

**Queensland Review Special Issue (June 2019): Museums, Communities
and the Queensland Landscape**

Displaced Persons and Public Memory: Stuart Migrant Camp

This paper examines the memory and commemoration of the 170,000 displaced persons (DPs) – predominantly Central and Eastern Europeans – who arrived in Australia as International Refugee Organisation (IRO)-sponsored refugees between 1947 and 1952. The DPs were sent to reception and training centres upon arrival in Australia before commencing a two year indentured labour contract. There were 13 camps in total, with Bonegilla in Victoria being the largest and most well-known. Memorialisation of these camps tends to present them as the founding places of the migrant experience in Australia.

There has been very little historical work on the migrant camps in Queensland: Wacol, Enoggera, Stuart and Cairns. This paper will focus on recent commemorative attempts surrounding the Stuart migrant camp in order to argue that in relation to DP memory, museums are not leading the way. Rather, historical engagement has proceeded from individuals within local communities.

Julie Johnston's recent play, *Displaced*, opens upon a scene of an elderly Queenslander, Tobiasz, rummaging through photographs, unable to find the ones he is looking for. Frustrated, he exclaims, 'I be here somewhere. I will find myself in here one day'.¹ Tobiasz was a Polish post-war displaced person, and he is searching for traces of his old life: in Poland, in European displaced persons camps, and in Queensland, where he was sent to Stuart reception and training centre, in Townsville, before working in the cane fields. His cry is echoed by many now elderly displaced persons, and their descendants, who struggle to find traces of their past, in stories and in material culture.

170,000 displaced persons (DPs) – predominantly Central and Eastern Europeans and parochially known as 'Balts' – arrived in Australia as International Refugee Organisation (IRO)-sponsored refugees between 1947 and 1952. While the government's plans of an unparalleled postwar reconstruction effort involved national development and full employment, the risk was that the migrant intake scheme would backfire, exacerbating the housing crisis and causing nationwide unemployment. The Australian government decided to provide directed employment on similar lines to that enforced on Italian prisoners-of-war. All displaced persons between the ages of 16 and 50, except for mothers with young children, were assigned work placements; upon arrival, men were categorized as 'labourers' and women as 'domestics'. Accommodation (the cost of which was charged to the migrant) was arranged by gender. After the initial stay in a reception and training centre, breadwinners were housed in workers' hostels, concrete barracks and tents, although they sometimes returned to the main camp during times of industrial unrest or temporary unemployment. Meanwhile, mothers and children moved to dependants' holding centres, often with great distances between them. For breadwinners, visits back to holding camps were time-consuming and expensive. For female dependents, this family separation could feel as though they were being 'held as hostages' for the breadwinner's 'parole'.²

¹ Julie Johnston, *Displaced* (2016).

² Inese Petersons (1947-), interviewed by Allison Murchie, 2002, South Australians Acting for Change: Welcoming Refugees Oral History Project, OH 636/2, State Library of South Australia; Jayne Persian, *Beautiful Balts: From Displaced Persons to New Australians* (Sydney, NSW: NewSouth Publishing, 2017), 77, 82, 83

Bonegilla was the largest, and longest-running, migrant camp. Its central location, equidistant between Sydney and Melbourne, allowed it to serve as a labour distribution point to several states. The other camps used were in Bathurst, New South Wales, Woodside, South Australia, and Northam, Western Australia. Greta, near Newcastle, primarily channeled refugees to Queensland. Other camps included Benalla, Mildura, Rushworth, West Sale and Somers in Victoria; Cowra, Parkes, Scheyville and Uranquinty in New South Wales; Cairns, Enoggera, Stuart and Wacol in Queensland; Finsbury, Glenelg and Mallala in South Australia; Brighton and Burnie in Tasmania; Cunderin and Graylands in Western Australia; and Hillside in the Australian Capital Territory (see map). There has been very little historical work on the migrant camps in Queensland: Wacol and Enoggera in Brisbane, Stuart (Townsville), and Cairns. This article will focus on recent commemorative attempts surrounding the Stuart migrant camp, which acted mainly as a dependents' holding centre, in order to argue that in relation to DP memory, museums are not leading the way. Rather, historical engagement has proceeded from individuals within local communities.

