

In this way, the economy of the discursive constellation constituting marital discourse included women's voice when 'her text' lent analogical confirmation and validation to patriarchal authority. The *Observer*, for example, quoting the *Detroit Free Press*, found it expedient to expatiate on the question of 'Should a girl have unrestrained freedom in the choice of her husband? That is a question of serious and far-reaching import, and one that cannot be wisely answered on the spur of the moment; neither will it do to pass it flippantly by.' The paper favourably responded to the viewpoint of E. Lynn-Linton who had posited that 'freedom to girls means power of choice, and experience shows that a woman's preconjugal illusions do not always tend to make a successful marriage ... [the report concluded that] the author of this sentiment obviously inclines to the conviction that girls are not fit to choose husbands. It is an unbiased conviction for the reason that the holder of it is a woman, and no less a woman than E. Lynn-Linton. Parents of grown up daughters are numerous who know to their sorrow what an unreasoning lunatic a headstrong daughter can become, when 'the right man' looms over her horizon.'[36]

Marital Discourse: Parodic Excess

According to Hamilton, humour is a means by which 'a society works through problematic areas in the culture.'[37] She asserts that in the late nineteenth century, humour as a mode of entertainment took several different forms in the popular press: 'jokes, limericks, stories and humorous poems. Cartoons were a relatively new addition to the repertoire.'[38] Hamilton argues that parody, mockery and satire used inversion of the natural order to display threatening social and economic change, especially when bourgeois authority was being challenged.[39] For instance, as a parody of bourgeois femininity the visual depiction in cartoons of the servant, in general, was unflattering, often unfeminine, ugly and large. As Hamilton puts it: 'Irish stereotypes inform the representations of the servant as aggressive, drunken, slovenly and apelike in her degeneracy. Sometimes obvious differences in dress were employed, with the servant either wearing a cap and apron or overdressed and ridiculous in a parody of bourgeois femininity.'[40]

The preferred female embodiment for women in service, as attested to by unemployed elderly domestic servants at the labour bureaus, was that of youth, tractability, diligence, respectability and respectful demeanour, in other words, docility. Absent from the derisive characterisations of female domestic servants was any appreciation of employer responsibility for the problem of power relations in the home between servant and employer, and the sexual anxiety caused by servants seen in the intimate daily negotiations of the home, as to present a source of sexual competition.[41] In Hamilton's thesis, humour was used to establish gender difference, constructing masculine and feminine embodiment in a certain number of gestures and habits which had the intention of colouring them in the monotonous monochrome of their own sex. The *Observer,* quoting the *Exchange,* affirmed this difference in a comical piece titled 'Wherein Women Differ from Men'. 'Women jump at conclusions and generally hit; men reason things out logically and generally miss them ... A woman never sees a baby without wanting to run to it; a man never sees a baby without wanting to run from it. Women love admiration, approbation, self-immolation on the part of others; and are often weak, vain and frivolous. Ditto men ... A woman, from her sex and character, has a claim to many things besides shelter, food, and clothing. She is not less a woman for being wedded; and the man who is fit to be trusted with a good wife recollects all which this implies, and shows himself at all times

chivalrous, sweet-spoken, considerate, and deferential.'[42]

In a comical narrative written by Paddy Melon, a popular satirist in the pages of the *Observer*, young men were instructed on how to rule the 'nest'. 'To the Head of the House (I allude to the young man) - ... attend to the following:- ... as soon as you have settled in your new home, just let your wife know that you intend leaving domestic details such as fire-lighting, boot-cleaning, etc., to her, as you would hate to hamper her with your masculine ignorance. If you fail to inspire the necessary ardour for the undertaking you will know what to expect. The matter is serious, but it would be unwise to get into a passion and display violence. Let her see that you have quite decided about the matter, and calmly but firmly - light it yourself!' [43]

Comedy prompting asceticism and displaying signs of inversion was discernible in what were known as 'noteworthy sayings' in the press. 'What we are at home is a pretty sure test of what we really are', and 'man imagines when he marries women that the timid young creature is his'n. In the course of a little spell he decides that he is her'n,' as well as 'it is curious how a woman who screams at a mouse is not startled by a millinery bill that makes a man tremble.' [44] Given their endless repetition in the popular press these comical references helped to affect a micro-regulation of the female body ordered according to the heavy coefficient of their sex, and the exigency of efficient production.

Concerning the site of marriage, the transcription of natural language into new forms of statements via cartoons, satirical narrative, limericks, jokes and 'sayings', provided a patriarchal conceptual tool which was strategically aimed at enhancing the utility of women's bodies for multiple shifting needs. As well, it allowed for the construction of a subjectivity whereby the female body appeared as simply a surface for the inscription of the work of reproduction and self-affirmation and a kind of beauty, pleasure and sexuality which coalesced with male desire. Sculpting its own image in the deeply negative intensity of this female stereotype, the popular press, in the thrall of parodic excess, consigned to a shadow existence women's own voice. Women's voice was transformed into an expression of essentialism, an immutable feminine essence with its techniques of self for the establishment of women's self observation and self cultivation.

94

These arts of self conduct or techniques of the self provided an aesthetics of existence which set male perspectives as a standard against which women were compared, and established a signifying process by which women, in adopting a masculine subject position, could identify and recognise themselves. However, as has been asserted earlier, the whole array of discourses, which developed practices and a self knowledge which was lived as an identity by women, increasingly became problematised in the latter part of the nineteenth century, particularly as the woman question entered a set of counter-narratives which agonistically challenged masculine dominance as both a problem and a defining element in women's self relation.

What the popular press sought to achieve, under the surface of the heavy make up or the studied social grace, or the ascetic practices demarcating wifehood, was the establishment of a stylisation of conduct, a conduct which privileged a distinctive self relation through which women became colluders, freely submitting themselves in an axis of subjectification which positioned them as dependent and disciplined, as wives and mothers. Contra Magarey's thesis, with its celebration of a new female individuation, this practice of government of self in fact contributed to women freely removing themselves from the paid labour market, entering instead the realm of domesticity and here, even if they did participate in public employment as outworkers, it was confined to the geography of the home. In a more totalising claim, the authors of *Fresh Evidence, New Witnesses* have argued that the private/public domain between home and economy, legality, and demography represented a false dichotomy, simply because the home was a public domain. 'Married women whose husbands were sick, unable to earn an adequate living, or who had been deserted or widowed tried to negotiate the economic gap and the confines of respectability by working at home. A number of women were able to do this by taking in boarders, running a school or opening a shop.'[45] Nevertheless, the popular press contributed to the art of women's self-conduct in terms of a verisimilitude which coalesced with the English Poor Law reforms. This embodied a distinctive project of social transformation, whereby the liberal mode of governance was distinguished by its aim of incorporating self-responsibility and familial duty within the lives of the property-less. For women, this form of individuation meant a role played out as dependent spouse, incorporating reproductivity allied to both the breadwinner and motherhood.

The Woman Question: Unemployment, Reform, and Wifehood

The application of knowledge in the popular press which targeted women's bodies, and their rightful habitus, marked a strategic diffraction in the kinds of discourse legitimating gender roles. Discourse articulating specific features of femininity, domesticity and unemployment assumed a polarity that opposed activity and passivity, and marked out for women a dyad, which attached them self-reflexively in a domain of unpaid work and home life. Masculine concerns, in turn, were much more closely conjoined in a binary opposition between paid work and unemployment. Newspaper narratives, were, in fact, ordered according to this particular kind of strategic goal and conceptual purpose. Even female reformers committed to change and social amelioration of women's condition asserted their counter-discourse and sentiments of dissent through the self-enclosed truth of patriarchal social and political power. Pastoral power, as expressed in the popular press, sought to sustain and maintain techniques of self which set women in a self-forming mode commensurate with self-objectification, by which they freely submitted themselves to relations of dependence and domination. Moreover, pastoral agency and the bio-politics emerging within the popular press, sought to manage women's subjectivity via a complex matrix of individuation concerning the woman question, a question which traversed the boundary that marked out the limits of femininity. In particular, the press communicated practices of containment and social regulation in relation to a woman's right to work, female suffrage, domestic responsibility, women's education, and expressed growing fears concerning the dissipation of marital life, which, in the public mind, it was thought could lead society into the abyss of a social and moral dystopia.

The *Express and Telegraph*, reporting from London in a statement systematised under the heading 'The Socialist Congress' and 'Female Labour Question', demonstrated that even left-wing politics dovetailed with the patriarchal concerns of liberal governance. The paper reported that 'The annual congress of Socialists is now sitting, and the delegates are discussing a proposal for the legislative prohibition of female labour in mines. It is also desired to diminish the competition with male labour generally, and to this end it is suggested that the wives of labouring men should be induced to abstain from all work that cannot be done in their homes.'[46] Likewise, unemployed women in South Australia were subject to a rationality which led to a vector of agonistic contention in governmental relations and mirrored the established pattern of values proposed by the English Socialist

Congress. At the level of governing statements, this species of paternalism marked out a dividing practice which asserted the exigencies of responsibilised male labour in the sphere of the labour market, and in turn was recognised and supported by the liberal mode of governance. The line of exclusion delineated a private sphere of personal responsibility and rested on an implicit order of patriarchal domination of men over women, wherein the figure of the labourer was irredeemably male.

The background of this kind of institutionalised differentiation and discrimination was linked to meanings attached to particular gender identities which permeated social organisation, and found their antecedence in the reformed English Poor Law. In particular, women's identity was dissociated as far as possible from the labour market, and power relations were gendered as far as women were subjected to the immanent conditions and constraints of labour market practices. In South Australia the liberal mode of governance found itself taking charge of forming and sustaining the domestic and work relations that nascent economic discourse assumed to be natural, that is, the agency of the male breadwinner, and also the specific content of the position of housewife and mother.

Newspaper narratives established a text which set up subject positions in terms of gender such that women were displaced and elided from the ranks of those seeking employment. The entry of authority as a means of exacting consent in multifarious ways for the life conduct of masculine productive labour and women's domesticity found its *raison d'etre* in the occasional reports about unemployment which recorded that women did demand work. The *Express and Telegraph,* reporting on Melbourne under the title 'Women Ask For Work, Pitiful Tales of Distress', accounted that 'a deputation of women waited upon the Minister of Public Works today and urged that the Government should establish a female labour bureau at once in order that women who worked for their own living might secure employment. The members of the deputations were mostly widows with families, told pitiful tales of distress. One of them with four children said she had seen better days ... She was unable to pay a fee to the labor office. Others urged that the Chinese laundries were ruining them. Mr. Graham [The Minister of Public Works] said it was true that the Chinese were monopolising laundry work, but he thought the best tax that could be put upon them would be for the public not to send their washing to laundries worked by Chinese labor. He promised to see if he could afford relief to the women in any way.'[47]

If in Melbourne, the designation of a woman as mother received a modicum of public recognition, at least in terms of the promise of relief, by contrast, in South Australia, the Destitute Board provided for wives and children without food or the means of subsistence. As a means of welfare, and in specific relation to women, relief was permissible because it positioned women in the normative cultural logic of dependence, and served the interlocking nexus of state provision and the masculine labour market, both of which were committed to the dominant patriarchal social order.

Reform: The New Fashioned Girl

Female reformists, who resisted the asymmetrical distribution of power and attempted to reverse the axis of female individuation, sought to contest the matrix of masculine authority and custom by confronting the problem of patriarchal limits. However, where contestation actually occurred, in education, work, bodies, pleasures and knowledges, the agonistic struggle, as represented in the popular press, demonstrated that women's protest and counter-discourse created the conditions for an ambiguous liberation, precisely because their subversive moves aimed at the restoration of women's voice tended to place in the foreground female discontent with male attitudes. By resisting the negativity of determinate social conditions the transformative goals of reformists generated a dissonance of rationalities and disturbed the comfort of established ideas. Nevertheless, their critique remained deeply embedded in the prevailing assumptions and background conditions of patriarchal power.

An editorial in the *Advertiser* concerning female education was explicitly administered through an approved patriarchal epistemic filter and was very apposite in typifying this particular kind of strategy. The *Advertiser* reflected on the widening sphere of women's education and employment: 'Women, as we have abundant testimony, are now invading every department of knowledge and every learned profession; still there are sanguine males whom these things have not alarmed.'[48] As retold in the *Advertiser*, Miss Helen Gladstone's essay, 'University Life for Women,' found an approving response because, even though the essay challenged domesticity, stating that 'at home, except in very rare circumstances, a girl does not find her true level,' and that average not just clever girls should be allowed a 'university life,' the challenge to masculine perceptions concerning

women's autonomy and social order, and questions concerning patriarchal institutional partition that sealed off women from a liberal education, were however largely muted by patriarchal concerns. 'Those who would close the learned professions to women on the ground that they would conflict with their domestic obligations are asked to state whether feminine energies are better employed in receptions, calls, and other-absorbing usages of society. The old idea is certainly absurd that a girl need learn nothing useful ... The true reform would be not to regard women as 'a kind of amphibious or half masculine creature,' but to enlarge the field of her intellectual opportunities, and enable her to become versed in subjects for which she has an aptitude or liking.'[49] Nevertheless, the paper reassured the reader, in a diminution of female creativity, and in a devolution of women's authority, that 'as for the argument that higher education unfits women for the domestic life, Miss Gladstone replies that properly educated women are not in experience found to be less wifely or maternal or generally amiable than their ignorant sisters ... this high culture may be administered to women 'without injury of any kind to their nature, health, or character.'[50] In this fashion, the paper sought to attenuate the reformist intent, which vitiated in part the normative cultural logic of womanhood by positing a radically altered incidence of women's access to both the professions and education.

The popular press illustrated the character of its critique of the 'New Fashioned Girl' in a number of representational strategies which took shape in a variety of discursive forms. The *Northern Argus*, for example, printed a poem which bluntly attempted to crush the alien burden of education on the nature of women's true habitus.

The New-Fashioned Girl

> She's a great and varied knowledge, picked
> up at a female college, of quadratics,
> hydrostatics, and pneumatics, so very vast;
>
> She was stuffed with erudition as you
> stuff a leather cushion, all the ologies of
> the colleges, and the knowledges of the past
>
> She had studied the old lexicons of
> Peruvians and Mexicans, their theology,
> anthropology, and their geology, oe'r and
> o'er;

She knew the forms and the features of
the prehistoric creatures: ichthyosaurus,
plesiosaurus, megalosaurus, and many
more.

She'd describe the ancient Tuscans and the
Basques and the Etruscans, their riddles
and their kettles and the victuals that
they gnawed;

She'd discuss, the learned charmer, the
theology of Brahma and the scandals of
the Vandals and the sandals as they
trod.

She knew all the mighty giants and the
master of science; all the learning
that was turning in the burning brain of
men;

But she couldn't prepare a dinner for a
gaunt and hungry sinner, nor get up a
decent supper for her poor voracious papa,
for she never was constructed on the old
domestic plan.[51]

The *Observer*, in an exposition concerning women's rights and directly addressing issues surrounding the 'New Fashioned Girl' of the eighteen nineties, focused its critique on the notion of the suffragette leadership and domesticity, by stating 'that the laws regarding womankind are founded on the assumption that a woman has no independent existence - she is So-and-so's daughter, or So-and-so's wife, or it may be So-and-so's mother. Her father, her husband, or her son supports and protects her, and discharges all civil duties on her behalf, so, having no responsibility, she has no rights ... [however] more and more whether she likes it or not, woman is becoming a worker. Fathers will not or cannot provide for their daughters, and there are not enough husbands to go around even if every man should be smitten with what a well-known French writer calls 'an insane desire to support somebody elses daughter.' Indeed it is sometimes the other way.'[52] This 'reversal' in relation to women supporting males financially during the eighteen nineties depression is supported by W. A. Sinclair. She argues that 'the majority of working women at this time [1881-1911] were the unmarried daughters, in their teens and early

20s, of male wage-earners. Wives ... did not normally go out to work.' Unmarried women predominantly participated in the workforce as 'it was very unusual for married women to join the workforce ... It can be calculated that only about 10 per cent of the wives in Melbourne and less than 5 per cent in Adelaide worked outside their homes in the early twentieth century and that the female workforce must be regarded as to all intents and purposes consisting of unmarried women.'[53] According to Sinclair, women's wages between 1881 and 1911 were regarded as a supplement to family income, and were particularly important in South Australia because the rise in Adelaide of the female participation rate in employment, given that this 'rate' was commensurate with male earning capacity, meant that 'South Australia was not a participant in the more general boom of the 1880s and that for that colony the decade was one of economic stagnation. As a result, Adelaide experienced a rise in male unemployment ... [and] it is very likely that the increased rate of participation was a response to the effect of male unemployment on family incomes.'[54]

However, women's work outside the home, it must be reiterated, was viewed as an aberration during this period of severe economic contraction. Women's contribution to the family wage was still tied to the rhetoric of the technicians of soul-making whereby women's desire for the rigours of domestic service and reproductivity in alliance with a responsible male bread-winner was considered normative in terms of custom, manners and the social formation of a woman's daily transactions. According to Walters, even female casual labour outside the home was 'interpreted as a kind of second-order demoralising force ... because it deaden's the man's need to work where marriage is meant to sharpen it.'[55]

The *Observer*, in its characterisation of women's mental capacity regarding the suffrage movement and its cry for freedom condoned this mode of asceticism and continued its attack on the 'New Fashioned Girl', quoting with support from John Stuart Mill, that 'the bent of a woman's mind is towards the practical and is not predisposed to continued application and that women ... perhaps have it from nature, but they certainly have it by training and education; for nearly the whole of the occupations of women consist in the management of small but multitudinous details, on each of which the mind cannot dwell even for a minute but pass on to other things, and, if anything requires longer thought,

must steal time at odd moments for thinking of it ... as a woman's mind, though it may be occupied with small things, can hardly ever permit itself to be vacant ... The business of a woman's ordinary life is things in general.' Once more, following Mill, the *Observer* stated that 'woman is something of an enigma, and her real nature [is] one of those things which "no fellow can find out." ' However, the newspaper approvingly supported Mill's affirmation that 'in the case of unmarried women, much of [what women write about] it seems [is] only intended to increase their chances of a husband.' Further, the newspaper found that 'what fault Mill finds in women, is chiefly arising from her education ... the bent of women's mind, he maintains, is towards the practical; it gravitates to the present, to the real, to actual fact. A woman seldom runs wild after an abstraction; she has a lively sense of objective fact which prevents her from losing herself in metaphysical speculations. Here a woman's practical thinking is of immeasurable benefit to the metaphysician. "Hardly anything", [Mill says], can be of greater value to a man of theory and speculation, who employs himself not in collecting materials of knowledge by observation, but in working them up by processes of thought into comprehensive truths of science and laws of conduct, than to carry on his speculations in the companionship, under the criticism of a really superior woman. There is nothing comparable to it for keeping his thoughts within the limits of real things and the actual facts of nature.'[56]

The pastoral agency of the press affirmed in its ongoing attack regarding the emerging new identity of womanhood, as represented by the new fashioned girl, a strategy for dissuading women from pursuing education against the imperatives of her nature, which in the understanding of the colonial press, rendered her a designer and standard-bearer of home, morality and reproductivity. The press repeatedly demanded women's renunciation in the pursuit of education or employment outside the home, and in an effort of programmatic reorganisation, countenanced caution and a return to the province of wifehood and domesticity. Thereby, the press promoted an axis of individuation which presented women with the capacity for internal self reference, a kind of moral compass built into their ability to reason, which coalesced with the privileged knowledge shaping the masculine aesthetic and ascetic practices. In turn, this regime of knowledge and code of practice mirrored the English Poor Law.

The press, as a technology of correction, regulation and development, applied an array of

discourses by which the social formation of female subjectivity was defined, modified, recast and diversified, but largely within the rubric of a masculine aesthetic, which, in turn, re-asserted women's historical position as mediated by men. Consonant with the values of this kind of political anatomy, the *Observer* declared that a satisfactory girl was one 'who is neatly finished off at all her points ... It is delightful to look at girls of this type, to notice their well-arranged and glossy hair, of which there is never too much or too little, their faultless chaussure, and gloves guiltless of a wrinkle. Complexions, figures, dresses, hands and feet are always carefully tended, and set forth to the best advantage. Their gowns always fit, and their hats posed at the most becoming angle. At no time is one of these complete ones ever found at a disadvantage, for their neatness of finish is as much due to cultivated talent as to kind nature. To these girls untidiness is an impossibility, and their dainty well-ordered bodies indicate well-ordered and methodical minds.'[57] A woman's 'well-ordered and methodical mind' required that education as an object-choice for women was set in accordance with an understanding that motherhood and household duties were a positive and constitutive feature of female individuality.

An editorial in the *Advertiser* queried 'why young men don't marry?' and questioned the new fashioned girl's choice of education in relation to marriage. 'Is the tide of education bearing women too far from connubial possibilities? Must they forthwith strike sail and limit their acquirements to cookery and mending? ... It must be admitted that a knowledge of the proportions of the ingredients of a pudding may be got without a study of mathematics.' An over-educated woman, the editorial went on to explain, caused 'a dread in certain males' especially in relation to 'the ignorance of his would-be partner in regard to the essential arts of cooking, marketing, mending, and in other ways contriving for a number more or less helpless beings under the roof-tree.'[58]

Adopting an anti-suffrage position, an editorial in the *Advertiser* considered that emerging 'scientific investigation has shown that ... processes [protoplasii] are for ever going on in all living organisms, and it has also shown that the essential characters of the male are katabolic and the female anabolic. The katabolism of the man makes him more active and energetic, so he becomes the breadwinner and defender of the family, and from this activity his muscles and bones in the course of ages become larger. In the anabolic woman the bones and muscles are smaller, and she has a greater amount of fat. It can easily be shown

a priori that maternity, the crowning glory of the female, is due to her excessive anabolism as the phrase now goes. From this foundation the modern school predicate what are the moral and mental attributes of men and women ... The old view of subjection of woman takes on a totally different garb when viewed through scientific glasses ... the new science probes ... more deeply, refusing to take into account the more stronger brain and muscle of man, and calls its aid a full consideration of historical and biological factors. To dispute whether male or female is superior is absurd; as absurd as to dispute over the superiority of animals and plants ... The males through their greater activity gain a wider field of experience and consequently have bigger brains and more intelligence, while the females have greater stability and therefore greater common sense. Again the activity of the male gives him a greater power of maximum effort, which makes men inventors and discoverers, but the greater passivity of the female gives her greater patience, more open-mindedness, greater appreciation of details and consequently 'intuition'. These well known differences between men and women can all be predicated from the scientific premises ... [therefore] we shall best obey Nature if the wife attends to the duties of the home while the husband fights the battles of his country at the polls.' [59]

In turn, the *Chronicle* evaluated and characterised the emerging 'new fashioned girl' in an essentialist conceptualisation, which figured women in forms of subjection that engendered the feminine body in docility. The *Chronicle* eroticised the power of patriarchal authority by positioning women as willing colluders in an extension of patriarchal control over women's bodies. This amounted to an attempt to neutralise the counter-strategies of the suffrage movement and called into question the possibility of female agency that resistance implies. In a lengthy narrative, the newspaper copiously detailed the 'law of sex' determining gender roles. The paper disclosed that 'the whole difficulty of women's suffrage is centred in the plain issue - what is the appropriate province of each sex? Few would be so rash as to contend that the natural fields for the activities of both sexes are absolutely co-extensive, for that is contradicted by the plainest physical facts.' According to the *Chronicle*, John Stuart Mill argued, under feminine influence, that only one reason could suffice to explain the contemporary situation pertaining to 'the subjection of women,' and that was - that men liked it. The article retorted with 'is that so? Miss Dora Greenwell wittily suggested that a better reason would be, 'Because women liked it' - in which apt retort the lady, as it seems to us, goes to the very heart of the question with

truly feminine insight.' [60]

Even though the *Chronicle* recognised that women's suffrage was inevitable, it nevertheless provided valuable insight in its understanding of the asymmetric relations existing between males and females. In another article the paper bluntly voiced its dissatisfaction with the proposed reforms. Giving women the vote was a leap in the dark, because 'women can no more engage in the normal pursuits of men without some loss of femininity than men can take the normal occupation of women without degradation of their masculine nature.' The paper continued with: 'does not the claim to an active participation in public affairs contemplate an excursion into a demonstrably unsuitable sphere? The instinctive aversion of men to the engagement of women in politics is quite ineradicable from some minds.' The *Chronicle* proceeded in a gallant and cautious fashion 'to trace the operation of something like a law of sex which determines where the energies of either sex should be restricted - not quite definitely, perhaps, but with sufficient clearness to discountenance the idea of bringing women into the turmoil of public affairs. That there are profound differences between the physical and mental characteristics of both sexes goes without saying. We are not as ungallant as to infer mental inferiority in the case of women from the fact that the average brain weight of a woman is about five ounces less than that of a man ... We know of woman ... that she is not so acquisitive of knowledge as man, so original, so inventive, that she is inferior in the creative faculty, has less decision of character, is more fickle in her moods, has more of emotion and less of judgement, is less under intellectual restraint against emotional excess. In none of these respects does she promise to be a gain to politics if welcomed in the stage of action. On the other hand she is pre-eminent in affection, sympathy, devotion, self-denial, reverence, morality - all invaluable qualities in the home life. In short, she is predisposed by her mental and moral as well as her physical nature to domesticity, and similarly antagonised to the excitements, the labor, and the responsibilities of public life.' [61]

In its concluding remarks the *Chronicle* reiterated a message that was reflected in the popular press within South Australia. The press in unison fostered an identification of women predicated on a dividing practice based on the masculine prerogative to toil in paid work and a woman's role as docile ally. The *Chronicle* hoped that the women's suffrage reform would maintain the perfect difference between the sexes rather than force an alien

and unnatural similitude. As the *Chronicle* asserted 'Tennyson tells us of the like in difference characteristic of the two sexes, and that yet in the long years liker will they grow, till at the last women sets herself to man like noble music unto perfect words. We can only trust that woman's suffrage will prove a real reform by bringing nearer this beautiful ideal.' The paper feared that this ideal image of the community self might be disrupted if reform continued onwards from the polling booth, and asserted that there may be no reason 'why the movement for emancipation of the [female] sex ... should not go on to capture the senate, the bar, the bench in turn ... to military service ... Women voters should therefore mean women legislators, ... women Ministers, women judges - why not women generals? We see no point at which, granting the premises of the woman's suffragists, the line can logically be drawn.' [62]

The woman question which raged during the depression of the eighteen nineties promised in the interface between womanhood and paid work, education and public life, a radical shift and a geometric increase in the life experience of women. Countering these reformist measures, the press, undergirded by a dispositif - namely, science, religion, private enterprise, the state and unions - shaped the intricate texture of women's personal lives as an artifact, as the determinate outcome of a complex and arbitrary constellation of cultural processes. The newspapers, with their dense metaphorisation of the identity of womanhood, positioned the amphibious, anabolic and infantilised female so that a number of powerful strategies and discourses could be mobilised, deploying and appropriating feminine signifiers in an effort to re-style and re-configure the transgressive self-representations of feminists into a social formation of female subjectivity coded in masculine and 'progressive' terms.

In the specificity of the times, the press fashioned a complementary image regarding the status of women, by resurrecting, in a field of memory, negative components of the past, which paradoxically highlighted the progressiveness of the age. The *Observer*, quoting a book by Mr. Ashton, on the progress of women, stated that the author 'gives the following clipping from old newspapers, which show the status of the sex in the olden time: - Morning Herald, March 11, 1801: - 'On the 11th of last month a person sold at the market cross in Chapel-en-la Frith a wife, a child, and as much furniture as would set up a beggar, for 11s.' Morning Herald, April 16, 1802: - 'A butcher sold his wife by auction at the last

market day at Hereford. She brought 1 pound 14s. and a bowl of punch.' Annual Register, February 14, 1806: - 'A man named John Garsthorpe exposed his wife for sale in the market at Hull about 1 o'clock, but owing to the crowd which such an extraordinary occurrence had brought together, he was obliged to defer the sale and take her away about 4 o'clock. However, he again brought her out, and she was sold for 20 guineas and delivered with a halter to a man named Houseman, who had lodged with them for four or five years.' Morning Post, October 10, 1807: - 'One of those disgraceful scenes which have of late become too common, took place on Friday se'nnight at Knavesborough. Owing to some jealousy or family difference a man brought his wife, equipped in the usual style, and sold her at the market cross for 6d. and a quid of tobacco.' Doncaster Gazette, March 25, 1803: - 'A fellow sold his wife as a cow in Sheffield market place a few days ago. The lady was put in the hands of a butcher, who held her by a halter fastened round her waist. 'What do you ask for your cow?' said a bystander. 'A guinea,' replied the husband. 'Done!' cried the other, and he immediately led away his bargain. We understand that the purchaser and his cow live very happily together'.'[63] However, what this progressive anamnesis neglected to report was the sale by auction of a wife in Adelaide as late as 1847.[64]

The Destitute Asylum

Dare's analysis of the asylum communicates an interesting reversal of the conventional understanding that this establishment was symbolic of centralised relief administration. In Dare's account 'central authority was at least attenuated, at worst a fiction.'[65] Because the central Destitute Board depended heavily on councils and its four auxiliary boards, located at Port Augusta, Wallaroo, Kooring and Mount Gambier, poor relief in fact assumed a high degree of decentralisation. According to Dare, 'the quality of local judgement about particular cases was subject to scrutiny by an overburdened inspector who was doing well if he visited each granting authority three times a year ... One council chairman simply refused to report the grounds of his decisions, and thus granted relief without constraint, including a dead woman.'[66]

From its inception the asylum assimilated the characteristics associated with Bentham's infamous 'Industry Houses', although the latter remained only a proposal, the design served to define an insidious disciplinary technology in which inmates were subject to strict

modes of separation and aggregation under the censorial eye of their governors.[67] For instance, the libidinal economy of the asylum was organised such that men and women in the institution 'were strictly segregated, separated by a thick stone wall approximately nine feet (2.8 metres) tall.'[68]

Bentham's pauper management was both polyvalent and multifunctional with respect to paupers, and served strict separating functions on the grounds of 'preserving health and infection, the preservation of morals, decency, and unsatiable desires [and allowed for] security against all types of annoyances ... [the purpose of separation and aggregation] ... reveal the pauper establishments as ... combining elements of the quarantine station, prison, school, hospital, nursing home, manufactory, and research institute.'[69]

In the centre of Adelaide, the asylum was in part a combination of a school, military barracks, hospital, immigration depot, prison, social laboratory, and manufactory.[70] The earliest regulations excluded able-bodied individuals from institutionalised relief, as this provision was directed to those who were sick and aged, or those deemed to be imbeciles or lunatics. Nevertheless, by 1871 able-bodied inmates received in-door relief in an institutional arrangement which had assimilated the regime of a prison. Daily practice appeared as follows: 'the Asylum bell [rang] five times a day: at 7am for able-bodied inmates to get out of bed; at 8am for breakfast; at 12 noon or 1pm on Sundays for lunch; for the evening meal at 5pm; and at 8.45pm, 'the lights being extinguished at 9 precisely'.'[71] In 1885 a Royal Commission into the functioning of the Destitute Persons Act described a 'hospital stay' in the asylum in terms of a prison sentence. Referring to the lying-in home and its six months of bonding practice whereby 'an unmarried woman who applied for admission to the Asylum's lying-in Home was required to sign an agreement to remain with her child at the Asylum for six months ... and nurse it,' the Commissioners proclaimed 'the six months detention without a break, within the dreary wards and yards of the Lying-in home, with no outlook beyond the high walls which surround them, and with occupations of washing day repeated daily from Monday to Saturday every week, must be quite as irksome and more tedious and monotonous than the same term of imprisonment in a goal.'[72]

The regulations 'permitted healthy female inmates to go out on Mondays at 11am. They

were expected to return to the Asylum by 4pm during the winter months of May to September. For the rest of the year they were permitted to stay out until 5pm. Except for persons of notoriously bad character, visitors were allowed between 2pm and 5pm on Wednesdays and inmates with children were allowed to see them for two hours between 12pm and 2pm on the last Monday of each month.'[73] Besides the carceral-like time constraints imposed on inmates discipline in the asylum was enforced by the internment of inmates in a 'prison barracks'. Its use was to ensure obedience to the officiating authority and unconditional subordination to the multiple interdictions and constraining regulations.

In a letter to the *Chronicle,* an ex-inmate broached the subject of the carceral texture of the asylum. 'As a rule there are not many complaints made, as a most effectual way is taken to stop them. If you complain you are put down to the barracks amongst the roughs, and liberty and tobacco stopped for six months. It is stated the bread is all that can be desired, whereas it has often been sour, bad-smelling, and unbaked, and often gives the inmates the heartburn ... Potatoes are nearly always unfit for human use. I speak from two years and 11 months experience.'[74]

The carceral texture of the asylum was also exemplified by the bodily ornament of destitution, or, as some newspapers preferred, the 'livery of the asylum', which was a distinctive blue-grey uniform. In what could only charitably be described as a case of studied blindness, Dickey dismisses as nothing more than 'a storm in a tea cup' the fact that inmates were made to publicly and privately acknowledge and identify themselves with a signification that produced on the flesh the inscription of destitution and ineligibility, a condition depriving the destitute of common dignity and personal liberty. In Dickey's words, this practice gave rise to, 'a storm in a teacup [which] arose in 1893 over the 'distinctive garb' worn in the Asylum. T. Brooker complained in the House of Assembly at what he regarded as the degrading uniformity of the clothing supplied, and called for a greater variety. Others rejected the idea of humiliation and preferred the potential power that the clothing issue yielded over 'bad characters'. The House supported Brooker: the Board simply remarked that, preferring the existing arrangement, they would await the direction of the government which never came.'[75]

Dickey's analysis of the 'clothing issue' ignores or simply misses the possibility that the

continued practice of having inmates wear the 'distinctive garb' of the asylum coalesced with Bentham's revived practice of 'badging' paupers. In Bentham's terms, making uniforms compulsory was not an infringement of dignity but a positive signification, such that 'the uniform was a sign of [the paupers'] station, it merely marks the class in which it finds the pauper, and thereby cannot be said to degrade him or her. Uniforms signify order, tidiness, recognition, and distinction.'[76] As a productive inscription of power, the uniform signified that 'by preferring not to labour, the pauper forfeits his treatment as a rational individual and hence his civil individuality and status as a worker.'[77]

Dickey's cryptic historical analysis ignores the disciplinary purpose of the uniform, a signification that weighs down the destitute body with what Foucault calls a semio-technique. The semio-technique uses the penalty of the sign. The penalty signifies the infraction in such a way as to direct each individual, who is treated as a rational subject, to associate the infraction with pain, in line with a hedonistic principle, where desired behaviour is tied to happiness and the avoidance of pain.[78] Thereby, the uniform as a spectacle of destitution on the streets of Adelaide mirrors the insidious objectification of the destitute in the public mind, such that, 'not the actual sensation of pain, but the idea of pain, displeasure and inconvenience - the "pain" of the idea of pain' is invoked and reinforces the certainty of punishment for the offence of destitution.[79]

Metonymically, the entire body of the destitute, in its public visibility, and as a technique of punitive signs, achieves the possibility of articulating the maximisation of the representation of the penalty of destitution, if not its corporeal reality. The uniform in its lateral effects has 'its most intense effects on those who have not committed the 'crime' [of destitution].'[80] Bearing the blue-grey uniform, the destitute body becomes a public signifier of penury, and a spectacle for the reproduction of a kind of penal semiotics, a truth which establishes a species of offence which is constantly visible, and represents a classification and an existence none can escape once they enter its domain.

