



***AUSTRALASIAN STUDY OF  
PARLIAMENT GROUP  
(Queensland Chapter)***

**HOW POLITICAL EPHEMERA CAN TELL US  
ABOUT OUR POLITICAL HISTORY AND PROVIDE  
A SNAPSHOT OF THE ISSUES OF OUR TIME**

**TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS**

**MONDAY, 22 MAY 2017**

**Brisbane**

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

## MONDAY, 22 MAY 2017

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**Mr GIBSON:** I would like to begin by noting the apologies from Mr Speaker. The ASPG-Q has always been well supported by the Speaker of the parliament and we are grateful for his support. I also acknowledge that we have the Leader of the House here tonight, which is a great honour. Thank you very much for joining us and making time available to be here. We do appreciate that.

I commence by respectfully acknowledging the traditional owners of the land upon which we gather, the Jagera people and the Turrbal peoples. I pay my respects to elders past, present and emerging and acknowledge the important role that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people continue to play in our community—quite noted for all that is happening this week with the Reconciliation Council. I recognise those whose ongoing efforts to protect and promote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders' cultures will leave a lasting legacy for future elders and leaders.

I have some housekeeping elements. This is my best impression of a flight attendant. In the event of an emergency, follow me; I will be waving my arms screaming and moving in the right direction. If you can keep up with me, you will be doing well. We will be provided with directions from the parliamentary staff if the emergency tone is issued. If you do require any of the restroom facilities they are out along the corridor. The women's facilities are immediately to your right and the gents will have to walk a little bit further, so do plan your time accordingly.

Hansard, thank you for recording this. I cannot believe I just said what I said knowing that it is actually being recorded. These proceedings are recorded by Hansard. We do appreciate the support they have provided for us. It ensures that those who are unable to attend are able to read the presentations of previous presenters, and I am sure that tonight's presentation will be just as interesting. On that note, the Australasian Study of Parliament Group is a bipartisan group. We look to different topics, different themes, different areas that we can draw upon that are of interest to our members and to the broader body politic.

The ASPG-Q was established in May 1993 as a nonpartisan body to encourage and stimulate research, writing and teaching about parliamentary institutions in Australia in order to generate a better understanding of their functions. The Queensland chapter is quite active. We hold three events a year on topical issues relating to the parliament in Queensland and Australia.

Tonight we will be considering how political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time. Those of us who have ever been involved in any form of political campaign know that you use materials, from the ubiquitous how-to-vote card through to the corflutes that you beg people to put up in their front yards or you stand on corners waving, which I am proud to say I never did. There are also posters. There are direct mails, stickers and clothing. We do a whole range of things to appeal to voters during the campaigns. These materials are known as ephemera because of their fleeting nature. They were not meant to last beyond a political election campaign, and that is never more clearly seen than when MPs drag out their old corflutes trying to re-use them. If you happen to have been in the National Party and then it becomes the Liberal National Party you are stuffed, because you have to go out and pay for new ones. Some political parties apparently have challenges as to who pays and who does their printing. I do not want to get involved in that. We broadly cross over all areas here. Thankfully, though, this material does survive and it gives us a snapshot of the past, what people campaigned about and what were the issues of that particular election. Were people running on an individual candidate profile or were they running on the party brand?

Dr Lorann Downer is the State Library of Queensland's 2016 John Oxley Library Fellow. That is a very impressive title. She is conducting research at the library into a century of political ephemera and how it is used to promote political campaigns throughout Queensland. After a successful career in journalism, Dr Downer turned to academia. She was awarded her PhD by the University of Queensland in 2014 for her work on the global trend towards branding in democratic politics and the analysis of branding strategies of the Australian Labor Party from 2007 to 2010. Since then she has lectured in Queensland politics at the

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

University of Queensland and helped lead the university's involvement with the Vote Compass—Queensland project in 2015. Her first book, *Political Branding Strategies: Campaigning and Governing in Australian Politics*, was published in 2016. Ladies and gentlemen, join with me as we welcome Dr Downer.

**Dr DOWNER:** Thank you, David, and thank you to everybody for coming tonight. I also want to say a thankyou to the ASPG for inviting me here to talk about my work as the John Oxley Library Fellow for 2016. I am going to tell you a little bit about my research into political ephemera across a century, from 1915 to 2015. I am going to focus in particular on one of the most fascinating pieces that I have found in the collections, and along the way I will showcase some of the other fabulous pieces as well. I ask tonight, if you do not mind, for you to not photograph the pieces. That would be appreciated. Thank you.

