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Women, Care, and the Settler Nation: The Victorian Country Women's Association, 1928

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Abstract

Care has long been a gendered attribute, frequently associated with women but rarely, until very recently, understood as an ethic and action shaping the built environment. This paper proposes using the lens of care to uncover women's material culture contributions to the built environment. Histories that focus on the formal intersection of architecture and town planning and their professional identities can exclude women makers who, historically had to find other ways to shape built material culture. Under the rubric of care, this paper examines how women makers worked in applied art media across a range of "care" sites through the post-suffrage organisation, the Victorian branch of the Country Women's Association (CWA). This philanthropic organisation was established in 1928 to advance the rights and care of women, children, and families in regional areas. Through exhibitions, media, touring lecturers and an affiliation with the Victorian Arts and Crafts Society, the CWA Victoria used craft and domestic material culture to democratise craft ideals and ameliorate poor environments in rural homes and towns. It fostered public health, welfare and the comfort and repair of self and communities. Through these means the organisation also provided support for the influx of new arrivals generated from the post-war rural reconstruction schemes of soldier settlement and mass migration from Britain. These larger projects allied the CWA Victoria organisation to a post-war settler identity which reanimated settler myths of land. In early twentieth-century Australia, care of the settler, built environment was gendered and racialised, an event that prompts an intersectional reassessment of the feminist model of care.

Introduction

The Country Women's Association of Victoria was founded in 1928. Urban Melbournians are familiar with its fine baked goods, preserves and crafts and its annual displays at the Royal Melbourne Show. In this paper I want to shift the popular

image of the CWA Victoria beyond the scone and argue that the early CWA Victoria fostered women as rural spatial agents of care, repair, and maintenance. These agencies were also propagated within the CWA Victoria's contribution to nation building and a post-World War I settler identity. Examining care in this context requires an intersectional understanding of care, of how gender and race intersect to shape care strategies within the settler nation.

The foundation, leadership and early years of the Victorian CWA can be placed in the context of settler Australia's post-war rural migration schemes and post-war reconstruction. Planning for the post-war future began during the war, with plans for a Soldier Settlement scheme devised to give rural land grants to returned service personnel. Plans also began for assisted post-war immigration from Britain to the settler colonies of South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.¹ Under the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 Australia agreed to take 450,000 UK migrants over the next decade and "to encourage them to go on the land."² Australia would absorb Britain's surplus labour and surplus unmarried women. Australia was imagined (once more) in settler colonial terms as an under-populated nation with vast under-developed resources. Promotional material urged incoming settlers and supporters to migrate and declared, "The world will not tolerate an empty and idle Australia."³ Historians have argued that the Soldier Settlement scheme revived the white colonial dream of the establishment "of a sturdy yeomanry on the Australian land."⁴

This large story narrated here in a small paper, is focused through the activism of three women, two of them CWA members and one not. Biography is a central form of feminist methodology. The excavation of women's everyday lives is part of a feminist concern for documenting women's invisible labour. In part, the analytic concept of "care" has been developed from a feminist concern with 'devalued labors.'⁵ Three women spatial agents focus the narrative of this paper around women's material labour designing care and repair: Lady Eliza Fraser Mitchell, the first state President of the CWA Victoria; the CWA's craft demonstrator Henrietta Walker, a designer, maker, journalist, entrepreneur and taste maker, whose practice of making from bark drew symbolically from First Nations practice; and Jemima Burns Wandin Dunolly, Wurundjeri designer, maker and activist of the material conditions of her own and her family's everyday life. These women are not spatial agents in ways that are legible to architectural history, yet they were engaged with care and concern for material environments.⁶ Mitchell did this through organising, philanthropy and access to elite

networks; Walker through journalism, making, teaching demonstrations and exhibitions; and Dunolly, through design, making, care and activism.

