

Notes*

Introduction

- 1 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Cleanliness', unpublished typescript, no date, in Cumpston Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra MS613 Box 7 (i), p. 13.
- 2 Catherine Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic: biomedicine and sexual difference*, Routledge, 1996, p. 5.
- 3 The phrase 'boundaries of rule' is from Ann Laura Stoler, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989): 134–61.
- 4 For example, Maynard Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace: Creating Segregation in Durban 1870–1900', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16 (1983): 401–21; Harriet Deacon, 'Racism and Medical Science in South Africa's Cape Colony in the mid- to late Nineteenth Century', *Osiris*, 15, (2000): 190–206; Suzanne Saunders, 'Isolation: the development of leprosy prophylaxis in Australia', *Aboriginal History*, 14 (1990): 168–81; Heather Bell, *Frontiers of Medicine in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899–1940*, Clarendon Press, 1999; JoAnne Brown, 'Purity and Danger in Colour: Notes on Germ Theory and the Semantics of Segregation, 1895–1915', in Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Ilana Löwy (eds) *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 101–32; Renisa Mawani, ' "The Island of the Unclean": Race, Colonialism and "Chinese Leprosy" in British Columbia, 1891–1924', *Journal of Law, Social Justice and Global Development*, (2003) <http://elj.warwick.ac.uk/global/>
- 5 For example, Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, Routledge, 1988; David Arnold (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Manchester University Press, 1988; Meghan Vaughan, *Curing their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*, Stanford University Press, 1991; David Arnold, *Colonising the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India*, University of California Press, 1993; Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859–1914*, Cambridge University Press, 1994; Lenore Manderson, *Sickness and the State: Health and Illness in Colonial Malaya*, Cambridge University Press, 1996; Warwick Anderson, 'Immunities of Empire; Race, Disease and the New Tropical Medicine, 1900–1920', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 70 (1996): 94–118; Michael Worboys, 'The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate: Leprosy and Empire, 1900–1940', *Osiris*, 15 (2000): 207–20; George Odour Ndege, *Health, State, and Society in Kenya*, University of Rochester Press, 2001; Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, Routledge, 2003.
- 6 In particular, Robert Proctor's work on the medicalisation of anti-semitism and genocide in the guise of quarantine is directly relevant. See Robert N.

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

- Proctor, 'The Destruction of "Lives Not Worth Living"', in Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (eds), *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, Indiana University Press, 1995, pp. 170–96; Alexandra Minna Stern, 'Buildings, Boundaries and Blood: Medicalization and Nation-Building on the US-Mexico Border, 1910–1930', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 79 (1999): 41–81; Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, University of California Press, 2002; Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- 7 A. Dirk Moses, 'Conceptual blockages and definitional dilemmas in the "racial century": genocides of indigenous peoples and the Holocaust', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36 (2002): 7–36.
 - 8 Nikolas Rose, 'Governing "advanced" liberal democracies', in Andrew Barry *et al.*, *Foucault and Political Reason*, University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 47–50.
 - 9 For example, Alan Petersen and Deborah Lupton, *The New Public Health: health and self in the age of risk*, Allen & Unwin, 1996; Alan Petersen, 'Risk, governance and the new public health', in Alan Petersen and Robin Bunton (eds), *Foucault, Health and Medicine*, Routledge, 1997, pp. 189–206; Sarah Nettleton, 'Governing the risky self: how to become healthy, wealthy and wise', in *Ibid.*, pp. 207–22; Robin Bunton and Roger Burrows, 'Consumption and health in the "epidemiological" clinic of late modern medicine', in Robin Bunton, Sarah Nettleton and Roger Burrows (eds), *The Sociology of Health Promotion*, Routledge, 1995.
 - 10 For example, Stoler, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories', pp. 136–7; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge, 1995, esp. pp. 368–79; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871*, University of Toronto Press, 2001.
 - 11 For a summary and reflection on these issues, see Ann Curthoys, 'Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology', in Richard Nile and Michael Williams (eds), *Imaginary Homelands: The Dubious Cartographies of Australian Identity*, University of Queensland Press, 1999, pp. 1–18.
 - 12 On race, medicine and British settlement, see Anderson *The Cultivation of Whiteness* chs 1–2.
 - 13 Susan Craddock and Michael Dorn, 'Nationbuilding: gender, race and medical discourse', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27 (2001): 313–18.
 - 14 Waldby, *AIDS and the Body Politic*, p. 88.
 - 15 Emily Martin, 'Toward an anthropology of immunology: The Body as Nation-State', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 4 (1992): 410–26; Petersen and Lupton, *The New Public Health*, p. 55.
 - 16 Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 163.
 - 17 Robert Crawford, 'The boundaries of the self and the unhealthy other: reflections on health, culture and AIDS', *Social Science and Medicine*, 27 (1993): 1348.
 - 18 David Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*, Routledge, 1995, p. 49; see also, Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, 'Isolation and Exclusion in the Modern World', in Carolyn Strange and

- Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: places and practices of exclusion*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 1–19.
- 19 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia', in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, University of California Press, 1997, p. 199.
 - 20 See the section 'Making Boundaries', in Cooper and Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire*, pp. 163–286.
 - 21 For example, Ann Laura Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures', in Ann McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (eds), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*, University of Minnesota Press, 1997, pp. 344–73. Christopher Forth, 'Moral Contagion and the Will: the crisis of masculinity in *fin-de siècle* France', in Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: historical and cultural studies*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 61–75.
 - 22 Proctor, 'The Destruction of "Lives not Worth Living"', pp. 176–9.
 - 23 For the humanitarian and philanthropic line of public health, see, especially, Christopher Hamlin, 'State Medicine in Great Britain', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, p. 135.
 - 24 Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
 - 25 Nikolas Rose, 'Medicine, History and the Present', in Colin Jones and Roy Porter (eds), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, Routledge, 1994, p. 65. See also Thomas Osborne, 'Security and vitality: drains, liberalism and power in the nineteenth century', in Andrew Barry *et al.* (eds), *Foucault and political reason: Liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of government*, University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 99–122.
 - 26 George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, MD Publications, 1958, p. 110.
 - 27 Michel Foucault, 'The Birth of Social Medicine', in James D. Faubion (ed.), *Essential Works of Michel Foucault*, Vol. 3 'Power', The New Press, 2000, pp. 137–42.
 - 28 Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, pp. 134–5.
 - 29 See Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State: a history of public health from ancient to modern times*, Routledge, 1999, pp. 58–61.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
 - 31 Graham Burchell, 'Governmental rationality', in Graham Burchell *et al.* (eds), *The Foucault Effect*, University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 4–5; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: an introduction*, Penguin, 1981; see also Michel Foucault, 'The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century', in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*, Penguin, 1984, pp. 278–9.
 - 32 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: an Introduction*, p. 139.
 - 33 Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, pp. 111–14; Ian Hacking, 'How Should We Do a History of Statistics', in Burchell *et al.* (eds), *The Foucault Effect*, pp. 181–96; see also Ray Jureidini and Kevin White, 'Life Insurance, the Medical Examination and Cultural Values', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 13 (2000): 190–214.
 - 34 Foucault, 'Governmentality', in Burchell *et al.* (eds), *The Foucault Effect*, p. 96.
 - 35 Hacking, 'How Should We Do the History of Statistics?', p. 181; for a study of the significance of these forms of knowledge on public health, see John

- Eyler, *Sir Arthur Newsholme and State Medicine, 1885–1935*, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- 36 Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 34.
- 37 Uday S. Mehta, 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion', in Cooper and Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire*, pp. 59–86.
- 38 See, especially, U. Kalpagam, 'The colonial state and statistical knowledge', *History of the Human Sciences*, 13 (2000): 37–55.
- 39 Maureen K. Lux, *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880–1940*, University of Toronto Press, 2001; see also Nicholas Thomas on 'sanitizing-colonizing', in *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Polity, 1994, p. 116 ff.
- 40 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Penguin, 1991, p. 198.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
- 43 David Armstrong, 'Public Health Spaces and the Fabrication of Identity', *Sociology*, 27 (1993): 393–410.
- 44 Alan Sears, '“To Teach them how to live”: The Politics of Public Health from Tuberculosis to AIDS', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5 (1992): 70–71.
- 45 Deborah Lupton, *The Imperative of Health: public health and the regulated body*, Sage, 1995, pp. 10–11.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Chapter 1

- 1 Margaret Pelling, 'The Meaning of Contagion: Reproduction, Medicine and Metaphor', in Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: historical and cultural studies*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 15–38.
- 2 O.A. Bushnell, *The Gifts of Civilisation: Germs and Genocide in Hawaii*, University of Hawaii Press, 1993; Sheldon Watts, Clark Spencer Larsen and George R. Milner (eds), *In the Wake of Contact: Biological Responses to Conquest*, Wiley-Liss, 1994; Margaret Jolly, 'Desire, Difference and Disease: sexual and venereal exchanges on Cook's voyages in the Pacific', in Ross Gibson (ed.), *Exchanges: cross-cultural encounters in Australia and the Pacific*, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, 1996, pp. 185–217; Maureen K. Lux, *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine and Canadian Plains Native People 1880–1940*, University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- 3 Philip Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989; Trevor Burnard, '“The Countrie Continues Sicklie”: White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655–1780', *Social History of Medicine*, 12 (1999): 45–72.
- 4 For 'isolate studies', see D.F. Roberts, N. Fujiki and K. Torizuka (eds), *Isolation, Migration and Health*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- 5 Michael Worboys discusses extensively the seed and soil metaphor in *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain; 1865–1900*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- 6 See, for example, Sheldon Watts, 'Smallpox in the New World and the Old: From Holocaust to Eradication, 1518–1977', in his *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*, Yale University Press, 1997, pp. 84–121;

- Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82*, Hill & Wang, 2001.
- 7 Margaret Pelling, *Cholera, Fever and English Medicine*, Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 250–95; Worboys, *Spreading Germs*, pp. 40, 188–89.
 - 8 Anne Hardy argues for the significance of isolation alongside vaccination in controlling smallpox in London. See Anne Hardy, *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the rise of preventive medicine 1856–1900*, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 110–50.
 - 9 Laura Otis, *Membranes: Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science and Politics*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
 - 10 J.Z. Bowers, 'The Odyssey of Smallpox Vaccination', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55 (1981): 17–33.
 - 11 For Indian inoculation, see David Arnold, 'Smallpox and colonial medicine in nineteenth-century India', in David Arnold (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Manchester University Press, 1988, pp. 45–65; for Montague, see Wendy Frith, 'Sex, Smallpox and Seraglios: A Monument to Lady Mary Wortley Montague', in G. Perry and M. Rossington (eds), *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth Century Art and Culture*, Manchester University Press, 1994, pp. 99–122; Genevieve Miller, 'Putting Lady Mary in her Place: A Discussion of Historical Causation', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55 (1981): 2–16; see also Deborah Brunton, 'Smallpox Inoculation and Demographic Trends in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Medical History*, 36 (1992): 403–29.
 - 12 The biological distinctions or relatedness of the microbes of variola and vaccinia have been disputed from Jenner's time to the present. This historic argument is both summarised and developed by the respective positions of Peter Razzell and Derrick Baxby. See Peter Razzell, *Edward Jenner's Cowpox Vaccine: the History of a Medical Myth*, Firlie, 1977; Derrick Baxby, *Jenner's Smallpox Vaccine: the Riddle of the Vaccinia Virus and its Origins*, London, 1981; 'The Origins of Vaccinia Virus', comments and rejoinders in *Social History of Medicine*, 12 (1999): 139–41.
 - 13 See, for example, J.B. Buist, *Vaccinia and Variola: a study of their life history*, J. & A. Churchill, London, 1887, pp. 1–4.
 - 14 For compulsion, see R.M. Macleod, 'Law, medicine and public opinion: the resistance to compulsory health legislation 1870–1907', Parts I and II, *Public Law*, (1967): 107–28, 189–211; Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, 'The politics of prevention: anti-vaccinationism and public health in nineteenth-century England', *Medical History*, 32 (1988): 231–52; Naomi Williams, 'The implementation of compulsory health legislation: infant smallpox vaccination in England and Wales, 1840–1890', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20 (1994): 396–412; Nadja Durbach, '“They Might as Well Brand Us”: Working-Class Resistance to Compulsory Vaccination in Victorian England', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000): 45–61.
 - 15 William J. Collins, *Have you Been Vaccinated, and What Protection is it Against the Small Pox?*, H.K. Lewis, London, 1868, p. 24.
 - 16 John Morton, *Vaccination and its Evil Consequences: Cow-pox and its Origins*, C.F. Fuller, Parramatta, 1875, p. 5.
 - 17 Donna Haraway, 'Biopolitics of Postmodern Bodies: Constitutions of self in immune system discourse', in her *Simians, Cyborgs and Women*, Routledge, 1991, p. 204.

- 18 Emily Martin, *Flexible Bodies: The Role of Immunity in American Culture from the Days of Polio to the Age of AIDS*, Beacon Press, 1994.
- 19 See Worboys, *Spreading Germs*, pp. 120–21.
- 20 Evidence of Alfred Roberts, Select Committee: Opinions on Compulsory Vaccination, New South Wales Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1881, vol. 4, p. 248 (hereafter Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881).
- 21 Morton, *Vaccination and its Evil Consequences*, p. 5.
- 22 Alfred Tauber, *The Immune Self: Theory or Metaphor*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 26–7.
- 23 Evidence of Carl F. Fischer, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 8.
- 24 J. Compton Burnett, *Vaccinosis and its cure by Thuja: with remarks on Homoeoprophylaxis*, The Homoeopathic Publishing Co., London, 1897, pp. 128–9. Of course there was no homeopathic consensus on vaccination. John le Gay Brereton was a noted Sydney homeopathic practitioner, but he entirely opposed vaccination. In 1881 he said, 'I would rather be shot than have anyone of my family vaccinated'. Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 25.
- 25 W.D. Stokes, *Truth v. Error: A Scientific Treatise Showing the Dangers of Drugs as Medicine*, Brighton, n.d., p. 52.
- 26 Elizabeth Blackwell, *Scientific Method in Biology*, Ellit Stock, London, 1898, p. 65. See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Routledge, 1994; Alison Bashford, *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine*, Macmillan, 1998, p. xi.
- 27 E. Robinson, *Can Disease Protect Health? being a reply to Ernest Hart's pamphlet entitled 'The Truth About Vaccination'*, London, 1880.
- 28 J.P. Murray, *Small-pox, Chicken-Pox and Vaccination*, George Robertson, Melbourne, 1869, p. 14.
- 29 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on the Vaccination Bill, *Journal of the NSW Legislative Council*, vol. 21 (1872): 24, p. 28 (hereafter Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872).
- 30 A. Beck, 'Issues in the Anti-Vaccination Movement in England,' *Medical History*, 4 (1960): 4, 313, 317. See an engraving by T. Woolnoth of 'Ann Davis' a woman with horns growing out of her head, 1806, The Wellcome Library Iconographic Collection, 46991/B. Nadja Durbach shows how working-class opposition to vaccination formed part of a political analysis of and action against a class 'tyranny'. See 'They Might as Well Brand Us', pp. 45–61.
- 31 Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 85.
- 32 See Report of the Royal Commission on the Late Visitation of Small-Pox, New South Wales Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2 (1883): p. 10; Porter and Porter, 'The Politics of Prevention', p. 234; Claudia Huerkamp, 'The History of Smallpox Vaccination in Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20 (1985): 628.
- 33 J. Beaney, *Vaccination and its Dangers*, R.N. Henningham, Melbourne, 1870, p. 11 (original emphasis).
- 34 A. Peripeteticus, *Cancer: A Result of Vaccination*, J.C. Stephens, Melbourne, 1898. Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 28. Such theories anticipated current concerns that the appearance and virulence of Hepatitis B virus and the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus

- in parts of Africa in the 1980s was a result of the WHO smallpox eradication campaign in the preceding decades.
- 35 Evidence of John T. Marx, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 28; see also Patrick Manson, *Tropical Diseases: a Manual of Diseases of Warm Climates* [1898] Cassell, London, 1903, p. 515.
 - 36 Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Ilana Löwy, 'Introduction: Horizontal and Vertical Transmission of Diseases: the Impossible Separation?', in Gaudillière and Löwy (eds), *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001, p. 4.
 - 37 Morton, *Vaccination and its Evil Consequences*, p. 6.
 - 38 Christopher Hamlin, 'State Medicine in Great Britain', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, p. 135.
 - 39 On public health, morality and domestic and social spaces, see Bashford, *Purity and Pollution*, ch. 1.
 - 40 Anne Hardy, 'Smallpox In London: Factors in the Decline of the Disease in the Nineteenth Century', *Medical History*, 27 (1983): 111–38.
 - 41 See Chapter 2; Susan Craddock, 'Sewers and Scapegoats: Spatial Metaphors of Smallpox in Nineteenth Century San Francisco', *Social Science and Medicine*, 41 (1995): 957–68; Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, University of California Press, 2001; Alan Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice: Sanitation and Social Policy in Victorian Sydney*, University of Queensland Press, 1982, ch. 13; P.H. Curson, *Times of Crisis: Epidemics in Sydney 1788–1900*, Sydney University Press, 1985.
 - 42 Anthony Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain*, J.M. Dent, 1983, pp. 133–4; S.M.F. Fraser, 'Leicester and smallpox: the Leicester method', *Medical History*, 24 (1980): 315–32.
 - 43 This is discussed in Chapter 6.
 - 44 Cabinet of the New South Wales Government, *Council Opinions upon Compulsory Vaccination*, Government Printer Sydney, 1881, p. 223.
 - 45 K. Walker, *The Story of Medicine*, London, Arrow, 1954, p. 230.
 - 46 Frank Fenner, 'Smallpox: Emergence, Global Spread, and Eradication', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 15 (1993): 397.
 - 47 The disputed African source of HIV is a case in point here. See, for example, D. Siefkes, 'The Origin of HIV-1, The AIDS Virus', *Medical Hypotheses*, 41 (1993): 289–99. For a critique of these trends, see Douglas Haynes, 'Still the Heart of Darkness: The Ebola Virus and the Meta-Narrative of Disease in the "Hot Zone"', *Journal of Medical Humanities*, 23 (2002): 133–45.
 - 48 Fenn, *Pox Americana*; Lux, *Medicine that Walks*; Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780–1880*, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
 - 49 Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, p. 15.
 - 50 Thomas Christie, *An Account of the ravages committed in Ceylon by Small-Pox, previously to the Introduction of Vaccination*, J&S Griffith, London, 1811, pp. 20–21. By 'inoculation' Christie here means vaccination with cowpox matter.
 - 51 See Bowers, 'The Odyssey of Smallpox Vaccination', 17–33. For a description of Jenner's methods of distributing vaccine, see William J. Collins, *Have you Been Vaccinated, and What Protection is it Against the Small Pox?*, H.K. Lewis, London, 1868, p. vi.

- 52 For example, evidence of Samuel Pickford Bedford, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 790.
- 53 Collins, *Have You been Vaccinated*, p. 14.
- 54 Evidence of Miles Egan, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 796.
- 55 *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 14 July 1881, p. 4; *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 10 August 1881, p. 4.
- 56 See, for example, questions by Mr Deas Thomson, Select Committee on Vaccination 1872, p. 790.
- 57 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1881, p. 27.
- 58 C. Creighton, *The Natural History of Cow-Pox and Vaccinal Syphilis*, Cassell, London, 1887, pp. 23–8. See also E.M. Crookshank, *The History and Pathology of Vaccination*, 2 vols, H.K. Lewis, London, 1889; H. Valentine Knaggs, *The Truth About Vaccination: The nature and origin of vaccine lymph and the teachings of the New Bacteriology*, C.W. Daniel, London, 1914.
- 59 This change is well documented in Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600–1850*, Oxford University Press, 1999, esp. pp. 11–18. See also Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the history of an idea in the west*, Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 1996.
- 60 Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions*, p. v.
- 61 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures', in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (eds), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*, University of Minnesota Press, 1997, pp. 344–73.
- 62 Christie, *An Account of the Ravages of Small-Pox*, p. 21.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 27.
- 65 Morton, *Vaccination and its Evil Consequences*, p. 5.
- 66 Evidence of Charles Taylor, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 17.
- 67 Evidence of John le Gay Brereton, Select Committee on Vaccination, 1872, p. 24.
- 68 Nikolas Rose, 'Medicine, History and the Present' in Colin Jones and Roy Porter (eds) *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, Routledge, 1994, p. 55.
- 69 See Eyler, *Sir Arthur Newsholme*, p. 32.
- 70 Durbach, 'They Might as Well Brand Us', pp. 45–61.
- 71 See B.S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: the British in India*, Princeton University Press, 1996; Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Polity, 1994, p. 116. See also U. Kalpagam, 'The colonial state and statistical knowledge', *History of the Human Sciences*, 13 (2000): 37–55.
- 72 Harrison, *Public Health in British India*, p. 82.
- 73 Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: power and rule in modern society*, Sage, 1999, p. 30.
- 74 Christie, *An Account of the Ravages of Small-Pox*, p. 33.
- 75 E.S.P Bedford to Colonial Secretary, 23 February 1869, printed in NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1868–9.
- 76 Durbach, 'They Might as Well Brand Us', p. 58.
- 77 See Curson, *Times of Crisis*.

- 78 J.H.L. Cumpston and F. McCallum, *The History of Small-pox in Australia 1909–1923*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1925, pp. 31–2, 77.
- 79 John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge University Press, 2000. See also Chapter 5.
- 80 Report and Minutes, *The Australasian Sanitary Conference, 1884*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, p. 19.
- 81 Quarantine Regulations in *Canada Circular*, 12 June 1908, reprinted in *Pratique*, 25 (2000): 106.
- 82 A copy of such an Inspection Card, stamped ‘Passed Medical and Civil Inspection’ is available in V. Denis Vandervelde, ‘Canada: Immigrant Health Inspection, 1909’ *Pratique*, 26 (2001): 83.
- 83 Cumpston and McCallum, *History of Small-Pox in Australia*, p. 15.

Chapter 2

- 1 Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, ‘Isolation and Exclusion in the Modern World’, in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: places and practices of exclusion*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 1–19.
- 2 J.H.L. Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia*, edited and introduced by Milton Lewis, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989; Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and other Diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780–1880*, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- 3 ‘An Act for the Prevention ... of the Disease called the Cholera’, 2 and 3, William IV, c. 10, 1832.
- 4 This epidemic has been analysed for numerous purposes and from a range of epistemological positions: from early epidemiological histories produced out of the Australian bureaucracy of health itself to more recent historical geographies and social and economic histories. J.H.L. Cumpston, *The History of Small-Pox in Australia, 1788–1908*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1914; Alan Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice: Sanitation and Social Policy in Victorian Sydney*, University of Queensland Press, 1982, ch. 13; P.H. Curson, *Times of Crisis: Epidemics in Sydney 1788–1900*, Sydney University Press, 1985, ch. 6; Jean Duncan Foley, *In Quarantine: A History of Sydney’s Quarantine Station 1828–1984*, Kangaroo Press, 1995, chs 5, 6; Greg Watters, ‘The S.S. Ocean: Dealing with Boat People in the 1880s’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 120 (2002): 331–43.
- 5 Jane Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India: medicine and confinement*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- 6 David Arnold, ‘Touching the Body: Perspectives on the Indian Plague, 1896–1900’, *Subaltern Studies*, 5 (1987): 61–3.
- 7 House disinfection and slum clearances, for example. See Curson, *Times of Crisis*. pp. 94–99; Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice*, pp. 191–200.
- 8 But see Howard Markel, ‘“Knocking out the Cholera”: Cholera, Class and Quarantines in New York City, 1892’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 69 (1995): 420–57.
- 9 For international examples, see Charles Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849 and 1866*, University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 2–3; Judith W. Leavitt, ‘Politics and Public Health: Smallpox in Milwaukee, 1894–1895’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 50 (1976): 553; Arnold,

- 'Touching the Body: Perspectives on the Indian Plague, 1896–1900', 55–90. Peter J. Tyler, 'Boards of Health: A Nineteenth Century Response to Epidemic', in Linda Bryder and Derek A. Dow (eds), *New Countries and Old Medicine: Proceedings of an International Conference of the History of Medicine and Health*, Pyramid Press, 1995.
- 10 Charles Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and other studies in the history of medicine*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 282.
 - 11 There were a few near misses in which people on board ships off the coast, or at Thursday Island, were infected and died, but the ship was not allowed to enter the territory of the colony. The details of these events convinced politicians, public health policy-makers and doctors of the need to retain rigid maritime quarantine. See, for example, K.I. O'Doherty, 'Federal Quarantine', *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 6 (1895): 837–8.
 - 12 Judy Campbell argues that smallpox on the Australian continent preceded British invasion, originating with Macassan fishermen on the north coast. Campbell, *Invisible Invaders*.
 - 13 Greg Watters demonstrates how it is unlikely that the epidemic began with the Chinese community. See 'The S.S. *Ocean*', pp. 332–4.
 - 14 For more detail, see Curson, *Times of Crisis*, pp. 104–7; Alan Mayne, 'The dreadful scourge': responses to smallpox in Sydney and Melbourne, 1881–2', in Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, Routledge, 1988.
 - 15 Foley, *In Quarantine*, pp. 36–46.
 - 16 The linked Indigenous and colonial cultural history of this area is detailed in Maria Nugent, 'Revisiting LaPerouse: a postcolonial history', PhD thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 2001.
 - 17 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1881, p. 6.
 - 18 See 'Meeting of Cabinet – Opinions on Compulsory Vaccination', NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, vol. 4 (1881): 1019–73; Report of the Royal Commission into Management of the Quarantine Station, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1882 (hereafter Royal Commission on Quarantine, 1882); Report of the Royal Commission on the Late Visitation of Smallpox, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, vol. 2, 1883 (hereafter Royal Commission on Smallpox, 1883).
 - 19 S. Mannington Caffyn, 'The Non-Transmission of Small-Pox by Vaccine Lymph', *The Lancet*, 29 July 1893, p. 272. Mayne emphasises the commercial impact of the epidemic in 'The Dreadful Scourge'.
 - 20 Infectious Disease Supervision Act, 1881 (NSW).
 - 21 Stephen Garton, 'Policing the Dangerous Lunatic: Lunacy Incarceration in NSW, 1870–1914', in Mark Finnane (ed.), *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives*, University of New South Wales Press, 1987, pp. 74–87. For the history of policing in Australia, see Mark Finnane, *Police and Government: Histories of Policing in Australia*, Oxford University Press, 1994.
 - 22 George Rosen, 'Cameralism and the Concept of Medical Police', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 27 (1953): 21–42; George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*, MD Publications, 1958, p. 118; Paul Weindling, 'Public Health in Germany', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, p. 122.
 - 23 Board of Health minutes, 25 October 1881, NSW State Archive [NSWSA] 5/2913.