Beyond Dickey's 'storm in a teacup', what the uniform achieved was 'a calculated economy of the power to punish', one which focused on the play of representation which instilled in the public mind the certainty of destitution and its condition of less eligibility. As a semiology it acted as a tool for inscribing itself on the mind, a surface of inscription

110

for a policy of coercions and calculated manipulation whereby the submission of bodies through the control of ideas was as Foucault suggests 'much more effective than the ritual anatomy of torture and execution.'[81]

Manufactory

As a 'manufactory' and site of experimentation, the asylum's bio-economic aim was such that labour conformed to the liberal fear of dependency on others. The asylum provided an experimental site for dealing with those outside the life-conduct of productive labour. In the hyper-administrative dimension of the asylum, the actual condition of labour contradicted the findings of the Royal Commission into the Destitute Act of 1881, regarding the light duties given female inmates. 'Those capable of work were employed in the women's trades of laundry work and sewing garments and furnishings. The laundry work alone, which included the washing from the Royal Adelaide hospital, earned the Asylum board nearly half the costs of running the Lying-in Department. The work was so strenuous that the women who worked in the laundry went on strike in 1888.'[82] The women who worked in the laundry and helped in the asylum's kitchen, and who made clothes for the inmates, were paradoxically in competition with the female workforce outside in the market place and those women ironically were driven into destitution in the workforce, by the very institution designed to prevent and alleviate the rise and condition of destitution.

In Geyer's account, this paradox is left unexplored. Why was this ironic composition possible given that it inverts the purpose of alleviating destitution and penury as opposed to perpetuating it? The answer lies in a new form of embodiment which Bentham's Industry House sought to instil, that is, the creation of a rupture in the classical distinction between the impotent and the useful poor. Everyone is set work in a mimetic arrangement which assimilates the laws of nature; 'the incapacity to work would become only a relative matter;' children are apprenticed at the earliest possible age, the blind are employed in knitting or spinning, the bed-ridden with inspection, and duties were even found for the insane.[83] In Bentham's grid of specification 'labour provides the indispensable point of reference for each classification ... At the origin of pauperism, and the knowledge of it, is the incapacity of individuals to obtain their subsistence by labour.'[84] In multiple ways, the asylum assimilated the thematics of Bentham's strategy and sought to engage inmates in

the act of moral constitution, so that labour becomes the objective expression of the adherence of moral subjects freed from the violation of inertia and rejection of the bio-economic necessity of exchanging one's labour for wages. However, as stated earlier, one of the unintended consequences of this programme was the accidental creation of further destitution for women and men in the market place.

Hospital and Social Laboratory

Infanticide and abortion were controversial issues in South Australia during the latter part of the nineteenth century. 'Unwanted children were strangled or suffocated at birth by co-operative midwives and buried as stillborns or handed over to babyfarmers who charged a weekly fee to care for, or dispose of, their charges.'[85] The murder of a newborn child could be disguised in many forms making detection very difficult. Other methods generally resorted to besides suffocation and strangulation included drowning, deliberate neglect, starvation, exposure, and throat-slashing. According to Summerling, 'dead newborn infants were found in places such as the Torrens, creeks, parklands, lanes, gardens, sandhills, beaches and earth closets.'[86]

The women most often detected were on their own, widows, deserted mothers and single women. Single unmarried mothers were at a considerable disadvantage in terms of employment, their swollen bodies stigmatised and telegraphed their immoral condition, and thereby, virtually negated the possibility of full-time employment. Infanticide and abortion were a means for such women to remain employable or at least remain competitive amongst the ranks of the unemployed. 'The cost of raising a child, loss of earning capacity during pregnancy, and the social stigma of bearing an illegitimate child drove an unknown number of women to illegal abortionists or to murder their new-born children.'[87]

The concern over infanticide and abortion led to the Destitute Person's Act of 1881 in South Australia, which 'introduced legislation that required the registration of foster-mothers designed to protect against infanticide and baby farming.'[88] The final report of the Royal Commission (1885) into the Destitute Act of 1881 examined the practice which required unmarried mothers and their infants to remain in the Lying-in Department until the child was six months old. A member of the Board, Mr. James Smith, had first suggested this practice to ensure that 'the child should be nursed by its own mother until

her maternal instincts are developed, and thus prevent infanticide and baby farming ... The Report listed the three main aims of the home - 'to assist destitute women in their confinement, to secure the nursing of the child by its mother, and to preserve the mother from a further lapse into immorality'.'[89]

The emergence of this new bonding practice created a logic that is ambivalently essentialist. Even though a deontic move, the split between the social and instinctive in women's birthing and bonding practice uneasily denaturalised a social space previously subsumed under a governing legitimacy of essentialism. The dislocation of the maternal instinct as an ontological referent occurred partly in response to 'the alarming claim that less than a fifth of the children born in the Lying-in Home survived to see their first birthday.'[90] Of equal concern was the unstated need to gain control over women's bio-power; that is, as Judith Allen argues, the demographic impact of women illegally aborting as a means of birth control.[91]

With the technique of management and training of the maternal instinct, women were placed in a field of objective visibility and hierarchical comparison behind the walls of the asylum. Women admitted to the Lying-in Department were divided into three categories: those who had only 'fallen' once were allowed to be placed with the married women; repeat offenders - those who had children before - and those suspected of being prostitutes. 'The women in each category were separated from the others and restricted to their own ward and yard.'[92]

These sequestered social spaces marked indices of social identity and signified on the bodies of these women the visible public ritual of a semio-technique. The women were subjected to the perpetual supervision of behaviour and tasks which specifically pledged and chained the new mother to an inevitable destiny consonant with a patriarchal aesthetic. The ambivalence and paradoxical quality of this project was that mothers to be, constructed by a patriarchal social order, were placed in a web of conventions and were subjected to a regime of maternal training which supposedly reawakened a dormant truth which coalesced with an apparently inexorable natural order - the procreative natural substrate of the female body.

The submission of the female body, a body inscribed and dominated by organic metaphors, was made possible by the newly instituted procedures for disciplining the maternal instinct, in and through masculine prohibitions and constraints. This surface of emergence antedated scientific motherhood and household management, as promoted by women themselves through institutions like The Adelaide School for Mothers, established in 1909 by Helen Mayo. Contra the authors of *Fresh Evidence, New Witnesses*, such schools were not responsible for initiating a radical shift in the transformation of women's birthing and bonding practice, but rather, merely followed a trajectory inaugurated by the patriarchal social managers of the asylum a quarter of a century earlier.[93]

The threshold of the limit of what could be spoken and thought regarding the practice of infanticide was made emblematically clear in an article in the *Observer*, titled 'Is It Murder?' and sub-titled 'By A Sympathizer.' The author of this account attempted to attenuate the aporia caused by the denaturalising practice of infanticide, stating that 'the exact number of cases of child murder can never be known. The old saw says murder will out. But it doesn't always. A mother's love is described as being the most perfect, humanly speaking. How then if this be so with a love so great, so perfect, can a mother take the life of her child, the so taking being so contrary to the feelings of protection of the offspring which the maternal instinct? What then causes this revolution of the natural and cultivated feelings which civilisation is said to produce? The beasts of the field will lose their lives to protect their young. Will, then, a human being take the life of her child, that which has been co-existent with her, part of herself? Yes, she will. She does.'[94]

In order to cover the disfiguring traces of an unthought - the possibility that a woman could, in a calculated and reasoned way, deliberately and premeditatively murder her own off-spring - the 'sympathiser' relegated the practice of infanticide to the domain of insanity. A woman can commit child murder, but 'not in her sane moments, but when driven into a state of frenzy, by shame, by privation, she may - she does. Imagine a poor unfortunate one who, perhaps, has not met with many troubles in the world, till this, her one great, lasting, never-ending one came, shunned by the partner of her sin, cast forth by her parents, all alone, in what is for her a world of desolation. The beautiful vista of her life, which a short time ago was a beauteous sight, is now a wilderness, strewn over with ashes of vice and sown with the bitter salt of tears and sorrow. Without money, no food,

114

perhaps without even shelter, scantily clad, unable to work. What wonder if the mental balance becomes disarranged and the child in her madness destroyed. Is it not an accepted fact that mad people have the greatest aversion to those who were most dear to them in their sane moments.'[95]

In charting the parameters of this particular discourse, its sentimental apology resonates with a delimitation which secures and preserves the ontological status of womanhood. A deep truth about women's nature is protected in this narrative, a truth which feeds the mind just beyond the reach of reason. By unsexing women in the domain of unreason, infanticide finds a site of admissibility wherein identity constitution shifts from the autochthonous to an aberration which denaturalises, in an acceptable cultural way, the conventions of a fixed and stable gender. It preserves motherhood as a positive, distinct and constitutive feature of female individuality.

This muted forbidden conduct of child-murder, carefully configured in a reason-madness nexus, represented a means of organising and articulating an experience in such a way as to effectively make silent the dim echoes of the unthought - the unsayable and unrepresentable. The thought that women could rationally and in a calculated fashion murder their own offspring breaks absolutely with the constituted ideal of motherhood, and calls into question women's bio-power, along with the organic associations between women and maternity, and its encumbered essentialism.

Coda

In South Australia during the latter part of the nineteenth century, 'the woman question' represented an attempt to reshape public definitions and attitudes concerning the complex processes of social differentiation which assigned, legitimated, and enforced qualitative differences between masculine and feminine embodiment. The fixed qualities of somatic differentiation which preserved a set of fundamental assumptions about the disposition of the female body were circumscribed by a dispositif which coalesced with a political form of embodiment established by the English Poor Law (1834). This liberal governmental-ethical practice was commensurate with a liberal logic mediated by conceptions of the female body in relation to an ontological order of motherhood and wifedom.

115

As an historical construct, the dispositif created the intricate texture of personal life as an artifact, as the determinate outcome of a complex and arbitrary constellation of cultural processes. As a privileged signifier of the feminine and the social formation of female subjectivity, the dispositif reflected culturally-defined conditions shaping the lives of women in opposition to the antagonistic forces which questioned the liberal rationality and social organisation of women's somatic idealisation. The dispositif served as a basis for organising and enforcing social gradients coinciding with normative liberal governmentality, and contributed to the stylisation of the female body, establishing a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congealed over time to produce the appearance of an ethical substance, a reproductive and dependent female spouse allied to a responsibilised male breadwinner.

In this project, the dichotomous positioning of gender created and advocated customs, manners, visible surfaces and daily transactions designed and composed in a model of aestheticism and ascetic practice. The condition of disciplinary power/knowledge agonistically contested the counter-actions of feminists, women's trade unions, and other reformist groupings. In turn, the reformist dimension attempted to generate a female individuation that would resist the eponymous fiction of female identity. It sought to create a subversive movement, an aporia, and a gendered indeterminacy in relation to a woman's right to work, achieve an education, and win suffrage.

Nevertheless, the Colonial press relegated women's identity to the realm of dependence and this found expression in hyper-allegorised forms that sought to link women with wifedom and domesticity. In the press, the female body was weighed down with multiple inscriptions: metonyms of nature and desire, infantilised thematics, and a structured allegoric - the anabolic and amphibious woman. This female morphology coalesced with a masculine aesthetic which relegated a woman's choice in determinate ways and held the key to a hermeneutics of the self which naturally complemented masculine attributes in the domain of liberal governmental-ethical practice. Repeatedly, in the press, the determinate outcome of women's desire and object choice was a woman's tendency to need and depend on men, and represented an expression of female individuation such that the specific representation of body language, facial expression, intuitive capacity, and general appearance could be claimed and coded as womanly. In this diegesis, women's visibility

116

was generally coded in a masculine discourse, and therein they disappeared in a mirror reflecting a patriarchal spectacle of women's seemless union with the propriety of male labour and their own allied somatic signification as mothers and dependents. In this signification, the locus of female individuation was such that the woman was not entirely in possession of a right to labour, and the labour of her body and the work of her hands were not properly hers.

Women's self-effacement in the colonial press served an aesthetics of existence and allowed for an act of subjectification which set male perspectives as a standard against which women were compared, such that women could adopt a masculine subject position and thereby identify and recognise themselves. Images of women in the popular press revealed the docility attached to the art of women's self conduct, as they self-reflexively chose the domain of unpaid work and homelife, in a line of exclusion delineated by a prediscursive essence (Nature). Pastoral agency and bio-politics in the press discountenanced bringing women into public affairs, and sought in an effort of programmatic reorganisation 'to return' the new fashioned girl to the province of wifehood and domesticity, a move which coalesced with the masculine aesthetic and mirrored the objectives of the English Poor Law.

As a polyvalent ensemble for governing destitution, and as a productive inscription of power, the asylum served a bio-political dimension which sought to govern and administer the lives of the destitute. Destitute women's birthing, nurturing and reproductive capacity were carefully monitored and regulated in an experimental fashion, along with their labour capacity and 'bio-demographic' responsibility.

The bio-political aim of the asylum assimilated the themes of Bentham's Industry Houses, operating and instilling an educated and disciplinary function, formed under patriarchal authority and organised around labour. Paradoxically however, in practice this work discipline created more destitution amongst those in the labour market. Through the insidious operation of a semio-technique, the asylum reflected, in the shape of a template, the practical equivalent of the knowledge of destitution, and the manifestation of such knowledge in concrete form.

117

Notes and References

1. Bacchi, C. 1986. 'The 'Woman Question' in South Australia.' in Richards, E. (ed.), *The Flinders History of South Australia*. Netley: Wakefield Press, p. 406.

2. See Magarey, S. Rowley, S. and Sheridan, S. (eds.), 1993. *Debutante Nation: Feminism contests the 1890s*. St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin.

3. *Ibid.*, Bacchi claims that the female workforce rose from 15.5 per cent female participation in 1871 to 19.8 per cent participation by 1891.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 4

5. *Ibid.*, p. 408.

6. See Hall, C. 1979. 'The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology.' in Burman, S. (ed.), *Fit work for Women*. London: Croom Helm. Allen, M. 1978. 'Woman's separate sphere.' *Unpublished paper*, University of Adelaide. Summers. A. 1975. *Damned Whores and God's Police*. Victoria: Penguin Books, Australia Ltd.

7. Bacchi, C. *op.cit.*, p. 406.

8. See - Knapman, C. 1993. 'Reproducing Empire: Exploring ideologies of gender race on Australia's Pacific frontier.' in Magarey, S. Rowley, S. and Sheridan, S. (eds.), *op.cit.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

10. *The Advertiser*, June 25, 1892.

11. *The Advertiser*, July 5, 1892.

12. *The Advertiser*, June 25, 1892.

13. *The Advertiser*, July 5, 1892.

14. Magarey, S. 1993. 'Sexual Labour: Australia 1880-1910.' in Magarey, S. Rowley, S. and Sheridan, S. (eds.), *op.cit.* p. 92.

15. Coghlan, T.A. 1893. *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia*. Sydney: E.A., Petherick and Co.

16. Magarey, S. *op.cit.*

17.   *Ibid.*, pp. 95-6.

18.   *Ibid.*, p. 98.

19.   *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.

20.   *Ibid.*, p. 97.

21.   *The Northern Argus,* April 14, 1893.

22.   *The Bunyip*, March 10, 1893.

23.   Foucault, M. 1975. *Discipline and Punish.* London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd. pp. 138-39.

24.   *The Northern Argus*, April 21, 1893.

25.   *Ibid.*

26.   *Ibid.*

27.   *Ibid.*

28.   *Ibid.*

29.   *Ibid.*

30.   *The Northern Argus,* September 23, 1892.

31.   See Bacchi, C. *op.cit.*, p. 405.

32.   *The Adelaide Observer*, July 16, 1892.

33.   *The Northern Argus,* August 5, 1892.

34.   *The Adelaide Observer,* October 22, 1892.

35.   *The Adelaide Observer,* November 26, 1892.

36.   *The Adelaide Observer,* December 24, 1892.

37.   Hamilton, P. 1993. 'Domestic Dilemmas: Representations of servants and employers in the popular press.' in Magarey, S. Rowley, S. and Sheridan, S. (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 72.

38.   *Ibid.*, p. 73

39.   *Ibid.*, p. 83.

40.   *Ibid.*, p. 84.

41.   *Ibid.*, p. 76.

42.   *The Adelaide Observer*, July 2, 1892.

43.   *The Adelaide Observer,* September 24, 1892.

44.   *The Express and Telegraph*, September 10, 1892.

45.   Allen, M. Hutchinson, M. and Mackinnon, A. 1989. *Fresh Evidence, New Witnesses.* Netley: South Australian Government Printer. p. 116.

46.   *The Express and Telegraph,* September 7, 1892.

47.   *The Express and Telegraph,* June 2, 1892.

48.   *The Advertiser, October 6, 1892.*

49.   *Ibid.*

50.   *Ibid.*

51.   *The Northern Argus*, September 9, 1892.

52.   *The Adelaide Observer,* October 15, 1892.

53.   Sinclair, W.A. 1981. 'Women at Work in Melbourne and Adelaide Since 1871.' *The Economic Record.* vol. 57, No. 159, pp. 345-6.

54.   *Ibid.*

55.   Walters, W. 1994. 'The discovery of 'unemployment': new forms for the government of poverty.' *Economy and Society.* vol. 23, No. 3, p. 272.

56.   *The Adelaide Observer*, October 15, 1892.

57.   *The Adelaide Observer*, October 8, 1892.

58.   *The Advertiser*, October 18, 1892.

59.   *Ibid.*

60.   *The South Australian Chronicle,* June 4, 1892.

61.   *The South Australian Chronicle,* February 4, 1892.

62.   *Ibid.*

63. *The Adelaide Observer,* December 31, 1892.

64. *The Adelaide Observer*, July 17, 1847. in Allen, M. Hutchinson, M. and Mackinnon, A. *op.cit.,* p. 15.

65. Dare, R. 1992. 'Paupers Rights: Governor Grey and the Poor Law in South Australia.' *Australian Historical Studies.* vol. 25, No. 99, p. 240.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Dean, M. 1991. *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a genealogy of liberal governance.* London: Routledge. p. 182.

68. Geyer, M. 1994. *Behind the Wall: The Women of the Destitute Asylum, Adelaide, 1852-1918.* Adelaide: Axiom Publishers. p. 20.

69. Dean, M. *op.cit.,* p. 183.

70. See - Geyer, M. *op.cit.,* and Parham, D. 1983. *Architecture of the Destitute Asylum.* Flinders University Art Museum.

71. Geyer, M. *op.cit.,* p. 21.

72. *Ibid.,* p. 43.

73. *Ibid.,* pp. 24-5.

74. *The South Australian Chronicle*, June 3, 1893.

75. Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources: A History of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836.* Adelaide: Wakefield Press. p. 126.

76. Dean, M. *op.cit.,* p. 190.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.,* p.184.

79. Foucault, M. *op.cit.,* p. 94.

80. *Ibid.,* p. 95.

81. *Ibid.,* p. 102.

82. Geyer, M. *op.cit.,* p. 28.

83. Dean, M. *op.cit.,* p. 184.

84.   *Ibid.*, p. 180.

85.   Davey, I. 1986. 'Growing Up in South Australia.' in Richards E. (ed.), *op.cit.,* p. 383.

86.   Summerling, P. 1985. 'The Darker Side of Motherhood: Abortion and Infanticide in South Australia 1870-1910.' *Journal of the History Society of South Australia.* vol. 13, p. 121.

87.   Geyer, M. *op.cit.*, p. 38.

88.   Summerling, P. *op.cit.*, p. 118.

89.   Geyer, M. *op.cit.,* p. 43.

90.   *Ibid.,* p. 41.

91.   Allen, J. 1986. 'Evidence and Silence: feminism and the limits of history.' in Pateman, C. and Gross, E. (eds.), *Feminist Challenges.* Australia: Allen and Unwin. pp. 182-3.

92.   *Ibid.*, p. 42.

93.   Allen, M. et. al., *op.cit.* p. 163.

94.   *The Adelaide Observer*, December 31, 1892.

95.   *Ibid.*

Chapter 4

Race and Unemployment: A late Nineteenth Century South Australian Perspective

In the late nineteenth century there was multiple attention given to difference, and this locus of concern was manifest in the web of comparisons which existed between European and Oriental in colonial Australia. As liberal governmentality was problematised by fierce debates, a finitude of limits was imposed on race relations by the deployment of a vast array of powers, among which included: unions, pastoralists, the State, farmers, miners and capital. This will to power was subsumed by what Said has termed Orientalism, an analytic of finitude which when examined allows for the possibility of diagnosing the organising trends of life, production and labour in relation to racialisation.[1] Orientalism can be defined as a regularity, a European vision 'stretching like a lighthouse beam through the whole nineteenth century; and at its light emanating center, of course, is "the Orient" [stretching from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to Indochina and Malaya].'[2] Orientalism represents a repertoire of grand generalisations and tendentious 'science' from which there was no appeal.[3] It explained the behaviour of Orientals, and 'supplied Orientals with a mentality, a genealogy, [and] an atmosphere.'[4] Orientalism manifested itself 'as a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient'; and it appeared as an intellectual power 'a library or archive of information unanimously held - bound - together by a family of ideas, a unifying set of values.'[5] Moreover, Orientalism, as a European representation of the Orient which imposes limitations on thought and action, established itself as 'a sign of European - Atlantic power over the Orient' and became 'an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness.'[6] The present chapter seeks to diagnose 'liberal governmentality' in relation to these kinds of racial issues, and aims to contribute to the on-going controversy which has been designated the 'Race Question'. The analysis seeks to foreground the research in the techniques of self, and the kinds of government which were instrumental in shaping the aesthetic idealisation of difference.

The Race Question

Markus claims that 'the explanation for the treatment of non-European immigrants in nineteenth Australia has been the subject of historical controversy since the mid-1950s.' [7] He asserts that general historical perspectives adopted in relation to the genesis of the White Australia Policy have included: the colonists' appraisal of the threat to living standards and national identity, irrational racial bigotry, and more recently, the notion that 'pre-existing racism must be the starting point in any explanation.' [8] In itself, the debate between Burgmann and Markus exemplifies the contentious circumstances surrounding elements of racism and racialisation in the colonial epoch of Australian history.

In Burgmann's Marxist analysis, racist ideology preaches to race rather than class loyalty, and thereby, 'working class racism confronts complex problems because it involves a journey into the realm of false consciousness.' [9] According to Burgmann, as victims of racist ideology, the 'working class' were reduced to helpless and dis-empowered objects of false consciousness precisely because: 'Racist ideology in any class ... arises not from the interest of labour but from the interest of capital; dominant ideologies express the interest of the dominant class.' [10] The 'working class' are placed in a position of misrecognition of their own interests because, according to Burgmann, racism 'is an especially virulent ruling class idea ... it continues to work in the interests of the capitalists' class ... [and] it self evidently divides the working class and lessens its resistance to exploitation.' [11] Burgmann's apologia for 'working class' racism, which claims that 'racism is generated in the interests of capital, not of labour,' paradoxically, runs counter to her own truculence and hostility against historical apologists, whom she castigates for underplaying the racialisation of Orientals by the labour movement, especially since they have 'tended to white-wash the Australian labour movement by arguing that its hostility to coloured immigrants was not racist but merely a legitimate concern for working class wages and conditions.' [12] Ironically, Burgmann, in effect, repeats the efforts of conservative historians in so far as she also seeks to invalidate the labour movement's racism. Burgmann's analysis could be construed as a kind of simplistic or vulgar Marxism. Contra Burgmann's work, there is a real need to expand the number of possible discursive sites and power relations which have played a part in the emergence of working class racism.

Markus's critique of Burgmann justifiably argues that her account reduces a number of complex issues to simple formulae. However, for Markus, 'racist ideology can hardly provide a sufficient explanation for the definition of outgroups.' [13] He claims that both Irish and Chinese immigrants 'were victims of mob violence, both encountered restrictions on their freedom to settle in certain parts of the goldfields, and both were subject to racist stereotyping. There were also calls for restrictions on the freedom of both groups to enter the colonies and actual discrimination in both cases.' [14] What Markus contends then is that other elements need to be prioritised besides racism, namely, economic competition and European 'experience' in respect to social interaction with the other. These views run counter to Burgmann's analysis on at least two levels, given that firstly, racism can be consigned a subordinate role, and secondly, that there existed insignificant difference in the racial discrimination experienced by both Anglo-Saxons and Orientals.

In reply to Markus, Burgmann argues that Markus shares with Geoffrey Blainey the unfortunate conviction that racism is caused by immigrants, and affects most strongly the members of the 'working class'. [15] As Burgmann puts it 'Markus insists the goldrush Chinese were welcomed at first before being rejected as economic competitors. In other words, the Chinese immigrants caused Australian racism; Markus blames the activities of the objects of prejudice for the creation of the prejudice against them.' [16] According to Burgmann, the weakness in Markus's analysis is that 'there was little the Chinese could do to make themselves welcome', and the contention Markus supports, that specific discriminatory acts which served to direct behaviour can occur independently of racism, is fundamentally flawed. As Burgmann suggests, the deficiency in Markus's argument lies in the fact that 'the Australians were ill disposed towards them [Orientals] from the outset, because they were racists, whether they understood the term or not.' [17]

This chapter aims to enter the controversial issues manifest in the 'race question' and seeks to contribute a corrective history in relation to a number of the key problematic perspectives therein. Rather than 'false consciousness' serving as a source of racism, this study seeks to demonstrate the emergence of a positivity, and, as well, endeavours to reveal how the exercise of Orientalist power shapes the constitution of subjectivity. This critique then is not intended as an investigation concerned with 'false consciousness' nor as a search for the 'truth' of discourses, but rather as a diagnosis of the production of truth

through power, the truth of power, which emerges as a will to truth that has definite consequences and impacts on human subjects. Moreover, there is no suggestion that ideology does not defend the ascendancy of established elites, rather what is contested is the notion implicit in the idea of 'false consciousness', that is, the existence of not only the possibility but the actuality of a 'genuine' truth which resides just beyond the reach of 'working class' consciousness. As well, in a some what different register, May's analysis of racism in north Queensland will also be contested. She asserts that anti-Chinese sentiment was nothing more than a kind of psychological aberration or a kind of unbridled greed free of racist overtones. She writes: 'In short, those responsible for a large proportion of anti-Chinese statements and actions were set aside by their unusual personality traits, while others were motivated by a self interest rather than a genuine dislike of the Chinese.' [18] Contra May, this chapter argues that racism is not a psychological abnormality but a cultural fact.

Ethical Substance: The governance and constitution of the Other

In Foucauldian analysis the Other is not just intersubjectivity but is an insistent double, an unthought which speaks to a theoretical site which is 'a shadow cast by man ... the blind stain by which it is possible to know him'. [19] The unthought is akin to the unconscious, veiled in silence but forming a limit beyond which actual knowledge is produced. Reflexive knowledge, a thought thinking itself, is delimited by the unthought, or the other, which when reflected on makes it possible to know oneself. The unthought is a social unthinkable imposing and defining the limit of socially acceptable thought and hereby thought is not the expression of an inner essence or truth but a practice in a complex set of relations.

The generic 'Man' Foucault speaks of, who emerges in the late eighteenth century, casts an anthropological shadow over the Oriental, a will to truth which Said has termed Orientalism. This style of thought which marks out and imposes limitations on thought and action - Orientalism - is a European representation of the Orient, 'an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the European and the Orient.' [20] Orientalism, as a productive power, is a distribution of moral, political, colonial, scientific and cultural discourse, creating the possibility for a calculated understanding, a will to truth, intended to manipulate and 'incorporate' what was manifestly different. In Said's terms,

Orientalism is a complex web of narcissism, textual attitude, imaginative geography, romanticism, scientific thinking (in terms of anatomy, philology, biology, phrenology, lexicology), scholarly work, and a simulacra of secular thought alongside unmistakable Christian tenets which allowed for a technique of difference, a means of putting all this into practice such that a techne of government which was beyond empiricism and which was deeply imbued with the 'anatomical and enumerative' was able to particularise and divide things Oriental into manageable parts.[21]

Tropical Labour and the Infantilised Other

At a low ebb during the depression in the early eighteen nineties, the South Australian government considered establishing a Tamil colony of some fifty families near Darwin (as South Australia had acquired the Northern Territory in 1863) with the idea that if successful there would follow further controlled emigration in order to service the labour shortage and aid economic development in the Northern Territory. This apparent conundrum which appeared in the desire for an 'Oriental colony' in the north during the heart of the depression in South Australia, when a large population of Anglo-Saxons were left unemployed, could in part' be explained as resulting from a belief that only Orientals could successfully labour in the tropics. European adaptability to the tropics had been problematised by the mortality experienced by Westerners on the African Gold Coast. [22] According to Curtin 'by the 1840s or 1850s, ... all rational assessments of the British failures on the Coast [West Africa] picked the "climate" as the single factor most seriously limiting any and all European activity.' [23] In South Australia, the Ayers government, after unsuccessfully attempting to settle yeomen farmers and labourers, after the fashion of Wakefield system of land colonisation abandoned the scheme due to 'numerous casualties from tropical diseases and the departure of numbers of families unable to tolerate the humidity of the 'wet' season.' [24] Equally, the tropics were synonymous with barbarism as opposed to civilisation in the nineteenth century. Even 'progressive' anthropology in the latter part of the nineteenth century allowed a space' 'for the "moral" influence of climate,' that is, an ecological cause of barbarism was tropical exuberance, such that a land of plenty was not conducive to hard labour or civilising 'rational' labour and productivity. [25] Robert Knox, in the Races of Man (1850), had conceded 'a very important role to climatic environment. Europeans could flourish only in Europe [as] ... The future of the Europeans in the tropical world was still more in doubt.' [26] In the nineteenth century, culture and

language were fused with racial traits racialisation was also tied to nature via a geographical and climatic (natural) environmentalism. According to Miles, climate was 'believed to determine not only phenotypical features of the African but also cultural characteristics.' [27] This was a determination with its antecedence in the eighteenth century, a time when the state of society and habits of living were believed to be determined by the climate.

The natural climatic substrate which demarcated a domain of labour between the temperate European and the tropical Oriental was increasingly problematised in the South Australian Press in the early eighteen nineteens. In other words, this kind of geographical space, which was, as Said suggests, 'partly political, partly doctrinal, and partly imaginative,' [28] experienced an agonistic tension in the press in the late nineteenth century. Given the economic exigencies of the depression and the responsibalisation of liberal governmentality the debate, in part, turned on the essential adaptability of the European in the tropics and their ability to labour in 'exotic' regions. As Miles asserts, environmentalism presupposes transformation and transcendence, such that the implication of the environmentalist argument implies that racial characteristics attributed to a particular group are, in principle, subject to modification. [29] In other words, environmentalism indicates that human nature is adaptable, and therefore implies that it might be possible to remove a subject from the influence of the tropics, and perhaps 'civilise' this individual in a temperate European zone. As well, environmentalism assumes that even Europeans might adapt in the topics. It was precisely this kind of thematics which surfaced in the South Australian press.

In a letter to the editor of the *Chronicle,* one correspondent wrote, in relation to European labour in the Northern Territory, that the 'Anglo-Saxon race is adaptable ... is capable of adapting itself to climatic changes, and its members can conform to the climate of tropical or semi-tropical countries in a few generations.' [30] Another writer, while disagreeing with some who argued that it was 'common sense' that laborious work in the tropics was suited only to 'Asiatics', confirmed that 'whites' can work in the tropics as hard as coolie labour, and asked of another correspondent: 'Will "common-sense" deny that a good white man at high wages is as good as a coolie at low wages?' [31]

The points of diffraction in this discourse were suggestive of the perpetual state of accommodation and conflict regarding European attitudes towards the Oriental. In the domain of newspaper discourse of the early eighteen nineties, it was possible to discern a guarded, morally sanctioned, racially ordered and paternalistic approval of the Tamil (Indian), while simultaneously there existed a counter-discourse which couched its objections to the emigration of Tamils in terms of a perceived threat in labour competition from the East, as well as a fear of rapid population growth, and the unregulated movement of large numbers of Orientals. For instance, a letter to the *Chronicle*, stated confidently that 'The nature of India differs in every respect from John Chinamen in lack of versatility or enterprise; and being a conservative of the conservatives, and provided only "agriculturalists" from the country districts are selected by some one who knows what he is about, there is not the least fear of their spreading all over the colonies. Each Tamil "caste" ... as a rule knows nothing beyond, and has no desire to deviate from the path of its ancestors; the agriculturalist is in no way likely to compete in the "trades" against the white man. The Tamil agriculturalist is steady and industrious and though differing from our code of morals, is infinitely superior to the Chinaman in this respect; and though not perhaps the ideal of cleanliness ... if properly supervised ... there is nothing to prevent him being a success in this.' [32] Even the conservative *Northern Argus* could approve of Tamil labour in the tropics, stating in an editorial during the heart of the depression that coloured labour was acceptable as long as it was regulated and did not produce too much pressure on European labour. As the paper put it: 'The Northern Territory question may be brought within a small compass if it is to prosper, and an impetus given to tropical agriculture, colored cheap labor must be introduced ... [and] it is most essential that something should be done. If it is thought that a better class of labor can be procured in India by all means let it be had. There need not be much difficulty in regulating the colored labor market so as to prevent undue pressure on European labor.' There was no real concession granted European labour in terms of working in the tropics, particularly in relation to agriculture, since in an editorial seven days later the paper declared that 'people speak loudly about the practicableness of the tropical portion of the colony being worked by Europeans, but they are not doing it, and never will. The wages of a white population are so much higher than what would satisfy colored labor, that to employ the former would make tropical agriculture unprofitable.' [33] While this discourse paid homage to an Australian orientalism and displayed a number of pejoratives, its approving tone was confronted by texts which

directly countenanced dividing practices. Under the heading 'Coolie Settlement in Northern Territory', the *Chronicle,* reporting the *Melbourne Age*, recited an account by a journalist who proclaimed in anti-environmentalist terms that coloured labour would have to be used because 'white men cannot, and would not if they could, endure the physical exhaustion inseparable from fieldwork in the tropics.' Even so, this report declared that it would be a 'great mistake' if South Australia pursued the notion of coolie settlement in the Northern Territory, 'about the greatest mistake any Government could commit.'[34]

The report also warned the colonisers of being colonised, because it was stated that 'it is expected [that the coolie] will be willing to work regularly and steadily at whatever employment is offered them, the Territory is to be settled by coolie immigrants and become in time a small India.'[35] Furthermore, the idea of permanent settlement was portrayed as abhorrent because it was considered that 'if [settlement was] persevered [it] will prove a curse instead of a blessing.' As well, in this critical reflection on the possibility of coolie settlement it was stated in terms of an axiomatic truth that 'the Coolie is a fairly good worker when he knows he is under an obligation to work, but he is only an overgrown child in many things. And like most children who inhabit sunny climes [the tropics] he has a good deal of laziness in his composition [tropical exuberance], and is rather prone to indulge in the pastime of doing nothing.' The report went on to suggest that the infantilised coolie required a detailed contractual work arrangement given their immanent propensity to "rest": as when 'he takes it into his head to "have a rest" ... in that mind he sets a high price on his labor. If he can be prevailed on to work when he is in the mood to loaf you will have to tempt him by offering extra pay. He is a master of the situation and he knows it.'[36]

The report, undergirded by the above diagnosis, advocated pastoral concerns and detailed a table of requirements of what a coolie labour contract should entail, and this included: how many working days a year, how many holidays, the quantity of daily rations, the amount of money per month, and insurance that the engagement has passed before a magistrate. A five year contract means, stated the report, five years work, three hundred working days means fifteen hundred days of work, and any absence can be made up on the expiration of the contract, as after all, 'he would not be a true coolie if he were not sometimes absent at roll call.' Also, a panoptic gaze was required, a permanent state of

transparent authorial vision which embodied restrictive dimensions, a pastoral power which sought to know the Oriental through certain rituals of examination and techniques of government. Upon the introduction of coolie labour in the Northern Territory, the report insisted that 'on no account whatever will they be permitted southward beyond certain limits' and that each engagement should be passed before a magistrate in India, and each contract of service should be entered into the books of the immigration department such that 'in this way even if 50,000 coolies were at work in the colonies the whereabouts and the movements of every man could be known to the authorities.' The passage and regulation of Oriental labour would be subject to a semio-technique of gendered internal restrictions. This was affirmed in so far as 'the Territory would be divided into convenient districts, and no indentured coolie would be allowed outside the boundary of his particular district without a "pass", signed by his employer or some person deputed by him. The police had the power to call for the production of the "pass" of any Indian suspected of being "out of bounds", and to arrest any man actually found to be so. Of course women and children do not require passes ... there would thus be a regular influx and efflux of labor, the current of which would be regulated by the demand.' Alongside this semio-technique, a rabid exclusionist sentiment was expressed in that 'if they [South Australia] introduce coolie families in numbers sufficient to cultivate the farms in the Northern Territory they must take care that the people *do not permanently settle there*. That is a mistake that is to be avoided at all costs. Better far to leave the land uncultivated at all than that. These people are aliens in race, religion, language, habits, modes of thought - in everything, and they are prolific to a degree only conceivable when we remember that 12 is a marriageable age. Once settled two or three colonies of them and in 50 or 100 years what will be seen?'[37]

In support of the above Orientalist discourse, a letter to the editor of the *Chronicle* addressed the South Australian government's proposed settlement of Indian coolie labour in terms of a popular Orientalist understanding which attached itself to the naturalness of race, an animalism and infantilisation of the other, and a notion of Oriental dependence and intelligence which indelibly signified inferiority, as well as a presupposed need for paternalistic supervision. The writer stated that 'like all Asiatics the coolie is essentially a dependent animal, and it is necessary for him to look up to his employer, for he is in many ways a grown-up child, but if treated with justice and honesty he never grumbles at

discipline, and an employer whose word he has learnt to trust can never have a more willing and devoted servant than Rama Sawmy [Indian labour].' The correspondent went on to suggest, however, that coolie labour was not capable of independent settler status as 'he is not built that way, but is by nature a heaver of wood and drawer of water for others; he would be quite incapable of understanding the position as a settler on a level with his white neighbours, neither would he appreciate the dignity conferred on him.' Accordingly, the author of this letter declared that the coolie 'has always regarded his European master as far his superior; in fact, one of his most common sayings - when in any trouble he seeks redress of a grievance or advice from his employer - is "You are my father and my mother, you must help me." As a settler he would be worse than useless, incapable of holding his own, and an easy prey to the sundowner, who would play the mischief with him and his settlement.'[38]

At the meeting point between representation and being, the grid of specification applied arrested plurality and difference between Orientals while simultaneously difference became the same thing as identity for the European. This paradoxical caesura, or severance, led to a particular form of social cohesion whereby the Oriental, as an object interminably divided and alienated from the sovereignty of Anglo-Saxon nature and superiority, and as an entity fixed in a collectivity secured by an Orientalist text, insured that a process of European inclusion justified the exclusion of the Other. In other words, the Oriental provided a means by which to mark the identity and difference of the Occidental.