Physical remnants of most camps are now mainly non-existent. However, since the 1980s, multiculturalism has created a more receptive environment for the commemoration of migrant sites, and particularly with regards to Bonegilla, which is now hailed by migrants and community leaders as a founding place of multicultural identity: Australia's 'Ellis Island'. Historian Alexandra Delliios has described official and heritage narratives surrounding Bonegilla as describing 'a place of ethnic and migrant significance, a symbol of the successful post-war migration programme, of national progress and multicultural success'.³ Nationality-specific histories and exhibitions, usually incorporating oral testimony and photographs, both at Bonegilla and elsewhere, are now commonplace. Sometimes these accounts can be simplistic and somewhat anachronistic celebrations of multiculturalism. State agencies have used the mythology surrounding migrant reception camps to construct their own images of a 'successful immigration program', and, later, a successful multicultural society, while some migrant groups and cultural workers have sought to include the camp system in a national narrative of inclusive multiculturalism. More recently,

³ Alexandra Delliios, 'Commemorating Migrant Camps: Vernacular Memories in Official Spaces', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 39:2 (2015), 252.

historian Sara Wills has suggested a further reimagining of migrant camp sites as offering a 'prehistory' of contemporary refugee detention centres, a place to 'reconfigure the nation's pain and shame' in relation to Australia's current refugee regime.⁴

Glenda Sluga was the first historian to identify a competing, or perhaps parallel, narrative, that of a vernacular 'migrant dreaming'.⁵ This foundation myth has been driven by ex-residents and their families, and by ethnic communities. As historian and Bonegilla heritage worker Bruce Pennay has noted, 'for former residents, a specific centre is an "originary" place: it still appears to be high on the emotional register of those who once were newcomers'. For contemporary visitors, 'above all else, Bonegilla is about family history'; migrant camps are staging posts in their own personal migration experiences.⁶ In this sense, these sites attract individual memories which together reveal complex themes of transnational identities, intergenerational conflict, historical agency and identity, war trauma and mental illness, unmitigated sorrow as well as familial happiness. For displaced persons and their families, the liminal spaces of the migrant camps may contain lots of disparate and personal experience, while still being temporary spaces which have little (relative) importance in their own histories. This article will examine how such individual and family memories have worked to commemorate the 'indefinite and occasional nature' of the small migrant holding centre at Stuart.⁷

Displaced Persons in Queensland: Work

Integral to the displaced persons' labour scheme was the requirement that the DPs 'should not be placed in employment for which suitable Australian workers are available or under circumstances leading to the displacement of Australian workers'.⁸ DPs were not to be free market workers, but

⁴ Sara Wills, 'Between the hostels and the detention centre: Possible trajectories of migrant pain and shame in Australia', in William Logan and Keir Reeves, *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 266.

⁵ Glenda Sluga, *Bonegilla: A Place of No Hope* (Parkville, Vic: University of Melbourne, 1988), 133.

⁶ Bruce Pennay, *Benalla Migrant Camp: A Difficult Heritage* (Benalla, VIC: Benalla Migrant Camp Inc., 2015), 2; Jayne Persian, 'Bonegilla: A Failed Narrative', *History Australia*, 9:1 (April 2012), 79.

⁷ Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 198.

