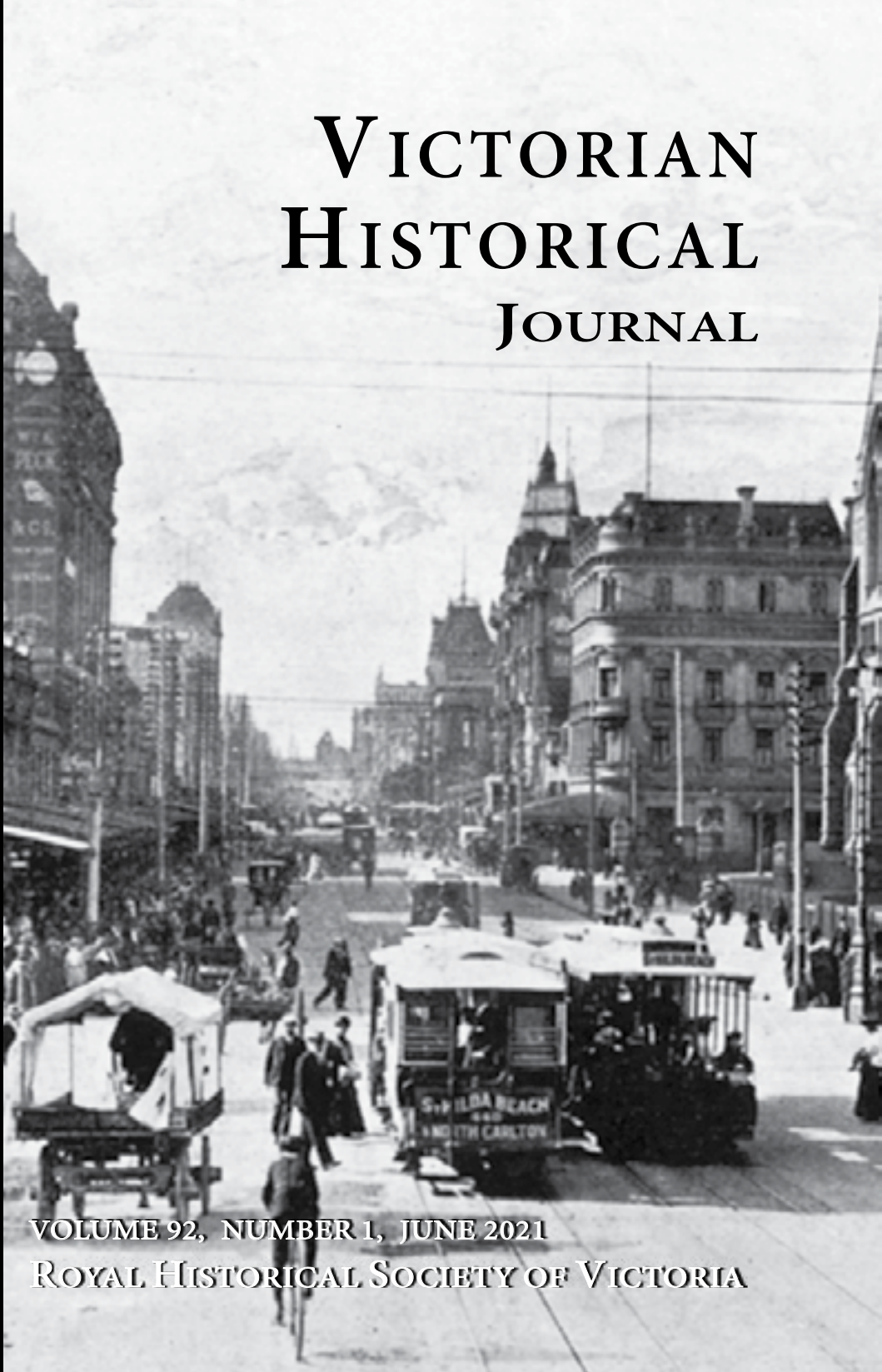
Victorian Historical Journal



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Royal Historical Society of Victoria

VICTORIAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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Back in the Drill Hall before the May–June lockdown. Launch of exhibition 'Tales from the MacRobertson International Air Races', March 2021 (Courtesy RHSV Collection)

The John Adams Prize

To honour John D. Adams (1935–2015) FRHSV, Councillor (1966–2005), and to use his bequest of $10,000 to the RHSV in an appropriate manner, the RHSV has created a biennial prize. Since John Adams, a lecturer in Librarianship at RMIT for 27 years, was also the honorary indexer of the *Victorian Historical Journal*, indexing it for the years 1954–2013, the prize will be for the best article or historical note in the journal over a two-year period, commencing with Issues 287–290 (2017 and 2018).