Context

The nexus between the founding of the CWA Victoria and the link to post-war immigration and soldier settler schemes is made visible in the figure of Lady Eliza Fraser Mitchell (1864-1948), the first President of the CWA Victoria.⁷ Mitchell focalises the links between various local and transnational organisations and nation building projects. As first State President of the CWA Victoria she brought considerable leadership experience in health, immigration and settler voluntary organisations.⁸ After war broke out, she became a foundation member of the Red Cross in Victoria and chair of its home hospitals scheme. In 1915 she accompanied her husband to England where she resumed her Red Cross work. In 1918 she became an Assistant Commissioner of the Red Cross as well as a founding member of the Women's branch of the Overseas Settlement Committee, the body established to forward plan post-war immigration to the empire. She returned to Australia in 1919, and in 1921 she became a founding member of the New Settler's League, which is described as "a voluntary auxiliary to the Federal Government's Immigration Department." She was also chair of the League's "Women's Standing Committee" which greeted new arrivals at the Immigration Bureau. In early 1927 the New Settler's League was renamed the "Country Care Committee" to better reflect its activities.⁹ This was the context in which the CWA Victoria was founded the following year in 1928.

The influx of rural migrants produced a larger rural population to whom the CWA would devote some of its care. One of its stated goals was to "arrest the drift to the city." An increased rural population was driven by the imperial immigration and post-war soldier settlement schemes. The numbers were considerable. Through the provisions of the Discharged Soldier Settlement Acts passed in 1916 and 1917, nearly 40,000 returned soldier settlers were placed on the land in Australia, with over 100,000 men, women and children involved in this experiment. In Victoria over 11,000 returned service people, or their relatives, were distributed across the land in all parts of the state.¹⁰ As already noted, the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 committed 450,000 UK migrants to Australia with a preference for migrants to be diverted to rural occupations.¹¹ The migration scheme, as historian Ken Fry observes, activated an "agrarian myth" which "embodied the idea that Australia's vast land resources could best be utilised by small farmers who would produce a surplus for export to the United Kingdom (UK) and

would also provide a market for British manufactured goods.”¹² Australia wide, the soldier settler scheme displaced Indigenous Australians as some Aboriginal mission sites or reserves were allocated to white returning soldiers and inhabitants moved off. Moreover, soldier settlement blocks were overwhelmingly made available to white ex-service personnel. Few Indigenous returning soldiers were successful in their applications for the scheme with only a very few exceptions.¹³ In parallel the rural settlement of “new settlers” reterritorialised the land with White settlers. The Victorian division of the New Settlers League published a pamphlet in 1925 titled, “Keep Australia White: the menace of an empty continent.”¹⁴

Although the rural locations of most branches of the CWA might stamp it as a local organisation, when the Victorian CWA was established in March 1928, in part, it drew on the transnational imperial model of Women’s Institutes,¹⁵ which were first founded in Canada in 1897 and then spread to the United Kingdom, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. Women’s Institutes had been established in Melbourne in 1926¹⁶ and they were quickly absorbed into the CWA. In 1930 the Victorian CWA journal urged readers to “Remember our association is part of a worldwide movement” with over one million women members “spread all over the Empire.”¹⁷ Women’s Institutes had a strong emphasis on handicraft and home industries, inspired by the British Home Arts and Industries Association, established in 1884. The Homes Arts and Industries Association was a women-dominated charitable and philanthropic movement that was part of the English Arts and Crafts formation. The early leadership of the CWA also allied itself to international summits, attending in 1929 and 1930 the International Conferences of Rural Women held in London and Vienna. Lady Mitchell later wrote that her philanthropic work was “work well worth doing to strengthen and maintain the ties that bind us to the Empire.”¹⁸ The first line of the motto of the Victorian branch was “Loyalty to The Throne and Empire.”¹⁹ In April 1931 the organisation’s journal recorded a letter of thanks from the Overseas’ Settlement Department in London, “appreciating all that the Association has done for settlers.”²⁰

In country Victoria the experiment of moving a new demographic to the regions was assailed by problems, notably in the Soldier Settlement scheme. Many failures were built into the project such as participant indebtedness and the lack of surplus capital to invest in stock, machinery, feed and labour. Some soldier settlers arrived on their selections without any prior farming experience. By 1925 the failure of the Soldier Settlement scheme was being publicly discussed and a Royal Commission was

established by the Victorian Parliament to inquire into the settlement project. Its published report was damning.²¹

