Notes*

Introduction

6 In particular, Robert Proctor’s work on the medicalisation of anti-semitism and genocide in the guise of quarantine is directly relevant. See Robert N.

*Except for primary published sources, the place of publication is omitted.


12 On race, medicine and British settlement, see Anderson The Cultivation of Whiteness chs 1–2.


14 Waldby, AIDS and the Body Politic, p. 88.


18 David Sibley, Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West, Routledge, 1995, p. 49; see also, Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, ‘Isolation and Exclusion in the Modern World’, in Carolyn Strange and


30 Ibid., p. 65.


32 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality; an Introduction*, p. 139.


35 Hacking, ‘How Should We Do the History of Statistics?’, p. 181; for a study of the significance of these forms of knowledge on public health, see John

36 Mary Poovey, Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864, University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 34.


41 Ibid., p. 197.

42 Ibid., p. 198.


46 Ibid., p. 22.

Chapter 1


5 Michael Worboys discusses extensively the seed and soil metaphor in Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain; 1865–1900, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

6 See, for example, Sheldon Watts, ‘Smallpox in the New World and the Old: From Holocaust to Eradication, 1518–1977’, in his Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism, Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 84–121;


12 The biological distinctions or relatedness of the microbes of variola and vaccinia have been disputed from Jenner’s time to the present. This historic argument is both summarised and developed by the respective positions of Peter Razzell and Derrick Baxby. See Peter Razzell, *Edward Jenner’s Cowpox Vaccine: the History of a Medical Myth*, Firle, 1977; Derrick Baxby, *Jenner’s Smallpox Vaccine: the Riddle of the Vaccinia Virus and its Origins*, London, 1981; ‘The Origins of Vaccinia Virus’, comments and rejoinders in *Social History of Medicine*, 12 (1999): 139–41.


19 See Worboys, *Spreading Germs*, pp. 120–21.


23 Evidence of Carl F. Fischer, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 8.

24 J. Compton Burnett, *Vaccinosis and its cure by Thuja: with remarks on Homoeoprophylaxis*, The Homoeopathic Publishing Co., London, 1897, pp. 128–9. Of course there was no homeopathic consensus on vaccination. John le Gay Brereton was a noted Sydney homeopathic practitioner, but he entirely opposed vaccination. In 1881 he said, ‘I would rather be shot than have anyone of my family vaccinated’. Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 25.


29 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on the Vaccination Bill, *Journal of the NSW Legislative Council*, vol. 21 (1872): 24, p. 28 (hereafter Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872).


33 J. Beaney, *Vaccination and its Dangers*, R.N. Henningham, Melbourne, 1870, p. 11 (original emphasis).

34 A. Peripeteticus, *Cancer: A Result of Vaccination*, J.C. Stephens, Melbourne, 1898. Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 28. Such theories anticipated current concerns that the appearance and virulence of Hepatitis B virus and the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus...
in parts of Africa in the 1980s was a result of the WHO smallpox eradication campaign in the preceding decades.


39 On public health, morality and domestic and social spaces, see Bashford, *Purity and Pollution*, ch. 1.


41 This is discussed in Chapter 6.

Notes

52 For example, evidence of Samuel Pickford Bedford, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 790.
53 Collins, Have You been Vaccinated, p. 14.
54 Evidence of Miles Egan, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 796.
55 Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 14 July 1881, p. 4; Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 10 August 1881, p. 4.
56 See, for example, questions by Mr Deas Thomson, Select Committee on Vaccination 1872, p. 790.
57 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 27.
59 This change is well documented in Mark Harrison, Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600–1850, Oxford University Press, 1999, esp. pp. 11–18. See also Ivan Hannaford, Race: the history of an idea in the west, Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1996.
60 Harrison, Climates and Constitutions, p. v.
63 Ibid.
64 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 27.
65 Morton, Vaccination and its Evil Consequences, p. 5.
66 Evidence of Charles Taylor, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 17.
67 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 24.
69 See Eyler, Sir Arthur Newsholme, p. 32.
72 Harrison, Public Health in British India, p. 82.
74 Christie, An Account of the Ravages of Small-Pox, p. 33.
75 E.S.P. Bedford to Colonial Secretary, 23 February 1869, printed in NSW Legislative Assembly, Votes & Proceedings, 1868–9.
76 Durbach, ‘They Might as Well Brand Us’, p. 58.
77 See Curson, Times of Crisis.
Chapter 2


3 ‘An Act for the Prevention ... of the Disease called the Cholera’, 2 and 3, William IV, c. 10, 1832.