The following terms apply to the prize:

- This biennial prize will be awarded for the best article or historical note on Victorian history in the four *VHJ* issues over two calendar years, beginning 2017–18.
- The prize will be awarded for an article or historical note that illuminates a significant element of Victoria's history, is clearly and succinctly written, and is researched from original material.
- Members of the RHSV Publications Committee are ineligible for the award.
- The prize offered from the Adams bequest is $300 and three years' free membership of the RHSV, which includes hard copies of the *VHJ*.
- A short list of five articles will be compiled by the *VHJ* editors active in the prize period.
- Short-listing will occur at the end of each two-year period, beginning in December 2018.
- Two judges will be chosen by the Publications Committee from academic and community historians and will report to the Committee by the following April.
- The John Adams Prize will be presented biennially at the RHSV AGM following its judging and will be announced in the ensuing June issues of the *VHJ* and *History News*.

Richard Broome, Chair, RHSV Publications Committee

The John Adams Prize 2019–2020

Shortlist in Alphabetical Order
Compiled by *VHJ* editors Richard Broome and Judith Smart

Bruce Pennay, 'Imagining School at Benalla's Migrant Camp', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 90, no. 1, June 2019, pp. 57–81

James Lesh, 'Cremorne Gardens. Gold-rush Melbourne and the Victoria-era Pleasure Garden, 1853–63', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 90, no. 2, December 2019, pp. 219–52

Charles Fahey, 'Happy Valley Road and the Victoria Hill District: A Microhistory of a Victorian Gold-rush Mining Community, 1854–1913, *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 90, no. 2, December 2019, pp. 271–300

Jacqui Durrant, 'Mogullumbidj: First People of Mount Buffalo', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 91, no. 1, June 2020, pp. 17–38

Ruby Ekkel, Woman's Sphere Remodelled: A Spatial History of the Victorian Woman's Christian Temperance Union 1887-1914, *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 91, no. 1, June 2020, pp. 93–114

Barbara Minchinton, 'The Rise and Fall of Lady Gillott in Melbourne's Turn-of-the-Century Society', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 91, no. 2, December 2020, pp. 291–318

The John Adams Prize Judges' Decisions

Prize Winner: Charles Fahey, 'Happy Valley Road and the Victoria Hill District: A Microhistory of a Victorian Gold-rush mining Community, 1854–1913', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 90, no. 2, December 2019, pp. 271–300

This close-grained reconstruction of life on the Bendigo mining field draws on deep layers of research into the technological, demographic and family history of the area. By focusing on a small section of the field, Charles Fahey investigates a side of mining that has been relatively neglected by earlier historians. This is a view not from the booming centre of Bendigo but from the mining suburbs, where work and family life were insecure and often dangerous, and inevitably doomed to end when the gold ran out. Fahey makes a powerful case for a reconstruction of the methods and the findings of gold-mining history in Victoria.

Honourable Mention: Barbara Minchinton, 'The Rise and Fall of Lady Gillot in Melbourne's Turn-of-the-Century Society', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 91, no. 2, December 2020, pp. 291–318.

In tracing the rise and fall of Lady Elizabeth Gillott, Barbara Minchinton illuminates the subtle combinations of birth, wealth, respectability, taste and manners that defined social status in early twentieth-century Melbourne. Alert to the insights of social and feminist historians and drawing on a wide array of genealogical and newspaper sources, Minchinton presents a memorable portrait of an indomitable social climber brought down by her husband's indiscretions and the rebuffs of society's self-appointed leaders.

