

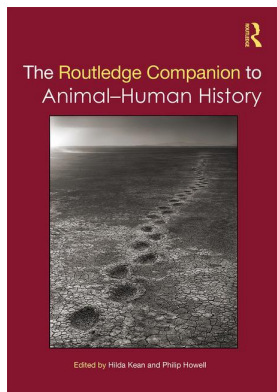
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4

PUBLIC HISTORY AND HERITAGE

A fruitful approach for privileging animals?

Hilda Kean

Introduction

I start this chapter with some non-human animal protagonists and some definitions. For the former we have a small terrier dog who grieved over the corpse of his human companion; a donkey who alongside a human medical orderly helped rescue wounded soldiers at Gallipoli; various Norwegian brown rats, not of the fancy variety but the type who cause terror amongst many humans; and last but not least some long dead, and now taxidermied, polar bears. I will discuss these beings later in this chapter but have deliberately placed them here to indicate both their importance in this piece of writing and also as an indication of the focus I have chosen to adopt as a historian who seeks, at the bare minimum, to privilege the role of animals in the creation of histories. As I have discussed elsewhere, while debates around the nature of the materials used in the creation of histories involving animals are important – materials always are, whatever sort of history is being created – what is probably more important is the stance of the historian, her aims and objectives, the decisions she takes in developing particular arguments and employing specific materials and the way such work is presented and to whom.¹

Like many with an academic background who choose to work within the broad framework of animal studies I also work within other ‘disciplinary’ areas or ‘sub-fields’ of history, particularly those of ‘public history’ and heritage, not least because of the scarcity of employment at present for those simply working in the field of historical animal studies. Thus routinely I am faced with apparently contradictory and conflicting ways of approaching subject matter. This is a problem experienced by many working in the fields of ‘history’ within both the Humanities and Social Studies areas. Here, however, I am routinely faced with apparently contradictory and conflicting ways of approaching the subject matter of ‘history’. It is nevertheless felt particularly acutely within public history, since it is by definition ‘inclusive’ and ‘democratised’, but its ‘public’ is typically ill-defined, and it is notoriously capable of being co-opted by authority, in the form of ‘heritage’ and narratives of national identity. All the same, perhaps the challenge of ‘public history’ can be preserved or reclaimed – and the

attempt to include *other* animals in these ‘public histories’ might be one particularly instructive way to do so.

The term public history confusingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, has different emphases in different cultural contexts. While Britain routinely produces heritage workers, museum curators, local historians and community practitioners who create history and put it to work in the world, in north America and Australasia there are often professional historians who define themselves in this way and are employed as such by local and national government institutions and businesses. The north American National Council on Public History (NCPH) established in 1980 to bring together a range of United States agencies and stake holders offers one description of the field, namely that ‘All share an interest and commitment to making history relevant and useful in the public sphere’ and that ‘public history describes the many and diverse ways that history is put to work in the world’.² In this context the ‘world’ is taken to mean sites outside the academic lecture room and ‘put to work’ suggests that the practice has some sense of function or meaning beyond an intrinsic search for knowledge. Tactfully the Australian leading public historian Paul Ashton defines public history as an ‘elastic nuanced and contentious term’ that can be ‘broadly defined as an array of practices that communicate and engage with historical meanings in the public sphere’. But, as he also acknowledges, it is ‘the practice of historical work in a wide range of forums and sites which involves the negotiation and different understandings about the nature of the past and its meaning and uses in the present’.³ Although some have emphasised the employment status of the historian, particularly stressing the work of those employed outside academia, for example in museums or archives,⁴ given the fluidity of employment and funding regimes, more recently the focus has been on the places in which historical meaning is created or, more conservatively, the audiences for such knowledge. At its narrowest a definition of public history embraces the presentation of aspects of the past to a wide audience outside the confines of a seminar room.⁵ At its most dynamic it involves individuals, groups and communities in the construction of their own histories.⁶ This latter approach has been famously promoted by Ronald Grele as a participatory historical culture.⁷ What such apparently different approaches have in common, however, is an implicit understanding that the way in which knowledge is created is key – process rather than research per se is central to a public history discourse. Often cited here is the work of the late British historian Raphael Samuel who emphasised the possibilities of history made by people (and not ‘professional historians’ alone) explaining that the creation of history by a ‘thousand different hands’ resulted in a *social* form of knowledge.⁸ By opening up the categorisation of those making history – ‘the who’ – epistemology – ‘the what’ – is also changed. Running alongside this line of argument is an awareness of the way in which the past is contested: different meanings and strong feelings that can make history making unstable (and even career breaking).⁹ In a new collection on public history, the author, aiming to demonstrate that historians should participate in a public understanding of the past, argues, ‘Historians should accept that they do not work for the sake of history only, to advance historical research but for and with others’.¹⁰

As will be evident from the brief summary above, public historians approach their work not around particular subject matter per se but from a perspective of the

process of creating meaning or disseminating ideas with a particular emphasis on accessibility. However, despite what might be viewed as a broadly progressive sense of epistemology, analysis of the role of non-human animals has yet to be a routine analytic feature of key journals such as *The Public Historian* where animals are noticeable by their distinct absence.¹¹ Non-human animals seem then to mark the limits of the ambition of inclusiveness, let alone that of participation in public history.

Those working within a broad framework of animal studies also, of course, have different emphases but many would acknowledge that animals as some sort of subject *matter* – rather than *process* as such – is key. Nevertheless, there are some complementarities. There are those who, like many public historians, see a role for themselves within a social and political context outside academic study per se. Jonathan Balcombe has explained this as an approach that seeks to ‘parlay existing theory into action, and to do our bit to change the tide for animals’.¹² This trajectory has been emphasised in a recent book by Nik Taylor, where she has expressed her ‘unease with the majority of animal studies scholarship that remains divorced from the reality of animal lives’ and warns against scholarship ‘falling into the trap of contemplation without action’.¹³ Contemplation and introspection are certainly present within the field of animal studies, sometimes to the extent of work being esoteric and divorced from any engagement with living animals. Too often an emphasis on theoretical precision and the need to repeat in almost mantra-like fashion the work of mainly continental European philosophers – without applying this to the lived experience past or present of non-human animals – can create a context far removed from putting such meaning, to again quote the NCPH, ‘to work in the world’.¹⁴ For example, a framework very different from that of ‘the world’ was envisaged in the introduction to a recent animal–human history collection *The Historical Animal* that, having drawn analogies with feminist and environmental history, concluded with the phrase ‘. . . for any group to achieve their justice – whatever their particular “justice” may be – they must have their history written and accepted *within the academy*’ (my emphasis).¹⁵ The author here is certainly not ignoring animals but still privileges academic boundaries as a framework for situating ‘justice’ rather than engagement with ‘the world’. Creating a *real* impact outside academia (rather than just ticking a box for UK universities’ funding requirements) might mean not just looking at the dissemination of ‘boundaried’ knowledge but instead an engagement with those outside the seminar walls with those who have different contributions to make to historical meaning – and understanding of the lives of non-human animals and their treatment.