⁸ NAA, A445, Department of Immigration, Central Office, Correspondence Files, 179/9/3, Displaced Persons Employment Opportunities Policy Part 1 (1947-1948), Considerations to

government-directed 'language-deficient unskilled labourers', in Australia to 'do the donkey work in the programme of expansion'.⁹ The Australian Sugar Producers Association sent a letter to the Department of Immigration at once, gleefully asserting: 'Not to try those Balts as canecutters would rather be looking a gift horse in the mouth'.¹⁰ Lauded as 'saviours'.¹¹ [add newspaper accounts] In the words of historian Catherine Panich, they were a 'trapped labour force'.¹²

Around 14,000 displaced persons were directed from Bonegilla to Queensland. This was about 8% of the national total; as historian Raymond Evans has noted, the post-war immigration waves 'washed only feebly against Queensland shores'.¹³ It does seem, though, that perhaps DPs received a warmer welcome in Queensland than in other states, and particularly in a far north suffering from labour shortages and accustomed to migrant workers.¹⁴ 2,000 DPs were directed to cut cane (and thus made up around a third of cutters in northern Queensland in this period), and the rest were sent to work for various employers, including sawmills, stone quarries, hospitals, factories, and for various government departments: Defence, Main Roads, the Railways, Irrigation and Water Supply, and the Mineral Department.¹⁵ Accommodations outside the main camps of Wacol, Enoggera, Stuart and Cairns were varied, with some men living in camps in the bush for years.¹⁶

Historian and second-generation Yugoslavian displaced person Bianka Vidonja Balazategui has described how those selected for cane-cutting were usually grouped together in 'gangs' of eight men and a cook, who travelled by train to the various sugar towns. They were met by a farmer-employer and by representatives of the Australian Workers Union, the

Govern the Employment of Displaced Persons During the Two Years after their Arrival in Australia, undated.

⁹ James Jupp, *Exile or Refuge? The Settlement of Refugee, Humanitarian and Displaced Immigrants*, (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994), pp. 34-35.

¹⁰ Bianka Vidonja Balazategui, *Gentlemen of the Flashing Blade, Series: Studies in North Queensland History*. (Townsville: Department of History and Politics, James Cook University, 1990), 14.

¹¹ Balazategui, xiv.

¹² Panich, *Sanctuary?*, 124.

¹³ Raymond Evans, *A History of Queensland*, ?

¹⁴ 'What States are doing', *Good Neighbour* (ACT), 1 October 1951.

¹⁵ Balazategui, 19, 97; Department of Immigration, *Wacol Remembered*, 25, 31.

¹⁶ Stuart State School, *Centenary 1891-1991* (1991), 36.

Queensland Cane Growers' Association and the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES), and then taken to buy work clothes and food, the cost of which would be taken from their first pay. At farms, accommodation was in barracks.¹⁷ The hard manual labour was paid contract-style, with no set hours; the justification was that 'the more you worked, the more you got'.¹⁸ Employers talked the work up: 'You young fellows will all be millionaires in 12 months!'¹⁹ Lithuanian DP Ignas later recalled: 'I was told by the recruitment officer that if I worked there for about one season I could buy a block of land and a house and everything: it was a lot of money'.²⁰ The government advised that 'Queensland is tropical or semi-tropical and the work is hard if the earnings are to be high'.²¹ Others were warned: 'You won't die, but you'll almost die'.²²

Most displaced persons were nonplussed upon arrival in northern Queensland. Many had not done any hard physical work for years, if ever. Bianka Vidonja Balazategui notes that one of the new 'gangs' was made up of a teacher, an opera singer, a chef, and an architectural student; another included a barber and a saxophone player.²³ One North Queensland cane farmer at Ingham railway station, apparently unimpressed by the DPs' physiques, began to squeeze some men's biceps. One of the men shouted: 'Have a look at my teeth too!' and 'growled at him'.²⁴ They were all unprepared for the hard labour in tropical heat. One gang of Polish ex-soldiers, who had been supplied with surplus army dress at Bonegilla, started their first day wearing 'Canadian tank unit battle dress made out of heavy wool, long boots of dark brown colour – laced, long gloves – light cream colour, woolen shoes' and a 'battle dress top'.²⁵

One displaced person reported that the work was tough, harder 'than working one mile underground in a coalmine in Russia'.²⁶ Gudrun Geissler

¹⁷ Balazategui, 2, n. 4.