An extensive rupture begins to emerge in these competing discourses between the responsibilised Anglo-Saxon and the infantilised, feminised, and environmentalised Oriental. Especially in terms of unemployment and labour, one is rational and responsible, freely accepting contractual terms, and the other is irrational, irresponsible and indulgent in terms of tropical exuberance, requiring supervision akin to the idle Europeans who were victimised by a well known list of pejoratives and other sanctions requiring grids of specification and authorities of delimitation. Similarly, the Oriental was apparently in need of an indentured contract reflecting a requirement of controlled obligation, tutelage, and pastoral care under a panoptic gaze which regulated interdictions, movement and passage from place to place via both a semio-technique and a bio-limit.

132

The tension between accommodation and conflict was a commonplace in press reports of the last decades in nineteenth century South Australia: not only Tamils (Indian) but the Chinese experienced this ambivalent attitude. In September 1887, the *Register*, for example, argued that even though the Chinese were 'not the most desirable form of labour', they were the 'best that could be obtained for the North and should not be discouraged' as there was no 'danger in the country being overrun to any alarming extent with the Chinese. There is room in the Territory for more Celestials than have entered it.' [39] However, by the early months of 1888 the same paper was vehemently opposing Oriental immigration; as Markus asserts, 'the paper was urging united action by the colonies to regulate Chinese immigration. 'In April 1888, the *Register* declared 'the problem of how to deal with the Chinese has become for Australia the burning question of the hour. Desultory discussion and tentative proposals which have been common enough for the last twenty years have all at once given place to a definite and general resolve to set the matter at rest once and for all.' The "matter" was manifestly made clear by September of the same year when the paper proclaimed 'that it was the duty of the Australian people to look after their own race; after all, we are in Australia for the purpose and the intention of advancing our own race.' [40]

The agonism outlined in the above newspaper reports are made comprehensible, in part, when it is recalled that politico-medical discourse at this time problematised European participation in the tropics. For example, 'Mr. Knox (Free Trade, Victoria) [claimed] the support of medical opinion, [and] asserted that in the north children of manual labourers [Europeans] were relatively unhealthy and if there was a continuance of heavy physical labour by Europeans, the third generation would become sterile. The choice confronting the nation was to allow the employment of non-European labour on decent, respectable terms, or to allow the whole of the northern territory above a certain latitude to revert to a state of nature.' [41] In the imaginative geography of Australian Orientalism, the tropics were a site problematised by an ambivalent tension. On the one hand, by the need for accommodation of the Oriental, based on the tropics hostile and uninhabitable environs for Europeans, and on the other by the need to deal with European unemployment during the depression. Therefore, the demarcation of the tropics in terms of European adaptability was problematised as the ontological stability of Orientalist assumptions came under critical review. However, as late as 1901, the *Register,* campaigned tenaciously for

Oriental labour in the Northern tropics - but with the caveat that racial segregation should underpin the social arrangement. The paper reasoned that 'nature had absolutely barred Europeans from manual labour in the tropics. Australia's blackman zone needed to be developed 'by the employment of the only labour for which it is fitted. The dream of equality would have to be quashed and society established in which a European master class would superintend the activities of 'coloured' labourers while European women, freed from the drudgery of household work by a host of servants, would lead a life of leisure. Under such circumstances there would be no fear of racial degeneration nor of intermixture.' [42]

Science and Dichotomised Humanity

The legacy of natural science from the eighteenth century was expressed and represented in the nineteenth century as an aesthetic idealisation of species. This represented a figuration of finitude signified by modernity, which, as Foucault suggests, 'begins when the human being begins to exist within his organism, inside the shell of his head, inside the armature of his limbs, in the whole structure of his physiology.' [43] The consequence of positivism (where the truth of discourse is defined on the basis of the truth of the object) and eschatology (where objective truth proceeds from "man's" discourse) leads modernity unavoidably, to the formation of a naive discourse wherein generic "man," according to Foucault, appears 'as a truth both reduced and promised.' [44]

In the *Order of Things,* Foucault relates that in the eighteenth century 'the natural sciences dealt with man as with a species or genus: the controversy about the problem of races in the eighteenth century testifies to that.' [45] The legacy of this 'controversy' is most apposite in explaining the numerous dividing practices which were applied in juridical, medical, legislative and scientific practices, and equally well affirms the perspicuous horizon of Oriental existence and identity in colonial Australia.

Ghettoisation: The Leprosarium and Burials

During the depression of the early eighteen nineties techniques of racial prohibition in Queensland were imposed on those who were perceived to be victims of leprosy. According to Robertson, the public health debate which raged in Queensland during 1892 focussed on leprosy and contagion and in many respects paralleled the race debate with its

concerns focussed on the need to resolve issues of segregation or accommodation. The agonism prevailing around leprosy, its communicability in relation to public health eventually gravitated in a similar direction to the race question, that is, towards a resolution which focussed on an exclusionist principle.[46]

In Robertson's analysis, the whole tenor of race relations can be discerned in the prohibitive laws which applied to lepers, that is, the instances of order, semi-judicial interdictions, the stigma and procedures of control, and the invention of a site of constraint in a prison of moral order. Coloured lepers were placed on a penal island (Dayman, off the Queensland coast) and once located there were confined for life.[47] Even though there were some redemptive imperatives in government policies, in terms of introducing a measure of virtuous employment, the pressing need to protect the public, however, triumphed, and the lepers were returned to idleness. According to Robertson, this outcome significantly demarcates a boundary between a domain of rationality and the exile of the leper. The reasonable society which sorts and categorises, incarcerates the leper in the hope that the heinous disease will disappear across a wall of water. In a conjunctural sense, this demarcation represents the frontier between not only health and illness but the European and the other such that the determinations by the positive discursive formations of reason are organised to protect, in an intense form, the manifestation of a pure society.[48]

In Queensland, segregation reflected the prevailing scientific view with its expressions of racism, and these in turn were raised to the level of policy pronouncements. Coloured lepers were disallowed from migrating to the southern colonies and, moreover, those exiled to Dayman Island were settled as a homogeneous 'coloured' group. This group was decisively signified as other by race, such that the fetishes of an autochthonous national character, established as Occidental, asymmetrically demarcated the antipodal Oriental in the hope that the latter would vanish from public view. As Robertson puts it, 'the awareness of the other became the impulse to confine and control the contaminating threat - there was no hope of the leper returning to the city of reason.' [49] In short, the leper like the Oriental must be made to disappear.

A certain symmetry can be drawn between the exile of those on Dayman Island and the internment of Yow Low, at Roebourne, Western Australia in 1882. Yow Low had been

135

buried in hallowed Christian ground alongside Europeans and this triggered a town controversy. Accordingly, 'to appease those who complained, the Resident Magistrate requested the government fence off a portion of the cemetery for Yow Low's corpse. This area could then be used for any other 'pagan burials.' The resident magistrate noted his disapproval of such anti-Chinese sentiments which he considered 'narrow and unreasonable in a district whose property owners were increasingly introducing Chinese 'for the sake of gain'.' Furthermore, he observed, 'the race is not unacceptable in the light of animals who can work and who can thereby enrich the Christian Europeans, but that he is not to be regarded as sharing a common humanity.' [50] In spite of the disapproval regarding anti-Chinese sentiments, this was an example of the kind of reasoning by which the Oriental was subjected to a scientific distantiation , a space which subordinated the idea of human being to that of nature, or more accurately, the science of biology to that of ideology. This manifestation of human being elicited a sentiment of apology from a journalist of the Cairns Post (1899), he stated: 'Perhaps no class of men evoked less sympathy than the Chinese. Schooled as we are to look upon them as little better than beasts of burden, we sometimes fail to realise that these men are capable of feeling as deeply as we do.' [51] This form of classification and ordering ensured an ironic enclavisation whereby even 'the small number of Chinese who had adopted a Christian religion were, for the most part, also not accepted in death. With a few exceptions they were still buried in the Chinese part of their local cemetery.' [52]

In South Australia, the *Observer*, printed excerpts from the Northern Territories *Christian Weekly,* in which the Reverend W.A. Milliken propagated similar significations of the Oriental and their unassimilable nature. After bemoaning the apparent fact that the gold extracted by the Chinese largely left the country, the Reverend declared that the Chinese 'will not suffer us to have the benefit of their bones (not that we have any particular desire to have their remains); but does it not show an undying love for the Flowery Land, and there one purpose to return to it dead or alive?' [53]

Geopolitics: Territorial Limits and Oriental Unemployment

On 25 June 1892, the *Observer* recounted the perceived problems associated with Chinese migration and the 'coloured labour question'. The paper stated that 'it has been ascertained that not scores but hundreds of the Chinese have made their way south-

eastward, and have essayed to cross the borders of Queensland. Their passage has, however, been disputed by the agents of the Government of that colony, who will on no account permit Queensland soil to be polluted by the foot of these Mongolian emigrants.' The cause of this displacement and Oriental unemployment was placed, in an understated manner, at the feet of the South Australian government. The paper asserted that 'it is a noteworthy coincidence that one of the leading members of the present Ministry was in office when permission was given to the contractors for the Capital Pine Railway to introduce Chinese to carry out that work. It is alleged that this act is answerable for the presence in the Territory of more of the subjects of the Flowery Land than can find a living there. How far this is true we do not know, ... but ... to relieve themselves of the risk of odium in grappling with the coloured labour question by leaving it alone, ... is the device of cowardice, and not statesmanship. The Chinese difficulty in the Territory, which is now being so unpleasantly forced upon the notice of our rulers, is more or less bound up with the coloured labour difficulty, and both should receive immediate attention.' [54]

The *Observer* also related the juridical interdictions which had been employed in containing and delimiting the migration of the 'Celestials'. Reporting the *Register,* the paper recited from a Brisbane telegram 'that a number of Chinese, who had crossed the Border from the Northern Territory, had been treated in a most inhuman way by the Magistrate at Camooweal. The message stated that the Celestials had been deported across the Border to face stages of 50 and 100 miles without the hope of food or water, and that they asked the police to shoot them rather than turn them adrift in that way.' [55] The *Express and Telegraph,* under a news heading titled 'The Chinese Exodus', sensationally recounted how 'the Chinese from the Northern Territory' were 'coming in thousands, and they are certainly coming in hundreds.'[56]

An editorial in the *Advertiser* reflected the general tone of press comment with regard to the perceived need to establish a mechanism for racial demarcation. In a seemingly humanitarian tone the editorial commented on the paradoxical nature of border control by Queensland: 'When the question lies between shooting, starving, or feeding hungry destitute Chinamen there is no doubt as to which alternative will be chosen. The law of Queensland requires the expulsion of such undesirable immigrants, but to execute it just now at Camooweal would be to commit murder on an extensive scale. Of course the law

will be set aside in the interests of common humanity, but the Chinese exodus from the Northern Territory places the Queensland government in a singular and awkward position. The northern colony is threatened with an incursion of aliens across the western border to which it strongly objects, while it is arranging for the importation of aliens into its eastern ports in defiance in the general opinion of the people of this continent. [The editorial, then went onto report that] the settlement of persons of an inferior race is sure to be fraught with evil results whether it be in Queensland, the Northern Territory, or anywhere else; and whether the persons be Polynesians, coolies or Chinese.' [Allowing aliens entry would only lead to] 'terrible mutual injury': The resilience of an alien race was equally not to be underestimated as 'the unfortunate Chinese who have undergone the fearful hardships of a thousand mile march to the Queensland border furnish revelations that should not be forgotten. Repelled, threatened, arrested, hunted, and starving, there was the grimness of despair in their intensely pathetic request to be shot out of hand.'[57]

Applying the organic and unchangeable determinants of biological necessity expressed in the science of the nineteenth century, the editorial went on to outline the setting of a racist exclusionary society, which, contra the historians tied to the exigencies of the labour market, transcended the primacy of those market forces: 'The rough and ready objection to the introduction of coloured labour into any part of Australia is that it will injure the working classes by under selling them in the labour market. Many people deemed this quite sufficient and do not trouble about further reasons, but lying back of it there is one greater force. A foreign element in the body politic is as certain to be harmful as a foreign body in the physical frame. It is utterly impossible to build up a strong and progressive nation unless it be homogeneous throughout. It would be a fatal weakness to have a dominant caste and a servile section of the community. Yet this is what the introduction of aliens must necessarily involve. [Moreover] ... a class that cannot be absorbed into the general mass of the community must always be a difficulty of the first magnitude, and if it is inferior in general character it is bound to have a deteriating affect on the whole. Such always has been the case and always will be. Hence the objection to colored labor is not selfishness, but by humanity and patriotism, reinforced by due respect for invariable natural laws.'[58]

In turn, the *Chronicle* bemoaned the Chinese exodus because of the threatened costs to the Queensland government. Deporting the Chinese in terms of the act and the costs attached, the paper reasoned, would put the government to inconvenience or the six months imprisonment imposed if the Chinese were not 'imported' would only suit the Oriental because 'If destitute [this would be] their preferred option over deportation.' [59] Likewise, the *Chronicle* demonstrated a pastoral concern relating to the "Kanaka traffic" and grounded its objections in similar arguments used by the *Advertiser*. Under the heading 'Colored Labour', the paper stated that 'It is not fair to ascribe the objection to colored labour to selfishness [that is, a selfish and exclusive white labour market] or any other narrow feeling.' Especially since it was assumed that: 'Despite all that is said about the advantages to be gained by fostering the sugar industry in the northern colony [Queensland], the general conviction cannot be shaken that the introduction of alien labor will be a curse instead of a blessing. [The report then introduced an expert, whose enunciative modality was meant to lend credence to the argument.] Dr. Kate Bushnell quoted an aphorism the other day to the effect that an evil can never be a necessity ... Nations cannot afford to ignore true principles of action any more than individuals ... It is sheer nonsense to talk, as Sir G.F. Garrick seems to have at the Queeenslander's banquet in London, of an industry revived by the employment of kanaka labor for a term of years ... It would take the entire population of a Pacific Archipelago to rehabilitate an enterprise of such magnitude, and the withdrawal of the cheap labor would be followed by an immediate collapse of the industry.' [60]

The *Chronicle's* humanitarian sentiment expressed in redemptive pastoral terms were undergirded by a principle of exclusion based on the centrality of the category of race as opposed to labour market forces. The paper reminded its readership that the seven to ten thousand Melanesians who had died in Queensland while working for 4d. a day had been selectively recruited given that 'recruiting agents only select the strongest and healthiest of the islanders.' Moreover, the public was also reminded that the Curator of Intestate Estates held '22,920 pounds belonging to deceased kanakas,' and this was graphically underscored by a spectacle in which 'kanaka traffic' was portrayed as 'steeped in deception, human suffering, and bloodshed ... the kanaka laborer's life is a form of slavery, the plantation hands being regarded as chattels and a part of the plant estate for which they

are engaged. Endless demoralisation and injury to the laborers are bound to be an accompaniment to the system.'[61]

South Australian newspaper accounts concerning the Chinese on the perimeter of the Queensland border, who reportedly were demanding their own annihilation following the 'exodus' from the Northern Territory, presents itself as not only a tableau vivant of how scientific knowledge functioned as a form of power but also as a kind of exemplar for the differentiated geo-politics which positioned the unemployed Oriental within an intense registration of repressive rationality. The techniques of racial prohibition crystallized into a form of distinctive violence which contrasted sharply with the pastoral concerns governing the territorial movements of unemployed Europeans as outlined in chapter two. The scientific and social expression of racism which ascribed racial characteristics to others, in turn, connected racism to the process of restricting Orientals from the labour market.

A number of intercolonial conferences from 1880 to the mid 1890s were used as a means of providing an organising direction in relation to the 'question' of coloured labour. In general the conferences achieved considerable agreement on issues of Chinese emigration and on the rights of colonies to determine their own population.[62] They established an asymmetry with clear limits in relation to Orientals. However, a number of racial interdictions were sometimes modified, abandoned or adopted, but, nevertheless, the general strategic aim was to remove foreseeable ambiguities when it related to a developing nationalism in pursuit of organic unity.

Following the intercolonial conference of late 1880, the South Australian government implemented a number of specific interdictions relating to the Chinese. The government fixed 'a boundary between the Northern Territory and South Australia proper (eventually designated as a line 1000 miles north of Adelaide) across which Chinese could pass southwards only if they paid the 10 pound entry tax.'[63] The Conference itself had raised a number of legitimating protocols, namely, the need for internal restrictions, the denial of naturalisation and franchise, and restrictions on free movement as well as the choice of occupations.[64] By 1885 the South Australian government 'had ruled to give 'Asiatic aliens' [in the Northern Territory] Miners Rights' to selected areas and prohibited them

from working in the fields for two years.' After these legislative restrictions Europeans took up the 'lucrative practice to tribute a lease to the Chinese and take a cut of the profit.' [65]

By 1888 the South Australian government resolved to precipitate action in relation to heightened fears that the Chinese intended to move southwards. 'Asian ports, including Hong Kong and Singapore, were declared infected, forcing ships from these areas to undergo quarantine for 21 days before discharging passengers. Without the approval of parliament, the government declared the all Chinese arriving in the Territory were to pay a poll tax of 20 pounds and that Chinese venturing more than two hundred miles south of Darwin were to pay a similar tax. It was not made clear how the imaginary border was to be policed.' [66]

The Chinese had been deprived of the franchise in South Australia in 1882 and one year earlier in Victoria. Political sanctions were carried out across the colonies: 'In 1888 New South Wales legislated to prohibit further naturalisation of Chinese, while at the same time Victoria and South Australia achieved prohibition by administrative means ... South Australia was the only colony that gained the support of both houses, the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council, to enact discriminatory legislation, directed chiefly against Oriental hawkers and carriers.' [67] When naturalisation was permissible in the colonies its implementation had been in general highly restrictive. As the *Register*, reporting the *Melbourne Argus*, recounted a dense pastoral practice was implemented in relation to naturalisation papers and the concerns expressed by the unions. Under a heading titled 'Precautions Against Chinese Immigrants,' the paper disclosed in an intense registration of pastoral concern, that: 'Every naturalized Chinese who leaves the colony of Victoria ... with the intention of returning presents the State with his portrait, and one copy of it affixed to his naturalization paper. In addition to this the paper is branded in a mysterious manner, and other devices are adopted by the authorities to ensure identification. Formerly the papers were marked with pen and ink, but this was found to be a mistake, and now holes with secret meanings are bored through the parchment; and so careful is the permanent head of the Customs Department that, even when the naturalisation papers and the portrait are considered as bona fide, the holder is not passed until tested as to his knowledge of the part of the colony in which he formerly lived, and

his knowledge of the English language and money coinage. The Trades Hall should therefore be satisfied that the law is strictly enforced, and that there is no necessity for one of its representatives to examine the Chinese as was proposed some time ago.[68]

The South Australian government followed the sentiments of Victorian parliamentarians in relation to voting rights. According to Price, the Victorians who in 1880 opposed the Chinese franchise did so by applying the following arguments: 'that the Chinese did not exercise an independent political judgement but voted as their headmen told them; that some Chinese headmen sold the votes under their control; that these headmen organised fraudulent voting by arranging for Chinese who had already voted to walk straight out of the polling booth, changed their coats and hats, and come back to vote for a Chinese absent in China or elsewhere. The major argument, however, was that the Chinese, by nature or upbringing, were quite incapable of understanding democratic procedures and should, unlike other aliens, be denied all part in the law-making process.' [69] In turn, South Australia denied the franchise to Orientals in the Northern Territory, the act of 1882 stated: 'no person brought in the Northern Territory of the province of South Australia under the provisions of the Indian immigration act, 1882, shall be qualified to vote in the election of members to serve in the Parliament of the said province, and no person residing in such Northern Territory shall be qualified to vote unless he be a natural-born subject of Her Majesty, or a naturalised subject of Her Majesty of European nationality.'[70]

By 1896 three of the colonies had implemented a dictation test restricting Oriental immigration and this 'language test' acted as a prototype for the 1901 White Australia Policy. In South Australia discriminatory legislation continued to be applied. 'Under the South Australian Licensed Hawkers Amendment Act of 1898, licences were only granted to applicants who had resided in the colony for two years and who had sufficient command of the English language to carry on their trade, while municipal councils were given wide powers to control licensing.' [71]

Humane Rationale and Objective Hierarchies

Historians have not recognised or have simply ignored the deep underlying scientific rationality and Orientalism which gave rise to the use of a language test. Their focus has concentrated on the 'test' as a kind of appeasement designed to ameliorate possible

violations in treaty agreements and forestall any foreseeable problems arising in East - West relations, given that Australia had initiated a restrictive immigration policy. The Immigration Act of 1901 declared that 'any person who failed a dictation test of 50 words in a European language could be declared a prohibited immigrant.' [72] As a racist technique, the act targeted Orientals and justified differential distributions or treatment in a direct relation to the provenance, authority and institutions of science. Historians have not comprehended that the strategic mechanism and techniques applied within the parameters of the Act attached themselves to an Orientalism which carried forward in the nineteenth century 'a newly found self-consciousness based on linguistic importance of the Orient to Europe' and 'a proclivity to divide, subdivide and redivide without changing perspectives about the Orient as the Same.' [73] Scientific classification offered an ideal model of rationality in which philology participated, creating a mechanism of examination and allowing the other to be placed in a field of objective visibility and hierarchical comparison. In the colonial period, Orientals were scientifically ordered in a racial hierarchy which implied an anthropological ordering of rational capacity which, Goldberg suggests, carried the moral implication that 'higher beings are considered of greater worth than lower ones.' [74] In the Australian colonies the principle of rank, with its claim of objective ordering and regard for the sign of humanity, engendered a racial aesthetic which resulted in the emergence of a 'metaphysical pathos' scaled between an aesthetic of empathy or aversion, and ultimately, was considered to be natural. Akin to the Great Chain of Being, the scientific 'distributive management of bodies' in an ordered regime of Orientalist rationality provided a racial taxonomy in which the Japanese and Afghans (Indian) were placed at the top of the hierarchical order, followed by the Chinese, Melanesians, and Aborigines. This form of knowledge and its techniques was in part shaped by a scientific reason which engendered linguistic constructions in social life.

The science of language, philology, divided languages into types such that the inflectional, as opposed to the agglutinative, 'supposedly represented the summit of linguistic achievement,' and not surprisingly, was the type most familiar among Europeans. [75] This science in which 'the hierarchy of language corresponded rigorously to the hierarchy of races' connected with the polygenesist position (that we evolved from various ancestors) and 'placed language in a classificatory system which was seen to be in various stages of evolution.' [76] In short, language was thereby positioned as an authority of delimitation, a

certitude to truth and a valid test of race. Philology attached itself to what Foucault calls 'a controlled derivation,' an impulse to classify nature and the individual in a representation capable of measuring moral, intellectual and spiritual characteristics, and moreover, as Said suggests, gathers power when, in the late nineteenth century, it is 'allied with character as derivation, as genetic type.' [77] A philology linked to science creates a site which positions the human as 'a specimen and a subject for philological study.' [78] In Said's terms, 'the metamorphosis of a relatively innocuous philological subspeciality into a capacity for managing political movements, administering colonies, making nearly apocalyptic statements representing the White Man's difficult civilizing mission - all this is something at work within a purportedly liberal culture, one full of concern for its vaunted norms of catholicity, plurality, and open-mindedness.' [79] Moreover, in Said's analysis, the Orient becomes a museum piece, wherein some races become examples of arrested development in comparison with the mature languages and cultures of the Indo-European type and parallel inorganic phenomena as in a kind of European scientific laboratory.[80]

Self-Forming Activity: the self relation of the Occidental

If governance of the Oriental involved a diverse number of political initiatives, pastoral concerns, and geopolitical strategies, then this governmentality also included self-forming activity, with its interplay of the practices of governmental-ethical self-formation. The European's self-relation involved techniques of self-cultivation and practices of reflexivity which embraced a desire for separatism in terms of a number of invidious social distinctions, namely restrictive immigration, anti-miscegenation, discriminatory union membership and membership of the labour movement, deputations against Orientals at the doorsteps of government, various kinds of displays of antipathy and violence, as well as the formation of anti-Coloured leagues. Europeans participated in a signifying process that constituted the otherness of the other in a particular order of knowledge, such that the Europeans' own self judgement and capacity for internal reference rested on racialist assumptions which countenanced segregation and homogeneity. In other words, the self responsible conduct of European life was achieved by multiple forms of antipathy and interdiction by which Europeans sought to alert themselves to an ever growing intensity of differentiation.

Unnatural Desires and Unholy Cupidity: miscegenation and degeneration

In the European mind Oriental sexuality and habits of labour were linked to a barbarism or a disease which it was not possible to cure. Unlike some Africanists in the early nineteenth century who wanted to cure barbarism by instilling 'the motives and means of industry [which they believed] must be supplied before men [Africans] can begin to be industrious', the Australian Anglo-Saxons demonstrated a proclivity towards a perspective more in line with a group who argued that civilising Africa was not possible 'since Africans were racially incapable of attaining the 'heights" of Western Civilisation.' [81] By the eighteen nineties the harsh aspects of Social Darwinism positioned progress and evolution as interchangeable concepts and had in a scientifically racist way 'relegated African societies to the early stages of human existence.' [82] In a similar pattern of thought and register of racialised scientific discourse, it was believed that miscegenation benefited primitive people but the hybrids were not capable of interbreeding; in fact a nineteenth century ethnologist, John Crawford, elaborated on the gulf between racial mixing in relation to Anglo-Saxons and Arabs, stating 'when the qualities of different races of men were equal, no harm resulted from their union; when they were unequal, the deterioration of the higher race took place, as in Mexico and Peru, or the union proved impossible.' [83]

In terms of the agonistic scientific struggle between the progressives (those like the anthropologist Edward Tylor who believed primitive societies represented a stage of culture through which European culture had passed long ago) and degenerationists (like Archbishop Whately of Dublin, who held the belief that 'savages' were instead a result of deterioration and degradation), Australian colonial culture allied itself with the degenerationists. In turn, the press exhibited the influence of scientific racism as propagated by the degenerationists. For example, in 1877, the Queensland labour paper, the *Northern Miner*, strongly challenged 'fusion' with subject races. The paper's antipathy justified itself by means of an analogical confirmation with the inexorable laws of natural selection and the right to self preservation. The paper endorsed the standpoint that: 'There is no affinity between them [Kanakas and Chinese] and men of the Caucasian race, any miscegenation of races so physically antagonistic must inevitably degrade the higher race. Hence it is not only the right but the duty of the governing power of the supreme race to preserve itself from deterioration morally and physically, and to repress by statute the

unnatural desires and unholy cupidity of planters and squatters who associate themselves with 'human vermin' for the purposes of making money.'[84]

In turn, the *Worker* justified its image of the Oriental as a degenerative race on the grounds that the prejudice against miscegenation was 'a prejudice founded on instinct' to save ourselves 'from an act fatal to us as a species.' [85] The dangers and undesirability of an interracial society and of interbreeding between superior and inferior races was exemplified in the Sydney newspaper, *The Empire*, which reported on an Oriental, and a white woman, who had given him several children. The paper affirmed with conviction that 'One could see at a glance that there has been blending of Caucasian and Mongolian blood - the former asserting its natural superiority ... [Moreover, it was reported that] ... there is a good deal of the animal about the Chinaman, and his passions must be gratified, it should be made imperative for every male immigrant [Oriental] to bring with him a female ... by degrees they have demoralised many of the white women ... the white population is becoming demoralised by the presence of idolatorist barbarians, destitute of religion and morality, as well as every social virtue which makes us proud of our Anglo-Saxon race and institutions.' [86]

These racist narratives which espoused a degenerationist rationality conjoined with views commonly expressed in the press which advocated an explicit racial instinct and the need to preserve a unique species being opposed to the Other. For example, in November 1898, the *Bulletin* affirmed that 'the European's dislike of the Chinaman is not a matter of taste, but a healthy racial instinct ... In the case of chinkies, this out-of-date instinctive dislike has lasted long enough to be useful again as a protection against a race that is more dangerous to civilisation than a savage with a club is to a fellow savage.' [87] According to Miles, the fear of racial degeneration surfaced in European society as a resolve to generally exclude Oriental women in order 'to prevent the settlement and reproduction of an "inferior race".' [88]

Public Antipathy: labour market exclusion and discrimination
The South Australian press tabulated a space in which the some three hundred Chinese who resided in the colony were generally confined and circumscribed by a series of attitudes and judgements which positioned them as eternally incongruent with the fair and

proper competition of the labour market, and in particular, with regard to the lives of women laundresses. In a letter to the Express and Telegraph, Francis Aubrey expressed these agonistic sentiments, declaring that: 'As long as a colored man [Tamil and Chinese] can and will comfortably live on 6d. per day, the ordinary British laborer must, when brought in close competition with his colored rival, submit to a close cutting down of his unskilled labor. The free and enlightened British laborer may declaim against the unpatriotic conduct of those who would force him into such an unendurable contest, but once such competition is created the British labour (sic) may howl until he is as black in the face as his colored rival, for what effect verbal protests will then have upon the ordinary employer of labor ... I ask how many working or laboring men in this city would regularly each week employ the poor and struggling widow, Bridget O'Brien, by allowing her to imperfectly wash and mangle their best Sunday shirt at the cost of 6d. if they could have the same article more skilfully washed and done up for 4d. by sending the same to the convenient laundry of Hi Chunk ... what I do really wish to drive home to the minds of the working classes is the great necessity of not under estimating the latent rivalship that any influx of an alien race must necessarily create.[89]

This correspondence received a relatively rare expression of published dissent in the form of a Chinese who disputed the claims that had been levelled at his race and the supposed effects of Oriental labour in so far as this labour was a cause of unemployment. In opposition to Aubrey, a Chinese laundry man retorted: 'He states that I do shirts for 4d., which is not true, as I charge 5d. for a shirt and 1d. for a collar. I have no wish to injure any person, much less the needy widows or even a 'Poor Working Woman'.' But surely after your Government had taken my money (yes, and even without any demur) you do not expect me or my countrymen to hang about the streets idle to starve and put your country to the expense of prosecuting us as idle and disorderly, and therefore rogues and vagabonds. I think there are enough of that sort who are not Chinamen, so we prefer to earn an honest living, even though we may compete with the poor working women. Strange that any other person may start a laundry (steam or otherwise) but it does not take away the work of the poor widows, only those horrid Chinese. And still stranger that if I or my countrymen go into any shop and want to buy an article the very people who cry out so much about those horrid Chinese never refuse to take our money. But I suppose this is Christian consistency; this is the performance of that golden rule, 'Do unto others even as

ye would that they should do unto you.' We cannot help feeling thankful to the liberal and philanthropic people who are spending so much money to send missionaries to China to teach such liberal, humane, elevating principles as we see and have practised upon us here, as your telegram from Brisbane in yesterday's issue fully illustrates [concerning the Chinese on the borders of Queensland]. Where could be practised a more fiendish and inhumane action, positive murder, but legalised. - I am. etc., Hi Lee.[90]

This counter discourse by a Chinese laundry man who possibly resided and worked alongside the many Chinese laundries operating in Hindley street Adelaide, trenchantly announced the dignity of Chinese labour and consequently renounced the terminal truths of the Occidental unthought, namely that Oriental labour was by nature irresponsible and archetypically different formresponsibilised liberal governance.

