



Above:

Portrait of Mrs. James (Christina) Smith, author of *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines: A Sketch of Their Habits, Customs, Legends, and Language* (1880). Photo by Thomas J. J. Wyatt. Public Domain.



Top right

Portrait of Watkin Tench, c. 1800, author of *A Narrative Expedition to Botany Bay* (1789) and *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson in New South Wales* (1793). Artist Unknown. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Bottom right:

Memorial stone of Henry Savery—author of *Quintus Servinton*, the first convict novel, published in 1830—on the Isle of the Dead. Photo by Dysprosia-commonswiki.



Having Your Story and Data Too: The Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism Database

Willa McDonald
Macquarie University, Australia

Bunty Avieson
University of Sydney, Australia

Abstract: The Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism (ACNJ) database (1788–1901) is a digital archive of colonial literary journalism. It is an expression of cultural memory in Australia using examples of colonial writers and their featured works—from the journalists who captured the bushranger Ned Kelly and his gang, to those who sailed undercover to expose the “blackbirding” trade in northern Australia, to the women who first wrote and published Australian profiles, including the earliest known written portraits of Aboriginal Australians. Research institutions are increasingly interested in creative digital dissemination strategies to target audiences for exploring, interrogating, and communicating new knowledge both within and beyond academia. At the same time, the focus of archival theory, in acknowledgement of the political framework behind archiving, has moved from evidence to memory. The online archivist has been transformed from a passive curator to a community facilitator, asking questions around the role of archives—whether the archives are being posited as projects of collective identity that serve the interests of the community in power or as diverse collections from a range of communities with differing levels of empowerment. With those factors in mind, this study explores the creation of the database and its transfer from an experimental WordPress site to being hosted by AustLit, the online national literary research resource. In the process, the study examines the issues involved in establishing and building the database, which range from attempts to define the form as it evolved in Australia’s colonial history, to the potential role of the database as a cultural narrator, a creator and facilitator of cultural memory, and a creative dissemination strategy rendering social historical themes in a democratized online form that can be delivered to a broad constituency of users.

Keywords: literary journalism – journalism history – Australian journalism history – digital history – digital archives

Within a society memories are contested and contradictory. Who controls the keys?

Cultural institutions are trying to respond to this complexity. On the one hand they offer the security of authority—sources to be trusted in [a] world overflowing with information. But they are also looking for ways of capturing and representing alternative voices — Tim Sherratt, 2015, para. 17.

The Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism database represents the first systematic, sustained exploration of the practice and development of literary journalism in Australia. In the process of identifying writers of literary journalism—also known in Australia as narrative journalism—and presenting them and their work online, the ACNJ database has acted as an explanatory nexus linking users to preexisting online archives, while presenting new contextualizing information written by the site's creators. The database began as a theoretically informed, low-cost web publication created on WordPress. In its latest iteration on AustLit,¹ the database provides research context and synergies through its placement within the nation's main research site, which covers a diversity of areas, from general Australian literature to Indigenous writing, film, radio, television, and theatrical productions. At the same time, its inclusion on AustLit contributes to formal recognition in Australia of literary/narrative journalism as a literary field in its own right.

The creation of the Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism database involves preserving cultural memory while creating a cultural narrative of this journalistic form. Cultural memory, defined here to include literary journalism texts as expressions of a form created in the past but speaks to both the present and the future, provides the building blocks for a community of scholars to facilitate building the community's identity. This immediately raises the issue of the role of archives in the creation and entrenchment of power. Shared cultural histories contribute to cohesion, that sense of kinship and belonging among people who will never meet that Benedict Anderson conceptualized in his "imagined political community" discourse.² Archives help societies construct and preserve their heritage, acting as what archivists have called "touchstones" that reinforce community values, survival, and protection of rights.³ Archival cultural narratives such as this one, which tells the story in archival form of the beginnings of literary journalism in Australia, can be considered as collective cultural capital, contributing to the depth and wealth of a community, both in the economic sense, but also in terms of supporting cultural dynamism, and inspiring feelings of connectedness across a community of writers, readers, and researchers.

Yet, the archivist must tread warily. Digital historian Tim Sherratt says that the practice of remembering the forgotten is not just a matter of recall

or rediscovery, but a battle over the boundaries of what matters, with archives potentially reflecting only the dominant culture.⁴ Choices about what to include and exclude can entrench existing power structures rather than invite diversity and recognition of a society's marginalized groups.⁵ This has relevance to this archive. Literary journalism, a field that once dropped between the cracks of English and journalism/media departments in the academy,⁶ is gaining increasing international recognition, not least because it allows the lives of ordinary people to be championed in memorable and affecting ways. Yet, not all groups within Australia's colonial society are represented, or represented equally. From its very beginnings in Australia, literary journalism has been a form belonging to settler culture, with particular voices notably absent, e.g., those of women and the First Peoples. The ACNJ database is a step towards rectifying existing gaps in the archival practices and formalizing cross-institutional recognition of literary journalism in Australia. At the same time, in recognition of the status of the archive as an exercise in power, it has been deliberately constructed as a representative database that can be reconfigured and rewritten in the future as new knowledge comes to light.

Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism Database

The ACNJ database is a small-scale pilot project, underpinned by an intention to preserve and make accessible examples of Australia's narrative journalism history in a democratized online form that can be delivered to a broad constituency of users. It began as a theoretically informed, low-cost, and accessible web publication using WordPress that doubled as an archive. Created by Willa McDonald with the assistance of Bunty Avieson (the authors of this study), and Kerrie Davies, using seed funding from Macquarie University, the database was launched in 2015 by the university's Centre for Media History.

As a representative site, the ACNJ database makes no attempt to be comprehensive in its coverage of narrative journalism history, but instead presents interested audiences with links to writers, short biographical material that contextualizes their work, and examples of their writing. The original WordPress site linked users to preexisting online databases while presenting new contextualizing biographical information for every entry written by the site's creators. It currently features more than thirty colonial writers of narrative journalism with links to their original writings, where available, on Trove.⁷ An online library database aggregator hosted by the National Library of Australia in partnership with various content providers, Trove has links to more than half a million Australian and online resources that include books,

images, historic newspapers, maps, music, and archives. The ACNJ database links users directly to the original newspapers and journal/magazine articles held on Trove. On the WordPress site, where the articles were not available through Trove, they were uploaded to the original database. Thus, that version of the database also collated and published original journalism not already digitized and accessible in other places. The WordPress version of the database also linked to each writer's entry, where possible, in the online *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.⁸ The ACNJ database is now part of AustLit, which is the most comprehensive record of Australia's publishing history. AustLit's mission is "to be the definitive information resource and research environment for Australian literary, print, and narrative cultures."⁹ Maintained and supported by a collaboration of universities since it was founded in 2000, AustLit describes itself as "an authoritative database about Australian literature and storytelling, with biographical and bibliographical information, full text, exhibitions and rich online content."¹⁰ The invitation to join AustLit was an important next step. While the original ACNJ database attracted nearly 5,500 visits without institutional hosting or publicity, its reach on AustLit is far greater. AustLit references more than 300,000 creators and approximately one million works. The move is providing solid institutional backing for the database, while acknowledging Australian narrative journalism as a field with its own importance in Australia's literary culture.