¹⁸ Panich, *Sanctuary?*, 125.

¹⁹ Balazategui, 21.

²⁰ Panich, *Sanctuary?*, 124.

²¹ 'Health Advice to Cane Cutters in the Sugar Industry', Employment: Displaced Persons for the Sugar Industry; Balts [Yungaba accommodation], 1948-1949, Department of Immigration, Queensland Branch, 1948/5437, J25, National Archives of Australia (NAA).

²² Balazategui, 84.

²³ Balazategui, 36, 41.

²⁴ Paul Öpik, 'Ingham (Australia), 1948' in Vasilas (ed.), *Across Lands and Oceans*, 218.

²⁵ Balazategui, 30.

²⁶ Balazategui, 92.

later recalled: 'My father was with a group of European men sent to work on a sugar cane farm where they worked all day without food, drink or a break then not paid'.²⁷ Estonian DP Paul Öpik remembered: 'After the first day, my hands had so many blisters. After the second day, they were bleeding. So I wrapped rags around my palms and continued working'. He spent a year working in the cane fields, suffering in the course of his employment from a serious cut to his knee and severe burns on his arm and shoulder.²⁸ Ignas ran away back to Victoria after a month in the cane fields: 'half-crippled' with back pain, 'and there was no house and no nothing. All my dreams had shattered'.²⁹

There were instances of not only men, but of 'cultured European girls of seventeen or eighteen sent to cook for cane cutting gangs in North Queensland'.³⁰ These women were usually wives or daughters of a member of the gang. Concerned social worker Hazel Dobson alerted the government to the fact that in the cane cutting gangs, 'at least four women are pregnant ... the work is very arduous and in the frailer type of woman, could result in the loss of the child'.³¹ The Commonwealth Employment Service (CES)'s informal response in handwritten notes on the report chillingly stated: 'The CES did not knowingly send pregnant women and can't be responsible for pregnancy. Miss Dobson does not appreciate the problem we had to get enough labour in May'.³² The award did not actually permit female cooks, and this practice was stopped in 1949.³³

By April 1948 the Brisbane *Courier-Mail* was reporting: 'Balts sour over sugar'.³⁴ In that year it was announced that displaced persons working in the sugar industry would be released after completing two seasons in the industry, rather than two calendar years. Such compassion was an exception to the rule, and indeed this announcement was repealed in early

²⁷ Department of Immigration, *Wacol Remembered*, 36.

²⁸ Öpik, 'Ingham', 218.

²⁹ Panich, *Sanctuary?*, 125.

³⁰ Andrew Markus, cited in Bryan, 'Recalcitrant Women?', p. 51.

³¹ NAA, Series B550, Employment Division [II], Department of Labour and National Service, Correspondence Files, 1948/23/4096, Displaced Persons, Reports by Social Workers, 'Balt Problems', Report of Miss H Dobson from Ingham, Queensland dated 12 August 1948.

³² NAA, Series B550, Employment Division [II], Department of Labour and National Service, Correspondence Files, 1948/23/4096, Displaced Persons, Reports by Social Workers, 'Balt Problems', Report of Miss H Dobson from Ingham, Queensland dated 12 August 1948.

³³ Balazategui, 32-33.

³⁴ 'Balts Sour Over Sugar', *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane, Qld), 28 April 1948.