Nevertheless, the general tenor of the press pursued the sentiments of the following letters to the editor which were published in the *Advertiser*. This correspondence renewed the concerns over the issue of Oriental labour driving European women into the ranks of the unemployed. As one letter stated 'Sir - I want to know how it is that Chinamen are allowed to come here and take away the washing of poor widows that have homes and children to keep. They have done the same thing in Melbourne. If they are allowed to continue to do so all us poor widows that get a living by washing will have to ask for Government rations.' Yet another letter, signed "anti-Chow", stated that 'Chinese are not regarded as emigrants, and to effectively check their immigration to this country a poll tax was imposed as this could be done without violating any treaty laws ... [but the Oriental should] not come to compete in trades with cheap labour ... the work of washing is hard enough for a woman without having to compete with cheap Chinese labor ... they imagine they have a right to overrun a British state like ants, which they would do if only permitted ... a handful of rice, a smoke of opium, and the side of a wheelbarrow for a bed is good enough for the Chinaman but not for the European. Therefore the Chinamen ought to be kept out. [Hi Lee] ... wants to know where a more fiendish and inhumane action, positive but legalised murder could be practised than he alleges the telegrams from Brisbane illustrate. Where else but in China? Nothing of that sort has occurred in Australia, but has positively in China.'[91]

Anti-Chinese Leagues, Unions, and the Labour Movement: free and unfree labour The Melbourne *Argus* commented in January 1884 that the Melanesian was 'only needed for work which the white man cannot undertake and to tolerate him in the country is one thing and to consent to his presence in the towns is another.' [92] In colonial Queensland, the *Mackay Mercury* and the *Brisbane Courier* agreed with the premier that 'the Melanesians should be confined to field work in tropical and semi-tropical agriculture. According to Mercer their reasoning was clearly to prevent direct competition with the white working-class, since this 'excited opposition'.' [93] In turn, the Brisbane *Courier*, in October 1880, declared the need to establish a disalienated status for the European in relation to sustaining and developing a democratic society. The paper expressed the view that Melanesians were 'alien particles intruded into our body politic which cannot preserve its democratic character unless composed of individuals on whom there rests no bar of race or color that may operate to prevent them from mingling with the general body of citizens, exercising all their rights and enjoying all their privileges and social opportunities.'[94] According to Mercer, the success of the infant labour party in Queensland 1893 was predicated on this new orthodoxy of disalienated egalitarianism and racism.[95]

In South Australia the press reported union resistance against the intrusion of 'alien particles', and the kind of signifying practice of exclusion that was advocated figured frequently in the columns of the newspapers. The *Observer* informed its readership of 'an instructive address on black labour' delivered by Mr. Poynton, Secretary of the Shearers Union of Port Augusta. Concerning the government's support for the Indian Immigration Bill designed to settle coolie labour in the Northern Territory, Mr. Poynton moved, according to the *Observer,* 'that in the opinion of this meeting peopling the Northern Territory with an inferior race of people, whether it be Indians, kanakas, or Chinamen, is opposed to the best interests of these colonies ... There were hundreds of people walking our streets starving, yet in the face of this we had this coolie labour threatened ... the resolution was carried almost unanimously. A Political Vigilance Association was formed at the close of the meeting.' [96]

These union members demonstrated in a technique of self cultivation their participation in a signifying process that constituted the proper object of labour, that is, a species being disalienated from Oriental degradation. Sentiments supporting disalienated egalitarianism

in relation to the central issue of unemployment were reported in the *Express and Telegraph* 1892 and was graphically publicised in an 'advertisement' titled 'The Chinese as Colonists.' The author, attempting to establish a moral maxim, stated: 'There has been a lot said about Chinese, and I crave space to ask what earthly good they are to our country? They push around a cart or carry a box as you know, Sir. The farmer, blacksmith, painter, horseshoer, or wheelright gets no benefit from them ... Unionists and members of the Trades and Labor Council, in the time of strikes do you appeal to Chinese for support? You answer "No". Then why do you support them? ... Private families are still supporting them. Let me put the question to such people - How would you like to see your husbands discharged from their present employment, and Chinamen engaged in their places? People holding positions support them, and are supported by the whites, and are too mean to allow their fellow flesh and blood to live by them. It is a cruel shame to support them and so many of our own people out of employment. If I had a man in my employ that supported them, or allowed his wife to, I would discharge him at once ... Employers, don't engage any man that encourages the Chinamen, and then Chinamen and supporters of Chinamen will very soon leave our fair land without being asked.'[97]

The South Australian racist organisation, The Australian Natives' Association, gave a series of weekly reports during the depression of the eighteen nineties, which were repeated with determined regularity. This group's self-recognition in the form of the prevailing corpus of norms advocated techniques of racial prohibition and discrimination against the Other. The *Observer* reported on a meeting of the association in June 1892, wherein this authority of delimitation declared 'that this association disapproves of the introduction of coloured labour into Australia' and on the question of kanaka immigration the President proclaimed 'on the simple ground of humanity he would vote against the introduction of coloured labour ... [Moreover] if the Tamils found the conditions in Australia favourable to them they would not go back. They would send for their wives and multiply with fearful rapidity. The brightest inheritance of Australia was that from one end to the other there was no taint of colour, and their inheritance must be kept pure.' [98] A tableau which delineated a number of perverse differences and provided confirmatory evidence of the basic textual attitude or Orientalist assertion in South Australia, that the Chinese could not assimilate with Europeans, was circulated by the *Register* on behalf of the Australian Natives' Association. Under the sub-title 'Courts of Justice in Various

Lands', a guest speaker at the Association, 'His Honor the Chief Justice', who had recently returned from China, informed the public that: 'The gaols were terrible places. He saw one dark dungeon with no ventilation, from which a most offensive odour came, and inside the wretched prisoners crouched. The larger gaol he could not enter. The men therein seemed more like wild beasts ... The place of execution was a horrible sight. He got there after prisoners had been cut into pieces having suffered 'Ling Che' for fratricide. He was shown two jars filled with heads, but he did not look within the ghastly sight. [His Honor then speculated, that if] Englishmen had been in Canton for 300 years, and if such cruelties could be practised under their eyes how awful must be the cruelties in the far away parts of China where no white men had been.'[99]

In Victoria the Anti-Chinese League sent deputations to Parliament in pursuit of Oriental labour restrictions and consequently racial homogeneity.[100] Unions were frequently represented in Anti-Chinese Leagues which emerged in the colonies in the late 1880s, and according to Markey, the anti-Chinese campaign was instrumental in establishing a sustained organisational and political experience for European labourers in the 1880s. [101] The Australian Natives' Association, in turn, gave unqualified support to the broad based populist movement which characterised the anti-Chinese leagues.[102] The Anti-Chinese League, formed in Brisbane December 1886, was typically established 'with support from the Brisbane Trades and Labour Council, eleven unions and the East Moreton Farmers' Association. Farmers gave support to the movement in the hope of creating a new field of activity for themselves by driving Chinese from market gardens.' [103] In the late eighties, the Sydney anti-Chinese League articulated a complex set of interdictions fixed in an overarching structure of inequality and discrimination. Their regulatory criteria attempted to delineate the formative principles which would define the rules of conduct of Oriental life within the colony. This surface of emergence for the conduct of life resembled an administrative straightjacket, and was espoused in no less than eighteen planks among which there was a call for 'a poll tax of 200 pounds, an annual tax of 20 pounds, a special tax on Chinese retailers and hawkers, special inspection of Chinese market gardeners, the stamping of all Chinese-made goods, special restrictions on Chinese miners, the suppression of 'secret' Chinese organisations, restrictions on inter-marriage, and the prevention of 'corruption of children' by the Chinese.'[104]

In Sydney the league secured trade-union based support given that 'each union was invited to send one delegate to sit permanently on the committee.' [105] The technologies of correction, regulation and development espoused by the leagues in relation to Orientals repeated the experiences of earlier techniques of power apropos disciplinary partitioning. As Swann relates, the tyranny of the limit and the interdicting authority of racist leagues was evident since the 1860s in Queensland. 'Anti-Coolie leagues were formed in many of the towns. The workers engaged in Ceylon by the sugar-cane planters were classed as 'Coolie' and the Anti-Coolie leaguers decided to oppose their entry.' Anti-Coolie leaguers demonstrated at landings of ships bearing 'Cinghalese' emigrants. [106] In Sydney, some forty years later, this mode of conduct and politics of the subject was discernible in practices of self government, in which the Caucasian participated in concrete procedures of normalisation that divided and regulated the population in terms of race. Anti-Chinese boycotts were initiated during the Seaman's strike, 'the Painters' Union passed a resolution debarring members or their wives from dealing with Chinese, under penalty of expulsion; the Coal Lumpers' Union limited the penalty to a five shilling fine; the Hunter River Miners' Association imposed a similar fine.' [107] In early June 1888 the Sydney anti-Chinese Leagues' Grand National Anti-Chinese Demonstration 'attracted a crowd estimated at 50,000, and a procession held prior to the meeting featured a leading banner whereon was 'a huge boot kicking the Chinese out of the colony'.' [108]

The governance of the Occidental self was expressed in an asymmetry between the individual European and the Oriental community such that the practices outlined above produced a self-knowledge which was lived as an identity, that is to say, as an irrevocably separate and distinct art of existence and technique of self cultivation in which larrikinism, harassment, intimidation, vandalism, racism and rampage were acceptable forms of behaviour and attitude towards the Other. In 1888 alone *The Age* ... spoke of five occasions on which the police had been called to remove Chinese to hospital after they had been injured by stones and bottles.' [109]

Mode of Subjectivity: Hyper-Essential Being and the Tyranny of Limit

The formal material into which governmental-ethical practices cast European property-less labour has been elaborated upon in earlier chapters. The constitutive domain of this subjectivity was shaped by a matrix of social relations which gave rise to the formative

152

elements of a self-responsible conduct of life aimed at incorporating self responsibility and familial duty within the lives of the property-less. The moral or governable material from which the European subject was cast, with its matrix of power-knowledge relations, was deeply problematised when these ethical and governmental techniques confronted the lives of Orientals, Melanesians and Aboriginals. These groups in various ways did carry out counter-offensives along different lines of penetration, for example, Orientals and Melanesians did contest low wages and participated in strikes to improve their conditions of work. The effects of resistance and counter investments in turn fostered needs and faculties which were antagonistic to the social organisation of labour.

Following Foucault, Owen suggests that 'the actual ways in which we constitute ourselves and others as subjects of knowledge govern the ways in which we can reflect on others and ourselves and, thereby, define a field of *possible* ways of acting on ourselves (ethics) and others (power); while, at the same time, the *actual* ways in which we act on ourselves (ethics) and others (power) govern the *possible* ways in which we can constitute ourselves and others.' [110] This conceptualises neatly the idea of the conduct of conduct whereby power refers to 'a mode of action which acts on the actions of others by structuring their field of possible actions' and ethics 'refers to power exercised on oneself, that is, actions which act on one's own actions, a conducting of ones own conduct. The concept of knowledge [in turn] refers to the ways in which we recognise ourselves and others as particular kinds of selves and others.' [111] In terms of the ethics/knowledge relation (the conducting of the conduct of the self through the constitution of the self as a certain kind of self) and with particular reference to South Australia, the European in colonial Australia conducted themselves in terms of an exercise of freedom which permitted, axiomatically, their right to universally seek employment, rationally compete and engage in free labour market contracts of employment, marry and raise a family, participate in the male franchise, achieve and maintain naturalisation, and as well, in a relative sense, travel unrestrictedly across colonial borders. This self-responsible liberal mode of governance, with its systematic devices for the inscription of difference, paradoxically emphasised the 'freedom' and 'individuality' of the property-less white male labourer, and heralded an organisation of conduct which greatly prioritised the virtues of thrift, hard work, industry, family responsibility and paid work. All of these taken-for-granted rights of liberal

citizenship were either restricted or denied the Other, in Foucauldian terms, thereby dramatically delimiting their field of possible actions.

The Other was cast in relations of agonistic contestation, separated from the existing social order by an abyss of meaning which localised them in terms of labour and productivity within a site of unfreedom. As Markus puts it 'a species of unfree labour exists either in the institution of slavery, indenture or other forms of compulsion other than that of the market place.' [112] Polarised in a relation of unfreedom the Other was subjected to a composition of power relations which made their exercise of rights and condition of labour an enclave of servitude. What problematised this conceptual space was the paradox that these conditions existed in a society which heralded a rational economy, individuality and freedom with social guarantees, while simultaneously confronting the existence of an unfree people not in need of liberation.

The above condition signifies the surface of emergence of a hyper-essential being in colonial Australia. This neologism is justified, because, as Marx suggests, 'Man is a species being ... because he treats himself as a universal and therefore a free being.' [113] In the colonial period the Other was literally denied a cultural space for achieving the possibility of a species being. In the overarching structures of inequality and discrimination, the Other was divided from the condition required to participate in a world where 'the universality of man appears in practice precisely in the universality which makes all nature his *inorganic* body ... [and where] Nature is man's *inorganic* body ... [and because] Man lives on nature means that nature is his body ... [and] That man's physical and spiritual life is linked to nature means simply that nature is linked to itself, for man is a part of nature.' [114] In the colonial experience, if 'man's' species self had been estranged to merely an expression of an essential being, 'a mere means of his existence' [115] then the Other suffered a spacialisation and a transposition in species being in which the Oriental was demarcated by not only nature in terms of being only 'fit' to labour in the tropics, but equally, was 'unfit' to rationally enter Adam Smith's moral economy of exchange as bearers of free labour and as juridical subjects of the wage contract. By extension, neither was the Other 'fit' for the administration of poor relief which existed as a techne of government designed to establish or rehabilitate via sanctions the 'freedom' and rationality of property-less male labour. In other words, the barrier of less-eligibility did not pertain

to a hyper-essential being who, in turn, was subjected to a tyranny of limit which divided 'his' species being from the universality of rationality and inorganic nature. In terms of the anti - individual rationality embedded in the scientific matrix of Orientalism, the illiberal tenor of multiple bio-political practices surfaced as prohibitions which excluded the Other: enfranchisement, naturalisation, familial duty and responsible labour, and consequently rights to social entry and mobility. The self-constitution of the European was such that it was unthinkable, an unthought, that the Oriental could sculpt themselves as responsible ethical beings.

Telos (Utopian Dimensions) - Disalienated Egalitarianism

Contra histories which have focussed on the race question and have provided causal explanations for the White Australia Policy in terms of prioritising the economy, psychology and class, this genealogical account has sought to present a conceptual model entangled in lines of diverse trajectories of events, discourses, and practices. What appears from the dispersion of contingent historical conditions is, nevertheless, a particular discursive formation in relation to the Other. That is to say, an imaginative geography which Said argues 'is less a fact of nature than it is a fact of human production.' [116] In conjunction with Said, who has argued that Orientalism was a scientific movement, [117] the present analysis locates the organic racial divisions determined by scientific lexicography, anthropology, phrenology and biometry, philology, ethnography and Darwinism as an incorporation of the trajectory of eighteenth century science. As has been outlined earlier, Foucault suggests that in the eighteenth century 'natural science dealt with man as with a species or a genus'. In this context, the White Australia Policy is nothing less than a terminal point for the scientific project of the eighteenth century culminating in the scientific constitution of the Other as almost a different species or a genus. This outcome results in a finitude which breaks absolutely with the legitimacy of order in European production, life, and labour, and moreover, supports Said's contention that 'An Oriental man was first an Oriental and only second a man.'[118]

This figuration of finitude, which finds its rationality in the whole structure of natural and social science from the eighteenth century, conjoins with the will to power in the late nineteenth century when the superimposition of Orientalism becomes increasingly discernible and assumes perfect visibility in government regulations employed to exclude

the Other. This bio-political project was a population management strategy which began by regulating paths of circulation and maximising the visibility of the Other in multiple administrative procedures. This resulted in a tyranny of limit whereby prohibitory legislation, miscegenetic interdictions, the indenture system, along with other divisions, arrested the movement, life and production of the Oriental and Melanesian worker. The ideal in this bio-political technology, which was informed and invested with scientific rationality, was embedded in a desire to not just hierarchise, order and objectify the Other, but almost to divide humanity into different species or genera. The unthought, the unthinkable in this project of modernity was the possibility that the Occidental and the Other could share the same species being, or for that matter, the same genus. This scientific ideal, with its prevailing corpus of norms in relation to a bifurcated humanity, aimed at establishing a disalienated status for the Caucasian race, and correlatively, in terms of liberal governance, a disalienated egalitarianism.

If walls confine and exclude, the Oriental was subjected to a density and deployment of division which inexorably problematised the civilising ideal of capitalism. These divisions were supported by a multiple and deeply articulated administrative apparatus wherein the mode of being of the Other was weighed down by a liberal governmentality in which difference was the same thing as identity. The battery of desires, repression, investment, and projections which represented the Other, giving them shape, identity and definition, was organised via an ensemble of power relations which sought to divide, deploy and tabulate the Other as irredeemably different in nature, temperament, mentality, custom and type. The press, labour movement, the State, unions, science, capital and workers, and religious organisations, all participated in these determinations, which culminate in a dispositif.

The reification of the Oriental body and its corporeal properties as a natural invariant in colonial Australia perpetuates a racial fetishism, an aesthetic idealisation of racial difference which closely resembled narcissism. This binary axis signifying a qualitative and scientific definition of human individuation, positioned and organised the European's technology of the self, and was predicated on a set of fundamental assumptions about the disposition of bodies and souls, as they marked out the locus of the disalienated self. Thus, the complex processes of social differentiation that assign, legitimate, and enforce

qualitative differences between 'types' of individuals helped to articulate, define and actualise the difference in status between them, virtually resulting in a distinction between dominant and submissive species in an idealised world which promised the reality of a disalienated egalitarianism, liberal and free. As the *Advertiser* aptly recounted in what had become an iconic mode of argument by December 1892, while reflecting on population trends in the colony of South Australia: 'In South Australia aborigines are diminishing and so are the Chinese, ...We have, however, never run any danger in the direction of "miscegenation," and so far as the "yellow agony" has troubled us it has been chiefly as an industrial and not as a social question ... the British race, prominent among which is the love of political freedom and a peculiar genius for self government, will no doubt survive, whatever the minor physical and intellectual changes. With such a splendid heritage as we possess, and with a deeply-rooted attachment to the institutions which have made the mother-country the first in the ranks of modern civilisation, we may face the future with confidence, ssatisfied (sic) that no change in the mere form and accidents of national life will disturb the profoundly vital national unity.'[119]

Notes and References

1.   See Said, E.W. 1979, *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

2.   *Ibid.,* p.241

3.   *Ibid.,* p.237

4.   *Ibid.,* p.42

5.   *Ibid.,* p.1

6.   *Ibid.,* p.6

7. Markus, A. 1985. 'Explaining the treatment of non-European immigrants in nineteenth century Australia: comment'. *Labour History,* No. 48, p.86.

8.   *Ibid.*

9.   See Burgmann, V. 1978. 'Capital and Labour: Responses to Immigration in the Nineteenth Century', in Curthoys A. and Markus, A.(eds.), *Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the Australian Working Class*, Neutral Bay: Hale and Iremonger. p.22.

10.   *Ibid.*

11.   *Ibid.*

12.   *Ibid.,* p.33.

13.   Markus, A. *op.cit.,* p.90.

14.   *Ibid.,* p.89.

15.   Burgmann, V. 1985. 'Who our Enemies are: Andrew Markus and the baloney view of Australian racism.' *Labour History*, No. 49, p.97.

16.   *Ibid.*

17.   *Ibid.,* p.100.

18.   May, C. 1971. 'European - Chinese Relations in the Cairns District 1876-1920', in Stevens, F.S. (ed.), *Racism: The Australian Experience.* vol. 1. Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Co. p.261.

19.   Foucault, M. 1970. *The Order of Things.* New York: Pantheon Books. p.326.

20.   Said, E. W. op.cit., p.2.

21. *Ibid.,* p.72.

22. Curtin, P.D. 1964. *The Image of Africa, Vol.1.* Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press. p.262.

23. Curtin, P.D. 1964. *The Image of Africa, Vol.2.* Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press. p.384.

24. Price, C.A. 1974. *The Great White Walls Are Built.* Canberra: Australian National University Press. pp. 151-2.

25. Curtin, P.D. *op.cit.,* p. 254.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 379.

27. Miles, R. 1989. *Racism.* London and New York: Routledge. p.29.

28. Said, E.W. *op.cit.*

29. Miles, R. *op.cit.*

30. *The South Australian Chronicle,* July 16, 1892.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. *The Northern Argus,* June 10, 1892.

34. *The South Australian Chronicle,* July 2, 1892.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *The South Australian Chronicle,* July 16, 1892.

39. *The South Australian Register,* September 1887, cited in Markus, A. 1979. *Fear and Hatred.* Sydney: Hale and Iremonger. p.142.

40. *The South Australian Register,* September 8, 1888, cited in Markus, A., *ibid.*

41. Markus, A. *ibid.,* pp.xv11-xv111.

42. *The South Australian Register,* August 14, 1901, cited in Markus, A. *ibid.,* p.231.

43. Foucault, M. *op.cit.,* p. 317.

44.   *Ibid.*, p. 320.

45.   *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.

46.   Robertson, J. 1996. 'The possibility of a critical archaeology of a reported nineteenth century epidemic.' *Conference Paper,* 'Discourse and Cultural Practice.' Adelaide, February 28-March 3.

47.   *Ibid.*

48.   *Ibid.*

49.   *Ibid.*

50.   Ryan, J. 1991. 'Chinese Burials in Western Australia in the Nineteenth Century.' *Studies in Western Australian History*, x11, p.14.

51.   *Cairn Post,* 1899, cited in May, C. 'European-Chinese Relations in the Cairns District.' *op.cit.,* p. 256.

52.   Ryan, J. *op.cit.*

53.   *The Adelaide Observer,* November 12, 1982.

54.   *The Adelaide Observer,* June 25, 1892.

55.   *Ibid.*

56.   *The Express and Telegraph*, June 21, 1892.

57.   *The Advertiser*, June 27, 1892.

58.   *Ibid.*

59.   *The South Australian Chronicle,* June 18, 1892.

60.   *The South Australian Chronicle*, June 2, 1892.

61.   *Ibid.*

62.   Price, C. *op.cit.*, p.145.

63.   *Ibid.*, p.171.

64.   *Ibid.*, p.168.

65.   Campbell, F. 1986. 'A Forgotten Empire.' *Heritage Australia.* Summer, p. 36.

66.   Markus, A. *op.cit.*, pp. 137-8.

67.   *Ibid.,* pp. 223-4.

68.   *The South Australian Register*, June 29, 1892.

69.   Price, C. *op.cit.,* p. 175.

70.   *Ibid.,* p. 177.

71.   Markus, A. *op.cit.,* p.162.

72.   *Ibid.,* p. 231.

73.   Said, E.W. *op.cit.,* p. 98.

74.   Goldberg, D.T. 'The Social Formation of Racial Discourse.' inGoldberg, D.T. (ed.), 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning.* Oxford: Blackwell. p. 302.

75.   Bolt, C. 1971. *Victorian Attitudes to Race.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p.11.

76.   Ibid., p.12.

77.   Said, E.W. *op.cit.,* p.119.

78.   *Ibid.,* p.142.

79.   *Ibid.* p.254.

80.   *Ibid.,* p.145.

81.   Curtin, P.D. *The Image of Africa, Vol.1. op.cit.,* p.260.

82.   Alan, H. and Cairns, C. 1965. *Prelude to Imperialism.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p.88.

83.   Bolt, C. *op.cit.,* p. 23.

84.   *Northern Miner*, May 26, 1877, cited in Mercer, P.M. 'Racial Attitudes Towards Melanesians in Colonial Queensland.' inStevens, F.S. (ed.)., *op.cit.,* p. 317.

85.   *Worker*, March 5, March 19, 1892, cited in Mercer, P.M. *ibid.,* p. 318.

86.   *The Empire*, June, 1861, cited in Hall, R.V., 'Racism and the Press', in Stevens, F.S. (ed.)., *op.cit.,* p.130.

87.   *The Bulletin*, November, 1898, cited in Hall, R.V. *ibid.,* p. 131.

88.   Miles, R. *op.cit.,* p.88.

89.   *The Express and Telegraph*, June 23, 1892.

90.   *The Express and Telegraph*, June 27, 1892.

91.   *The Advertiser*, July, 1892.

92.   *Argus*, January 5, 1884, cited in .Mercer, P.M. *op.cit.*, p. 315.

93.   Mercer, P.M. *op.cit.*, p.315.

94.   *Brisbane Courier*, October 29, 1880, cited in Mercer, P.M. *ibid.*, p. 316.

95.   Mercer, P.M. *ibid.*, p. 320.

96.   *The Adelaide Observer,* June 25, 1892.

97.   *The Express and Telegraph,* July 1, 1892.

98.   *The Adelaide Observer,* June 11, 1892.

99.   *The South Australian Register,* July 5, 1892.

100.   Price, C. *op.cit.*, p.187.

101.   Markey, R. 1978. 'Populist Politics': Racism and Labor in New South Wales 1880-1900.' in Curthoys, A. and Markus, A. (eds.)., *op.cit.,* p. 68.

102.   *Ibid.,* p.70.

103.   Markus, A. *Fear and Hatred, op.cit.,* p.132.

104.   *Ibid.,* p.136.

105.   *Ibid.,* p.145.

106.   Swan, B. 1981. 'Sinhalese Emigration to Queensland in the Nineteenth Century: A Note.' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society,* vol. 67, pt.1, p.57.

107.   Markus, A. *op.cit.*, p.145.

108.   *Ibid.*

109.   *Ibid.*, p.152

110.   Owen, D. 1995. 'Genealogy as exemplary critique: reflections on Foucault and the imagination of the political.'*Economy and Society, v*ol. 24, No. 4, p.500.

111.   *Ibid.*

112. Markus, A. *op.cit.*, p. 243.

113. Marx, K. 1973. *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.* Struik, D.J. (ed.), New York: International Publishers. p.112.

114. *Ibid.*

115. *Ibid.*, p.113.

116. Said, E.W. 1995. 'Orientalism Reconsidered.' *Flinders University Reader.* p.211.

117. *Ibid.,* p.215.

118. Said, E.W. *op.cit.,* p.231.

119. *The Advertiser*, December 29, 1892.

Chapter 5

Male Unemployment and Liberal Governmentality in the Depression of the Nineteen Thirties

This chapter seeks to examine the organising trends which defined the constitution of unemployment within a South Australian context during the nineteen thirties. The trajectory followed stems from the 1834 Poor Law, constituting an historical inheritance which incorporates a series of complex, continuous, and paradoxical relationships. A fundamental category of fascistic knowledge - heroic-folkish realism - which has been largely ignored in a number of histories or reflected in culturally defined conditions set at a distance from liberal governance will be examined here.[1] Whereas fascistic influence in the liberal domain is elided in these orthodox forms of historical analysis, the following chapter seeks to redress this kind of explication by exploring the unrecognised components of fascism which are imbricated in a certain mode of liberal governmentality. The term heroic-folkish realism refers to a grid of intelligibility, reflecting the establishment of a total-authoritarian state, and a kind of 'weltanschauung' which Marcuse claims was 'a great reservoir for all the currents that [had] been deluging "liberalist" political and social theory since World War 1.'[2] This conceptual model was summarised by Krieck as 'Blood [rising] up against formal understanding, race against the pursuit of ends, honor against profit, bonds against the caprice that is called "freedom," organic totality against individualistic dissolution, valor against bourgeois security, politics against the primacy of the economy, state against society, folk [organic, racial community] against the individual and the mass.'[3] The historical conditions giving rise to the formation of a subjectivity of the unemployed and a certain practice of government are sought in a number of genealogical questions. What kind of rationality and 'line of force' was incorporated in the constitution of poverty and unemployment? What was the nature of 'care of the self'? Why were the 'workless' relatively pliable, docile, if not at times tranquillised? These questions aim to underscore concerns which problematised the nature and the meaning of unemployment in South Australia during the thirties.

The work-welfare nexus: work for rations

According to Dickey, during the Australia wide depression of the late twenties, the Children's Welfare and Public Relief Department in South Australia was uneasy about articulating a general rationalisation regulating the conduct of the unemployed. However, even though 'the issue of work rations was to prove controversial for several years' the administrative authority adopted a liberal mode of governance in so far as work for rations was prioritised as a primary government objective.[4] However, in Dickey's form of exegesis things got better under Labor. Accordingly, with the arrival of the Hill Labor government in March 1930, the objectives changed once again, 'all unemployed, whether married or single, became entitled to rations without work on a scale that reflected family size: a ration per parent and half a ration for all others living at home, together with candles and up to a hundredweight of firewood a week. Single men were to get a half ration.'[5] The Labor government created the Unemployment Relief Council (October 1930), which took over responsibilities for unemployed cases and was empowered to develop work programmes from public funds.

Notwithstanding Dickey's suggestion that the South Australian Labor Party was somehow above the tenents and rationality of liberal governance, Macintyre asserts that even though state governments loathed the responsibility for regulating unemployment relief they ideologically 'clung to the belief that at all costs the workless must be encouraged to work.'[6] Nevertheless, Macintyre claims that, between 1928 and 1930, 'state governments were unable to provide relief work for more than a tiny minority of those who sought it: at more than one Labour Bureau crowds of desperate men pushed, shoved and fought one another for work. Similarly, the relief organisations and charities were unable to cope with the ever-increasing queues of applicants for food and clothing.'[7]

In Victoria the press lamented the diminution in self reliance caused by sustenance without work. The *Argus* described sustenance as having the 'mischievous' effect of 'hurrying a section of citizens on the downhill track from self respect and self dependence to the sunless valley of parasitical dependence where ambition is lost and the habit of idleness grows rankly ...' 'In Australia', it noted, 'personal responsibility for the individual's failure appears to be a lost quality.'[8] The Victorian government's response to the 'dole' and what the Minister for Sustenance referred to as a kind of pathology which was 'sapping

the very fibre of the nation's manhood'[9] emerged as a new Unemployment Relief Amendment Act (Dec. 1931), offering work for sustenance at less than award rates but even though it was passed it was never gazetted. Nevertheless, by January 1933 unemployment relief was codified with the Unemployment Relief Administration Act which reinscribed the unemployed's ultimate salvation in the main axis of liberal governance, namely self reliance and familial duty. The Act introduced Public Assistance Committees in each municipality so as to coordinate local charity and municipal relief work and 'two new scales of relief were drawn up, with considerably reduced allowances for those who did not work for sustenance ... [reasserting] ... the value of the family, earning members of which were now legally bound to show reason why they could not support unemployed relatives.'[10]

As liberal governance presented the absence of work as demoralising and degrading, particularly in relation to responsibilisation, the new juridical dimension inscribed in the Victorian Unemployment Relief Administration Act meant that work for sustenance was legally required of all persons of whom it was demanded. Each Municipal Council '[obtained] from the Registrar of the Public Assistance Committee a complete list of names of all persons who are in receipt of sustenance in the area. From that list the Council chooses the names of male persons [gendered responsibilisation] from whom work is to be demanded. The work is paid for at award rates, but must not be more than sufficient to cover the value of the sustenance to which recipients would be entitled [less-eligibility].'[11] The government was empowered to maintain discipline over labour in so far as Councils which refused to require work could be compelled to do so, and if men refused work they could be denied sustenance relief by being struck off the list of recipients. As a techne of government, work in return for sustenance was connected to a form of moral action by which unemployed males confronted a political dimension of personal conduct focussed on responsibilisation. They were employed on such things as 'the making and maintenance of plantations, parks, and gardens, and the carrying out of general beautification works; the repair and painting of fences, seats, and exteriors of minor municipal buildings, the maintenance of roads and footpaths, the destruction of weeds, the draining of low-lying areas, the improvement of foreshores, the transfer from the railways of firewood intended for distribution amongst unemployed persons, the repair of footwear belonging to unemployed persons, and so on.'[12]

In South Australia the press debated in often vehement terms the work-welfare nexus relating to whether or not men should be granted sustenance without work. A letter to the editor in the *Advertiser* alleged that 'Decay has set in among the many unemployed. At one time many were good citizens [responsibilised], but today they are either broken-hearted or encouraged to become parasites.' The author of this letter advocated self reliance and found a resolution in the need to 'place the unemployed in cheap homes on small blocks in the Adelaide hills, suitable to keep cows, poultry, and grow fruit and vegetables. Each family, if not producing for market, would be at least self-supporting.'[13]

In spite of Dickey's claim that Labor in South Australia was hamstrung by conservatives in the legislative council and a general Nationalist antipathy against rations without work,[14] in June 1931, the *Advertiser* could approvingly report that 'the Unemployment Relief Council in its first quarterly report ... [took] an intensely serious view of the conditions existing through unemployment, and feels that the huge amount which is being spent weekly, without any good results to the State, should be utilised in the provision of employment.' The Council, the *Advertiser* claimed, advocated cash for relief work instead of rations or a wide range of what it was hoped would be productive work schemes. Like the Victorian model, however, the Council wished to restrict the allotment of work to the unemployed 'to about three times the present value of rations.' It was also 'expressly stipulated that the employment of men on these relief works must not interfere with, or affect, any permanent hands.'[15] These new administrative procedures were considered much more refined in relation to moralising the poor, as the strategy of restricted work allotments was clearly designed not to impinge upon or disturb labour market forces. As a limited enlargement of state responsibility for the unemployed this technique of government was conditional on the unemployed exhibiting a willingness to work. In other words, work for sustenance demarcated a process of discipline, an individual ascesis, by which the unemployed developed a particular self-relation (care of the self).

Following the emergence and development of the above, letters to the editor kept returning to the theme of restrictive elements implicit in government unemployment policy. Referring to 'government blunders', one letter berated the government's mechanism and principle of relief on the grounds that 'Every man willing to work should be given full time

developmental work [public relief works], ... [and] every unemployed man could and should be offered work immediately. [This was especially so since] ... the whole country is crying for developmental works and a magnificent whole-souled, whole time effort by every able-bodied man to do his best to save his country.'[16] Some three months earlier another correspondent had declared that 'I believe in peace but not at any price. Certainly not at the price which means ruination, financially and morally. I still believe that an overwhelming majority of the people of this country are sound at heart and that a policy of something for nothing is obnoxious to them. In any case, I can see no hope for the future of this country if we depart from the principle that a man must earn his living. For a time at least this living will be a frugal one for many, but a large amount of the money now spent on the dole could be used for works ... [and] ... would prevent the demoralisation of the character of the young men of this country.'[17]

In the domain of newspaper discourse, the criticism of state intervention in relation to the ethic of responsibility had not become obsolete. The press shared a recognition of the need to assiduously restrain governmental interference in the allocation of relief. The *Advertiser* and the *Chronicle* reflected social attitudes relating to unemployment and rations, when concerns about the cost and moralisation of relief were set forth under the title of 'Rations and Work - Some Return Essential.' The newspapers declared that 'Not less important than the cost [875,000 pounds per year] is the moral effect of the present system [unproductive relief expenditure]. Long continued maintenance by the State, without effort on the part of the individual, has a demoralising effect, undermining both moral fibre and industrial efficiency. The average Australian is proud of his independence, and this enforced reliance upon the state is irksome to him. Not one in ten would vote for the continuance of the present system if he were given the option of working in return for his rations plus a small amount of cash.'[18] By September 1932 the *Bunyip* warned that 'There will be a terrible Nemesis for all the hideous economic, social and political wrongs of this age.' Referring specifically to rations without work, the paper reflected that 'The millions which were going to be spent in providing jobs are not being spent, and the same old dole system is dragging out its weary soul and body destroying course ... [and moreover] ... the man on the street, the worker who cannot find a job [although] ... saturated with pessimism ... [is] starving for a day's good slog-in.'[19]

On September 18, 1931, The Local Government Association recommended that the dole system be discontinued. The *Advertiser* reported that the recommendation included the proposal that 'men on rations should work for an equivalent in cash ... Something would have to be done to end the system [of dole relief]. Men should be permitted to earn their living ... The better class worker did not want charity. He preferred to work for his food, but was not permitted to do so. Many men now on rations would not be there if they had to work for them.' In line with the tenets of liberal governance and the responsibilisation of the property-less wage-earner the association further recommended that 'The money the government was now spending on relief should be paid into industry, and industry should find the work for the absorption of the unemployed.'[20] The *Advertiser* also reported the Employers Federation's anxiety about demoralisation of the workless in relation to the scale of rations. 'Perhaps the worst and most regrettable feature of the present situation is that the unemployment which has been forced on so many of our people making it imperative for the government to provide rations on a scale never before contemplated has been so long continued that many have become demoralised; they have lost the sense of initiative and incentive, and are content to exist on the sustenance provided by a benevolent Government, and are fast losing the will to work.'[21] The dissolution of disciplined labour was a malady which caused angst and effected a search for some kind of resolution in terms of liberal individuality. This conundrum problematised the mode of liberal governmentality. Notwithstanding the nineteen-thirties, the early decades of the twentieth century confirmed the demarcation of responsibilised bodies as a primary concern in the mode of liberal governmentality.