While many of the writers in the ACNJ database were already acknowledged in AustLit because of their imaginative writing—novels, plays, and poetry—their journalism has gone largely unrecognized. Yet, as Josephi and Müller point out, there has always been an alliance between journalism and fiction in Australia, not only because writers wrote across genres but because they brought the techniques of one into their work in the other.¹¹ Ken Stewart argues that from 1855 to 1955, literary Australia was largely a journalists' Australia, noting that many novelists also wrote journalism.¹² David Conley observed twenty years ago that in the years since the first convict novel was published in 1830 by Henry Savery, himself a convicted forger, at least 168 Australian journalists had written novels.¹³ These interconnections are now being acknowledged by the addition of "affiliation notes" to the relevant AustLit entries for each writer, describing and linking to their narrative journalism work. The entries are collated under the badge "Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism," accompanied by a short, explanatory article to provide context.¹⁴

The impetus for the ACNJ database came from Brooke Kroeger's Undercover Reporting website, *Deception for Journalism's Sake: A Database*, which is a companion to her 2012 history of undercover reporting, *The*

Truth About Deception.¹⁵ Kroeger realized the value of the journalism she was unearthing, wanting to make the original articles publicly available, rather than trapped in a reference list at the back of an academic monograph. Kroeger said in an interview in New York in 2015, “All this material was rather lost. It hasn’t been digitized yet. It was hard to find and . . . you had to know the articles exist to find them. It wasn’t easy.”¹⁶ Kroeger’s references now comprise a large, comprehensive, and accessible online collection of original journalism in the database hosted by New York University.

Besides contributing to knowledge of Australia’s intellectual history, the research underpinning the ACNJ database is unearthing specific information relating to the practice of journalism and its impact on Australia’s cultural development—information that is being made available in its original form for users to access, evaluate, and draw their own conclusions. For example, research into the reporting of the demise of the bushranging Kelly Gang demonstrates the profound impact that journalism has had on Australia’s cultural history. There are few stories as well known in Australia as the tale of Ned Kelly, which has spawned a sprawling cultural industry from a plethora of artworks, plays, and films (including Australia’s—and the world’s—first feature film¹⁷) to books such as Peter Carey’s Booker Prize winning novel, *True History of the Kelly Gang*, published in 2000.¹⁸ In Australia, Kelly is a powerful symbol for a range of ideas, from a masculinist ideal of freedom in a lawless frontier, to a heroic champion of the underdog, a brave rebel against protestant and British authority, and a political agitator for a republic.¹⁹ Few people know the names of the journalists who reported on the capture of the Kelly Gang at the 1880 Siege of Glenrowan, in rural Victoria, yet their texts are the basis on which the legend and the cultural industry of Ned Kelly have been built.²⁰ The database allows researchers to access the original reporting via Trove to make their own judgment about this cultural indebtedness.

In a similar example, in contrast to the situation in the United States and Britain, little historical work has been done on tracing the evolution of the press interview in Australia. Christopher Silvester notes one of the first interviews published in the United States was done with the Mormon Brigham Young and appeared in the *New York Tribune* in 1859.²¹ In Britain, interviews were popularized by the publisher W. T. Stead, who ran them in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the early 1880s.²² But the date when interviewing began in Australia is still unknown. This research has revealed that eyewitness reports were published in the early 1870s with possibly the first interview seamlessly incorporated into an article of literary journalism by John Stanley James, writing as the Vagabond in his series “A Month in Pentridge” published

in the *Argus* in 1877.²³ The original versions of the articles and the Vagabond's interview are collated in the ACNJ database and available via Trove.

The Beginnings of Literary/Narrative Journalism in Australia

The creation of the ACNJ database required the researchers to grapple with the definition of literary/narrative journalism particularly as it has been practiced in Australia. While Tom Wolfe's 1973 manifesto defining the New Journalism was a starting point,²⁴ it soon became clear that to rigidly impose a late twentieth century North American definition on colonial Australian "reporting" would be inadequate. At the very beginning of this research, fundamental questions arose about the research terms. What did *Australian* mean in the decades before Federation in 1901? What did *published* mean in a fledgling British colony? Could the notion of journalism stretch to mean writing published outside newspapers and magazines, particularly if those more usual avenues did not yet exist?

While the term *literary journalism* presupposes an established press, containing as it does notions of reporting and publication, for the first forty years of the colony there was no free press in Australia. Readers were few and writers even fewer. Although a wooden printing press came out with the First Fleet, it was years before anyone trained in the printing trade arrived to run it.²⁵ The situation began to change when a trained printer, George Howe, was sent to New South Wales in November 1800. In 1802, he printed Australia's first book, a dry tome of government rules: *New South Wales General Standing Orders*. A year later, he published the first newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, which became the mouthpiece of the colonial government. Total government censorship was in place until the 1820s, and while Howe managed to publish more than a hundred poems in the newspaper, including some he wrote himself, his newspaper was no outlet for literary journalism.²⁶

Instead, there were other forms of publication that carried uncensored, lively, factual information about Australia in the absence of a free press—the journals of the explorers, published mostly in book form in England, letters written home by convicts and settlers, works of memoir, and sketches published once a local free press began to surface. A brief examination of these via some of the writers contained in the database is valuable in providing an insight into the more recognizable forms of literary journalism that would emerge later in the development of the colony.²⁷