Professor Emerita Marian Quartly, FFAHS, Monash University

Emeritus Professor Graeme Davison AO, FAHA, FASSA, FFAHS, Sir John Monash Distinguished Professor, Monash University

John Adams Prize Winners

2017–2018
Nicola Cousen, 'The Legend of Lalor's Arm: Eureka Myths and Colonial Surgery',
Victorian Historical Journal, vol. 88, no. 2, November 2017, pp. 212–34

2019–2020
Charles Fahey, 'Happy Valley Road and the Victoria Hill District: A Microhistory of a Victorian Gold-rush mining Community, 1854–1913',
Victorian Historical Journal, vol. 90, no. 2, December 2019, pp. 271–300

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VICTORIAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME 92, NUMBER 1

JUNE 2021

ARTICLES

HISTORICAL NOTES

REVIEWS

Introduction

Judith Smart and Richard Broome

This issue of the *Victorian Historical Journal* contains five articles and five historical notes dealing with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Victorian social, political and military history. They cover diverse subjects such as the records, routes and activities of early explorers and settlers, including engagement with the Indigenous owners whose land they invaded; the emergence of new civic institutions such as local government, gaols, and cemeteries; the need to deal with problems relating to modern forms of transport; and rethinking the impact of engagement in wars in the early twentieth century.

In the first half of 2021 the RHSV gradually resumed many of the activities that had been curtailed by the COVID-19 pandemic and welcomed members and visitors back to the Drill Hall (which we prefer to call History House) for lectures and other events. However, some meetings and group gatherings have continued online or in a hybrid form and may continue to do so. Fortunately, the limitations on movement have had little impact on the *Victorian Historical Journal*, and indeed they may have encouraged the growth in the number of submissions we have received. We hope this continues even as we venture once more into public spaces, or retreat with new outbreaks of the virus.

In 'Hamilton Hume Sketch Maps: Origins and Modern Treatment', Martin Williams continues his forensic analysis of the routes of early explorers of the Port Phillip District and the historical mistakes and misrepresentations that have arisen as journals and maps were altered, lost or misunderstood. The subject of this article is the first overland journey of exploration by Europeans—the legendary Hamilton Hume and William Hovell—from southern New South Wales into Victoria in 1824. Williams' particular focus here is the three sketch maps attributed to Hamilton Hume, the least studied of the documentary evidence relating to the trip. Close analysis shows that Hume altered the original of the maps and that continuing confusion about the real route taken has led, among other problems, to a mistake on the Victorian Heritage Register about the significance of Monument Hill near Kilmore, one

that Williams believes should be corrected before the bicentenary of Hume and Hovell's journey in 2024.

With Graeme Cartledge's 'Transition from Tyranny: Establishing Local Government on the Ballarat Goldfields, 1851–1856', we move to an examination of the significance of local government as a marker of the growing demand for democratic institutions and public services in the new colony. Cartledge first shows the role played in the Eureka Rebellion by the miners' demand for replacement of rule by the gold commissioners with representative municipal administration. He then points to the findings of the royal commission in 1855, which acknowledged the absence of local government as one of the fundamental failures of government policy towards the mining districts. Finally, he traces the process of negotiating and resolving conflicts in Ballarat over mining and land occupation, issues of law and order, and differences in tenure between freeholders and leaseholders before incorporation was finally achieved in January 1856.

Lee Sulkowska is also concerned with the importance of public institutions for satisfying the needs of a rapidly expanding urban population, in this case the respectful and hygienic disposal of bodies in post–gold rush Melbourne. In 'Principles and Practicalities: The Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century British Burial Reform in St Kilda Cemetery', she places this new cemetery, opened in 1855, in the context of the contemporary British ideal urban burial ground as a 'sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum' in a garden setting. She then shows how the colonial context of a rapidly growing city and resulting conflicts over space, resources and governance caused the cemetery ideal to be compromised in the pursuit of more pragmatic aspirations for profit, land, reputation, or power.

Early in the twentieth century, Melbourne's streets saw mingling and competition between new forms of transport. Speed and the question of regulation were beginning to raise public concern and argument. In 'Young Men in a Hurry: How a Cyclist's Death Defined Early Motoring in Victoria', John Schauble examines a 1905 accident in the city as an early example of the persisting conflict between cyclists and motorists. But the event can also be understood, he argues, as a symbolic clash between labour and capital and a contributing factor in the emerging debate on road laws relating to the use of motor vehicles.