Animals in the creation of national histories

In *practice* there is far more blurring between the processed-based approach of public historians and the sometimes more esoteric world of animal studies than I might have suggested above, but rather than seeking to juxtapose abstract definitions I intend instead to focus on different animals who, in their own way, have played significant roles in the past, and to consider how their lives and narratives might be approached from different perspectives. Certainly, if we think of public history as demonstrating the importance of the past in different national public contexts there is a plethora of examples of *practice* to animals to choose from. Many nations have consciously

chosen to incorporate individual animals, especially those possessing names, into their commemorative cultures and histories. Consider the ‘first dogs’ of the first families, the fascination with the past animals, usually dogs, who have lived with American Presidents. Notwithstanding the bizarre Christmas videos of George W. Bush and his dogs Miss Beazley and Barney around the Christmas tree,¹⁶ we can agree with Helena Pycior that, ‘each first dog had a history, a personality, a disposition suitable to the bustle of the White House . . . and a role in the history of the United States . . .’¹⁷ Equally acknowledged in North American popular memory are Stubby the guard dog who saved lives on the battlefields of the First World War by his vigilance, or Balto, the Alaskan malamute, who with other dogs and human mushers saved the isolated town of Nome by bringing the diphtheria vaccine across an arduous journey in the 1920s.¹⁸ Both of these dogs, in their own ways, continue to be popular today either in taxidermied form in the Smithsonian or in a bronze sculptural depiction of Balto in New York’s Central Park.¹⁹ In such examples we may be looking at nothing but representations but, as Diana Donald has convincingly argued, we need to

take representations of animals as what they purport to be, and analyse them for what they truly contain: evidence of human convictions and emotions about other species. Fragmented, obscure, deeply conflicting as this evidence may be, it offers the only possibility of recovering a key aspect of history which has, as yet, hardly begun to be understood.²⁰

And in the case of stuffed animals like Balto, Rachel Poliquin has argued that for all that ‘taxidermied animals have been transfigured by the fervour of human longing’ these animals are ‘never just cultural objects but are rather provocative animal-things imbued with both the longing to capture animal life immortally and the longing to see the living animal again’.²¹

So animals do participate, if unwillingly, in one form of public history. Given the relatively recent origins of the state of Australia and particularly its intention to create a separate identity from Britain in the aftermath of the First World War, Australia is arguably the best example of the ways that animals have been consciously used to create national histories separate from British traditions.²² Certainly animals have played important roles in the nation-forming fiction of Banjo Patterson and Henry Lawson. Lawson’s memorial by George Lambert in Sydney’s Domain with a proud dog certainly reflects his stories of the outback that featured animals in key narratives. This is an appropriate location for a memorial to this resolutely urban author who created an idealised past for the new colony while rarely straying from his Sydney home.²³

Consider too the effects of the journalist, Charles Bean, who can reasonably be defined as a public historian, who did so much to create and document the ANZAC spirit as an identity separate from Britain especially employing the Australian and New Zealand military experience in the battles at Gallipoli during the 1914–18 war. He was largely responsible for both the establishment of the Australian War Memorial in Canberra that functions both as a major museum and one of the most popular in Australia and also the national archives for war records that is frequently used by a range of history practitioners.²⁴ The emphasis here was upon re-creating a wartime experience by collecting ‘everything connected with the War’ with the intention

that in the future soldiers would visit with their friends and children ‘and there revive the past’.²⁵ Significantly, animals who had played a wartime role were also requisitioned for the museum: much discussion took place on how to ‘preserve indefinitely’ a messenger dog, carrier pigeon and the head of Sandy,²⁶ who was a bay gelding horse born in 1908 and was some 15.2 hands tall,²⁷ serving in Egypt with Major General Sir William Throsby Bridges and had then travelled to Britain. The horse of the commander of the Australian first division at Gallipoli was the only one of some 170,000 horses to return to Australia after the war.²⁸ Extensive quarantine and complicated logistical procedures enabled the horse to return – together with Private Jordan ‘who understands the animal well’ – to Australia.²⁹ By 1922 the now elderly horse was killed ‘for humane reasons’ and the new Australian War Memorial determined to acquire part of his body, as this ‘would make an interesting exhibit’.³⁰ Such dead animal heroes were seen as helping to build a distinctive Australian identity particularly amongst young people. In addition to these animal ‘exhibits’ there were intricate diorama displays of particular battles including models of soldiers and animals. What is striking here is not the development of a museum per se but a recognition that ordinary soldiers’ *own* memorabilia (such as cones from the ‘Lone Pine Ridge’) would form an integral part of the collections. Such items could be duplicates since they carried with them different stories from the soldiers who had collected them.³¹ Animals serving alongside the military were to be an integral part of this project from the outset. Thus in the same way that the warfare of the 1914–18 war was conducted in ‘more than human public spaces’ so too was this most prestigious new museum explicitly incorporating animals into the state’s official past. This participatory and open approach was a very different stance to that of the British state over the same war.³² Within this ‘open’ approach to history-making, non-human animals were embraced. They became not mere accessories but active participants in the creation of national histories.

The donkey I referred to at the start of this chapter was equally an important figure in the creation of such new nation formation. This particular donkey working alongside a medical orderly, Jack Simpson Fitzpatrick (commonly known as Simpson), rescuing the wounded under heavy bombardment in so-called Shrapnel Gully in the battlefields of Gallipoli has become an integral – and enduring – part of the nation’s past. Simpson and his donkey were first recognised in the public commemorative landscape of the 1930s with a small memorial outside the Melbourne War Memorial.³³ This partnership of man and animal – neither would have existed without the other – has been replicated in their representation: they are always presented together (and have been re-created in different sites).³⁴

From the 1980s there has been a revival of interest in ANZAC day despite – or perhaps because of – the deaths of the last human veterans. This has suggested ‘in part an emotional need for structure and tradition’.³⁵ The 1988 ceremonies witnessed an unveiling of a larger version of the iconic original memorial of Simpson and the donkey alongside the Australian War Museum, appealing particularly to children. The sculptor, Peter Corlett, commented that he envisaged the statue as ‘not unlike the image of Christ entering Jerusalem’. The donkey was to be ‘small yet sturdy and reliable, with a look of reluctant co-operation about him’. The re-worked memorial has proved to be popular. Children treated the representation of the donkey affectionately, stroking

his nose so extensively that it has been worn smooth. The animal was key to the form of the artwork while the overall intention of the artist was to produce a work celebrating 'a personal compassion of common *humanity*'.³⁶ Simpson is unlikely to have been incorporated in the way he has within the national sense of the past *without* his donkey; yet, according to the artist's words, if not in the minds of the numerous children who enjoy the sculpture, the 'animal' plays a secondary role to the idea of 'humanity'. The trope of animals working alongside humans in war does suggest an agency of sorts, albeit one not independent of humans.³⁷ This has been demonstrated in subsequent Australian war commemorations, not least the 'Animals in War' memorial by Steven Mark Holland unveiled in the same site in 2009 (Figure 4.1). Here the accompanying plaque refers to animals who 'served alongside Australians' and 'performed many essential duties' including those who 'lived with the Australians as mascots or companions'.³⁸ Interestingly here the 'emotional work' of animals as well as the more utilitarian role of, say, mine detection is acknowledged.