The Explorers

When Watkin Tench, a Marine Corps officer, left Portsmouth with the First Fleet on May 13, 1787, he recognized the stories of his

experiences would be eagerly snapped up by Britain's reading public. He arranged with DeBrett's before he left England to record his impressions of the journey and the establishment of the colony. He wrote two books that are still in print today: *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, published in 1789, and *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales*, published in 1793.²⁸ Both are valuable for their vivid descriptions and literary style and have earned the reputation of being Australia's earliest works of literature.²⁹ Tench was not the only one to write about the beginnings of white settlement in Australia. Others included Governor Sir Arthur Phillip; the Deputy Judge Advocate and Lieutenant Governor David Collins; and Naval Surgeon and naturalist John White—all of whom were more important historical figures than Tench.³⁰ Yet, Tench's are the most memorable books and have had the greatest reach. His work was exceptional because it was factual yet written with literary intention using literary techniques to inform and entertain an audience. He used carefully styled journal entries as scenes incorporating detail, occasional dialogue, and characterization. The writing was immersive. It also carried a strong narrative voice and demonstrated an unusually open, empathetic approach in its descriptions of the people he was observing—whether military, convict, or Aboriginal. After Tench came the published journals of other explorers,³¹ which are still in publication and show that literary journalism—in the form of books written by educated British free men and published in England—issued from the very formation of the New South Wales colony.

Letters

The work of another explorer, Charles Sturt, raises an interesting question regarding the meaning of *publication*. Like the other explorers, Sturt published two books about his journeys of discovery into the Australian desert: *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia*, published in 1833, and *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia*, published in 1849. During his expeditions, he sent home detailed, descriptive letters, which were then circulated by the recipients, including the governor of South Australia. These were published and republished by various newspapers throughout the colony. Often, they appeared with an explanation, but sometimes not. Gibbney describes Sturt in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* as “a careful and accurate observer and an intelligent interpreter of what he saw.”³²

In the absence of a formal postal service, the earliest news from the colony was sent home in letters via the captains of the returning First Fleet.³³ A number of those letters survive and paint a vivid picture of life in New South Wales. For example, the First Fleeter George Worgan wrote long letters to his

brother with revealing accounts of the settlement, attaching an extract from his journal dated from January 20 to July 11, 1788.³⁴ While Worgan's letters were not constructed with the same writerly talent as the works of Tench, they appear to have been written with literary intention and include lively descriptions of his impressions. Although the letters were never published commercially, it can be argued that in the absence of an established press, they are an important and instructive form of literary reporting from the early days of the colony.

Women's voices were rarely heard, even in later colonial publications, but letters were one way women could express themselves and document their surroundings. Elizabeth Macarthur, wife of the soldier, entrepreneur, and pastoralist John Macarthur, was jointly responsible with him for the establishment of the Australian wool industry. Her letters home concerning her journey to New South Wales are regarded as rare and important records of voyages on convict transport, while her later letters give informative accounts of the beginning of her family's farming in Australia.³⁵

Memoir

Letters and journal entries remained popular structural forms used by later writers in and about Australia. An example is Ellen Clacy's book, *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852–1853*. Based on her diaries, the book describes Clacy's adventures with her brother and gives valuable historical descriptions of what life was like on the Victorian goldfields, particularly for women. There has been speculation about the accuracy of Clacy's account, but Priestley's recent research argues that while Clacy's memoir deceives the reader as to the length and nature of her visit to the goldfields, her book can be read as "a valid eyewitness account."³⁶

Clacy's work raises the issue of memoir generally and whether it can be included in the category of literary journalism in early Australia. Many examples of early Australian memoir provide the reader with intriguing, factual information about life in the colony, as Clacy's does. In such cases, they become valuable first-hand reports not only of the writer's experiences but also of the place, time, and circumstances in which they were living. Yet many a memoir focuses more heavily on the author as the subject of the story than the external world, making it less likely to double as literary journalism. The line is a fine one and not always easy to draw, as demonstrated by Christina Smith's published memoir.

Smith was the first white woman to settle in the district of Rivoli Bay, South Australia. The year was 1845. As missionary and teacher, she formed close connections with the local Booandik people, which formed the basis for

her reminiscences, which were published in 1880. These were issued under her married name of Mrs. James Smith, with the title: *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines: A Sketch of Their Habits, Customs, Legends, and Language: Also an Account of the Efforts Made by Mr. and Mrs. James Smith to Christianise and Civilise Them*. Smith's aim was to record information about the Booandik before they disappeared under the force of European colonialism.³⁷ Although written in the style of memoir, her book works as an ethnography of the Booandik tribe.

Remarkably, Smith's book includes accounts of fourteen Booandik people who converted to Christianity and with whom Smith was closely acquainted.³⁸ These are the first biographical accounts of Aboriginal people so far discovered in Australian literature. While in many ways the book paints a stronger picture of Smith than it does of her subjects, it is not because Smith makes herself the main character in her story. Rather, it is because her missionary fervor and assumptions of cultural superiority dominate her relationships and her writing. Such attitudes of Smith's, however, are only part of the story; her writings demonstrate she formed genuine friendships with the people she wrote about.³⁹ Her focus is always, unwaveringly, on the Booandik people, and the reader is given a strong picture of the cultural and physical violence perpetrated by the white settlers.

Unfortunately, Smith's work, like that of many of the ethnographers, particularly the women diarists and writers who became accidental recorders of the impact of colonialism, stands in for Australia's First Peoples speaking for themselves.⁴⁰ As Tim Murray states, "One of the most striking aspects of contact history in Australia is in the fact that identifiably Aboriginal responses to the reality of murder and dispossession were rarely heard until the twentieth century."⁴¹ The journalistic and authorial practices brought by the settlers were underpinned by a belief that aboriginal Australians were of a race so inferior to the European they were morally and legally invisible. As Stephen Muecke posits, the aboriginal peoples were unrepresentable—culturally dead—to settler society except as reinscribed through European writing and modes of knowledge.⁴² They were either ignored by the press or treated as *the problem*, which suited the dominant ideology and provided a justification for the continued taking of land, as well as ongoing violence.⁴³ Indigenous voices are notably absent from the database, as they were from colonial society. Michael Rose has identified *The Aboriginal or Flinders Island Chronicle* between 1836 and December 1837, written by missionary educated Tasmanians, as the first aboriginal newspaper in the Australian colony.⁴⁴ For a range of complex reasons, essentially driven by the racism and greed of colonialism, it seems the next aboriginal newspapers and magazines were not

produced for another century. Consequently, Christina Smith's writings raise questions concerning the extent to which colonialism shaped the literary journalism produced in the colony, and vice versa; and how far the literary journalism attempted to disrupt and challenge the colonial enterprise. The decision to include Smith's memoir here is in recognition of her attempts to break the silence imposed on the First Peoples and their treatment, enabling at least some knowledge to seep through the unofficial censorship imposed by the dominant white society.