1951.³⁵ Between sugar seasons, DPs were moved around to other places of temporary employment, some as far as a sugar refinery in Melbourne. Others worked driving trucks, ringbarking, constructing dams, fixing roads, laboring on power lines, and in meatworks and factories.³⁶ They were then expected to return for the subsequent cane-cutting season, although many refused or otherwise dodged this expectation.³⁷

The Australian Sugar Industry reported that using displaced persons in the canefields was a great success:

Within the sugar industry their contribution was warmly acknowledged. The work they have gone to has frequently been difficult. In every case it has been heavy work for which Australian labour was not offering or was in short supply. In the case of the sugar cane cutters, the work was something quite new to the migrants. But they entered the canefields with enthusiasm, and reports from the cane-growers attest to the fine work they have performed.³⁸

Likewise, W. G. Lyons, secretary of the Gladstone (Queensland) branch of the Australian Labor Party, a former critic of the displaced persons scheme, reported in 1953:

My fellow workers on the railways jobs were new Australians. Big men, all over six feet, I found them excellent workers, good mates and great sportsmen ... Never idle, they grew their own vegetables, carting water from nearby creeks in kerosene tins and drums. They caught and cured their own fish and were well to the fore in any function to entertain the gang ... The surprising thing was that none of them came from the land in Europe. They included a medical student, a ballet dancer, a jeweler and a musician.³⁹

³⁵ NAA A445, Department of Immigration, Central Office, Correspondence Files, 179/9/5, Displaced Persons Employment Policy Part 3, Letter from S. J. Dempsey, Department of Immigration to The Acting Secretary, 3 January 1951.

³⁶ Balazategui, 95, 74.

³⁷ Panich, *Sanctuary?*, 124.

³⁸ *Australian Sugar Journal*, 15 December 1948, cited in Balazategui, 96.

³⁹ 'A critic changed his mind', *Good Neighbour* (ACT), 1 January 1953, 3.

Perhaps not so surprisingly, most displaced workers left the cane fields and other work sites in Queensland as soon as their two-year contract was completed, if not before. However, some remained, feeling that they had little other option. One Polish DP cut cane for 23 years, but complained that 'he could have achieved more if he had started teaching or entered the army. He would have been more benefit to the country than working as a slave cutting cane'.⁴⁰

Displaced Persons in Queensland: Stuart

Initially, no migrant and reception camps were set up in Queensland. Greta, near Newcastle, served as the primary channel of displaced person labour to Queensland. Holding centres for workers' dependents were then established at Wacol and Enoggera in Brisbane, in Cairns, and at Stuart (Townsville). The use of such holding centres was an attempt by the government to 'bring New Australian families nearer to where their breadwinners are working'.⁴¹

Polish DP Eugene Stuliglowa later described his group's arrival in Queensland:

The red hot Queensland sun had already disappeared behind the dark hills – when puffing black smoke 'Billy', a little outdated locomotive, stopped at the long red brick building after twelve hours slow motion from Sydney. A large, dimly lit sign announced the end of our long trip. We arrived in Brisbane, the capital of tropical Queensland, the land of bananas and mangoes. It was January 1950.

Our young guide (we called him Skippy), who must have been from the Department of Immigration, ... announced with a smile on his face – 'This is the end of your long journey. In forty-five minutes you will arrive at Wacol, your new home.' No one in the wagon was talking. The faces of men were serious. Here we were, after months of ocean travelling, meeting face to face in the new world with the

⁴⁰ Balazategui, 84.

⁴¹ Accommodation for all families in Queensland wasn't possible, so some wives and children remained in holding centres in New South Wales and Victoria. 'Two New Holding Centres', *Good Neighbour* (ACT), 1 November 1950.

people who spoke a different language, a different climate of unbearable heat, strange flowers and the home of the never-before-seen kangaroo!⁴²

Others endured up to a four-day train ride to the camps at Townsville and Cairns.⁴³ The camp at Cairns, to house 450 dependents, was converted from two American army sheds; workers had to put in overtime to finish the renovations in time for the 1950 sugar-crushing season.⁴⁴