- 24 See NSW Board of Health minutes, 18 July 1881, NSWSA, 5/2913; 'Regulations for the Establishment and Management of an Ambulance and Disinfecting Staff – Smallpox Regulations', NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1881, p. 1.
- 25 Michel Foucault, 'The eye of power', cited in Deborah Lupton, *The Imperative of Health: Public Health and the Regulated Body*, Sage, 1995, p. 23.
- 26 Martin Hewitt, 'Bio-politics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare', in Mike Featherstone *et al.* (eds), *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991, pp. 234–5.
- 27 Mr Buchanan, *NSW Parliamentary Debates*, 1881, vol. 2, p. 2475.
- 28 Caffyn 'The Non-Transmission of Small-Pox', p. 272.
- 29 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Penguin, 1991, p. 197.
- 30 Lupton, *The Imperative of Health*, p. 64.
- 31 See, for example, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 October 1881, p. 6; 31 October 1881, p. 5; 5 November 1881, p. 5.
- 32 Michael Ostwald and John Moore, 'The Science of Urban Pathology: Victorian Rituals of Architectural and Urban Dissection', *Australasian Victorian Studies Journal*, 2 (1996): 65–80; Alison Bashford, *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine*, Macmillan, 1998, ch. 1. For domestic architecture and medicine see Annemarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870–1900*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- 33 Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, Vintage, 1975, p. 31.
- 34 See P. Susan Hardy, '“Surgical Spirit”: Listerism in NSW', PhD thesis, University of NSW, 1990.
- 35 Report of the Royal Commission on Small-Pox, 1883, p. 2.
- 36 NSW Board of Health, Report on the Late Epidemic of Smallpox, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2 (1883): 5.
- 37 'Medical Officer's Return – Smallpox Regulations', NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1881, p. 5.
- 38 Report of the Royal Commission on Small-Pox, 1883, p. 1.
- 39 See Mayne, *Fever, Squalor and Vice*, pp. 191–207.
- 40 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1881, p. 6.
- 41 'Rules for the guidance of surgeons visiting cases of Small-pox' in Report of the Royal Commission on Small-pox, Appendix E, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, vol. 2 (1883): 14.
- 42 Alison Bashford, 'Disinfection: from the leper colony to the operating theatre', unpublished paper.
- 43 A summary of this report was received by the NSW Government in 1881, and formed part of the Board of Health's Report on the Smallpox Epidemic, 1883, p. 11.
- 44 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger; an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*, Routledge, 1994.
- 45 David Armstrong, 'Public Health Spaces and the Fabrication of Identity', *Sociology*, 27 (1993): 393–4.
- 46 Report of the Health Officer on the Quarantine Station, North Head, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2 (1883): 2. It was important for one colony to have confidence in the efficacy of another colony's quarantine system, and detailed descriptions of the isolated nature of the

- sites were often offered. Fiji's Chief Medical Officer, for example, reassured his Australasian colleagues with this description of the colony's quarantine site: 'It is surrounded by water, which is several fathoms deep everywhere save at one point, and opposite that point a guard-house is built, and is occupied by an armed guard when the station is in use ...Coolies arriving from India are, if quarantine is deemed necessary, detained on the island marked "Indian Depot" ...which is completely isolated by deep water all round. Armed guard boats are anchored at a distance of three or four hundred yards from the island, to prevent all communication'. W.McGregor to the Governor of the Crown Colony of Fiji, 27 August 1884, in Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report and Minutes of Proceedings*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, p. 62
- 47 Report of the Board of Health upon the Late Epidemic of Smallpox, 1883, p. 3.
 - 48 Royal Commission on Quarantine, 1882, maps appended.
 - 49 Royal Commission on Smallpox, 1883, maps appended.
 - 50 Report of the Health Officer on the Quarantine Station, 1883, p. 3.
 - 51 Report of the Board of Health, 1883, reference to Map.
 - 52 Evidence of S.M. Caffyn, Report of the Royal Commission on Quarantine, 1882, p. 1191.
 - 53 Evidence of Constable Cook, Report of the Royal Commission on Quarantine, 1882, p. 24.
 - 54 'Small-pox in Sydney', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1881, p. 6.
 - 55 Report of the Board of Health, 1883, p. 5.
 - 56 The same isolation of the vaccinated from the unvaccinated occurred in a 1913 epidemic. 'Harshness at Quarantine' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 July 1914, Chief Secretary's Department, Smallpox Files, 1913–15 NSWSA, 5/5290.
 - 57 The Principal Gaoler, Darlinghurst Gaol to the Comptroller of Prisons, 22 July 1881, in 'Vaccination in Darlinghurst Gaol', NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 4 (1884): 5.
 - 58 Caffyn, 'The Non-Transmission of Small-Pox', p. 272.
 - 59 Compulsory Vaccination Act 1853 (Tasmania); Act to extend and make compulsory the practice of Vaccination, 1853 (South Australia); Act to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination, 1854 (Victoria); An Ordinance to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination, 1860 (Western Australia).
 - 60 Health Act 1911 (Western Australia); Health Act 1919 (Victoria). An Act to suspend compulsory vaccination was passed in 1917 in South Australia.
 - 61 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, p. 33.
 - 62 Government Medical Adviser to the Colonial Secretary, 10 March 1859, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Papers*, 1858–59, p. 1033.
 - 63 For these problems in twentieth century mass immunisation, see Claire Hooker and Alison Bashford, 'Diphtheria and Australian Public Health: bacteriology and its complex applications, c.1890–1930', *Medical History*, 46 (2002): 41–64.
 - 64 Nadja Durbach, ' "They Might as Well Brand Us": Working-Class Resistance to Compulsory Vaccination in Victorian England', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000): 50.

- 65 NSW Registrar-General, Report on Vaccination, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Papers*, 1856, pp. 119–21.
- 66 Durbach, 'They Might as Well Brand Us', pp. 58–9.
- 67 Caffyn, 'The Non-Transmission of Small-pox', pp. 272–3.
- 68 Report of the Board of Health, 1883, pp. 3–4.
- 69 Evidence of Geoffrey Eagar, Under-Secretary for Finance and Trade, Royal Commission on Quarantine, 1882, p. 1174.
- 70 For example, at a Board of Health meeting on 1 August 1881, it was resolved that the Executive Council 'should be requested to give a general authority for the Health Officer and any 2 members of the Board to take immediate action to compel the isolation or to remove or otherwise dispose of any persons whom it may be found necessary so to deal with as being likely to imperil public health'. Board of Health Minutes, NSWSA, 5/2913.
- 71 Board of Health Minutes, 13 January 1882, NSWSA 5/2913.
- 72 See for example, evidence of Inspector-General of Police, Royal Commission on Quarantine, p. 9; Superintendent of Police, Royal Commission on Quarantine, p. 18.
- 73 Royal Commission on Quarantine, p. 9.
- 74 Evidence of Stephen Mannington Caffyn, Royal Commission on Quarantine.
- 75 Evidence of Superintendent Read, Royal Commission on Quarantine, p. 19.
- 76 Evidence of Constable Cook, Royal Commission on Quarantine, p. 23.
- 77 Evidence of Constable Cook, Royal Commission on Quarantine, p. 24.
- 78 Evidence of John Hughes, Royal Commission on Quarantine, pp. 27–31.
- 79 'Smallpox: claims arising out of late visitation' NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol 2 (1883): 950–51.
- 80 For plague, see Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken, *Plague in Sydney: The Anatomy of an Epidemic*, University of New South Wales Press, 1989.
- 81 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of health from 1909–1930', typescript held in the Department of Health Library, Canberra, n.d (c.1930), n.p.
- 82 Ibid.

Chapter 3

- 1 S. Lyle Cummins, *Empire and Colonial Tuberculosis*, National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1946, p. 8; J.W. Springthorpe, 'The Great White Plague', in *Social Sins*, The Church of England Social Questions Committee, Melbourne, 1912, p. 46.
- 2 H. Hyslop Thomson, *Tuberculosis and Public Health*, Longman, Green, London, 1920, p. 1.
- 3 Neil Thomson, 'A Review of Aboriginal Health Status', in Janice Reid and Peggy Trompf (eds), *The Health of Aboriginal Australia*, Harcourt Brace, 1997, pp. 60–61.
- 4 Robert Castel, 'From dangerousness to risk', in Graham Burchell *et al.* (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 281–98.

- 5 *ibid.*, pp. 283, 286.
- 6 Michel Foucault, 'About the Concept of the Dangerous Individual in 19th Century Legal Psychiatry', in David. N. Weisstub (ed.), *Law and Psychiatry*, Pergamon Press, 1978, p. 17.
- 7 Castel, 'From dangerousness to risk', p. 283.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 But see Claire Hooker, 'Sanitary failure and risk: pasteurisation, immunisation and the logics of prevention', in Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: historical and cultural studies*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 129–49.
- 10 John Eyler, 'Scarlet Fever and Confinement: the Edwardian Debate over Isolation Hospitals', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 61 (1987): 1–24; Claire Hooker and Alison Bashford, 'Diphtheria and Australian Public Health: Bacteriology and its Complex Applications, c. 1890–1930', *Medical History*, 46 (2002): 41–64; Evelyn Hammonds, *Childhood's Deadly Scourge: the campaign to control diphtheria in New York City, 1880–1930*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- 11 'The Germ Carrier and the Law', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 19 October 1912: 407.
- 12 Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Typhoid Mary: Captive of the Public's Health*, Beacon Press, 1996.
- 13 Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, Routledge, 2003; Philip W. Setel, Milton Lewis and Maryinez Lyons (eds), *Histories of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Greenwood Press, 1999; Milton Lewis, *Thorns on the Rose: The History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Australia in International Perspective*, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1998.
- 14 See Graham Mooney, 'Public Health versus Private Practice: The Contested Development of Compulsory Infectious Disease Notification in Late-Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 73 (1999): 238–67; Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, 'The Enforcement of Health: The British Debate', in Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (eds), *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, University of California Press, 1988, pp. 97–120; Eyler 'Scarlet Fever', pp. 1–24.
- 15 See Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia*, p. 398.
- 16 Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, 'Isolation and Exclusion in the Modern World' in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: places and practices of exclusion*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 1–19.
- 17 Alan Petersen and Deborah Lupton, *The New Public Health: health and self in the age of risk*, Allen & Unwin, 1996.
- 18 See Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, Routledge, 1990, p. 2,
- 19 These are detailed in S.D. Bird, 'On Chest Complaints in Australia', *Australian Medical Journal*, 12 (1867): 44–8. F.B. Smith explains these treatments in *The Retreat of Tuberculosis 1850–1950*, Croom Helm, 1988.
- 20 Quoted in Michael Roe, *Life over Death: Tasmanians and Tuberculosis*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1999, p. 22. Original emphasis.
- 21 See S.D. Bird, *On Australasian Climates and their influence in the Prevention and Arrest of Pulmonary Consumption*, Longman, London, 1863; S.D. Bird, *Climate and Consumption*, Stillwell & Knight, Melbourne, 1870. Dr Bird,

- himself consumptive, 'took the cure' and voyaged to Melbourne. His ideas were disputed in W. Thomson, *On Phthisis and the supposed influence of climate*, Stillwell & Knight, Melbourne, 1870. See also Linda Bryder, '“A Health Resort for Consumptives”: Tuberculosis and Immigration to New Zealand, 1880–1914', *Medical History*, 40 (1996): 453–71; J.M. Powell, 'Medical Promotion and the Consumptive Immigrant to Australia', *Geographical Review*, 63 (1973): 449–76; Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, Melbourne University Press, 2002, pp. 57–61.
- 22 Linda Bryder, 'The Papworth Village Settlement – a Unique Experiment in the Treatment and Care of the Tuberculous?', *Medical History*, 28 (1984): 373.
 - 23 Twelve institutions in 1899 and 223 by 1916. See Michael E. Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement: A Public Health Campaign in the Progressive Era*, Greenwood Press, 1988, p. 82.
 - 24 Katherine Ott, *Fevered Lives: Tuberculosis in American Culture since 1870*, Harvard University Press, 1996, p. 70.
 - 25 JoAnne Brown, 'Purity and Danger in Colour: Notes on Germ Theory and the Semantics of Segregation, 1895–1915', in Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Ilana Löwy (eds), *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 101–32.
 - 26 A.J. Proust, 'The Invalid Pension and Sickness Benefits in Australia prior to 1948', in A.J. Proust (ed.), *History of Tuberculosis in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea*, Brolga Press, 1991, p. 25; T.H. Kewley, *Social Security in Australia: Social Security and Health Benefits from 1900 to the present*, Sydney University Press, 1965, pp. 84–5; Claudia Thame, 'Health and the State in Australia', PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1974, pp. 85–114; James A. Gillespie, *The Price of Health: Australian Governments and Medical Politics, 1910–1960*, Cambridge University Press, 1991; Alison Bashford, 'Tuberculosis and economy: public health and the early welfare state', 'Tuberculosis and Economy: Public Health and Labour in the Early Welfare State', *Health and History*, 4 (2002): 19–40.
 - 27 Michael Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865–1900*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, ch. 6.
 - 28 Teller, *The Tuberculosis Movement*, p. 15; see also Robin Walker, 'The Struggle Against Pulmonary Tuberculosis in Australia', *Historical Studies*, 20 (1983): 443, who ascribes a causative role to Koch's discovery.
 - 29 Linda Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth-Century Britain*, Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 23; Ott, *Fevered Lives*, pp. 53, 68.
 - 30 'The Greatest Enemy of the Human Race: The Duty of the State', *Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1901, newspaper cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, Mitchell Library [ML] Folio 616.2/N.
 - 31 'Consumption: Measures for Prevention', 24 May 1906, unknown newspaper, newspaper cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, ML Folio 616.2/N.
 - 32 On plague, see Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken, *Plague in Sydney: The Anatomy of an Epidemic*, University of New South Wales Press, 1989.
 - 33 John B. Trivett, *Tuberculosis in New South Wales*, William Applegate Gullick, Sydney, 1909, pp. 9–15. In New South Wales the death-rate in 1880 was 1.4 per 1,000. Overall, it had dropped by the turn of the century, the period I

- am most interested in here, to 1 death per 1,000 in 1900, and 0.8 deaths by 1908. Trivett, *Tuberculosis in New South Wales*, p. 26.
- 34 Springthorpe, 'The Great White Plague'.
- 35 See Waterfall Sanatorium, Case Histories, 1909, No. 44, NSWSA, Colonial Secretary's Special Bundle, X648.
- 36 It was planned that there be two separate institutions there: one for curables along open-air treatment model and one for incurables, 'so that those in curable stages will be treated away and under different conditions from those in an incurable state'. 'Our Overcrowded Asylums: Selecting a Site of Consumptive Home', *Evening News*, 2 July 1906, newspaper cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, ML Folio 616.2/N.
- 37 For a summary of the government asylum in Australia, see Stephen Garton, *Out of Luck: Poor Australians and Social Welfare*, Allen & Unwin, 1990, pp. 54–61.
- 38 States of Australia, *Report on Consumption*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1911, p. 6.
- 39 W. Ramsay Smith, *On Consumption*, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, Melbourne, 1909, p. 9.
- 40 'The Greatest Enemy of the Human Race', *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1901, in Newspaper Cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, ML Folio 616.2/N.
- 41 States of Australia, *Report on Consumption*, p. 8. 'legal power must be taken to regulate the home-life of consumptives ...and in the case of persons who cannot or who will not take the necessary precautions at home, the decisive power of ordering them into segregation for the safety of their housemates in particular, and of the public in general'. The other recommendations were 'facilities for the collection of information' and 'the establishment of sanatoria and hospitals for advanced cases'.
- 42 Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality*, Sage, 1999, p. 133.
- 43 Springthorpe, 'The Great White Plague', p. 46.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 46; J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Cleanliness', p. 6.
- 45 Deborah Lupton, *Risk*, Routledge, 1999, p. 92.
- 46 Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Women, Men and the Microbe in American Life*, Harvard University Press, 1998.
- 47 States of Australia, *Report on Consumption*, p. 7.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 7. 'The qualification for admission to [a segregation hospital] must therefore be – not alone the fact of suffering from phthisis, but the ascertained fact of living while so suffering under conditions which necessarily involve danger of infection to others.' J. Ashburton Thompson, *On the Guidance of Public Effort Towards the Further Prevention of Consumption*, Stillwell & Co., Melbourne, 1899, p. 18 (original emphasis).
- 49 Sir Phillip Sydney Jones, 'Discussion Upon the Dissemination of Tuberculosis', *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 13 (1911): 701.
- 50 Duncan Turner, *Is Consumption Contagious?*, Melville, Mullins & Slade, Melbourne, 1894, pp. 8–9. He continued, 'When we see it fairly advocated that children should be separated from their parents, husbands from wives, brothers from sisters, and that the unfortunate victims should not kiss or even shake hands with their nearest relatives, if consumptive, surely it is time to inquire into the root of the matter', p. 13.

- 51 Ibid.
- 52 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Report Upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health from 1909 to 1930', typescript in the Department of Health Library, Canberra, c.1930.
- 53 Ott, *Fevered Lives*, pp. 72–4.
- 54 Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain*, p. 29.
- 55 'The first necessity, then, is that the consumptive be constantly, both by day and by night, in the purest possible atmosphere. Where it is feasible, send him to the mountains, to the desert, or on a long sea voyage; but tell him that, in order to obtain the greatest amount of benefit under such favourable conditions, the air which he breathes during the hours of the night should be nearly, if not quite, as pure as the atmosphere by which he is surrounded during the day.' James P. Ryan, 'The Open-Air Treatment of Phthisis', *Intercolonial Medical Congress*, 2nd Session, 1889, p. 92.
- 56 'The hurricane almost lifted our chalets up bodily and rain came in on every side. My pillow was wet, and spray went all over the bed-clothes. My day garments on the chair were saturated ...But, bless you, we thrive. Damp does not matter, damp does not give you cold. We walk in the rain and need not change damp clothing unless we like. The Nordrach book says one can stay all day in wet clothes and not catch cold'. Anon., *Letters from a Sanatorium*, George Robertson, Melbourne 1907, p. 15.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid., pp. 10–11.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 10–11.
- 60 Erving Goffman, *Asylum: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Penguin, 1991.
- 61 Department of Public Health, Victoria, *Greenvale Sanatorium for Consumptives*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1912, pp. 8–9.
- 62 F.J. Drake, 'Sanatorium Treatment of Pulmonary Tuberculosis', *Australasian Medical Congress Transactions*, Session 8 (1908): 153.
- 63 Anon., *Letters from a Sanatorium*, pp. 10–11.
- 64 Ibid., p. 21.
- 65 Department of Public Health, Victoria, *Greenvale Sanatorium for Consumptives*, pp. 11–19.
- 66 Ibid., p. 19.
- 67 See, for example, Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire*, Pantheon, 1984.
- 68 Sir Phillip Sydney Jones, 'Discussion Upon the Dissemination of Tuberculosis', *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 13 (1911): 698–9.
- 69 'Dr Trudeau considers that the principle aim of the modern sanatorium treatment of tuberculosis (phthisis) is to improve the patient's condition and increase his resistance to the disease by placing him under the most favourable environment obtainable. The main elements of such an environment are an invigorating climate, an open-air life, rest, coupled with the careful regulation of the daily habits, and an abundant supply of nutritious food ...The line of treatment consists in rest out of doors in all weathers, the patients being well wrapped up. Constant exposure at all temperatures, and in all weathers.' A.H. Gault, 'A Plea for the Sanatorium Treatment of Consumption', *Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australasia*, 1902, p. 514.

- 70 Charles Bage, 'The Treatment of Consumptives in Private Practice', *Australasian Medical Congress Transactions*, 1 (1911): 221.
- 71 Aldridge Evelyn, 'A Cure for Tuberculosis', *The Lone Hand*, 1 August 1911, p. 312.
- 72 Gault, 'A Plea for the Sanatorium Treatment of Consumption', p. 515. The Greenvale Sanatorium in Victoria said that its primary purpose was 'to develop resistance of the body to the disease, to arrest the progress of the diseases, and to restore the patient to his normal condition'. Department of Public Health, *Greenvale Sanatorium for Consumptives*, p. 4.
- 73 Anon., *Letters from a Sanatorium*.
- 74 Sir James Kingston, cited in J. Gordon Hislop, 'The Control of Pulmonary Tuberculosis: Sanatorium Treatment', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 31 May 1924, p. 531.
- 75 Hislop, 'The Control of Pulmonary Tuberculosis: Sanatorium Treatment', p. 529.
- 76 Anon., *Letters from a Sanatorium*, p. 9.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 79 *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
- 80 Rose, *Governing the Soul*, p. 10.
- 81 John Dale, 'Publicity in Public Health Administration', *Health*, 1 (1923): 57.
- 82 States of Australia, *Report on Consumption*, p. 7.
- 83 Rose, *Governing the Soul*, p. 2.
- 84 Ramsay Smith, *On Consumption*, p. 9.
- 85 The Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Trade and Customs, Committee Concerning Causes of Death and Invalidity in the Commonwealth, *Report on Tuberculosis*, Government Printer, 1916, p. 32.
- 86 Bage, 'The Treatment of Consumptives in Private Practice', p. 221.
- 87 Anon., *Letter from a Sanatorium*, p. 13.
- 88 *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2, 70.
- 89 See Chapter 7 and the NSW Department of Health Poster 'Sow the Seeds of Good Health', Figure 7.1
- 90 Department of Public Health, *Greenvale Sanatorium for Consumptives*, p. 5.

Chapter 4

- 1 For example, Susan Burns, 'From "Leper Villages" to Leprosaria: Public Health, Nationalism and the Culture of Exclusion in Japan', in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: places and practices of exclusion*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 104–18.
- 2 Suzanne Saunders, 'Isolation: the Development of Leprosy Prophylaxis in Australia', *Aboriginal History*, 14 (1990): 168–81; Harriet Deacon, 'Leprosy and Racism at Robben Island', *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 7 (1994): 45–83; Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*, Yale University Press, 1997; R.D.K. Herman, 'Out of sight, out of mind, out of power: leprosy, race and colonization in Hawai'i', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27 (2001): 319–37; Jane Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India: medicine and confinement*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002; Renisa Mawani, ' "The Island of the Unclean": Race,

- Colonialism and “Chinese Leprosy” in British Columbia, 1891–1924’, *Journal of Law, Social Justice and Global Development* (2003) <http://elj.warwick.ac.uk/global/>
- 3 Patrick Manson, *Tropical Diseases: A Manual of the Diseases of Warm Climates*, [1898] Cassell, 1903, pp. 480–81.
 - 4 This is Zachary Gussow’s argument in *Leprosy, Racism and Public Health: Social Policy in Chronic Disease Control*, Westview Press, 1989.
 - 5 H.P. Wright, *Leprosy: An Imperial Danger*, J. & A. Churchill, London, 1889.
 - 6 Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*, Polity, 1991, ch. 4; Harriet Deacon, ‘A history of the medical institutions on Robben Island, 1846–1910’, DPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994, ch. 6; Sanjiv Kakar, ‘Leprosy in British India, 1860–1940: Colonial Politics and Missionary Medicine’, *Medical History*, 40 (1996): 215–30; Michael Worboys, ‘The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate: Leprosy and Empire 1900–1940’, *Osiris*, 15 (2001): 207–18.
 - 7 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Penguin, 1991, p. 198.
 - 8 Warwick Anderson, ‘Leprosy and Citizenship’, *Positions*, 1998 (6): 707–29.
 - 9 For other instances of the regulation of race through health, and health through race, see Harriet Deacon, ‘Racial Segregation and Medical Discourse in Nineteenth Century Cape Town’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22 (1996): 187–308; JoAnne Brown, ‘Purity and Danger in Colour: Notes on Germ Theory and the Semantics of Segregation, 1895–1915’, in Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Ilana Löwy (eds), *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 101–32.
 - 10 The Mission to Lepers in India was founded in 1874, a National Leprosy Fund was created in 1889 after the death of Father Damien in Hawaii, and in 1923 the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was formed. See Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, pp. 152–4.
 - 11 This debate is detailed authoritatively in Michael Worboys, ‘An Imperial Danger’: Leprosy and Contagion, 1860–1900’ unpublished paper. My thanks to Michael Worboys for sharing this paper, and for discussion on leprosy.
 - 12 Thanks to Harriet Deacon for discussion on these points.
 - 13 Royal College of Physicians, *Report on Leprosy*, George Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London, 1867.
 - 14 Charles Bruce, ‘Mr Chamberlain and the Health of the Empire’, *The Empire Review*, 8 (1905): 108–21. On tropical medicine and late nineteenth-century imperial politics, see Douglas M. Haynes, *Imperial Medicine: Patrick Manson and the Conquest of Tropical Disease*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
 - 15 Agnes Lambert, ‘Leprosy: Present and Past’, *The Nineteenth Century*, 16 (1884): 212.
 - 16 Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker, ‘Disinfecting Mail – from smallpox to anthrax’, in Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: epidemic, history and culture from smallpox to anthrax*, Pluto Press, 2002, pp. 227–31 (revised edn).
 - 17 Margaret Pelling, ‘The Meaning of Contagion: reproduction, medicine and metaphor’, in Bashford and Hooker (eds), *Contagion*, pp. 29–32; Michael Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865–1900*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 28–42.