7 House disinfection and slum clearances, for example. See Curson, Times of Crisis. pp. 94–99; Mayne, Fever, Squalor and Vice, pp. 191–200.


11 There were a few near misses in which people on board ships off the coast, or at Thursday Island, were infected and died, but the ship was not allowed to enter the territory of the colony. The details of these events convinced politicians, public health policy-makers and doctors of the need to retain rigid maritime quarantine. See, for example, K.I. O’Doherty, ‘Federal Quarantine’, Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 6 (1895): 837–8.

12 Judy Campbell argues that smallpox on the Australian continent preceded British invasion, originating with Macassan fishermen on the north coast. Campbell, Invisible Invaders.

13 Greg Watters demonstrates how it is unlikely that the epidemic began with the Chinese community. See ‘The S.S. Ocean’, pp. 332–4.

14 For more detail, see Curson, Times of Crisis, pp. 104–7; Alan Mayne, ‘The dreadful scourge’: responses to smallpox in Sydney and Melbourne, 1881–2’, in Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis (eds), Disease, Medicine and Empire, Routledge, 1988.

15 Foley, In Quarantine, pp. 36–46.


17 Sydney Morning Herald, 16 June 1881, p. 6.


20 Infectious Disease Supervision Act, 1881 (NSW).


30 Lupton, The Imperative of Health, p. 64.

31 See, for example, Sydney Morning Herald, 10 October 1881, p. 6; 31 October 1881, p. 5; 5 November 1881, p. 5.


33 Michel Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, Vintage, 1975, p. 31.


39 See Mayne, Fever, Squalor and Vice, pp. 191–207.

40 Sydney Morning Herald, 16 June 1881, p. 6.


42 Alison Bashford, ‘Disinfection: from the leper colony to the operating theatre’, unpublished paper.

43 A summary of this report was received by the NSW Government in 1881, and formed part of the Board of Health’s Report on the Smallpox Epidemic, 1883, p. 11.


46 Report of the Health Officer on the Quarantine Station, North Head, NSW Legislative Assembly, Votes & Proceedings, vol. 2 (1883): 2. It was important for one colony to have confidence in the efficacy of another colony’s quarantine system, and detailed descriptions of the isolated nature of the
sites were often offered. Fiji’s Chief Medical Officer, for example, reassured his Australasian colleagues with this description of the colony’s quarantine site: ‘It is surrounded by water, which is several fathoms deep everywhere save at one point, and opposite that point a guard-house is built, and is occupied by an armed guard when the station is in use ...Coolies arriving from India are, if quarantine is deemed necessary, detained on the island marked “Indian Depot” ...which is completely isolated by deep water all round. Armed guard boats are anchored at a distance of three or four hundred yards from the island, to prevent all communication’. W.McGregor to the Governor of the Crown Colony of Fiji, 27 August 1884, in Australasian Sanitary Conference, Report and Minutes of Proceedings, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, p. 62

47 Report of the Board of Health upon the Late Epidemic of Smallpox, 1883, p. 3.
48 Royal Commission on Quarantine, 1882, maps appended.
49 Royal Commission on Smallpox, 1883, maps appended.
50 Report of the Health Officer on the Quarantine Station, 1883, p. 3.
56 The same isolation of the vaccinated from the unvaccinated occurred in a 1913 epidemic. ‘Harshness at Quarantine’ Sydney Morning Herald, 23 July 1914, Chief Secretary’s Department, Smallpox Files, 1913–15 NSWSA, 5/5290.
59 Compulsory Vaccination Act 1853 (Tasmania); Act to extend and make compulsory the practice of Vaccination, 1853 (South Australia); Act to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination, 1854 (Victoria); An Ordinance to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination, 1860 (Western Australia).
60 Health Act 1911 (Western Australia); Health Act 1919 (Victoria). An Act to suspend compulsory vaccination was passed in 1917 in South Australia.
62 Government Medical Adviser to the Colonial Secretary, 10 March 1859, NSW Legislative Assembly, Papers, 1858–59, p. 1033.
63 For these problems in twentieth century mass immunisation, see Claire Hooker and Alison Bashford, ‘Diphtheria and Australian Public Health: bacteriology and its complex applications, c.1890–1930’, Medical History, 46 (2002): 41–64.
Chapter 3


5 bid., pp. 283, 286.
7 Castel, ‘From dangerousness to risk’, p. 283.
8 Ibid.