Stuart accommodated over 600 dependent wives and children during the two years of its operation from 1951, including about 12 births per month.⁴⁵ The accommodation was spartan: its buildings contained dormitories with single beds, separate toilet, shower and laundry blocks, and a mess hall for communal meals.⁴⁶ Those who could work were encouraged 'to get a job immediately'. DP Anton Binder's mother and 14-year-old sister obtained employment at a local laundry; at the end of the cane-cutting season his step-father worked in the camp as a janitor.⁴⁷

Breadwinners attempted to visit their families every weekend, or every fortnight, although some worked so far away that they were away for months at a time. In 1952, massive floods hit northern Queensland and men were sacked. When they arrived back at Stuart there was an example of what Alexandra Dellios calls an episode of 'controversy and family containment': the men were not allowed to stay in the holding centre, even on a temporary basis, and arguments ensued.⁴⁸

The migrant holding centre at Stuart was closed down in 1953, with residents sent to Bundaberg and Brisbane; few stayed in the Townsville

⁴² Department of Immigration, *Wacol Remembered*, 18.

⁴³ 'Local family remembers life in the Cairns Immigration Holding Centre during the 1950s', *Tropic Now*, 27 May 2016.

⁴⁴ 'Local family remembers life in the Cairns Immigration Holding Centre during the 1950s', *Tropic Now*, 27 May 2016.

⁴⁵ 'Stuart Start', *Townsville Eye*, 10 August 2016; 'Woodside's stork is a busy bird', *Good Neighbour* (ACT), 1 March 1951.

⁴⁶ Rose Starke, 'Memories of the Migrant Centre, Stuart, from Rose Starke', in Stuart State School, *Centenary 1891-1991*, 37.

⁴⁷ Anton Binder, *The Story of the Bloody New Australians*.

⁴⁸ Alexandra Dellios, *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2017), 6; Mal Staweno, 'From Mal Staweno, President of the Polish Assoc, in Townsville', in Stuart State School, *Centenary 1891-1991*, 36.

area. The buildings were later used to house Greek and Italian migrants, and were then taken over by James Cook University for use as residential accommodation. The site was sold in 1971, and nothing remains today.⁴⁹ One former Polish DP, Mal Staweno, attempted to buy a building at the time of sale but was unsuccessful; he says, 'from that day, the Centre dissolved completely and stopped existing'.⁵⁰

Commemoration: Stuart

The migrant centres were, for the most part, old military camps. The decision to use these camps for migrant accommodations was celebrated by Minister of Immigration Arthur Calwell as 'revolutionary' but was really, because of the post-war housing shortage, merely pragmatic.⁵¹ When the centres were no longer needed by the Department of Immigration, they were either given back to the army or sold off. Historian Catherine Panich, writing in the mid-1980s, lamented the loss of the physical remnants of most of the migrant camps, noting that 'much has been irrevocably lost to posterity through carelessness, a lack of official interest, ignorance and deliberate destruction'.⁵²

In Queensland, the holding centre sites of Wacol, Enoggera and Stuart no longer hold any remnants of material culture. The land on which the Wacol camp stood now hosts Wacol prison, although the centre itself was commemorated by a Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs book published in 2003. This book contains numerous oral testimonies from former residents, workers and volunteers at Wacol between its beginning as a migrant centre in 1949 and the cessation of these activities in 1987.⁵³

As at other former migrant centre sites, though, former residents have been imaginative in their commemorative efforts.

Commemoration of work rather than camps in Qld – Frank quote here?

⁴⁹ Stuart State School, *Centenary 1891-1991*, 36.

⁵⁰ Mal Staweno, 'From Mal Staweno, President of the Polish Assoc, in Townsville', 36.

⁵¹ Persian, *Beautiful Balts*, 78.

⁵² Panich, *Sanctuary?*, 188-89.

⁵³ Donna Kleiss, Migrant Women at Wacol, blogs.slq.qld.gov.au/jol/2015/05/08/digitised-slq-migrant-women-at-wacol/.