- 18 For discussion on this point, see P. Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830–1930*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- 19 Royal College of Physicians, *Report on Leprosy*, p. v.
- 20 Lambert, 'Leprosy', p. 222.
- 21 The responses to the question about contagion are collated in the *Report*, pp. xliii–xliv. For changing understandings of leprosy and contagion, see Deacon, 'The history of medical institutions', ch. 6; Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, ch. 1; Worboys, 'An Imperial Danger'.
- 22 Royal College of Physicians, *Report on Leprosy*, p. lxix.
- 23 Lambert, 'Leprosy', p. 218.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- 25 For competing and simultaneous rationales of isolation, see Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, 'Isolation and Exclusion in the Modern World', in Strange and Bashford, *Isolation*, p. 1ff.
- 26 Buckingham argues that in colonial South India, leprosy confinement was largely about the management of vagrancy, poverty and criminality. See *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, pp. 36–60.
- 27 Worboys, 'The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate', p. 213.
- 28 Royal College of Physicians, *Report on Leprosy*; p. xlv.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 203.
- 31 See Zachary Gussow and George S. Tracy, 'Stigma and the Leprosy Phenomenon: The Social History of a Disease in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 44 (1970): 435.
- 32 Robert Koch's Nobel Lecture, 19 December 1905, is available at Nobel e-Museum, <<http://www.nobel.se/medicine/laureates/1905/koch-lecture.html>>.
- 33 Harriet Deacon, 'Racism and Medical Science in South Africa's Cape Colony', *Osiris*, 12 (2000): 204.
- 34 Kakar, 'Leprosy in British India', pp. 220–21; Worboys, 'The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate', p. 213; Buckingham, *Leprosy in Colonial South India*, ch. 7.
- 35 Megan Vaughan compares colonial African leper colonies and the British sanatorium in *Curing Their Ills*, pp. 95–7.
- 36 Brochure for the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, n.d., Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, PP/ROG C13 Series III 157.
- 37 Wright, *Leprosy*, p. 8.
- 38 Lambert, 'Leprosy', p. 214; Mawani, '“The Island of the Unclean”'.
- 39 External Affairs memo, c. 1908, 'Leprosy in The Commonwealth', National Archives of Australia [NAA] A1 1908/4507. See also Mawani, 'The Island of the Unclean'.
- 40 Frederick Jones to the Secretary, Minister of External Affairs, 31 July 1907, 'Leprosy in The Commonwealth', NAA A1 1908/4507,
- 41 According to a document from 1925, these powers were exercised in the West Indian colonies, the Malay States, Ceylon, Malta and 'most of the larger central African colonies'. 'Memorandum on the Prevalence and Prophylaxis against leprosy in the British Empire', p. 9, 1925, Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series III 222.
- 42 Worboys, 'An Imperial Danger'.

- 43 'Correspondence and Papers on Leprosy Investigations' Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, PP/ROG C13/Series I 36.
- 44 'The War on Leprosy' by Major-General Sir Leonard Rogers, n.d. newscuttings, Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, PP/ROG C. 13 Series I/5.
- 45 Leonard Rogers, *The Foundation of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association and its first 21 years of Work*, pp. 1–2, Sir Leonard Rogers' Papers, PP/ROG C 13 Series III
- 46 Worboys, 'The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate', pp. 215–16.
- 47 Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, pp. 82, 89–92; Anderson, 'Leprosy and Citizenship', p. 708.
- 48 R. Tennyson Allan, 'Leprosy at Nauru, Central Pacific', Doctor of Medicine Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1939, p. 39. Copy in Burkitt-Ford Library, University of Sydney.
- 49 W.A. Newman, Administrator of the Mandated Territory of Nauru to Leonard Rogers 29 September 1930; Leonard Rogers to P.E. Deane, Prime Minister's Department, 29 April 1925, Sir Leonard Rogers' Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series V, 534.
- 50 Allan, 'Leprosy at Nauru', pp. v, 76.
- 51 W.A. Newman, Administrator of the Mandated Territory of Nauru to Leonard Rogers 29 September 1930, Sir Leonard Rogers' Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series V, 534.
- 52 Jeremy Bentham, *Works* (1843) cited in Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, Penguin, 1977, pp. 206–07.
- 53 'The Leper Home and Hospital, Dichpali', Administration Report 1932 in Sir Leonard Rogers' Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series VIII/731.
- 54 Dr G.A. Ryrie, *The Leper Settlement at Sungei Buloh in the Federated Malay States*, Malaya Publishing House, Singapore, 1933, p. 5.
- 55 Alan Petersen, 'Risk, governance and the new public health', in Alan Petersen and Robin Bunton (eds), *Foucault, Health and Medicine*, Routledge, 1997, p. 194.
- 56 Uday S. Mehta, 'Liberal Strategies of Exclusion', in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, University of California Press, 1997, p. 59.
- 57 Sir Leonard Rogers, 'Recent Progress in the Treatment of Leprosy and its Bearing on Prophylaxis', *Proceedings of the Pan-Pacific Science Congress*, 2 (1923): 1418.
- 58 L. Rogers, 'When Will Australia Adopt Modern Prophylactic Measures Against Leprosy?', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 18 (1930): 525–7. See also L. Rogers, 'Recent Progress in the Treatment of Leprosy and its Bearing on Prophylaxis', pp. 1410–18. Rogers' annoyance is evident in Leonard Rogers to the editor of the *Medical Journal of Australia*, 11 May 1930, Sir Leonard Rogers' Papers, PP/ROG C13 Series VIII/731
- 59 For the use of islands to segregate different kinds of problem populations, see Raymond Evans, 'The Hidden Colonists: Deviance and Social Control in Colonial Queensland', in Jill Roe (ed.), *Social Policy in Australia*, Cassell, 1976, pp. 74–100.
- 60 Peter Ludlow, *The Exiles of Peel Island*, Stones Corner, 1991; J. Macguire, 'The Fantome Island Leprosarium', in Roy MacLeod and Donald Denoon (eds), *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea*,

- James Cook University Press, 1991; see also Douglas Lush, John C. Hargrave and Angela Merianos, 'Leprosy Control in the Northern Territory', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 22 (1998): 709–13.
- 61 See Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, Australia and New Zealand Book Co., 1975, pp. 302–7.
- 62 Cecil Cook, *The Epidemiology of Leprosy in Australia: being the report of an investigation in Australia during the years 1923–1925*, Government Printer, Canberra, 1927, p. 9. Cecil Cook was born in 1897 and studied medicine as well as anthropology at the University of Sydney. In 1923 he received a research scholarship from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. His appointment as Chief Protector, Quarantine Officer and Chief Medical Officer was in 1927. For studies of Cook's work as Chief Protector, see Andrew Markus, *Governing Savages*, Allen & Unwin, 1990, ch. 6; Tony Austin, *Never Trust a Government Man: Northern Territory Aboriginal Policy 1911–1939*, Northern Territory University Press, 1997, chs 6–8.
- 63 E.H. Molesworth, *Medical Journal of Australia*, 12 March 1927, p. 388.
- 64 J. Ashburton Thompson, 'A Contribution to the History of Leprosy in Australia', in *Prize Essays on Leprosy*, The New Sydenham Society, London, 1897, p. 206.
- 65 *Ibid.*, pp. 108–9.
- 66 Police Report, Cooktown, 1 October 1903, Queensland State Archives (QSA) COL 266.
- 67 Sergeant of Police to the Commissioner of Police, 4 September 1900, QSA COL 265.
- 68 Nipper Tabagee personal communication to Ernest Hunter. *Aboriginal Health and History: Power and prejudice in remote Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 64.
- 69 J. Ashburton Thompson, 'Is Leprosy a Telluric Disease', *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 6 (1895): 786.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 786.
- 71 E.H. Molesworth to Mrs Brown, 9 November 1937, Queensland Home Secretary's Office (QHSEO), QSA, COL 323.
- 72 Dr J.H. Vivian Ross to Queensland Home Secretary, 2 June 1924, QHSEO, QSA, COL 324.
- 73 J.H.L. Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia* (Milton Lewis, ed.) Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989, p. 9. p. 217.
- 74 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 298.
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 'Leprosy in Australia', Newsclipping, 12 April 1934, QHSEO, QSA, COL 324.
- 77 Raphael Cilento, 'Brief Review of Leprosy in Australia and its Dependencies', Appendix 3, Report of the Seventh Session, Federal Health Council, 1934.
- 78 A.H. Humphry, 'Leprosy among Full-Blooded Aborigines of the Northern Territory', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 26 April 1952, p. 571.
- 79 'Leprosy and its Management', *Health*, 8 (1958): 21.
- 80 See for example Central Board of Health to Home Secretary, 20 December 1904, QSA COL 266.

- 81 J.S.C. Elkington to Under-Secretary, Home Secretary's Department, 17 January 1910, QHSO, QSA COL 322.
- 82 Alison Bashford, 'Female Bodies at Work: Gender and the Re-forming of Colonial Hospitals', *Australian Cultural History*, 13 (1994): 65–81.
- 83 Anon. to Home Secretary, 19 May 1908, QHSO, QSA COL 322.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Dunwich Inmates to Home Secretary, 4 October 1899. Correction in original.
- 86 J.S.C. Elkington to Under-Secretary, Home Secretary's Department, 17 January 1910, QHSO, QSA COL 322.
- 87 Inmates of Peel Island to Governor Sir Leslie Wilson, 27 September 1939, QHSO, QSA COL 323.
- 88 Hon. Secretary Peel Island Welfare Association to Queensland Premier, 29 February 1940, QHSO, QSA, COL 323. Cilento responded: 'The request that compulsory segregation be abandoned cannot possibly be accepted, particularly as leprosy is still uncontrolled in this State'. Cilento to the Under-Secretary, 13 October 1939, QHSO, QSA, COL 323.
- 89 A. Dodson to R. Bedford MLA, 17 November 1938, QHSO, QSA, COL 323.
- 90 The White Lepers of Peel Island to the Home Secretary, 2 January 1920, QHSO, QSA COL 323.
- 91 Alan Petersen and Deborah Lupton, *The New Public Health: health and self in the age of risk*, Allen & Unwin, 1996, pp. 61–88.
- 92 Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality*, Sage, 1999, pp. 135, 133.
- 93 Saunders, 'Isolation', pp. 168–81; see also Evans, 'The Hidden Colonists', pp. 74–100.
- 94 J. Chesterman and B. Galligan, *Citizens Without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 57.
- 95 For Cilento, this research demonstrated the infectiousness of leprosy and thus supported his commitment to compulsory isolation. See Minister for Health and Home Affairs to Mr Bedford MLA, 8 December 1938, QHSO, QSA, COL 323.
- 96 See C.E. Cook, Report on Tuberculosis – Alice Springs, 19 December 1934, NAA A431 1949/422.
- 97 C.E. Cook cited in 'Control of Tuberculosis Among Natives in the Northern Territory', 29 December 1953, NAA 1431 1949/422.
- 98 F.J.S. Wise, Incidence and Control of Tuberculosis Among Natives in the Northern Territory. Report to the Secretary, Department of Territories, 9 April 1954, NAA A431 1949/422.
- 99 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 63. See also Vaughan, 'Curing Their Ills', p. 81.
- 100 Raphael Cilento, *The White Man in the Tropics*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1925, p. 57.
- 101 *Tropical Australia: Report of the Discussion at the Australasian Medical Congress, 1920*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1921, p. 5.
- 102 C.E. Cook, 'Leprosy in Australia' Appendix F, in J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health from 1909–1930'. Typescript in Department of Health Library, Canberra, c.1930, n.p.

- 103 E.H. Molesworth, *Medical Journal of Australia*, 12 March 1927, p. 389.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Section 2, Native Administration Amendment Act, 1941 (WA).
- 106 Section 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d. Native Administration Amendment Act, 1941 (WA). See also Mary Anne Jebb, *Blood, Sweat and Welfare: A History of White Bosses and Aboriginal Pastoral Workers*, University of Western Australia Press, 2002, pp. 136–66; Hunter, *Aboriginal Health and History*, p. 39, p. 67.
- 107 Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, Duke University Press, 1996, p. 52.
- 108 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures', in A. McClintock, A. Mufti and E. Shoat (eds), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997, p. 360.
- 109 See 'Leprosy', *Australian Medical Journal*, 11 (1889): 383–6; Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills*, p. 82.
- 110 Deacon, 'A history of the medical institutions', ch. 6.
- 111 Royal College of Physicians, *Report on Leprosy*, pp. xliii–xliv.
- 112 The Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report and Minutes of Proceedings*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, pp. 17–25.
- 113 See Evans, Saunders and Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, pp. 302–7.
- 114 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 20.
- 115 Cook, 'Leprosy in Australia', in Cumpston, 'Report', n.p.
- 116 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 4.
- 117 Cook, 'Leprosy in Australia', in Cumpston, 'Report', n.p.
- 118 Cook, 'Report' Health Department of Western Australia, File 888/1923, cited in Hunter, *Aboriginal Health and History*, p. 61.
- 119 These changing policies and practices are examined in detail and from different perspectives by Peter Read, *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal People in NSW 1883 to 1969*, NSW Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 1981; Tony Austin, 'Cecil Cook, Scientific Thought and "Half-Castes" in the Northern Territory 1927–1939', *Aboriginal History*, 14 (1990): 104–22; Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880–1939*, Melbourne University Press, 1997; *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families*, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney, 1997; Fiona Paisley, *Loving Protection?: Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights, 1919–1939*, Melbourne University Press, 2000; Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, Melbourne University Press, 2002; pp. 216–43; Anna Haebich, *Broken Circles: Fragmenting Indigenous Families 1800–2000*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2000.
- 120 Patricia Jacobs, 'Science and Veiled Assumptions: Miscegenation in Western Australia, 1930–1937', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2 (1986): 15–23.
- 121 Cecil Cook in *Aboriginal Welfare: Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities*, Government Printer, 1937, pp. 13–17.
- 122 Ibid., p. 34.
- 123 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 20.

- 124 See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Imperial Contest*, Routledge, 1995, pp. 352–89.
- 125 Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, pp. 175–6.
- 126 Etienne Balibar, 'Fichte and the Internal Border', in *Masses, Classes, Ideas: studies on Politics and Philosophy Before and After Marx*, trans. James Swenson, Routledge, 1994, p. 63.
- 127 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia', in Cooper and Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire*, p. 199.
- 128 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 62.
- 129 See, for example, Cilento, *The White Man in the Tropics*, pp. 75–92; Phyllis Cilento and Raphael Cilento, 'The Mother and the Child in the Tropics of the Austra-Pacific Zone', no date, Cilento Papers, Fryer Library, Queensland, MSS 44/137.
- 130 Cilento, *The White Man in the Tropics*, pp. 75–92; A.T. Yarwood, 'Sir Raphael Cilento and the White Man in the Tropics', in Roy Macleod and Donald Denoon (eds), *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea*, James Cook University Press, 1991, pp. 47–63;
- 131 Raphael Cilento, Speech to the New Settlers League, 11 October 1935, Cilento Papers, Fryer Library University of Queensland MSS 44/93.
- 132 Cilento, *The White Man in the Tropics*, p. 4.
- 133 Cook, *Epidemiology of Leprosy*, p. 93.
- 134 See Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, passim.
- 135 Cook in *Aboriginal Welfare*, pp. 17–18.
- 136 Cook, 'Leprosy in Australia', in Cumpston, 'Report', n.p.
- 137 Although there were numerous statutes that prohibited marriage between white men and Aboriginal women. One practitioner working in Aboriginal health in the 1950s and 1960s called this 'Apartheid in Australia'. See Charles Duiguid, *Doctor and the Aborigines*, Rigby, 1972, pp. 181–93.
- 138 Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers', p. 199.
- 139 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Cleanliness', n.d. Unpublished typescript in Cumpston Papers, National Library, Canberra, MS613 Box 7 (i).

Chapter 5

- 1 Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, University of Hawaii Press, 1994, pp. 16–17.
- 2 Exceptions are Alexandra Minna Stern, 'Buildings, Boundaries and Blood: Medicalization and Nation-Building on the US-Mexico Border, 1910–1930', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 79 (1999): 41–81; Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, University of California Press, 2001; Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*. Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- 3 J.H.L. Cumpston and F.F. McCallum, *The History of Smallpox in Australia 1909–1923*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1925, p. 1.

- 4 Alan Petersen and Deborah Lupton, *The New Public Health: health and self in the age of risk*, Allen & Unwin, 1996, pp. 64–72.
- 5 W.F. Bynam, 'Policing Hearts of Darkness: Aspects of the International Sanitary Conferences', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 15 (1993): 427.
- 6 For international conferences, see N. Howard-Jones, *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences, 1851–1938*, World Health Organization, 1975; Paul Weindling, 'Introduction: constructing international health between the wars', in Weindling (ed.), *International Health Organisations and Movements, 1918–1939*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 1–16. See also Ronald E. Coons, 'Steamships and Quarantines at Trieste, 1837–1848', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 44 (1989): 28–55.
- 7 Mark Harrison details the significance of pilgrimage, trade and quarantine for British governance in India in *Public Health in British India*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 117–38.
- 8 Alan Mayne, '“The dreadful scourge”: responses to smallpox in Sydney and Melbourne, 1881–2', in Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, Routledge, 1988.
- 9 Australasian Sanitary Conference, Sydney, *Report and Minutes of Proceedings*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, pp. 12–13.
- 10 Thomas Borthwick, *Quarantine*, Vardon & Pritchard, Adelaide, 1901, p. 4.
- 11 Bynam, 'Policing Hearts of Darkness', p. 434.
- 12 Charles Mackellar, 'Federal Quarantine', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 17 (1883): 284.
- 13 Borthwick, *Quarantine*. See also 'The Passing of Quarantine', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 20 April 1904: 167
- 14 John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 1.
- 15 On pp. 102–03, Torpey, *ibid.*, discusses the eugenic and race-based health requirements of US entry in the early twentieth century,
- 16 K.I. O'Doherty, 'Federal Quarantine', *Proceedings of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 6 (1895): 836.
- 17 Helen Irving, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 1–5.
- 18 The Australasian Sanitary Conference, Sydney, 1884; The Australasian Quarantine Conference, Melbourne, 1896; The Australian and Tasmanian Intercolonial Plague Conference, Melbourne, 1900; The Commonwealth of Australia Quarantine Conferences 1904 and 1909.
- 19 Charles K. Mackellar, 'Federal Quarantine' quoted in J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health from 1909–1930'. Typescript in Department of Health Library, Canberra.
- 20 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, p. 53.
- 21 Although I focus here on national-level government, the implementation of health measures resides rather more typically with local administrative bodies. Weindling suggests this of Weimar and to some extent Nazi Germany, and Anne Hardy argues the same of England. See Paul Weindling, 'Public Health in Germany', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, p. 119. Anne Hardy, *The*

- Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventive Medicine, 1856–1900*, Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 4.
- 22 Michael Roe, 'The Establishment of the Australian Department of Health: Its Background and Significance', *Historical Studies*, 17 (1976): 176–92.
 - 23 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health' Appendix A: the Evolution of Quarantine (unpaginated).
 - 24 Cumpston, 'The Evolution of the Department of Health', in 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health'; Anthea Hyslop, 'A Question of Identity: J.H.L. Cumpston and Spanish Influenza, 1918–1919', *Australian Cultural History*, 16 (1997/98): 60–76.
 - 25 Cumpston, 'The Evolution of the Department of Health', Section 6, in 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health'. Milton Lewis has summarised the trajectory of this proposed expansion well. A new Commonwealth Department of Health might 'concern itself with investigation of causes of disease and death, methods of prevention, collection of data, and education of the public ...interest in national and international communication of disease ...a national system of antenatal clinics and maternity wards; the Commonwealth could subsidise State efforts to control disease, directly conduct preventive campaigns where a number of States was involved, and generally coordinate measures without infringing State sovereignty; a commitment to research could evolve out of the Commonwealth's existing facilities – the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine at Townsville and the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories in Melbourne'. Milton Lewis, 'Introduction', in J.H.L. Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989, p. 9.
 - 26 See inside cover of *Health*, 6 (1928).
 - 27 James Gillespie, 'The Rockefeller Foundation, the Hookworm Campaign and a National Health Policy in Australia, 1911–1930', in Roy Macleod and Donald Denoon (eds), *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea*, James Cook University Publications, 1991, pp. 64–87.
 - 28 Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought 1890–1960*, University of Queensland Press, 1984.
 - 29 Michael Roe, 'John Howard Lidgett Cumpston', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1891–1939, pp. 174–6.
 - 30 Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought 1890–1960*, University of Queensland Press, 1984; James A. Gillespie, *The Price of Health: Australian Governments and Medical Politics 1910–1960*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 32–3. Milton Lewis, another Australian historian of Cumpston and his Department, has defined this notion of national efficiency well, as 'the purposeful application of expert or scientific knowledge to the economic, social and political spheres of national life in order to advance the power and effectiveness of the nation in a world of competitive nation states and empires'. Milton Lewis 'Introduction' to J.H.L. Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia*, p. 4.
 - 31 Cited in G. Bennington, 'Postal politics and the institution of the nation', in H.K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, 1990, p. 121.
 - 32 See Heather Bell, *Frontiers of Medicine in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899–1940*, Clarendon Press, 1999, p. 91.

- 33 Stern, 'Buildings, Boundaries and Blood', pp. 41–81; Bell, *Frontiers of Medicine*, ch. 6.
- 34 Richard Muir cited in Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, p. 74.
- 35 Bynam, 'Policing Hearts of Darkness', p. 422.
- 36 Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, p. 32.
- 37 J.S.C. Elkington, 'Quarantine in Queensland', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 27 April 1912, p. 435.
- 38 Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia*, p. 194.
- 39 See, for example, Charles Mackellar, 'Federal Quarantine', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 17 (1883): 278–90.
- 40 O'Doherty, 'Federal Quarantine', p. 840. See also Elkington, 'Quarantine in Queensland', p. 435.
- 41 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, p. 40.
- 42 'Report on Quarantine', NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1883: 5.
- 43 David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise and Asia 1850–1939*, University of Queensland Press, 1999. Andrew Markus, *Fear and Hatred, Purifying Australia and California*, Hale and Iremonger, 1979.
- 44 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'The protection of our frontiers from invasion by disease', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 20 July 1909: 347.
- 45 J. Ashburton Thompson, 'Quarantine and Small-pox', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 21 (1887): 232.
- 46 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, p. 10.
- 47 W. Cleaver Woods, 'The Unsatisfactory Position of Vaccination in the Commonwealth', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 20 May 1905, p. 208.
- 48 See, for example, Director of Public Health, Dallas, Texas to the Director of Health, 25 February 1920; Director, Antitoxin and Vaccine Laboratory, Boston MA to Minister of Health, 22 April 1925; Director-General of Health to Surgeon H.S. Cumming, US Public Health Service, 29 May 1925; Miss Mary Lee Thurman to Department of Health, 6 May 1925. National Archives of Australia (NAA) A1928 565/3.
- 49 Cumpston, 'The protection of our frontiers'. See also T. Borthwick, 'The Vaccination Act and its proposed amendment', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 20 November 1900: 453.
- 50 Manderson argues this of the League of Nations Health Committee and its Eastern Bureau. See Lenore Manderson, 'Wireless wars in the eastern arena: epidemiological surveillance, disease prevention and the work of the Eastern Bureau of the League of Nations Health Organisation, 1925–1942', in Weindling (ed.), *International Health Organisations*, p. 116–17.
- 51 Cumpston, 'The protection of our frontiers', p. 437.
- 52 Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, chs 2, 3, 4, and 6; Erin O'Connor, *Raw Material: Producing Pathology in Victorian Culture*, Duke University Press, 2000, pp. 21–59.
- 53 F. Dunn, and C.R. Janes, 'Introduction', in C.R. Janes and R. Stall (eds), *Anthropology and Epidemiology*, Dordrecht: Reidel, 1986, pp. 11–12. Mervyn Susser, *Causal Thinking in the Health Sciences: Concepts and Strategies of Epidemiology*, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 146. See also Erni's work on temporality and AIDS: 'AIDS now exists largely in time: in the definitions of the life-cycle and incubation period of the virus; in the categorization of the stages of illness for the patients; in the rate of the body's decay; in the prin-

- ciple of the phases of drug development; in the “period of efficacy” of a treatment method or a drug; in the “speed” of the drug review process ...Quite literally, time becomes a field of management, something to administer’. John Nguyet Erni, *Unstable Frontiers: Technomedicine and the Cultural Politics of ‘Curing’ AIDS*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994, p. 70.
- 54 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, 1884
- 55 J.H.L. Cumpston, *Quarantine: Australian Maritime Quarantine and the Evolution of International Agreements Concerning Quarantine*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1913, p.3.
- 56 Elkington, ‘Quarantine in Queensland’, p. 435.
- 57 Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880–1918*, Harvard University Press, 1983.
- 58 F.F. McCallum, ‘The Time Factor in Quarantine Practice’, *Health*, 5 (1927): 45–6.
- 59 McCallum, *International Hygiene*, p. 30. See also J.H.L. Cumpston, ‘Aeroplane Traffic and the Protection of Australia from Disease’, *Medical Journal of Australia*, 2 September 1933, p. 326.
- 60 ‘The Trans-Pacific Flight’, *Health*, 4 (1928): 97. See also McCallum, ‘The Time Factor’, pp. 45–51.
- 61 ‘Health Director Opposes Vaccination’, *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 20 January 1939.
- 62 Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, p. 242.
- 63 Gillian Beer, ‘The Island and the Aeroplane: the case of Virginia Woolf’, in Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, p. 265. For similar changes in the significance of international borders with the advent of air travel, see Bell, *Frontiers of Medicine*, ch. 6.
- 64 Martin David Dubin, ‘The League of Nations Health Organisation’, in Weindling (ed.), *International Health Organisations and Movements*, pp. 56–80.
- 65 For example, Rockefeller funds contributed to the Far Eastern Epidemiological Bureau, see Lenore Manderson, ‘Wireless wars in the Eastern Arena’, in Weindling (ed.) *International Health Organizations*, p. 113.
- 66 Cumpston, ‘International Relations’, in ‘Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health’.
- 67 For a fuller description, see Manderson, ‘Wireless wars’, pp. 120–21.
- 68 Cumpston, ‘International Relations’.
- 69 Manderson, ‘Wireless wars’, pp. 120–21.
- 70 Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, pp. 1–2.
- 71 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report*, p. 15.