The provision of welfare and welcome for new rural migrants gave a nation building framework for the foundation of the Victorian CWA. Feminist theorists have argued that care and concern are “intimately entangled in the ongoing material remaking of the world.”²² Shannon Mattern’s 2018 essay “Maintenance and Care” explores maintenance as a category for repairing the broken structures of the world. Care is crucial for “the everyday sustainability of life.”²³ The CWA’s published aims in 1930 demonstrated concern for domestic material environments, as they advocated for “better living conditions for women and children” and aspired as well, “to encourage women and children to interest themselves in town improvement and town-planning schemes and in the beautifying of their homes and general surroundings.”²⁴ The CWA Victoria’s members dealt with material needs that were intensified by the depression and drought but also by the expansion of rural migration and the difficulties new migrants faced.

Domestic living conditions were a key concern for the Victorian CWA. By the end of 1924 in Victoria, 4,442 houses had been made available for the Soldier Settlement Scheme: 2,527 of these were new, others were relocated or renovated or were still under construction. Under the War Service Homes Act houses were built by contractors on behalf of the Housing Commissioner. Some families living on soldier settlements blocks endured very poor housing. Whilst the homeowners of the house at Weerimull South, Mildura (1928) built a neat timber home from local Mallee timber, others lived in hessian sack and corrugated sheet humpies.²⁵ Reports from the CWA branches in the early 1930s record the provision of material welfare for drought relief or economic distress, with the CWA Victoria making financial and material donations, for example by giving bedding to a family.²⁶ In undertaking this kind of work the CWA were engaging in care for families and individuals.

This concern for material environments was part of a larger interest in aesthetics and material culture. Craft activities had been an integral activity of the Home Industries committees that had been part of the Women’s Institutes, the group that had been absorbed by the Victorian CWA. The CWA established a craft library in Melbourne in 1928, followed by craft exhibitions. It instituted the “Handicrafts and Home Industries Committee” and promoted its activities and craft ideals through the association’s

magazine *Country Crafts* (founded in 1930). Interest in making was multifarious. The organisation recognised that making and maker activities were key mechanisms for attracting new members, noting in 1931 that craft was, “one of the strongest reasons for many members joining who would not associate themselves with a purely welfare organisation.”²⁷ The organisation used craft to promote recreational, financial and aesthetic ideals, including the repair and improvement of environments. Craft also shaped the identity of the organisation and its members.²⁸ By using craft to promote recreational, financial and aesthetic ideals, the association was also building the community identity of the CWA and rural women. Metropolitan exhibitions and demonstrations promoted these rural and communal identities to city audiences. The CWA Victoria was shrewd in its choice of urban headquarters and exhibition venues, choosing spaces – as Julie Willis noted in response to the spoken version of this paper – aligned with the Royal Australian Institute of Architects Victorian branch.

The organisation’s serious commitment to craft was bolstered in 1930 when the CWA Victoria appointed Henrietta Walker as its first craft demonstrator. Walker was a high-profile maker and authoritative commentator on craft, who had been exhibiting with the Arts and Crafts Society of Victoria since 1921. She was a Council Member of the Arts and Crafts Society through the 1920s and as an exhibitor displayed mainly basketry but also needlework and weaving.²⁹ She convened a section of the Society’s 1922 Exhibition but held her own exhibitions in the early 1930s in a family residence in inner city Melbourne (South Yarra), where in December 1933 she exhibited “Hooked Work, and Reed, Rush and Bark Baskets.”³⁰ She was a long-time advocate of craft as a means for enabling women’s economic independence. Her feminist commitment that reconfigured the Arts and Crafts ideal of the autonomous craftsman who would be liberated from industrial wage dependency. Women craft workers would be liberated from economic indebtedness to husbands, brothers and fathers.