My research involves digging into the ephemera collections that are held in the John Oxley Library, and this is how they come out: in cardboard boxes and in all kinds of packaging. It is a fabulous thing to put on the white gloves and go digging through them. I should note that the library relies on donations for ephemera and for some reason or other it gets a lot more Labor Party material than conservative. If you have anything at home, feel free to donate.

Ephemera, as David has mentioned, includes things like how-to-vote cards, pamphlets and posters like these from the Labor Party in 1923. It includes direct mail, stickers, even life-sized cardboard cut-outs like these from 2004 and T-shirts, caps and bags such as these from 2012. This material is often considered junk but, from my point of view, far from being junk, I think ephemera offers an incredible window into a particular period, particular passions and priorities. It captures moments in time and it helps to tell the stories of our state.

One of these stories is voters' preference for strong leaders such as Labor's William Forgan Smith, the Nationals' Joh Bjelke-Petersen, Wayne Goss and Campbell Newman. Another in the pantheon of strong leaders that have taken the Queensland political stage was Ned Hanlon. He was a Labor MP for 26 years and premier from 1946 to 1952. Hanlon is often described as an autocrat. He is known for acting against striking workers. He introduced the first electoral zone system, which was the precursor of Joh's gerrymander, and he is generally known for governing with an iron fist, but Hanlon almost did not become premier.

In 1938, when he was still the minister for health and home affairs, he almost lost his seat of Ithaca in a legal challenge. The challenge was mounted by the Protestant Labour Party candidate in Ithaca, George Sydney Webb, whom Hanlon beat by just 456 votes in the election that was held on 2 April 1938. In his appeal to Mr Justice Edward Douglas, who was sitting as the elections tribunal, Webb claimed that Hanlon's election was void on several grounds. These were that ballot boxes were illegally removed from the polling place on the night of 2 April; that the electoral returning officer counted contingent votes—that is, optional preference votes—before counting the primary, absentee and postal votes, as required by law; that voters were intimidated; that false statements were published about Webb; and that an unsigned pamphlet was published. This action became known as the Ithaca petition.

In October 1938 Justice Douglas declared that Hanlon was in fact not duly elected, but Hanlon appealed to the full court and won a reversal of this decision in December. Webb sought the right to appeal to the High Court, but his application was denied in February 1939 and Hanlon was declared duly elected. I vaguely knew about this near-death experience of Hanlon, but it certainly was not front of mind as I was going through the box from the John Oxley Library collections for 1938. The year 1938 was pretty exciting for a political tragic and an ephemera geek like me, and I happen to know it is also the favourite year of the Leader of the House. I know that from our Twitter exchanges as we geek out over political ephemera.

The campaign for this election is often described as bitter and even one of the dirtiest and most tumultuous on record. This was due to the sectarian or religious divisions that followed the formation of the Protestant Labour Party in 1937 in response to concerns about the influence of Catholics within the Labor Party. Protestant Labour stood candidates in 23 of the 62 seats that existed at the time and drew almost 47,000 votes from Labor. Throughout the campaign Protestant Labour attacked Labor and its connections with the Catholic Church, as we can see from this quote from one Protestant Labour candidate, who claimed, 'The Roman Catholic Church is definitely dictating the policy of the present Labor government.' Labor returned fire, describing the Protestant Labour Party as 'sectarian mongers who are viciously anti Labor'.

Religious leaders joined the debate. Here we have the Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, James Duhig, speaking of 'abuse and misrepresentation' of the Catholic Church. Reverend Norman Millar, President of the Queensland Council of Churches, responds, 'Conflict between the constitution and

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

activities of the Vatican State and the constitution and functioning of a free democracy is inevitable.' Here Presbyterian minister Reverend Robert Bousfield urges people to consider 'deeds not creeds'. Even the Godless communists weighed in, with leader Jack Henry wanting to 'clean up the monster of sectarian strife', while his party urged voters to 'renounce sectarian splitters of every brand'.

Then, amongst all this colour and movement—against all this insult and counterattack—I found a small, plain, typewritten document. I took a closer look. Here is the headline. It says, 'Electors of Queensland. Do you know who are the leaders of the Protestant Labour Party?' It then goes on to make outrageous, libellous claims against senior figures in the Protestant Labour Party—claims of embezzlement, theft and non-payment of bills, claims of professional misconduct, abortion and even spying and claims about an unfaithful husband who frequented 'third-rate hotels after hours with women of doubtful virtue'. The piece ends by urging people to 'vote against these Moral Lepers'. Apart from being highly defamatory of the individuals named, there was no authorisation, which was illegal under section 106(2) of the Criminal Code, which states—

Any person who prints, publishes or posts any bill, placard or poster which has reference to an election and which does not bear on the face of it the name and address of the printer and the publisher ... is guilty of an offence.