Sketches

Journalistic in nature, the sketch as a free-standing genre appeared in Australian periodicals and newspapers from the time censorship was lifted in the 1820s. The first sketches published in the colony were satirical portraits of prominent Hobart townsfolk written by the convict forger Henry Savery (1791–1842).⁴⁵ They were published “in the anti-establishment Tasmanian newspaper, the *Colonial Times*, under the heading ‘The Hermit in Van Diemen’s Land,’ ” and later published in book form “under the same title in 1830, becoming Australia’s first book of essays.” Savery went on to write Australia’s first novel, *Quintus Servinton*, published in 1830.⁴⁶ From that time on, the sketch was increasingly featured in Australian newspapers and journals and was a favored form for writers, particularly columnists, such as Richard Rowe and Marcus Clarke.⁴⁷

Emergence of a Press

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the establishment of a thriving press, strongly influenced by the journalistic practices of both Britain and the United States. Sally Young notes that by 1888, more than sixty daily newspapers had been launched in Australia, while twenty-one of these were being published concurrently in the 1890s.⁴⁸ Lurline Stuart notes that almost 600 periodicals were published over the century dating from the founding of the first literary periodical in 1821.⁴⁹ While publications came and went, often in a short period of time, a small number of these survived for extended periods, especially the metropolitan newspapers and their associated magazines, and were regular outlets for literary journalism.

John Stanley James (the Vagabond) used immersive undercover journalism to write about the marginalized and disadvantaged for the *Argus* newspaper in 1876 and 1877.⁵⁰ He is among the many literary journalists in the database whose articles have provided important glimpses into life in the colonies before Federation. Thomas Carrington, who was primarily a political cartoonist in Melbourne, used the form in a memorable eyewitness account, told in first person, of the capture of the infamous bushranger Ned Kelly

and his gang in rural Victoria in 1880.⁵¹ The poet, short story writer, and reporter A. B. “Banjo” Paterson used it to movingly describe the experiences of soldiers in the Boer War.⁵² Journalists George Morrison⁵³ and J. D. Melvin⁵⁴ wrote narrative journalism to convey their undercover investigations at different times into the “blackbirding”⁵⁵ trade that transported Indigenous Australians and Pacific Islanders to work on plantations and agricultural stations in northern Australia. Annie Bright is notable because her work as both a journalist and later the editor of *Cosmos* magazine in Sydney firmly established profile writing as part of Australian magazine journalism at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶

Creating the Archive as a Definition of the Form

The ability to digitize has profoundly changed how archivists approach cultural memory, in the sense of what can be produced, reproduced, and shared through cultural forms. Digitization allows for cultural memory to be conceptualized, stored/archived, and shaped in ways not previously available.⁵⁷ The selection of material included in the AustLit archive took three researchers, already experienced in the field, approximately twelve months to source, using a combination of primary and secondary sources, and working on the project part-time. The resulting collection is far from exhaustive, with writers and works selected as representative of a field that is still only nascent in the way it is defined and discussed in the academy.

For this reason, the database is intended to operate as a *living* archive, subject to expansion and change as more information emerges from users and researchers. Archives should not be seen as passive, that is, merely a presentation of cultural artifacts, or static in the sense of ever being complete collections. Nor are they objectively formed, with each artifact containing inherent relevance or significance. Rather, all archives are constructed according to context, availability of materials, and the perspectives afforded by history according to the prevailing power structures of their time. They are also beholden to the knowledge, experience, and subjectivity/ies of the archivist/s. An archive is constructed via individual appraisal, what Richard Cox and Helen Samuels call the “first responsibility” from which all else flows.⁵⁸ Once defined as a collection it then performs as a *system of dispersion*⁵⁹ producing, reproducing, and transforming the social phenomena it presents. The pieces selected for the database involve an element of reporting, the use of literary techniques such as characterization or the use of scenes and dialogue, and an identifiable narrative voice.

The selection of the pieces for the AustLit database has necessarily meant imposing an order—a constructed classification and historical narrative—

on the articles and their authors. Terry Cook suggests that archivists bear responsibility for retrospective inclusion.⁶⁰ He notes the focus of archival theory shifting in the 1980s from considering archives as harbingers of truth and evidence, to archives as records of story and social narrative. He described the transformation of archivists from passive curators to more dynamic community facilitators, “. . . part of a societal and governance process of remembering and forgetting, of concern about power and margins, in which the archivist consciously embraced a more visible role in co-creating the archive.”⁶¹

Cultural institutions have historically presented archives in spaces that are simultaneously civic, social, and political, as well as experiential. The digital archive extends these spaces, expanding the possibilities that have opened up through the affordances of new media technologies. As Russo and Watkins argue, in harnessing these new media platforms and the new literacies of digital cultural communication, cultural institutions must expand their “curatorial mission[s] from the exhibition of collections to the remediation of cultural narratives and experiences.”⁶² The web allows new contexts and connections. As Sherratt notes, “Not just new ways of finding archives, but new ways of seeing them.”⁶³ While ideally the database would be more *dynamic* in its encouragement of users communicating through the sites, the commenting function on the WordPress site was dismantled because of malicious bots. There is no equivalent function on the AustLit site. Nevertheless, readers have used the newly available email contact address to pass on extra information to the primary database creator, demonstrating that users take some ownership of the archived material and develop a certain kinship in a shared research enterprise.

The nature of the internet also disrupts the ways database information is accessed and used. Unlike the reading of a historical monograph, the ACNJ database allows other researchers to take a serendipitous approach and navigate their own way through the links. It invites users to construct their own narrative regarding the presented material while enabling challenges, at least to a degree, to this institutional version of that history. Archivists Wendy Duff and Verne Harris discuss archival records “as always in the process of being made,” not locked in the past but “opening out of the future.”⁶⁴ The ACNJ database allows the journalism discourses of the past to be accessible now, while also enabling the research to be open-ended and those discourses to be challenged. There is no longer a distinct beginning and an end as required in a monograph. Information can be added, changed, and subtracted over extended time. Community is created. Audience participation and contribution are part of the knowledge transfer and exchange.