Figure 4.1 Steven Mark Holland, *Memorial to Animals in War*, Sculpture Garden, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia, unveiled 2009.

Author's photograph.

The initial statue in Melbourne had been created at the impetus of Philadelphia Robertson, secretary general of the Australian Red Cross 'to lead our thoughts into the quiet ways of compassion and kindness'.³⁹ Museum practitioners and politicians initiated the 1988 version at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.⁴⁰ There have also been, for example, recent campaigns by the descendants of those who had served in the Australian Light Horse in the First World War to erect an appropriate monument to Sandy – the horse whose head was acquired by the Australian War Memorial – at the spot where his body was buried at Maribyrnong, in Victoria, where there was a Remount Depot paddock. As a local resident argued, campaigners wanted to stop the site from becoming 'just another piece of housing estate'.⁴¹ Here a dead horse, representing the ANZAC moment of nation formation, was appropriated to create a community identity that also appealed to national sentiments. While the campaigners were not directly successful, the VicUrban, the state government developer, agreed to recognise the horse by naming a road on the estate in his memory.⁴²

I am not arguing that there is a more benign approach towards animals exhibited nor in such memorials that Australian animal welfare or animal rights legislation is leading the world. But rather that an acknowledgment of the presence of animals in heritage works designed to create national identity – and to create an 'entry point' to important features of historical national memory, particularly for children and those unused to visiting museums – should be recognised and analysed by those working as animal–human historians.⁴³ I note too that such creations of public sentiment towards a lowly donkey in the nation's past do not necessarily relate to positive sentiments towards the treatment of donkeys in Australia in the present. Indeed Australian-based Jill Bough has argued that the majority of the population has little knowledge of, or interest in, the shooting from helicopters of hundreds of thousands of wild donkeys, especially in Western Australia and the Northern Territory.⁴⁴ I am suggesting that those interested in animal studies and particularly animal–human history should view such commemorative developments as a positive starting point in the public domain for exploring the meaning of the animal–human relationship across time. We might also observe that these sentiments were developed outside, to quote Raphael Samuel, 'the conventions and the coldness of the seminar room'.⁴⁵ While there are various caveats around the particular concept of animal agency being promoted in such representations – for example the continuing privileging of the human position within such an animal–human relationship. This should not detract from the fact that modern audiences *are* given information about the past that includes animals as active participants in the creation of the nation's past. We might then go further than acknowledging only a public display of an animal–human bond to a deeper analysis of the nature of the relationship, questioning the human position and drawing attention to the negative – as well as the positive – role of representation in masking, in this example, exploitation. In this way, at least some of the aims of public history might be endorsed.

Ignoring the archive: the dog at the Eureka Stockade

I now want to take further the exploration of how awareness of the historical role of animals – and perhaps their representation – is often absent from the work of social historians even when contemporary materials provide such 'evidence'. As I argued at

the start of this chapter, the stance of the historian is critical. Thus an a priori awareness of the role of animals in creating societies, such as that contained in the perspective of many within the animal studies field, might be valuable in challenging accepted approaches.

I thus turn to a particular example of a dog, a recently restored statue and a different national history – also in Australia. In summary, the Eureka Stockade was erected in 1854 on the goldfields of Ballarat some 115 kilometres northwest of Melbourne in Victoria. Prospectors – or ‘diggers’, the word that became incorporated into Australian English as a badge of national male identity – were obliged to pay taxes in order to dig (rather than to pay taxes on what was actually obtained from the land). The workers saw this as unjust since one could be obliged to pay even if nothing was mined. Moreover although they were obliged to pay taxes they had no political representation.⁴⁶ Breaking point was reached in early December 1854 and it was resolved to resist physically oppressive state forces. A barricade (or stockade) was erected around the workers’ camp and was defended by diggers against attacks by the military. As a result many diggers were either killed outright or later died of their wounds. Although some of the leaders were brought to court for treason there was found to be no case to answer and all were acquitted. This is the briefest summary of the events at Ballarat, which have become ‘a key event in the development of Australian democracy and Australian identity’.⁴⁷ These dramatic events have been contested by historians and had various interpretations, as public history often bears witness.⁴⁸ Speaking from a conservative position, Spate argued that the incident ‘hardly bears the weight sometimes placed upon it’; ‘It was dramatic in a country whose history lacks spectacular event of this sort, but hardly a turning-point in Australian history’.⁴⁹ Leading Australian historian, Stuart Macintyre, has by contrast declared the Eureka Stockade to be a ‘formative event in the national mythology’ noting that:

Radical nationalists celebrated it as a democratic uprising against imperial authority and the first great event in the emergence of the labour movement. The Communist Party’s Eureka Youth League invoked this legacy . . . so did the right-wing National Front, while revisionist historians have argued that the rebellion should be seen as a tax revolt by small businesses.⁵⁰

For some, the Eureka events have been interpreted as an Australian version of British Chartism⁵¹ while feminists have recently sought to acknowledge the role of women in the rebellion and thus incorporate them within a historically radical past.⁵² Significantly the events of December 1854 have been acknowledged to be part of a broader cultural heritage that exists – and is certainly known about – inside and *outside* academic circles.

Still, despite the plethora of *academic* articles re-interpreting this event for the present there has, to date, been scant acknowledgment or analysis by such experts of the presence of a small terrier dog at the stockade. Such a dog did exist and was fulsomely acknowledged at the time. Only a few days after the event the local newspaper the *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer* published a letter giving an eye-witness account of the aftermath of the military attack:

Poor women crying for absent husbands, and children frightened into quietness. I, sir, write disinterestedly, and I hope my feelings arose from a true principle;

but when I looked at that scene, my soul revolted at such means being so cruelly used by a government to sustain the law. A little terrier sat on the breast of the man I spoke of, and kept up a continuous howl: it was removed, but always returned to the same spot; and when his master's body was huddled, with the other corpses, into the cart, the little dog jumped in after him, and lying again on his dead master's breast, began howling again.

'The master' – not personally known to the letter writer – was described as

a stout-chested fine fellow, apparently about forty years old, [who] lay with a pike beside him: he had contusions in the head, three strokes across the brow, a bayonet wound in the throat under the ear, and other wounds in the body – I counted fifteen wounds in that single carcass.

Neither dog – nor man – were named. It was, however, the dog's physical position and behaviour that caused him to be noticed. Raffaello Carboni, a man who identified himself as both a digger and an anarchist reproduced this account some weeks later in a contemporary pamphlet. His lengthy description includes amongst other things the names of the dead diggers and their nationalities.⁵³ It is seen as a sufficiently reputable 'source' for it still to be quoted in twenty-first century analyses and used as evidence for a range of interpretations.⁵⁴ There is no reason therefore to doubt his account of the stockade's dog.