Protective Technologies and Nascent Fascism

According to Macintyre, along with the emergence of the new Commonwealth at the turn of the century a space was created for new knowledges to make their appearance. The 'New Protection' which arose in the contest between free traders and capital interests which would benefit from high tariff walls was one such emergence of new knowledge.[22] However, in order to gain broader based support, the protectionists rapidly broadened their ideological horizon and moved beyond concerns which merely reflected trade preferences or commercial supremacy. Protectionism opened up avenues which previously restricted the entry of political-governmental interference in the organisation and regulation of the labour market. The protectionists sought to mitigate the effects of the

market by installing "a system of philosophy' based on 'ethics and morals' and this included a 'program to incorporate the protection of living standards.'[23] As Macintyre puts it, 'Broadly stated the New Protection accepted that it was the duty of government to protect the economic welfare of its citizens: hence pensions and benefits were meant to provide a safeguard against poverty and the White Australia policy was justified as a defence of white workers from cheap non-white labour. It was no accident that racism should be given such stark institutional form during this period of nation building, for the White Australia Policy was New Protection writ large.'[24]

The central plank in the technology of protection was wage regulation and its constitutive features were expressed in the Harvester Judgement of 1907. The Arbitration Court decided on a juridical determination of the basic wage which in many respects, paradoxically, incorporated the legacy of the 1834 Poor Law. Points of concordance were discernible in that the general parameters of new liberalism subsumed and assimilated the social theme of instilling self responsibility and familial duty within the lives of property-less labour. As an insured citizen (a citizen protected as a kind of employee of the state),[25] the new rules of formation embraced in a highly symmetric fashion the doctrine of nineteenth century responsibilisation. The Harvester Judgement ensured that: 'The principal determinant of a household's welfare remained its earnings: the price its members received for the sale of their labour-power determined what sort of house they would live in, what sort of clothes they would wear and what they would eat.'[26] The 'living wage' as a technique of liberal governance was calculated to enable a worker to live as a 'human being in a civilised community' and to keep himself and his family in frugal comfort.[27] The living wage was assessed as needing to provide for three children, and in the spirit of self-responsibility it was assumed that 'a wage that does not allow for the matrimonial condition of an adult man is not fair and reasonable, [and] is not a "living wage".'[28] Nevertheless, it was not until the nineteen twenties that this new technology of protection 'became the bedrock of wage determination in Australian industry.'[29] As Rose asserts, when in the early twentieth century the citizen moved from individuality to become more of a social being, this new found social integration was directed so that 'each individual was to become an active agent in the maintenance of a healthy and efficient polity, exercising reflexive scrutiny over personal, domestic and familial conduct. Citizens should want to regulate their conduct and existence for their own welfare, that of their families,

170

and that of society as a whole.'[30]

The Harvester Judgement, as a techne of government, promoted an ethic of self-responsibility by which, as Macintyre maintains, 'a man should expect to make his own way and the state should ensure that he could, notably by providing him with a just wage.'[31] However, the new liberal mode of governance diverged from the Poor Law legacy in that the juridical dimension of the basic wage incorporated a guarantee that the market would not unilaterally threaten the sanctity of the home, the authority or the earning capacity of the male breadwinner. In other words, the Harvester Judgement resituated the problem of responsibilisation in a somewhat distinctive conception which incorporated a direct relationship between the insured citizen and the state, such that 'social justice' would guarantee the self-responsibility of the male breadwinner.

The legacy of 'social insurance' was extended to unemployment relief. The Second Progress Report of the Royal Commission on National Insurance in 1926 dealt with unemployment in terms of the basic wage. 'Full sustenance was defined as the basic wage which had been 'laid down as the minimum upon which the worker, his wife and three children can exist.' Any less amount was considered to be a direct blow to the standard of living.'[32] However, at the nadir of the depression, corrections to the Harvester standard were being pursued in accordance with orthodox economic rationality which ineluctably extolled the virtues of sacrifice and asceticism in relation to government expenditure and wages. As Wheelwright contends, economic orthodoxy in the nineteen thirties persistently advocated that 'there must be drastic curtailment of government expenditure, and costs (which always means wages) must be reduced. These - and wages that were too high - were held to be the main reasons for unemployment. If these were reduced, profits would increase, businessmen would invest, production would expand, and employment would increase.'[33] For example, in January 1931, an application before the Commonwealth Court of Australia 'sought a reduction in wage rates prescribed by the Court on the ground that a sudden and violent change in the economic conditions of the Commonwealth [had] made maintenance of [the] existing wage standard impossible.'[34] The court concluded that 'great and increasing unemployment is strongly symptomatic of a wage-level too high for our present capacity ... the conclusion is unavoidable that the present wage level is above that which can be supported by the marketable productivity of the Commonwealth and that

the lowering of that level is one of the essential means of checking a further increase of unemployment, of gradually restoring employment and of restoring a proper economic balance.'[35]   A general wage-reduction of ten per cent was prescribed and was to commence from the first day of February 1931.[36]   Given the rationality of protection a wage reduction implied a revision of the levels of unemployment relief and was coeval with an authoritarian ethic which was inscribed in the term 'equality of sacrifice'.   In part, the economic conditions set in motion the ascetic powers of moral experience.

Equality of Sacrifice

In schematic terms Macintyre asserts that in the nineteen thirties "Equality of sacrifice' became the universal catchcry ... It also reinforced the new economic wisdom that personal sacrifice was unavoidable and that it was no longer possible to hide behind the skirts of government.'[37]   As a new surface of appearance this governmental discourse did not seek to mitigate the distress of the workers caused by market forces, but rather, sought to instil and define, in terms of the entire population, a proper and legitimate orientation commensurate with sacrifice.   The conceptualisation of this new form of bio-politics was embodied in a general strategy which resulted in an 'equality of sacrifice which had an unequal impact on different groups ...   The principle involved was nicely illustrated by the cartoon which depicted a man with a cigar on top of a ladder, a clerk one rung below and a somewhat anxious wage-earner waist deep in water below him, all of them looking down at the floodwaters which lapped the shoulders of the unemployed worker.   The man at the top exhorted those below to make an equal sacrifice and join him in stepping down a rung.'[38]

The objectives of protectionism in which social justice sought to guarantee a minimum and inviolable right to the basic necessities of life were increasingly threatened during the depression by the new rationality of 'equality of sacrifice'.   Nevertheless, the objectives of these apparently mutually agonistic rationalities was largely isomorphic.   They sought to incorporate those who would constitute the workers in a conceptual model impregnated by ascetic rationality whereby astringent practice was inscribed in social obligations of poverty, sacrifice and service.

This tendency represented a conflation of fascist (heroic realism) and liberal themes. Whereas Edmonds claims that 'appeals to nationalism, calls for sacrifice and exhortations to unity' are well known weapons of capitalism in distress,[39] Marcuse - writing in the mid-thirties - argued that as a fascist trait 'the model of man projected by today's heroic realism is one whose existence is fulfilled in unquestioning sacrifices and unconditional acts of devotion, whose ethic is poverty and all those worldly goods have melted down into service and discipline.'[40] For Marcuse, the 'heroism' of poverty, service, sacrifice and discipline which is set in a mode of authoritarian domination seeks to canonise a tendency in which it follows that 'all of life is comprehended under the categories of service and work - a pure "inner-worldly" asceticism.'[41] Many facets of heroic realism entered the social fabric of the nineteen thirties in South Australia and correlatively ruptured the earlier tenets of protectionist technology.

Gambler's Attitude, Sacrifice and Asceticism

If, as Horkheimer and Adorno contend, 'ideology conceals itself in the calculations of probabilities',[42] then lotteries, or proposals advocating them, exposed a desire to maintain a liberal program supporting the free private initiative of the entrepreneur as the surest guarantor of economic and social progress. In June 1932, the *Bunyip* advocated these principles under a title 'Work for the Workless. Answering a Protest'. The article described the establishment of 'Participation Lots' with a lottery aspect 'being tagged on as an incentive to investment.'[43] The newspaper carefully acquainted its readers with the principal aim, which was 'to create funds for the establishment and well-being of industry,' and restore employment. The ideological tenets of this proposition had been clearly elucidated one week earlier when the *Bunyip* announced that given 'the huge incubus of unemployment stifling the nation' and being guided 'by the dictum of Economic Laws and [having] taken into consideration the Practical Man's views ... we can now lay before you a Plan ... that has been tried and tested for over one hundred years. We must, however, insist upon the following - No Government shall become the promoter of any secondary industry; ... No Government should interfere with industrial expansion or development in any direction. This should be the privilege of the private citizen and groups of competent men, as they have proved in the past far more capable of introducing enterprises and bringing about their successful issue.'[44]

According to this aleatory play of circumstance, the *Bunyip* approvingly postulated that Australians appeared to possess an infantilised gambling spirit. The public were given to understand that this spirit meshed with free market forces, especially when gaining employment in an economic crisis was a speculative event, and akin to a kind of lottery. Under the title 'Is This The Typical Australian', the *Bunyip* notified its readers that 'the fundamental qualities of the Australian are a strong, fearless, self-reliant nature which resents any show of authority, or patronising, and is born of a feeling of human dignity and a love of freedom, and an almost incurably incautious attitude towards the future, what our American observer calls "the gambler's attitude"; even in the persistency with which many Australians pursue an economic ideal in oblivion of inexorable economic laws one may recognise the child-like faith of the gambler who trusts his luck in the game of life.'[45] This 'gambler's attitude', paradoxically, expressed a form of heroic realism which sought to implant in the social body an ascetism which deadens the senses. Amongst those who constituted the unemployed and destitute, it aimed to establish a moral rectitude founded on contingent probability. This led to modes of aleatoric administration, such as in Brunswick, Melbourne, in August 1930, 'when there was sufficient food for only 422 of the 622 families which applied a lottery was held to decide on the distribution, leaving around 500 people without help.'[46] In South Australia, the *Bunyip* directed attention to the means by which the unemployed in Gawler were allocated selection when fewer jobs were available than the number of applicants seeking work. Under the title 'Making Work A Game Of Chance' a *Bunyip* editorial stated: 'The Gawler police ... have the allocation of selection, and as so many applied for the few [jobs] required, the police had no option but to submit the chances to ballot. [The applicants'] names are taken and written on slips, then being placed in a hat. In another hat are equal number of slips to the men offering, with the distinction that so many representing the number of men required contain the word "job", and these are mingled with the blanks. Each man draws his chance with the hope of securing the "prize".'[47]

It is of interest to record that local newspapers sedulously advocated a cultivation of the self which enlisted at least in a tendentious fashion what Marcuse refers to as an existential anthropology. The way in which individuals were summoned to recognise themselves as ethical subjects was expressed in a radical devaluation of logos, such that ' "the will to knowledge" is subjected to the alleged mandate of one's own folk. And the folk is

174

considered a unity and totality underlying the socio-economic sphere.'[48] In a pastoral technique encouraging self-sacrifice, an editorial in the *Bunyip* resurrected for its readers a classical Greek ontology which was recommended for modern use. Quoting Pythagoras on the hill at Tauremenion, the paper declared that: ' "The State is the father and mother of all, is the wife of the husband, and the husband of the wife. The family is good, and good is the joy of the man in wife and in son. But greater is the State, which is the protector of all ... It is the state from which comes all that make your life prosperous, and gives you beauty and safety ... If the brave man dies gladly for the hearthstone, far more gladly should he die for the state." ' The editorial went on to declare that 'Such is the ideal of the State that we would urge on the young citizens of Australia. The State should not be a cold abstraction, but a pulsing, throbbing life, to be loved and served with enthusiasm, with passion, with uttermost self-sacrifice. When this spirit is embodied in the coming generation, the future not only of Australia but of the Aryan Empire will be secure.'[49] The fascist tenets of heroic realism - sacrifice and race - were unequivocally proclaimed in the narratives of the press.

Austerity offensive - Heroic Realism

At the nadir of the depression in Adelaide government policy embodied a passion for self-sacrifice. Protectionism (the rationality of the living wage as a guarantor of a minimum and sustainable standard of living) gave way to a government commitment to restore social and economic order via an austerity offensive. Its moralising effect upon the worker and the unemployed was to enmesh the individual in a network of expectations and routines that advocated and promoted the 'uttermost self-sacrifice' (heroic realism).

In Adelaide, 'Town councils were advised [by the Unemployment Relief Council] that men working for 'sustenance wages' must be made to realise they were just that: there must be no thought of award rates; if they refused the offer, they would receive no rations either. If necessary the police kept order among the men. These arrangements spread through the states local government agencies during 1929, with the help of special government grants.'[50] Even though the conditions changed after the election of the Hill Labor government in March 1930, such that the 'The Children's Welfare and Public Relief Dept and local councils were directed to pay full award rates for men on unemployment work', nevertheless 'the Legislative Council insisted against government wishes, that the

Unemployment Relief Council must require work in return for assistance, and that the requirements of the Industrial Code - about wage rates in particular - were not to apply.'[51] Even when the standard wage was offered the unemployed on public works it remained at a level of less eligibility. This was recognised by the public in the occasional complaints about government assistance concerning unemployment rates which appeared in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. A typical example appeared in the *Advertiser* in November 1931, under the title 'Unemployment Blunders'. Herein the author listed a number of perceived government blunders of which it was claimed that 'the third appalling blunder is the latest - men at standard wages for two days' work and five days' compulsory idleness, while the whole country is crying for developmental works and a magnificent whole-souled, whole time effort by every able-bodied man to do his best to save his country.'[52]

Throughout the depression the Adelaide ration remained the lowest for all Australian states in monetary terms. Austerity measures instigated by the state led to social unrest in early 1931. As Dickey puts it, 'the fixed elements of bread and meat, neither of best quality, generated deputations of complaint, efforts to fiddle the system, and a riot outside the government offices in King William street [the infamous Beef Riot of 9 January 1931].'[53]

If, as Rose asserts, that 'over the course of the present century, types of work and conditions of working have radically changed [such that there has occurred] ... a series of reforms of the work place, claiming to be able to radically restructure the working relation, to make work pleasurable for the worker at the same time as it is profitable for the employer,' then in Adelaide during the economic crisis of the thirties, the subjectivity of the worker much more closely resembled the nineteenth century version of work relations whereby 'as far as the worker [was] concerned ... work [was] made up, principally, of the elements of obedience, self-denial, and deferred gratification - it entail[ed] the essential subordination of subjectivity.'[54] A poignant example of this kind of 'essential subordination' has been given in Broomhill's analysis of underemployment in Adelaide during the Depression, where the relationship between the worker and the activity of production was less to do with incorporating a measure of 'productive pleasure' than with removing the protective standard of the living wage in favour of a spirit of heroic realism.

176

What this problematised was the strategic purpose of the basic wage in the mode of liberal governance, namely that the 'living wage' meant incorporating into the lives of property-less workers an indelible wage relationship outside of dependence on state welfare.

Furthermore, workers were not freed from the spirit of heroic realism. Using the basic wage as a measure of underemployment Broomhill has estimated that throughout 1932-33 'over two-thirds of all male workers earned less than the basic wage over the yearly period ... [and that] The most widespread cause of underemployment for a working man during the Depression was the practice of short-time.'[55] In January 1931, the pervasiveness of this practice was recognised by the *Advertiser* which commented that 'in most avenues of employment the workers are participating in some form of division of work involving the loss of a considerable portion of each week.'[56] According to Broomhill the practice of work-rationing was common in both South Australian government departments and in private industry. A comprehensive survey carried out in 1930 and 1931 by the South Australian Board of Industry, whose responsibility it was to determine the State Living Wage, found that 'A calculation of the total amount of time lost within the twenty-three firms surveyed reveal[s] that the average time lost by each person working short-time was approximately ... one-quarter of the full working week.'[57] As far as these figures indicate the extent of deprivation amongst workers who were struggling well beneath the ideal of the living wage in Adelaide, it is a salutary reminder that at the peak of the Depression in the nineteen thirties almost 'one half of all workers in Adelaide were unemployed.'[58]

Administering Relief - ascetic practice

The disciplinary technique applied through the bureaucratic processes surrounding the administration of the dole in Adelaide involved an ascetic practice commensurate with rituals of confession and obedience to the officiating authority. The Relief Office was a place of constant, coded, and systematic observation, wherein forbidden conduct was named, classified, and hierarchised down to the smallest detail. Broomhill found that 'the ration ticket distribution system was highly regimented, impersonal and time-consuming. Relief recipients had to stand in long queues, often in the heat or the rain, for several hours in some cases. Before receiving their fortnightly tickets they were quizzed, often very aggressively, about any earnings they had made over the previous fortnight.' In order to qualify for relief 'the unemployed man was given a form which he had to have signed by a

Justice of the Peace declaring that he was a destitute person. The applicant then was visited by his local policemen who reported to the Relief Office on his economic circumstances and in particular on any assets which he owned. If it was reported that the applicant owned anything that might be readily saleable he was required to dispose of it for whatever he could get and relief was withheld until that money was used. All bank savings had to be exhausted ... In effect, therefore, the unemployed person had to become destitute of everything except his house and essential furniture before be could receive relief.'[59]

There is an important corollary to this basic assertion: not only were the unemployed reduced to a state of destitution within a logic that linked relief to a condition of less eligibility, but moreover, the system of relief, as an exercise in pastoral care, sought to enforce an indissoluble link between the unemployed and a spirit of self-denial and sacrifice. In other words, the system of ration distribution, as a technique of discipline and prohibition, and as a mechanism of examination which perpetually exhorted confession regarding one's right to relief, expressed in substantive ways an unambiguous resonance with the tenets of heroic realism. Like the city unemployed, assistance to farmers was constrained and was subject to a host of inquisitorial regulations. 'The South Australian Farmers Assistance Board sought information on estimated income from such sidelines as pigs and chickens - even the names and ages of the cows, horses and humans had to be given. Detailed directives were issued about farming practices, and advances for petty cash were but grudgingly given.'[60]

In the city the Unemployment Relief Council (1933) promulgated a form of state surveillance and actively defended ascetic practices with regard to the unemployed. The Council urged 'the government to introduce a work card recording an employee's work history, which should be presented when claiming rations; it bromided a deputation of unemployed for the basic wage, for increased rations and firewood, different food, some luxuries such as tobacco, boots, bedding, and medical aids ... [and] it insisted on the necessity of police reports in assessing the applications of the unemployed.'[61] In New South Wales the systematisation of relief as a policy of coercions programmed in a minutiae of detail the movements and activities of those in receipt of rations. The disciplinary dimension of personal conduct was reflected in the need for applicants to attend 'at a regular day and hour', when the unemployed would make 'a declaration

regarding his continued unemployment and destitution.' After his eligibility and appropriate scale value had been determined 'his allotted relief was then passed to a number of businesses from whom the relief recipient could purchase goods.' It was the custom that "orders setting out the recipients' names, addresses, and food values [were] delivered to the various tradesmen by the Department for collection by the recipient. Personal identification cards [were] used, and the cards [were] signed by the tradesman, who in turn [got] a receipt from the recipient for the goods.'[62]

In January 1933, the nationalist party in Victoria, the United Australia Party (UAP), introduced 'a Central Index for the registration of all recipients of relief throughout the state.' This was codified in the Unemployment Relief (Administration) Act of the same year. 'When the Act came into effect, the form-filling, queuing and supervision reached ... unprecedented heights.'[63] The increased intensity of regulation of the poor was aimed at reducing the continuing high degree of imposition and lack of co-ordination in the relief system. According to Spenceley, the new Minister for Sustenance, Wilfred Kent-Hughes, who openly professed that he was a fascist and a sympathiser with Mussolini, sought to deal with the dangers emanating from pauperism, particularly mischievous behaviour, and thereby sought to correct various kinds of imposition. 'Kent-Hughes held the view that 'a wanderer [unemployed worker] who knew the ropes could impose successfully every day of the week,' and 'those who spoke the loudest and pushed the hardest received the most'.'[64] As Spenceley suggests, the problem of relief rates had been to define the correct level and to police its allocation. In turn, Dickey claims that the Central Index represented 'a comprehensive code dealing with works, payments, ration scales and offences ... Similar, if less effective, lists were established in New South Wales and Queensland. [Moreover] ... charitable societies found the burden of relief demands forced them to accept the agreements and practices designed to prevent imposition and overlapping.'[65]

In South Australia private charities were less significant in the provision of aid for able-bodied men because, as Dickey maintains, 'consistent with the historic relationship between government and non-government welfare services in South Australia ... [the] state was the instrument by which this form of social dependence was interpreted and managed.'[66] Notwithstanding this conjuncture, the public press engaged in a concerted criticism of the allocation and surveillance of relief and the general organisation of relief

179

administration.

In an exercise designed to advance more progressive and precise police functions, the *Chronicle*, under a title 'Men with Money Obtain Money', reported on one politician's assertion in parliament that 'it seemed that the power of police officers to enquire into the position of applicants for rations was too circumscribed. There was said to be many abuses of the system. Bank managers had told him [Mr Pattinson, (Lib.)] that some successful applicants for rations possessed bank balances, or that they had withdrawn accounts just before they applied for rations.' It was further reported that the Minister for Employment promised to enquire and 'If more power were necessary and legislation were required to endow the officers with the suggested power, he would place the matter before Cabinet.'[67] In turn, under the heading 'Fraudulent Relief Application', the *Advertiser* exhorted members of the public to exercise a constant scrutiny and to inform on any malefactors suspected of practising imposition. The paper served notice that 'the Unemployment Relief Council was taking drastic steps to deal with cases of fraud. There had been many prosecutions, and every case in which there was a suspicion of imposition was closely examined. The council also enquired if applicants for relief had relatives able to support them. If people had suspicions they should write to [Mr. McInnes (Minister of Employment)] confidentially, or anonymously, and the cases would be investigated. The department received much information in that way, and many of the complaints had been proved to be well founded.' [68]

This kind of public surveillance advocated by the press, reflects what Marcuse has termed an organicist version of life, whereby the primacy of the whole over individuals is prioritised.[69] The public vigilance advocated in the press was commensurate with organicism. In this case, as a kind of 'panoptic unity' which attempts to realise a desired unifying totality by which individuals recognise, in the practice of informing on fellow members in society, the foundation and limit of social ties and obligations. It is a technology in which social duty shifts the boundary between private and public and incorporates a set of norms by which the whole is greater than the individual parts (organicism). It is a technology wherein self-inspection is as much a part of a security of the self as is the duty to exercise an intense preoccupation with scrutinising, judging and

evaluating the perceived illicit conduct of others.

On July 10 1931, the *Advertiser* reported that the law had been tightened regarding the 'abuse of rations' and that 'a regulation imposing a penalty not exceeding 20 pounds' had been approved by the Executive Council 'on persons found guilty of offences in connection with the issue of rations.'[70] The *Advertiser* also served notice that the Minister of Employment, Mr. McInnes, 'had given instruction for the appointment of inspectors to enquire into the applications for relief to ensure that there was no fraud.'[71] Given the disciplinary intentions of relief policy there was also a mounting agitation in the press against what was perceived as the incalculable harm being done with regard to the tightening rules applying to eligibility for benefits. A *Bunyip* commentator conveyed a widespread concern under the title 'Tightening Up The Rations'. 'Formerly you were permitted if in receipt of rations to earn up to a pound or two a week in order to pay your landlord his rent, buy stockings for the children, keep the bedding in the house up to scratch ... I am informed now that you are not permitted to earn as much as 5 shillings a week, and if you do, it will be deducted from your rations ... a little reflection will show what a foolish decision it is. It makes the recipients of the rations a thousand times more dependent on rations than before. They are practically compelled by law, so long as they receive rations, not to earn a penny and run the risk of losing their rations. Numbers of rationers will take the risk and become liars and cheats in order to bring home a few shillings to the hardy pressed wife. Thousands of others will yield to circumstances and become lazy loafers where previously they maintained a measure of self respect and brought home a very vital shilling per week to keep the home going ... It will be beyond the capacity of the poor folk to buy a reel of cotton or a postage stamp without whining, cringing, or begging to get the necessary assistance.'[72]

In an effort to diminish if not resolve these demoralising aspects of the relief system, the public press, based on a kind of arcadian principle, promoted a 'back to the land' campaign as an objective in reforming the organisational deficiencies in the sustenance system. Back-to-the-land schemes promoted a conduct of life in which patriarchal self-responsibility was re-aligned with the values of labour and the contentment of self-reliance. It was a technology designed to disassociate the unemployed from a social dependence on relief without work. Accordingly, in an effort of pastoral concern, newspapers pressed

into service the young unemployed in an effort to return them to a 'simpler life on the land, be it in ever so small areas, as the desirable and most fruitful way of enabling people to become their own keepers [responsibilised citizens]. Making money, in the new order (though it isn't really new after all), is to be subsidiary to making a living. Contentment is to be there, too.'[73] In 'back-to-the-land schemes', the prime axiom of conduct and ethics, according to the *Advertiser*, 'is that he [the former unemployed male] is making ready for the day when he is his own master; the day when he can feed himself by himself and sell his surplus to obtain the money to buy the things that his little plot cannot furnish. This is the striving after the new, perhaps truer, independence which he, probably, has not known before.'[74] It was precisely this kind of rationality which undergirded a bio-political technology which was directed at the establishment of a series of industrial colonies and a reorganisation in the political administration of life regarding the virtues of asceticism, thrift and hard work.

Bio-politics: Rehabilitation, grids of striation and industrial colonies

In Broomhill's account the emergence of a bio-political agenda, namely the resolve to move the single unemployed from the metropolis to the land, was initiated as a result of 'disturbances' at the time of the Beef Riot. As Broomhill puts it, 'With this in mind, the Unemployed Relief Council was instructed to set up isolated work camps in the country to which the unemployed could be sent.'[75] By May 1932 there were four camps operating and they supplied accommodation for a total of four hundred men. Simply put, the impact of the camps was minimal on the total number of unemployed men in Adelaide, but in relation to the government aim of reducing the threat to social order, Broomhill suggests 'this move proved to be remarkably successful. Those who were most likely to cause 'trouble' either were displaced to isolated work camps where they could be kept under close supervision or more often themselves decided to head for the country or the eastern states.'[76] Besides the industrial colonies large numbers of unemployed camps were located in country locations; 'one local country newspaper reported that camps of unemployed Adelaide men, sometimes with their families, were to be seen in nearly every bed along the Murray River from Blanchetown to above Renmark.'[77]

The means of enforcing the migration of the single unemployed to country locations was inscribed in a blunt political tool, namely the 'whip of hunger'. 'Those who did not register

had their meal tickets stopped and were debarred from further relief', and furthermore, 'to ensure that those who went to the country to work camps did not return to the city, the government made it clear that they would not be entitled to rations in the city.'[78] In relation to the new techniques which re-ordered the striation of territory in which the single unemployed could locate themselves, the *Advertiser* proclaimed that the 'government was not bluffing' in its intention to move the unemployed out of the city. In a leading article, the *Advertiser* quoted the Minister of Employment as claiming that 'It has been suggested that the Government may be bluffing in its determination to deal with the unemployed who refuse to work, ... Then let me make it clear once more what will be done. [The city unemployed] 'Must Accept or Get Out'. Of the 218 men in the single unemployed camp at the Old Exhibition, 188 yesterday did not accept the work at Mount Bold and Mount Crawford [country unemployment camps], offered by the government. The only factor which will prevent the Unemployment Relief Council from removing the men from the camp is proof of physical unfitness.'[79]

An important corollary, one which is completely ignored in Broomhill's account, is that in the social process of inculcating discipline into the lives of those outside the wage relationship and in the whole technique of management relating to the 'industrial colonies' there existed an intense isomorphism with the principles of heroic realism. As Marcuse suggests, one of the templates of heroic-folkish realism is that 'the mythical glorification of the renewal of agriculture has its counterparts in the fight against the metropolis and its "unnatural" spirit.'[80] This amounts to a 'depravation of history' such that 'the determination of human happiness and dignity is delivered over to natural forces [the universals] of "blood" and "soil".'[81] In the spirit of 'the mythical glorification of the renewal of agriculture' the policy of getting the unemployed 'out of the orbit of the metropolitan area and into dispersed settlements in the bush' was for the Mitchell government in Western Australia underscored by a 'belief in the moral and productive superiority of rural work [and that] it also damped down the possibility of agitation by large congregations of unemployed in Perth.'[82]

As well, in Victoria, South Australia and elsewhere, the camps became a 'cleansing site' wherein social relationships perpetuated a basic authoritarian principle such that 'the basic political relationship is the "friend-enemy" relationship.'[83] In Victoria, an instance of this

relationship was evident at the camp at Broadmeadows, some sixteen kilometres from the city centre. It was a disused army camp which had been re-opened for the single unemployed. The camps manager, 'a Colonel Scanlon, ran it on military lines and made it clear that Communism would not be tolerated. On several occasions the camp was raided by the police who at night fished out Communists and other 'undesirables' many of whom proved to be foreign or of British extraction.'[84]

In a logical extension of its commitment to 'responsibilise' those outside the wage relationship, the South Australian press gave considerable attention to a succession of plans and deputations advocating work camps and back-to-the-land schemes for the young unemployed. A series of articles printed in the public press extolled the 'desirable initiatives' being advocated by the Back-to-the-Land Movement, the right-wing Citizens League, and the Young People's Employment Council. The *Advertiser* eulogised the Kuitpo Industrial Colony, which it termed in honour of the Reverend S. Forsyth (a representative of the "Back-to-the-Land" Movement), "Forsyth's Foresight". The newspaper summoned forth the ideal archetype of the colonial era and the virtues of rustic life, stating that 'whoever said the days of the colonists were over had not visited [the Kuitpo colony] where 60 single men, eager to find work when none was to be obtained, were given a chance to see whether they had in them some of the iron possessed by the colonists who made the state. They have proved it in 20 different ways. They were turned out on virgin country, heavily timbered, a proposition tough enough for any colonist, and in a few months they are as near an approach to a self-supporting colony as is possible with the 500 acres they possess.'[85] The redemptive qualities of rural work at the Kuitpo colony had much in common with what Edmonds claimed was a primary goal of the Vichy government in France. As Edmonds suggests, the Vichy government's 'concern with the question of labour [was] conceived by its ideologists more as a spiritual force than as a factor of production [and] was most noticeably manifested in the *chantiers de la jeunesse* which took French youth into the forests to find spiritual renewal through tree felling.'[86]

In July 1931 the *Chronicle* assimilated the social theme of the *chantiers de la jeunesse* in its concern for rehabilitating unemployed youth. The paper inquired into the possibility of extending the Kuitpo settlement with an additional Junior Kuitpo Colony. The intentions of the extension committee responsible for the colony were clarified in that 'the committee

felt that it would be better to extend the scheme at Kuitpo, and take as many young men as possible out of the city, and away from its attendant temptations.' The public was informed that 'The position is desperate for hundreds of young fellows, and unless we give them something to do they will be lost physically, mentally, and spiritually ... [and, moreover,] the present system is unworthy of our genius. To force a young man to live in idleness and wear shabby clothes is to break his heart. Every observer of the condition of unemployed young men today is struck with the moral deterioration that is taking place. Hundreds of them living in mental agony, with an outlook upon life that is driving them towards communism. We have wasted their inheritance.'[87]

The underlying principle of the industrial colony was supported by prominent business interests. For example, in the above report, it was stated that 'Sir Langdon Bonython and Mr. T.E. Barr Smith have each promised 500 pounds for this work [extending the Kuitpo scheme], and a Melbourne business man has contributed 100 pounds.' Further donations and government support were also requested. As the paper stated, 'we think that it is time the government came to our assistance and gave us a sustenance allowance for our men equal to what it now costs to maintain single men at the Exhibition camp. This would enable us to take a much larger number of men.'[88] The bio-political tenor of this fund raising scheme was aptly characterised in a suggested slogan during an appeal week for extensions to the Kuitpo industrial colony. The *Chronicle* reported that during a special meeting of the appeal committee, Mrs. J. Lavington Bonython suggested the following slogan during the appeal week -

> For want of a job respect was lost,
> For want of respect a boy was lost,
> For want of a boy Australia was lost,
> For want of Australia the Empire was lost.[89]

Some of the central features of this new social mechanism, the industrial colony, involved a calculating technology of subjection to a series of disciplinary mechanisms designed to rehabilitate youth from the invidious condition of idleness, communist influence and the spectre of city vagrancy. As Krafchik has argued, in Britain during the thirties, when the consequences of unemployment led to a rapid increase in the numbers of vagrants, the new administrative emphasis was placed 'on the rehabilitation of the vagrant, as opposed to the deterrence characteristic of the Poor Law.'[90] In other words, 'increasingly, [vagrancy]

185

was presented not as an unwillingness to work but an inability.'[91] Vagrancy, then, in this new process of diagnosis, was connected to a knowledge based on a growing recognition that 'the correct response to the vagrant was not deterrence but treatment and eventual rehabilitation.'[92]

Krafchik's claim in fact suggests that there was nothing less than a reconfiguration of the whole notion of deterrence in the reformative initiatives in Britain during the depression of the nineteen thirties. The emergence of a new ontological status appeared in a caesura which characterised the casual unemployed as no longer alleged to be avoiding work, but rather, as in need of treatment because they were incapable of it.[93] This cleavage in the theme of deterrence and rehabilitation coalesced with the appearance of the new industrial colonies in South Australia. Therein a significant change occurred in as far as a new problematic of the constitution of the self emerged. The new condition of knowledge allowed for the possibility that the young unemployed might be reformed without the condition of deterrence.