It seemed like I was looking at what is known in the business as a dirt sheet. I was very keen to confirm its provenance and I started working the clues.

The headline was very similar to one I had seen on a properly authorised Labor Party pamphlet. This piece asked voters: 'What do you know of the people who comprise the so-called Protestant Labour Party?' It features a graphic depicting a 'Sectarian devil', meant to represent the Protestant Labour Party, wading through 'Sectarian filth'. It urges voters to examine the careers of Protestant Labour associates and consider whether they deserve support at the coming election.

At the bottom is the required authorisation from Clarrie Fallon, who was Labor's campaign director, and the identification of the printer, which was *The Worker* newspaper, a union run and Labor affiliated publication from 1890 to 1974. This pamphlet was definitely a Labor publication. The similarity in some of the language between this pamphlet and the unsigned pamphlet may have meant that the second piece was also produced and distributed by Labor or a Labor associate or it may have meant that it was produced and distributed by a Labor enemy trying to implicate the party in wrongdoing and perhaps also earn a sympathy vote for Protestant Labour at the same time.

I began checking other sources for information about the Ithaca petition generally and this pamphlet in particular. I started with the Former Members Register on the Queensland parliament website which offered a great summary of Hanlon's career but no mention of the Ithaca petition. I next went to Hanlon's entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, which recounted the bare details of the legal action but nothing more. I also checked the entry for Justice Douglas—again, the basic details and nothing more. Next I consulted *Three decades of Queensland political history, 1929-1960*—a page turner, can I tell you! I found two and a bit pages dedicated to the Ithaca petition. Among the detail was a little bit more about the unsigned pamphlets, including that Justice Douglas found that two men who were agents of Hanlon had distributed unsigned pamphlets with Hanlon's knowledge and consent—still no direct quotes from the pamphlet. I sought out other scholarly sources. I consulted *The Premiers of Queensland*. Under the entry on Hanlon, there was a summary only of the legal action. There were no details in *Labor in Queensland from the 1880s to 1988* or in *A History of Queensland* by Raymond Evans.

I turned then to Google Scholar and found a book called *The Most Dangerous Man in Australia?*, written by Barbara Winter and held in the John Oxley Library. Winter mentions the pamphlet as part of a story about one of the people named in it and also repeated some of the allegations made in the pamphlet, so it seemed very probable that I was holding in my hand a copy of the pamphlet that had featured in the Ithaca petition, but this book did not have any direct citations for the pamphlet and I wanted to be sure, so I called on the services of my friend and colleague and researcher extraordinary Simon Kelly. We worked together and reviewed the evidence I had already collected and went searching for other sources. From his work on minor parties in Queensland, Simon knew about a UQ honours thesis on the Protestant Labour Party. This thesis canvassed some of the court case but gave no detail about the pamphlet in question.

We next went to *Hansard*, the official record of the Queensland parliament, and found something on 25 October 1938. During debate on budget supply for the departments of health and home affairs, which were Minister Hanlon's portfolios, George Morris, who was the Protestant Labour Party member for Kelvin Grove, made reference to an incident in the Kurilpa electorate. The Temporary Speaker ruled that Morris

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

could not discuss this matter nor the distribution of election related literature on 1 April because the Elections Tribunal had ruled that it was sub judice. The Ithaca petition, and the pamphlet in particular, could not be discussed while the case was under consideration by the court.

Presumably though, the case could be reported in the media, so I turned to newspaper records on Trove. In reports in the Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* on 27 September and the *Courier-Mail* on 28 September, I learned that Justice Douglas had ruled that the pamphlet was admissible as evidence and that two copies were tendered, so perhaps some of the content was reported in the newspapers. The *Telegraph* of 26 September 1938 carried a report of the case and briefly referenced a pamphlet 'about the careers of members of the party'—presumably Protestant Labour—'which they'—presumably the authors—'were not game enough to sign or authorise'.

Finally, there was some harder evidence in *The Truth* on 12 February 1939—who knew?—in a report of a court case involving John Quinlan, who was alleged to have distributed the pamphlets, although this charge was later dismissed. Part of the offending pamphlet was read to the court. It said—

Electors of Queensland. Do you know who are the leaders of the Protestant Labour Party? President 'Digger' George Webb enlisted for Home Service, and after one year's arduous service, for which he received a Home Service gratuity, resigned to join the Methodist Ministry on probation. Why did he not continue? Was his relations with the woman in the train the cause? If so, we admire him for doing once in his life the honourable thing.