In choosing Henrietta Walker the CWA supported Walker’s view of craft as an economic activity. The CWA understood that rural women carried the double burden of both rural property work and household work. The first issue of *Country Crafts* contained Walker’s essay “A Profitable Home Industry Hooked Rug-Making” in which she promoted the economic benefits of rug making as a family enterprise.³¹ Mindful of the impoverished circumstances of some of its members, the journal also promoted textile craft as a recycling activity, reminding homemakers that they could produce rugs from clean “waste woollens.”³²

Walker toured country towns to provide demonstrations to CWA members. For example, she judged a local “Women’s Work” exhibition in April 1931 at Wangaratta in St Patrick’s Hall,³³ and on the same tour visited numerous towns, including Colac, Cobains Estate, Orbost and Bairnsdale, then Terang, Mortlake and Hamilton³⁴ She wrote up these experiences for CWA readers in her essay “The Way of a Demonstrator.”³⁵

It was a mutually beneficial relationship. Through the CWA organisation and journal pages, Walker’s books and products were introduced to a broader, non-metropolitan audience. Her business enterprises found new consumers. Each edition of *Country Crafts* journal carried an advertisement for her shop in Regent’s Place, Melbourne. An advertisement advised readers that they could also request a mail order delivery of Walker’s hook-rug book with an accompanying hook starter kit. Through these demonstrations, maker kits and her essays, Walker helped the CWA propagate an Arts and Crafts interwar taste culture. In the next section, I explore how she introduced members to an increasingly transnational craft discourse that fostered regional identity, in which the material practices of craft could be mobilised to create an affective settler relationship to landscape and a mythic settler past. The work of maintaining material environments by enhancing them with craft, could also be a way of cultivating and maintaining settler identity.

Bark: An Everyday Medium for National and Transnational Taste Making

In one of its early issues, *Country Crafts* (March 1931) published an essay by Eva Butchart, a member of the Melbourne-based Arts and Crafts Society.³⁶ Butchart was a prominent weaver who had studied at the centre of Arts and Crafts weaving in Haslemere, Surrey, just before the war.³⁷ Her essay introduced CWA readers to familiar Arts and Crafts concepts, notably the binary of handcraft and industry, driven by the spectre of endangered craft traditions. She noted that handloom weavers were “endeavoring to create an interest in the old hand crafts, which were in danger of being blotted out of existence by the overwhelming force of modern industry.” However, she also encouraged CWA readers to arrest this decline by introducing them to a history of weaving whereby craft traditions could be preserved by the everyday practices of women. Tracing the transmission of weaving she declared that immigrants from Europe to North American were “bringing with them the arts and customs of old civilisations to be grafted on a new life in a new world. The dust of their bodies has

passed into the making of a nation, their names are forgotten, but in nearly every American home there is an heirloom, a hand woven coverlet.”³⁸ She encouraged readers to think of their craft practice as an embodied knowledge and the role of ordinary women’s bodies in migration and memory. Craft could be a means for enacting an affective relationship to the past, that is, knowing history through structures of feeling.

Walker’s own practice revealed how craft might be a lens for constructing settler identity. Across the pages of *Country Crafts*, Walker promoted working with bark which was one of her specialisations. In 1921 she had founded the Bungalook Basketry Guild, aiming to provide employment for returned disabled service people. Although Walker had originally established herself as a raffia maker, war conditions had curtailed supplies of imported raffia, and she had turned to bark as a basket making material. Walker helped popularise bark work as a material craft that could be practised at home. For Walker the material medium, the bark and its working carried settler identity affiliations. In 1922 Walker urged readers of the *Woman’s World* magazine to imagine the symbolic connotations of bark, to “think of the old bark roofs of our ancestors.”³⁹ This connection back to colonial origins recoded bark to give it a white Australian history and establish bark products as a white material culture tradition. In her book *Profitable Hobbies* (1920s), Walker explained and illustrated the practices of bark collection from particular tree species and described the preparation of raw bark. She included photographs of specific tree species and images of how to work the material. She informed readers that the Aboriginal word for bark was “Bungalook”, although this is not quite accurate, since bungalook is a Wurundjeri word for stringybark.