Vagrancy and its attendant immoral condition was reaffirmed when the *Southern Argus* declared that 'young people are squandering their God-given gifts of youth; instead of being employed they are drifting hopelessly, hanging around street corners, public houses, billiard rooms, forming undesirable acquaintances and thriftless habits. The condition thus produced provides a fertile soil for the development of atheics (sic) and immorality, disloyalty and idleness, and the development of criminals instead of decent citizens.'[94] In emphatic moral terms, an editorial in the *Advertiser* entitled 'Saving the Young' proclaimed 'we believe that it is the moral effects of idleness on those who are on the threshold of industrial life, even more than the necessity of providing them with a livelihood, which has moved the Citizens League to summon representatives of all the organisations interested in the welfare of the rising generation, to see what can be done ... to solve what is rightly called an "appalling problem" ... [and moreover] there is a peculiar pathos in the spectacle of aspiring youths brought face to face with economic conditions for which they are *not responsible* [my emphasis], whatever may be the case with their elders.' [95]

In common with the fascistic social theme of spiritual renewal and inner ascetism, the Church Manifesto (May 1931), which was signed by all principal denominations, incorporated the principles of moral rehabilitation. In a leading article the *Advertiser* recounted the moral rectitude expressed in the manifesto: 'The recovery of Australia depends upon honest government and sane policy, upon the readiness of everyone to make sacrifices in a good cause, upon the placing of spiritual values before material. If our only thought is to recover material prosperity, we do not deserve success ... we must be prepared to face yet greater sacrifice and self-discipline for the common good.'[96] The Chairman of the South Australian Congregational Union (Mr. G. McRitchie), in connection with an appeal to raise money for an extension to the Kuitpo Colony, addressed the moral rectitude implicit in the process of rehabilitation. In an article titled 'Churches Behind Kuitpo Scheme', the *Advertiser* quoted the Chairman as saying that 'it is not charity we are offering the boys but a healthy and serviceable means of helping them to help themselves and save their self-respect ... All of them are learning something useful, and some of them are saved from becoming a prey to idleness and all its attendant possibilities ... we owe a duty to these boys on moral and religious grounds.'[97]

In December 1931, in an article titled 'Reformative Treatment', the *Advertiser* informed the public that preparation had started on establishing a prison camp in the Kuitpo district. Its reformative and rehabilitative principles were described as a kind of political anatomy whereby the selected inmates were to be 'taught the principles of agriculture, and have night schools. They undergo a course of physical training, first aid for the injured and drowning, and have swimming baths ... [The youth] ... would work in afforestation areas which would be proclaimed for prison purposes.'[98] One manifestation of rehabilitation was that press discourse could represent this new kind of technology as set at a distance from the discontentment and the harshness of deterrent conditions. For example, in early June 1931, the *Advertiser* declared that at the Mount Bold camp 'A man while still being helped must still feel that he is still worth his salt.' According to the *Advertiser*, 'palatable conditions' met with one old inmate stating 'yes of course we are satisfied with things as far as they go ... and although we would like a bit more work, this camp is streets ahead of moping around the city.'[99] In an article titled 'Men Like Kuitpo Colony', the *Advertiser* expressed the inmates' sense of satisfaction through the manager of the Kuitpo colony, Mr. S.R. Gray. He reportedly claimed that 'iron discipline is quite unnecessary at Kuitpo.

187

The camp rules are few, and are rarely referred to. Compare this with the trouble in unemployed camps in other States where no work is done, and the reason for our success is obvious. Many of our men know what the Exhibition camp is like, and hate the thought of returning there.'[100]

The meticulous body management to which the young were subject in the colony was affirmed by the Reverend L.C. Parkin, who paid a visitor's tribute to the Kuitpo settlement. The *Advertiser* reported on this visit, which expressed the supposedly arcadian qualities manifest in the colony. '[We] were delighted with the friendly welcome of the manager and an introduction to young men who were facing life once again with hope. They are learning to be farmers, and their pigs are the most odorless and cleanest I have ever seen - that is all I know about pigs. The new poultry sheds being erected seem good enough to make even a rooster lay. Cutting their own timber into cosy huts, or raising their own vegetables, the men seem to enjoy life ... All the cards seem to be on the table in Kuitpo - if one may use such a metaphor - for there was nothing to hide; but the ace of trumps was the confidence and hope of the 70 young men.'[101]

Mode of Subjectivity

In *Unemployed Workers*, Broomhill offers a psycho-social explanation for the resignation, conformity and limited contestation that actually occurred between the unemployed and the matrix of authority and custom existing during the nineteen thirties in Adelaide. According to Broomhill, people accepted the decline in living standards more favourably because 'all were in the same boat' and there was no immediate 'scapegoat' on which to vent one's frustration and designate blame.[102] Anomie and alienation grew as the gap between former values and the new reality widened. As Broomhill puts it, 'The basic moral and economic values which guided most individuals' lives included a belief in the importance of honesty, of keeping out of debt, avoiding charity, and of maintaining a certain standard of living and status. Very quickly people found such beliefs came into direct conflict with the reality of the new economic situation.'[103]

The long-term unemployed were 'forced to contravene their former standards' and often experienced 'a disturbing conflict between their material needs and their moral values when they reached the point of having to apply for the dole.'[104] Mainly the single

unemployed resisted the negativity of the determinant social conditions because, as Broomhill suggests, 'Amongst the unemployed family men there was little political involvement. Apart from the feelings of isolation, uselessness, and emasculation associated with the psychological impact of unemployment, the married man had to take into account the possible consequences of activism ... [and] the fear of arrest deterred them even from participating in demonstrations. This was a very real fear since they realised that if they were arrested their family would be deprived of their dole ration. As meagre as the dole was it was vitally important in the day-to-day struggle of many of the unemployed to survive.'[105]

In Broomhill's account, the effects of resistance and counter investments by the 'psychologically distressed' single unemployed were limited to small demonstrations centred around minor grievances. The state deflected with relative ease any threat to social order by the 'politically powerless' unemployed.[106] According to Broomhill, this sort of exegesis is possible because the unemployed wielded no power in the economy and without jobs they were completely without bargaining power. Moreover, the unemployed suffered a sort of cleavage from the trade union movement. During the depression workers and the unemployed were divided by suspicion and hostility, especially since 'union officials were fully absorbed protecting declining living standards of their own members, and the unemployed represented a threat both to jobs and the wages of employed workers.'[107]

Whatever the newly instituted procedures for disciplining and submitting the unemployed to what Broomhill terms the 'voice of authority',[108] his analysis nevertheless suffers from a serious lacuna. The presence of a nascent fascism in the shape of heroic realism and ascetic practices is completely ignored in his account. He does not explore the dense field of operative technologies for the manipulation of the unemployed and the possibility of relating this to a fascistic tendency in the domain of liberal governance. Tendentious fascism was present in a mode of subjectivity which, commensurate with the underlying principles of heroic-folkish realism, advocated self-renunciation and sacrifice. This correlates with what Marcuse claims is 'a radical transvaluation of values: unhappiness is turned into grace, misery into blessing, poverty into destiny ... The performance of duty, the sacrifice, and the devotion that "heroic-realism" requires of men are brought into the

service of a social order that perpetuates the misery and unhappiness of individuals.'[109] Poverty becomes a presupposition in the natural order of things and governmentality incorporates an understanding that the unemployed accept the heroic-ethic of poverty as a metonym for nature as opposed to culture.

Providing confirming evidence for the above, in December 1932, the *Northern Argus* printed a poem titled 'The Test of a Man' which described in stark terms the natural, fate-like outlines of heroic realism and its attendant concerns with poverty, sacrifice, and duty.

> The test of a man is the fight he
> makes
> The grit that he daily shows,
> The way he stands on his feet and
> takes
> Fate's numerous bumps and blows
> A coward can smile when there's
> naught to fear
> When nothing his progress
> bars,
> But it takes a man to stand up and
> cheer
> When some other fellow stars.
>
> Its not the victory after all
> But the fight that a fellow makes,
> The man who driven against the wall
> Still stands and takes
> The blows of fate with his head held
> high,
>
> Bleeding and bruised and pale,
> Is the man who'll win in the by
> and bye
> For he is not afraid to fail.
>
> Its the bumps you get and the jolts
> you get
> And the shock that your courage
> stands,
> The hours of sorrow and vain regret
> The prize that escapes your hands,
> That test your metal and prove your
> worth.
> Its not the blows you deal,
> But the blows you take on the good
> old earth.

That show if your stuff is real.
- Mansfield Amplifier[110]

The Adelaide unemployed, even if 'Bleeding and bruised and pale', showed that their 'stuff was real' in so far as they desired to adapt themselves to a prime axiom of conduct and effort, namely less eligibility, asceticism, and rehabilitation. The increasing emphasis on rehabilitation owed much to the fear of Communism. The press waged an unparalleled campaign of hostility against 'Soviet Russia' and the 'Red Menace', especially emphasising their danger to youth. In an article titled 'Child Communists', an editorial in the *Advertiser* declared that 'Bolshevism attracts the youthful mind for the same reason as it does the sort of adult mind on which it obtains a hold. For embryo brains, as well as adult brains of a certain order, the doctrines of the nationalisation of the means of production and exchange, and the confiscation of private property - whatever else may be said about them - have a superficial charm. If a thing seems to be wrong, stamp it out by violence if persuasion will not serve. Such is the gospel not only preached, but practised, by the Reds in Australia, who are all for revolution, and whose growth in numerical strength and arrogance in the senior State has provoked the upholders of the Constitution to organise in its defence, and arrange to take the field at the first attempt by forcible means to over throw it. It is lamentable that grown men ... should have embraced the childish teachings of Karl Marx, which set at defiance every tenet of political economy, the science of human happiness. But when the minds of youngsters are contaminated with seditious principles, and are further taught that it is right to stop at no extremes in the enforcement of these principles, one can but exclaim with Othello, "O the pity of it!" '[111]

Not surprisingly then, the austere agency of the rural unemployment camps in South Australia did not tolerate Communist influence. In a technique of political partitioning they sought to expel and delimit agitators and their ideological doctrines. Moreover, the Hill government's Public Safety Preservation Act, (September 1930) gave extraordinary powers to police and its primary purpose was to "smash Communism."[112] In a territorial site separating them from the doctrines of 'revolution and violence', Adelaide youth were subject to a new technique of management, a rehabilitative process of inculcating discipline into individuals. In response to the overwhelming fear of Communism, these quasi-military organisations - the industrial colonies - sought to instil a unique form of

subjectivity, not by repressing individuality, but by encouraging a spiritual renewal requiring the young unemployed inmate to act upon himself, to monitor, test, improve and transform himself through work, austerity and rituals of mortification. The industrial colonies however were equally a techne for abolishing mendicity and vagrancy while encouraging industrious habits and social renewal. In a bio-political sense the camps were an expression of a social capacity to enmesh the individual in the network of expectations and routines that purportedly made up the economic well-being of a nation. Thus, measures for the rehabilitation of youth included an effort to bind them into the productive life of society freed from the stigma of Communism.

Coda

The constitution of poverty and unemployment was embedded in a complex matrix of power-knowledge, an ensemble of force which included the state, business, religion, right-wing organisations, trade-unions, private charities and the press. As a line of force, this ensemble directed and ensured that the mechanism and principles of relief remained firmly ordered in ascetic and rehabilitative practices. In part, this matrix of power-knowledge organised patterns of thought and action which accelerated the dissolution of a 'fully' insured economic citizen. The dissolution in relation between a technology of protection (the living wage) and national insurance (unemployment benefits outside the wage relationship) resulted from these practices of asceticism and rehabilitation with their commensurate prescriptions of poverty, sacrifice, and moral rectitude in the lives of the unemployed.

These imperious and pressing investments of asceticism with their attendant fascistic tendency placed the unemployed in the grip of very strict powers which imposed on them constraints, prohibitions and obligations of self renunciation, and, as well, a bio-political agenda. The latter established a form of moral regulation which allowed for habits, propensities, and pleasures to be understood as a kind of therapy of the body, an interiorisation of values linked to the virtues of discipline, self-denial, dutifulness, and a life of work. Little wonder then that the manager of the Kuitpo scheme could boast that few rules existed nor were required. The industrial colonies represented a therapy of freedom which aligned political, social and institutional goals with the happiness and fulfilment of the self: a therapy of freedom wherein pleasure was commensurate with duty, sacrifice and

hard labour, and a bio-politics which correlates a political anatomy of youth - a detailed management of body and soul - with the well being of the nation.

The technology of protection which incorporated the principle of a just wage resulted in the emergence of a social insurance protecting the labourer from the anarchy of the market place. In the form of a continuity with the reformed poor laws, in this technology there was also, an intense registration of concern with the worker's self-reliance and familial duty. Throughout the depression of the nineteen thirties, moreover, the unemployed were kept fit for immediate work because the local social provision of relief which determined access to benefits was based on a condition of less eligibility, encouraging responsibilisation, and the joint process of deterrence and resettlement defined the genuine unemployed and fostered spiritual renewal among those perceived to be in danger of social degeneration.

By the nineteen thirties the technology of protection had been welded into a conflation of liberal and fascist themes, a rationality of asceticism wherein property-less labour was constituted in practices extolling the virtues of poverty, sacrifice and service. Even when relief work was paid for at award rates it was only provided at a level commensurate with sustenance. The deep angst about rations without work reflected a concern about the demoralised unemployed who, without work for rations might suffer from a loss of self-reliance, a sense of initiative, incentive, and worst of all, of the will to work.

The virtues of independence, self-reliance, thrift and hard work were administered in the mechanism and principles of relief - the dole, 'our crumbs', was set just above the pressure of actual hunger, and in South Australia became increasingly related to a willingness to work. The administration of relief made visible ascetic practices in relation to applications for the dole, resulting in a ritual of self renunciation, a declaration of destitution, and inquisitorial regulation as a form of pastoral care.

Heroic-folkish realism, as a new and forceful regulatory technology structured, organised and managed in a pervasive grid of calculation an ascetic mode of subjectivity. An acceptance of deprivation was reflected in an infantilised gambling attitude which clearly negated any intrinsic right to welfare outside the wage relationship. In South Australia,

work rationing meant that the majority of workers were earning well below the basic wage. Moreover, the press advocated sedulously that youth serve the state with uttermost self sacrifice, especially in order to protect racially the Aryan empire. The moral and productive superiority of rural work as a site for cleansing the soul from social enemies and the demoralising effects of idleness existed in a kind of isomorphic relation with a liberal governance committed to responsibilisation, in conditions which were reminiscent of the 1834 Poor Law.

Notes and References

1. See Moss, J. 1985. *Sound of Trumpets*. Netley: Wakefield Press. and Fox, L. (ed.), 1989. *Depression Down Under*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

2. Marcuse, H. 1968. *Negations*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press. p. 3.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources*. Netley: Wakefield Press. p. 182.

5. Ibid.

6. Macintyre, S. 1985. *Winners and Losers*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin. p. 70.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Argus* (Melbourne), 4 August 1931; 14 August 1931, cited in Spenceley, G.F.R. 1986. 'Social Control, The Charity Organisation Society and the Evolution of Unemployment Relief Policy in Melbourne During the Depression Of The1930.' *Historical Studies*. vol. 22, no. 87, p. 248.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

11. Louis, L.J. and Turner, I. 1968. *The Depression of the 1930s*. Melbourne: Cassell Australia. p. 103.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 104.

13. *The Advertiser*, November 30, 1931.

14. Dickey, B. *op.cit.*, p.183.

15. *The Advertiser*, June 17, 1931.

16. *The Advertiser*, November 24, 1931.

17. *The Advertiser*, August 25, 1931.

18. *The Adelaide Chronicle*, August 20, 1931. *TheAdvertiser*, August 18, 1931.

19. *The Bunyip*, August 5, 1932. September 2, 1932.

20.   *The Advertiser*, September 19, 1931.

21.   *The Advertiser*, October 30, 1931.

22.   Macintyre, S. *op.cit.*, p. 54.

23.   *Ibid.*

24.   *Ibid.*

25.   See Rose, N. 1990. *Governing the Soul.* London and New York:
       Routledge. p. 64.

26.   Macintyre, S. *op cit.*, p. 53.

27.   *Ibid.*, p. 55.

28.   *Ibid.*, p. 57

29.   *Ibid.*, p. 55

30.   Rose, N. *op.cit.*, p. 224.

31.   Macintyre, S. *op.cit.*, p. 58.

32.   Kewley, T.H. 1973. *Social Security in Australia 1900-72.* University of
       Sydney: Sydney University Press. p.152.

33.   Wheelwright, T. 1985. 'Economic policy in the 1930s and the 1980s: the
       second time as farce?' in Roe, J. (ed.), *Unemployemnt: are there lessons
       from history?* Sydney: Hale and Iremonger. p. 149.

34.   Louis, L.J. and Turner, I. *op.cit.,* p. 82.

35.   *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.

36.   *Ibid.*, p. 87.

37.   Macintyre, S. *op.cit.*, p. 69.

38.   *Ibid.*

39.   Edmonds, B. 'The Political Uses of Unemployment in France from Blum
       to Petain,' in Roe, J. (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 66.

40.   Marcuse, H. 1968. *Negations.* Trans. Shapiro, J.J. London: Allen Lane,
       The Penguin Press. p. 30.

41.   *Ibid.*, p. 27.

42. Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. 1973. *Dialectic of Enlightenment.* Trans. Cumming, J. London: Allen Lane. p. 145.

43. *The Bunyip*, June 24, 1932.

44. *The Bunyip*, June 17, 1932.

45. *The Bunyip*, June 12, 1931.

46. Spenceley, G.F.R. *op.cit.*, p. 242.

47. *The Bunyip*, April 15, 1932.

48. Marcuse, H., *op.cit.*, pp. 35-6.

49. *The Bunyip*, November 18, 1932.

50. Dickey, B. *op.cit.*, p.182.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-3.

52. *The Advertiser*, November 24, 1931.

53. Dickey, B. *op.cit.*, p. 183.

54. Rose, N. *op.cit.,* p. 56.

55. Broomhill, R. 1978. 'Underemployment in Adelaide During the Depression.' *Labour History.* No. 34, p. 32.

56. *The Advertiser*, January 1, 1931, cited in Broomhill, R. *ibid.*, p. 35.

57. Broomhill, R. op.cit., pp. 33-34.

58. Broomhill, R. 1975. 'On the Dole in Adelaide During the Great Depression.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia.* No.1, p. 33.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

60. Dickey, B. 1987. *No Charity There.* Sydney: Allen andUnwin. p. 125.

61. Dickey, B. *Rations, Residence, Resources. op.cit.*, p. 194.

62. Louis, L.J. and Turner, I. *op.cit.*, p. 102

63. Spenceley, G.F.R. *op.cit.*, p. 250.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

65. Dickey, B. *No Charity There. op.cit.*, p. 124.

66. Dickey, B. *Rations, Residence, Resources. op.cit.*, p.186.

67. *The Adelaide Chronicle*, July 16, 1931.

68. *The Advertiser,* September 9, 1931.

69. Marcuse, H. *op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

70. *The Advertiser*, July 10, 1931.

71. *The Advertiser*, July 3, 1931.

72. *The Bunyip*, September 11, 1931.

73. *The Advertiser*, September 21, 1931.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Broomhill, R. 1978. 'Political Consciousness and Dissent: The Unemployed in Adelaide During the Depression.' *Labour History*. No.34, p. 66.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

77. Broomhill, R. 'Underemployment in Adelaide During the Depression.' *op.cit.*, p. 38.

78. Broomhill, R. 'Political Consciousness and Dissent: The Unemployed in Adelaide During the Depression.' *op.cit.*, p. 66.

79. *The Advertiser*, November 19, 1931.

80. Marcuse, H. *op.cit.*, p. 23.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

82. Bolton, G.C. 1970. 'Unemployment and Politics in Western Australia.' in Cooksey, R. (ed.), *The Great Depression in Australia.* Rosebery, N.S.W: Bridge Printery. p. 92.

83. Marcuse, H. *op.cit.*, p. 36.

84. Spenceley, G.F.R., *op.cit.*, p. 247.

85. *The Advertiser*, June 3, 1931.

86. Edmonds, B. *op.cit.*, p. 69.

87. *The Adelaide Chronicle*, July 16, 1931.

88. *Ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. Krafchik, M. 1983. 'Unemployment and Vagrancy in the 1930s:Deterrance, Rehabilitation and the Depression.' *Journal of Social Policy*, vol. 12, Part 2, p. 195.

91. *Ibid.*, p.196.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*, p.209.

94. *The Southern Argus*, November 12, 1931.

95. *The Advertiser*, May 28, 1931.

96. *The Advertiser*, May 8, 1931.

97. *The Advertiser*, July 14, 1931.

98. *The Advertiser*, December 17, 1931.

99. *The Advertiser*, June 2, 1931.

100. *The Advertiser*, July 20, 1931.

101. *The Advertiser*, July 24, 1931.

102. Broomhill, R. 1978. *Unemployed Workers*. St. Lucia, Queensland: Uni. of Queensland Press. p. 67.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *Ibid.*

106. *Ibid.*, p.180.

107. *Ibid.*, p.167.

108. *Ibid.*, p.68.

109. Marcuse, H. *op.cit.*, pp. 29-30.

110. *The Northern Argus*, December 23, 1932.

111. *The Advertiser*, November 4, 1931.

112. Broomhill, R., *op.cit.*, p.179.

Chapter 6

Press Representations: Domesticity and Unemployment in the Depression of the Nineteen Thirties

In terms of welfare provision and labour market relations women encountered a regime of practice which was significantly different from that experienced by men in the Depression of the nineteen thirties. Women were precluded from a wide range of social and public responsibilities because of established patterns of segmentation which were discernible in a 'line of force', a diagram, which included a particular form of insured citizenship, scientific management, relief provision, domesticity and dependency tied to patriarchal responsibility. Female embodiment was subject to developing strategies which included the promotion of a fascistic and patriarchal aesthetic. In this aesthetics of existence female subjectivity was the target of a series of exclusionary judgements which had many points of concordance with liberal governmentality. A kind of social occlusion occurred which encouraged and promoted masculine responsibility while simultaneously encouraging a particular mode of femininity and wifely capabilities. In fact, as young women were geared to a short term of work in the labour market before being relegated to the domain of domesticity they emerged in the Depression of the nineteen thirties, at least in terms of vocational training, wage relations and career prospects, as socially interpellated subjects.

Protective Technology and Domesticity

According to Rose, the first half of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a new form of social subjectivity and self government. The citizen emerged more as 'a social being whose powers and obligations were articulated in the language of social responsibility and collective solidarities.'[1] As Rose puts it: 'Each individual was to become an active agent in the maintenance of a healthy and efficient polity, exercising a reflexive scrutiny over personal, domestic, and familial conduct. Citizens should want to regulate their conduct and existence for their own welfare, that of their families, and that of society as a whole.'[2]

Social insurance was designed to incorporate those sectors of the population which were outside the wage relationship - 'the young, the old, the sick and the unemployed - through establishing a set of direct economic relations between each citizen and the state. Further, the state would directly intervene as a third party in the contract of employment between the labourer and the boss, thus writing a social contract of security [a technology of protection] into the individual wage contract. The employee was to be, at the same time and by the same token, an insured citizen.'[3] Whether working or not, in this new relationship citizens became, in effect, employees of society. They found themselves subject to contractual arrangements calculated to bind the subjectivity of citizens into the obligations of the social order. Moreover, the moral and psychological language of insurance with 'its resonances of "security, respectability and virtuous providence ... was intended to entail a definite reduction in the general social and political consequences of economic events - industrial conflict, unemployment, and so forth".'[4]

In Australia the historic Harvester Award of 1907 initiated a strictly asymmetrical distribution of wages based on gender relations. The basic wage was set so that it would meet 'the normal needs of the average employee, regarded as a human being living in a civilized community.' As indicated in the previous chapter, 'Higgins considered that the average male employee supported a wife and [about] three children, and he set a basic wage to provide for such a family unit.'[5] Correlatively the basic wage concept intended to provide for the predominant family unit also 'implied that those not responsible for the maintenance of a wife and three children in a "reasonable standard of comfort," for example juniors and females, should be paid less.'[6] Feminist writers generally agree that the basic wage concept embraced a gendered dichotomy and represented a prism through which were refracted the relationships of patriarchy and domesticity. For example, according to Summers, the discourse of equal pay during the early decades of the twentieth century was really about 'whether relationships between the sexes should be premised on the traditional breadwinner/dependent arrangement, where there was a clear division of labour, status and power based on sex, or whether a new form of relationship based on the economic independence and freely chosen interdependence of each sex, should be permitted to evolve.'[7] Likewise, in Pringle's words, 'the desire to keep them

202

[women] at home producing children is obviously closely linked to the emergence of the family wage, and perhaps also with the female vote as the consolation for keeping out of public life.'[8] In turn, Larmour asserts that the concept of the: 'living wage' embodied great injustices because it 'ignored the needs of women who were the breadwinners for their families, and it failed to cater adequately for the needs of larger families with more than three dependent children. Yet the basic or family wage was paid to adult bachelors and to those whose families were grown and self-supporting. The rate fixed by the Court for female work was 54 per cent of the male rate.'[9]

In the latter half of 1931 there were regular reports in the South Australian press concerning the ongoing enquiry by the Board of Industry into women's basic wage. This enquiry served as a kind of template for a specific regulatory technique fostering the promotion of a female subjectivity which closely aligned itself with the programmatic aspirations and practical consequences of the 'living wage'. Further, the object and target of techniques of management were predicated on a specific female subjectivity which was informed by the prevailing cultural values, social expectations and political concerns about gender differences.

In October 1931 the *Advertiser* reported that the Board of Industry had been asked by employers to reduce the basic wage of adult female workers in the metropolitan area as it was 'contended that this would maintain the percentage level between men's and women's wages that had ruled since 1921.'[10] The employers' plank for launching this reduction in the female wage rested on proving that the cost of living had been reduced and in this regard a 'working girl's' clothing bill became a pivotal feature in the debate along with conceptions of wifely duties, motherhood and domesticity.

In relation to the enquiry into women's wages, a number of news articles about women's role expressed prevailing concerns and angst about women's subjectivity. For example, news columns with titles such as 'Wages or Babies? Do Modern Girls Prefer Marriage?', 'Marriage or Good Wages? Do Girls Prefer Single Independence?' 'Poser at Enquiry', and 'Women Will Be Breadwinners - What of Housework?' reflected these concerns. The *Advertiser* reported that the Chairman of the Board of Industry ('Mr. President Kelly') had stated at the women's living wage enquiry that 'unfortunately for us men, the time may

come when women will become the breadwinners.' According to the report Mr. Niess MP added that, 'I don't know how we will get on with the housework.' The realisation that some women's work actually supported unemployed men and that a reduction in women's wages would 'seriously affect them' - that is, in the vocabulary of the enquiry, the women's 'home responsibilities' - caused some consternation in the proceedings. The *Advertiser* recounted how the President said that these remarks 'created a new situation', precisely because 'the female living wage had in the past been fixed on the basis of the reasonable needs of single women. The principle followed in the case of married women was to regard the male as the natural breadwinner, and not the unfortunate women who, because of the unemployment of their husbands, were forced to shoulder the responsibility of keeping the home going.'[11]

Interventions directed at lifting the female worker's wage to what constituted the reasonable and normal requirements of a woman on the living wage embraced not only the disparity between wages of males and females but was premised on women's fecundity and a femininity embodied in relation to children and a maternal imperative. The call for change was far from a radical altering of the technology of protection. In other words, the notion of women as 'insured citizens' adhered to the injunction that women remain dependents, intensifying the signifying process which constituted female subjectivity in terms of domesticity.

At the proceedings determining the female living wage the Board of Industry adhered to the principle which assumed that by fixing a high ratio of wages women might not be inclined to marry and bear children. The *Advertiser* announced that Mr. Baldock, representing the employees at the enquiry, proposed to challenge this principle. He claimed there was no evidence to show that the birth rate had decreased in the other states where the percentage of the female to the male rate was 50 per cent or more(in South Australia the female rate was 46 per cent). 'He submitted that the rate in South Australia should be made compatible with the rate in other states.'[12]

In late November 1931, the *Advertiser* raised the question: 'Does a good wage make a girl turn up her nose at marriage?' The *Advertiser* declared that this was a question 'which has been exercising the minds of members of the Board which is enquiring into the living wage

for females'. The result of a questionnaire, conducted by a newspaper investigation found that many girls 'admitted that a good husband was superior to a good wage'. In the news inquiry a number of anecdotal stories were provided, such as 'three waitresses in a big city restaurant [who] decided unanimously that if they were earning good wages, they [nevertheless] would prefer single independence. As it was, they said blushingly, they were all engaged.'[13]

In a crucial part of the deliberation over the setting of an adult female wage the Board rendered visible to regulation the 'delicate details' concerning women's underclothing. The means of calibrating a working women's 'reasonable needs' included techniques for testing, diagnosis and evaluation of the minutiae in female existence and experience. The social delicacy of some of these deliberations witnessed certain members asking that the evidence be taken 'in camera'. As the *Advertiser* declared, 'evidence regarding the more intimate articles of women's underwear is not to be taken in public ... It was pointed out that in the course of cross-examination it would be necessary to test witnesses on the cost of certain articles of clothing which they claimed to be necessary.' One witness, Matilda Lawrence, whom the newspaper claimed was 'a wardsmaid at the Adelaide hospital, ... gave evidence ... [and] said she had an unfurnished room for which she paid 7/6 a week, using her own furniture ... She walked to work , and used the cars only when it rained. She had a day off a week and did not pay for her food that day unless she went shopping, as she had dinner at the home of her sister. She did most of her own laundry work and had to provide her own materials.' The *Advertiser* related that 'the witness submitted a list of her clothing requirements based on the clothes needed during the last twelve months. She said she found no articles reduced in price. She thought if anything they were more expensive [and claimed that] she wore silk stockings at work. They were formerly her best, but when they became old she used them for work.'[14] A detailed list of the clothing requirements, as well as the number of years of expected wear were provided in the press and are presented in Table A (page 226 below). [15] In itself, this table provides a testimony of the personal and private details which were made public, and the lengths to which the Board attempted to make visible the private domain of a woman's life, in an effort to assert its authority and be seen to safeguard contemporary attitudes.

According to the *Advertiser* another witness who was to be 'examined on delicate details regarding [women's] clothing' was allowed to express her evidence after the President of the Board had announced that 'I do not consider the question indelicate (if underskirts are fashionable these days?). Surely the witness can tell us if underskirts are fashionable?' Subsequently, the *Advertiser* recorded that the witness affirmed 'that underskirts were fashionable. She wore skirts and blouses in summer. Women were always buying stockings, handkerchiefs, toothpaste, talc powder, and mending materials. She bought a costume three years ago, and it would have to be discarded next winter. She could wear it to work. She had two or three seasons' wear out of a top coat, and was still using it. If she could not afford to get a new one next season she would have to make it do for another year.'[16]

The newspaper article also disclosed that another witness 'Olive May Polkinghorn, wardsmaid, of Hackney, said she had a room with a friend which made her rent 5/ cheaper than it was before. She paid tram fares only when it rained, otherwise she walked. She contended that a girl should have a single room in preference to sharing one, from the point of view of privacy. On her day off she had her meals at her mother's place, and they cost her nothing. Her mother did private laundry. Her wages had been reduced to the same extent as those of the previous witness.'[17]

In early December 1931 the *Advertiser* informed the public that the President of the Board had dismissed the evidence given by the witnesses, stating in a convoluted fashion that the budgets of clothing and miscellaneous expenditure presented at the enquiry were 'impossible of acceptance.'[18] The *Advertiser* reported that this was particularly the case since the President claimed that 'the cost of board and lodging in the metropolitan area, available and appropriate to the female employee on the living wage has substantially decreased, and that it is impossible to accede to the claim that the average unskilled female worker should be insured a room to herself.'[19] He advanced no evidence to support this claim. The basic wage for women was fixed at 31/6 a week and represented a reduction which was grounded on the President's assumption that 'the cost of living had fallen during the last twelve months, necessitating, if the law was to be observed, a corresponding decrease in the basic wage.'[20]

The stratagem of the South Australian Board of Industry illustrates the programmatic aspirations of the technology of protection established by the Harvester Judgement in the first decade of the twentieth century. Female workers were to be paid a wage sufficient to keep a single woman in reasonable comfort. The Board's wage settlement represented a continuation of the asymmetrical wage relationship between men and women while simultaneously promoting women's domestic commitments in relation to her duties as wife and mother. During a period of unparalleled contraction, and in spite of the fact that women visibly contributed to the family's income, especially while the 'natural breadwinner' was unemployed, there nevertheless occurred a reduction in women's wages. This reduction was aligned with a liberal governmentality which fostered asceticism and a crucible calculated to position women as illegitimate members of the workforce. f women were present in the workforce it was intended that they remain there only for a brief period in their youth prior to marriage. As Aungles maintains, 'the period of single life for most of the working women was on the whole experienced in jobs that didn't give economic independence. The contemporary values about the nature of the family meant that pay for single women was usually below a level necessary for independent living ... their wages became part of the family's common fund.'[21] The 1933 Census revealed that 34,656 single employed women were working in South Australia and this constituted approximately a quarter of the paid workforce. According to Aungles. most of these single women were living at home with their families[22]

Relief, Asceticism and Domesticity

Summers argues that 'even though women were not threatened with unemployment to the same degree as men, there was still considerable female unemployment. Much of it was simply not recorded ... unemployed women could drop from sight back into the home.'[23] Moreover, Summers maintains that in the Depression of the nineteen thirties unemployed women found their eligibility for sustenance(unemployment relief) was more tenuous than mens. In Victoria claims for sustenance were dramatically constrained. 'In 1931 one woman was claiming sustenance for every fourteen men, by 1935 the ratio was one woman to every one hundred and forty men. [As Summers suggests] The days of the dole for women were over.'[24] In part, this development occurred because the way unemployment relief and rations were distributed to women mirrored the basic wage concept of the man as breadwinner. Thus his wife was relegated to half-person status and it was assumed that

her needs were less. As Summers graphically illustrates, 'a single man received 5/10d worth of food rations a week in New South Wales in 1932, a married couple got only 9/5d, while a man with a wife and one child got 14/8d. It was apparently calculated that while a man needed 5/10d worth of food, and a child 5/3d worth, a wife could get by on 3/7d worth.'[25]

In South Australia during the Depression the Relief Department became responsible for unemployed women because on 17 December 1931 the Unemployment Relief Council resolved that most women would be 'semi-permanent destitute cases.'[26] A primary responsibility of the Children's Welfare and Public Relief Department was the administration of relief and support with rations to 'widows, and wives who had been deserted or were otherwise bereft of a breadwinner but who had family support. It offered residence at Magill Old Folks Home, and it aided single unemployed girls in Adelaide and its suburbs ... The newest division of its work was the statutory power to grant cash payments as maintenance under Division 111 of the Act [the Maintenance Act of 1926] to women with families.'[27]

Commensurate with the female wage, the sustenance allowance in South Australia during the Depression was the lowest in the commonwealth. According to Moss, the reduced minimal rate barely prevented starvation.[28] The acquisition of relief by women was often a humiliating as well as a time-consuming and frustrating exercise. In Macintyre's terms, the 'sense of shame and humiliation in accepting relief was reinforced by the state, most especially in the rules and procedures it attached to relief.'[29] As Aungles writes: 'The time and labour of women who had to rely on state or charity welfare services was frustratingly further extended by the bureaucratic aspects of the system. To get extra milk rations for the children they had to be examined at the Children's Hospital, but the milk was doled out at Kintore Avenue a mile away. So women with young children in arms would have to make a double journey by foot. This expedition would take up most of the day. Firstly to the Children's Hospital to get the piece of paper certifying their right to extra rations, then to Kintore Avenue to collect the rations then to walk all the way back home.'[30]

In Broomhill's interviews with individuals who had experienced the Depression of the nineteen thirties, one women gave an account of the humiliation she felt when she had to

visit a doctor provided for the unemployed. 'We used to go the Casualty Hospital here in the Port to see your doctor. There would be one doctor one side and one doctor the other side, and a big queue waiting out in the hot sun or the rain, it didn't make any difference to them. As you were called in, there may have been a gentleman at the back of you, not a lady. But you still had to stand up in front of the doctor and tell the doctor. There was no room where you could speak confidentially to the doctor. You had to tell the doctor in front of everybody else and sometimes I would pull my chair up so that the gentleman at the back couldn't hear me. But then he (the doctor) wired the chair so that you couldn't move it.'[31]

The South Australian press noted that destitute mothers approached charity organisations only when driven by the whip of hunger and indigence. Charity was presented as a last resort which was made available only after every avenue of self reliance, ascetic practice, and sacrifice had been exhausted. The *Bunyip* exposed such conditions in an article titled 'Gawler and its Poverty'. The paper declared that 'it is distressing to record that mothers who have for months on end battled valiantly against the press of poverty have at last had to give in, to acknowledge that they had reached the end of their resources and ingenuity; and with tears streaming from their eyes begged for a coat, a little shirt, or shoes for their suffering and ill-conditioned offsprings.' Even though the report declared dozens of women 'went empty away', there was notice given that thorough investigation and selection were practised. With qualified sentimentality, the public were notified that 'there was no indiscriminate distribution, each case was investigated on its merits but who could have hearts of steel to defy the pleadings for coverings for children, with definite evidence before them that the seeker was in dire need for herself.'[32]

Women's meticulous domestic labour and the management of diminishing household resources was highly regarded and found praiseworthy in the public press. It established a kind of ethical comportment, an ascesis, whereby a woman's natural reference point was the home, wherein she surrendered all self interest and elected instead to commit herself to the bearing and rearing of children and seek the well being and responsibilisation of her husband. The *Advertiser* approvingly documented how unemployed girls only sought relief when compelled to by the exigencies of economic circumstance. Under an article titled 'Girls Reluctant to Take Rations' the public were informed 'that girls receiving

rations were driven to it and were no less reluctant to apply for them today than in the past, [and that this] was the definite opinion of Mr Herbert Taylor (chief relieving officer of the Public Relief Department) at the women's living-wage enquiry ... [and furthermore it was declared that] there were very few cases of imposture.'[33] In the domain of press discourse the provision of charity to destitute women reflected an ascetic mode of subjectivity.