That was word for word with the pamphlet in the John Oxley Library collection. I think it is important to note for the record that Webb told the Elections Tribunal that the pamphlet contained false statements concerning his conduct and character and also that others named in the pamphlet rejected the claims made against them.

I went on to the University of Queensland Law Library to see what I could dig up from the law reports. I found what I was looking for in a report on the case in the *Queensland State Reports of 1938-1939*. This was a report of Hanlon's appeal against the findings of the Elections Tribunal, and it included a lot of detail from the original case, including the fact that Justice Douglas found that the pamphlets were widely distributed in Hanlon's seat of Ithaca on the night of 1 April, the night before the election. Even more excitingly, Justice Douglas read out more of the pamphlet than had been reported in the newspapers. In addition to the paragraph that was carried in the papers, he also read—

Webb, last week, was to be prosecuted by the Justice Department for embezzling 300 pounds of trust funds. The amount was found by Archibald, of the Brisbane Milling Company—a well-known Tory.

Again, this was word for word with the pamphlet. Now I am confident that the pamphlet that is in the John Oxley Library collection is a copy of the material that featured in the case of *Webb v Hanlon*. My search is still not quite complete. I would still like to see copies of the pamphlet that were tendered as evidence during the original hearing, if they still exist after 80 years. After consulting my lawyer friend Tim Grau about where to go next, I have started working through the intricacies of the archives of the Supreme Court Library.

After all that, what does it all mean? What does this one piece of ephemera add to the story of politics in Queensland? This piece speaks to the anger and the desperation of the 1938 election. Someone did a lot of research on several people apparently using a number of public records including court files, justice department files, solicitors rolls in England, local government contract information and quite probably also local gossip and rumour. Someone was prepared to risk a lot to produce and distribute these pamphlets. People only go to these lengths when they feel aggrieved or threatened. Here we have a very human expression of the bitterness and fear that characterised the 1938 election campaign.

This piece is also a little time capsule. It is a small part of a story that we do not hear much about today—that is, deep division, deep conflict, between Protestants and Catholics in state politics. It also reminds us that, in some ways, politics was done quite differently 80 years ago, with pamphlets laboriously produced, distributed and dropped into letterboxes at night as opposed to now, when a tweet can be typed in seconds and sent around the world. It also shows us that in some ways politics is still the same. There are still some political operatives who are prepared to resort to anonymous smears and attacks on race or creed.

This pamphlet may be one of just a few still surviving. I think every single piece of ephemera contributes to a larger story. Every single piece adds to the richness of the story, so this piece is important and I think the research has been worth the effort.

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

Sometimes in contemporary times, when anything can be instantly copied, stored and communicated, we forget that it was not always so. The story behind this piece of ephemera, and the research necessary to verify it, underscores the importance of preserving our history. It underscores the importance of connecting disparate collections of knowledge, and it reminds us that often the best research outcomes arise from collaboration.

I am delighted to have done a small part towards preserving and sharing some of our state's history, and I am having an absolute blast working with the ephemera collection of the John Oxley Library. If you would like to know more about my work or the fellowship, you are welcome to attend a free presentation and a white gloves exhibition which will include examining and handling some of the ephemera at the State Library this Thursday from 9 to 10 am. You can RSVP at the link there. You can also read my blogs on the State Library website.

At the end of my fellowship in June I will have produced an annotated bibliography which hopefully will be of use for future researchers. I am extremely grateful to the State Library for this opportunity. I want to say a particular thanks to one of my colleagues who has been really helpful there and that is Libby Fielding, who is here tonight. Thank you, Libby. I also want to thank the ASPG. Thanks so much for giving me this chance to talk about this terrific collection. I am now happy to take any questions you may have.

**Mr GIBSON:** Ladies and gentlemen, as you think about your questions—and I am sure you have many to kick things off—I am just fascinated by your presentation, but I was horrified that the left of the spectrum in politics has more material than the right.

**Dr DOWNER:** Overwhelmingly so.

**Mr GIBSON:** That is interesting. Are there any thoughts as to why that is the case?

**Dr DOWNER:** People have ideas. Part of the reason might be that the Labor Party has existed as a single entity for longer than the conservative parties, but beyond that people do not really know.