Conclusion

The ACNJ database was created to locate the important—as well as the underrecognized—literary/narrative journalism of colonial Australia. By collecting and analyzing works, the initial aims—which continue to evolve in light of new understandings—were to begin defining the field; develop some understanding of the cultural specificities of the emerging Australian *voice*; and contribute to international discourse about narrative journalism. While listed among the original aims was the development of an Australian canon of literary journalism, it has become clear that the choices of what should be included or excluded demonstrate that an archive is an exercise in power.⁶⁵ As Achille Mbembe states, “The archive is . . . not a piece of data, but a status,”⁶⁶ reflecting membership of the archived item in the equivalent of an exclusive club. Many of the pieces selected for the ACNJ database had already been through a selection process that served the dominant culture in the way they were produced and published for a white, patriarchal, colonial press. Archival choices in this case constitute another stage of selection, by educated white women working within an institutional university setting that is an important educational arm of settler culture. However, the opening of the definition of colonial literary journalism in the archive, beyond the constraints of newspaper or magazine publication—and the decision to make the archive open-ended and revisable—is reflective of the database creators’ attempt to disrupt the problem of the archive serving only the dominant paradigm. The openness of the archive provides some transparency of methods, which is a topic of scholarly discourse across a number of disciplines.⁶⁷ Clare Birchall says that while we don’t live in transparent times, we live in an age of transparency advocacy because transparency “depoliticizes what are essentially political decisions.”⁶⁸ What we used to believe, because we thought the author was *objective* we now believe because we can see through the author’s writings to the sources and values that brought them to that position. This ethos of forensic accountability is gaining traction in communications and speaks to the philosophical aims of the database, making the raw data available for others to ask different questions, privileging the data over any singular interpretation.

The writings that are collected and published on the ACNJ database largely come into meaning through the interpretations brought by users. These historical artifacts are a starting point. Jacques Derrida writes in his 1995 paper, “Archive Fever: A Freudian Question,” that the question of the archive, “. . . is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what this will have meant, we will only know in the times to come.”⁶⁹

David Bearman suggests that archives should be seen as “marshaling center[s]” that enable people, not to observe some distant past, but to mobilize the past within their own lives—to find connections and meanings.⁷⁰ The ACNJ database demonstrates that literary journalism has been written in Australia from the time of First Settlement, bringing historical journalism and its discourses into the present moment. The institutional support for the database ensures the texts also reach into the future, potentially allowing for open-ended exploration by diverse users for a range of motivations.

The Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism database sits at the intersection of convergent media technologies, enabling new ways of curating, presenting, and experiencing early narrative journalism in the emerging colony of Australia. It attempts to challenge institutional hegemony through retrospective inclusion. It makes available the political, cultural, and social issues of the day through this form of reportage on ordinary people, while also using the affordances of the online platform to allow for the serendipity of individual connections and experiences to emerge. As Sherratt says,

In this new post-truth world, it's going to be more important than ever to challenge what is given, what is “natural,” what is “inevitable.” Our cultural heritage will be a crucially important resource to be mobilised in defence of complexity, nuance, and doubt—the rich and glorious reality of simply being human.⁷¹

An important sentiment in this digital age.

Willia McDonald is senior lecturer in Media at Macquarie University. She is currently writing a cultural history of colonial Australian literary journalism for Palgrave Macmillan. Willa's earlier books are: Warrior for Peace: Dorothy Auchterlonie Green (2009) and The Writer's Reader: Understanding Journalism and Non-fiction (with Susie Eisenhuth, 2007).



Bunty Avieson is a lecturer in Media and Communications at the University of Sydney. A former journalist and author, she has published three novels, a novella, and two memoirs. She coedited two scholarly essay collections for Routledge, Mediating Memory: Tracing the Limits of Memoir (2017) and Still Here: Memoirs of Trauma, Illness and Loss (2019).

Notes

- ¹ AustLit, "About AustLit."
- ² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
- ³ Battley, Daniels, and Rolan, "Archives as Multifaceted Narratives," 155–57.
See also, Millar, "Touchstones," 105–26.
- ⁴ Sherratt, "Unremembering the Forgotten," para. 23.
- ⁵ Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive," 19–26.
- ⁶ Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 204–45.
- ⁷ "About Trove."
- ⁸ The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* is available in both hardcopy and online versions. It is produced by the National Centre for Biography at the Australian National University. Eighteen volumes of the *ADB*, including a supplementary volume of "missing persons" have been published so far. The online version can be found at: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/>.
- ⁹ AustLit, "About AustLit."
- ¹⁰ AustLit, "About AustLit."
- ¹¹ Josephi and Müller, "Differently Drawn Boundaries of the Permissible," 67–78.
- ¹² Stewart, "Journalism and the World of the Writer," 174–93; 180.
- ¹³ Conley, "Birth of a Novelist," 47.
- ¹⁴ AustLit, "Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism."
- ¹⁵ Kroeger, Undercover Reporting: A Database; Kroeger, *Undercover Reporting*.
- ¹⁶ Brooke Kroeger (journalist, author, and professor of journalism at New York University), unpublished interview by Willa McDonald, New York, May 2015.
- ¹⁷ *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, directed by Charles Tait in 1906, was inscribed on the UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2007 as the first full-length narrative feature film produced anywhere in the world. Accessed July 2, 2019. <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/the-story-of-the-kelly-gang-1906/>.
- ¹⁸ Carey, *True History of the Kelly Gang*.
- ¹⁹ McDonald and Davies, "Creating History," 33.
- ²⁰ McDonald and Davies, 33–49.
- ²¹ Silvester, Introduction to *The Penguin Book of Interviews*, 4.
- ²² Silvester, 7.
- ²³ James [the Vagabond], "A Month in Pentridge." The interview was with the bushranger Harry Power and is contained in the second installment of the series, published in the *Argus* on Saturday, March 3, 1877, page 9. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/5915268>.
- ²⁴ Wolfe, *The New Journalism*, 3–52.
- ²⁵ The convict George Hughes was the first government printer, appointed in 1795, but he was untrained. He taught himself to use the small wooden screw press that came out on the First Fleet. "Hughes, George (?–?)." *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

²⁶ George Howe, also a convict, replaced Hughes five years later. Howe was born into a printing family on the island of St. Kitts in the West Indies. His father was Thomas Howe who was the government printer at Basseterre on St. Christopher's Island. He received a classical European education and gained extensive skills as a printer on the *Times* and other newspapers. Byrnes, "Howe, George (1769–1821)."

²⁷ In arriving at this schema, the authors have taken the lead from Elizabeth Webby and her edited collection, *Colonial Voices*.