31 ‘Consumption: Measures for Prevention’, 24 May 1906, unknown newspaper, Newspaper cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, ML Folio 616.2/N.


33 John B. Trivett, *Tuberculosis in New South Wales*, William Applegate Gullick, Sydney, 1909, pp. 9–15. In New South Wales the death-rate in 1880 was 1.4 per 1,000. Overall, it had dropped by the turn of the century, the period I
am most interested in here, to 1 death per 1,000 in 1900, and 0.8 deaths by 1908. Trivett, *Tuberculosis in New South Wales*, p. 26.


35 See Waterfall Sanatorium, Case Histories, 1909, No. 44, NSWSA, Colonial Secretary’s Special Bundle, X648.

36 It was planned that there be two separate institutions there: one for curables along open-air treatment model and one for incurables, ‘so that those in curable stages will be treated away and under different conditions from those in an incurable state’. ‘Our Overcrowded Asylums: Selecting a Site of Consumptive Home’, *Evening News*, 2 July 1906, newspaper cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, ML Folio 616.2/N.


40 ‘The Greatest Enemy of the Human Race’, *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1901, in Newspaper Cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, ML Folio 616.2/N.

41 States of Australia, *Report on Consumption*, p. 8. ‘legal power must be taken to regulate the home-life of consumptives ...and in the case of persons who cannot or who will not take the necessary precautions at home, the decisive power of ordering them into segregation for the safety of their housemates in particular, and of the public in general’. The other recommendations were ‘facilities for the collection of information’ and ‘the establishment of sanatoria and hospitals for advanced cases’.


48 Ibid., p. 7. ‘The qualification for admission to [a segregation hospital] must therefore be – not alone the fact of suffering from phthisis, but the ascertained fact of living while so suffering under conditions which necessarily involve danger of infection to others.’ J. Ashburton Thompson, *On the Guidance of Public Effort Towards the Further Prevention of Consumption*, Stillwell & Co., Melbourne, 1899, p. 18 (original emphasis).

49 Sir Phillip Sydney Jones, ‘Discussion Upon the Dissemination of Tuberculosis’, Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 13 (1911): 701.

50 Duncan Turner, *Is Consumption Contagious?*, Melville, Mullins & Slade, Melbourne, 1894, pp. 8–9. He continued, ‘When we see it fairly advocated that children should be separated from their parents, husbands from wives, brothers from sisters, and that the unfortunate victims should not kiss or even shake hands with their nearest relatives, if consumptive, surely it is time to inquire into the root of the matter’, p. 13.
51 Ibid.


54 Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain*, p. 29.

55 ‘The first necessity, then, is that the consumptive be constantly, both by day and by night, in the purest possible atmosphere. Where it is feasible, send him to the mountains, to the desert, or on a long sea voyage; but tell him that, in order to obtain the greatest amount of benefit under such favourable conditions, the air which he breathes during the hours of the night should be nearly, if not quite, as pure as the atmosphere by which he is surrounded during the day.’ James P. Ryan, ‘The Open-Air Treatment of Phthisis’, *Intercolonial Medical Congress*, 2nd Session, 1889, p. 92.

56 ‘The hurricane almost lifted our chalets up bodily and rain came in on every side. My pillow was wet, and spray went all over the bed-clothes. My day garments on the chair were saturated ...But, bless you, we thrive. Damp does not matter, damp does not give you cold. We walk in the rain and need not change damp clothing unless we like. The Nordrach book says one can stay all day in wet clothes and not catch cold’. Anon., *Letters from a Sanatorium*, George Robertson, Melbourne 1907, p. 15.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., pp. 10–11.

59 Ibid., pp. 10–11.


64 Ibid., p. 21.


66 Ibid., p. 19.


69 ‘Dr Trudeau considers that the principle aim of the modern sanatorium treatment of tuberculosis (phthisis) is to improve the patient’s condition and increase his resistance to the disease by placing him under the most favourable environment obtainable. The main elements of such an environment are an invigorating climate, an open-air life, rest, coupled with the careful regulation of the daily habits, and an abundant supply of nutritious food ...The line of treatment consists in rest out of doors in all weathers, the patients being well wrapped up. Constant exposure at all temperatures, and in all weathers.’ A.H. Gault, ‘A Plea for the Sanatorium Treatment of Consumption’, *Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australasia*, 1902, p. 514.
Chapter 4


10 The Mission to Lepers in India was founded in 1874, a National Leprosy Fund was created in 1889 after the death of Father Damien in Hawaii, and in 1923 the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was formed. See Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, pp. 152–4.