**Mr GIBSON:** I have to share something. My 18-year-old daughter has a nightshirt that says 'Vote Dave Gibson—1'. I love the fact that she wears it. Her fellow students at Melbourne uni are not keen about it, but they do not know who Dave Gibson is, so that is okay. Is that type of material the thing you want to keep, as well as explosive pamphlets?

**Dr DOWNER:** Absolutely. You saw from that presentation that we have some T-shirts and hats. It is the kind of thing that people wear once at a polling booth and then just gets lost in the back of a cupboard. You can learn a lot from the changing slogans, how leaders and candidates were represented, how parties were depicted, whether they have changed their colours. Absolutely, we will have that T-shirt.

**Mr GIBSON:** My wife is really going to like this. I have in the back of the shed some corflutes that are dissolving away in various states.

**Dr DOWNER:** Don't we all?

**Mr GIBSON:** Are you interested in large things like corflutes as well?

**Dr DOWNER:** Absolutely, and Libby can vouch for this as well. There is a fantastic collection of corflutes at the State Library, but we can always use more.

**Mr GIBSON:** Traveston Dam corflutes are coming your way; I promise you that! Can we now open to your questions? For the benefit of Hansard, could you state your name clearly and then ask your question. I open the floor to you.

**Mr PYKE:** I am interested in that dispute to a degree. You have me intrigued about the Protestant Labour Party. Were they simply genuine Labor members who were opposed to the Catholic influence, were they a Communist Party front, were they a conservative front, were they as fraudulent as the pamphlet indicated or what? What do we know about them?

**Dr DOWNER:** We know a little bit about them. I am going to call here on my colleague Stirling to help me—and also Simon, who is an expert in minor parties in Queensland. You have an expert panel here. Some Labor people did join the Protestant Labour Party. There were allegations that there were conservative-leaning people who joined it for reasons other than pure as driven snow. Would you like to add to that?

**Mr HINCHLIFFE:** My reflection would be that, like in so many different cases in minor parties, it is a mix of motivations, circumstances and personalities that come to bear. It would certainly seem that there was a core that were dissatisfied, disgruntled members of the Australian Labor Party but that they were very much funded by what would probably be described as, as I think they were in the pamphlet, Tories.

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

**Mr KELLY:** Can I preface this by saying that my exclusive interest in minor parties extends specifically to the Queensland People's Party, which was the forerunner of the Liberal Party of Queensland. Whether you want to call that a minor party or not in the course of Queensland politics is another question. Like many minor parties, the PLP rose and fell very quickly. It stood a number of candidates in 1938, elected one member of parliament and gave it 50-odd thousand votes. By the 1941 election it had entirely disappeared. We are familiar with that story.

**Dr DOWNER:** Of those, 47,000 votes or so came from Labor. That tells you something. There was a core who did respond to that message that there was a disproportionate influence of Catholics within the Labor Party.

**Mr KELLY:** Keep in mind here, too, that at that election you had optional preferential voting in place. Those 50,000 could potentially have come straight off and not come back to the Labor Party and, indeed, nearly cost Hanlon his seat.

**Prof ORR:** That is right. They scored well in a few other electorates as well. They did very well in another handful of electorates. It gave Labor a bit of a fright.

**Mr MOORE:** Thank you, Lorann.

**Dr DOWNER:** I also consulted Graeme in the course of this research.

**Mr MOORE:** It is noticeable that Queensland is one of the few states where you can appeal these decisions—in Tasmania you can also—on a technicality and decide the fate of a future premier. Only four years earlier the Victorian Premier had been kicked out of the Labor Party. In the Depression era there were issues around austerity. The High Court had refused to consider the internal affairs of the Labor Party as being things that could be litigated. I had a question about current and future ephemera given how much campaigning, whether algorithmic or not, is occurring and whether there is any attempt to capture that kind of electronic material—(inaudible)

**Dr DOWNER:** That is a great question, Graeme. I know that the library is addressing this to some extent. Libby, if you want to add to this feel free. There is some effort going into trying to identify and capture online information before it disappears. That is a risk. Some of it does get catalogued by the parties and it will end up on other election websites around the country.

There are various pools that capture part of the story, but this goes back to what I said at the end of the talk. It is critical that we identify and pull together this knowledge in one place. A lot of time can be spent identifying where various bits of things might be. There is a bit of work underway on this at the library. Libby, is there anything you would like to add to that?

**Ms FIELDING:** We clean sorted material of any ephemera. We are putting in place some compendiums to put pamphlets in. It is quite a difficult thing to do because of the format (inaudible). It is deeply technical but it is something we are aiming towards. We are also digitising quite a lot of our material, and increasingly so, so there is a chance that the more significant and key ephemera will be digitised in the future. Our brief is to share our collections with the whole of the state and be much more available.