Walker’s endorsement of natural materials that were hand gathered and fashioned with Australian and regional motifs endorsed ideologies of the Arts and Crafts Society. Her first publication in the *Country Crafts* journal on hooked rug making promoted US and Anatolian sources for rug making. Her work can be situated within an interwar craft discourse that was increasingly transnational in its networks and stylistic sources, but nationalistic in its local articulation.⁴⁰ Anatolian, North American First Nations Navaho and Māori examples were prominent in this period and although books could provide access to these craft practices, we do not know what particular sources Walker used as the basis for her own work.⁴¹ In her research work on the Australian, Sydney-based artist Margaret Preston, Catriona Moore noted how Preston participated

in the interwar fashion for ethnic and Indigenous chic.⁴² Preston used mat hooking to explore the formal vocabulary of “modernist primitivism” and “regional symbolism.”⁴³

Walker’s bark work and bark promotion is an under-recognised part of settler Australia’s increasingly appropriative relationship to First Nations craft practice. The larger settler turn to Indigenous art practice is often associated with Preston, whose 1925 essay in *Australian Home Beautiful* had urged readers to visit museums in search of Indigenous design motifs to “try and apply in your homes.”⁴⁴ Moore includes Walker’s bark basket making in her research work on Preston but this investigation could be further developed by understanding how craft could forge a transnational settler identity.⁴⁵

Walker’s appropriation of a Wurundjeri word for stringy bark is the only surviving clue to a formal link between her own work and First Nations’ craft practice. However, Walker’s Ringwood home was not too far from the Coranderrk mission station where basket makers such as Jemima Burns Wandin Dunolly continued Woi Wurrung cultural traditions of gathering reeds and making coiled baskets, which were then sold to tourists in the opening decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ One of Dunolly’s fine spherical baskets is held in the Museum Victoria collection.⁴⁷

Coranderrk had a long history as a centre of strong activism and in some instances, Dunolly used care to shape the terms of her activism. In 1912, in her exchanges with the Aborigines Protection Board, Dunolly appropriated the terms of care that the Board claimed as its motive force. Dunolly demanded that the Board live up to its promise of care (by giving her a home) at the same time she asserted her own sovereignty and independence: “I am of the opinion now that I would like a home of my own with the help of the Board for Protection of Aborigines for which I think I am now justly entitled.... p.s. I would like 50 acres to make a living as well.”⁴⁸ She also went into advocacy with the Board over her son’s military service pay during the First World War. The government claimed that her residence under the protection of the Board of Aborigines meant that she should forfeit her enlisted son’s military allotment. Here she again asserted her capacity to care for her son and her careful management of the money to provide care parcels for her son, to support an enlisted serviceman who was fighting for the nation.⁴⁹ These episodes from Dunolly’s biography highlight how care was racialised and institutionalised. Although Dunolly asserted her sovereign independence and ability to care for house, family and land, the Board operated within

a racialised paternalist model of care, one that established a welfare institution as the arbiter of the meaning, value and operation of care within the lives of First Nations' subjects.

Recent feminist scholarship that underpins this paper has recuperated care as a positive attribute: as an analytic category that can reformulate women's invisible but important labours of repair and maintenance of the built environment. However, this conceptual paradigm will need to develop an intersectional notion of care, a theoretical project that can only be invoked here but whose full realisation lies beyond this paper. In early twentieth-century Victoria care was feminised and racialised. A racialised welfare state enacted "care" through institutions which legalised intervention at microscopic level into the lives of Indigenous Australians, including the forced removal of children from Indigenous families, now known as the "Stolen Generations."⁵⁰

Care, repair and maintenance of home, interiors, furnishings and families have frequently been the work of women. The reinvigoration of care as an analytic category of history has been useful in conceptually expanding design environments to include processes of maintenance and repair. Focusing on the CWA Victoria has unearthed a surprising and little publicly known aspect of the CWA's foundation: its alignment through key personnel and care work with key post-war reconstruction projects. These activities sought not only to provide homes fit for heroes but to also strengthen imperial bonds through migration schemes that promoted white settlement of the interior. Further research is needed to examine these entanglements.