A similar account was published on the fiftieth anniversary in the *Geelong Advertiser* of 6 December 1904. Here one correspondent recorded his memory of the event 50 years before:

I saw a little terrier whining piteously beside his dead master. While viewing this solemn scene a dray arrived in which was placed the body of the man who in life was the owner of the dog. When the little terrier saw his master removed his grief knew no bounds. Those interested tried to drive him away: they could not beat him back. He got into the dray and sat upon his master's breast, revealing in most unmistakable language that this master was taken away from him. No human being could have lamented more at the loss of their dearest relative or friend than that affectionate and faithful dog bewailed the loss of his master.⁵⁵

Clearly those who witnessed and then recorded their observations were sympathetic to the diggers' cause rather than the authorities'. The language of grief, exemplified here by howling, wailing, whining, is a cross-species emotion. In this instance the vocal dog seemed to express publicly the more silent emotion of the human eyewitnesses.⁵⁶ These are not the accounts of 'detached' historians.⁵⁷ The recent publication of the Eureka Stockade Memorial Trust has tried to explain the impact of the memory of the dog, noting, 'Unlike others of the dead making their final journey, at least this particular digger had a mourner whose grief made a lasting impression on all who witnessed it'.⁵⁸ Moreover, given that many of the wounded men were not given medical treatment but summarily dispatched, Paul Williams suggests that 'If the dog had been human he would have almost certainly been killed'.⁵⁹ That is, the

dog is simultaneously an empathetic part of the scene but detached from the slaughter by virtue of not being human.

The broad description of the dog in 1904 is the same as that recorded contemporaneously but, importantly, does not use identical language which suggests that the dog had not simply passed into folklore but had been actually seen and remembered by another observer.⁶⁰ The presence of a small terrier dog grieving over the dead body of his human companion was thus acknowledged in the public domain as an aspect of the stockade worth recording at the contemporary moment – and some 50 years later. This lasting animal presence is not some post-humanist reappraisal: even for conventional historians who tend to privilege ‘primary sources’ above all else, there is evidence from the local press, invariably used on such occasions, that the dog existed and was deemed to perform an historic role in the overall events. In the twenty-first century *academic* accounts the dog is noticeable by his absence. In stark contrast those working in the broad sphere of public history have positively acknowledged the dog’s presence albeit not exploring trans-species emotion in any depth.

This is obvious from the revamped memorial, at the new Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka (MADE) located on the site of the stockade, and unveiled in December 2014, which features two aspects – the memorial of the dog and the 22 pikes (Figure 4.2). (The latter represented 22 people as supposedly 15 different nationalities of the dead.)⁶¹ Importantly the dog has not been reduced to merely some sort of symbol of canine loyalty or grief. Indeed the public acknowledgment and memorialisation of the dog led to a posthumous award of a Purple Cross awarded to the ‘real’ dog by the Australian RSPCA in 1997. (This highest Australian honour for a non-human animal has also been previously posthumously awarded to Simpson’s donkey, the hero of Gallipoli, as discussed above.)⁶² So the representation has had the effect here of leading to awareness of the presence and agency of a specific ‘real’ animal. The plaque unveiled with the memorial initially in 1999 reads, ‘It honours a loyal and faithful animal, and commemorates the sacrifice of those pikemen who heroically defended the Eureka stockade on Sunday 3 December 1854’.⁶³

That the dog’s documented, ‘historical’ presence has been brought into the present and given a privileged role has little to do with cultural or labour historians or animal studies scholars. Rather it has come about through those working in the role of public historians creating a new museum at the supposed site and commissioning an art work. The focus of the museum itself had been controversial as Anne Beggs Sunter has thoroughly analysed. As she notes, there were ‘differences in the objective of funding bodies, management, professional curators, citizens, tourists and descendants of those who fought at Eureka’.⁶⁴ In discussing the composition of the committee to oversee the project, Beggs Sunter notes that there was no academic historian – nor a representative ‘from the Left side of politics’.⁶⁵ At the original unveiling in 1999 were present the Irish ambassador and the Premier of Victoria with blessings given by local bishops and a rabbi.⁶⁶ To some extent the inclusion of a representation of a non-human animal, a dog, was less controversial (and no doubt cheaper to reproduce) than one or more three-dimensional human figures. In such a contested narrative who would be represented? Which narrative would they embody? – questions that Gervase Phillips discusses in this volume.⁶⁷ What is missing here is a perspective drawn from animal studies although what we are presented with is surely a version of



Figure 4.2 Pikeman's Dog Memorial, created by Charles Smith and Joan Walsh-Smith, located on the site of the Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka in Ballarat, December 2014.

Author's photograph.

what Urbanik and Morgan call human-spatial-dog-politics.⁶⁸ It is not simply that the dog is incorporated into commemorative space but that the space itself becomes cross-species.

The example of the Eureka dog also shows that it is not simply historians who create history. Indeed many would agree with Jeremy Black that they rarely do so.⁶⁹ The pikeman's dog is now part of modern Australia's commemorative history and landscape, both – I emphasise – by his own actions, his agency – but also because contemporary writers noted his actions and, in turn, those interested in the importance of the wider event recognised his role in the narrative. The broad configuration of public history might help us explore such approaches to animal-human history more effectively than social or cultural history alone. Still it is also an area that would benefit from an animal studies perspective including, perhaps, an explicit *challenge* to existing frameworks for the creation of popular narratives rather than a simple incorporation into existing tropes.⁷⁰

The rats in Sydney's Hyde Park Barracks: making animals an integral part of museum historiography

I now turn to a very different example drawn from Australian public history practice, namely the rats in the Hyde Park Barracks. I do this not because I have any particular allegiance pertinently towards museum practice in Australia but because this is one of the most innovative public history approaches towards animals in museums and heritage buildings that I have witnessed to date. It draws upon concepts of material culture, art and animal agency and the explicit notion that historical meaning is constructed. Whilst non-human animals, or parts of them, have long been part of the public exhibitionary complex, this is a highly distinctive approach. Here the practice of generations of rats is highlighted. The rats who accumulated and kept traces of material under the floorboards are prominently acknowledged in practice and displays at the museum. The Hyde Park Barracks is a building that fulfilled various state functions since its role as the first convict barracks in the colony in 1819. It was later used to house mainly Irish female immigrants and destitute and aged women and orphans. From the late nineteenth century to the 1970s it was used as legal offices and courtrooms.⁷¹ Its latest reincarnation as a museum had a fortuitous 'moment', in the rise of artworks that have increasingly played with the relationship between the ordinary and process, thus creating different perceptions of time and the past.⁷² The imaginative approach was directed by Peter Emmett who conceived of the Barracks as a theatre set, believing, in Kate Gregory's words that entering the Barracks 'should be a three dimensional sensory, spatial and corporeal experience of the past'.⁷³ As display boards explain, the theoretical approach of the museum is based on 'Each mark, relic or word gives us hints about past lives and experiences. We invite you to join the historical process of piecing together the present traces of the past'.⁷⁴ Thus an active role is envisaged for the human visitor. As one writer has analysed, visitors 'find themselves in the midst of an archaeological dig'.⁷⁵ The rats were occupants of the building alongside humans and their role in exposing layers of meaning as quasi-public historians *themselves* is key to the museum's presentations. The rats are acknowledged as having played an active part in the creation of meaning in the place. In their movement through the building and their engagement with humans they accumulated scraps of clothing, food and bedding to make nests. Many everyday items were discovered under the floorboards – bonnets, aprons, shirts, shoes, stockings – not least because of the rats' activity.⁷⁶ It was the animal process of accumulation and collecting and then a human recognition of its historical value that allowed the archaeological service to document ordinary everyday lives at the Barracks in the past.⁷⁷ Moreover, for some years live rats – sadly not the 'authentic' Norwegian brown rats but the 'friendlier' domestic agouti rats – were kept in a displayed burrow/play area in a glass case in the ticket office. All visitors were obliged to acknowledge the animals' presence as they gathered to buy tickets for the museum.⁷⁸ Despite the various articles that criticise the general conceptual outlook of Emmett at Hyde Park Barracks (and later the Museum of Sydney) there has apparently yet to be any scholarly analysis or even mention of the role of the rats in this overall framework, which is to say public historians working *analytically* (as opposed to being museum curators etc.) have failed to engage with the underlying processes of historical meaning created in the museum – despite its explicit declaration.⁷⁹