11 This debate is detailed authoritatively in Michael Worboys, ‘An Imperial Danger’: Leprosy and Contagion, 1860–1900’ unpublished paper. My thanks to Michael Worboys for sharing this paper, and for discussion on leprosy.

12 Thanks to Harriet Deacon for discussion on these points.


21 The responses to the question about contagion are collated in the *Report*, pp. xliii–xliv. For changing understandings of leprosy and contagion, see Deacon, ‘The history of medical institutions’, ch. 6; Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, ch. 1; Worboys, ‘An Imperial Danger’.
24 Ibid., p. 217.
26 Buckingham argues that in colonial South India, leprosy confinement was largely about the management of vagrancy, poverty and criminality. See *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, pp. 36–60.
29 Ibid., p. xlvi.
30 Ibid., p. 203.
35 Megan Vaughan compares colonial African leper colonies and the British sanatorium in *Curing Their Ills*, pp. 95–7.
38 Lambert, ‘Leprosy’, p. 214; Mawani, ‘ “The Island of the Unclean”’. 
40 Frederick Jones to the Secretary, Minister of External Affairs, 31 July 1907, ‘Leprosy in The Commonwealth’, NAA A1 1908/4507,
41 According to a document from 1925, these powers were exercised in the West Indian colonies, the Malay States, Ceylon, Malta and ‘most of the larger central African colonies’. ‘Memorandum on the Prevalence and Prophylaxis against leprosy in the British Empire’, p. 9, 1925, Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series III 222.
42 Worboys, ‘An Imperial Danger’. 
43 ‘Correspondence and Papers on Leprosy Investigations’ Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, PP/ROG C13/Series I 36.


45 Leonard Rogers, The Foundation of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association and its first 21 years of Work, pp. 1–2, Sir Leonard Rogers’ Papers, PP/ROG C 13 Series III.


49 W.A. Newman, Administrator of the Mandated Territory of Nauru to Leonard Rogers 29 September 1930; Leonard Rogers to P.E. Deane, Prime Minister’s Department, 29 April 1925, Sir Leonard Rogers’ Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series V, 534.


60 Peter Ludlow, The Exiles of Peel Island, Stones Corner, 1991; J. Macguire, ‘The Fantome Island Leprosarium’, in Roy MacLeod and Donald Denoon (eds), Health and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea,
Notes 211


62 Cecil Cook, The Epidemiology of Leprosy in Australia: being the report of an investigation in Australia during the years 1923–1925, Government Printer, Canberra, 1927, p. 9. Cecil Cook was born in 1897 and studied medicine as well as anthropology at the University of Sydney. In 1923 he received a research scholarship from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. His appointment as Chief Protector, Quarantine Officer and Chief Medical Officer was in 1927. For studies of Cook’s work as Chief Protector, see Andrew Markus, Governing Savages, Allen & Unwin, 1990, ch. 6; Tony Austin, Never Trust a Government Man: Northern Territory Aboriginal Policy 1911–1939, Northern Territory University Press, 1997, chs 6–8.


66 Police Report, Cooktown, 1 October 1903, Queensland State Archives (QSA) COL 266.

67 Sergeant of Police to the Commissioner of Police, 4 September 1900, QSA COL 265.

68 Nipper Tabagee personal communication to Ernest Hunter. Aboriginal Health and History: Power and prejudice in remote Australia, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 64.

69 J. Ashburton Thompson, ‘Is Leprosy a Telluric Disease’, Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 6 (1895): 786.

70 Ibid., p. 786.

71 E.H. Molesworth to Mrs Brown, 9 November 1937, Queensland Home Secretary’s Office (QHSO), QSA, COL 323.

72 Dr J.H. Vivian Ross to Queensland Home Secretary, 2 June 1924, QHSO, QSA, COL 324.


74 Cook, Epidemiology of Leprosy, p. 298.

75 Ibid.

76 ‘Leprosy in Australia’, Newsclipping, 12 April 1934, QHSO, QSA, COL 324.