Investigating the centrality of craft to the CWA also reveals an unknown history of the organisation's alignment with the Arts and Crafts Society and the promotion of interwar craft as a widespread and varied sphere of production.⁵¹ Craft too was bound up with settler identity. The CWA demonstrator Henrietta Walker is a key node for connecting members to an increasingly transnational craft practice and the increasing appropriation of Australia's First Nations craft practice in interwar settler identity. Although the inclusion of Walker and her bark baskets seems to take this paper far from the sphere of built environment production, Walker was teaching her readers to re-value the bark buildings of settler ancestors and to encode this history within a naturalised tradition of making. Under the auspices of the CWA Victoria the domestic sphere of craft production circulated through the media of magazines, newspapers and metropolitan and rural exhibitions. Through its early leadership the organisation was

allied to larger nation building projects that staked out rural territory as an important sphere of post-war reconstruction. Care was part of the building of the post-war nation.

Endnotes

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- ³ New Settlers League of Australia Victoria Division, *New Settlers Handbook to Victoria* (Melbourne: The League, 1924), 11-12.
- ⁴ Fry, "Soldier Settlement and the Australian Agrarian Myth," 32.
- ⁵ Maria Puig de la Bellacasa, "Matters of Care in Technoscience: Assembling Neglected Things", *Social Studies of Science*, 41, no.1 (2011): 100, quoted in Shannon Mattern, "Maintenance and Care," *Places Journal*, November 2018, <https://doi.org/10.22269/181120>, accessed 14 July 2022.
- ⁶ See "On Margins: Feminist Architectural Histories of Migration," a dossier directed by Rachel Lee and Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi, in *ABE Journal Architecture Beyond Europe*, no. 16 (2019), journals.openedition.org/abe/7126, accessed 10 July 2022.
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- ⁸ Brenda Stevens-Chambers, *The Feisty Phoenix: The REAL Story of the Country Women's Association of Victoria 1928-1908* (Toorak, Vic: Country Women's Association of Victoria, 2008), 5.
- ⁹ Stevens-Chambers, *The Feisty Phoenix*, 6.
- ¹⁰ Marilyn Lake, *The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlements in Victoria, 1915-1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), xviii.
- ¹¹ Fry, "Soldier Settlement and the Australian Agrarian Myth," 31.
- ¹² Fry, "Soldier Settlement and the Australian Agrarian Myth," 29.
- ¹³ Tim Lee, "'They were Back to being Black': The Land Withheld from Returning Indigenous Soldiers," Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 14 April 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-04-14/land-withheld-from-indigenous-anzacs/10993680>, accessed 21 February 2020.
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- ¹⁵ Stevens-Chambers, *The Feisty Phoenix*, 13.
- ¹⁶ Stevens-Chambers, *The Feisty Phoenix*, 13.
- ¹⁷ "Editorial," *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 1 (December 1930): 2.
- ¹⁸ Swain, "Mitchell, Eliza, Lady."
- ¹⁹ Included on the front page of the *Country Crafts* journal.
- ²⁰ "News from the Handicraft and Home Industries Committee," *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 5 (April 1931): 48.
- ²¹ Fry, "Soldier Settlement and the Australian Agrarian Myth," 32.
- ²² Bellacasa, "Matters of Care," 86.
- ²³ Bellacasa, "Matters of Care," 94.
- ²⁴ "Aims", *Country Crafts*, 1, no.,3 (February 1931): 1.
- ²⁵ See Frank March, "A house being built on a soldier settlement block in the Mallee, Werrimull South, west of Mildura, 1928", black and white photograph, Museum Victoria, <https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/773785> and "Photograph of a soldier settler's 'bag humpy' at Nandayly in 1921", Public Record Office Victoria, "Family Life on settlement blocks", 3 December 2015, <https://prov.vic.gov.au/about-us/our-blog/family-life-settlement-blocks>
- ²⁶ "Notes from Head Office, The Mallee Relief", *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 7 (June 1931): 71.
- ²⁷ Stevens-Chambers, *The Feisty Phoenix*, 195.

²⁸ Janice Helland, Beverly Lemire and Alena Buis, "Introduction," in *Craft, Community and the Material Culture of Place and Politics, 19th-20th Century*, ed. Janice Helland, Beverly Lemire and Alena Buis (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 2.