Here an understanding of the behaviour of rats – their agency if you will – and their practice of creating nests from a range of available material – and also their ‘ancestral’ occupation of the built environment – led to an imaginative construction of the past lived experience of the building. Yet, frustratingly in this instance, analysis of practice has not led to an awareness of the role of the rats despite the ‘evidence’ presented in the galleries. Despite documentation of the role of their ancestors in the creation of the past, in the present the rats are written out of scholarly analysis of the creation of the process of meaning at the Barracks, albeit being promoted by those public historians and archaeologists developing the site itself. Animal studies scholars who grapple with the role of animals in the archive might well add an understanding of the too easily overlooked role of rats.⁸⁰

Individualising the generic: animal studies and polar bears

My final detailed example refers to mainstream practice in museums and the way in which this has been subverted – though again not by professional historians, but by artists. No one who has lived in Britain in the last few decades should be the least surprised about the power of the artistic imagination upon the public consciousness and public funding particularly through the Heritage Lottery Fund. Public museums and art galleries were created at a time of nation formation, particularly in Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Institutions such as the British Museum or National Gallery were features that ensured that the visitor engaged with (and was educated by) civilising aspects away from the quotidian.⁸¹ People, it has been argued, come to know the meaning of a nation (or locality) ‘partly through the objects and artefacts which have been made to stand for and symbolize its essential values’.⁸² Animals formed an integral part of such collections, as we have seen in the Australian context, but also in specific national natural history museums and in local museums. Recently there have been some attempts to use the enduring popularity of taxidermied animals that formed a key part of such collections in new ways. The collection of the natural history museum in Kassel in Germany, for example, displays regional natural history from the Paleozoic period to the present with taxidermied animals placed in authentic locations and times of the year as a way of re-contextualising them for a more environmentally conscious present. More imaginatively, in a recent special exhibition in this museum on sex and evolution, animals of various species were displayed in various acts of copulation, which, if nothing else, captured popular attention.⁸³ Another example of re-using museums’ collections of taxidermied animals has been found in the work of Bryndis Snaebjornsdottir and Mark Wilson,⁸⁴ ‘Nanoq: flat out and bluesome’. Described by historical geographer David Matless as a ‘document . . . which offers an exemplary case of the arts of collection, documentation and design’,⁸⁵ one of the main aims of the work was to reveal the way in which the bodies of polar bears had become tangible and uncomfortable documents of a difficult past history.⁸⁶ Although this work has usually been discussed as a work of art,⁸⁷ it nevertheless was also an exploration of the sites in which stuffed polar bears

are kept and seen by the public in museums and historic houses. As Hansen has put it:

In their 'original' display cases, each individual stuffed bear symbolizes 'bear-ness', with this 'bear-ness' residing close to the skin. While serialization suggests that one bear, one specimen, remains interchangeable by standing in for an entire group, it is, ironically, by showing several specimens together that *nanoq* makes this serialization break down as one starts to notice the animals' individual features.⁸⁸

That is, the conventional 'animal material' of nineteenth-century western natural history museums has been re-appropriated to present animals not as generic specimens but as former living beings with individual traits.⁸⁹ Snaebjornsdottir/ Wilson's work consisted of 34 individual taxidermied polar bears – collected from museum displays, storage rooms, workshops undergoing restoration, or private houses – together with their individual histories. In the process of this, different readings and contextualisation were given to the animals. By tracing the history of 'a cultural afterlife' the animals became transformed from an anonymous 'specimen' to some form of individual being.⁹⁰ Thus the museum proved to be both a site of animal material but also of the creation of new meaning drawn from such material. The *public* space for such work defied any particular academic boundaries both in its subject matter and approach – and location of display.⁹¹

This is a very different approach to the more conventional one argued by Swinney: that the celebrity of an individual animal in a museum menagerie exists because of their status prior to death – and transitions into an object of display.⁹² Amongst other things, the work of Snaebjornsdottir/Wilson explores the very concept of being an animal in a museum. In their imaginative use of almost anonymised 'specimens', that was the norm of nineteenth-century natural history collections they have both challenged the way such polar bears were looked at and, importantly, have suggested new ways of thinking with existing taxidermied animals in museums. That is, they have provided concepts that public historians can appropriate using 'stock' that already exists but with different analytical approaches.⁹³

There have been several other examples of creative work privileging animals in public museums. Thus from 2011 to 2013 the National Army Museum in London used the popularity of the play and then film of 'War Horse' to mount an exhibition entitled, 'War horse: fact or fiction?' There were displays that focussed on individual horses, rather than, say, the generic role of cavalry horses including: Napoleon's mount Marengo whose skeleton was displayed in London in 1832, Jimson the mule who served with the Middlesex Regiment in India and the South African Wars and who received medals for his work and Sefton of the Household Cavalry injured by an IRA bomb in London in 1982. The focus on the individual and not merely the group also helped create a sense of empathy and identification missing from conventional military history. The majority of the material was, inevitably, drawn from human constructed sources, such as paintings, but an artwork by Laura Antebi of a large horse made of wire stumbling upon barbed wire evoked far more than the textual explanation of the suffering caused to horses through such entrapment. The National Army museum exhibition attempted throughout to privilege horses rather than to



Figure 4.3 Harrie Fasher, *Silent Conversation*, 2014, from *Spirited: Australia's Horse Story*, National Museum Australia, Canberra, exhibition 11 September 2014 to 9 March 2015.

Author's photograph. Courtesy of National Museum Australia.

speak of the work of soldiers with them. Near the end of the exhibition was a large horizontal display cabinet consisting of rows of small white outline horses inviting visitors to remember the role of horses in war.⁹⁴ Significantly individuals, including specific non-human animals, were privileged. Artwork designed to evoke an empathetic response challenged the visitor to look at warfare generally and the First World War in particular in different ways to the norm.

More recently the exhibition 'Spirited: Australia's Horse Story' at the National Museum of Australia in 2014–15 has tackled the difficult task of trying to show the role of horses as active protagonists in the development of the nation – with a focus upon horses rather than people's perception of them per se (Figure 4.3).⁹⁵ Artworks played around with different ideas of power, for example, an outline metallic human figure being forced to be the focus of a larger metallic horse's gaze or huge moving images of wild horses unrestrained by humans. In this spirit carriages were not seen as vehicles with absent 'operators' but models of horses were included to demonstrate the effect of the weight upon their bodies. Thus, the public historians working in these locations that draw on artistic representations to create new ways of thinking historically about animals.