Chapter 6

- 1 David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia 1850–1939*, University of Queensland Press, 1999, ch. 8.
- 2 Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality*, Sage, 1999, pp. 99–100.
- 3 See, for example, Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides*, University of California Press, 2002; Renisa Mawani, ‘Legal geographies of Aboriginal segregation in British Columbia’ in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds),

- Isolation: places and practices of exclusion*, Routledge, 2003 pp. 173–90.; Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, Oxford University Press, 1994; Sheila Faith Weiss, 'The Race Hygiene Movement in Germany, 1904–1945', in Mark B. Adams (ed.), *The Wellborn Science: Eugenics in Germany, France, Brazil, and Russia*, Oxford University Press, 1990; Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis*, Harvard University Press, 1988; Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- 4 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge, 1995, pp. 207–31; Richard Dyer, *White*, Routledge, 1998.
 - 5 A. Wallace Weihen, 'The Medical Inspection of Immigrants to Australia', *Transactions of the Australasian Medical Congress*, 1 (1911): 635.
 - 6 Dean, *Governmentality*, pp. 138–46; Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, Duke University Press, 1995, pp. 49–54.
 - 7 J.W. Fortescue, 'The Influence of Climate on Race', *The Nineteenth Century*, 33 (1893): 862.
 - 8 'Is White Australia Possible?', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July 1913.
 - 9 G.T. Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900–1914*, Noordhoff International Publishing, 1976; Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945*, McClelland & Stewart, 1990; Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*, Harvard University Press, 1995; Richard Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth Century Britain*, University of North Carolina Press, 1995; Dan Stone, *Breeding Superman: Nietzsche, Race and Eugenics in Edwardian and Interwar Britain*, Liverpool University Press, 2002.
 - 10 David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*, Blackwell, 1993. In the Australian context this has been discussed by David Dutton, *One of Us? A Century of Australian Citizenship?*, University of New South Wales Press, 2002, pp. 20–31; Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
 - 11 Stone, *Breeding Superman*, ch. 4.
 - 12 Stephen Garton, 'Writing Eugenics: A History of Classifying Practices', in Martin Crotty, John Germov and Grant Rodwell (eds), *'A Race for a Place': Eugenics, Darwinism and Social Thought and Practice in Australia*, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Newcastle, 2000, pp. 11–12. This idea is detailed in Russell McGregor, "'Breed Out the Colour" or the Importance of Being White', *Australian Historical Studies*, 120 (2002): 297–301. The important developing literature on comparing genocide in Germany and Australia may be unwittingly contributing to this oversimplified conflation of eugenics with politics of racial difference, although this is not a point McGregor or Garton make. See Tony Barta, 'Discourses of genocide in Germany and Australia: a linked history', *Aboriginal History*, 25 (2001): 37–56; A. Dirk Moses, 'Coming to terms with genocidal pasts in comparative perspective: Germany and Australia', *Aboriginal History*, 25 (2001): 91–115; Paul Bartrop, 'The Composition of the Future Population:

- Aboriginal Assimilation and the Jewish Immigration Restriction of the 1930s', in Crotty *et al.* (eds), *A Race for a Place*, pp. 123–32.
- 13 'The regulatory mechanisms of the colonial state were directed not only at the colonized, but as forcefully at "internal enemies" within the heterogeneous population that comprised the category of Europeans themselves'. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, p. 96.
- 14 Stone, *Breeding Superman*, p. 101. See also Wolfgang Mock, 'The Function of "Race" in Imperialist Ideologies: The Example of Joseph Chamberlain', in Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls (eds), *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914*, Macmillan, 1981, pp. 190–203.
- 15 John Torpey in *The Invention of the Passport: surveillance, citizenship and the state*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- 16 Paul Weindling (ed.), *International Health Organisations and Movements, 1918–1939*, Cambridge University Press, 1995; James A. Gillespie, 'The Rockefeller Foundation and Colonial Medicine in the Pacific, 1911–1920', in Linda Bryder and Derek Dow (eds), *New Countries, Old Medicine*, Pyramid Press, 1994, pp. 380–86.
- 17 C.W. Hutt, *International Hygiene*, Methuen, London, 1927.
- 18 One of the best summaries of the eclectic social and political problems gathered under International Hygiene is F. McCallum, *International Hygiene*, Australasian Medical Publishing Co., Sydney, 1935.
- 19 Hutt, *International Hygiene*, p. 115.
- 20 Helen Irving, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 109–10; Renisa Mawani, ' "The Island of the Unclean": Race, Colonialism and "Chinese Leprosy" in British Columbia, 1891–1924', *Journal of Law, Social Justice and Global Development*, (2003) <http://elj.warwick.ac.uk/global/>
- 21 Hutt, *International Hygiene*.
- 22 R.A. Huttenback, *Racism and Empire: white settlers and colored immigrants in the self-governing colonies, 1830–1910*, Cornell University Press, 1976; Stainslaw Andracki, *Immigration of Orientals into Canada, with Special reference to the Chinese*, Arno Press, 1978; A.T. Yarwood and M.J. Knowling, *Race Relations in Australia: A History*, Methuen Australia, 1982, p. 177. See also W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia*, McGill-Queens University Press, 1990.
- 23 Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport*, p. 97; Hutt, *International Hygiene*, p. 116; Gregory, *Human Migration and the Future*, p. 70.
- 24 He thought this an entirely misplaced opinion. See John Pope Hennessy, 'The Chinese in Australia', *The Nineteenth Century*, 23 (1888): 618.
- 25 Persia Crawford Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*, P.S. King, London, 1923.
- 26 A.T. Yarwood, 'The Overseas Indians: A Problem in Indian and Imperial Politics at the end of World War One', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 15 (1968): 204–18; R.A. Huttenback, 'No Strangers Within the Gates: Attitudes and Policies towards the non-white residents of the British Empire of Settlement', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1 (1972–3): 271–302.

- 27 For full detail of this see S. Brawley, *The White Peril: Foreign Relations and Asian Immigration to Australasia and North America 1901–1978*, University of New South Wales Press, 1995.
- 28 H.L. Wilkinson, *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, P.S. King, London, 1930, pp. 215–17.
- 29 J.W. Gregory, *Human Migration and the Future: A study of the causes, effects and control of emigration*, Seeley, Service & Co., London, 1928, pp. 49, 70.
- 30 Cited in Wilkinson, *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, p. 167; Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867–1939*, University of Toronto Press, 1997, pp. 76, 120; see also McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, ch. 3.
- 31 Wilkinson, *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, p. 169.
- 32 Section 3 a) *Immigration Restriction Act, 1901*.(cth)
- 33 Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, p. 15, p. 27. Huttenback, *Racism and Empire*, ch. 3.
- 34 Wilkinson, *The World's Population Policy and a White Australia*, p. 169.
- 35 See, for example, Sir Macfarlane Burnet's essays 'Biology and Medicine', *Eugenics Review*, 49 (1957): 127–35; and 'Migration and Race Mixture from the Genetic Angle', *Eugenics Review*, 51 (1959): 93–7. See also George A. Gellert, 'International Migration and Control of Communicable Diseases', *Social Science and Medicine*, 37 (1993): 1489–99; and Jay K. Varma, 'Eugenics and Immigration Restriction: lessons for tomorrow', *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 275 (1996): 734.
- 36 W.E. Agar, 'Some Eugenic Aspects of Australian Population Problem', in P.D. Phillips and G.L. Wood (eds), *The People of Australia*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928, p. 130.
- 37 'Memorandum on Alien Immigration', Eugenics Society Papers, Wellcome Library, SA/EUG/D103, n.d.
- 38 Kenneth M. Ludmerer, 'Genetics, Eugenics and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972): 59–81; Hutt, *International Hygiene*, pp. 115–21; McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, ch. 3; see also Mathew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain, c. 1870–1959*, Clarendon Press, 1998. On mental hygiene in Australia, see Stephen Garton, 'Sound Minds and Healthy Bodies: Re-considering eugenics in Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26 (1994): 163–81; Ross L. Jones, 'The Master Potter and the Rejected Pots: Eugenic Legislation in Victoria 1918–1939', *Australian Historical Studies*, 113 (1999): 319–42. See also Bernard Harris, 'Anti-Alienism, Health and Social Reform in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 31 (1997): 3–34.
- 39 For background on the Society, see Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration*, pp. 31–37.
- 40 'Memorandum on Alien Immigration' SA/EUG/D103. For further discussion of eugenics and immigration into Britain, see Stone, *Breeding Superman*, pp. 94–114.
- 41 This set of letters are in the Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/D103 and 105. Most are undated except for one with the year 1926 and a letter from Mr Bruce's private Secretary to Leonard Darwin acknowledging receipt of materials from the Eugenics Education Society, 27 November 1926.

- 42 Yarwood and Knowling, *Race Relations in Australia*, pp. 183–5.
- 43 This was carried on the nationalist journal *The Bulletin* well into the twentieth century.
- 44 Sir Henry Parkes, 16 May 1888, quoted in A.T. Yarwood (ed.), *Attitudes to Non-European Immigration*, Cassell, 1968, p. 94.
- 45 Commonwealth *Parliamentary Debates*, 6 September 1901, vol. 4, p. 4633.
- 46 Commonwealth *Parliamentary Debates*, 12 September 1901, vol. 4, p. 4845.
- 47 Huttenback examines some contestations in *Racism and Empire*, ch. 2.
- 48 This is a large literature but for overview works, see A.T. Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia; the Background to Exclusion, 1896–1923*, Melbourne University Press, 1964; Yarwood and Knowling, *Race Relations in Australia*; Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus (eds), *Who are our Enemies? Racism and the Working Class in Australia*, Hale & Iremonger, 1978; Andrew Markus, *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California 1850–1901*, Hale & Iremonger, 1979; and Andrew Markus, *Australian Race Relations*, Allen & Unwin, 1994; R. Evans *et al.*, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination*, Australia and NZ Book Co., 1975; A.-M. Jordens, *Redefining Australians: immigration, citizenship and national identity*, Hale & Iremonger, 1995; Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, ch. 6.
- 49 F.M. Cutlack, ‘The White Australia Question’, *The Empire Review*, 17 (1909): 286.
- 50 Catriona Elder, ‘Dreams and Nightmares of a White Australia’, PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1999; Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*, Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- 51 McCallum, health bureaucrat and author of *International Hygiene*, wrote, for example, that ‘the national alloy is very precious metal. Nothing in Australian health history leads one to oppose the ideal and policy of a White Australia. Unlike those of other countries, the aborigines have played no part in the epidemiological history of the white community in Australia. The tragedy of their decline is another story.’ F. McCallum. ‘Bionomics of Australian History’, *Health*, 4 (1926): 50.
- 52 Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Red Tape, Gold Scissors: The Story of Sydney’s Chinese*, State Library of New South Wales Press, 1996, esp. ch. 1.
- 53 Peter Corris, ‘“White Australia” in Action: the repatriation of Pacific Islanders from Queensland’, *Historical Studies*, 15 (1972): 237–50.
- 53 Section 3d. Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 (Cth).
- 54 Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, p. 100.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 56 See Huttenback, *Racism and Empire*, pp. 85–6; Greg Watters, ‘The S.S. Ocean: Dealing with Boat people in the 1880s’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 120 (2002): 331–43.
- 57 Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, p. 5.
- 58 Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration*, p. 57.
- 59 Cited in Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, p. 115.
- 60 Although alongside the Immigration Restriction Act, the nation/race specific Pacific Island Labourers Act instituted the gradual deportation of indentured Islander labourers over several years, recognising the particular needs of the Queensland industry and its reliance on the

- labour of Pacific Islanders. See Corris, ' "White Australia" in Action', 237–50.
- 61 Section 3d. Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 (Cth).
- 62 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Cleanliness'. Unpublished typescript, Cumpston Papers, National Library Canberra, MS 613 Box 7 (1).
- 63 See NSW Premier, Quarantine Service Minute Paper, 25 February 1913, Department of Health Quarantine Papers, 1907–1914, Department of Health and Community Services Library, Canberra.
- 64 In the 1925 Regulations for the Immigration Act, for example, the Health Reports required by the medical officer or master of a ship were rewritten to correlate with the requirements of the Quarantine Act. See Immigration Regulations 1926, no. 185, p. 868.
- 65 Cumpston to the Secretary, Department of Home and Territories, 26 January 1921, NAA A1/15 1921/12036.
- 66 See letters and telegrams from 1921 detailing these procedures collected in 'Alteration of System of issuing Medical Certificates under Immigration Act at Darwin, Thursday Island', NAA A1/15 1921/12036.
- 67 War on Foreign Germs (1 Feb. 1933), Album of Newsclippings, 1913–45, Cumpston Papers, MS 613 Box 8 (iv).
- 68 While the Commonwealth permitted the entry of Europeans as well as British, the vast majority of migrants in the first half of the twentieth century were British. See Michael Roe, *Australia, Britain and Migration, 1915–1940*, Cambridge University Press, 1995. For detailed analysis of the debate over European immigration in the period, see Dutton, *One of Us?*, pp. 44–60.
- 69 Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report and Minutes of Proceedings*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884, p. 53.
- 70 Immigration Regulations, 1913, no. 307, p. 1058.
- 71 Section 3, Immigration Act, 1912.
- 72 Section 4, 3A, Immigration Act, 1912.
- 73 Weißen, 'The Medical Inspection of Immigrants to Australia', pp. 637–9. See also 'Prohibited Immigrants – by One of Them', undated typescript in Cumpston Papers, MS 613 Box 7, p. 1.
- 74 Quarantine Regulations, 1915, section 56, p. 515.
- 75 Quarantine Regulations, 1917.
- 76 Anthea Hyslop, 'Insidious Immigrant: Spanish Influenza and Border Quarantine in Australia, 1919', in S. Barry and B. Reid (eds), *Migration to Mining*, Northern Territory University Press, 1997; Anthea Hyslop, 'Old Ways, New Means: Fighting Spanish Influenza in Australia, 1918–1919', in Linda Bryder and Derek A. Dow (eds), *New Countries, Old Medicine*, Pyramid Press, 1995, pp. 46–53.
- 77 For a history of the Association, see Stefania Siedlecky and Diana Wyndham, *Populate and perish: Australian women's fight for birth control*, Allen & Unwin, 1990.
- 78 Marie Carmichael Stopes, *Wise Parenthood*, G.P. Putnam, London, 1918.
- 79 This is evident in any of the Annual Reports of the Racial Hygiene Association. See also the newspaper clippings in the Association's papers, Newspaper cuttings 1927–35, Family Planning Association Records, ML MSS 3838, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

- 80 In this period, 'Native' often referred to British-whites who were native born, that is born in Australia. For the idea of the Australian Native and the Australian Natives Association, see Irving, *To Constitute a Nation*, ch. 7.
- 81 'A Report on Immigration (as affecting Racial Values and Public Health in NSW)' in Report on Immigration with regard to Racial Health, 1928, NAA A458 2154/1.
- 82 Advisory Committee of the Racial Hygiene Association of NSW to Stanley Bruce, 13 January 1928, in Report on Immigration (as affecting Racial Values).
- 83 'A Report on Immigration (as affecting Racial Values)', pp. 16–17.
- 84 David Walker discusses this at length in *Anxious Nation*, pp. 113–26.
- 85 Charles Edward Woodruff, *Expansion of Races*, Rebman, London, 1909.
- 86 Walker, *Anxious Nation*, p. 126.
- 87 'A Report on Immigration (as affecting Racial Values)', p. 7.
- 88 The negotiations between British governments and Australian governments over the Empire Settlement Program, the Big Brother Movement and more are examined by Michael Roe in *Australia, Britain and Migration*. See also Geoffrey Sherington, ' "A Better Class of Boy?" The Big Brother Movement, Youth Migration and Citizenship of Empire', *Australian Historical Studies*, 120 (2002): 267–85.
- 89 Fleetwood Chidell, *Australia – White or Yellow?*, Heinemann, London, 1926, ch. 2.
- 90 Gregory, *Human Migration and the Future*, p. 149.
- 91 John Farley, *Bilharzia: A History of Imperial Tropical Medicine*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 3. Douglas M. Haynes, *Imperial Medicine: Patrick Manson and the Conquest of Tropical Disease*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001; Michael Worboys, 'Manson, Ross and Colonial Medical Policy: Tropical Medicine in London and Liverpool, 1899–1914', in Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, Routledge, 1988, pp. 26–7.
- 92 See, for example, Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Conee Ornelas, 'Race, War and Tropical Medicine in the Eighteenth-Century Caribbean', in David Arnold (ed.), *Warm Climates and Western Medicine*, Rodopi, pp. 65–79; Trevor Burnard, ' "The Countrie Continues Sicklie": White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655–1780', *Social History of Medicine*, 12 (1999): 45–72; Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600–1850*, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- 93 Warwick Anderson, 'Climates of Opinion: Acclimatization in Nineteenth-Century France and England', *Victorian Studies*, 35 (1992): 1–24; David N. Livingstone (ed.), *The geographical tradition: episodes in the history of a contested enterprise*, Blackwell, 1993; Lenore Manderson, *Sickness and the State: Health and Illness in Colonial Malaya*, Cambridge University Press, 1996; David Arnold, 'Introduction; Tropical Medicine before Manson', in Arnold (ed.), *Warm Climates and Western Medicine*, pp. 5–9; David N. Livingstone, 'Tropical climate and moral hygiene: the anatomy of a Victorian debate', *British Journal of the History of Science*, 32 (1999): 93–110.

- 94 Alison Bashford, '“Is White Australia Possible?” race, colonialism and tropical medicine', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (2000): 248–71.
- 95 This has been discussed extensively in Australian historiography. See Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought*, University of Queensland Press, 1984; Helen R. Woolcock, '“Our Salubrious Climate”: attitudes to health in colonial Queensland', in Macleod and Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, pp. 176–93; Lorraine Harloe, 'Anton Breinl and the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine', in Roy Macleod and Donald Denoon (eds), *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia and Papua New Guinea*, 1991; A.T. Yarwood, 'Sir Raphael Cilento and The *White Man in the Tropics*', in *Ibid*; James A. Gillespie, *The Price of Health: Australian Governments and Medical Politics 1910–1960*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 41–3; David Walker, 'Climate, Civilization and Character in Australia, 1880–1940', *Australian Cultural History*, 16 (1997/98): 77–95; Walker, *Anxious Nation*, chs 11 and 12; Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, chs 3–6.
- 96 See also Yarwood, 'Sir Raphael Cilento and *The White Man in the Tropics*', p. 51 ff.; and Harloe, 'Anton Breinl and the Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine', p. 34.
- 97 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health, 1930, section 3.
- 98 J.H.L. Cumpston, *The Health of the People: a study in federalism*, Roebuck, Canberra, 1978, p. 49.
- 99 Anton Brienl, 'The Object and Scope of Tropical Medicine in Australia', *Australasian Medical Congress Transactions*, 1911, pp. 524–5. Warwick Anderson details the establishment and work of the Institute in *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, ch.4.
- 100 *Tropical Australia: Report of the Discussion at the Australasian Medical Congress, 1920*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1921.
- 101 Walker, 'Climate, Civilization and Character in Australia', pp. 86–90; Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, pp. 165–72.
- 102 A. Breinl and W.J. Young, 'Tropical Australia and its Settlement', in Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, *Collected Papers*, 3 (1922): 1–24.
- 103 J.W. Barrett, 'Can Tropical Australia be Peopled by a White Race?', *The Margin*, 1 (1925): 29.
- 104 See *Tropical Australia*, p. 13.
- 105 These studies are detailed in *Tropical Australia*. See also The Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, *Collected Papers*, no. 2, Townsville, 1917.
- 106 See, for example, W.J. Young, A. Breinl, J.J. Harris and W.Z. Osborne, 'Effect of Exercise and Humid Heat upon Pulse Rate, Blood Pressure, Body Temperature, and Blood Concentration', Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, *Collected Papers*, 3 (1922): 111–25.
- 107 See, for example, W.J. Young, 'The Metabolism of White Races Living in the Tropics' *Annals of Tropical Medicine and Parasitology*, 9 (1915): 91–108; W.J. Young, 'Observations upon the Body Temperature of Europeans Living in the Tropics', *Journal of Physiology*, 49 (1915): 222–32.
- 108 The contents list runs thus: Blood Sugar, Non-Protein Nitrogen of the Blood, Phosphorus of the Blood, Lipoid Constituents of the Blood, Water

- Regulation, Acid-Base Equilibrium, Basal Metabolism, Dietary Experiments, Urinary Analysis, Growth of Children, Growth of Hair and Nails, Experiments on Growth of Rats, Measurements of Cooling Power, Red and White Blood Corpuscles, Reaction Time to Stimuli. E.S. Sundstroem, *Contributions to Tropical Physiology: with special reference to the adaption of the white man to the climate of North Queensland*, University of California Publications in Physiology, vol. 6, 1926.
- 109 A. Grenfell, 'The White Man in the Tropics', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 26 January 1935: 106.
- 110 Walker, *Anxious Nation*, ch. 12; Anderson discusses the geographers' debates in detail in *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, pp. 164–74.
- 111 Fleetwood Chidell, *Australia White or Yellow*, cited in Wilkinson, *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, p. 201. See also Walker, *Anxious Nation*, p. 125.
- 112 Cutlack, 'The White Australia Question', p. 293.

Chapter 7

- 1 For studies which deftly link sexology, feminism, health and eugenics, see Roy Porter and Lesley Hall, *The facts of life: the creation of sexual knowledge in Britain, 1650–1950*, Yale University Press, 1995; Lesley Hall, 'Feminist Reconfigurations of heterosexuality in the 1920s', in Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (eds), *Sexology in culture: labelling bodies and desires*, University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 135–49; Carolyn Burdett, 'The Hidden Romance of Sexual Science; Eugenics, the Nation and the Making of Modern Feminism', *ibid.*, pp. 45–59.
- 2 Links between public health and eugenics have been explored in the British context in Dorothy Porter, '“Enemies of the Race”: Biologism, Environmentalism and Public Health in Edwardian England', *Victorian Studies*, 34 (1991): 159–78. See also Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State: a history of public health from ancient to modern times*, Routledge, 1999; Peter Weingart, 'The Thin Line Between Eugenics and Preventive Medicine', in Nobert Finzsch and Dietmar Schirmer (eds), *Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, Race, and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 397–412.
- 3 For summaries and extensions of the historiography of eugenics in Australia, see Stephen Garton, 'Sound Minds and Healthy Bodies: Re-considering Eugenics in Australia, 1914–1940', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26 (1994): 163–81; Ross L. Jones, 'The Master Potter and the Rejected Pots: Eugenic Legislation in Victoria 1918–1939', *Historical Studies*, 113 (1999): 319–42; Martin Crotty, John Germov and Grant Rodwell (eds), *A Race for a Place: Eugenics, Darwinism and Social Thought and Practice in Australia*, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Newcastle, 2000.
- 4 Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, Duke University Press, 1996, pp. 48, 69.
- 5 D. Peukert, 'The genesis of the “Final Solution” from the spirit of science', in T. Childers and J. Caplan (eds), *Re-evaluating the Third Reich*, Holmes & Meier, 1993, pp. 234–52; Atina Grossman, *Reforming Sex: The German*

- Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950*, Oxford University Press, 1995; Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945*, Cambridge University Press, 1993; Robert Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis*, Harvard University Press, 1988.
- 6 Michel Foucault, 'The politics of health in the eighteenth century', in P. Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*, Penguin, 1984, p. 277.
 - 7 For a summary of social theorists' interest in the period and the problem, see Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality*, Sage, 1999, ch. 7.
 - 8 Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 1996, p. 20.
 - 9 Alan Petersen and Deborah Lupton, *The New Public Health: health and self in the age of risk*, Allen & Unwin, 1996.
 - 10 Garton argues that the significance of eugenics lies largely in its dispersal of the classificatory impulse. See Stephen Garton, 'Writing Eugenics: a history of classifying practices', in Crotty *et al.* (eds), '*A Race for a Place*', pp. 9–18.
 - 11 Stephen Garton, 'Policing the Dangerous Lunatic: Lunacy Incarceration in New South Wales, 1843–1914', in Mark Finnane (ed.), *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives*, University of New South Wales Press, 1987, pp. 74–87.
 - 12 Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: policing venereal disease in the British Empire*, Routledge, 2003.
 - 13 For India, see Douglas Peers, 'Soldiers, Surgeons and the Campaigns to Combat Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Colonial India, 1805–1860', *Medical History*, 42 (1998): 137–60; for Australia, see Milton Lewis, *Thorns on the Rose: The History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Australia in International Perspective*, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1998, p. 94; Kay Saunders and Helen Taylor, '“To Combat the Plague”: The Construction of Moral Alarm and State Intervention in Queensland During World War II', *Hecate*, 14 (1988): 5–30.
 - 14 This is detailed in Saunders and Taylor, "“To Combat the Plague”", pp. 5–30. See also Mary Murnane and Kay Daniels, 'Prostitutes as “Purveyors of Disease”: Venereal Disease Legislation in Tasmania, 1868–1945', *Hecate*, 5 (1979): 5–21.
 - 15 See also the instances in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: places and practices of exclusion*, Routledge, 2003.
 - 16 Dr Arthur Adams cited in Mary Ann Jebb, 'The Lock Hospitals Experiment: Europeans, Aborigines and Venereal Disease', *European-Aboriginal Relations in Western Australian History*, 8 (1984): 74.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–87; See also Lewis, *Thorns on the Rose*, pp. 374–79.
 - 18 Claudia Thame, 'Health and the State in Australia', PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1974, p. 118.
 - 19 Section 3.1 Prisoners' Detention Act, 1908 (NSW).
 - 20 Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Prevalence of Venereal Diseases, New South Wales Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1915 (Hereafter Select Committee on Venereal Diseases).
 - 21 For detail on venereal disease in New South Wales in the period, see Greg Ussher, 'The 'medical gaze' and the 'watchful eye': the prevention, treatment and epidemiology of venereal diseases in NSW 1900–1925', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, forthcoming. My thanks to Greg Ussher for discussion on these points.