80 See for example Central Board of Health to Home Secretary, 20 December 1904, QSA COL 266.
81 J.S.C. Elkington to Under-Secretary, Home Secretary’s Department, 17 January 1910, QHSO, QSA COL 322.
83 Anon. to Home Secretary, 19 May 1908, QHSO, QSA COL 322.
84 Ibid.
85 Dunwich Inmates to Home Secretary, 4 October 1899. Correction in original.
86 J.S.C. Elkington to Under-Secretary, Home Secretary’s Department, 17 January 1910, QHSO, QSA COL 322.
87 Inmates of Peel Island to Governor Sir Leslie Wilson, 27 September 1939, QHSO, QSA COL 323.
88 Hon. Secretary Peel Island Welfare Association to Queensland Premier, 29 February 1940, QHSO, QSA, COL 323. Cilento responded: ‘The request that compulsory segregation be abandoned cannot possibly be accepted, particularly as leprosy is still uncontrolled in this State’. Cilento to the Under-Secretary, 13 October 1939, QHSO, QSA, COL 323.
89 A. Dodson to R. Bedford MLA, 17 November 1938, QHSO, QSA, COL 323.
90 The White Lepers of Peel Island to the Home Secretary, 2 January 1920, QHSO, QSA COL 323.
95 For Cilento, this research demonstrated the infectiousness of leprosy and thus supported his commitment to compulsory isolation. See Minister for Health and Home Affairs to Mr Bedford MLA, 8 December 1938, QHSO, QSA, COL 323.
97 C.E. Cook cited in ‘Control of Tuberculosis Among Natives in the Northern Territory’, 29 December 1953, NAA 1431 1949/422.
98 F.J.S. Wise, Incidence and Control of Tuberculosis Among Natives in the Northern Territory. Report to the Secretary, Department of Territories, 9 April 1954, NAA A431 1949/422.
99 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 63. See also Vaughan, ‘Curing Their Ills’, p. 81.

104 Ibid.

105 Section 2, *Native Administration Amendment Act*, 1941 (WA).


114 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 20.


122 Ibid., p. 34.

Notes

129 See, for example, Cilento, *The White Man in the Tropics*, pp. 75–92; Phyllis Cilento and Raphael Cilento, ‘The Mother and the Child in the Tropics of the Austra-Pacific Zone’, no date, Cilento Papers, Fryer Library, Queensland, MSS 44/137.
133 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 93.
135 Cook in *Aboriginal Welfare*, pp. 17–18.
137 Although there were numerous statutes that prohibited marriage between white men and Aboriginal women. One practitioner working in Aboriginal health in the 1950s and 1960s called this ‘Apartheid in Australia’. See Charles Duiguid, *Doctor and the Aborigines*, Rigby, 1972, pp. 181–93.

Chapter 5

13 Borthwick, *Quarantine*. See also ‘The Passing of Quarantine’, *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 20 April 1904: 167
15 On pp. 102–03, Torpey, ibid., discusses the eugenic and race-based health requirements of US entry in the early twentieth century,
21 Although I focus here on national-level government, the implementation of health measures resides rather more typically with local administrative bodies. Weindling suggests this of Weimar and to some extent Nazi Germany, and Anne Hardy argues the same of England. See Paul Weindling, ‘Public Health in Germany’, in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, p. 119. Anne Hardy, *The


25 Cumpston, ‘The Evolution of the Department of Health’, Section 6, in ‘Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health’. Milton Lewis has summarised the trajectory of this proposed expansion well. A new Commonwealth Department of Health might ‘concern itself with investigation of causes of disease and death, methods of prevention, collection of data, and education of the public ...interest in national and international communication of disease ...a national system of antenatal clinics and maternity wards; the Commonwealth could subsidise State efforts to control disease, directly conduct preventive campaigns where a number of States was involved, and generally coordinate measures without infringing State sovereignty; a commitment to research could evolve out of the Commonwealth’s existing facilities – the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine at Townsville and the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories in Melbourne’. Milton Lewis, ‘Introduction’, in J.H.L. Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989, p. 9.

26 See inside cover of *Health*, 6 (1928).


33 Stern, ‘Buildings, Boundaries and Blood’, pp. 41–81; Bell, Frontiers of Medicine, ch. 6.
36 Irving, To Constitute a Nation, p. 32.
38 Cumpston, Health and Disease in Australia, p. 194.
48 See, for example, Director of Public Health, Dallas, Texas to the Director of Health, 25 February 1920; Director, Antitoxin and Vaccine Laboratory, Boston MA to Minister of Health, 22 April 1925; Director-General of Health to Surgeon H.S. Cumming, US Public Health Service, 29 May 1925; Miss Mary Lee Thurman to Department of Health, 6 May 1925. National Archives of Australia (NAA) A1928 565/3.
53 F. Dunn, and C.R. Janes, ‘Introduction, in C.R. Janes and R. Stall (eds), Anthropology and Epidemiology, Dordrecht: Reidel, 1986, pp. 11–12. Mervyn Susser, Causal Thinking in the Health Sciences: Concepts and Strategies of Epidemiology, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 146. See also Erni’s work on temporality and AIDS: ‘AIDS now exists largely in time: in the definitions of the life-cycle and incubation period of the virus; in the categorization of the stages of illness for the patients; in the rate of the body’s decay; in the prin-
ciple of the phases of drug development; in the “period of efficacy” of a
treatment method or a drug; in the “speed” of the drug review process ...
Quite literally, time becomes a field of management, something to
administer’. John Nguyet Erni, *Unstable Frontiers: Technomedicine and the*