Some concluding thoughts

If we return to the initial ideas in this chapter of both putting history to work in the world and of creating scholarship exploring the reality of animal lives, we might now

conclude that there is more potential in a relationship between the approaches of animal studies researchers and public historian practitioners. The process basis of public history can indeed provide scope for the development of histories exploring animal–human relationships and the material on which this is founded. To date this is an undeveloped area but one in which those with an interest in debates within animal studies – agency, representation, the materials for privileging animals – might play a useful role. Some small developments indicate tentative ways forward. The National Museum of Animals and Society, which has previously existed only online, is now physically based in Los Angeles and is primarily devoted to campaigning for the rights of actually existing animals. The museum has seen the importance of recording and disseminating the long history of campaigns for animals: ‘We exist to preserve, interpret and share our inspiring legacy of animal protection, to nurture current and future generations’ overall awareness about animals in society and to empower change’.⁹⁶ Thus, as Keri Cronin notes in her chapter in this volume, the museum has organised online exhibitions including those on the Band of Mercy and campaigns aimed at children to establish the long traditions of such work. Online, or digital, history as demonstrated here might be a valuable way of collecting and collating and sharing material and ideas internationally. Certainly the plethora of blogs and initiatives from animal enthusiasts such as the online Ernest Bell, the Henry Salt library archive and the Humanitarian League indicates the breadth of interest in the role of the past in the present.⁹⁷ Those drawn to a site primarily for information around vegetable-based food can also read about past campaigns (and recipes!)⁹⁸ In such practical ways history is not seen as discrete from present activity but rather a foundation for it.

Notes

- 1 H. Kean, ‘Challenges for historians writing animal–human history: what is really enough?’, *Anthrozoos* 25, S1 (2012): s57–s72.
- 2 National Council on Public History, n.d. ‘What is public history’, available at <http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/>, last accessed 19 August 2017.
- 3 P. Ashton, ‘Public history’ in A. Clark and P. Ashton (eds.), *Australian History Now*, Sydney: New South Publishing, 2013, 167–180, 169, 179.
- 4 For discussion of these definitions see H. Kean and P. Martin (eds.), *The Public History Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, xvi–xviii.
- 5 See for example J. Tosh, *Why History Matters*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 119.
- 6 Ludmilla Jordanova has suggested that public history can be a tool of political establishments as well as radical history movements. She argues that a focus on the way the past can be ‘open-ended’ and ‘public property’ should mean that historians see their activities in a wider perspective and raise questions about the practice of history. L. Jordanova, *History in Practice*, London: Arnold Publishers, 2000, 141–143.
- 7 R.J. Grele, ‘Clio on the road to Damascus: a national survey of history as activity and experience’, *The Public Historian* 72, 1 (2000): 31–34. See also M. Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, Buffalo NY: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- 8 R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, London: Verso, 1994, 8.
- 9 One of the best publicised cases is of the presentation of the Enola Gay at the Smithsonian Institute and the ensuing ructions. See amongst others, Jordanova, *History in Practice*,

- 156–159; M. Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory*, Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 1996, 269–318. This including the sacking of the director of the National Museum of Australia and a state inquiry into the portrayal of Australia’s past at the museum. In Australia acrimonious debates about the contested nature of modern Australia’s origins – and its relationship with indigenous peoples – as portrayed, inter alia, at the National Museum of Australia led to a state inquiry into the portrayal of Australia’s past at the museum and the sacking of the director. Such controversies were called the ‘History Wars’ and this was not necessarily just hyperbole. See G. Hansen, ‘White hot history: the review of the National Museum of Australia’, *Public History Review* 11, (2003): 39–50; D. Casey, ‘Culture wars: museums, politics and controversy’, *New Museum Developments and the Culture Wars*, special issue of *Open Museum Journal* 6, (2003): 8–10; S. Macintyre and A. Clark, *The History Wars*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003.
- 10 T. Cauvin, ‘Introduction’ in T. Cauvin (ed.), *Public History: A Textbook of Practice*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2016, 1–25, 2.
- 11 *The International Journal of Heritage Studies* has, however, made a tentative foray into this area with a series of articles, including those on zoo heritage and commemorative animal statues.
- 12 J. Balcombe, ‘Concluding remarks: from theory to action: an ethologist’s perspective’, in N. Taylor and T. Signal (eds.), *Theorizing Animals: Re-thinking Humanimal Relations*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, 281–289, 288.
- 13 N. Taylor, *Humans, Animals, and Society: An Introduction to Human–Animal Studies*, Brooklyn NY: Lantern Books, 2013, 168–169.
- 14 ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/.
- 15 S. Nance, ‘Introduction’, in S. Nance (ed.), *The Historical Animal*, Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015, 1–16, 16.
- 16 Original official white house video from 2009 archived and represented at www.youtube.com/watch?v=7vaFAy6eIU8 site, last accessed 20 June 2016.
- 17 H. Pycior, ‘The public and private lives of “Private Dogs”’, in D. Brantz (ed.), *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010, 176–203, 199; See also H. Pycior, ‘The making of the “First Dog”: President Warren G. Harding and Laddie Boy’, *Society and Animals* 13, 2 (2005): 109–138.
- 18 M. Lemish, *War Dogs: Canines in Combat*, Washington DC: Brassey’s, 1996, 25–27; H. Kean, ‘Balto, the Alaskan dog and his statue in New York’s Central Park: animal representation and national heritage’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, 5 (2009): 413–430. See also an analysis of Hatchiko in mid-twentieth-century Japan in A. Skabelund, *Empire of Dogs: Canines, Japan, and the Making of the Modern Imperial World*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2011, 145ff.
- 19 For an image of Stubby, see <http://amhistory.si.edu/militaryhistory/collection/object.asp?ID=15> site, last accessed 18 August 2017.
- 20 D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain, 1750–1850*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007, vi.
- 21 R. Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing*, University Park PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2012, 223.
- 22 See here A. Franklin, *Animal Nation: The True Story of Animals and Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006. On memorials, see R. Searby, ‘Red dog, horses and Bogong moths: the memorialisation of animals in Australia’, *Public History Review* 15, (2008): 117–134.
- 23 H. Kean, ‘Public history and two Australian dogs: Islay and the dog on the tucker box’, *ACH: The Journal of the History of Culture in Australia* 24–25, (2006): 135–162, 142.