Domesticity: Asceticism and the Women's Pages

As a pastoral agency, the press applied a number of techniques aimed at the formation of female embodiment and advocated various female attributes and characteristics which were thought to be normative in terms of civility and ethical comportment. The women's pages participated in the training of the female body as an exercise of self government. Further, these same pages in the press sought by prescription and instruction to instil a conduct which would make women do what was good for themselves (care of the self). A central focus of ethical comportment which served as an instrument of the government of women's conduct was an exercise of self government in which women freely experienced a kind of jouissance with regard to male patronage. The press exhorted that a woman who enjoyed male patronage should emphasise the home and family.

During the Depression of the nineteen thirties the South Australian press was dominated by vocabularies, images, evaluations, and techniques for ordering the understanding of femininity and domesticity. Principles of self-renunciation and mortificatory rituals were advocated in conjunction with a form of salvation linked to a woman's training in household management, her role as a consumer, and her willing acceptance of an accommodative response which offered personal fulfilment and psychical identity in a dependent relationship. The women's pages in the newspapers offered information, recipes, menus, advice on house planning, home nursing, home economics, hygiene and citizenship. A key focus of concern was austerity, which coalesced with a kind of ascesis that emphasised self-denial. In turn, this axis of concern was qualified in conjunction with the emerging centrality of women's health and the well-being of population. In Summer's terms 'the acquiescence or self abnegation of most women meant that no challenge to the sex division of labour occurred.'[34] She, moreover, claims that: 'What took place during those years [of the Depression] was a massive but mute mobilisation of Australia's

210

housewives to fight for the survival of the institution which gave them their special role in society. Its effect was to prevent the temporary collapse of the male breadwinner role from developing into a permanent erosion of the traditional sex division of labour.[35]

Sacrifices made in the 'fight for the survival' of the household were usually made by women. As Ellie Cambell wrote in 1932: 'in those days of financial depression, when so many economies had to be made, it is generally mother who cuts out her own extra comforts so that father and the children shall not feel the pinch.'[36] The Labor Advocate acclaimed the virtues of women's sacrifice and service in their economising efforts with regard to family budgets constrained by rations: 'Who could feel anything but admiration for those splendid women who with their husbands and children are forced through economic conditions to live on rations ... The women who have struggled so hard to improve their homes and keep principal and interest paid, and have eventually through the men's inability to obtain work being forced to let their homes go ... know only too well the full meaning of sacrifice ... it is they who have to continue to make the rations last from week to week, and alter and renovate clothing for the children and themselves.'[37]

Dyer has documented the multiple ways in which austerities were experienced by South Australian families in rural communities, particularly the resourceful roles played by farmers' wives. In Dyer's account of rural life in the nineteen thirties 'the farmer struggled continually to balance his family's needs and the farms resources by 'making do'. The farmer's wife discovered there was never anything as useful as a petrol tin. Add a loop of wire and it was a bucket, cut it in half lengthwise - a wash trough, flatten it out - roofing material. The packing in which cans were delivered could be stained with Condys Crystals and curtained off to make cupboards. Flour bags made handy aprons and blankets ... the farmer's wife would count herself lucky if she had a hot water system, or a rudimentary laundry, or even a sink in the kitchen.'[38] The press contributed to this practical art of household economising by providing numerous household hints in the women's pages.

The *Advertiser* informed its readership that the women's pages of the *Chronicle* had 'been arranged to meet the need for first-hand practical information on the subjects that women must study to make ends meet - soap-making, farming sidelines and all the numerous kitchen economies required to make ends meet.' The women's page became a kind of

211

forum wherein women could exchange hints and share knowledge concerning 'every-day problems of outback economy' seen as necessary to help 'a practical housewife living in the country.'[39]

Generally the women's pages crammed with recommendations and admonitions about household economies. For example, women were advised that 'in households where economy is a pressing question, soups are not always used nearly as often as they might be. Where there are hungry children coming home for lunch, or where the evening meal is not as substantial as it should be, soup, properly-made, is the housewife's best friend.'[40] In the press exhortations about balanced diets designed to ensure health for women were advocated by film actors like Leila Hyams,[41] while the women's pages provided admonitions about dietary shortcomings. For instance, in the *Chronicle* one could find columns which counselled against stringent dietary regimes. One article titled 'Fetish of Cheapness. Not Always True Economy', advised women that 'it is wise to differentiate economy and cheapness for the two are by no means synonymous.' In a dehortative fashion the article went on to inform women that 'there is more nonsense talked about soup than any other variety of food. A good deal of it is nothing more than kettle broth - that is, hot water and bread with plenty of pepper and salt - only we flavor it with bone. The quantity of liquid that children are forced to swallow in order to acquire a very small amount of nourishment is startling. Then, again, when the little meat there is has been stewed to rags off the soup bones, it is frequently made into potted meat, whereof the only nourishment, I should say, is the pepper and salt.'[42]

The women's pages advised on how to save on 'fuel and labor', the meat bill, and other home economies such as knitting, recipes, home-grown vegetables, patchwork rugs and bedspreads.[43] The *Advertiser* even announced that women, in order to 'assist in providing for their children - to "make things go round" and to purchase by barter some of the dainties they have nearly forgotten, ... go down to the wharfs at Port Adelaide each morning now to add to their scanty larders by fishing. Some angle from overhanging sides of the ketches and hulks in the little frequented parts of the seaport, while others wait patiently with rod and line ready to go wherever a good haul is reported. "The rations are all right for people with small families," said one of the women yesterday, as she sat on the edge of the wharf in the Basin patiently waiting for a bite, "but for me, with seven

212

children under the age of 15, it is a very hard struggle to make things go round. The few fish I manage to catch when I come to Port Adelaide help me considerably towards getting little dainties which my children were used to a couple of years ago, and which they ask for every day. It used to break my heart when I had to refuse their little wants, but now, from the result of my labor at the wharfs, I am able to satisfy them, sometimes by selling my catch for a few pennies or by exchanging it with neighbours or the grocer for jellies and custard powders. It is better than going around and begging for money".' [44]

Consumerism: Idealisation of the Household

According to Aungles the core system of values that influenced South Australian families early this century 'supported the family consumer economy, the form of family in which the husband was the wage earner and the wife the economically dependent domestic worker.' [45] This clear demarcation between breadwinner and homemaker was reinforced in the nineteen twenties, and represents at this time an anti-feminist response against the 'new woman' - the emancipated flapper whom the press satirised in a parodic fashion. For example, the flapper was typically cast in the press with 'cane, monocle, cigarette case, Eton Crop hairstyle, straight figure ... thoroughly masculine.' [46] Moreover, Cameron contends that 'as the 1920s wore on, there was a gradual increase in society's opposition to any role for women other than mother and home-maker and a corresponding decrease in activities of women in any sphere outside the home.' [47]

In relation to this new focus on women as mothers and home-makers Allen has described how the ideal image of the community self, pre-WW11, was informed by an understanding that 'it was right and natural, and even necessary, for the moral order that married women should stay at home where they would be responsible for the domestic work and the bearing and rearing of children.' [48] In conjunction with this contention, Aveling and Damousi claim that by the nineteen thirties depression the debate about married women in the paid workforce had been largely silenced because they 'were used as scapegoats to 'explain' the depression, commonly being accused of taking men's jobs. The unemployment of women was considered unimportant, and the increasing hostility towards married women workers was related to the idealisation of marriage and maternity, and the assumption that women had no right to work.' [49]

213

In South Australia women's inured domestic habitus remained apparently intractable because, as Aungles suggests, 'even during the economic crisis of the Depression when women did contribute to the family income, they usually remained in the home.'[50] Furthermore, in the Census of 1933, only 5.4 percent of married women in Australia and only 2.7 per cent of married women in South Australia were recorded as being in gainful employment.[51]

In general, the conventional subjectification of female work reflected a close attachment to the family household. In Humphries' American study, this represented a kind of economic panacea which, she claims, can be summed up in the maxim 'spending out of the depression.'[52] Humphries draws attention to 'the grave responsibility of the homemaker as purchaser' in the Depression, when it was recognised by capital that 'homemaking still ranked first as the occupation employing the largest number of persons, expending the longest hours in labor, and possessing the largest purchasing power.' As Humphries puts it 'the predominance of women in the sphere of consumption was recognised in the propaganda campaigns to stimulate spending out of the depression. Spending was presented as a patriotic act peculiarly under female jurisdiction, and so women became the key agents in recovery.'[53] Further, in these years, organised business showed itself well aware not only of the importance of women as consumers, but of the value of marriage and traditional family patterns in maintaining an appropriate level and distribution of consumption spending.[54]

During the Depression years in South Australia representations of women as consumers in the round of newspapers drew many parallels with the experience of women as consumers in Humphries' analysis of the situation in America. However, the iconography and significations attached to representations in the South Australian media did not symmetrically coalesce with the experience of women as consumers in the United States. Discrete layers of meaning in advertisements and other representations served to define a regional understanding and staked out a conceptual space which assimilated the social theme of liberal governmentality. For example, the largest women's organisation in Adelaide in the Depression, the twenty seven thousand strong Housewives Association, held the view that women's duties were to 'secure orderly comfort and loveliness within her gate and without.'[55] In June 1931 the Housewives Association orchestrated a 'buy

local goods campaign' under the auspices of 'Housewives Week'. The *Advertiser* reported that 'the association has taken as its slogan for the week, "Buy Back Prosperity," and is appealing to all sections of the community to insist upon being supplied with goods produced in our own state.' Consumerism was directly related to the condition of unemployment, as is exhibited in the *Advertiser* of June 22 1931. ' "Have you considered that the unemployed problem is your problem?" asks the president of the [Housewives] association (Mrs A. K. Goode) in a message to the housewives of South Australia ... if you were consistently to buy South Australian goods instead of just spasmodically, the obligation to maintain workless people would be lifted because our factories would be humming again with industry.'[56]

The relationship of unemployment with women's consumption was further represented in a series of advertisements in the press. In Figure 1 (page 227 below), for example, the signification 'me' in the statement 'this will give *me* (my emphasis) a chance of being employed' is overtly masculine and conjoins with a plea for women's responsibilisation in the home. The male in the representation rests his hands on his mother's shoulders and she is exhorted to responsibilise him: 'You can help me find a job.' Her accommodative responsibility is clearly signified. As a consumer she can not only responsibilise unemployed male members of her own family but, in the process, she can participate in the recovery and economic prospects of the state. Her responsibilities are simultaneously bio-political and fettered to reliance and dependence on male members in her own household. Advertisements directly addressed themselves to the housewife as consumer and either attached the product to the housewife as in 'the Laurel Housewife' (page 228 below) or commended her household budget responsibilities and economising good sense, which was represented, unlike men, as wise and knowledgeable (pp. 229-30 below).

Scientific Motherhood: Registering a fascistic aesthetic

According to Reiger, the intense registration of knowledge which was directed at women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century concerned 'a central hegemonic theme of efficiency, science and rational calculation [which ran] through the various ideologies of home, family, children and sexuality in Australia.'[57] Discourses and narratives established by experts and found in literature focussed on the home as a physical environment, the care of children, parenthood and sexuality. This regime of discourses offered women an

215

admirable image of wifedom and motherhood which in its symbolic weight, its affective overtones and the referential play of its imagery organised women's embodiment in the imperious and pressing investments of scientific management. The female body as an object of scientific knowledge was in the grip of very strict powers which imposed on it constraints, prohibitions and obligations. As Reiger maintains, 'by the 1920s the organisation of the household and the care of the children were loudly proclaimed as matters of national public concern, although still basically the responsibility of individual housewives and mothers.'[58]

According to Reiger 'the spread of the infant welfare movement in Australia was one of the clearest instances of the spread of new "scientific", and consciously reforming, ideology.'[59] In terms of scientific management of the home pastoral concerns expressed increasingly better invigilated processes of adjustment. The Handbook of Domestic Science, which was 'written by the supervisor of cooking for the NSW Education Department, emphasised "scientific" aspects. The handbook entailed considerable technical detail, emphasising home hygiene with precise details of the housewife's daily and weekly routine. The housewife should rise at 6.30 am, eat only a little [ascetic practice], sweep the dining room, give the family breakfast, do the lunches if necessary while the family eats, then clean the kitchen, and so to the rest of the home. Explicit instructions, such as 'a good sweeper goes before the broom' [were] given, as well as general principles [such as] ... it is a woman's duty to keep the family together and this entails a new style of running the household so that all may be clean, orderly and efficient.'[60]

Fascistic overtones were discernible in the persistent theme of eugenics when, as Reiger contends, 'child study' in the nineteen twenties and thirties became an expanding field, 'with claims being made that only through understanding the development of the child could the development of human society be achieved ... [and] at the same time, there [was] an emphasis on women's role as shapers of [a] newly understood formation, the personality, and hence of their role as both bearers and builders of a new breed of humans.'[61] As Reiger maintains, 'The Racial Hygiene Movement, the forerunner of the Family Planning Associations, led much of the discussion of adult and child sex education. The attempt to promote healthy, "scientific" sexuality was explicit at the Racial Hygiene

216

Association Conference of 1929. Comments on sex were all imbued with the urge to improve the race.'[62]

These developments in Australia were commensurate with the rationalities and objectives of the social and mental hygiene movements in Britain. As Miller and Rose contend: 'The hygienism of the early twentieth century switched its point of attack, seeking to promote desirable social ends by acting upon the habits of individuals within the family, in particular the mother's role in the household and rearing of her children. It was argued that poor hygiene in the home, especially during childhood, was the cause of all sorts of later problems - not only physical illness but general debility and inefficiency, and poor military performance. The home was to be turned into a machine for constructing hygiene, not coercively, but by inspiring the wish to be healthy - health was to become a positive value.'[63]

In the Australian context, developments in psychological research directed at infant welfare became the hallmark of 'scientific' parenting along the same lines; as Miller and Rose maintain, the hygiene movement in England constituted the psychology of family life. In their terms 'the family becomes a psychological affair, saturated with emotions, desires, fears, anxieties, which is to be maintained not as a legal duty, or as a moral imperative, but as a means to personal contentment and fulfilment.' Moreover, 'there was now a need for the careful scrutiny and regulation of the potentially dangerous emotional economy of the family if normal children were to be produced and pathology avoided.'[64] Scientific motherhood was to become a leading force as women were guided and influenced in a binding matrix of social life. Within this frame of reference women acted, in a kind of simulacra, as nurses, child psychologists, sex therapists, and mothers of the race. As a practice of liberty women were inspired to construe a life in terms of the new rationales of domestic science, techniques of psychology, and scientific mothercraft.

These forms of knowledge and techniques invested with scientific reason were closely related to the occurrence of smaller family sizes during the interwar years. Gittens has argued that in terms of the Australian ideal, 'one of the most important non-material factors influencing ideals of family size at this time was not simply woman's desire for leisure per se, but also a desire for time and leisure to be spent in developing a deeper and

closer emotional bond with her children; such an ideal was impossible to achieve if there was a large number of children.'[65]

The work of 'sex reformers' like Agnes and Rosamond Benham, both of whom were medical practitioners in Adelaide at the turn of the century, reflected the rationalities of eugenics and the hygienists.[66] Even though Mackinnon and Bacchi present the Benhams as emancipatory and reformist, they nevertheless miss or ignore the possibility that these practitioners were representing a proto-fascist rationality which was to be further elucidated and advocated in the Depression of the nineteen thirties. The Benhams were particularly interested in the idea of the mother as 'soul-gardener', which meant that the mother could influence the child's future prenatally. The authors recognise that this had a particular appeal 'to those who wish to find some mechanism for influencing the future of the race.' In Rosamond's hands this idea became the key to social progress. She wrote that, 'a mother can resolutely turn her constant hopes and determined will towards such an end'. Both mother and daughter proclaimed - "How wonderful a trust is motherhood".'[67]

It is doubtful that this 'trust' is as emancipatory for women as Mackinnon and Bacchi suggest, because, as Agnes Benham maintained, women's status was enhanced because 'it is the mother who has the most determining influence upon the character, the constitution and physical appearance of her coming child.'[68] In Mackinnon and Bacchi's terms, the crucial role of women in reshaping the race became the basis of a demand for important shifts in power relations between men and women. It was through a eugenic imperative - the future of the race - that the Benhams advocated women's emancipation in relation to this rationality, desiring that men needed to change their attitudes to women.[69]

What the Benhams achieved in advocating this kind of emancipatory rationality was, paradoxically, the development of women's subjectivity in forms of knowledge and scientific techniques which emerged as mediated by a patriarchal and fascistic aesthetic. For example, as Mackinnon and Bacchi point out, 'Agnes Benham proceeded to use the idea of natural selection to defend the importance of women's willing and enthusiastic co-operation in the sex act. Natural selection, she claimed, depended upon natural attraction, and this made love the crucial factor in producing healthy offspring.'[70] The proto-fascistic priorities of nature and blood in relation to sexuality are discernible here, and appear as a

kind of essential natural-organic unity between women's sexuality and the race. In turn, Rosamond believed that 'intense and prolonged coition ... provided the circumstances for the development of the "magnetic and spiritual sides of married love, thus aiding the natural upward growth of our manifold being".'[71] The configuration of married love in relation to the progress of the race bore a strong resemblance to a fascistic aesthetic.

These fundamental categories of knowledge also influenced the Royal Commissions of 1904 and 1905, which were set up to report on details concerning the falling birth rate. However, Pringle maintains they were ostensibly preoccupied with the strength of the state.[72] As Pringle puts it, 'the Commissioners set themselves up as the custodians of the moral and physical well-being of women.' She argues that this custodial role and 'concern for women was a mere pose to ensure that their child-rearing function was fully harnessed to the interests of the State. The Commissioners wanted to show that all birth control was harmful to the State and to this purpose their interest was in emphasising its dangers to women.'[73] In these terms the Commissioners determined that contraception was a kind of denial of the 'maternal instinct.'[74] Given the interdictions on contraception Pringle suggests that 'it is not surprising that infanticide was practised on a large scale' and accordingly 'a high proportion of the "still born" were killed in the process of birth or shortly afterwards, while in some cases children of one, two or even three years old were classified in this way.'[75]

Summers maintains that in the nineteen thirties there was also a high number of still births, which provides for her another indication of the extent of abortions, especially self induced ones. 'Between 1936 and 1940 28.71 in every 1000 births were still-born and of these, 5.10 per cent were to single mothers. The ex-nuptial rate was in fact higher, with 34.45 in every 1000 births being still-born'. Summers justifiably draws the conclusion that 'it is also probable, especially before compulsory registration [prior to 1935/6], that a proportion of ostensible still-births were actually instances of infanticide.'[76]

In the nineteen thirties significations relating to domesticity in the South Australian press coalesced with the rationalities of the early sex reformers, and the tenets of eugenics, hygienists and domestic science. In February 1932 the *Northern Argus* published an autobiographical narrative by the celebrated screen icon, Greta Garbo. In a graphic

account, Garbo valorised the qualities of married love which implicitly rejected flapper hedonism in favour of a feminine mystique, a knowledge of pleasure and desire based on a moral-patriarchal aesthetic principle of marriage and motherhood. In Garbo's words: 'The way to a man's heart! That must always be the most fascinating of all riddles for a woman. For every woman is a siren at heart - for the man she loves ... If a woman cannot find her way through labyrinth paths to a man's heart, she can never be sure of detaching him for long from his ardent pre-occupations and bringing him to her heart when she so desires.' In a patriarchal aesthetic a woman was given to express her willingness to sacrifice vocation for married love and Garbo emphasised a picture of womanliness wherein a woman's actions remained nurturative, accommodative and subservient. She went on to proclaim: 'I do not think I could love, and also make pictures. Some day, perhaps, I shall leave the films and give all to this love ... Men are won and held by women who know how to be their playmates and companions. It is only the women who do not bother to cultivate the art of companionship in love and in marriage that have anything to fear from either the vamps or the sirens of this world. The way to a man's heart is not through the larder and the cooking oven. The way is through *his* (my emphasis) imagination, through interest in and understanding of his work. Men who take a pride in their work always want to talk about it and will look for a more sympathetic audience if their wives receive the subject with bored shrugs.'[77]

Advertisements in the press continued the concern with women as mothers and child rearers, and moreover reflected what Rose has termed 'psychologisation of the mundane.'[78] As Rose maintains, pedagogic elements in this 'new strategic dimension' sought 'to educate the subject in the arts of coping.' The individual was given personal means of adjustment to life events 'involving the translation of exigencies from debit, through house purchase, childbirth, marriage and divorce ... in which each is addressed by recognising it as, at root, the space in which are played out forces and determinants of a subjective order (fears, denials, repressions, lack of psycho-social skills) and whose consequences are similarly subjective (neurosis, tension, stress, illness).' Further, the psychologisation of the mundane 'is clinical in that it entails forensic work to identify signs and symptoms and interpretative work to link them to that hidden realm that generates them.'[79] This kind of psychological practice was played out in the press. For example, an advertisement in the *Advertiser* was titled 'I Was Wrecking My Baby's Life' and sub-titled

with a caption reading 'Shattered, Twisted Nerves Drove Me to Unthinkable Cruelties to My Little Baby Girl.' This advert was underwritten with a confession by a maladjusted mother and the undesirable child rearing practice she was delivering became the central focus of concern. Redemption and recovery became possible only after she came to recognise the clinical symptoms and the real need to identify these in her own life experience. This representation of a maladjusted mother was able to state in a moment of self recognition that: 'My nerves were all 'on edge' - the least little thing would send me into a rage. It seemed to me that Jill was terribly disobedient and exasperating, and I punished her in all sorts of ways. Oh, if I could only have seen how I was just turning all my over-wrought nervous temper onto the poor little mite. Was it any wonder she became frightened of me?' After seeking medical attention this maladjusted mother was able to inform that 'my own highly nervous condition had been a constant drain on the nervous force of my child and that the constant nervous strain I had put on Jill had wrecked her highly sensitive organisation. Later, all this I found out to be true, because after I regained my own nervous poise and re-vitalised my worn-out, exhausted nerve centres, I found Jill to be the most adorable, sweetest little kid in the world.'[80]

In the press there was also a pre-occupation with a sporting and temperate life-style in relation to mental health. In an article titled 'Adelaide Views On This "High Pressure Life",' the *Advertiser* informed the public that the 'pressing question which has been raised - and is constantly causing somebody a twinge of regret that they did not live in those quieter and better days - is that pressure of modern life leads some to a mental breakdown which according to the Victorian Inspector-General of the Insane (Dr. W.E. Jones) is often, alas, too often, mental disorder.' It was further declared that 'the position as viewed by a third doctor, an authority on the treatment of mental disorders, was that ... the normal person, whose family health history was sound ... would survive greater pressure than any other; and a temperant (sic) indulgence in sport would make him fitter.'[81]

Likewise, 'The Woman's World', which was a regular column in the *Advertiser* in the nineteen thirties, set high standards of housekeeping and promoted scientific management in the home while advocating outdoor activities and sport for women. It reported that 'readers ... can scarcely fail to notice how widespread is the love for sports that, ten years ago, had adherents in scores instead of thousands ... Even now, there are valiant old

women who refuse to take a stick and crochet work when their grandchildren begin to grow up, the golf courses are sprinkled with women who, twenty years ago, would have been reclining in bath chairs.'[82]

In the nineteen thirties the pastoral agency of the South Australian press espoused a primary concern in the regime for the regulation of a woman's personal conduct and standards of judgement as to behaviour in terms of mothercraft. This was closely conjoined to wide-ranging questions of child welfare. Eugenic concerns and rationalities of social and mental hygiene connected with the welfare of the race, and in a number of ways transformed women's conduct in relation to social norms bounded by a set of values found in the discourse of scientific mothercraft. The press transmitted a series of detailed articles on home nursing, competitions in baby care and management, as well as advice on children's health care and 'common ailments', pre-natal care, and recommended books that 'treat the bodily welfare of children.'

The *Bunyip* informed mothers that 'a child's nature, his inheritance, his mental make-up, a mother cannot alter, any more than she can the color of his eyes, [eugenics] but she can and she will, whether she desires it or not, form his childish habits, and she will lay the foundation of belief and principles which will make or mar his character[mental hygiene]. [Women were exhorted in a form of ascesis associated with mental hygiene to] think of your own habits and methods, of your likes and dislikes, your settled opinions and decided tendencies. Where did you learn them? ... for the most part, they had their origin when your mother was your guide, the model you imitated. The qualities and instincts which in his ancestors preserved the life of the race, are an invaluable possession to the child to-day.'[83] In turn, the *Advertiser* recounted how the Women's National Council had been addressed by a Miss McCorkindale, who advised that women's bio-political commitment to 'the economic aspect of good health to the nation' resided in 'women's part to teach children good habits of life and health ... Governments, she said, could only make laws which crystallised public sentiment, but the women had the responsibility of building characters which would make those laws high in tone and effective ... She urged a clear explanation of the facts of life to young people so that ignorance may be combated by health intelligence [mental hygiene].'[84]

The press, in a diagram of conduct, opened up a rationality of government in which a space was created for precise standards of conduct, routines of life, values, and aspirations of family and women's individual existence. These values which carried with them their own formative processes were established through a set of interdictions and pastoral obligations. The press offered via a set of expert advice, columns on child welfare and a kind of tableau by which mechanisms and images were provided so that women could police their own personal life and their own family relations, not only in ontogenetic terms but also phylogenetically. Thus they could continually respond to the imperatives of hygiene and eugenic concerns in relation to women's special role as the mother half of the race.

Coda

In the nineteen thirties the press participated in a matrix of rationality and power which aligned female subjectivity with prevailing cultural values, social expectations and political concerns. The pathologising of maladjustment in women's bodies and the constant scientific monitoring of the body placed women in an ambiguous relationship to the labour market. Domesticity shaped and ordered the entrance of different categories of women into the workforce. In the social-temporal space between leaving school and matrimony women were acceded entrance into the labour force but this limited career was viewed as only a temporary expedient prior to marriage. The bride replaced the working woman. In forging these alignments the recurrent themes in the press and magazines were the home, children, and women as feminine and domestic subjects. The press constructed images of womanhood, techniques of household management, forms of male authority and conceptions of social vocations appropriate for women's lives.

The exclusionary judgements in relation to women as 'insured citizens' precluded women from the established juridical arbitration settlements which protected the male wage. The Board of Industry enquiry in Adelaide 1931 into the female wage, for example, represented the aspirations of protective technologies and sought to emphasise women's subjectivity in terms of economic dependence. The disparity between wages of male and females was a significant factor which mediated women's participation in the labour market. Even when women received relief or maintenance payments the cultural imperative which informed this practice was their implicit role in the home. Women's

223

relationship to the state as 'insured citizens' was defined in terms of a public-private dichotomy wherein women's responsibility was primarily associated with the private world of the family. In cultural terms, a patriarchal and fascistic aesthetic demarcated women's place within the domestic domain. Women were allowed to take the world of the home into the public arena when, as consumers, their ostensible participation outside of performing the internal tasks of keeping the family together actually continued to correspond with just this kind of subjectivisation. Thereby, the female body and home life testified to a liberal governmentality which has a strong resonance with the 1834 Poor Law.

As mothers of the race women's bodies were manifestly mediated by a scientific rationality which emphasised her natural child bearing duties, domesticity and matrimony. This configuration paralleled a fascistic aesthetic, while the romantic promotion of domesticity which coalesced with a patriarchal aesthetic and liberal governmentality emphasised the wife and mother as the cornerstone of family life. As an exercise of self, women submitted to the normalising apparatus of scientific management and liberal governmentality. In a mode of jouissance, desire and pleasure, women were required to accept the moral exhortations on children's upbringing, practical advice on feeding and clothing small children, and the broader eugenic concerns of breeding a healthier race.

In the meticulous duty associated with a woman's everyday life and affected by the increasing emphasis on regularity, cleanliness, order and efficiency, women accepted the minutiae associated with scientific techniques of household management in a spirit of sacrifice. In an accommodative mode of subjectivity women accepted the proscriptions addressed to them as wives and mothers. The implicit directives from governments, professional agencies, medical experts, the social pages of the daily press, religious and psychological authorities, in an effort of pastoral care, all promoted the same theme, heavily overlaid with morality, that a woman's place was in the home.

A woman's female bodily identity and her dynamic of self-acceptance, and self-esteem remained confined to the domain of private domestic labour in the Depression of the nineteen thirties. The delimitations of authority, informed by the scientific knowledge of reproduction, health, hygiene, child care and birth control positioned women's subjectivity

in a spirit of sacrifice and sense of duty. With these cultural meanings women exhibited a strength of character, pursuing happiness and seeking self-respect and fulfilment, by rearing children and participating in the manifold ways by which she was to safeguard and 'responsibilise' the household.

Table A

The chief items submitted by the witness, Matilda Lawrence, were:-

	Pds.	Sh.	P.
Top coat(to last 3 years)	5	5	0
One costume(3years)	7	7	0
Best winter frock(one year)	3	3	0
Renovated frock(one year)	0	7	6
Cardigan(2 years)	1	7	6
Jumper for costume	0	15	6
Washing frock	0	17	6
Best summer frock	5	5	0
Best hat	1	9	6
Ready-to-wear hat	7	1	1
Winter hat	0	7	6
Cap	2	1	1
Four pair shoes	1	4	6
Pair slippers	0	3	11
Four soles and heels	0	4	6
Four extra heels	1	9	
Four pair silk stockings	0	9	11
Eight pair art silk stockings	0	5	11
Four pair kid gloves	0	8	11
One pair silk gloves	7	1	1
Three pair corselets	0	15	6
Three pair brassieres	0	1	11
Four pairs silk bloomers	0	7	11
Three nightdresses	0	7	11
Two pairs garters	0	1	9
Two underskirts	0	12	6
Umbrella	0	8	11
Handkerchiefs	0	10	0
Kimono		17	6
Handbag	1	5	6
Toothbrushes	0	1	9
Comb	0	1	6
Bathers	1	2	6

Toothpaste, toilet soap, talc powder, boot polish and sundries. Total 41 pounds 10 shillings a year for "Necessities".

Source: *The Advertiser,* Oct 22, 1931.

Figure 1   Source: The Advertiser July 16, 1931

Figure 2   Source: The Northern Argus, August 26, 1932

Figure 3   Source: The Advertiser May 11, 1931

This figure/table/image has been removed to comply with copyright regulations.It is included in the print copy of the thesis held by the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 4   Source: The Northern Argus, August 14, 1931

Notes and References

1. Rose, N. 1990. *Governing the Soul.* London: Routledge. p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Larmour, C. 1975. 'Women's Wages and the WEB.' *Labour History.*
   No. 29. p. 47.

6. Dickey, B. 1980. *No Charity There.* Sydney: Allen andUnwin. p. 111.

7. Summers, A. 1975. *Damned Whores and God's Police.* Harmondsworth:
   Penguin Books. pp. 400-401.

8. Pringle, R. Winter 1973. 'Octavius Beale and the Ideology of the Birth
   Rate.' *Refractory Girl.* p. 25.

9. Larmour, C. *op.cit.*, pp. 47-8.

10. *The Advertiser*, October 14, 1931.

11. *The Advertiser*, November 5, 1931.

12. *The Advertiser*, November 17, 1931.

13. *The Advertiser,* November 18, 1931.

14. *The Advertiser*, October 22, 1931.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *The Advertiser*, December 9, 1931.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *The Advertiser*, December 10, 1931.

21. Aungles, A. 1982. Family Economics in Transition: Adelaide Women in
    the Depression. *Masters Thesis*: Dept. of Sociology, Flinders University.
    p.98.

22.   *Ibid.*, p. 141.

23.   Summers, A. *op.cit.*, p. 402.

24.   *Ibid.*, p. 404.

25.   *Ibid.*, p. 401.

26.   Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources.* Netley: Wakefield Press. p. 195.

27.   *Ibid.*, p. 175.

28.   Moss, J. 1985. *The Sound of Trumpets.* Netley: Wakefield Press. p. 308.

29.   Macintyre, S. 1985. 'Australian Responses to unemployment in the last depression.' in Roe, J. (ed.), 1985. *Unemployment: are there lessons from history?* Sydney: Hale and Iremonger. p. 35.

30.   Aungles, A. *op.cit.,* p. 170.

31.   Broomhill, R. 1975. 'On the Dole in Adelaide During the Great Depression.' *Journal of the Historical Society* of South Australia. No.1. pp. 39-40.

32.   *The Bunyip,* June 19, 1931.

33.   *The Advertiser,* November 4, 1931.

34.   Summers, A. *op.cit.*, p. 405.

35.   *Ibid.*, p. 411.

36.   Cambell, E. 1932. 'The Uses of Hessian in the Home.' *Bulletin.* No. 255 of the Dept. of Agriculture of South Australia. cited in Louis L.J and Turner I. 1968. *The Depression of the 1930s.* Melbourne: Cassell Australia Ltd., p. 115.

37.   Labor Advocate. February 12, 1932. cited in Allen, M. Hutchinson, M. Mackinnon, A. 1989. *Fresh Evidence, New Witnesses.* Netley: South Australian Government Printers. p. 170.

38.   Dyer, S.W. November 1977. 'Cramped and Hedged. Depression, the State, and Farming in South Australia.' *Journal of Australian Studies,* No.2. pp. 24-25.

39.   *The Advertiser,* October 24, 1931.

40. *The Advertiser*, July 29, 1931.

41. *The Northern Argus*, January 29, 1932.

42. *The Adelaide Chronicle*, July 2, 1931.