- 22 Evidence about the Liverpool Camp in Sydney was sought by the Select Committee on Venereal Diseases, 1915.
- 23 See Judith Smart, 'Sex, the State and the "Scarlet Scourge": gender, citizenship and venereal disease regulation in Australia during the Great War', *Women's History Review*, 7 (1998): 5–36; Milton Lewis also details Australian responses to venereal disease management in wartime. See *Thorns on the Rose*, pp. 153–70, 246–61.
- 24 Bernadette McSherry, '“Dangerousness” and public health', *Alternative Law Journal*, 57 (1998): 276–80; Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, 'Asylum Seekers and National Histories of Detention', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 48 (2002): 509–27.
- 25 'A Threat of Compulsion!', *Health and Empire*, 12 (1937): 1.
- 26 'Social Hygiene and General Physical Fitness', *Health and Empire*, 13 (1938): 200.
- 27 'A Threat of Compulsion!', p. 2.
- 28 'The Imperial Aspects of Social Hygiene', *Health and Empire*, 1 (1926): 1.
- 29 *Health and Empire*, 2 (1927): iv.
- 30 'A Threat of Compulsion!', p. 2.
- 31 Racial Hygiene Association, Minute Books, 27 April 1926, Family Planning Association Records, Mitchell Library, Sydney (ML) MSS 3838.
- 32 For example, the Australasian White Cross League, the Workers' Educational Association, the Australian Association for Fighting Venereal Disease, the University of Sydney Society for Combatting Venereal Diseases. See Thame, *Health and Disease in Australia*, p. 135; Lewis, *Thorns on the Rose*, pp. 174–80, 187–94.
- 33 Paul Weindling, 'Public Health in Germany', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, p. 122.
- 34 See Alisa Klaus, 'Depopulation and Race Suicide: Maternalism and Pronatalist Ideologies in France and the United States', in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (eds), *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Routledge, 1993, pp. 188–212; Richard Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration*, University of North Carolina Press, 1995; William H. Schneider, *Quality and Quantity: The Quest for Biological Regeneration in Twentieth Century France*, Cambridge University Press, 1990; Rosemary Pringle, 'Octavius Beale and the Ideology of the Birth-Rate', *Refractory Girl*, 3 (1973): 19–27.
- 35 James Marchant, *Birth-Rate and Empire*, Williams and Norgate, London, 1917; Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire*, University of California Press, 1997.
- 36 Lynette Finch, *The Classing Gaze: Sexuality, Class and Surveillance*, Allen & Unwin, 1993, ch. 6; Alison Mackinnon, *Love and Freedom? Professional Women and the Reshaping of Personal Life*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, chs 2, 3.
- 37 See Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The history of Australian feminism*, Allen & Unwin, 1999, chs 2, 3; Patricia Grimshaw, Marilyn Lake, Ann McGrath and Marian Quartly, *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble, 1994, chs 8, 9.
- 38 Kerreen M. Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home: Modernizing the Australian family*, Oxford University Press, 1985; Alison Bashford, 'Separatist Health: Meanings of Women's Hospitals in England and Australia, c. 1870–1930', in Lilian R. Furst (ed.), *Climbing a Long Hill: Women Healers and Physicians*, University Press of Kentucky, 1997,

- pp. 198–220; Philippa Mein Smith, *Mothers and King Baby: Infant Survival and Welfare in an Imperial World: Australia 1880–1950*, Macmillan, 1997; Philippa Mein Smith, 'Maternity and Eugenics', in Crotty *et al.* (eds), 'A Race for a Place', pp. 141–56.
- 39 For comparative studies, see Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (eds), *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s–1950s*, Routledge, 1991.
- 40 Editorial, *Health and Empire*, 12 (1937): 265.
- 41 Minutes of the Propaganda Committee 28 November 1928, British Social Hygiene Council Records, Wellcome Library, SA/BSH C.3.
- 42 Aims and Objectives in *Health and Empire*, 7 (1932).
- 43 'Health Propaganda' n.d., Eugenics Society Papers, Wellcome Library, SA/EUG/G 29.
- 44 Mrs A.B. Piddington, 'Making Australia Healthy for Unborn Generations', *Smiths Weekly*, 23 January 1932, newsclipping in Family Planning Association Records, ML MSS 3838.
- 45 For other enterprises which preferred advice and education in Australia see Ann Curthoys, 'Eugenics, Feminism and Birth Control: The Case of Maion Piddington', *Hecate*, 15 (1989): 73–89.
- 46 Piddington, 'Making Australia Healthy'.
- 47 Dr Arthur, 'Certificate of Health Prior to Marriage and Sterilisation', Racial Hygiene Association One Day Conference in connection with Health Week, 1931, p. 7. Typescript in ML.
- 48 Lionel Lewis to W.S.S. Hoodson, Secretary, the Eugenics Education Society, 16 June 1926, Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/E.3.
- 49 See Jones, 'The Master Potter and the Rejected Pots', pp. 319–42; Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen (eds), *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland*, Michigan State University Press, 1996.
- 50 Dr Blacker to Mrs Angela Booth, 23 September 1938, Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/E.3/1; Jones, 'The Master Potter'.
- 51 Eugenics Society of Victoria, 'Statement of Principles Suggested for Acceptance by the Society', November 1947.
- 52 Jan Kociumbas, 'Reflecting on "the Century of the Child": Child Study and the School Medical Service in New South Wales', in Crotty *et al.* (eds), 'A Race for a Place', pp. 221–8; Lewis, *Thorns on the Rose*, pp. 172–4.
- 53 Rev. D.P. McDonald, 'Health and Education', Racial Hygiene Association One Day Conference in connection with Health Week, 1931.
- 54 Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, trans. Stephen Conway, University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
- 55 Rev. H.N. Baker, 'The Wider Implications of the Policy of Sterilisation', in Racial Hygiene Association One Day Conference in connection with Health Week, 1931, p. 16.
- 56 Matthew Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain, c. 1870–1959*, Clarendon Press, pp. 110–48; Stephen Garton, *Medicine and Madness: A Social History of Insanity in New South Wales 1880–1940*, University of New South Wales Press, 1988, p. 60.
- 57 Baker, 'The Wider Implications of the Policy of Sterilisation', p. 14; see also Garton, *Medicine and Madness*, pp. 60–62.

- 58 'In many of these cases freedom with sterilization is more humane than confinement in an institution'. Professor W.E. Agar, *Eugenics and the Future of the Australian Population*, Brown, Prior, Anderson, Melbourne, 1939, p. 7.
- 59 Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency*, pp. 198–205.
- 60 Dean, *Governmentality*, p. 140.
- 61 The President of the Eugenics Society of Victoria wrote: 'The governments of many countries have taken the view that their responsibility to posterity involves legislation to provide for the sterilization of persons likely to transmit mental disabilities'. He pointed in 1939 to various states in the United States, to Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Alberta and British Columbia in Canada. See Agar, *Eugenics and the Future of the Australian Population*, 1939, p. 7.
- 62 Other have written about this, and more research into practice as well as social and political debate needs to be undertaken. Thomson, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency*, pp. 202–4; Jones, 'The Master Potter', see also Daniel Pick, *The Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848–c.1918*, Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- 63 Eugenics Education Society, *Those Who Come After: A Word on Social Superiority*, n.d. Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/J.17.
- 64 H.L. Wilkinson, *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, P.S. King & Sons, London, 1930.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 A.W. Hayes, *Future Generations: Woman the Future Ruler of this Earth*, Sydney, privately printed, 1915, p. 7 (ML).
- 67 Hayes, *Future Generations*, p. 12.
- 68 Mr Creswell O'Reilly speaking at the Racial Hygiene Association One Day Conference, 1931, p. 17.
- 69 Eugenics Education Society (Victoria) *Annual Report*, 1939 in Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/E.3/1.
- 70 Eugenics Education Society, *Those Who Come After: A Word on Social Superiority*, n.d. Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/J/17.
- 71 Cited in Eugenics Education Society of NSW Report to Eugenics Education Society, 9 November 1921, SA/EUG/E.2.
- 72 See Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, p. 52.
- 73 Dr Arthur, 'Certification of Health Prior to Marriage and Sterilisation', p. 8. Another contributor to the Conference said, 'One element in this subject of heredity is to discover how bad strains in human propagation may be eliminated. There are many such bad strains, moral and physical and mental, which tend to perpetuate themselves through succeeding generations'. Baker, 'The Wider Implications of the Policy of Sterilisation', p. 14.
- 74 See Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Ilana Löwy, 'Horizontal and Vertical Transmission of Disease', in Gaudillière and Löwy (eds), *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 1–18.
- 75 Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- 76 Eugenics Education Society, *Teaching in School, Training Colleges and Colleges: from the point of view of the eugenicist*, n.d. p. 1, Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG/J.17.

Conclusion

- 1 Bernadette McSherry, ' "Dangerousness" and public health', *Alternative Law Journal*, 57 (1998): 276–80; Richard Coker, *From Chaos to Coercion: Detention and the Control of Tuberculosis*, St Martin's Press, 2000; Richard Coker, 'Civil Liberties and Public Good: Detention of Tuberculous Patients and the Public Health Act 1984', *Medical History*, 45 (2001): 339–56.
- 2 J.H.L. Cumpston, 'Cleanliness', typescript in Cumpston Papers, National Library of Australia, MS 613 Box 7, p. 3.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 8 J.H.L. Cumpston, Report upon The Activities of the Commonwealth Department of Health from 1909 to 1930, typescript, Department of Health Library, Canberra, 1930, unpaginated (section 1).
- 9 Nikolas Rose, 'Governing "advanced" liberal democracies', in Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose (eds), *Foucault and Political Reason*, University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 45–6.

Select Bibliography

A. Primary sources

A.1 Archival sources

New South Wales State Archives

Medical officer reports and returns, applications for appointments as vaccinators
1869–1874 4/790.1.
Board of Health Records 1881–1896 5/2913.
Board of Health minutes 1882–85 5/5837.
Quarantine Books 5/5853–4.
North Head Quarantine Station 1909–1930 5/5396.
Chief Secretary's Department, Smallpox Files, 1913–15, 5/5290.
Waterfall Sanatorium, Case Histories, 1909, Colonial Secretary's Special Bundle,
X648.

Mitchell Library, Sydney

Newspaper cuttings on Tuberculosis, 1901–17, Folio 616.2/N.
Family Planning Association Records, MSS 3838.

Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, London

Sir Leonard Rogers Papers, PP/ROG.
Eugenics Society Papers, SA/EUG.
British Social Hygiene Council Records, SA/BSH.

National Archives of Australia, Canberra

Leprosy in the Commonwealth, A1 1908/4507.
Reports on Tuberculosis, A431 1949/422.
Report on Immigration with regard to Racial Health, 1928, A458 2154/1.

National Archives of Australia, Melbourne

Immigration Act 1901–1925 Deportation for Health Reasons, Series B13.
Medical reports on, and records of restricted passengers and crew members,
Series B13.

Queensland State Archives, Brisbane

Leprosy files, Queensland Home Secretary's Office, COL 266, COL 322, COL
323, COL 324.

Fryer Library, Brisbane

Sir Raphael Cilento Collection.

National Library of Australia, Canberra

Cumpston Papers, MS 613.

Department of Health Library, Canberra

Department of Health Quarantine Papers, 1907–1914.

J.H.L. Cumpston, Report upon the Activities of the Commonwealth.

Department of Health from 1909 to 1930.

A.2 Statutes

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

Compulsory Vaccination Act 1853 (Tasmania).

Act to extend and make compulsory the practice of Vaccination, 1853 (South Australia).

Act to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination, 1854 (Victoria).

An Ordinance to Make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination, 1860 (Western Australia).

Infectious Disease Supervision Act, 1881 (NSW).

Immigration Restriction Act, 1901 (Cth).

Quarantine Act, 1908 (Cth)

Prisoners' Detention Act, 1908 (NSW).

Native Administration Amendment Act, 1941 (Western Australia).

A.3 Government Reports and Papers

NSW Registrar-General, Report on Vaccination, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Papers*, 1856.

Government Medical Adviser to the Colonial Secretary, 10 March 1859, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Papers*, 1858–59.

Select Committee on the Vaccination Bill, *Journal of the NSW Legislative Council*, 1872.

Select Committee: Opinions on Compulsory Vaccination, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 4, 1881.

Animal Vaccination: Being Information Supplied by the Government of Bombay to that of New South Wales on the Subject of Animal Lymph and Vaccination, Thomas Richards, Sydney, 1882.

Report of the Royal Commission into Management of the Quarantine Station, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1882.

Royal Commission on the Late Visitation of Small-Pox, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2, 1883.

Report of the Health Officer on the Quarantine Station, North Head, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2, 1883.

NSW Board of Health, Report on the Late Epidemic of Smallpox, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2, 1883.

Smallpox: claims arising out of late visitation, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 2, 1883.

Vaccination in Darlinghurst Gaol, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, vol. 4, 1884.

- Australasian Sanitary Conference, *Report and Minutes of Proceedings*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1884.
- Norris, W. Perrin, *Report on Quarantine in Other Countries and on the Quarantine Requirements of Australia*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1912.
- Department of Public Health, Victoria, *Greenvale Sanatorium for Consumptives: Notes on Pulmonary Tuberculosis (Consumption) and on the Sanatorium Treatment of the Disease*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1912.
- Select Committee on the Prevalence of Venereal Diseases, NSW Legislative Assembly, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1915.
- The Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Trade and Customs, Committee Concerning Causes of Death and Invalidity in the Commonwealth, *Report on Tuberculosis*, Government Printer, 1916.
- Tropical Australia: Report of the Discussion at the Australasian Medical Congress, 1920*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1921.
- Aboriginal Welfare: Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities*, Government Printer, Canberra, 1937.

A.4 Journals and periodicals

- Australasian Medical Gazette*.
- The British Medical Journal*.
- The Illustrated Sydney News*.
- Health: a journal dealing with developments in the field of public health in Australia*.
- Health and Empire*.
- The Empire Review*.
- Medical Journal of Australia*.
- The Lancet*.
- The Nineteenth Century*.

A.5 Published sources – pre 1950

- Anon., *Letters from a Sanatorium*, George Robertson & Co., Melbourne, 1907.
- Agar, Professor W.E., *Eugenics and the Future of the Australian Population*, Brown, Prior, Anderson, Melbourne, 1939.
- Beaney, J., *Vaccination and its Dangers*, R.N. Henningham, Melbourne, 1870.
- Bird, S.D., *On Australasian Climates and their Influence in the Prevention and Arrest of Pulmonary Consumption*, Longman, London, 1863.
- Borthwick, Thomas, *Quarantine*, Vardon & Pritchard, Adelaide, 1901.
- Breinl, A. and Young, W.J., 'Tropical Australia and its Settlement', in Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, *Collected Papers*, 3 (1922): 1–24.
- Bruce, Charles, 'Mr Chamberlain and the Health of the Empire', *The Empire Review* 8 (1905): 108–21.
- Buist, J.B., *Vaccinia and Variola: A Study of their Life History*, J. & A. Churchill, London, 1887.
- Burnett, J. Compton, *Vaccinosis and its Cure by Thuja: With Remarks on Homoeoprophylaxis*, Homoeopthic Publishing, London, 1897.
- Campbell, Persia Crawford, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*, P.S. King, London, 1923.
- Chidell, Fleetwood, *Australia – White or Yellow?*, Heinemann, London, 1926.

- Christie, Thomas, *An Account of the Ravages Committed in Ceylon by Small-Pox, previously to the introduction of Vaccination*, J. & S. Griffith, London, 1811.
- Cilento, R.W., 'Australia's Problems in the Tropics', *Report of the 21st Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science*, Sydney, 1932.
- , *The White Man in the Tropics*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1925.
- Collie, Alexander, *On Fevers, Their History Aetiology, Diagnosis, Prognosis and Treatment*, H.K. Lewis, London, 1887.
- Collins, William J., *Have you Been Vaccinated, and What Protection is it Against the Small Pox?*, H.K. Lewis, London, 1868.
- Cook, C.E., *The Epidemiology of Leprosy in Australia*, Government Printer, Canberra, 1927.
- Creighton, C., *The Natural History of Cow-Pox and Vaccinal Syphilis*, Cassell, London, 1887.
- Crookshank, E.M., *The History and Pathology of Vaccination*, 2 vols, Lewis, London, 1889.
- Cummins, S. Lyle, *Empire and Colonial Tuberculosis*, National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1946.
- Cumpston, J.H.L., *Quarantine: Australian Maritime Quarantine and the Evolution of International Agreements Concerning Quarantine*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1913.
- , *The History of Small-Pox in Australia, 1788–1908*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1914.
- , *The Health of the People: A Study in Federalism*, Roebuck, Canberra, 1978.
- , *Health and Disease in Australia: A History*, Milton Lewis (ed.), Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1989.
- Cumpston, J.H.L., and F. McCallum, *The History of Small-Pox in Australia 1909–1923*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1925.
- Forward, Charles W., *The Golden Calf: An Exposure of Vaccine-Therapy*, Watkins, London, 1933.
- Gregory, J.W., *Human Migration and the Future: A Study of the Causes, Effects and Control of Emigration*, Seeley, Service & Co., London, 1928.
- Hayes, A.W., *Future Generations: Woman the Future Ruler of this Earth*, privately printed, Sydney, 1915.
- Hutt, C.W., *International Hygiene*, Methuen, London, 1927.
- Knaggs, H. Valentine, *The Truth About Vaccination: The Nature and Origin of Vaccine Lymph and the Teachings of the New Bacteriology*, Daniel, London, 1914.
- McCallum, F.F., 'The Time Factor in Quarantine Practice', *Health*, 5 (1927): 45–46.
- , *International Hygiene*, Australasian Medical Publishing Co., Sydney, 1935.
- Mackellar, Charles, 'Federal Quarantine', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 17 (1883): 278–90.
- Manson, Patrick, *Tropical Diseases: A Manual of Diseases of Warm Climates*, Cassell, London, 1903.
- Marchant, James, *Birth-Rate and Empire*, Williams and Norgate, 1917.
- Masters, David, *The Conquest of Disease*, John Lane, London, 1925.
- Morton, J., *Vaccination and its Evil Consequences*, Fuller, Parramatta, 1875.
- Murray, James P., *Small-pox, Chicken-pox and Vaccination*, George Robertson, Melbourne, 1869.
- Peripeteticus, A., *Cancer: A Result of Vaccination*, Stephens, Melbourne, 1898.

- Price, A. Grenfell, 'The White Man in the Tropics', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 26 January 1935: 106–10.
- Robinson, E., *Can Disease Protect Health? Being a Reply to Ernest Hart's pamphlet entitled 'The Truth About Vaccination'*, London, 1880.
- Rogers, Sir Leonard, 'Recent Progress in the Treatment of Leprosy and its Bearing on Prophylaxis', *Proceedings of the Pan-Pacific Science Congress*, 2 (1923): 1410–18.
- , 'When Will Australia Adopt Modern Prophylactic Measures Against Leprosy?', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 18 (1930): 525–7.
- Royal College of Physicians, *Report on Leprosy*, George Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London, 1867.
- Ryrie, Dr G.A., *The Leper Settlement at Sungei Buloh in the Federated Malay States*, Malaya Publishing House, Singapore, 1933.
- Smith, W. Ramsay, *On Consumption*, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, Melbourne, 1909.
- Thompson, J. Ashburton, 'Quarantine and Small-Pox', *Journal of the Royal Society of NSW*, 21 (1887): 227–32.
- , 'Is Leprosy a Telluric Disease', *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 6 (1895): 777–86.
- , *A Contribution to the History of Leprosy in Australia*, The New Sydenham Society, London, 1897.
- , *On the Guidance of Public Effort Towards the Further Prevention of Consumption*, Stillwell & Co., Melbourne, 1899.
- Thomson, H. Hyslop, *Tuberculosis and Public Health*, Longman, Green & Co., London, 1920.
- Trivett, John B., *Tuberculosis in New South Wales*, William Applegate Gullick, Sydney, 1909.
- Turner, Duncan, *Is Consumption Contagious?*, Melville, Mullins & Slade, Melbourne, 1894.
- Weihen, A. Wallace, 'The Medical Inspection of Immigrants to Australia', *Transactions of the Australasian Medical Congress*, 1 (1911): 637–9.
- Wilkinson, H.L., *The World's Population Problems and a White Australia*, P.S. King, London, 1930.
- Wilkinson, W. Camac, *Treatment of Consumption*, Macmillan, London, 1908.
- Woodruff, Charles Edward, *Expansion of Races*, Rebman, London, 1909.
- Woods, W. Cleaver, 'The Unsatisfactory Position of Vaccination in the Commonwealth', *Australasian Medical Gazette*, 20 May 1905, pp. 206–9.
- Wright, H.P., *Leprosy: An Imperial Danger*, J. & A. Churchill, London, 1889.
- Young, W.J., A. Breinl, J.J. Harris and W.Z. Osborne, 'Effect of Exercise and Humid Heat upon Pulse Rate, Blood Pressure, Body Temperature, and Blood Concentration', in Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine, *Collected Papers*, 3 (1922): 111–25.
- Young, W.J., 'The Metabolism of White Races Living in the Tropics', *Annals of Tropical Medicine and Parasitology*, 9 (1915): 91–108.

B. Secondary sources

B.1 Published – post 1940

- Adams, Annemarie, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870–1900*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

- Anderson, Warwick, 'Immunities of Empire; Race, Disease and the New Tropical Medicine, 1900–1920', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 70 (1996): 94–118.
- , 'Leprosy and Citizenship', *Positions*, 6 (1998): 707–30.
- , *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- Andracki, Stainslaw, *Immigration of Orientals into Canada, with Special Reference to the Chinese*, Arno Press, 1978.
- Armstrong, David, 'Public Health Spaces and the Fabrication of Identity', *Sociology*, 27 (1993): 393–403.
- Arnold, David, 'Smallpox and Colonial Medicine in Nineteenth Century India', in David Arnold (ed.), *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, Manchester University Press, 1988, pp. 45–64.
- , *Colonising the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India*, University of California Press, 1993.
- , (ed.), *Warm Climates and Western Medicine*, Rodopi, 1996.
- Barta, Tony, 'Discourses of Genocide in Germany and Australia: A Linked History', *Aboriginal History*, 25 (2001): 37–56.
- Bashford, Alison, 'Female Bodies at Work: Gender and the Re-forming of Colonial Hospitals', *Australian Cultural History*, 13 (1994): 65–81.
- , 'Separatist Health: Meanings of Women's Hospitals in England and Australia, c. 1870–1930', in Lilian R. Furst (ed.), *Climbing a Long Hill: Women Healers and Physicians*, University Press of Kentucky, 1997, pp. 198–220.
- , *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine*, Macmillan, 1998.
- , '“Is White Australia Possible?” Race, Colonialism and Tropical Medicine', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 23 (2000): 248–71.
- , 'Tuberculosis and Economy: Public Health and Labour in the Early Welfare State', *Health and History*, 4 (2002): 19–40.
- Bashford, Alison and Carolyn Strange, 'Asylum Seekers and National Histories of Detention', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 48 (2002): 509–27.
- Bashford, Alison and Carolyn Strange, 'Isolation and Exclusion in the Modern World', in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion*, Routledge, 2003 pp. 1–19.
- Bell, Heather, *Frontiers of Medicine in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899–1940*, Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Bland, Lucy and Laura Doan, (eds), *Sexology in Culture: labelling bodies and desires*, University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Bock, Gisela and Pat Thane (eds), *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s–1950s*, Routledge, 1991.
- Bowers, J.Z., 'The Odyssey of Smallpox Vaccination', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55 (1981): 17–33.
- Brawley, S., *The White Peril: Foreign Relations and Asian Immigration to Australasia and North America 1919–1978*, University of New South Wales Press, 1995.
- Brown, JoAnne, 'Purity and Danger in Colour: Notes on Germ Theory and the Semantics of Segregation, 1895–1915', in Jean-Paul Gaudillière and Ilana Löwy (eds), *Heredity and Infection: the History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 101–32.
- Bryder, Linda, *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth-Century Britain*, Clarendon Press, 1988.