**Dr DOWNER:** Just so you know, when I emailed Graeme with my request about whether or not he had a copy of the unsigned petition that featured in the Ithaca petition, he said, 'That is a very bespoke inquiry.' I had to admit that it was a very niche interest.

**Ms CODEN:** I just wanted to add that there is a national effort in this regard, led through the National Library, which is Pandora. All the political parties are captured. If their Twitter feeds are on those websites they are captured. The library in Congress is the only place that I know of that is capturing Twitter. That would be a very big job.

**Dr DOWNER:** Huge, especially now.

**Mr GIBSON:** One person is tweeting a lot these days!

**Mr M KENNARD:** What was the basis of Hanlon's appeal? How did he win his appeal?

**Dr DOWNER:** Thank you for that. This is my husband. I am casting my mind back. The appeal found in relation to the pamphlet that the election tribunal justice was wrong to have found that the people who distributed the pamphlets were agents of Hanlon or did so with his knowledge.

**Mr M KENNARD** (inaudible)

**Dr DOWNER:** That is right. Even the last case involved with this, where a gentleman was charged with distributing, was dismissed.

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

**Mr KELLY:** Lorann and I did a bit of collaborating on this. The point should also be made that Hanlon, as home affairs minister, was not only responsible for the conduct of elections but also responsible for the police force.

**Dr DOWNER:** This is a fascinating case when you get into the details.

**Mr KELLY:** There is a little bit more of a story that we did not want to go into.

**Mr M KENNARD:** Are you implying he was conflicted somehow?

**Mr KELLY:** There was an issue in the appeal about the removal of ballot boxes during the counting of votes. That was part of the core process. Hanlon just happened to be in charge of the conduct of elections as well.

**Ms PRETTY:** I am a former librarian. I worked here at the Parliamentary Library. My question is about your cataloguing techniques. Do you sort them by year and are they individually catalogued? How do you identify what year it is if someone donates a box of pamphlets?

**Dr DOWNER:** Basically, we download Libby's brain. One of Libby's jobs was to go through the collections of ephemera. She made a first pass and put them in years and parties, which was enormously helpful to me. When I came to it, it was in some order and she could talk me through her system. That is what has been done to date. In the bibliography that I am preparing it will be chronically ordered by party, with a description that makes it easier to find and it will have a photograph as well. Hopefully the next person who comes to this will find it easier again. It is like a little journey of discovery. We open one of the boxes and we are never quite sure what is going to be in there.

**Mr HINCHLIFFE:** To that end, over a century is there a mega trend in ephemera? Has the nature of the ephemera changed? What were the things that emerged and came and went? What are some interesting examples?

**Dr DOWNER:** Absolutely. Starting from 1915 there was a really big focus on parties over leaders, for example. Then by about the 1930s we see leaders start to feature more prominently. By the time we get to the 1970s with Joh, it is all about leadership. I think that is exemplified in the 1989 election, where Goss was the major offering. The leader was the major offering ahead of the party. It has been that way since. We have seen very leader focused campaigns. That is one trend.

The other trend has been away from really text dense, wordy arguments—really long screeds about a particular policy. At the end of it, people would be invited to write in for more. Then we come up to the 2000s and it is three-word slogans and it is really simple visuals that help tell the story and add to the story of the slogan or the policy. That is another major thing.

The other trend that particularly interests me is the trend of what I call political marketing. Political marketing is a view of politics that sees politicians adopting commercial principles and techniques. One of the things I am looking at is the way political marketing has evolved over a century. From 1915 onwards we had a very product oriented approach. The Labor Party and the conservative party had an ideology and they marketed that ideology, and if you did not like it then too bad; that is what you were being offered. Then we moved into, probably from mid-century, more of a sales oriented marketing. They are still offering pretty much the same thing but they are packaging it up a bit better and getting a bit of flim-flam around it. Then from the late 1980s and certainly from the 1990s we moved into market oriented marketing. This is not ideological at all but focused on what voters want—looking at voters' needs and wants and designing your offerings around that. That is another major trend. I could talk about this all night.

**Mr GIBSON:** Lorann, when did parties copyright their logo? When did that become evident in the material?

**Dr DOWNER:** I do not know the answer to that. I am just thinking back through the material. The name 'Labor' has always appeared. In terms of logos, I am trying to recall when I first saw one. In the material that I have looked at, probably not until mid-last century, but the name has certainly been there. I guess that has always been the identifier of the party.