- 24 H. Kean and P. Ashton, 'Introduction: people and their pasts and public history today', in H. Kean and P. Ashton (eds.), *Public History and Heritage Today: People and their Pasts*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 1–20, 11.
- 25 Minutes of the Australian War Memorial Committee 26 June 1018, Australian War Memorial, 170 1/1.
- 26 Director to curator in Sydney 23 October 1925, Australian War Memorial 315, 328 002 001 01.
- 27 Certificate A.P.04 B.E.F 17/1/1918 in Australian War Memorial 13 7026/2/31.
- 28 C. Coulthard-Clark, 'One came home,' *Wartime* 19, (2002): 37–39. During the 1920s and 30s Dorothy Brooke located many overworked former cavalry horses in Egypt and founded the Old War Horse Memorial Hospital in Cairo: see H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Social and Political Change in Britain since 1800*, London: Reaktion Books, 1998, 179.
- 29 H. Kendall (?) to HQ AIF, Australian Corps Memorandum, 28 February 1917, Australian War Memorial 13 7026/2/31.
- 30 Apparently the now elderly horse's condition and the cost of paying a taxidermist to mount the whole body led just to the head being mounted, at a cost of £75. (Minutes of Finance sub-committee of Australian War Museum, 12 September 1922, and 19 March 1923, Australian War Memorial 170 2/1.)
- 31 General correspondence file of Bean, Australian War Memorial 93 4/6/1. For a modern analysis of the role of objects in generating memory in museums see G. Kavanagh, *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*, London: Bloomsbury, 2000.
- 32 By way of contrast see the letter of 1923 from Arthur Leetham, Royal United Service Institute, Whitehall to the director of the museum, regarding the war museum in Crystal Palace then in the process of moving: 'The British public have not taken to that museum at all. I think the real truth is that they want to forget about the war instead of being reminded of it. History only repeats itself. It was not until 50 years after the Napoleonic Wars that any interest was exhibited in such relics, and I am of the opinion that it will be another 50 years before this nation will really be interested in the museum of the great war'. See Australian War Memorial 93, 7/1/243.
- 33 The original, unveiled in 1936, was aimed at women with its focus on nursing rather than a combat soldier: see B. Scates, *A Place to Remember: A History of the Shrine of Remembrance*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 158–159. The secretary-general of the Australian Red Cross, Philadelphia Robertson, wrote that 'A memory to Simpson, the donkey man . . . will provide the human touch . . . The patient donkey with the Red Cross brassard beneath his long ears, adds an inimitable touch to the whole picture. Children seeing the Shrine will be awed into reverence by its greatness. Simpson, with his donkey and its pathetic burden will appeal to the child's natural love of animals and sympathy with all suffering. To all of us, amid the stress and turmoil of everyday life, the memorial with its gentle story, should lead our thoughts into the quiet ways of compassion and kindness': Philadelphia Robertson to E. Preston Wells, 7 March 1935, Simpson Collection: *Argus*, 28 October 1933 as quoted in Scates, *A Place to Remember*, 159.
- 34 See, for instance, the recreation from trees at Lakes Entrance, Victoria.
- 35 P. Ashton and P. Hamilton, *History at the Crossroads: Australians and the Past*, Ultimo, New South Wales: Halstead Press, 2010, 49.
- 36 Peter Corlett, 'Simpson and his donkey: a proposal', November 1986, Commission File 89/1234 Australian War Memorial. See H. Kean, 'Animals and war memorials: different approaches to commemorating the human-animal relationship', in R. Hediger (ed.), *Animals and War: Studies of Europe and North America*, Boston MA: Brill, 2012, 237–260.
- 37 The 'A is for Animals travelling exhibition of 2009' and the accompanying catalogue of the Australian War Memorial analyses the way 'Animals have worked alongside

- Australians in war for over one hundred years'. *A is for Animals. An A to Z of Animals in War*, Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2009, 2.
- 38 See Kean, 'Animals and war memorials'.
- 39 Philadelphia Robertson to E. Preston Wells, 7 March 1935, Simpson Collection: *Argus*, 28 October 1933 as quoted in Scates, *A Place to Remember*, 159.
- 40 See P. Cochrane, *Simpson and the Donkey: The Making of a Legend*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992.
- 41 *The Age*, 23 October 2005; 'Diggers push to honour Gallipoli horse Sandy in new suburb', *Sydney Herald* 24 April 2009, available at www.awm.gov.au/articles/encyclopedia/horses/sandy, last accessed 25 August 2017. Thanks to Rose Searby for drawing my attention to this.
- 42 K. Lahey, 'Old warhorse to leave his mark on new suburb', *The Age*, 7 May 2009, available at www.theage.com.au/national/old-warhorse-to-leave-his-mark-on-new-suburb-20090506-avcm.html, last accessed 25 August 2017.
- 43 See for example the popularity of stories by Henry Lawson and Banjo Patterson in which animals feature prominently. For a discussion of the iconic role of The Dog on the Tucker Box, a fictional dog featuring in many Australian pioneer myths, see Kean, 'Public history and two Australian dogs'. Also see in this volume Liv Emma Thorsen on Barry and his role in Swiss culture.
- 44 J. Bough, *Donkey*, London: Reaktion Books, 2011, 96–99.
- 45 R. Samuel (ed.), *History Workshop: A Collectanea 1967–1991*, Oxford: History Workshop, 1991, 11.
- 46 This had been a key radical cause highlighted, for example by John Hampden in the English Civil War with the epithet 'No taxation without representation' and was frequently appropriated for different causes including the campaign in Britain for women's suffrage in the early twentieth century. As most of the diggers were immigrants from the British Empire this political aim would have been well known amongst them.
- 47 Australian Government, 'Eureka Stockade': www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/eureka-stockade, last accessed 25 March 2017.
- 48 Particularly useful are A. Beggs-Sunter, 'Contested memories of Eureka: museum interpretations of the Eureka Stockade', *Labour History* 85, (2003): 29–46; A. Beggs-Sunter, 'Eureka: gathering the "oppressed of all nations"', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 10, 1 (2008): 15–34.
- 49 O.H.K. Spate, *Australia*, London: Ernest Benn, 1968, 44; see also the view of conservative historian H.G. Turner that this was 'our own little rebellion', H.G. Turner, *Our Own Little Rebellion: The Story of the Eureka Stockade*, Melbourne: Whitcomb and Tombs, 1913, as quoted in P.A. Pickering, 'Ripe for a republic': British radical responses to the Eureka Stockade', *Australian Historical Studies*, 34, 121 (2003): 69–90.
- 50 S. Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 90.
- 51 Thus Jupp has characterised the background of Ballarat miners seeing them as one third English (although also noting Irish and Chinese backgrounds) stating that 'They brought with them radical and Chartist traditions which were to upset the oligarchic political system and establish one of the first democracies in the world based on manhood suffrage and the secret ballot', J. Jupp, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 73. See also Pickering 'Ripe for a republic'.
- 52 C. Wright, "'New brooms they say sweep clean": women's political activism on the Ballarat Goldfields, 1854', *Australian Historical Studies* 39, 3 (2008): 305–321.
- 53 Carboni used the report of the political leader Peter Lalor, declaring that of the 22 dead, 10 were from the island of Ireland, 1 from England, 1 Scotland, 1 Prussia, 1 Wurtemberg, 2 Canada, and several unknown places. R. Carboni, *The Eureka Stockade*, Melbourne, 1855, 98–99. According to Pickering, citing the Victorian Royal Commission, some 50%