43. *The Advertiser*, June 24, July 22, September 22, 1931.

44. *The Advertiser*, August 22, 1931.

45. Aungles, A. *op.cit.*, pp. 59-60.

46. Cameron, B. 1982. 'The flappers and the feminists: A study of women's emancipation in the 1920s.' in Bevege, M. James, M. and Shute C., (eds.), 1982. *Worth Her Salt*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger. p. 267.

47. *Ibid.* p. 268.

48. Allen, M. 1983. 'The Domestic Ideal and the Mobilization of Women Power in World War 11.' *Women's Studies International Forum*. vol. 6, No. 4, p. 401.

49. Aveling, M. and Damousi, J.(eds.), 1991. *Stepping Out of History*. North Sydney: Allen and Unwin. p. 110.

50. Aungles, A. *op.cit.*, p. 148.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

52. Humphries, J. Spring 1976. 'Women: Scapegoats and Safety Valves in the Great Depression.' *The Review of Radical Political Economies*. vol. 8, No.1.

53. *Ibid.*, p.111.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

55. Aungles, A. *op.cit.*, p. 161.

56. *The Advertiser*, June 22, 1931.

57. Reiger, K. 1982. 'Women's Labour redefined: child-bearing and rearing advice in Australia, 1880-1930s.' in Bevege, M. and Shute, C. (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 73.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

63. Miller, P. and Rose, N. 1988. 'The Tavistock Programme: The Government of Subjectivity and Social Life.'*Sociology.* vol. 22, No. 2, p. 177.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79.

65. Gittens, G. D. 1975. 'Married life and birth control between the Wars.' *Oral History.* vol. 3, No. 2, p. 62.

66. See - Mackinnon, A and Bacchi, C. April 1988. 'Sex, Resistance and Power: Sex Reform in South Australia.c. 1905.' *Australian Historical Studies.* vol. 23, No. 90.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

71. *Ibid.*, p.67.

72. Pringle, R. Winter 1973. 'Octavius Beale and the Ideology of the Birth-Rate.' *Refractory Girl.* p. 19.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

74. *Ibid.*, p.22.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

76. Summers, A. *op.cit.,*. p. 409.

77. *The Northern Argus,* February 5, 1932.

78. Roes, N. 1990. *Governing the Soul.* London and New York: Routledge. p. 244.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *The Advertiser,* October 13, 1931.

81. *The Advertiser*, November 20, 1931.

82. *The Advertiser*, October 13, 1931.

83. *The Bunyip*, June 17, 1932.

84. *The Advertiser*, June 16, 1931.

Conclusion

In the *Constitution of Poverty,* Dean maintains that in essence the liberal mode of governance sought the 'implementation of a regime of poor relief which constitutes wage-labour as a solution to the fiscal and moral crisis of pauperism.'[1] In this sense the event of unemployment in the depression of the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties in South Australia in particular can be understood in terms of a 'reversal' of what conventional histories have posited as the constitution of the workless and relief administration. The mode of liberal governance in these periods of severe economic contraction expresses more than a passing resemblance to a form of life - with its virtues of moral restraint, thrift, economy, and hard work - which was promoted under the auspices of the English 1834 Poor Law with its conceptions of self- and familial responsibility.

In South Australia types of self-relation tied to the liberal mode of governance produced an individual responsibilisation, with its dependent dyad of worker/breadwinner and a spouse allied to the patriarchal order of the household and responsibilised wage-labour. According to Dean one of the objectives of the administration of poor relief in liberal governance was that for the 'property-less poor [the marriage contract] ... would be used to define the limits of state responsibility for relief and subsistence.'[2] This is why marriage breakdown was viewed as a social problem for the state in terms of the administration of relief to the unemployed. In the functional organisation of marriage, with its contractual obligations, the responsibilised male patriarch, in a practice of liberty, freely submitted himself to the organising direction provided by the state. In the form of an ascesis, unemployed male workers complied with the administrative procedures provided by the state for responsibilised relief and subsistence. Similarly, women consented in multifarious ways to the legitimating protocols of the dominant patriarchal social order. Efficiently manipulated and organised property-less families collaborated in a practice of freedom in reproducing a society wherein what was constituted as the condition of wage-labour - servitude in the work place - was increasingly understood as rewarding and palatable. In an exercise of social discipline property-less labour attributed the union of freedom and servitude as natural and a vehicle of progress.

The popular press participated in a diagram of power which promoted and elucidated a mode of subjectivity commensurate with liberal governmentality. The press remained bound to the social networks that engaged in socially acceptable practices - precisely those seeking to overcome kinds of forbidden conduct: loafing, impositions, undeserving attitudes and behaviour, sloth, idleness and pauperisation. The popular press sought to instil property-less labour in a subtle, calculated technology of subjection to an ever-proliferating network of disciplinary mechanisms which, in turn, accelerated the accumulation of capital. Invested with great signifying power, the press was a palpable social force seeking to perpetuate forms of social relations among the property-less population. Thus, the press promoted and represented the self-responsible liberal mode of governance which positioned the unemployed male worker and his dependants in a direct relation with a cultural identity which meshed with the capitalist labour market and what in liberal society is constituted as a class of wage labourers. In other words, liberal responsibilisation as mediated by the press produced individuals demonstrating a self-relation and a willing subjectivity in terms of the moral economy of independent labour.

In a diagrammatic ensemble of power-relations, relief administration and the popular press participated in promoting a conduct of life of the property-less where the sale of labour-power was equated with a form of life organised around independent wage-labour and family responsibility. In short, relief administration and the press participated in a network of power which constituted the class of wage-labourers during the depressions of the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties. In this sense, and as Dean suggest, 'discourses and governmental practices concerning the Poor cannot be understood simply by reference to their functions in terms of capitalist social relations.' [3] In the thrall of discipline, the self-responsible unemployed male worker refused charity, demonstrating instead a self-relation in line with a willingness to work which neutralised dependency and correlated with a will to power seeking the convergence of the property-less into wage-labourers.

In an artifice of representation which was revealing and concealing at the same time, the popular press asserted the point of view that the proper and legitimate orientation and conduct of those who claim support should be predicated on a tactic of responsibilising the poor on the principle of the life-conduct of productive labour. The state welfare provisions for the able-bodied unemployed during these periods of economic depressions

have been hailed as enlightened and progressive by conventional historians and contemporary establishment figures like Catherine Helen Spence and others. However, the present study views the tactical partitioning of those agents of responsibilised labour from others via a matrix of regulatory practices, namely labour farms, work tests, inquisitorial visits, and the moral management of the poor, as a liberal mode of governance not entirely discontinuous with earlier systems of relief. The administration of the poor and these relief provisions were not as benign as some historians have postulated.

The establishment of cultural imperatives upholding normalising standards of female embodiment were commensurate with liberal governmental-ethical practice. The 'woman question' reflected a diffuse ensemble of power. These operations of discipline with extensive technologies for the care and development of the female self reflected a preparation for a conduct of life equated with motherhood and wifedom. The disposition of the female body was circumscribed by a diagram which coalesced with political forms of embodiment and a bio-economic agenda established by the Poor Law (1834).

The printing press relegated women's identity to the realm of dependence and this found expression in significations which sought to link women with wifedom and domesticity. Female morphology coalesced with a masculine aesthetic which relegated women's choice in determinate ways, and reflected a kind of self-effacement in the public press. Women's visibility, jouissance and object choice as represented in the press was generally coded in a masculine discourse and reflected a patriarchal spectacle of women's seamless union with the propriety of male labour and their own allied somatic signification as mothers and dependents.

The locus of female individuation in the popular press served a patriarchal aesthetic and the images and iconography of women expressed a condition of docility and usefulness attached to the art of women's self-conduct. In an exercise of pastoral care and linked to a bio-political agenda, in an effort of salvation and programmatic reorganisation, the press sought to resist the will of first wave feminist reformers and return 'the new fashioned girl' to the province of wifedom and domesticity. This represented a move which mirrored a masculine aesthetic and coalesced with the objectives of the English Poor Law.

238

The governance of the destitute in the confines of the asylum was organised around a clearly unified entity of state administration and political calculation which implemented a regime of poor relief whereby wage-labour was constituted as a form of salvation and a solution to the fiscal and moral crisis of destitution. The Destitute Asylum's polyvalent ensemble mimicked the Benthamite architectural organisation of pauper management. If the bio-political agenda of the Destitute Asylum in Adelaide did not assimilate the themes of Bentham's Industry Houses directly, then at a minimum the asylum operated according to the concrete procedures of normalisation that divide and regulate populations. As an exercise in artifice and symmetry the functional organisation of the asylum operated according to a logic that links charity and confinement. The asylum expressed a form of rationality and a certain mode of domination which, through a distinctive set of emplacements organised around a semio-technique, educational and disciplinary functions, sought to administer the lives of the destitute around the overarching structure of labour and capitalist patterns of work.

In the mode of liberal governance, the scandal of infanticide and baby-farming practices problematised women's maternal function and patriarchal authority. In relation to this problematisation the asylum acted in the service of a bio-demographic dimension which opened a space for a new field of knowledge and techniques introducing a policy of coercions that acted upon women's birthing, nurturing and reproductive capacity. The practice of infanticide and its increasing usage by single unemployed and employed women in order to remain within the labour market and avoid social ostracism made possible the newly instituted procedures for disciplining women's bodies. The female body was inscribed and dominated by organic metaphors suffused with pathologies which mirrored popular psychologies expressed in the press and supported by the social managers of the asylum. Administrative prescriptions demanded greater symmetry in the relationships between men and women, especially in relation to the marriage contract and reflected a calculated experimental manipulation of women's maternal and reproductive function. The demarcation of the female body in the Lying-in Home represented a deployment of enforced bodily confinement which emphasised conduct embodying morally valorised uses of fertility and reproductive capacity which, in turn, coalesced with the mode of liberal governance.

Pastoral techniques in the popular press which encouraged self-knowledge and enhanced feelings of sympathetic identification with a life of labour and ascetic practices also expressed an illiberal anti-individual rationality which was embedded in the scientific matrix of Orientalism. The ethical mode of self-conduct which reflected the moral virtues of thrift, hard work, industry and family responsibility in relation to white labour simultaneously expressed an internal constraint upon the conduct of the self in relation to the ethical being of the Other. Orientals and Melanesians were polarised in a relation of unfreedom whereby the Other was subjected to a composition of power relations making their exercise of rights and condition of labour subject to an ensemble of dogmas and prejudice as well as techniques of tactical partitioning. An illiberal tenor governed the science or practice of classification which in effect constituted an exercise in administrative containment by which the Other was positioned outside of what was considered a perilous symbiosis of race and culture. The diagram of power and strategies for transforming the meaning, nature and relations of work sought to mark the Other in a signification which expressed permanent estrangement. The Chinese acquired a sort of existential weightlessness and were designated as child-like, mentally feeble, and morally dangerous in terms of work and sexual practice. Orientalism reflected a diffuse apparatus which shaped a quintessential Orient and conveyed a sense of the irreducible distance separating white from coloured. Not only were Orientals unfit to rationally enter Adam Smith's moral economy of exchange as bearers of free labour and as juridical subjects of the wage contract but, moreover, they were unfit to be subjected to the barrier of less-eligibility. The self constitution of the European was marked by deep lines of cleavage which made it unthinkable that the Oriental or the Melanesians could be 'Occidentalised'.

Existing close to the line of tension keeping the 'coloured' differentiated was a European intellectual and human science which manifested itself in the White Australia Policy's unconditional ontological category. European science anthropologised the Oriental in a static and ahistorical nature enabling codes of Orientalist science to constitute the Other in a frame of cultural decadence which was aberrantly obscure, alien and strange. A striking fin de siecle addition to this image of scientific taxonomy of the Other was that the Oriental was not only debarred in terms of immigration and conditions of work but was dehumanised as the embodiment of a degenerate and diseased race. Attempts to resituate Orientals in the lives of the European was viewed as a source of ontological instability and

as moving beyond the boundaries of cultural acceptability. This dividing practice virtually resulted in a distinction between dominant and submissive species and closely resembled a narcissism which marked out an idealised world promising the reality of a disalienated egalitarianism which in turn was paradoxically liberal and free.

In the nineteen thirties liberal governmentality was concerned with the establishment of those conditions which make the poor responsible because - 'it is around the tactics of responsibilisation that the liberal economy ... contained within itself the possibility of interventions in favour of a specific form of life for the labouring population.' [4] The form and condition of knowledge which was linked to certain co-ordinates of unemployment practice had moved away from deterrence as the habitual frame of reference organising the poor. By the nineteen thirties the privilege of this kind of knowledge, even though it was never entirely expelled, had begun to wane and lose momentum. The different political economy of truth did not however recast the labouring population outside of responsibilisation but the historical contingent of condition of the conduct of conduct adhered to a standard of normalisation segregating and preserving responsibilised labour as opposed to other less-eligible categories which, in turn, situated the individual on the threshold of the limits of liberal governance. The mode of liberal governance continued supporting the imperatives of experience, constructing a certain number of gestures and habits, and programming movement and activities which coalesced with self - and familial responsibility. Tendentious fascism, as a disciplinary mode of knowledge formation along with the concept of rehabilitation and its referents, furnished the conditions of emergence of a new form of ideological orientation. Nevertheless, this new political rationality did not preclude the secure generalisation of responsibilised labour existing in the domain of liberal governance.

Paradoxically, nascent fascism constituted a conceptual configuration incorporating an authoritarian knowledge linked to a practice of liberty. The ideological orientation of this regime of knowledge and the general order of thought which determined rehabilitation were enmeshed in a system of conduct where a central feature of social mechanism was a form of moral rectitude accomplished through a practice of freedom. Deterrent features nevertheless remained in existence and were reflected in practices which applied interdictions, refusal and prohibitions in relation to relief and provisions of charity.

241

Conventional histories have ignored the presence of nascent fascism and rehabilitation as instruments in the management of property-less labour in the nineteen thirties within South Australia. Tendentious fascism was present in a technique of management which advocated self-renunciation and sacrifice. The dissolution of the fully insured economic citizen resulted from practices of asceticism and rehabilitation with their prescriptions of poverty, sacrifice, and moral rectitude in the lives of unemployed. By the nineteen thirties fascist and liberal themes were coterminous in relation to a rationality of asceticism wherein property-less labour was constituted in practices extolling the virtue of poverty, sacrifice and service. These imperious and pressing investments with their attendant fascistic tendency set in motion the ascetic powers of moral experience which imposed on the unemployed constraints, prohibitions and obligations of self renunciation. The bio-political programme of conduct sought to bind youth into the productive life of society freed from the stigma of Communism and the moral antinomies of idleness and vagrancy. The fascist tendency in the South Australian experience of unemployment was a co-operative will to knowledge on the part of a programme of conduct calculated to encourage political quiescence on the part of the labouring population. A more or less explicit and largely silent consensus was that the unemployed were to conduct themselves and establish a form of moral regulation which allowed for habits, propensities, and pleasures to be understood as a kind of therapy for the body, an interiorisation of values linked to the virtues of discipline, self-denial, dutifulness, and a life of work.

Accordingly, the Industrial Colonies were constituted as a therapy of freedom equated with the tenets of heroic realism, whereby pleasure was commensurate with duty, sacrifice and hard labour, and corresponded with spiritual renewal. Moreover, the detailed management of body and soul - a political anatomy of youth - correlated with the bio-power extolling the well-being of the nation. If the industrial colonies were not a direct transcription of fascistic principles and strategy then, at a minimum, the ability of the liberal mode of governance to appropriate, transform, and utilise discursive and governmental schemas founded on fascistic principles borrowed the latter's crucial conceptual delineation and applied its practical strategy for dealing with spiritual renewal, fear of idleness and vagrancy, by removing a dangerous section of the property-less population from the metropolis. The strategic movement of youth and the single

unemployed to the outskirts of the city and into the country areas cannot be understood as a one-dimensional form but must be placed in relation to the specific rationality it embodies, the strategies in which it is embedded, and the objectives it seeks. Characteristically historians have failed to address such questions.

From this new political matrix, by the nineteen thirties, the relative mimetic idolatry of the older machinery of deterrence increasingly gave way to administration tied to a practice of liberty. This resulted in a liberal mode of governance where the conceptual limits established by the 1834 Poor Law were concomitantly subjected to a different yet even more invidious form of social control. Irreducibly, the liberal mode of governance was geared to a rationality and continued defence of a social system which sought to establish its own positive measures of moral rectitude. It sought to maintain property-less workers as juridical subjects of the wage-contract so that the conduct of the life of the poor would remain effectively patriarchal and responsibilised.

Heroic-folkish realism entered the liberal mode of subjectification as a new and forceful regulatory technology, structured, organised and managed in a pervasive grid of calculation and concerned with establishing an ascetic mode of subjectivity commensurate with a fascist ideal. Work rationing, relief administration, infantilised gambling attitudes, self-sacrifice to the state and other practices of self-denial and deprivation were part of a fascistic tendency contiguous with a liberal government committed to responsibilisation. The young and single unemployed came to recognise in terms of a technology of self the moral and productive superiority of rural work as a site for cleansing the soul from social enemies and the demoralising effects of idleness. They were subject to a fascistic artifice strategically seeking to control the crisis of unemployment within certain sections of the population living in the inner cities, and committed to a strategy of purification by suffering as well as perpetuating forms of social relations that were intrinsically liberal and geared to a rationality of patriarchy and responsibilisation.

Liberal governmentality in the nineteen thirties was overwhelmingly concerned with the development of regulatory practices which attempted to deal with the social dislocation caused by the crises of capitalism. In this respect, the press in a form of ascesis associated with mental hygiene, eugenics and domestic science, opened up a rationality of

government by which women were exhorted to police their own personal life and their own family relations according to the primacy of wage-labour, and a bio-political commitment to the 'economic aspect of good health to the nation'. Liberal governance drew upon women as a source of prevention and encouragement in maintaining the ethic of personal responsibility which was a central feature in the lives of the labouring population.

In the nineteen thirties press representations opened up a space for precise standards of conduct, routines of life, values and aspirations of family and women's individual existence which coalesced with a liberal government of morals. Women self-reflexively experienced their own interpellated and domestic lives as a source of aesthetic pleasure predicated on specific significations and constructions of identity in the printing press. Scientific motherhood reflected a fascistic aesthetic and was closely associated with rationalities of social and mental hygiene connected with the welfare of the race. The press valorised a woman's individual enjoyment of being a moral preceptor to her family, freely subjecting herself to patriarchal attitudes and conducting herself as an agent of liberal responsibilisation. Patriarchal dominance and liberal governance in this self-relation appeared to be experienced as a source of aesthetic pleasure.

The printing press contributed to practices that tended to make individuals into self-normalising subjects. With the erosion of gender roles, especially with men losing their jobs during periods of capitalist crises, the form by which female subjectivity was defined, modified, recast and diversified in the press registered a process of discipline by which women gave themselves a particular self-relation closely associated with a liberal governance of morals. This mode of existence was concerned with elevating family responsibility freed from welfare dependence and signified the propitious outcome of patriarchal social and political power. A patriarchal and fascistic aesthetic demarcated women's place within the domestic domain in cultural terms. As an exercise of self, women submitted to the normalising apparatus of scientific management and liberal governmentality.

The liberal mode of governance which promoted a legally specified 'private' sphere of the family constituted by patriarchal relations of responsibility and economic dependency was

a legacy of the 'liberal break' in the early nineteenth century and continued to impose its rationality on ethical and economic rationalisation of poverty in the twentieth century. Patriarchal relations of responsibility in various transformative guises undergirded the regime of political rationality that constituted unemployment in the capitalist crises in the eighteen nineties and nineteen thirties. Consequently it was concerned with the production of the conditions of the generalisation of wage-labour, at least among the adult male property-less class. This mode of political rationality seems to be inscribed in the contours of the life conduct of those constituted as belonging to the labouring population. The task may be to rethink the political rationality that makes such veridical and juridical conceptions necessary. The quest is to problematise that rationality that constitutes unemployment and poverty as a necessary part of our forms of life.

Notes and References

1. Dean, M. 1991. *The Constitution of Poverty*. London and New York: Routledge. p. 217.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid., p. 214.*

4. *Ibid.,p. 218.*

Bibliography

Newspapers
Brisbane Courier
Cairn Post
Labor Advocate
Melbourne Argus
Northern Miner
The Adelaide Advertiser
The Adelaide Observer
The Bulletin
The Bunyip
The Empire
The Express and Telegraph
The Mackay Mercury
The Northern Argus
The South Australian Chronicle
The South Australian Register
The Southern Argus
Worker

Foucauldian Books and Articles

Books
Arac, J. (ed.), 1988. *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Post Modern Challenges.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Arac, J. 1987. *Critical Genealogies: Historical Situations for Post Modern Literary Studies.* New York: Columbia University press.

Armstrong, J.T. (ed.), 1992. *Foucault: Philosopher.* New York: Routledge.

Barker, P. 1993. *Michel Foucault: Subversions of the Subject.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Barrett, M. 1991. *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bernauer, J. 1990. *Michel Foucaults Force of Flight: Towards an Ethics for Thought.* London: Humanities Press.

Bouchard, D.F. 1977. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Dean, M. 1994. *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucaults Methods and Historical Sociology.* London: Routledge.

Deleuze, G. 1986. *Foucault.* Minneapolis: of Minnesota Press.

Dews, P. 1987. *Logics of Disintegration: Post-Structuralist Thought and the Claims of Critical Theory.* London: Verso.

Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. 1983. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fekete, J. (ed.), 1984. *The Structural Allegory: Reconstructive Encounters with the New French Thought, Theory and History of Liberation.* vol.11. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Foucault, M. (ed.), 1978. *I, Pierre Riviere, having slaughtered my mother, my sister and my brother-: a case of parricide in the 19th century.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. 1967. *Madness and Civililization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M. 1970. *The Order of Things.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* Trans. Smith, S. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. 1973. *The Birth of the Clinic: The Archaeology of Medical Perception.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison.* London: Allen Lane Penguin Books Ltd.

Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality: vol. 1.* Penguin Books.

Foucault, M. 1985. *The Use of Pleasure: History of Sexuality: vol. 11* Trans. Hurley, R. New York: Viking.

Foucault, M. nd. *Herculin Barbin.* Trans. McDougall, R. New York: Pantheon.

Gane, M. and Johnson, T. (ed.), 1993. *Foucault's New Domains.* London and New York: Routledge.

Goldstein, J. (ed.),1994. *Foucault and the Writing of History.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Gordon, C. (ed.), 1980. Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Gutting, G. 1989. *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Habermas, J. 1987. *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity.* Trans. Lawrence, F. Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Hoy, C.D. (ed.), 1986. *Foucault: A Critical Reader.* New York: Basil Black Ltd.

Kritzman, L.D. 1988. *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture.* Trans. Sheridan, A. New York and London: Routledge.

Kusch, M. 1991. *Foucault's Strata and Fields: An Investigation into Archaeological and Genealogical Science Studies.* London: Kluwer Academic.

Lemert, C.C. and Gillan, G. 1982. *Michel Foucault: Social Theory and Transgression.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lotringer, S. (ed.), 1989. *Foucault Live.* Trans. Johnstone, I. New York: Semiotext(e), Foreign Agents Series, Columbia University.

Martin, L.H. Gutman, H. and Hutton, P.H. (eds.), 1988. *Technologies of the Self.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

McHoul, A. and Grace, W. 1993. *A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject.* Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

McNay, L. 1992. *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Merquior, J.G. 1985. *Foucault.* Berkeley: University of California.

Poster, M. 1984. *Foucault, Marxism and History.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Poster, M. 1990. *The Mode of Information: Post Sructuralism and Social Context.* England: Polity Press.

Rabinow, P. 1984. *The Foucault Reader.* London: Penguin Books.

Racevskis, P. 1983. *Michel Foucault and the Subversion of Intellect.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Rajchman, J. 1985. *Michel Foucault The Freedom of Philosophy.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Sawicki, J. 1991. *Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power, and the Body.* London: Routledge.

Sheridan, A. 1980. *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Shumway, D.R. 1989. *Michel Foucault.* Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Smart, B. 1985. *Michel Foucault.* London: Routledge.

Smart, B. 1992. *Modern Conditions, Postmodern Controversies.* London: Routledge.

Articles

Bernauer, J. 1987. 'The Prisons of Man: An Introduction to Foucault's Negative Theology.' *International Philosophical Quarterly. v*ol. 27.

Blair, C. and Cooper, M. May 1987. "The Humanistic Turn in Foucault's Rhetoric of Inquiry.' *The Quarterly Journal of Speech.* 73

Burke, P. March 1985. 'Liberator of the Past.' *History Today.* 35

Butler, J. November 1989. 'Foucault and the Paradox of Bodily Inscriptions.' *The Journal of Philosophy.* 86.

Clifford, M.R. Fall 1987. 'Crossing (out) The Boundary: Foucault and Derrida on Transgressing Transgression.' *Philosophy Today.* 31

D'Amico, R. Summer 1973. 'The Intellectuals and Power: A Discussion Between Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault.' *Telos.* 16

Davis, C. 1990. 'Our Modern Identity: the formation of the self.' *Modern Theology* vol. 6.

Dreyfus, H.L. November 1987. 'Foucault's Critique of Psychiatric Medicine.' *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy.* 12:4.

Flynn, T.R. April 1991. 'Foucault and the Spaces of History.' *The Monist.* 74

Freunlieb, D. June 1988. 'Rationalism versus Irrationalism? Habermas's Response to Foucault.' *Inquiry.* 31

Goldstein, J. 1984. 'Foucault among the sociologists: The "Disciplines" and the history of the professions.' *History and Theory.* 23:2.

Gruber, D.F. November 1989. 'Foucault's critique of the liberal individual.' *The Journal of Philosophy.* 86

Kent, C.A. December 1986. 'Michel Foucault: Doing History, or Undoing It?' *Canadian Journal of History.* 21

Lalonde, M.P. Spring 1993. 'Power/Knowledge and Liberation: Foucault as a parabolic thinker.' *Journal of the American Academy of Religion.* 61

McHugh, P. Winter/Spring 1989. 'Dialectics, Subjectivity and Foucault's Ethos of modernity.' *Boundary.* 2:16

McWhorter, L. November 1989. 'Culture or Nature? The Function of the Term 'Body' in the Work of Michel Foucault.' *Journal of Philosophy.* 86

Megill, A. January/March 1987. 'The Reception of Foucault by Historians.' *Journal of the History of Ideas.* 48

Miller, J. Winter 1993. 'Policing Discourse : A Response to David Halperin.' *Salmagundi.* 97

Murphy, J.W. June 1984. 'Foucault's Ground of History.' *International Philosophical Quarterly.* XXIV: 2

Racevskis, K. Winter 1993. 'Interpreting Foucault.' *Papers on Language and Literature.* 29

Rawlinson, M. November 1987. 'Foucault's Strategy: Knowledge, Power, and the Specificity of Truth.' *The journal of Medicine and Philosophy.* 12

Schurmann, R. October 1985. '"What can I do?" in an archaeological-genealogical history.' *The Journal of Philosophy.* 82

Scott, C.E. 1984. 'Foucault's Practice of Thinking.' *Research in Phenomenology.* 14

Scott, C.E. 1992. 'Foucault, Ethics, and the Fragmented Subject.' *Research in Phenomenology.* 22

Scott, C.E. November 1987. 'The Power of Medicine, The Power of Ethics.' *The Journal of Medicine and Philosophy.* 12:4

Seigel, J. April/June 1990. 'Avoiding the Subject: A Foucauldian Itinerary.' *Journal of the History of Ideas.* 51

Smart, B. Spring 1991. 'On the Subject of Sexuality, Ethics, and Politics in the Work of Foucault.' *Boundary.* 2. 18.

Steinhart, E. Winter 1989. 'Self-Recognition and Countermemory.' *Philosophy Today.* 33: 4/4

Stern, L. April/June 1985. 'Hermeneutics and Intellectual History.' *Journal of the History of Ideas.* 46

Weightman, J. Summer 1989. 'On not understanding Michel Foucault.' *The American Scholar.* 58

Weiss, H. Spring 1989. 'The Genealogy of Justice and the Justice of Genealogy: Chomsky and Said versus Foucault and Bove.' *Philosophy Today*. 33

Books: General History

Allan, H. and Cairns, C. 1965. *Prelude to Imperialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bevege, M. James, M. and Shute, C. (eds.), 1982. *Worth Her Salt*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

Bolt, C. 1971. *Victorian Attitudes to Race*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Buckley, K. and Wheelwright, T. 1988. *No Paradise For Workers: Capitalism and the Common People in Australia. 1788-1914*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Coghlan, T.A. 1893. *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australia*. Sydney: E.A. Petherick and Co.

Cooksey, R. (ed.), 1970. *The Great Depression in Australia*. Rosebery, N.S.W.: Bridge Printery.

Curthoys, A. and Markus, A. (eds.), 1978. *Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the Australian Working Class*. Neutral Bay: Hale and Iremonger.

Curtin, P.D. 1964. *The Image of Africa*, vol.1. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Curtin, P.D. 1964. *The Image of Africa*, vol.2. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Dean, M. 1991. *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a genealogy of liberal governance*. London: Routledge.

Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Trans. Massumi, B. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dickey, B. 1987. *No Charity There: A Short History of Social Welfare in Australia*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Fox, L. 1989. *Depression Down Under*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

Goldberg, D.T. (ed.), 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. 1973. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Trans. Cumming, J. London: Allen Lane.

Kewley, T.H. 1973. *Social Security in Australia 1900-72*. University of Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Louis, L.J. and Turner, I. 1986. *The Depression of the 1930s*. Melbourne: Cassell Australia Ltd.

Macintyre, S. 1985. *Winners and Losers*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Magarey, S. Rowley, S. Sheridan, S. (eds.), 1993. *Debutante Nation: Feminism contests the 1890s*. St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin Australia.

Marcuse, H. 1986. *Negations*. Trans. Shapiro, J.J. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press.

Markus, A. 1979. *Fear and Hatred*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

Marx, K. 1973. *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*. Struik, D.J. (ed.), New York: International Publishers.

Miles, R. 1989. *Racism*. London: Routledge.

Pateman, C. and Gross, E. (eds.), 1986. *Feminist Challenges*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Price, C.A. 1974. *The Great White Walls Are Built*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Roe, J. (ed.), 1985. *Unemployment: are there lessons from history*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

Rose, N. 1990. *Governing the Soul*. London: Routledge.

Said, E.W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Stevens, F.S. (ed.), 1971. *Racism: The Australian Experience, vol. 1*. Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Co.

Summers, A. 1975. *Damned Whores and God's Police*. Victoria: Penguin Books Australia Ltd.

Wolf, N. 1993. *Fire Against Fire*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Books: General History of South Australia

Allen, M. Hutchinson, M. and Mackinnon, A. 1989. *Fresh Evidence, New Witnesses: Finding Women's History*. Adelaide: G.P.D.

Broomhill, R. 1978. *Unemployed Workers*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Dickey, B. 1986. *Rations, Residence, Resources: A History of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Geyer, M. 1994. *Behind the Wall: The Women of the Destitute Asylum, Adelaide, 1852-1918*. Adelaide: Axiom Publishers.

Moss, J. 1985. *Sound of Trumpets*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Parham, D. 1983. *Architecture of the Destitute Asylum*. Flinders University Art Museum.

Pike, D. 1957. *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Richards, E. (ed.), 1986. *Flinders History of South Australia: Social Life*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

Articles: History

Allen, M. 1983. 'The Domestic Ideal and the Mobilization of Women Power in World War 11.' *Women's Studies International Forum*. 6:4

Broomhill, R. 1975. 'On the Dole in Adelaide During the Great Depression.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*. No. 1

Broomhill, R. 1978. Political Consciousness of Dissent: The Unemployed in Adelaide During the Depression. *Labour History*. No. 34

Broomhill, R. 1978. 'Underemployment in Adelaide During the Depression.' *Labour History*. No. 30

Burgmann, V. 1985. 'Who our Enemies are: Andrew Markus and the baloney view of Australian racism. *Labour History*. No. 49

Campbell, F. 1986. 'A Forgotten Empire.' *Heritage Australia.*

Constance, L. 1975. 'Women's Wages and the WEB.' *Labour History*. No. 29

Dare, R. 1992. 'Paupers' Rights: Governor Grey and the Poor Law in South Australia.' *Australian Historical Studies*. 25:99

Dean, M. 1992. 'A genealogy of the government of poverty.' *Economy and Society*. 21:3

Gittens, G.D. 1975. 'Married life and birth control between the Wars.' *Oral History*. 3:2

Humphries, J. 1976. 'Women: Scapegoats and Safety Valves in the Great Depression.' *The Review of Radical Political Economies*. 8:1

Krafchik, M. 1983. 'Unemployment and Vagrancy in the 1930s: Detterance, Rehabilitation and Depression.' *Journal of Social Policy*. 12, Part 2.

Mackinnon, A. and Bacchi, C. 1988. 'Sex, Resistance and Power: Sex Reform in South Australia. c. 1905.' *Australian Historical Studies.* 23:90

Markus, A. 1985. 'Explaining the treatment of non-European immigrants in nineteenth century Australia: comment.' *Labour History. No.* 48

Miller, P. and Rose, N. 1988. The Tavistock Programme: The Government of Subjectivity and Social Life.' *Sociology.* 22:2

Nicol, R. 1989. A Slanderous Parson and a Soaped Over Pauper Woman: The Ultimate Fate of the Destitute in Colonial South Australia.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia.* 17.

Owen, D. 1995. 'Genealogy as exemplary critique: reflections on Foucault and the imagination of the political.' *Economy and Society.* 24:4

Pringle, R. Winter 1973. 'Octavius Beale and the Ideology of the Birth Rate.' *Refractory Girl.*

Ryan, J. 1991. 'Chinese Burials in Western Australia in the Nineteenth Century.' *Studies in Western Australian History.* X11

Said, E.W. 1995. 'Orientalism Reconsidered.' *Flinders University Reader.*

Sinclair, W. A. 1981. 'Women at Work in Melbourne and Adelaide Since 1871.' *The Economic Record.* 57:159.

Spenceley, G.F.R. 1986. 'Social Control The Charity Organisation Society and the Evolution of Unemployment Relief Policy in Melbourne During the Depression of the 1930s.' *Historical Studies.* 22:87

Summerling, P. 1985. 'The Darker Side of Motherhood: Abortion and Infanticide in South Australia 1870-1910.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia.* 13

Swan, B. 1981. 'Sinhalese Emmigration to Queensland in the Nineteenth Century: A Note.' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society.* 67, Part 1.

Walters, W. 1994. 'The Discovery of the 'unemployment': new forms for the government of poverty.' *Economy and Society.* 23:3

Unpublished and Conference Papers
Aungles, A. 1982. 'Family Economics in Transition.' *Masters Thesis.* Flinders University.

Dean, M. 1994. 'Governing the Unemployed Self in an Active Society.' *Unpublished Paper.* School of Behavioural Sciences, Macquarie University.

Marshall, J. July 1994. 'Personal Autonomy As An Aim of Education: A Foucauldian Critique.' *Conference Paper.* 'Foucault: the Legacy' Surfers Paradise.

Patton, P. April 1994. 'Foucault's Subject of Power.' *Conference Paper:*. Melbourne.

Robertson, J. 1996. 'The Possibility of a critical archaeology of a reported nineteenth century epidemic.' *Conference Paper.* 'Discourse and Cultural Practice.' Adelaide, February 28 - March 3rd.