- , '“A Health Resort for Consumptives”: Tuberculosis and Immigration to New Zealand, 1880–1914', *Medical History*, 40 (1996): 453–71.
- Buckingham, Jane, *Leprosy in Colonial South India: Medicine and Confinement*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Bunton, Robin and Roger Burrows, 'Consumption and Health in the “Epidemiological” Clinic of Late Modern Medicine', in Robin Bunton, Sarah Nettleton and Roger Burrows (eds), *The Sociology of Health Promotion: Critical Analyses of Consumption, Lifestyle & Risk*, Routledge, 1995, pp. 206–22.
- Burnard, Trevor, '“The Countrie Continues Sicklie”: White Mortality in Jamaica, 1655–1780', *Social History of Medicine*, 12 (1999): 45–72.
- Burnet, Sir Macfarlane, 'Biology and Medicine', *The Eugenics Review*, 49 (1957): 127–35.
- , 'Migration and Race Mixture from the Genetic Angle', *The Eugenics Review*, 51 (1959): 93–7.
- Bynam, W.F., 'Policing Hearts of Darkness: Aspects of the International Sanitary Conferences', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 15 (1993): 421–34.
- Campbell, Judy, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and other Diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780–1880*, Melbourne University Press, 2002.
- Castel, Robert, 'From Dangerousness to Risk', in Graham Burchell et al. (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 281–98.
- Chesterman, J. and B. Galligan, *Citizens Without Rights: Aborigines and Australian Citizenship*, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Cohn, B.S., *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Coker, Richard J., *From Chaos to Coercion: Detention and the Control of Tuberculosis*, St Martin's Press, 2000.
- , 'Civil Liberties and Public Good: Detention of Tuberculous Patients and the Public Health Act 1984', *Medical History*, 45 (2001): 339–56.
- Coons, Ronald E., 'Steamships and Quarantines at Trieste, 1837–1848', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 44 (1989): 28–55.
- Corris, Peter, '“White Australia” in Action: The Repatriation of Pacific Islanders from Queensland', *Historical Studies*, 15 (1972): 237–50.
- Craddock, Susan, 'Sewers and Scapegoats: Spatial Metaphors of Smallpox in Nineteenth Century San Francisco', *Social Science and Medicine*, 7 (1995): 957–68.
- Craddock, Susan and Michael Dorn, 'Nationbuilding: Gender, Race and Medical Discourse', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27 (2001): 313–18.
- Crotty, Martin, John Germov and Grant Rodwell (eds), 'A Race for a Place': *Eugenics, Darwinism and Social Thought and Practice in Australia*, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Newcastle, 2000.
- Curson, P.H., *Times of Crisis: Epidemics in Sydney 1788–1900*, Sydney University Press, 1985.
- Curson, Peter and Kevin McCracken, *Plague in Sydney: The Anatomy of an Epidemic*, University of New South Wales Press, 1989.
- Curthoys, Ann, 'Eugenics, Feminism and Birth Control: The Case of Maion Piddington', *Hecate*, 15 (1989): 73–89.
- , 'Expulsion, Exodus and Exile in White Australian Historical Mythology', in Richard Nile and Michael Williams (eds), *Imaginary Homelands: The Dubious*

- Cartographies of Australian Identity*, University of Queensland Press, 1999, pp. 1–18.
- Curtin, Philip D., *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Harriet Deacon, 'Leprosy and Racism at Robben Island', *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 7 (1994): 45–83.
- , 'Racial Segregation and Medical Discourse in Nineteenth Century Cape Town', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22 (1996): 187–308.
- , 'Racism and Medical Science in South Africa's Cape Colony in the mid- to late Nineteenth Century', *Osiris*, 15 (2000): 190–206.
- Dean, Mitchell, *The Constitution of Poverty: Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance*, Routledge, 1991.
- , *Governmentality: Power & Rule in Modern Society*, Sage, 1999.
- Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Routledge, 1994.
- Durbach, Nadja, '“They Might as Well Brand Us”: Working-Class Resistance to Compulsory Vaccination in Victorian England', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000): 45–61.
- Dutton, David, *One of Us? A Century of Australian Citizenship* University of New South Wales Press, 2002.
- Evans, Raymond, Kay Saunders and Kathryn Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland*, Australia and New Zealand Book Co., 1975.
- Eyler, John, 'Scarlet Fever and Confinement: The Edwardian Debate over Isolation Hospitals,' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 61 (1987): 1–24.
- , *Sir Arthur Newsholme and State Medicine 1885–1935*, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Fenn, Elizabeth A., *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82*, Hill & Wang, 2001.
- Finnane, Mark (ed.), *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives*, University of New South Wales Press, 1987.
- Foley, Jean Duncan, *In Quarantine: A History of Sydney's Quarantine Station 1828–1984*, Kangaroo Press, 1995.
- Foucault, Michel, 'About the Concept of the Dangerous Individual in 19th Century Legal Psychiatry', in David. N. Weisstub (ed.), *Law and Psychiatry*, Pergamon Press, 1978.
- , 'The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century', in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*, Pantheon Books, 1984, pp. 273–89.
- , 'Governmentality', in Graham Burchell *et al.* (eds), *The Foucault Effect*, University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- , *Discipline and Punish*, Penguin, 1991.
- , 'The Birth of Social Medicine', in James D. Faubion (ed.), *Essential Works of Michel Foucault*, Vol. 3, 'Power', New Press, 2000, pp. 137–42.
- Garton, Stephen, 'Policing the Dangerous Lunatic: Lunacy Incarceration in New South Wales, 1843–1914', in Mark Finnane (ed.), *Policing in Australia: Historical Perspectives*, University of New South Wales Press, 1987, pp. 74–87.
- , *Medicine and Madness: A Social History of Insanity in New South Wales 1880–1940*, University of New South Wales Press, 1988.
- , *Out of Luck: Poor Australians and Social Welfare*, Allen & Unwin, 1990.

- , 'Sound Minds and Healthy Bodies: Re-considering Eugenics in Australia, 1914–1940', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26 (1994): 163–81.
- Gaudillière, Jean-Paul and Ilana Löwy (eds), *Heredity and Infection: The History of Disease Transmission*, Routledge, 2001.
- Gillespie, James A., *The Price of Health: Australian Governments and Medical Politics 1910–1960*, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Hacking, Ian, 'How Should We Do a History of Statistics', in Burchell *et al.* (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp. 181–96.
- Hall, Lesley, 'Feminist reconfigurations of heterosexuality in the 1920s', in Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (eds), *Sexology in culture: labelling bodies and desires*, University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 135–49.
- Hamlin, Christopher, 'State Medicine in Great Britain', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, pp. 132–64.
- Hardy, Anne, *The Epidemic Streets: Infectious Disease and the Rise of Preventive Medicine, 1856–1900*, Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Harrison, Mark, *Public Health in British India: Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine, 1859–1914*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- , *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600–1850*, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Haynes, Douglas M., *Imperial Medicine: Patrick Manson and the Conquest of Tropical Disease*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Hooker, Claire and Alison Bashford, 'Diphtheria and Australian Public Health: Bacteriology and its Complex Applications, c.1890–1930', *Medical History*, 46 (2002): 41–64.
- Hooker, Claire, 'Sanitary Failure and Risk: Pasteurisation, Immunisation and the Logics of Prevention', in Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: Historical and Cultural Studies*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 129–49.
- Howard-Jones, N., *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences, 1851–1938*, World Health Organization, 1975.
- Huttenback, R.A., 'No Strangers Within the Gates: Attitudes and Policies towards the non-white residents of the British Empire of Settlement', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1 (1972–3): 271–302.
- Hyslop, Anthea, 'Old Ways, New Means: Fighting Spanish Influenza in Australia, 1918–1919', in Linda Bryder and Derek A. Dow (eds), *New Countries, Old Medicine*, Pyramid Press, 1995, pp. 46–53.
- , 'Insidious Immigrant: Spanish Influenza and Border Quarantine in Australia, 1919', in S. Barry and B. Reid (eds), *Migration to Mining*, Northern Territory University Press, 1997.
- , 'A Question of Identity: J.H.L. Cumpston and Spanish Influenza, 1918–1919', *Australian Cultural History*, 16 (1997/98): 60–78.
- Irving, Helen, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Jebb, Mary Ann, 'The Lock Hospitals Experiment: Europeans, Aborigines and Venereal Disease', *European-Aboriginal Relations in Western Australian History*, 8 (1984): 68–87.
- Jones, Ross L., 'The Master Potter and the Rejected Pots: Eugenic Legislation in Victoria 1918–1939', *Historical Studies*, 113 (1999): 319–42.

- Kalpagam, U., 'The Colonial State and Statistical Knowledge', *History of the Human Sciences*, 13 (2000): 37–55.
- Kern, Stephen, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918*, Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Kociumbas, Jan, 'Reflecting on "the Century of the Child": Child Study and the School Medical Service in New South Wales', in Crotty *et al.* (eds), '*A Race for a Place*', pp. 221–8.
- Leavitt, Judith Walzer, *Typhoid Mary: Captive to the Public's Health*, Beacon Press, 1996.
- Levine, Philippa, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, Routledge, 2003.
- Lewis, Milton, 'Introduction', in J.H.L. Cumpston, *Health and Disease in Australia: A History*, Australian Government Printing Service, 1989.
- , *Thorns on the Rose: The History of Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Australia in International Perspective*, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1998.
- Livingstone, David N., 'Human Acclimatization: Perspectives on a Contested Field of Inquiry in Science, Medicine and Geography', *History of Science*, 25 (1987): 359–94.
- , 'Tropical Climate and Moral Hygiene: The Anatomy of a Victorian Debate', *British Journal of the History of Science*, 32 (1999): pp. 93–110.
- Ludmerer, Kenneth M., 'Genetics, Eugenics and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 46 (1972): 59–81.
- Lupton, Deborah, *The Imperative of Health: Public Health and the Regulated Body*, Sage, 1995.
- , *Risk*, Routledge, 1999.
- Lux, Maureen K., *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine and Canadian Plains Native People 1880–1940*, University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- McGregor, Russell, '“Breed Out the Colour” or the Importance of Being White', *Australian Historical Studies*, 120 (2002): 297–301.
- Macleod, R.M., 'Law, Medicine and Public Opinion: The Resistance to Compulsory Health Legislation, 1870–1907', *Public Law*, Parts I and II (1967): 107–28, 189–211.
- Macleod, Roy and Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Western Medicine and the Experience of European Expansion*, Routledge, 1988.
- McSherry, Bernadette, '“Dangerousness” and Public Health', *Alternative Law Journal*, 57 (1998): 276–80.
- Manderson, Lenore, 'Wireless Wars in the Eastern Arena', in Paul Weindling (ed.), *International Health Organisations*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 109–33.
- , *Sickness and the State: Health and Illness in Colonial Malaya, 1870–1940*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Markel, Howard, '“Knocking out the Cholera”: Cholera, Class and Quarantines in New York City, 1892', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 69 (1995): 420–57.
- Markus, Andrew, *Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California 1850–1901*, Hale & Iremonger, 1979.
- , *Australian Race Relations*, Allen & Unwin, 1994.
- Martin, Emily, 'Toward an Anthropology of Immunology: The Body as Nation-State', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 4 (1990): 410–26.
- Mawani, Renisa, 'Legal Geographies of Aboriginal Segregation in British Columbia: The Making and Unmaking of the Songhees Reserve, 1850–1911',

- in Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (eds), *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 173–90.
- , ‘“The Island of the Unclean”: Race, Colonialism and “Chinese Leprosy” in British Columbia, 1891–1924’, *Journal of Law, Social Justice and Global Development* (2003), <http://elj.warwick.ac.uk/global/>
- Mayne, Alan, *Fever, Squalor and Vice: Sanitation and Social Policy in Victorian Sydney*, University of Queensland Press, 1982.
- , ‘The Dreadful Scourge’: Responses to Smallpox in Sydney and Melbourne, 1881–2’, in Roy Macleod and Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, Routledge, 1988, pp. 219–41.
- Mehta, Uday S., ‘Liberal Strategies of Exclusion’, in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, University of California Press, 1997, pp. 59–86.
- Mooney, Graham, ‘Public Health versus Private Practice: The Contested Development of Compulsory Infectious Disease Notification in Late-Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 73 (1999): 238–67.
- Moses, A. Dirk, ‘Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the “Racial Century”: Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust’, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 36 (2002): 7–36.
- Murnane, Mary and Kay Daniels, ‘Prostitutes as “Purveyors of Disease”: Venereal Disease Legislation in Tasmania, 1868–1945’, *Hecate*, 5 (1979): 5–21.
- O’Connor, Erin, *Raw Material: Producing Pathology in Victorian Culture*, Duke University Press, 2000.
- Osborne, Thomas, ‘Security and Vitality: Drains, Liberalism and Power in the Nineteenth Century’, in Andrew Barry *et al.* (eds), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, University of Chicago Press, 1996, pp. 99–122.
- Otis, Laura, *Membranes: Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science and Politics*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Ott, Katherine, *Fevered Lives: Tuberculosis in American Culture since 1870*, Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Peers, Douglas, ‘Soldiers, Surgeons and the Campaigns to Combat Sexually Transmitted Diseases in Colonial India, 1805–1860’, *Medical History*, 42 (1998): 137–60.
- Pelling, Margaret, ‘The Meaning of Contagion: reproduction, medicine and metaphor’, in Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (eds), *Contagion: Historical and Cultural Studies*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 15–38.
- Petersen, Alan, ‘Risk, Governance and the New Public Health’, in Alan Petersen and Robin Bunton (eds), *Foucault, Health and Medicine*, Routledge, 1997, pp. 189–206.
- Petersen, Alan and Deborah Lupton. *The New Public Health: Health and Self in the Age of Risk*, Allen & Unwin, 1996.
- Poovey, Mary, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation*, University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Porter, Dorothy, ‘“Enemies of the Race”: Biologism, Environmentalism and Public Health in Edwardian England’, *Victorian Studies*, 34 (1991): 159–78.
- , (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994.
- , *Health, Civilization and the State: A History of Public Health from Ancient to Modern Times*, Routledge, 1999.

- Porter, Dorothy and Roy Porter, 'The Politics of Prevention: Anti-Vaccinationism and Public Health in Nineteenth Century England', *Medical History*, 32 (1988): 231–52.
- , 'The Enforcement of Health: The British Debate', in Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (eds), *AIDS: The Burdens of History*, University of California Press, 1988, pp. 97–120.
- Powell, J.M., 'Medical Promotion and the Consumptive Immigrant to Australia', *Geographical Review*, 63 (1973): 449–76.
- Pringle, Rosemary, 'Octavius Beale and the Ideology of the Birth-Rate', *Refractory Girl*, 3 (1973): 19–27.
- Proctor, Robert, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis*, Harvard University Press, 1988.
- , 'The Destruction of "Lives Not Worth Living"', in Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla (eds), *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, Indiana University Press, 1995, pp. 170–96.
- Proust, A.J., 'The Invalid Pension and Sickness Benefits in Australia prior to 1948', in A.J. Proust (ed.), *History of Tuberculosis in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea*, Brolga Press, 1991.
- Roe, Michael, 'The Establishment of the Australian Department of Health: Its Background and Significance', *Historical Studies*, 17 (1976): 176–92.
- , *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought*, University of Queensland Press, 1984.
- , *Australia, Britain and Migration, 1915–1940*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- , *Life over Death: Tasmanians and Tuberculosis*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, 1999.
- Rose, Nikolas, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, Routledge, 1990.
- , 'Medicine, History and the Present', in Colin Jones and Roy Porter (eds), *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, Routledge, 1994.
- , *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Rosen, George, 'Cameratism and the Concept of Medical Police', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 27 (1953): 21–42.
- , *A History of Public Health*, MD Publications, 1958.
- Rosenberg, Charles, *Explaining Epidemics and other Studies in the History of Medicine*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Saunders, Kay and Helen Taylor, '“To Combat the Plague”: The Construction of Moral Alarm and State Intervention in Queensland During World War II', *Hecate*, 14 (1988): 5–30.
- Saunders, Suzanne, 'Isolation: the Development of Leprosy Prophylaxis in Australia', *Aboriginal History*, 14 (1990): pp. 168–81.
- Sears, Alan, '“The Teach Them How to Live”: The Politics of Public Health from Tuberculosis to AIDS', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5 (1992): 70–71.
- Shah, Nayan, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, University of California Press, 2002.
- Sibley, David, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*, Routledge, 1995.
- Smart, Judith, 'Sex, the State and the “Scarlet Scourge”: Gender, Citizenship and Venereal Disease Regulation in Australia during the Great War', *Women's History Review*, 7 (1998): 5–36.

- Smith, F.B., *The Retreat of Tuberculosis 1850–1950*, Croom Helm, 1988.
- Soloway, Richard, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth Century Britain*, University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Stern, Alexandra Minna, 'Buildings, Boundaries and Blood: Medicalization and Nation-Building on the US-Mexico Border, 1910–1930', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 79 (1999): 41–81.
- Stoler, Ann Laura, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31 (1989): 134–61.
- , *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*, Duke University Press, 1995.
- , 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia', in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, University of California Press, 1997.
- , 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures', in A. McClintock, A. Mufti and E. Shoat (eds), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, National and Postcolonial Perspectives*, University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Strange, Carolyn and Tina, *Loo Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867–1939*, University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Tauber, Alfred, *The Immune Self: Theory or Metaphor*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Thomson, Matthew, *The Problem of Mental Deficiency: Eugenics, Democracy and Social Policy in Britain, c.1870–1959*, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Thomas, Nicholas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Polity, 1994.
- Thongchai, Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, University of Hawaii Press, 1994.
- Torpey, John, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Waldby, Catherine, *AIDS and the Body Politic: Biomedicine and Sexual Difference*, Routledge, 1996.
- Walker, David, 'Climate, Civilization and Character in Australia, 1880–1940', *Australian Cultural History*, 16 (1997/98): 77–95.
- , *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850–1939*, University of Queensland Press, 1999.
- Watters, Greg, 'The S.S. Ocean: Dealing with Boat People in the 1880s', *Australian Historical Studies*, 120 (2002): 331–43.
- Weindling, Paul, 'Public Health in Germany', in Dorothy Porter (ed.), *The History of Public Health and the Modern State*, Rodopi, 1994, pp. 119–31.
- , (ed.), *International Health Organisations and Movements, 1918–1939*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Williams, Naomi, 'The Implementation of Compulsory Health Legislation: Infant Smallpox Vaccination in England and Wales, 1840–1890', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20 (1994): 396–412.
- Worboys, Michael, 'Manson, Ross and Colonial Medical Policy: Tropical Medicine in London and Liverpool, 1899–1914', in Roy Macleod and

- Milton Lewis (eds), *Disease, Medicine and Empire*, Routledge, 1998, pp. 21–37.
- , ‘The Colonial World as Mission and Mandate: Leprosy and Empire, 1900–1940’, *Osiris*, 15 (2000): 207–20.
- , *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865–1900*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Yarwood, A.T., *Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion, 1896–1923*, Melbourne University Press, 1964.
- , ‘The Overseas Indians: A Problem in Indian and Imperial Politics at the end of World War One’, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 14 (1968): 204–18.
- , ‘Sir Raphael Cilento and the *White Man in the Tropics*’, in Roy Macleod and Donald Denoon (eds), *Health and Healing in Tropical Australia*, James Cook University Press, 1991, pp. 47–63.
- Yarwood, A.T., and M.J. Knowling, *Race Relations in Australia: A History*, Methuen Australia, 1982.

B.2 Theses

- Allan, R. Tennyson, ‘Leprosy at Nauru, Central Pacific’, Doctor of Medicine thesis, University of Melbourne, 1939.
- Elder, Catriona, ‘Dreams and Nightmares of a White Australia’, PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1999.
- Hardy, P. Susan, ‘“Surgical Spirit”: Listerism in New South Wales’, PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1990.
- Deacon, Harriet, ‘A history of the medical institutions on Robben Island, 1846–1910’, DPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994.
- Nugent, Maria, ‘Revisiting La Perouse: a postcolonial history’, University of Technology, Sydney, 2001.
- Thame, Claudia, ‘Health and the State in Australia’, PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1974.
- Ussher, Greg, ‘The “medical gaze” and the “watchful eye”: the prevention, treatment and epidemiology of venereal diseases in NSW, 1900–1925’, PhD thesis, University of Sydney, forthcoming.

Index

- Aboriginal people: coercive treatment of 98, 104, 172; deaths from smallpox 41; detention in sanatoria 69; idea of impending extinction of 106, 109, 149; leprosy and treatment of 12, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108–9, 113; mortality from tuberculosis 59; protection legislation 169; reserves 104–5, 106, 168–9; theories of sociality 103–4; travel restrictions 107, 113
- abortion 173
- An Account of the Ravages Committed in Ceylon by Small-Pox* 31
- administration: colonial 1, 9, 115, 120; Commonwealth of Australia 121–4; and making boundaries 6; national borders and quarantine 123–4, 135–6
- aetiology 15, 63, 65, 84, 158
- Africa 23, 91
- African-Americans 64
- Agar, W.E. 145
- AIDS *see* HIV/AIDS
- air travel 133
- Albany 125, 126
- alcoholics and alcoholism 77, 174, 184
- Alice Springs 105
- alien-ness 1, 162
- Aliens Order (Britain) 146
- Anatomy Act (1831) 33, 52
- Anderson, Warwick 91, 161
- animal disease: and smallpox 19–20, 23
- Animal Vaccination* (Richards) 26–7
- anorexics 71
- anthropological studies 5–6, 6–7
- anti-vaccinationists 17–18, 19, 20, 22, 52, 69, 128–9
- antibiotics 2, 105
- Antigua 83, 85
- architecture 43, 71, 87, 92
- Armstrong, David 10–11, 48
- Arthur, Richard 169, 174, 183
- asepsis 46–7
- Asia 126, 129, 131, 136
- Asian people 4, 60, 82, 153–4, 154, 161, *see also* Chinese people
- assimilation: programmes of 109, 110, 113, 141, 172
- asylum seekers: detention of 170
- asylums 60, 66, 76, 86, 87, 91, 155, 167, 181
- Australasian colonies 3–4, 12, 25, 29, 59, 120, 130, 147
- Australasian Medical Congress 105–6, 139, 159
- Australia: creation of Commonwealth 116, 120; decline in women's reproductivity 172–3; eugenics and public health 164, 165, 182–4; imagined as 'virgin' and uncontaminated 13, 110, 126, 127, 131; as island-nation 13, 116, 124–8, 129, 130, 136; quarantine as central to 116, 121, 124–5, 126, 128, 135–6, 162, 188; racial mapping of cleanliness and contamination 49, 126, 148; venereal disease policy 168–70, 171–2; white people in tropics 6, 110–13, 140, 144, 157, 157–63; as white settler society and colonising nation 1, 3–4, 9–10, 89, 141, 148, 186–7
- Australia for the Consumptive Invalid* 63
- Australia – white or yellow?* (Chidell) 157, 161
- Australian colonies 3–4, 119, 120, 128; compulsory vaccination 51–3; English emigrants to 36–8; status of smallpox 22, 40
- Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine 122, 159, 160

- 'auto-inoculation' 75, 77
- bacteriology: ideas about leprosy 84, 96; importance of tuberculosis 64–5; refinement of diagnoses 61, 62
- Bahamas 87
- Balibar, Etienne 5, 111
- Barbados 85
- Barrett, J.W. 160
- barriers *see* lines or barriers
- Beaney, J.W. 20
- Beer, Gillian 133
- Bell, Heather 124
- Bentham, Jeremy 8, 92
- Berlin International Congress on Hygiene and Demography 122
- Bermuda 85
- bills of health 141–2, 174
- biomedical discourse 4, 129, 165
- biopolitics 8, 42–3, 119, 181; colonial and international 9–10, 113, 137–8, 142; management of migration 146–7; quarantine and immigration 139, 162; reproduction of the population 172, 173, 180; sex, health and population 165, 166; vaccination 33, 34
- birth control 164, 172, 173, 174; voluntary sterilisation 182
- birth rates: concerns 164–5, 166, 172
- black people: Canadian exclusion of 144
- Blackwell, Elizabeth 19
- blood: and immunity 18, 74; and sexuality 166
- bodies 4; and boundaries 12, 115; circulation of disease through 44; governance of in management of diseases 12; in quarantined space 45; training of consumptives in sanatoria 62, 71–2, 72–4; vaccination 18, 23, 34
- body: social 4, 34, *see also* 'geo-body' of Australia
- Bombay 25, 27, 83
- borders 1, 5, 6; between infected and uninfected 40, 161; medico-legal control of 13, 115, 124, 142, 151, 152; membrane-line of skin 15, 38, 124; national 6, 12, 38, 110, 115, 123–9, 135–6, 137; public health 12; quarantine 36, 38, 40, 115, 123–9, 135–6, 182; screening of Britons 139, 152–3, 155; segregation 38, *see also* lines or barriers
- boundaries 1, 113; crossed by vaccination 16, 23, 38; geographic, legal and actual 6, 48, 115; imperially and globally regulated 12; interior *see* interior frontiers; 'leper line' 106–7, 161; national 123, 124; quarantine as policing of 123, 135; racial 6, 110; of rule 1, 5–6, 13, 93, 114, 162
- Breinl, Anton 159, 160
- Brereton, John le Gay 32
- Brisbane 159, 168
- Britain 8, 136, 157, 177, 178; anti-CD Act agitation 167, 170; anxieties about vaccination 20, 21–2; cholera 41; eugenics 141, 146; interwar social hygiene 164; medical and public health developments 2–3, 3, 10; notification of infectious diseases 61; treatment of consumptives 63, 64; trend away from public health detention 170–1
- British colonialism 1, 81, 117; and leper enclosure 90–1
- British colonies: and creation of Commonwealth of Australia 116, 120, 125; development of social policy 8; and international health networks 142; management of lepers 86; settlement 138, 141, 155; transportation to 3, *see also* Australasian colonies; Straits Settlements
- British Columbia 81, 88, 89, *see also* D'Arcy Island
- British dominions 2, 3, 146, 157, 170
- British Empire Leprosy Relief Association 89, 90

- British Eugenics Education Society 146, 174, 174–7
- British Guiana 83
- British people: and ‘alien’ diseases 14, 59, 96; border screening of 139–40, 152–3, 153–4, 155; ‘coloured’ subjects 149; in imagined geography of Australia 6, 147; migration 81, 104, 146–7; and tuberculosis 59
- British Social Hygiene Council 154, 170–1, 172, 173–4, 180
- Brown, Isaac 63
- Bryder, Linda 63, 70
- Burchell, Graham 8
- bureaucracy: health and tropical hygiene 158–9; immigration 151, 153; of public health 2, 12, 36, 39, 40–1, 42, 43–5, 116, 173; quarantine 134; significance of borders 123–4, 135; vaccination 33, 34
- Bynam, W.F. 124–5
- Caffyn, S. Mannington 41, 50
- Calcutta 83, 85
- Campbell, Persia Crawford 149
- Canada 3, 24, 36, 38, 88, 89, 143, 144, 146, 177, *see also* British Columbia; New Brunswick
- cancer 21
- Canterbury, Dean of 156, 161
- Cape Colony 83, 85, 87, 88, 107, *see also* Robben Island
- carceral spaces 1, 12, 39, 68, 88, 167, 169, 170
- Castel, Robert 60
- certification: health 153, 174, 177; labourers 151; vaccination 34, 36
- Ceylon 28–9, 120, 131; leprosy 83, 87, 88; smallpox and vaccination 24, 30–2, 31
- Chadwick, Edwin 8, 130
- Chamberlain, Joseph 83, 149–50
- Chidell, Fleetwood 157, 161
- children: in sanatoria 73–4; and vaccination 4, 5, 16, 17, 20, 25, 29–32, 50, 52
- China 23, 88, 111–12, 131
- Chinese people: association of with leprosy 88–9, 95, 96, 99, 108, 110, 142–3, 148; forced onto leper colonies 12, 94; immigrants to Australasian colonies 147–8; laws of exclusion and restriction 88, 141, 143, 148, 149, 151–2; leprosy cases in New South Wales 96–7; movement of diaspora 22, 59, 81, 82, 88–9; as ‘others’ in Australia 4, 110, 113, 138, 139, 157; in Quarantine Station 49, 50, 54, 56–7; view of leprosy 86
- cholera 41, 131, 135, 153; emergency quarantine measures 39, 117, 118, 119, 167; European epidemics 15, 117, 119, 142; maps of distribution 126, 130; prevention measures in modern period 133–4
- Christie, Thomas 31
- Cilento, Raphael 94, 100, 102, 104, 105, 110, 123, 158, 159
- circulations 2, 115, 185; of contagious matter 15, 16, 113; epidemic 44–5; of goods 81, 84
- citizenship 3, 12; cultivation of in leper colony 91; cultivation of in sanatoria 12, 13, 62, 70–9, 80; exclusion of Aboriginal people from 103–4; hygienic 62, 77–9, 103; identities 1, 102, 147; and making boundaries 6; and public health 11, 21, 77, 113, 116–17, 170–80, 189
- civic responsibility 62, 77–8, 80, 91, 93, 99, 102, 104, 173, 177, 180, 185
- class: mapping of cleanliness and contamination 49; vaccination and crossing of boundaries 29, *see also* working classes
- classification: eugenics and segregation 184, 187; international hygiene 142–3, 147; social 6, 48–9, 104, 166–7
- cleanliness: and contamination 46–7, 47, 48–9, 84; Cumpston’s ideas 187–9; and imagining of