²⁹ Caroline Miley, *The Arts Among the Handicrafts: the arts and crafts movement in Victoria* (Banyule, Victoria; St Lawrence Press, 2001), 178.

³⁰ Australian Arts & Artists Collection (AAA) Artists File, "Henrietta Walker", State Library of Victoria.

³¹ Henrietta Walker, "A Profitable Home Industry Hooked Rug-Making", *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 1 (December 1930): 4.

³² Henrietta Walker, *Profitable Hobbies: Hooked Rugs, Bark, Flax and Rafia Work* (Melbourne: Lloyd Jones Printing, 192?), 4.

³³ "Forthcoming Events", *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 3 (February 1931): 29.

³⁴ "News from the Handicraft and Home Industries Committee", *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 4 (March 1931): 36.

³⁵ "Henrietta Walker, The Way of a Demonstrator", *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 4 (April 1931): 63.

³⁶ Miley, *The Arts Among the Handicrafts*, 167.

³⁷ Miley, *The Arts Among the Handicrafts*, 167.

³⁸ Eva Butchart, "Hand Weaving," *Country Crafts*, 1, no. 4 (March 1931): 38.

³⁹ Diana Kaye, "Bungalook Basketry," *Woman's World*, 1 July 1922, 15-17, quoted by Miley, *The Arts Among the Handicrafts*, 128. Issue subsequently missing from State Library of Victoria.

⁴⁰ Examples of the Anatolian influenced work are found in Henrietta Walker, "How to Make Tufted Rugs in Cotton, Silk and Wool," *The Australian Home Beautiful*, September 1926, and a later design similar to Preston's Māori inspired work is found in her design published in *Australian Home Beautiful*, 1 July 1933. See Catriona Moore, "Craftwork: Margaret Preston, Emily Carr and the Welfare Frontier," *The Journal of the History of Culture in Australia* (2006): 68.

⁴¹ The State Library of Victoria has numerous holdings from this period that would have been useful sources such as Augustus Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race* (1896) and George Wharton James, *Indian Basketry* (1902), as well as S. Humphries, *Oriental Carpets* (1910) and F. Sarre, *Old Oriental Carpets* (1926) amongst numerous works on carpet production.

⁴² Moore, "Craftwork," 63.

⁴³ Moore, "Craftwork," 59.

⁴⁴ Margaret Preston, "The Indigenous Art of Australia," *The Australian Home Beautiful*, 1 March 1925, 52.

⁴⁵ Moore, "Craftwork," 63.

⁴⁶ For tourism and craft at Coranderrk see Ian Clark, *"A Peep at the Blacks": A History of Tourism at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, 1863-1924* (Warsaw: De Gruyter Open, 2015).

⁴⁷ The Museum Victoria catalogue entry is: Jemima Wandin, Item X72537, Basket, Coranderrk, Port Phillip, Victoria, Australia, c.1910,

<https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/221220>.

⁴⁸ Jemima Dunolly to Secretary of BPA, January 1912, in *Letters from Aboriginal Women of Victoria, 1867-1926*, ed. Elizabeth Nelson, Sandra Smith and Patricia Grimshaw (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2002), 136; PROV, VPRS 1694/P0, unit 3, quoted in Patricia Grimshaw and Hannah Loney, "'Doing their Bit Helping Making Australia Free': Mothers of Aboriginal Diggers and the Assertion of Indigenous Rights," *Journal of the Public Records Office of Victoria*, no. 14 (2015), para. 15, <https://prov.vic.gov.au/explore-collection/provenance-journal/provenance-2015/doing-their-bit-helping-make-australia-free>.

⁴⁹ Grimshaw and Loney, "Doing their Bit," para.17.

⁵⁰ For the Victorian history see "The Archived History of Stolen Generations in Victoria", from "The Stolen Generations Reparations Steering Committee Report", 18 June 2021, www.vic.gov.au/stolen-generations-reparations-steering-committee-report/chapter-2-victorian-stolen-generations-0.

⁵¹ See Helland, Lemire and Buis, *Craft, Community and the Material Culture of Place*.