²⁸ Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*; Fitzhardinge, "Tench, Watkin (1758–1833)."

²⁹ Merle, "Watkin Tench's Fieldwork, 199–219; Fitzhardinge, "Tench, Watkin (1758–1833)."

³⁰ These men are all listed in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. See Fletcher, "Phillip, Arthur (1738–1814)"; "Collins, David (1756–1810)"; Rienits, "White, John (1756–1832)."

³¹ For a collection of these journals, prepared by Sue Asscher as e-books, see Project Gutenberg Australia's "Journals of Australian Land and Sea Explorers and Discoverers." Accessed July 3, 2019. <http://gutenberg.net.au/explorers-journals.html>.

³² Gibbney, "Sturt, Charles (1795–1869)," para. 20.

³³ State Library of New South Wales, *From Terra Australis to Australia: Letters Home*.

³⁴ State Library of New South Wales, *Worgan, George Bouchier, 1757–1838*. See also Watling, *Letters from an Exile at Botany-Bay*.

³⁵ Macarthur, "Letter to Eliza Kingdon," in Webby, *Colonial Voices*, 95–99.

³⁶ Clacy, *A Lady's Visit*; Priestley, "Identifying Ellen Clacy—A Cautionary Tale," 119–28, 126.

³⁷ Smith, *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines*, iii–iv.

³⁸ Smith; also McDonald, "Precursor to the Profile," 43–59.

³⁹ McDonald, 52; McDonald and Avieson, "Against the Tide," 29–37.

⁴⁰ Izett, *Breaking New Ground*.

⁴¹ Murray, "In the Footsteps of George Dutton," 204.

⁴² Muecke, *Textual Spaces*.

⁴³ Meadows, *Voices in the Wilderness*.

⁴⁴ Rose, *For the Record*, xxix–xxx, 3.

⁴⁵ Hadgraft, "Savery, Henry (1791–1842)," para. 2.

⁴⁶ McDonald, "Precursor to the Profile," 45, 45–46.

⁴⁷ Baxter, "Rowe, Richard (1828–1879)"; Elliott, "Clarke, Marcus Andrew (1846–1881)."

⁴⁸ Young, *Paper Emperors*, 51.

⁴⁹ Stuart, *Australian Periodicals with Literary Content, 1821–1925*, ix.

⁵⁰ McDonald, "A Vagabond," 65–81.

⁵¹ Carrington, "Catching the Kellys," 18.

⁵² A list of articles written by Paterson as war correspondent covering the Boer War can be found on *Trove* at <https://trove.nla.gov.au/list?id=5560>. Individual

titles are too many to list here, but include “With the S. S. Kent Contingent,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 28, 1899, 5, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/14216858?>; “From the Seat of War,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 12, 1900, 5, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/14232606?>; Free State Fighting,” *Argus*, May 11, 1900, 6, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/9540863?>; “A Day Under Fire,” *Argus*, August 15, 1900, 9, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/9551948?>; “Basutoland,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 6, 1900, 7, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/14373344?>. See also Semmler, “Paterson, Andrew Barton (Banjo) (1864–1941).”

⁵³ Morrison’s work has yet to be digitized by *Trove*. The full list plus pdfs of Morrison’s eight articles, published in the *Leader* between October and December 1882, which detail his undercover work on the blackbirding ship *Lavinia*, can be found in Kroeger’s Undercover Reporting database. See also Gregory, “Morrison, George Ernest (Chinese) (1862–1920).”

⁵⁴ The series of thirteen articles Melvin wrote for the *Argus* on “The Kanaka Labour Traffic” are available on *Trove* as follows: “A Representative on a Recruiting Schooner,” December 3, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8488604?>; (1) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Natives Homeward Bound; The Voyage to the Solomon Islands,” December 5, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8489072?>; (2) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Reception of Returned Labourers by Their Tribes; The First Attempt to Recruit,” December 6, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8489286?>; (3) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; The Natives Shy; Inspection by a Warship,” December 7, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8489506?>; (4) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; The Safeguards against Deception; First Recruits” December 8, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8490003?>; (5) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Operations in Port Adam; Additional Recruits Obtained; Refusal of Recruits,” December 9, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8490738?>; (6) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Death of a ‘Return’; A Large Number of Recruits Obtained,” December 10, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8491115?>; (7) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Re-engagement of Former Labourers; Two Women Accepted; Death of a Recruit,” December 12, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8491580?>; (8) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; The Last of the ‘Returns’ Landed; Brisk Recruiting,” December 15, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8492809?>; (9) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Competition between Labour Ships; Re-Victualling Necessary,” December 16, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8493183?>; (10) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; In Missionary Precincts, Large Accession of Recruits,” December 17, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8493698?>; (11) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; A Full Ship; The Ninetieth ‘Boy’ Obtained,” December 19, 1892, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8494201?>; (12) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Return to Bundaberg; Safe Landing of the Boys; Some

Kanaka Characteristics,” December 20, 1892. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8494500>; (13) “Our Representative on a Recruiting Schooner; Concluding Comments; Stringency of the Regulations; The Cost of a Kanaka,” December 22, 1892. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/8495285>. See also Corris, “Melvin, Joseph Dalgarno (1852–1909)”; Melvin, *The Cruise of the Helena*.

⁵⁵ “Blackbirding” was the name given to the practice of kidnapping Pacific Islanders to be used as forced labor, particularly on the Australian cotton and sugar plantations. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “blackbirding.”

⁵⁶ McDonald, “Precursor to the Profile,” 54–56.

⁵⁷ Van House and Churchill, “Technologies of Memory,” 296.

⁵⁸ Cox and Samuels, “The Archivist’s First Responsibility,” 28.

⁵⁹ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 37–38.

⁶⁰ Cook, “‘We Are What We Keep,’” 173–89.

⁶¹ Cook, 179.

⁶² Russo and Watkins, “Digital Cultural Communication,” 149.

⁶³ Sherratt, “Contexts, Connections, Access,” 209.

⁶⁴ Duff and Harris, “Stories and Names: Archival Description,” 284.

⁶⁵ Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive,” 19.

⁶⁶ Mbembe, 20.

⁶⁷ See, for example, the work of Birchall, “Radical Transparency?”; Tkacz, *Wikipedia and the Politics of Openness*; and Triplett, “Transparency Group.”

⁶⁸ Birchall, “Radical Transparency?” 78.

⁶⁹ Derrida, “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,” 27.