- Australia 126, 139, 147, 150;
imperial 1, 5, 84, 113, 188
- climate: and race 140, 144; and
tropical medicine 157–8, 160
- coercion 7, 92, 186; of Aboriginal
people 98, 104, 172; confinement
in sanatoria 62–3, 69, 79;
practices and places of 11, 82,
171; for smallpox vaccination
53–4, 59
- Colombo 131
- Colonial Office 142
- colonialism: in Australian history
3–4, 9–10; boundaries of rule 5–6,
13, 114; and contagion 14, 15;
importance of statistics 33;
leprosy policy and management
81–2, 86–7, 90–1, 93, 98;
management of diseases 11–12,
24; mapping of cleanliness and
contamination 49, 148; and
medicine 2; obsessive pursuit of
whiteness 140–1, 163; roles of
public health and hygiene 7,
9–10, 187–9; segregation and race
management 107; and tropical
medicine 157–8; and vaccination
15, 16, 25, 34, 38, *see also* British
colonialism
- colonisation 8, 12; and Australian
history 3–4, 9–10, 112, 163; and
contagion 15, 106; and imperial
hygiene 113, 188, 189; and
vaccination 25, 38
- colour bar 182
- ‘coloured people’: and Australian
racial politics 148, 162; British
policy on movement of 143, 146;
exclusion of 139, 140, 149, 151,
152, 155, 158; exemptions to
immigration restrictions 149, 151;
plantation labour 158, 161–2
- commerce *see* trade
- Commonwealth: health of 174;
public health detention 167–8
- Commonwealth Department of
Health 131, 133, 134, 150–1
- Commonwealth Medical Bureau
153
- Commonwealth Quarantine
Conference (1904) 121
- Commonwealth Report on
Quarantine (1912) 126
- communicable disease 4, 14, 38;
management of 7, 52, 83, 165,
180, *see also* contagious diseases
- communication: and Empire 84;
modern advances 131, 133–5;
new networks in modern period
142; vaccination and vaccine
matter 24–5, 36
- compulsion 186, 189; and
vaccination question 39–40, 41–2,
51–3, 82, 177
- confinement: of Aboriginal people
98; as coerced and voluntary in
sanatoria 62–3, 69, 79; of lepers
85, 86, 87, 88, 90; rationales for
60, 62, 70, 85, 86
- connections 180, 185; lines of
hygiene 182; made by Empire
84; made by leprosy through
migration 81; monitoring of in
Quarantine Station 53; of sex 4,
166, 185; vaccines 29–30
- consent 7, 58, 93, 186; age of 172;
to isolation in sanatoria 69; to
vaccination against smallpox 50,
51, 53–4, 57
- Constantinople 17; Sanitary
Conference 117
- constitution: Australian nation
116–17; of Commonwealth of
Australia 120, 120–1; power of
quarantine 116
- consumptives: aestheticised idea of
64; as dangerous 64, 66–9, 77;
sanatoria in early twentieth century
13, 62, 62–3, 63–5, 66, 77–80, 186;
training bodies and souls of 12,
62, *see also* tuberculosis
- contact 180; and epidemiology of
leprosy 81, 96–7, 113–14;
management of 16, 109; smallpox
15, 16, 29–30, 59; symptomlessness
and the carrier 60–1; and tracking
of disease 24, 29–30, 67, 130, *see
also* sexual contact

- contagion 4, 12, 14, 16, 180, 185;
and colonialism 14, 15, 114, 152;
cowpox 17, 18, 20; and cultural
hybridities 107; 'dangerous'
individuals 61, 152; debates about
leprosy 83–93, 94–5, 97, 98, 103,
108, 110, 113–14; and future
populations 165, 183–4, 185;
moral 6–7; and sexual contact
110, 113, 165; and tracking of
disease 24, 67; vaccination as
19–22, 51, 128
- contagious diseases: early quarantine
measures 45–6; new perception of
tuberculosis 65, 66, 67–8, 69;
significance of smallpox 15, 35,
38, 64, *see also* communicable
disease
- Contagious Diseases Acts (1860s) 2,
39, 61, 69, 99, 167, 168, 169;
protests 164, 167–8
- contamination: and cleanliness
46–7, 47, 48–9, 84; concerns and
language of 148, 161, 162; places
of 47–51; social 6–7; with
vaccination from cowpox 40,
50–1
- 'A Contribution to the History of
Leprosy in Australia' (Thompson)
96–7, 97
- Contributions to Tropical Physiology*
(Sundstroem) 160
- convict colonies 33, 41, 119
- Cook, Cecil 96, 100, 101, 105, 106,
107, 108–10, 111, 123
- cordons sanitaires* 2, 11, 15–16, 39,
40, 46–7, 66, 84, 87, 89, 115, 180;
eugenic 13, 175, 180–5; racial 1,
82, 103–7, 113, 114, 168
- correction: institutions 70, 91
- correspondence: between inmates of
leper colonies 102–3, *see also*
Letters from a Sanatorium
- cowpox 17, 18, 20, 24, 28; and
vaccination against smallpox 4, 5,
15, 16, 17–18, 19–20, 25, 36, 40, 50
- Cree people 24
- criminal justice: and law on
vaccination 53
- criminal psychiatry: diagnosis of the
'dangerous' 60, 61, 67–8, 145–6
criminality 145–6, 155, 184
- Crusaders 23
- Culion, Philippines 91, 101
- culture: anxieties about vaccination
29; and anxieties regarding leprosy
108, 110; hybridities 107; and
hygiene 5; and imagined nation
of Australia 6, 136, 137, 138, 162
- Cummins, S. Lyle 59
- Cumpston, Dr J.H.L. 58, 68, 95, 95,
99, 121–3, 126–8, 129, 131, 134–5,
150, 158–9, 187–9
- Cyprus 86
- Daily Telegraph* (Sydney) 66
- 'the dangerous' 2, 52, 186, 187;
Aboriginal people seen as 105;
coloured aliens seen as 162;
consumptives 61, 62, 64, 66–9,
76, 77, 79; isolation of 59–60, 70,
76, 76–7, 78, 80, 167; persistence of
into twentieth-century use 170;
public health detention 166–7,
172
- D'Arcy Island, British Columbia 89,
92
- Darwin 94, 101, 105, 131, 133
- Dayman 94
- Deacon, Harriet 107
- Dean, Mitchell 104, 181
- death: with biopolitical
administration of life 181
- decolonisation 2, 3
- defence: military 124, 129, 135;
political and biomedical borders
4, 116, 123, 137; of public health
135, 137
- deportation: of Asians 4, 89, 90;
leprosy laws 89, 95, 105; and
segregation 158
- Derby, Western Australia 111
- detention: measures regarding
tuberculosis 67, 69; powers
regarding leprosy 54, 69, 83, 94,
98; public health 3, 11, 12, 39–40,
42, 51, 53, 83, 166–7, 167–8, 186,
187; to enforce smallpox

- vaccination 50, 53, 56–7; of venereal disease suspects 166–70
- diaspora: British Empire 140; Chinese 22, 81, 82, 138, 143
- differences: formed by boundaries 6, 136; racial 140–1, 145
- diphtheria 61, 83, 153, 178
- Discipline and Punish* (Foucault) 10
- diseases: anxieties about vaccination 20–1, 38; carriers 60–1, 67–8, 79; circulation of 44, 113; colonial management of 12, 81–2; emergency prevention measures 11, 69; and image of Chinese men 148, 151–2; ‘inherited’ 174, 177, 184; marking colonial projects 24, 58; tracking of 24, 33, 135, *see also* animal disease; contagious diseases; venereal diseases
- Douglas, Mary 19, 48
- Dunwich, Stradbroke Island (Australia) 94, 101
- Durbach, Nadja 36, 52
- Dutch East Indies 131, 157
- East Timor 126
- Eastern Epidemiological Bureau, Singapore 134–5
- economics: indentured labour 158, 161–2; and tropical medicine 157–8
- edges 5, 6
- Edinburgh: first British sanatorium 63
- education: in Australian tropical domesticity 111; of consumptives in sanatoria 77, 78; ‘dictation’ test for immigrants 144–5, 149, 150; health and eugenics 7, 166, 171, 173, 177, 180, 184, 185; power exercised through 7; sex 178, *see also* training
- Egypt 117, 128
- Elkington, J.S.C. 101–2, 123, 159
- emigrants and emigration 36–8, 146
- Empire 4, 12, 16, 24, 32, 135; health of 172, 174, 188; lines of 38, 88–9; migration and movement within 140, 146–7, 151; public health detention 167–8, *see also* imperialism
- Empire and Colonial Tuberculosis* (Cummins) 59
- The Empire Review* 149, 162
- enclosure 1, 5, 6, 90–1, 92, 93, 187, *see also* exile-enclosure
- endemic disease 128
- England 48, 66, 84, 96; anti-vaccinationism 52; cholera 119; class differentiated birth rate 172; early quarantine powers 42; hospitals for consumptives 63; philanthropy and charity regarding leprosy 83; vaccination 25–8, 33, 34, 36–8
- enteric fever 61
- epidemics: bureaucratic and political effect 43–5, 45; cowpox 24; information 43–5; management of 40–1, 42, 58, 119; prevention of by quarantine 125; prevention networks in modern period 133–5; smallpox 12, 22, 29, 36, 39, 41–51, 51–7, 58, 67, 122, 149; and urban spaces 12
- epidemiology 9, 14, 189; Cumpston’s work 123; ideas and debates about leprosy 81, 84, 95–7, 106, 108–11; and imagining of Australia 126, 130–6; information and intelligence 44–5, 134–5; observation of Nauru ‘plague town’ 91–2; search for origins of smallpox 23–4; significance of smallpox 15; understanding of tuberculosis 59, 65–6; vaccination 16, 34, *see also* microbes
- Epidemiology of Leprosy* (Cook) 96, 109, 111
- epilepsy 174, 184
- epileptic colonies 62, 170, 181
- etiology *see* aetiology
- ‘eugenic century’ 147, 166, 172, 184
- eugenics 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 21, 79, 107, 171, 189; *cordons sanitaires* 13, 175, 180–5; discussion of migration 145–6; distinctions made within

- white Australia 6, 104, 138–9, 140–1, 145–6, 147, 152, 153, 154, 165, 186–7; and future populations 180–5, 185; Nazi policies 165, 166; and screening 7, 13, 153–4, 155, 177; sexual conduct and regulation of population 164–6, 173–80
- Eugenics Education Society 145, 180, 182, 185
- Europe 125, 131; cholera epidemics 15, 117, 119, 142; health resorts 70; leprosy and isolation 69, 83; mercantilist states 7–8; open-air treatment in sanatoria 63, 64; prevention networks in modern period 133–4; search for origins of smallpox 23–4; time-distance between nations 130
- Europeans: Cook's ideas of healthy community 111; and ideas about leprosy 96, 99; protection of from tuberculosis 105
- exchange 5, 115, 123, 124
- exclusion: of Aboriginal people 103–4; of Chinese people 88, 141; of coloured aliens 139, 140, 149, 151, 152, 155; of the 'dangerous' 60; identities and citizenship 1, 3; immigration restrictions 140, 142–4, 157; of lepers 86, 93, 102; and liberal practices 93; race-based 13, 81–2, 138, 143–7, 149; spatial 88
- exile-enclosure: leper colonies 10, 12, 13, 82, 90, 91, 101–3, 186
- Expansion of Races* (Woodruff) 156
- family history: and health 174, 177
- Family Planning Association 154
- Far East 130–1, *see also* Orient
- 'Faraway' (hulk) 56
- farm colonies: for lepers 90, 91
- Federal Council of Australasia Act (1885) 120
- Federation Conferences 120–1
- feeble-minded people 62, 166, 170, 184; arguments for compulsory sterilisation of 177, 181
- feminism: concerns about venereal disease 164, 167, 171
- Fenner, Frank 23
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 5, 111
- Fiji 3, 120, 125, 128
- Filipinos: lepers 91
- films: health education 171, 172
- First World War 134, 138, 143
- fitness: government concerns about population 164, 172, 173, 174, 181
- folk beliefs: and fears of contagion 86, 183
- foreign bodies: dealt with by quarantine service 151; and spatial governance 138, 140; vaccination as invasion by 15, 16, 18, 23, 35–6, 38; white bodies in tropics 157–63, 162–3
- Foucault, Michel 8, 10, 45, 60, 82, 91, 92, 166
- France: and history of passport 118–19
- freedom: governance through 7, 63, 82, 104, 170, 177, 185; in leper colonies 93; of movement 69, 144
- Friday Islands 94
- frontiers 124, 133, *see also* interior frontiers
- Future Generations* 182–3
- Garton, Stephen 141
- gaze: medical 45, 53
- genealogies: international biopolitics 137–8; liberalism 40; public health 7, 186; sanatoria 70; sexual conduct and venereal disease 164; vaccine and vaccinated children 16, 25–32
- genocide 5
- 'geo-body' of Australia 115, 128, 131, 135–6, 137
- Geographical and Historical Pathology* 130
- geography: asylums 87; determining of quarantine measures 123–4, 128, 130, 136; and disease 44, 158; imagining of Australia 6, 116, 125–36, 147, 161, 163; lines and

- segregations 6, 40, 48–9, 115, 189;
 racial 1, 97; and statistics 33
 geopolitics: lines and segregations
 6; and race 3, 9, 161
 Germany: eighteenth-century medical
 police 42; treatment of
 consumptives 64, *see also* Nazi
 Germany
 goldseeking: Chinese 59, 88–9, 147
 gonorrhoea 170, 184
 governance: and hygiene 1, 5, 79,
 103, 165, 187; problems of
 detention and compulsion 40, 42,
 51–7, 58; and public health 1–2,
 2–3, 7–10, 10–12, 13, 33, 51, 80,
 166, 186, 189; through freedom
 7, 63, 82, 104, 177, 184–5
 government: concerns about
 reproduction and population
 164–5, 172, 173, 178; disciplinary
 10, 91; imagining of Australia
 123–4, 125, 126, 129; management
 of epidemics 43, 58; statistical
 and epidemiological knowledge
 34; technologies 115, 124
 Greenvale Sanatorium, Victoria 72
 Gregory, J.W. 144, 157
 Grey, Henry, 3rd Earl 120

 Hacking, Ian 9
 Hamlin, Christopher 21
 Hansen, Armauer 88
 Haraway, Donna 18
 Harrison, Mark 30
 Hawaii *see* Molokai
 health: and cultivation of citizens
 11, 21, 76–7, 80, 103, 116–17, 166,
 173–4, 178–80, 189; documents
 119; of Empire 83–4, 172, 174,
 188; and eugenics 155, 177–8,
 185; and identity 1, 4, 13, 49,
 162; interwar ideas and policies 3,
 5, 111, 137–41, 146, 156–7, 163,
 164, 166, 173–4, 180, 189;
 nineteenth-century conceptions
 30; of populations 7–10, 13, 33,
 42, 58, 115, 116–17, 147, 178, 184,
 189
Health (journal) 133

Health and Empire 170–1, 173
 Hennessy, John Pope 143
 heredity: and infection 21, 184; and
 leprosy 83
 Hislop, Gordon 75
 historians 1, 2, 165
History of Sexuality (Foucault) 166
 HIV/AIDS 77, 124–5, 170, 187
 homeopaths: interest in vaccination
 19
 homosexuality 145–6, 184
 Hong Kong 83, 143, 151
 hospitals: in British colonies 86; for
 consumptives 63; infectious
 disease 47–8, 94, 101, 155, 170;
 isolation 61, 66; women's 173,
see also Lock Hospitals
 Hudson Bay Company 24
 Hunter, Ernest 98
 Huntington, Ellsworth 159
 Hutt, C.W. 142, 143
 hybridisation: programme of 109
 hybridities: cultural 107; of
 sanatoria 13, 167
 hygiene 4–5; and citizenship 62,
 77–9, 173; and governance 1, 5, 79,
 103, 165; and immigration 142–3,
 151–7, 160–1; imperial 5, 12–13,
 113, 165; international 5, 13, 134,
 137–8, 140, 141–7, 148, 161, 162,
 163, 165; lines of 1, 2, 10–12, 13,
 16, 36, 38, 40, 48–9; racial and
 national 2, 5, 6, 7, 103, 123,
 138–41, 144, 147, 151–7, 158–63,
 164, 165, 189; sex 165, 166, 171,
 178, 185; social 164, 166, 171, 172,
 173; tropical 5, 111–12, 157–8,
 159; vaccination and crossing of
 boundaries 20, *see also* mental
 health and hygiene

 Iceland 81
 identity: formed by boundaries 6,
 136; and health 1, 4, 13, 49,
 135–6, 154, 180; national and racial
 116, 147, 148; significance of
 security 135; white self in tropical
 Australia 111
Illustrated Sydney News 47

- imbecility 145–6, 153
 immigration: concerns about
 incoming ships 131; and Cook's
 theory of leprosy 108; eugenic
 ideas 156–7, 182, 185; and
 international hygiene 142–3,
 151–7, 160–1; laws and regulation
 of 88, 89, 95, 105, 111, 123, 124,
 129, 134, 135, 146, 148, 149–50; as
 racialised 5, 6, 13, 116, 137–41,
 142–4, 147, 150, 155, 162, 182;
 restriction lines 1, 7, 13, 103, 115,
 136; shaping of populations 145,
 145–7, 162
 Immigration Restriction Act (1901,
 later Immigration Act) 95, 105,
 111, 137, 143–4, 147, 150, 150–1,
 152, 153, 154, 159
 immune system 18
 immunisation: mass 2
 immunity 4, 18–19, 35, 36, 74, 96
 Imperial Social Hygiene Congresses
 171
 Imperial Vaccination Acts 2, 13, 34,
 51
 imperialism: anxieties about racial
 exclusion 143–4, 162; and
 leprosy 81–2, 83–4, 87, 88–9, 93;
 making boundaries 6, 89; and
 problem of venereal disease 171;
 tropical medicine 140, 157–8,
 188; and vaccination 15, *see also*
 Empire
 imprisonment 52, 98, 169
 indentured labour 59, 88–9, 108,
 137, 140, 148, 151, 158
 India 3, 28–9, 30–2, 40, 117, 125,
 128, 131, 168; leprosy 83, 88;
 practices of inoculation 16, 20
 Indian people 143, 149
 Indigenous people: Australian
 colonisation of 4; effect of
 diseases on 14, 15, 41;
 ‘management’ of 141, 149; public
 health and colonial administration
 9, 81, 149; relations with British-
 whites in Australia 6, 82; seen as
 ‘dangerous’ 60, *see also* Aboriginal
 people
 industrial settlements: for lepers 90,
 91
 industrialisation 8, 64, 79
 infantile paralysis 61
 infection: and the ‘carrier’ 60–1;
 circulation of through vaccination
 16; epidemiological intelligence
 134–5; and heredity 21, 184;
 immunity achieved through 18,
 19; racialisation of leprosy 99,
 104; and racialised isolation of
 Aboriginal people 105; and
 resistance 74; and sex 178
 infectious disease: Australia seen as
 free of 126; Australia's
 vulnerability to 116, 131; and
 ideas about Aboriginal people
 105; maps 125, 126, 127; places
 of segregation 39, 40, 47–8;
 preventive quarantine measures
 117–21, 182; prohibition of
 sufferers 153; and trading
 relations 42
 Infectious Disease Supervision Act
 New South Wales (1881) 39, 42
 Infectious Diseases (Notification) Act
 (1889) 61
 influenza 121, 153, 167
 information: collecting 8–9, 62;
 epidemic as 43–5; modern
 technological advances 131,
 133–5; and vaccination 33–4
 inoculation 15, 16, 16–17, 119, *see*
 also ‘auto-inoculation’
 inspection 124; of immigrants
 139, 142, 152–3; of imperial and
 global movement 137, 142; of
 venereal disease suspects 167,
 170; of vessels and of people
 141–2, 150, 153
 institutionalisation: colonial systems
 82, 186; of epidemiology 9; lines
 and segregations 6; in
 management of leprosy 81, 87,
 93; and the nation-state 116,
 118–19, 121–3; open-air treatment
 in sanatoria 64, 66, 70, 75–6, 77,
 79, 80
 interior frontiers 5–6, 6, 107–13

- International Biological Programme (1960s) 14
- International Hygiene* (Hutt) 142, 143
- International Leprosy Congress (1897) 88
- international relations 135, 147
- internationalism: development of 134, 142
- Invalid Pension Act 78
- invasion 4, 116, 129; anxieties about sex and race 108, 113; and borders 123, 137; by disease 59, 129; vaccination as 15
- The Invention of the Passport* (Torpey) 118–19
- Irving, Helen 125
- Isaacs, Isaac 148
- island-nation: Australia as 13, 116, 124–8, 129, 130, 136
- islands: leper colonies 80, 82, 94, 98, 101–3, 186; lock hospitals 169
- isochronic charts 131, 132
- isolation 7, 189; of Aboriginal people 168–9; anti-vaccinationist activity in Leicester 22; coerced 69, 86; compulsory 51, 80, 90, 104, 106; of consumptives 62, 66–9, 76, 77, 79, 105; of the ‘dangerous’ 59–60, 70; as emergency response to disease 11; eugenics 181, 185; legislative and management powers 61, 62, 80; management of leprosy 81, 82, 83, 88, 90, 91, 94, 98, 100–2, 103, 106, 182–3; natural 14; in quarantine 129–30; racial policies 22, 39, 40, 41, 56–7, 67, 94, 98, 99–100, 103; smallpox quarantine in New South Wales 39, 50, 54, 66; therapeutic 79–80, 86; voluntary 58, 59, 62, 62–3, 69, 76–7, 79, 80, 87, 90, 187
- Jamaica 83, 85, 85–6
- Japan 111–12, 122, 143, 151
- Japanese people 6, 143, 156, 157, 161; pearlsh 149
- Java 89
- Jenner, Edward 17, 25, 28–9, 30
- Jews 1817
- Kanakas *see* South Sea Islanders
- Kern, Stephen 133
- Kimberley, Australia 98, 105
- knowledge: development of techniques 8–9, 38
- Koch, Robert 19, 64, 65, 69, 88
- Koepang 151
- Labor Party 147, 148, 177
- labour *see* indentured labour
- Lambert, Agnes 84, 86
- The Lancet* 50
- laws: and compulsory vaccination 53; control of leprosy 81, 88, 93, 93–4, 99; immigration 138, 140, 143, *see also* legislation
- lazarets/lazarettos 87, 88, 94, 100, 104, 106
- League of Nations 122, 134, 142, 143
- legislation: anti-Chinese 149; quarantine 119–21; to contain infectious diseases 39, 61, 98, 117–23; vaccination 33, 51, 53; venereal disease 168, 169, *see also* laws
- Leicester: anti-vaccinationist activity 22
- leper colonies 62, 80, 84, 87, 88, 91–3, 170; exile-enclosure 10, 12, 13, 82, 90, 91, 101–3, 186
- ‘Leper Line’: Australia 6, 97, 106–7, 161
- lepers: British colonial institutions for 90–1; contagion and segregation 83–93; as ‘dangerous’ 80; Foucault on treatment of 10, 82, 91; island isolation in Australia 93–103; isolation of 69, 86–8, 91–3, 182–3
- leprosaria 88, 98
- leprosy 21, 41, 74, 153, 181; in Aboriginal people 12, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108–9, 113; as an ‘imperial disease’ 81–2, 83–4, 87, 88–9, 93; Australian isolation laws and policies 93–103, 106; and Chinese people 88–9, 95, 96, 99, 108, 110, 142–3, 148; confinement 39, 86, 87, 88; contagion and segregation 83–93,