**QUESTIONER:** The logo has evolved.

**Dr DOWNER:** It certainly has, yes.

**Mr C KENNARD:** I wanted to bring in another thing that has occurred in the years since I was born. I remember (inaudible) going to hear Menzies speak, and this was really fun. You would go down there, it would be packed and the way he dealt with interjectors was just beautiful. Evatt at the time was not of the same standard in dealing with the crowd. Now at our elections we do not even see the politicians. They



How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

might stand on the street corner and just have a pamphlet. This has changed, I presume, because of television. Television means that they can get to a bigger audience but there is none of that personal contact. Would you like to comment on that?

**Dr DOWNER:** You are absolutely right. The introduction of television really changed political campaigning, and it was one of the really big prompts towards political marketing because suddenly a politician could get into the homes of just about everybody so you could reach a really broad market through one medium—just an incredible reach. Because it is a visual and oral medium, you could have a really big impact but you also then had to tailor your pitch. You did not want to get on television and bore people with a 45-minute speech about how fabulous your policies were. You had to get to them much more succinctly. That is when we see the message start to be honed down more and more, to 140 characters today.

You say that campaigning has lost its personal touch, and it has in some ways. We do not get crowds of people unless they are rusted-on supporters generally or people who are very angry about politics, as we have seen in Western democracies. We do not get big crowds of people attending open-air rallies, for example, or public meetings in Festival Hall. I have seen some amazing ephemera from invitations from various parties and leaders to attend public meetings at Festival Hall or the corner of Turbot Street or the school hall on a Thursday night. People do not do that so much anymore. What they do, if they choose, is connect on Facebook or Twitter or whatever other platform politicians and parties are using. That is a different kind of personal connection. It is just technology moving with the times and political campaigners moving with the times.

**Mr BROUGH:** Lorann, you talked a lot about ephemera that is pamphlets, T-shirts and so forth. Then we had a question in relation to new media. Have you looked at whether the collection has radio and television advertising? Is there a trend when radio and television started to be used regularly and so forth?

**Dr DOWNER:** I have not seen that material in the collection so I am not sure that there is a lot of it. Radio was the first mass medium that was picked up by politics and political campaigners. That came in before television, and the advantage of it was that, again, it reached people wherever they were in their homes, their cars or their workplaces. It had a bit of an impact on campaigning—less so than television, which completely rewrote the rules—and I suspect once we get digital or e-ephemera another researcher down the track will be able to put a really big line in the sand for when e-campaigning completely rewrote the political playbook. Libby, do you have anything to add about the radio and TV advertising collection?

**Ms FIELDING:** Like you, I was initially really struck with the extreme length in all the pamphlets that before was not there. A very strong demarcation between the sort of pamphlet that was put out (inaudible). I was also interested in the fact that the really long pamphlets and the (inaudible) of those pamphlets seemed to assume a lot of interest in policy, and it was typical that a lot of those old election (inaudible) had pages and pages of detail about what the party's policy was. I never see that now in the same detail.

**Dr DOWNER:** We do not have radio and TV ads amongst the collection, except for perhaps a few on DVD, but it is not a big component of the collections, is it?

**Ms FIELDING:** We have Clive Palmer's.

**Dr DOWNER:** Clive Palmer's; there you go.

**Mr GIBSON:** We do need to balance that out. Stirling, you have some ads that we can add to it, don't you?

**Mr HINCHLIFFE:** I certainly have in my home collection, which I will have to include and pass on, a Keith Schafferius video from the 1992 election for the seat of Chermside. Keith Schafferius was the Liberal candidate against Terry Sullivan, who was the Labor candidate for whom I was the campaign director. This VHS cassette was delivered to every second house with a note asking you to pass it on to your neighbour. I did think one significant failing of the note was that it failed to say which neighbour—to the left or to the right.

**Dr DOWNER:** It would clearly be to the right, would it not?

**Mr HINCHLIFFE:** One would assume so. That was a very innovative form of campaigning that I had not seen repeated until Mr Palmer came along.

**Prof ORR:** The open-air one I can remember was John Hewson in King George Square, and this was (inaudible) and also a difference in culture. Since that time, because of the easiness for agitators from the Labor Party and other (inaudible) rivals to create scenes which the media then picked up, we have not really seen that kind of campaign and yet we see it in Britain. (Inaudible). We certainly see it in the US,

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

although (inaudible). There was a case that happened in Fortitude Valley where a Labor left-wing guy wore a T-shirt saying 'I'm with stupid' and the Liberal campaign reported him to the police as some kind of public nuisance, and the police actually intervened. (Inaudible).