Fiona Gatt, in 'Family History and the Long View of the Great War', is also concerned with matters of class and social change, and she argues here for a genealogical approach to the experience of fighting in the Great War. Taking as her subjects four young men from the Simpson family, she shows that an approach emphasising the war's intervention in pre-war family structures provides for a clearer and more complete understanding of differences in the effect of the conflict on post-war lives.

The five 'Historical Notes' in this issue of the journal include two that focus on interactions between Indigenous peoples and European explorers and settlers in the Western District of Victoria between the 1830s and 1850s. In 'She of the Wando', John Poynter takes as his subjects an Aboriginal woman and two Scotsmen who wrote of encounters with her in 1836 and 1853. Poynter shows how, in the intervening seventeen years, her life, her people, and even the land through which the Wando River ran, were irrevocably changed. Benjamin Wilkie, in 'Ngamadjidj Encounters with the Tappoc Gundidj, 1836–1841', retrieves a narrative of early European interactions with the people of Tappoc and Konungiyoke, or Mount Napier and Buckley Swamp. Using otherwise well-trodden sources, Wilkie reveals the centrality of this geologically unique and ecologically significant site in well-known colonial meetings. Focusing on law and order in Melbourne in these early years, Anne Marsden and Helen Laffin describe changes in 'The Working Environment of Melbourne's Early Gaolers' through the experiences of two of them, George Wintle and James Smith. The contribution of Victorians to what was understood as Imperial law and order is the subject of Barry Bridges' discussion of 'The Disaster at Wilmansrust 12 June 1901: Towards an Australian National Outlook'. He argues that denigratory remarks by Imperial officers about the 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles after the infamous rout at Wilmansrust triggered Australian outrage and helped consolidate a national identity that had only just begun to emerge. Finally, Stephen Phillip argues in 'A.G.M. Michell: Inventor of the Thrust Bearing' that this early twentieth-century engineer from Victoria was responsible for one of the greatest inventions in lubrication science, revolutionising ship propulsion and thus making modern shipping possible. As such, he deserves to be more widely acclaimed as a key figure in Australia's proud engineering heritage and identity.

This issue of the journal also includes nine book reviews with particular significance for Victorian history ranging from Indigenous

histories to the varied contributions of women, the significance of tea in our culture, nineteenth-century immigration, and the life and work of one of Australia's greatest historians, born and educated in Victoria, Ken Inglis.

We are proud of the quality and variety of the articles published in this issue of the *VHJ*, which continues the excellent standard of past issues. The John Adams Prize was established to recognise the best article or historical note in the journal over a two-year period, commencing with issues 287–290 (2017 and 2018). In this issue of the journal we are delighted to announce the shortlist, the prize winner and the runner-up for the years 2018 and 2019. We extend our congratulations to all concerned and our thanks to the two judges, who put so much time and care into their assessment of the articles.

Hamilton Hume Sketch Maps: Origins and Modern Treatment

Martin Williams

Abstract

Hamilton Hume and William Hovell made the first overland journey of exploration by Europeans from southern New South Wales into Victoria in 1824. The eyewitness accounts of this journey include original journals and writings by Hume and Hovell, a combination of the two journals edited by William Bland (first edition 1831), and three sketch maps attributed to Hamilton Hume. The three sketch maps have been the least studied of these indisputably primary sources and form the basis of this article. A re-evaluation of these maps offers remarkable new insights into the journey, showing that Hamilton Hume altered the original of the maps to indicate falsely that he knew that he had reached Port Phillip, while William Hovell also was less than honest when it suited him. The Hume and Hovell records were misquoted or ignored in the nineteenth century, but in the 21st century they suffered misinterpretation once again when, in 2015, the peak heritage protection authority in Victoria accepted flawed evidence to endorse the proposition that Hume and Hovell had been physically present at a particular central Victorian location—Monument Hill, Kilmore. This article demonstrates that this was not the case and that, had Hume and Hovell found themselves at that location in 1824, they would have been forced to abandon the expedition and return to New South Wales as failures.