54 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, 1884

55 J.H.L. Cumpston, *Quarantine: Australian Maritime Quarantine and the*
*Evolution of International Agreements Concerning Quarantine*, Government
Printer, Melbourne, 1913, p.3.


57 Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880–1918*, Harvard University

45–6.

59 McCallum, *International Hygiene*, p. 30. See also J.H.L. Cumpston,
‘Aeroplane Traffic and the Protection of Australia from Disease’, *Medical

60 ‘The Trans-Pacific Flight’, *Health*, 4 (1928): 97. See also McCallum, ‘The
Time Factor’, pp. 45–51.

61 ‘Health Director Opposes Vaccination’, *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 20 January 1939.


63 Gillian Beer, ‘The Island and the Aeroplane: the case of Virginia Woolf’, in
Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, p. 265. For similar changes in the signif-
icance of international borders with the advent of air travel, see Bell,
*Frontiers of Medicine*, ch. 6.

64 Martin David Dubin, ‘The League of Nations Health Organisation’, in

65 For example, Rockefeller funds contributed to the Far Eastern
Epidemiological Bureau, see Lenore Manderson, ‘Wireless wars in the
Eastern Arena’, in Weindling (ed.) *International Health Organizations*,
p. 113.

66 Cumpston, ‘International Relations’, in ‘Report upon the Activities of the
Commonwealth Department of Health’.

67 For a fuller description, see Manderson, ‘Wireless wars’, pp. 120–21.

68 Cumpston, ‘International Relations’.

69 Manderson, ‘Wireless wars’, pp. 120–21.

70 Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, pp. 1–2.


**Chapter 6**


3 See, for example, Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides*, University of California
Press, 2002; Renisa Mawani, ‘Legal geographies of Aboriginal segregation
in British Columbia’ in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds),


8 ‘Is White Australia Possible?’, Sydney Morning Herald, 4 July 1913.


11 Stone, Breeding Superman, ch. 4.

12 Stephen Garton, ‘Writing Eugenics: A History of Classifying Practices’, in Martin Crotty, John Germov and Grant Rodwell (eds), ‘A Race for a Place’: Eugenics, Darwinism and Social Thought and Practice in Australia, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Newcastle, 2000, pp. 11–12. This idea is detailed in Russell McGregor, ‘ “Breed Out the Colour” or the Importance of Being White’, Australian Historical Studies, 120 (2002): 297–301. The important developing literature on comparing genocide in Germany and Australia may be unwittingly contributing to this oversimplified conflation of eugenics with politics of racial difference, although this is not a point McGregor or Garton make. See Tony Barta, ‘Discourses of genocide in Germany and Australia: a linked history’, Aboriginal History, 25 (2001): 37–56; A. Dirk Moses, ‘Coming to terms with genocidal pasts in comparative perspective: Germany and Australia’, Aboriginal History, 25 (2001): 91–115; Paul Bartrop, ‘The Composition of the Future Population:
Aboriginal Assimilation and the Jewish Immigration Restriction of the 1930s’, in Crotty et al. (eds), A Race for a Place, pp. 123–32.

13 ‘The regulatory mechanisms of the colonial state were directed not only at the colonized, but as forcefully at “internal enemies” within the heterogeneous population that comprised the category of Europeans themselves’. Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire, p. 96.


18 One of the best summaries of the eclectic social and political problems gathered under International Hygiene is F. McCallum, International Hygiene, Australasian Medical Publishing Co., Sydney, 1935.

19 Hutt, International Hygiene, p. 115.


21 Hutt, International Hygiene.


23 Torpey, The Invention of the Passport, p. 97; Hutt, International Hygiene, p. 116; Gregory, Human Migration and the Future, p. 70.