Bianka Vidonja Balanzategui's historical work on the displaced person cane-cutters was produced from a North Queensland Sugar Industry Material Aspects thesis undertaken at James Cook University in the mid-1990s. Balazategui's father was a Slovenian DP cane-cutter; her motivation was simple: 'I thought one day all these barracks will be gone, and no one will know what happened here'.⁵⁴ Her book, *Gentleman of the Flashing Blade*, was published by James Cook University in 1990 and reprinted in 2015.

Published in 1991, Janis Balodis's play *Too Young for Ghosts* referenced the author's background as the son of Latvian displaced persons, sent to the North Queensland town of Tully to work in the cane fields.⁵⁵ One character, Lydia, complains: 'If this is peace, I'd rather be shot. I don't want to get used to it. Maybe it's all right for peasants'.⁵⁶ Otto describes 'twisted cane and stones as big as a man's head. It's murder. My hands are numb and I've got blisters again'.⁵⁷ The farmer says: 'Yeah. Nice set of blisters. You hold cane knife too tight'.⁵⁸ One married DP couple escape to Sydney, while Ilse and Karl stay in north Queensland. The play ends with Ilse advising Karl: 'Don't drink too much and save your money. You have a daughter to take care of. I will work too'.⁵⁹

In 2005 the Museum of Queensland hosted an exhibition by the Brisbane Lithuanian community, initiated and developed by second-generation Lithuanian DP Eve Wicks. Wicks recorded 74 oral histories, photographed subjects, carried out research and collected artifacts with an aim to 'produce a strong engagement of the audience with individual community storytellers'.⁶⁰ Over 200 people, including second and third-generation Lithuanians attended the exhibition opening, with many returning a number of times. The community response was said to be 'cathartic', with Wicks noting:

⁵⁴ Eugenie Navarre, *The Cane Barracks Story*, 39.

⁵⁵ Terence Clark, 'Ghosts and Doppelgänger', in Janis Balodis, *The Ghosts Trilogy*, ix.

⁵⁶ Balodis, *The Ghosts Trilogy* (Paddington, NSW: Currency Press, 1997), 38.

⁵⁷ Balodis, *The Ghosts Trilogy*, 41.

⁵⁸ Balodis, *The Ghosts Trilogy*, 45.

⁵⁹ Balodis, *The Ghosts Trilogy*, 80.

⁶⁰ Eve Wicks, 'Refuge Under a Southern Cross', *Talking Families, Talking Communities*, Oral History Association of Australia, no. 27 (2005), p. 74.

A feeling of pride and, for the generations who experienced life in Australia under its assimilation policy, relief that exhibition evaluation demonstrated that there is a broad community acceptance of their culture, experience and contribution.⁶¹

Czech Mr FK, for example, has revisited places in Queensland where he used to work on contract because 'all those places ... have a very good memory'.⁶²

- Stuart – follows theme re extended family/interested locals commemoration, museums not really picking up slack.

QHR 601708 Operations and Signal Bunker, Townsville (former) as the Stuart Migrant Holding Centre 1950-56. [Also former university etc]⁶³ The Queensland Government Department of Natural Resources & Mines now owns the land.⁶⁴ Lucia Johnston petitioning for plaque at site. Townsville's 150th anniversary, nothing in newspaper about Stuart.⁶⁵ Nothing in museum.

Play, exhibition.

⁶¹ Eve Wicks, 'Celebrating Lithuanian Migrant History', *Lithuanian Papers*, 19 (2005), p. 56.

⁶² Interview with Mr FK, 5 July 2007.

⁶³ Hilary Davis, 'A Journey Through the Records'.

⁶⁴ Lucia Johnston, 27 August 2015, Forum: Stuart, North Queensland Migration camp for displaced refugees, forum.naa.gov.au.

⁶⁵ Lucia Johnston, 27 August 2015, Forum: Stuart, North Queensland Migration camp for displaced refugees, forum.naa.gov.au.