- who had taken the oath under the flag of the Southern Cross to rebel were Irish. Pickering, 'Ripe for a republic,' 78.
- 54 Thus Wright, 'New brooms', 312, uses Carboni's account (p.44) to argue that, 'Some women wanted to be paid-up members of the Ballarat Reform League, a privilege that they were denied'.
- 55 As quoted in K. Prato, *The Pikeman's Dog: A Poem*, unnumbered page one Ballarat: self-published, n.d. (A local history of 1887 also mentions the dog: W.B. Withers, *History of Ballarat*, Ballarat: Niven and Co, 1887, 120, as quoted in P. Williams, *The True Story of the Pikeman's Dog*, Ballarat: Eureka Stockade Memorial Trust, 1999, 10.
- 56 See, for example, M.C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 90–92; W.M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, xi.
- 57 I am not suggesting that historians should be 'detached' but rather that this is the default (and often unthought out) position of mainstream historians. By way of contrast public historians and heritage historians are more likely to look empathetically at emotional responses. See Kavanagh, *Dream Spaces* or the monumental work of Laurajane Smith on people's responses to museums, arguing that that visitors' engagement is not necessarily about learning as such but is an emotional experience: L. Smith, 'Emotion, affect and registers of engagement at heritage sites', unpublished paper, University College London, Archaeology Department public lecture, 21 May 2013.
- 58 Williams, *True Story*, 12.
- 59 Williams, *True Story*, 17.
- 60 For discussion of individual and transmitted stories see, for example, the work of A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, New York: SUNY Press, 1991.
- 61 According to the sculptors of the memorial, Joan Walsh Smith and Charles Smith, 15 nationalities took part in the rebellion of 1854, available at <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/culture/animals/display/30234-the-pikeman%60s-dog> 2010, last accessed 20 August 2017. Pickering, 'Ripe for a Republic,' by way of contrast, emphasises the 'Britishness' of the occasion.
- 62 Williams, *True Story*, 18.
- 63 <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/culture/animals/display/30234-the-pikeman%60s-dog>, last accessed 29 September 2016.
- 64 Beggs-Sunter, 'Contested memories', 31.
- 65 At the time the state government was run by the Liberals. (In an Australian context this is the name of the mainstream right-wing party – equivalent to British Conservatives.) See Beggs-Sunter, 'Contested Memories', 34. However, the Eureka Stockade Memorial Trust numbered the distinguished historian Professor John Molony amongst its ranks. As an interview with him shows he acknowledges the presence of the dog in his forthright analysis of the Eureka Stockade. www.youtube.com/watch?v=LUGr8wDv_2c, last accessed 22 June 2016.
- 66 Williams, *True Story*, 19.
- 67 See H. Kean, 'The dog and cat massacre of September 1939 and the People's War', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, 22, 5 (2015): 741–756.
- 68 J. Urbanik and M. Morgan, 'A tale of tails: the place of dog parks in the urban imaginary', *Geoforum* 44, (2013): 292–302, 301.
- 69 J. Black, *Using History*, London: Hodder Arnold, 2005, 2.
- 70 See H. Kean, *The Great Cat and Dog Massacre*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018, for an attempt to challenge notions of the Second World War on the Home Front as a 'good war' through the inclusion of domestic animals within the narrative.

- 71 K. Gregory, 'Art and artifice: Peter Emmett's curatorial practice in the Hyde Park Barracks and Museum of Sydney', *Fabrications* 16, 1 (2006): 1–22, 5.
- 72 See, for example, D. Dean and R. Williams, 'Critical cloth: to be continued . . .' and 'The time I'm taking: sewing Proust', in Kean and Martin (eds.), *Public History Reader*, 224–232.
- 73 As quoted in Gregory, 'Art and artifice', 6.
- 74 Display board entitled 'Layers', viewed by author at the Barracks, December 2014.
- 75 M.K. Stenglin, 'Space odyssey: towards a social semiotic model of three-dimensional space', *Visual Communication* 8, 1 (2009): 35–64.
- 76 Sadly this process of collection and accumulation is not even mentioned in P. Davies, 'Clothing and textiles at the Hyde Park Barracks Destitute Asylum, Sydney, Australia', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 47, 1 (2013): 1–16.
- 77 Kean and Martin, *Public History Reader*, xiv–xvi.
- 78 Sadly the rats' case was removed a couple of years ago. They were left to die out and were not replaced. From conversations with staff in December 2014 it seems that the member of staff most fond of the animals had left and no one was keen to take over their role.
- 79 I have previously discussed the rats in my introduction to Kean and Martin, *The Public History Reader*.
- 80 See, for example, Z. Tortorici, 'Animal archive stories: species anxieties in the Mexican National Archives', in Nance (ed.), *Historical Animal*, 75–98.
- 81 Perhaps the key work on this theme is C. Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London: Routledge, 1995.
- 82 S. Hall, 'Whose heritage? Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post nation', in J. Littler and R. Naidoo (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of Race*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2005, 23–35, 25.
- 83 www.naturkundemuseum-kassel.de/museum/sonderausstellung/ausstellungen/SexEvolution.php, last accessed 6 July 2016.
- 84 <http://snaebjornsdottirwilson.com/>, last accessed 25 August 2017.
- 85 D. Matless, 'Book review: *Nanoq: Flat Out and Bluesome: A Cultural Life of Polar Bears*, by Bryndís Snaebjörnsdóttir and Mark Wilson', *Cultural Geographies* 16, 4 (2009): 538–539.
- 86 G. Aloï, *Art and Animals*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2011, 39.
- 87 S. Baker, *Artist/ Animal*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013, 217–9; G. Aloï, 'Deconstructing the animal in search of the real', *Anthrozoös* 25, S1 (2012): s73–s90, s74–s76; R. Hansen, 'Animal skins in contemporary art', *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 9, 1 (2010): 9–16.
- 88 Hansen, 'Animal skins in Contemporary Art', 14.
- 89 S.T. Asma, *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 3–46.
- 90 Aloï, 'Deconstructing the animal', s75.
- 91 Snaebjornsdottir/Wilson's ongoing interest in taxidermy is also reflected in the artists' film *Between you and me*. Here a seal is taxidermied over a three-hour period in which, they suggested, the seal became 'part of its own creation' and the creation of space to think through and this challenged the idea of the animal and the human 'with which we populate our intellect and our experience'. See Baker, *Artist /Animal*, 217.
- 92 G.N. Swinney, 'An afterword on afterlife', in S.J.M.M. Alberti (ed.), *The Afterlives of Animals*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011, 219–223, 222–223.
- 93 The possibility of animal biography was the focus of *Animal Biographies: Recovering Animal Selfhood through Interdisciplinary Narration?*, a conference organised by the Human–Animal Studies Centre at the University of Kassel in March 2016.

- 94 For a fuller account, see Kean, 'Challenges for historians', s66–s67. See also D. Pakeman, 'Fact and fiction: reinterpreting animals in a national museum', *Society and Animals* 21, 6 (2013): 591–593.
- 95 www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/spirited, last accessed 10 September 2015.
- 96 www.museumofanimals.org/, last accessed 10 July 2016.
- 97 John Edmundson regularly posts extracts from collected archival material, particularly aimed at an activist readership who visit the vegan website Happy Cow: www.happycow.net/reviews/the-humanitarian-league-kowloon-39395, last accessed 10 July 2016.
- 98 www.happycow.net/blog/ernest-bell/.

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