32 Section 3 a) Immigration Restriction Act, 1901.(cth)


38 For background on the Society, see Soloway, Demography and Degeneration, pp. 31–37.

39 ‘Memorandum on Alien Immigration’ SA/EUG/D103. For further discussion of eugenics and immigration into Britain, see Stone, Breeding Superman, pp. 94–114.

40 This set of letters are in the Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/D103 and 105. Most are undated except for one with the year 1926 and a letter from Mr Bruce’s private Secretary to Leonard Darwin acknowledging receipt of materials from the Eugenics Education Society, 27 November 1926.

43 This was carried on the nationalist journal *The Bulletin* well into the twentieth century.


47 Huttenback examines some contestations in *Racism and Empire*, ch. 2.


51 McCallum, health bureaucrat and author of *International Hygiene*, wrote, for example, that ‘the national alloy is very precious metal. Nothing in Australian health history leads one to oppose the ideal and policy of a White Australia. Unlike those of other countries, the aborigines have played no part in the epidemiological history of the white community in Australia. The tragedy of their decline is another story.’ F. McCallum. ‘Bionomics of Australian History’, *Health*, 4 (1926): 50.


54 Section 3d. Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 (Cth).


57 Yarwod, *Asian Migration to Australia*, p. 5.

58 Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration*, p. 57.

59 Cited in Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, p. 115.

60 Although alongside the Immigration Restriction Act, the nation/race specific Pacific Island Labourers Act instituted the gradual deportation of indentured Islander labourers over several years, recognising the particular needs of the Queensland industry and its reliance on the

61 Section 3d. Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 (Cth).

62 J.H.L. Cumpston, ‘Cleanliness’. Unpublished typescript, Cumpston Papers, National Library Canberra, MS 613 Box 7 (1).

63 See NSW Premier, Quarantine Service Minute Paper, 25 February 1913, Department of Health Quarantine Papers, 1907–1914, Department of Health and Community Services Library, Canberra.

64 In the 1925 Regulations for the Immigration Act, for example, the Health Reports required by the medical officer or master of a ship were rewritten to correlate with the requirements of the Quarantine Act. See Immigration Regulations 1926, no. 185, p. 868.

65 Cumpston to the Secretary, Department of Home and Territories, 26 January 1921, NAA AI/15 1921/12036.

66 See letters and telegrams from 1921 detailing these procedures collected in ‘Alteration of System of issuing Medical Certificates under Immigration Act at Darwin, Thursday Island’, NAA A1/15 1921/12036.

67 War on Foreign Germs (1 Feb. 1933), Album of Newsclippings, 1913–45, Cumpston Papers, MS 613 Box 8 (iv).

68 While the Commonwealth permitted the entry of Europeans as well as British, the vast majority of migrants in the first half of the twentieth century were British. See Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain and Migration, 1915–1940*, Cambridge University Press, 1995. For detailed analysis of the debate over European immigration in the period, see Dutton, *One of Us?*, pp. 44–60.


70 Immigration Regulations, 1913, no. 307, p. 1058.

71 Section 3, Immigration Act, 1912.

72 Section 4, 3A, Immigration Act, 1912.


74 Quarantine Regulations, 1915, section 56, p. 515.

75 Quarantine Regulations, 1917.


79 This is evident in any of the Annual Reports of the Racial Hygiene Association. See also the newspaper clippings in the Association’s papers, Newspaper cuttings 1927–35, Family Planning Association Records, ML MSS 3838, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
80 In this period, ‘Native’ often referred to British-whites who were native born, that is born in Australia. For the idea of the Australian Native and the Australian Natives Association, see Irving, To Constitute a Nation, ch. 7.


82 Advisory Committee of the Racial Hygiene Association of NSW to Stanley Bruce, 13 January 1928, in Report on Immigration (as affecting Racial Values).


84 David Walker discusses this at length in Anxious Nation, pp. 113–26.


86 Walker, Anxious Nation, p. 126.


88 The negotiations between British governments and Australian governments over the Empire Settlement Program, the Big Brother Movement and more are examined by Michael Roe in Australia, Britain and Migration. See also Geoffrey Sherington, ‘A Better Class of Boy?’ The Big Brother Movement, Youth Migration and Citizenship of Empire, Australian Historical Studies, 120 (2002): 267–85.

89 Fleetwood Chidell, Australia – White or Yellow?, Heinemann, London, 1926, ch. 2.

90 Gregory, Human Migration and the Future, p. 149.


96 See also Yarwood, ‘Sir Raphael Cilento and The White Man in the Tropics’, p. 51 ff.; and Harloe, ‘Anton Breinl and the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine’, p. 34.