- 106; debates about contagion 83–93, 94–5, 97, 108, 110, 113–14; debates about segregation and isolation 89–91, 99, 170; detention powers 54, 67, 69, 94, 98; notification of 61; policy and management of 6, 12, 13, 58, 59, 81–2, 88, 98–103, 107; racial distribution 83, 95–7, 103–7; sexuality, contact and race 107–13
- Leprosy Acts (1890s) 69, 88, 94
- Leprosy Commission (1891) 88
- Letters from a Sanatorium* 75–6, 78
- Levine, Philippa 168
- liberalism: arguments against isolation-as-prevention 69; debates on compulsion 52, 93–4, 104, 170; genealogy 40; governance and public health 3, 7–10, 13, 39–40, 61, 62, 115, 122, 170, 177, 189; and self-regulation 76–7, 93; shifting modes of rule 2–3
- liminal places/spaces 40, 129
- lines or barriers 2; quarantine 136, 137, 182; time-distance between nations 130, 133, *see also* borders
- Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine 122
- Lock Hospitals 6, 61, 167, 168, 186
- London 22, 25, 32, 130, 143, 152
- London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine 96
- lunacy 42, 166, 180
- Lunacy Acts 167
- Lupton, Deborah 11, 103
- Macassar 151
- Macau 83
- McClintock, Anne 110
- McGregor, Russell 141
- Mackellar, Dr Charles 118, 120
- Maclean, L.H.J. 23
- Madagascar 83
- Madras 83
- Malay Peninsula 128
- Malay States *see* Sungei Buloh
- Malays: forced onto leper colonies 94
- Manderson, Lenore 135
- Manson, Patrick 81
- maps and mapping 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 136
- maritime quarantine 7, 13, 15, 22, 45, 116, 117–18, 119–20, 124, 125–6, 136, 137, 150–1
- marriage: idea of health screening for 174–7, 175–6, 177–8, 184; promotion of 172
- Marx, John 21
- Mauritius 83
- Mayne, Alan 46
- Mecca: annual pilgrimage from India to 117
- medical history: Cumpston's work 123; on prevention 60; smallpox 15, 23–4, 59; vaccination 16
- Medical Journal of Australia* 94
- medical police 42, 172
- medicine 2, 32, 34; and penal systems 53, 67–8; state or social 7, 40–1, *see also* tropical medicine 'medieval'/premodern systems 82, 86, 90, 98–9
- Melbourne 20, 126
- men: sexual conduct of 178
- mental deficiency 166, 174; and asylums 181; and sterilisation 181–2
- mental health and hygiene 172; eugenic ideas 155, 184; immigration law and regulation 146, 152–3; sanatorium regime 75
- mercantilist states 7–8, 119
- metaphors: of invasion 15; the protective net 124, 125, 126; of public health and hygiene 7, 183, 184; 'seed and soil' 14, 74, 79, 178, 179; the 'social body' 4, 34
- Metchnikoff, Ilya 18–19
- Mexico: US border with 124
- microbes: and air travel 133; asserting origins of 24; early ignorance of 45; studies 158, *see also* epidemiology
- middle classes: consumptives 64, 66, 69, 70, 72, 75–6
- migrants 2, 14

- migration: and connections made by
 leprosy 81, 88–9; imperial and
 biopolitical 88–9, 146–7, 151–7;
 and interwar ideas about infectious
 disease 105, 137–41, 145–6, 156–7,
 182, 184; regulation of 119
- the military: in British colonies 14;
 Commonwealth Army 129; first
 arrivals in Sydney (1788) 41
- military-colonial discourses 14, 129,
 135
- miscegenation 107, 110
- missions and missionaries 14, 25,
 87, 105
- modern period: infectious disease
 segregation 39, 79; leprosy
 management 82; national and
 colonial networks 142; public
 health management 186;
 technology of quarantine 131–3
- Molesworth, E.H. 96, 99, 106
- Molokai, Hawaii 87, 92
- monitoring *see* surveillance
- Montague, Lady Mary Wortley 17
- Montreal 128
- moral concerns: health and
 cleanliness 21–2; image of
 Chinese men 148; sexual conduct
 178; vaccination 22
- morbidity 43, 44
- Morin, Edgar 124
- mortality: infant and maternal 173;
 tuberculosis 59, 65–6
- movement: association of vaccination
 with 15, 16, 38; between nations
 and continents 117, 153;
 biopolitical restriction of 140;
 imperial and global 137, 146–7,
 156; monitoring of in Quarantine
 Station 53; regulation of by
 documents 118–19; regulation of
 in management of leprosy 81;
 restriction of Aboriginal people
 104, 105, 113
- Muir, Dr Ernest 102
- Muslims 117
- Natal 144
- nativism 172
- nation and nationalism 3, 4, 9;
 boundaries of rule 13;
 Commonwealth of Australia 116,
 119–23, 129; eugenics and race
 141; as ‘geo-body’ 115, 136, 137;
 health and identity 4, 111,
 116–17, 123, 135, 147, 162, 178,
 179; ideas during interwar period
 3, 137–41, 146, 180, 189; and
 institutionalisation of public health
 116, 118–19, 121–3; and medicine
 2; and quarantine 116, 117–23,
 129, 135; race and hygiene 2, 3, 5,
 6, 7, 103, 123, 136, 138–41, 144,
 148, 151–7, 158–63, 180, 187–8,
 189
- National Emergency Act (1942) 170
- National Health and Medical
 Research Council (NH&MRC)
 100, 104
- National Socialism 2, 181
- National Vaccine Establishment,
 London 25
- Native Administration Act (1941)
 106–7
- Nauru, Pacific 91–2
- Nazi Germany 2, 138, 177, 178
- Nazis: enclosure of Jews in Warsaw
 7; eugenic policies 165, 166, 178
- neoliberalism 93
- neurasthenia 70, 111
- New Brunswick 81, 83, 87
- New Guinea 157
- New Poor Law 33, 52
- New South Wales 18, 120, 149, 154;
 Board of Health 39, 42–3, 54,
 57–8; bureaucratisation of health
 39, 42, 43–5; Chinese goldseekers
 147; Committees on Vaccination
 21, 28, 32; Eugenics Society 174;
 immigration exclusion measures
 143, 144; Infectious Diseases
 Hospital 94; information on
 leprosy 83, 96–7; interwar
 campaign for health and
 responsibility 178–80, 179;
 Leprosy Act (1890) 69, 88, 94;
 Motherhood Endowment Scheme
 173; notification of infectious

- diseases 61; Prisoners' Detention Act (1908) 169; Royal Society 118; smallpox and vaccination 23, 24, 25, 33, 51–2
- New York: 'Typhoid Mary' 61
- New Zealand 83, 120, 125, 143, 144
- The Nineteenth Century* 84
- Norris, W. Perrin 127
- North Africa: French imperialism 157
- North America 15, 41, 63, 138, 155, *see also* Canada; United States of America
- Northern Territory 147
- Norway: leprosy 83, 88
- notification 61–2, 83; Australian leprosy laws 94; Australian tuberculosis measures 67; policies in Leicester 22; venereal diseases 169
- Office international d'hygiene publique 133–4
- open-air treatment *see* sanatoria
- Orient 117, *see also* Far East
- 'others': exclusion of 5
- Ott, Katherine 64
- Ottoman Empire 16
- Pacific colonies 25, 120, *see also* Nauru
- Pacific Island Labourers Act (1901) 137
- Pacific Islanders 149, 157, 158
- Paddington, Marion 174
- Pan-American Sanitary Bureau 142
- pandemics: AIDS 124–5; influenza 121, 153
- Panopticon 92
- Papua New Guinea 126
- Parkes, Sir Henry 148, 149
- passport 118–19, 142; vaccination 36
- Pasteur, Louis 19
- Pasteur Institute 122
- pathology: of attributes 184; and race 49; of sex and reproduction 166, 172
- Peel Island 94, 99, 101–3
- penal systems: and detention of lepers 98; dovetailing with medical systems 53, 166; and segregation 39, 68, 181, *see also* punishment
- penicillin 170
- peripheries 5
- Perth, Australia 1126
- Petersen, Alan 93, 103
- philanthropic concerns 7, 22, 33, 83, 86
- Philippines 122, 128, 157, *see also* Cullion
- plague 94–5, 98, 117, 118, 126, 131, 135, 153; in Australia 58, 129; 'great white' 59; in India (1896) 40; isolation measures 65, 67, 167; notification of 61
- 'plague towns' 10, 15, 91–2
- Police Offences Act 169
- policing 186; and detention of lepers 92, 98, 104; during cholera epidemics 15; implementation of *cordons sanitaires* 39, 105–6; public health police 42–3; quarantine as 123; and self-policing in sanatoria 70, 76, 80
- polio 61
- political economy 7, 9, 22, 115
- politics: compulsory vaccination 52; debate on sexual conduct and venereal disease 164; of epidemic 43; hygiene 5; in origin-sourcing 24; public health 7–10, 165; racial aspirations of Australia 137, 187; self-monitoring in sanatoria 77; white race and the tropics 159, 161
- the poor 8, 9
- Poor Law *see* New Poor Law
- Poovey, Mary 9
- populations: bureaucratic effect of epidemic 43–5; concept of 9; contact and infection between 15, 21; effect of tuberculosis 59; eugenics 164–6, 180–5; health of 7–10, 13, 33, 42, 58, 115, 116–17, 147, 178, 184, 189; and immigration 145, 145–7, 156,

- 162; New South Wales 51–2; nineteenth-century racial conception of 30; pure and naturally isolated 14, 16; reproduction of 172–4, 180; as social body 4, 8, 9, 33, 34, 42, 44, 166
- Porter, Dorothy 8
- ports: and determining quarantine measures 130–1, *see also* maritime quarantine
- postcolonialism 3, 4
- power: and disciplinary government 10, 91; and Foucault's view of punishment 8, 10; public health and liberal governance 7–8
- prevention: confinement and isolation 60, 69, 70; and contamination 51; debates about leprosy 84, 87, 88, 89; and eugenics 180, 181; legislation 39; new networks in modern period 133–5; and smallpox vaccination 22, 40; tuberculosis 62, 63, 64–5, 69, 77, 79
- preventive geographies 1
- prisons 60, 155, 169
- Proctor, Robert 7
- propaganda: health 166, 171, 173–4, 178–80, 184
- prostitutes 2, 5, 99, 108, 170, 184; Lock Hospitals for 61, 167, 168
- psychological discourse: sanatoria 75, 80
- public health: boundaries of rule 13, 110; British 3, 10; bureaucratisation of 2, 12, 36, 39, 40–1, 42, 43–5; centrality of quarantine 116, 121, 162; and colonial governance 9, 9–10, 13, 14, 188–9; detention 3, 11, 12, 39–40, 42, 51, 53, 56–7, 166–7, 187; and eugenics 165, 166, 180, 184, 185; genealogies 7, 186; and governance 1–2, 2–3, 7–10, 10–12, 13, 33, 51, 166, 186, 189; and imperial policy 171; and national identity 4, 111, 116–17, 123, 129, 135–6, 178; nineteenth-century 'improvement' arguments 21–2; problem of leprosy 81, 95; and race 1, 3–4, 6, 9, 95, 105–7, 109, 110, 114, 136, 137, 142, 163; and segregation 2, 3, 11, 12, 22, 39; significance of tuberculosis 65, 66, 70; spatialised governance 9–10, 33, 42–3, 59–60, 62, 80, 109, 113, 180–1; 'the new public health' 10, 10–11, 79, 186
- Public Health Act (1888), Australia 94
- puerperal fever 61
- punishment: Foucault's view 8; implementation of *cordons sanitaires* 39; for refusing smallpox vaccination 50, 52–3; and treatment of lepers 101–2, *see also* penal systems
- purity: biological and racial 14, 32, 105–6, 109, 162; connected with sex and reproduction 165, 166; imagined community of Australia 5, 13, 110, 111, 128, 131, 137, 138, 154, 162; and resistance to disease 74, 128; and vaccination 12, 29, 35–6, 37, 128
- quarantine: abandonment of for new public health 11, 79, 128, 186; boundaries of rule 1, 6, 12, 40, 103; as central to Australia 116, 121, 124–5, 126, 128–9, 135–6, 150–1, 162, 188; early systems 10, 66, 129; emergency measures for cholera 167; isolation in 129–30; leprosy laws 89; mapping and space-time delineation 130–6; and national borders 6, 115, 123–9, 135–6, 142; and nationalism 116, 117–23, 129, 135; and new Australian Constitution 116, 120–1, 125; powers 116, 121–3, 142, 153; and racialised immigration 137–41, 148, 151, 182; and sanatoria 66, 79; smallpox 36, 40, 41, 42, 45–51, 53–7, 65, 149; stations 39, 80, 84, 88, 94, 98, 125–6, 129

- Quarantine Act (1832) 119
 Quarantine Act (1908) 94, 111, 121, 133, 153
 Quarantine Station, Sydney 39, 40, 41, 47, 48–51, 53, 54–7, 101, 129
 Queensland 120, 125, 131, 149, 157, 170; anti-Chinese agitation 147; immigration exclusion act 143; indentured labour 158; Leprosy Act (1892) 69, 88, 94; leprosy and treatment of lepers 95–6, 95, 97, 99, 100–2, 105, 108; lock hospital system 168
 Queensland Health Act (1911) 168
- race: and Australian management of leprosy 82, 83, 95–7, 99–100, 103, 114; biologising of 30, 32, 145; Cook's theory of transmission of leprosy 108; and creation of Australian nation 136, 137–41; delineation of 13; discrimination against Chinese 94; and eugenics 140–1, 153–4, 164; and exclusion 13, 81–2, 138, 143–4, 149; as factor in 'dangerousness' 60; ideas about im/purities 14, 32, 105; and ideas about tuberculosis in USA 64; ideas during interwar period 3, 109, 111–12, 137–41, 145–6, 154, 158, 163, 180, 189; and imaginings of white Australia 147–51, 162; and immigration restrictions 6, 13, 116, 137–41, 142–4, 147, 151–7, 162, 182; and making boundaries 6, 110; and national hygiene 2, 5, 6, 7, 103, 123, 138–41, 144, 147, 151–7, 158–63, 189; and nationalism 2, 3, 6, 136, 148, 162; and public health 1, 3–4, 6, 9, 95, 105–7, 109, 110, 114, 136, 137, 142; and sexual contact 30, 82, 105–6, 107–13, 166; susceptibility theories 91, 92; theories of immunity 96; and vaccination 17, 29; welfare policies 173, 189; and whiteness of Australia 139, 141, 150, *see also* racial segregation
- Race Improvement Society 171
 Racial Hygiene Association (New South Wales) 154–5, 156–7, 171–2, 175–6, 180
 racial segregation 2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 49; *cordons sanitaires* 1, 82, 103–7, 113, 114; isolation strategies in Australia 57–8, 99–100, 105–7; spatial strategies 104, 109; through immigration acts 158
 Red Cross Societies 134
 reform: of consumptives in sanatoria 70, 72–4, 80, 186
 religious concerns: Christian discourse 82; leprosy 83; vaccination 22
 Report on Consumption (1911), Australia) 66–7, 68
Report on Quarantine... (Norris) 127
A Report to the President of the Board of Health... (Thompson) 37
 reproduction: and eugenic ideas 164, 173–80, 184; and responsibility 164–5, 172, 178–80, 179; and sexual conduct 8, 165, 180–1, 185
 resistance 4, 116, 128; through open-air treatment 74–5
 Richards: Thomas *see* *Animal Vaccination*
 risk: strategies of prevention 60, 186
 Robben Island 81, 87, 92, 107
 Rockefeller Foundation 122, 134, 142
 Rogers, Sir Leonard 89–90, 93–4, 100, 170
 Roman Catholic Church 177
 Rose, Nikolas 7, 76, 77, 189
 Rosen, George 7–8
 Rosenberg, Charles 40
 Royal College of Physicians 83, 84, 85, 88, 99, 107
 Royal Commission on Small-Pox (1883) 46, 54–7
 Royal Society, New South Wales 118
 Royal Vaccine Institute 29
- St Lucia 85
 San Francisco 22
 sanatoria 13, 59, 62, 62–3, 63–5, 66, 170, 186; for Aboriginal people 104–5; as carceral spaces 68, 167;

- coerced and voluntary confinement 59, 62–3, 69, 79; and cultivating healthy citizens 12, 13, 62, 70–9, 80; as modern quarantine 66, 79
- Sanatory Camp, Little Bay (New South Wales) 41, 45, 47–8, 48, 49, 53, 54, 94
- Sanitary Act (1866) 22
- Sanitary Conferences: Australasian (1884) 108, 126, 128, 130, 135; international 118, 124–5, 133, 138, 142
- sanitary reforms 22, 33; quarantine measures 117–23; regulations 126
- sanitary science 10, 34
- sanitation 1, 134, 135, 188
- SARS 187
- Saunders, Suzanne 104
- Scandinavia: compulsory sterilisation 165, 177
- science: racial ideas during interwar period 3, 109, 111–12, 137–41, 145–6, 154, 158, 165, *see also* sanitary science; social sciences
- seamen: and circulation of diseases 2, 142
- Sears, Alan 11
- Second World War 2, 4, 134, 137, 142
- segregation 7, 186, 187; in administration of epidemics 40; borders 38; consumptives in sanatoria 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 79, 104–5; and contagion 14; eugenics 139, 166–7, 180–1, 182, 184, 185, 186; leprosy and leper colonies 13, 82, 83–93, 99, 100–3, 103–7; Lock Hospitals 6; places of infectious disease 39; in public health 2, 11, 12, 22, 39–40, 189; rationales for 84, 85, 167; rigidity of in Australia 107, 122; spatial strategies 46, 79, 184; venereal disease management 166–7, 168–9, *see also* racial segregation
- self: cultivation of in sanatoria 62, 70–7; cultivation of whiteness 111, 113; health and identity of 4, 11; and the immune system 18; interventions in governing of 164, 186; vaccination as invasion of 15, 18, 23, 38
- self-governance 13, 59, 62, 79, 99, 104, 166, 186, 188
- self-surveillance 11, 53, 76–7
- settlement: association of vaccination with 15; Australian 3–4, 111–12, 159, 161; nineteenth-century idea of colonies 155; and racial exclusions 138
- sex and sexual conduct: biological connections 4, 141; connection with politics and power 8; education and hygiene 171–2, 185; and image of Chinese men 148; and regulation of population 164–6, 172, 178, 180–1, 185; and venereal disease 167
- sexology 164, 172
- sexual contact: and making boundaries 6; policing of 105–6; and race 30, 82, 105–6, 107–13, 166
- ships: concerns regarding quarantine 131, 134; control of 115, 141–2, 153, *see also* maritime quarantine
- Siam Mapped* (Thongchai) 115
- Sibley, David 5
- Singapore 131, 134, 151
- smallpox 2, 15, 64, 94–5, 98, 113, 126, 131, 135, 148, 153, 186; documentation of procedures 33, 38; global and colonial tracking of 24; as ‘invading’ Australasian colonies 59, 129; Jenner’s views 28; quarantine measures 6, 12, 36, 39, 48–9, 128, 149; scars 35–8, 37; search for and ideas of origins 23–4, 59; in Sydney 12, 29, 36, 39, 40, 41–51, 51–7, 58, 69, 122, 149, 167; vaccination against 15, 16, 16–23, 35–8, 40, 46–7, 50–1, 128–9; vaccine genealogies 25–32
- Smart, Judith 170
- Smith, Adam 9
- Smith, Kingsford 133
- Smith, Ross 133

- social policy: development of 8, 165
social sciences 8, 22
social spaces: leprosy management 82; re-ordering of 45, 48–9
sociology/sociologists 1, 9, 10, 11, 59–60, 79, 165
soldiers 2, 169, 170
souls: training of consumptives in sanatoria 12, 62, 73, 74, 77, 100; Victorian idea of cleanliness 5
South Africa 110, 144, 182, *see also* Robben Island
South America 138
South Australia 120, 143, 147
South Pacific Islanders ('Kanakas') 12, 94, 99, 108, 110, 148
Soviet Union: propaganda style 178
spaces: heterotopic 62; imagining Australia 129–36, 132; imperial 84; of isolation 83; public health 1–2, 12, 43, 53, 62, 186; quarantined 45, 50, 79, 89, 104, 123; racial 105, *see also* carceral spaces; therapeutic spaces; urban spaces
spatial management: of consumptives in sanatoria 71–2, 79, 80; of Indigenous peoples 81; of public health 43, 82, 105–7, 109, 113, 138, 180–1; racial *cordons sanitaires* 103, 105–6; Victorian modes of 33
species: and vaccination 20, 23, 29
Springthorpe, J.W. 67–8
statistics 8–9, 22, 33, 34, 44–5, 49, 155, 172–3
Stein, Gertrude 133
sterilisation: compulsory 165, 172, 177, 181; and eugenics 181–2, 184, 185
Stern, Alexandra Minna 124
Stoler, Ann Laura 5–6, 107, 113, 166
Stone, Dan 141
Stopes, Marie 154
Story of Medicine (1954) 23
Straits Settlements 3, 83, 131, 157
subjectification 6, 7; nationality and race 147; training of lepers 91, 93
Sudan 124
Suez Canal 117
sugar industry: Queensland 158
sulphonamides 170
Sundstroem, E.H. 160
Sungei Buloh: leper settlement 92–3, 101
surveillance: of borders 123–4; epidemiological 135; management of venereal disease 167; medical 42, 53; national systems 142; of Nauru 'plague town' 91–2; Panopticon 92; in sanatoria 71–2, 78
swine-pox 28
Sydney: Australasian Sanitary Conference (1884) 108, 126, 128, 130; Health Week conference 181; in imagining of Australia 126; infectious diseases hospital 101; lines of hygiene 40; municipal policy on tuberculosis 65; public health isolation 22; smallpox epidemics 12, 29, 36, 39, 40, 41–51, 51–7, 58, 122, 149
Sydney Morning Herald 46
syphilis 20, 32, 83, 95, 107, 170, 183, 184
Syria 86
Tasmania 63, 83, 120, 143, 144
Tauber, Alfred 19
Taylor, T. Griffith 159
technologies: communications 131, 133–5; of government 115, 124; quarantine 131–3, 162; vaccination 24, 26, 38
Teller, Michael 63
theosophist radio station 2GB 172
therapeutic spaces 1, 45, 86, 91
therapies: for neurasthenia 70; new public health strategies 62; treatment of tuberculosis 63, 65, 70, 72–4, 79–80
Thompson, J. Ashburton 37, 96–7, 97, 98, 128
Thongchai, Winichakul 115
Those Who Come After 182, 183
Thursdays Island 125, 126, 131, 151

- time: imagining Australia in 129–36, 132
- Torpey, John 36, 118–19
- Townsville 125, 159, 160
- trade 2, 24, 42, 118, 119, 123, *see also* maritime quarantine
- trade unions 147
- traffic: and hygiene 142
- training: in leper colonies 91; in sanatoria 62, 70, 72–3, 78, 79, 80, *see also* education
- travel: modern advances 131; restrictions on Aboriginal people 107; and vaccination 16, 36, 38
- Trinidad 83, 84
- tropical diseases 74, 81, 84
- tropical medicine 14, 83, 105, 122, 140, 156, 157–63
- tuberculosis 59, 88, 95, 153, 155, 177, 183, 187; changing ideas of 64, 66, 79, 83; isolation of ‘dangerous’ consumptives 62, 64, 66–9, 98; management of 58, 59, 61–6, 67, 69, 79, 80, 104–5, 113; sanatoria 12, 41, 63, 70–7, 104–5
- typhoid 61, 153
- United States of America 144, 177; border with Mexico 124; change in ideas about tuberculosis 64; colour bar 182; immigration exclusion laws 143, 146; sanatorium treatment 63; yellow fever 117, *see also* San Francisco; Washington DC
- upper classes: open-air treatment for consumptives 64
- urban spaces 2, 12, 43, 115; sanatoria for consumptives in early twentieth century 13; segregation of African-Americans in USA 64
- urbanisation: and tuberculosis 64, 79
- Utilitarianism 8
- utopias 6, 180
- vaccination: administration of 33–8, 189; of animals at Bombay 26; arm-to-arm method 34, 35; and colonialism 15, 16, 25–6, 38; compulsory 3, 7, 12, 17, 39, 41–2, 50–1, 51–3, 98, 128–9, 167; cowpox 4, 12, 16, 17–18, 19–20, 36, 40–1, 50–1; documents 119; genealogies 16, 29–32; smallpox 15, 16, 16–23, 35–8, 40, 41, 46–7, 50–1, 128–9; Victorian debates 19–23
- Vaccination and its Evil Consequences* (Morton) 32
- vaccines: communication of matter for 24–5, 29; genealogy 25–9
- variola discreta*: photograph of scars 37
- variolation 15, 16
- Vaughan, Megan 91
- venereal diseases 2, 61, 109, 153, 155, 173, 174, 184; detention and education 98, 154, 166–72; feminist debate 164; Lock Hospitals 6, 61, 167, 186
- Victoria, Queen 120
- Victoria, Australia 36, 61, 83, 94, 97, 120, 147; Eugenics Society 177–8, 183, *see also* Greenvale Sanatorium
- Victorian period: colonial contexts 9; culture of cleanliness 5; global lines of Empire 38; liberalism 2–3; social science 8, 22; vaccination debates and anxieties 15, 19–23, 29
- Virchow, Rudolf 19
- Wales 33, 63
- Walker, David 161
- Warsaw: Nazi enclosure of Jews 7
- Washington DC: International Sanitary Conference (1881) 118
- Watson, J.C. 148
- Weihen, Dr A. Wallace 139
- welfare 3, 8, 64, 117, 122, 165, 172, 173, 189
- West Australia 120, 168–9
- West Indian colonies: leprosy 83, 85
- West Indies 144, 157
- Western Australia 125, 143, 144
- The White Man in the Tropics* (Cilento) 105, 159

- white people: and Australian national policy 3, 4, 123, 126, 128, 137–41, 140, 145, 149, 156, 159; classification of for quarantine measures 6, 49, 50; and eugenics 6, 104, 138–9, 140–1, 145–6, 147, 152, 153, 154, 182, 186–7; and governance-through-freedom 63; leprosy in 81, 83, 89, 95–6, 97, 98, 102–3, 112; and racial imaginings 89, 110–13, 147–51, 154, 158–63; settler societies 1, 3–4, 110–13, 138–9, 186–7; and smallpox in Australasian colonies 59; and tuberculosis in Australia 58, 64, 69, 77, 79, 105; with ‘undesirable’ characteristics 13, 60, 152, 153
- whiteness: management of 2
- Wilkinson, H.L. 182
- Wise Parenthood* (Stopes) 154
- women: compulsory detention and examination of 167, 168; and concerns about reproduction 172–3; and Cook’s theory of leprosy 108; encouragement of whites to tropics 110–13; and eugenic ideas 164; traffic in 142
- Woodruff, Charles Edward 156
- Worboys, Michael 87, 89, 90
- workhouse: tradition of 66, 91
- working classes: anti-Chinese feelings 147–8; anti-vaccinationism in England 52; management of 33; reform institutions 70; and tuberculosis 64, 66, 67, 69; understanding of vaccine scar 36
- World Health Organization 134
- yellow fever 117, 118, 131, 153
- Young, W.J. 159, 160