⁷⁰ Bearman, “Archival Methods,” para. 21.

⁷¹ Sherratt, “Caring About Access,” para. 12.

Bibliography

“About Trove.” National Library of Australia. Accessed April 30, 2019. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/general/about>.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. rev. ed. London: Verso, 2006. First published 1983 by Verso (London).

AustLit. “About AustLit”; “Our Mission.” St Lucia: University of Queensland. Accessed April 26, 2019. <https://www.austlit.edu.au/austlit/page/5960584>.

AustLit. “Australian Colonial Narrative Journalism.” St Lucia: University of Queensland. Accessed April 26, 2019. Accessed September 1, 2019. <https://www.austlit.edu.au/austlit/page/12870667>.

Battley, Belinda, Elizabeth Daniels, and Gregory Rolan. “Archives as Multifaceted Narratives: Linking the ‘Touchstones’ of Community Memory.” *Archives and Manuscripts* 42, no.2 (2014): 155–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2014.911675>.

Baxter, Rosilyn. “Rowe, Richard (1828–1879).” In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography.

- Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rowe-richard-4516/text7389>. Article first published 1976 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 6, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Bearman, David. "Archival Methods." *Archives and Museum Informatics*, Technical Report no. 9. Pittsburgh: Archives and Museum Informatics, 1989. Accessed May 21, 2019. http://www.archimuse.com/publishing/archival_methods/.
- Birchall, Clare. "Radical Transparency?" *Cultural Studies—Critical Methodologies* 14, no.1 (2013): 77–88. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1532708613517442>.
- Byrnes, J. V. "Howe, George (1769–1821)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 3, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/howe-george-16000/text2851>. Article first published 1966 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Carey, Peter. *True History of the Kelly Gang*. New York: Knopf, 2000. First published 2000 by University of Queensland Press (Brisbane).
- Carrington, T. "Catching the Kellys: A Personal Narrative of One Who Went in the Special Train." *Australasian*, July 3, 1880, 18. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/142169227>.
- Clacy, [Ellen] Mrs. Charles. *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia, in 1852–53*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1853. Published 2010 as an e-book by Floating Press (Auckland, New Zealand).
- "Collins, David (1756–1810)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-david-1912/text2269/>. Article first published 1966 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Conley, David. "Birth of a Novelist, Death of a Journalist." *Australian Studies in Journalism* 7 (1998): 46–73. <https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:11332/conley98.pdf>.
- Cook, Terry. "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32, no. 2 (2011): 173–89. <https://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/00379816.2011.619688>.
- Corris, Peter. "Melvin, Joseph Dalgarno (1852–1909)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/melvin-joseph-dalgarno-7556/text13185>. Article first published 1986 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 10, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Cox, Richard J., and Helen W. Samuels. "The Archivist's First Responsibility: A Research Agenda to Improve the Identification and Retention of Records of Enduring Value." *American Archivist* 51, no. 1/2 (Winter–Spring, 1988): 28–42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40293193>.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression." Translated by Eric Prenowitz. *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 9–63.

- Duff, Wendy M., and Verne Harris. "Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings." *Archival Science*, no. 2 (2002): 263–85. <http://yalearchivalreadinggroup.pbworks.com/f/Duff&Harris.pdf>.
- Elliott, Brian. "Clarke, Marcus Andrew (1846–1881)." *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clarke-marcus-andrew-3225/text4859>. Article first published 1969 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 3, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Fitzhardinge, L. F. "Tench, Watkin (1758–1833)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 3, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tench-watkin-2719/text3829>. Article first published 1967 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Fletcher, B. H. "Phillip, Arthur (1738–1814)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/phillip-arthur-2549/text3471>. Article first published 1967 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon, 1984.
- Gibbney, H. J. "Sturt, Charles (1795–1869)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 3, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sturt-charles-2712/text3811>. Article first published 1967 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Gregory, J. S. "Morrison, George Ernest (Chinese) (1862–1920)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/morrison-george-ernest-chinese-7663/text13405>. Article first published 1986 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 10, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Hadgraft, Cecil. "Savery, Henry (1791–1842)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/savery-henry-2632>. Article first published 1967 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.
- "Hughes, George (?–?)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed September 5, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hughes-george-2208/text2863>. Article first published 1966 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, Melbourne University Press (London and New York). See "Hughes, George (fl. 1796–1800)," 1:562.

- Izett, Erica Kaye. "Breaking New Ground: Early Australian Ethnography in Colonial Women's Writing." PhD thesis, Perth: University of Western Australia, Faculty of Architecture Landscape and Visual Arts, 2014.
- James, John Stanley [the Vagabond; Julian Thomas]. "A Month in Pentridge." *Argus*, 1877. Accessed July 3, 2019. <https://www.auslitjourn.info/writers/f-p/james-john-stanley-a-vagabond/>. See esp. March 3, 1877, page 9. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/5915268>. Reprinted in *The Vagabond Papers*, exp. ed., edited with an introduction by Michael Cannon. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2016.
- Joseph, Beate, and Christine Müller. "Differently Drawn Boundaries of the Permissible in German and Australian Literary Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 67–78.
- Kroeger, Brooke. *Undercover Reporting: The Truth about Deception*. With a foreword by Pete Hamill. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2012.
- . *Undercover Reporting, Deception for Journalism's Sake: A Database*. New York University. Accessed April 29, 2019. <http://dlib.nyu.edu/undercover/>. For Morrison's work, go to <http://dlib.nyu.edu/undercover/cruise-queensland-slaver-george-morrison-age>.
- Macarthur, Elizabeth. "Letter to Eliza Kingdon 1795." In Webby, *Colonial Voices*, 95–99.
- Mbembe, Achille. "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits." Translated from the French by Judith Inggs. In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh, 19–26. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic, 2002. https://sites.duke.edu/vms565s_01_f2014/files/2014/08/mbembe2002.pdf.
- McDonald, Willa. "Precursor to the Profile: The Character Sketch in Colonial Australia." In *Profile Pieces: Journalism and the 'Human Interest' Bias*, edited by Sue Joseph and Richard Lance Keeble, 43–59. *Routledge Research in Journalism Series 13*. New York and London: Routledge/Taylor and Francis, 2016.
- . "A Vagabond: The Literary Journalism of John Stanley James." *Literary Journalism Studies* 6, no. 1 (Spring, 2014): 65–81.
- . "The Vagabond in New Caledonia." In *The Vagabond Papers*, by John Stanley James, edited by Michael Cannon, xli–liv, exp. ed. Melbourne: Monash University Press and the State Library of Victoria, 2016.
- , and Bunty Avieson. "Against the Tide: Alternative Voices in Colonial Australian Writing." *Ethical Space: International Journal of Communication Ethics* 11, no. 4 (2014): 29–37.
- , and Kerrie Davies. "Creating History: Literary Journalism and Ned Kelly's Last Stand." *Australian Journalism Review* 37, no. 2 (December 2015): 33–49. <https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=841170984430251;res=IELAPA;type=pdf>.
- Meadows, Michael. *Voices in the Wilderness: Images of Aboriginal People in the Australian Media*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001.
- Melvin, J. C. *The Cruise of the Helena: A Labour-Recruiting Voyage to the Solomon Islands*. Edited by Peter Corris. Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1977.