104 See Tropical Australia, p. 13.

105 These studies are detailed in Tropical Australia. See also The Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, Collected Papers, no. 2, Townsville, 1917.

106 See, for example, W.J. Young, A. Breinl, J.J. Harris and W.Z. Osborne, ‘Effect of Exercise and Humid Heat upon Pulse Rate, Blood Pressure, Body Temperature, and Blood Concentration’, Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, Collected Papers, 3 (1922): 111–25.


108 The contents list runs thus: Blood Sugar, Non-Protein Nitrogen of the Blood, Phosphorus of the Blood, Lipoid Constituents of the Blood, Water


### Chapter 7


7 For a summary of social theorists’ interest in the period and the problem, see Mitchell Dean, Governmentality, Sage, 1999, ch. 7.


14 This is detailed in Saunders and Taylor, ‘“To Combat the Plague”’, pp. 5–30. See also Mary Murnane and Kay Daniels, ‘Prostitutes as “Purveyors of Disease”: Venereal Disease Legislation in Tasmania, 1868–1945’, Hecate, 5 (1979): 5–21.

15 See also the instances in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), Isolation: places and practices of exclusion, Routledge, 2003.


17 Ibid., pp. 68–87; See also Lewis, Thorns on the Rose, pp. 374–79.


19 Section 3.1 Prisoners’ Detention Act, 1908 (NSW).

20 Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Prevalence of Venereal Diseases, New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1915 (Hereafter Select Committee on Venereal Diseases).

21 For detail on venereal disease in New South Wales in the period, see Greg Ussher, ‘The ‘medical gaze’ and the ‘watchful eye’: the prevention, treatment and epidemiology of venereal diseases in NSW 1900–1925, PhD thesis, University of Sydney, forthcoming. My thanks to Greg Ussher for discussion on these points.
Evidence about the Liverpool Camp in Sydney was sought by the Select Committee on Venereal Diseases, 1915.


For example, the Australasian White Cross League, the Workers’ Educational Association, the Australian Association for Fighting Venereal Disease, the University of Sydney Society for Combating Venereal Diseases. See Thame, *Health and Disease in Australia*, p. 135; Lewis, *Thorns on the Rose*, pp. 174–80, 187–94.


42 Aims and Objectives in *Health and Empire*, 7 (1932).


46 Piddington, ‘Making Australia Healthy’.


48 Lionel Lewis to W.S.S. Hoodson, Secretary, the Eugenics Education Society, 16 June 1926, Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/E.3.


50 Dr Blacker to Mrs Angela Booth, 23 September 1938, Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/E.3/1; Jones, ‘The Master Potter’.


‘In many of these cases freedom with sterilization is more humane than confinement in an institution’. Professor W.E. Agar, *Eugenics and the Future of the Australian Population*, Brown, Prior, Anderson, Melbourne, 1939, p. 7.

Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency*, pp. 198–205.

Dean, *Governmentality*, p. 140.

The President of the Eugenics Society of Victoria wrote: ‘The governments of many countries have taken the view that their responsibility to posterity involves legislation to provide for the sterilization of persons likely to transmit mental disabilities’. He pointed in 1939 to various states in the United States, to Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Alberta and British Columbia in Canada. See Agar, *Eugenics and the Future of the Australian Population*, 1939, p. 7.


Ibid.


Mr Creswell O’Reilly speaking at the Racial Hygiene Association One Day Conference, 1931, p. 17.


Cited in Eugenics Education Society of NSW Report to Eugenics Education Society, 9 November 1921, SA/EUG/E.2.


Dr Arthur, ‘Certification of Health Prior to Marriage and Sterilisation’, p. 8. Another contributor to the Conference said, ‘One element in this subject of heredity is to discover how bad strains in human propagation may be eliminated. There are many such bad strains, moral and physical and mental, which tend to perpetuate themselves through succeeding generations’. Baker, ‘The Wider Implications of the Policy of Sterilisation’, p. 14.


Conclusion


2 J.H.L. Cumpston, ‘Cleanliness’, typescript in Cumpston Papers, National Library of Australia, MS 613 Box 7, p. 3.

3 Ibid., p. 8.

4 Ibid., p. 4.

5 Ibid., p. 13.

6 Ibid., p. 13.

7 Ibid., p. 14.

8 J.H.L. Cumpston, Report upon The Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health from 1909 to 1930, typescript, Department of Health Library, Canberra, 1930, unpaginated (section 1).

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