**Dr DOWNER:** I was at that John Hewson rally. I was a reporter at the time and I remember it was quite something. We have not really seen those kinds of free-for-all, public rallies in quite the same way because they are risky. There was a period where the team from *The Chaser* was following around people in a federal election campaign and creating their own kind of mayhem at their election stops. If you are a campaign director or working for a leader or any politician, you do not want that. You want your message and your images beamed into people's homes or on their radios or in their social media feeds. That is why that has happened. I understand your perspective. Having come from working in politics, I have a slightly different view.

**Mr C KENNARD:** I was at the opening campaign of Terry White when he was making a challenge. It was at the Twelfth Night Theatre and he was running a sort of American democratic or republican style (inaudible). Those things must be there. It was very noisy. There were people parading. I cannot remember what year it was. You can probably remember the exact time. It was '83. That is a long time ago.

**Dr DOWNER:** Something that has just come to mind is that in the 2015 campaign in Queensland I think we saw an attempt to foster town hall meetings and open-air public meetings. Labor leader Anna Palaszczuk did a series of meetings up and down the coast where she got up in jeans and a T-shirt and just chatted to people. It was very homey, with a homelike feel to it. I think there was an attempt to make it less slick looking. Maybe we are on the upward swing, Graeme.

**Mr GIBSON:** If there are no other questions, thank you very much, Lorann.

**Ms CRAWFORD:** Lorann, I want to say how fantastically interesting and fascinating your story has been tonight. I am with John Pyke. I did not know about the Protestant Labour Party, and I lived in Toowoomba and we had Jack Duggan and all of that. I am still amazed. My father walked out of the cathedral one Sunday at mass with us all dutifully following. I think we forget that it is of such stories history is made, and it is incumbent upon us to maintain and keep them and also to build on them.

When we talk about films and movies, I have to say when I was campaigning in '87 we did a whole range of cinema ads in suburban cinemas. I do not know where they are and I have no idea what has happened to them. People were subjected to all manner of photos of people for all manner of times. In some ways it is interesting that the issues remain hopefully not too sectarian, but we may be in for a little bit of that now I think. There were issues around the legal frameworks of pamphlets, how people speak to each other and speak about each other and the ever-present notion of the truth in media and so on.

You have given us a huge amount to think about. You have even inspired some of us to clean out the back shed or behind the laundry. I have a few corflutes, too. Congratulations on your work. Keep going, because as Queenslanders, as human beings and as people interested in politics we need you to do that work. Keep it up. It is fantastic and congratulations.

**Mr GIBSON:** Mary is absolutely right when she says that we need to continue that work. I want to share with you an exciting announcement that has come from our executive meeting only an hour ago. The ASPG-Q has always been keen to ensure that Queensland politics and history is at the forefront of people's minds within the state. We have a great history of politics—some of it good, some of it not so good and some of it particularly contentious, as in 1938. It is a fascinating state to be part of and it is a fascinating political history that we have, and we want to support that from the ASPG's perspective.

The ASPG received a generous contribution from Paul Reynolds, and that caused us to think how we might be able to build on that and best support the research of Queensland politics and history within Queensland and how we may deliver a bursary for that purpose. We are still working through the exact details of it. We are looking at it being more than one bursary and not at just one university, and maybe not for an academic but perhaps for private people who are doing research in this area. It is important that we draw upon that interest and we encourage and nurture that across a whole range of people.

While the details are yet to be finalised, you are the first to hear it tonight. We are working on this, and as the ASPG-Q we will be committing some of our funds to this project. We thank Paul Reynolds for his very generous contribution. We will be looking at how we can best bring this to Queensland, to individuals or academics who may be interested in conducting research into Queensland politics and history, because clearly it is an interesting topic with a wealth of information that we need to protect and preserve.

How political ephemera can tell us about our political history and provide a snapshot of the issues of our time

Ladies and gentlemen, as I said at the beginning, throughout the year we have a series of ASPG events. We try to keep them topical and interesting, and I think tonight is a great example of the quality you will find at future events. Please pass on your details so that we can inform you of upcoming events. If you are not a member, the fees are not substantial. You do not need to be an expert in political science nor have any qualifications to be a member. You just need to be interested in Queensland politics and history.

There are some photos that have been taken during this evening's activities and they will be placed on the website along with the transcript of the proceedings. If anyone objects to their image being used in this way, please inform the ASPG secretariat and we will not place your photos on the website. Lorann, thank you so much for your presentation.