- Merle, Isabelle. "Watkin Tench's Fieldwork: The Journal of an 'Ethnographer' in Port Jackson, 1788–1791." In *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, edited by Margaret Jolly, Serge Tcherkézoff, and Darrell Tryon, 199–219. Canberra: Australian National University E-Press, 2009.
- Millar, Laura. "Touchstones: Considering the Relationship between Memory and Archives." *Archivaria*, no. 61 (Spring 2006): 105–26. <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archi%20varia/article/view/12537>.
- Muecke, Stephen. *Textual Spaces: Aboriginality and Cultural Studies*. Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1992.
- Murray, Tim. "In the Footsteps of George Dutton: Developing a Contact Archaeology of Temperate Aboriginal Australia." In *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*, edited by Tim Murray, 200–225. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Priestley, Susan. "Identifying Ellen Clacy—A Cautionary Tale." *Victorian Historical Journal* 85, no. 1 (June 2014): 119–28. <https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=371476731609341;res=IELAPA>.
- Rienits, Rex. "White, John (1756–1832)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. Accessed July 26, 2019. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/white-john-2787/text3971>. Article first published 1967 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 2, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Rose, Michael, ed. *For the Record: 160 years of Aboriginal Print Journalism*. St. Leonards (Sydney): Allen and Unwin, 1996.
- Russo, Angelina, and Jerry Watkins. "Digital Cultural Communication: Audience and Remediation." In *Theorizing Digital Cultural Heritage: A Critical Discourse*, edited by Fiona Cameron and Sarah Kenderdine, 149–64. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- Semmler, Clement. "Paterson, Andrew Barton (Banjo) (1864–1941)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Canberra: Australian National University, National Centre of Biography. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/paterson-andrew-barton-banjo-7972/text13883>. Article first published 1988 in hardcopy *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 11, Melbourne University Press (London and New York).
- Sherratt, Tim. "Contexts, Connections, Access: The Glorious Possibilities of Getting It All Wrong." *Archives and Manuscripts* 42, no. 2 (2014): 209–10. <https://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/01576895.2014.911691>.
- . "Caring about Access." Address presented at Digital Directions 2016, National Film and Sound Archive, Canberra, November 10, 2016. Published on his blog, *Discontents*. <http://discontents.com.au/caring-about-access/>.
- . "Unremembering the Forgotten." Keynote Address at Digital Humanities 2015, University of Sydney, July 3, 2015. Published on his blog, *Discontents*. <http://discontents.com.au/unremembering-the-forgotten/>.
- Silvester, Christopher, ed. Introduction to *The Penguin Book of Interviews: An Anthology from 1859 to the Present Day*, 1–48. London: Viking, 1993. Published 1996 as *The Norton Book of Interviews: An Anthology from 1859 to the Present Day*, W.W. Norton (New York). Page references are to the 1993 edition.

- Smith, Mrs. James [Christine]. *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines: A Sketch of their Habits, Customs, Legends, and Language: Also an Account of the Efforts Made by Mr. and Mrs. James Smith to Christianise and Civilise Them*. Adelaide [North-Terrace]: Spiller, 1880.
- State Library of New South Wales. *From Terra Australis to Australia: Letters Home* (online collection of letters from First Fleeters). Accessed May 2, 2019. <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/terra-australis-australia/letters-home>.
- . *Worgan, George Bouchier, 1757–1838. Collection 10: George Bouchier Worgan, Letter Written to His Brother Richard Worgan, June 12–18, 1788. Includes Journal Fragment Kept by George on a Voyage to New South Wales with the First Fleet on Board HMS Sirius, January 20, 1788–July 11, 1788*. Accessed May 2, 2019. <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/collection-items/collection-10-george-bouchier-worgan-letter-written-his-brother-richard-worgan-12-0>.
- Stewart, Ken. "Journalism and the World of the Writer: The Production of Australian Literature, 1855–1915." Chapter 11 in Special Issue, *Australian Literary Studies* 13, no.4 (October 1988): 174–93.
- Stuart, Lurline, comp. *Australian Periodicals with Literary Content, 1821–1925: An Annotated Bibliography*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2003. See esp. Introduction, ix–xv, in 1979 edition. First published 1979 as *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals: An Annotated Bibliography* by Hale & Iremonger (Sydney).
- Tench, Watkin. *Sydney's First Four Years: Being a Reprint of a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*. With introduction and annotations by L. F. Fitzhardinge. Reprint of 1961 edition. Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1979.
- Tkacz, Nathaniel. *Wikipedia and the Politics of Openness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Triplett, Michael. "Transparency Group Taking Government Openness to the People." *Mediaite*, March 18, 2010. <http://www.mediaite.com/online/transparency-group-taking-government-openness-to-the-people/>.
- Van House, Nancy, and Elizabeth F. Churchill. "Technologies of Memory: Key Issues and Critical Perspectives." *Memory Studies* 1, no. 3 (2008): 295–310.
- Watling, Thomas. *Letters from an Exile at Botany-Bay, to His Aunt in Dumfries: Giving a Particular Account of the Settlement of New South Wales, with the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants*. Penrith, England: Ann Bell, c.1794. <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks04/0400011.txt>.
- Webby, Elizabeth, ed. *Colonial Voices: Letters, Diaries, Journalism and Other Accounts of Nineteenth Century Australia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989.
- Wolfe, Tom. *The New Journalism*, [by] Tom Wolfe, with an Anthology, edited by Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- Young, Sally. *Paper Emperors: The Rise of Australia's Newspaper Empires*. Sydney: New South Publishing, University of New South Wales, 2019.