Exploration Skeleton Charts

Hamilton Hume was the source of three sketch maps that originated from exploration skeleton charts with which he and William Hovell were provided to help guide their journey in 1824. Hume provided this description of the skeleton charts in an account of the journey published in 1855: 'the government … furnished us with … two skeleton charts for the tracing of our journey'. 'I then on the skeleton chart … drew a line from the point of departure to Western Port, to serve as a base on which to act throughout the journey.'[1] An exploration skeleton chart consists of an empty grid of meridians of longitude and parallels of

latitude of the region of interest, and typically with an outline of known features marked on it.

The party was also given a 'perambulator' or odometer to provide accurate measurement of distance. As Hume wrote: 'The perambulator and a pocket compass were kindly lent me by my friend, Mr. Surveyor Meehan'.[2] Meehan had been deputy surveyor general in New South Wales and was thus well positioned to provide professional surveying equipment and charts to Hume.[3]

Hume indicated that he was meticulous in filling in his course on the skeleton chart from his daily readings of compass bearings and distances and that he was observed to do so. 'The very day after we started from my station, I began the tracing of my course on my skeleton map and continued it throughout, sometimes marking our work daily, invariably every second day'. He quoted a member of the expedition, Thomas Boyd, in confirmation of this claim: 'Mr. Hume always kept the reckoning of our course and day's progress; it was his regular afternoon's work'.[4]

Further insight into the nature of these skeleton charts can be obtained by analysing the three sketch maps attributed to Hume.

Hume (Mitchell) Sketch Map

The State Library of New South Wales holds the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map, which explicitly credits Hamilton Hume as the author in its hand-written title: 'H. Hume's sketch of a tour performed by W.H. Hovell and himself from Lake George to Port Phillip, Bass's Straits'.[5]

This sketch map became the personal property of Sir Thomas Mitchell, the surveyor general of New South Wales, and was bequeathed to the library through his family in 1920. It was drawn on James Whatman paper with a watermark date of 1825. The map in question was professionally drafted. It includes surveyed outlines of Western Port, Wilsons Promontory, and the New South Wales coast through Twofold Bay and onwards for another 140 miles. Added to the map is a clearly marked line of travel of the journey in both the forward direction towards Western Port and the return. It also includes the commercially important annotations: 'The end of the Downs was not seen in this direction', and, 'Apparently a fine grazing Country'. The labelling is meticulous and it was written in two distinct forms of handwriting.

The sketch map contains further evidence of Mitchell's ownership and his use of this specific map in 1836 during his journey of exploration of Australia Felix (Victoria).[6]

It has three separate pencilled annotations relating to Mitchell's journey, showing first, Mount Hope in north-western Victoria, second, Mitchell's own camp site on the approaches to the Ovens River on 14 October 1836, dated and marked with a cross, and third, another cross marking the location of Mitchell's next camp site on the banks of the Ovens, which the party crossed on 15 October 1836.

Mitchell recorded in his journal that he used the sketch map when on the top of Mount Hope to differentiate between the Murray and Goulburn rivers on the distant horizon: 'On reaching the summit of Mount Hope, I saw … the trees of the Murray … or the Goulburn (of Hovell and Hume); for it was uncertain, then, which river we were near'.[7] He used it again at Deegay Creek near the Goulburn River on 8 October 1836 to identify the form of Mount Disappointment: 'Westward of the gap or ravine, stood a large mass, which I thought might be the Mount Disappointment of Mr. Hume'.[8]

On 16 October 1836, the day after camping beside the Ovens, Mitchell commended the accuracy of the map in relation to the Goulburn and Ovens rivers: 'I hoped to find the Murray, according to the map of Messrs. Hovell and Hume, which in the two rivers we had recently passed, seemed wonderfully correct'.[9]

Further confirming that Mitchell carried this sketch map on his journey for his personal use is the fact that he also made twenty references in this journal to his use of a John Oxley 1817 map and four to an Arrowsmith 1832 map in exactly the same way to check on both their accuracy and his own navigation.

Hume (Gellibrand) Sketch Map

The Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map is held in London in the Colonial Office records of the despatches of Colonel George Arthur, governor of Van Diemen's Land in 1835.[10] It will be shown that the map was commissioned and owned by Joseph Tice Gellibrand and has been titled accordingly.

This map was drawn on light-weight paper and is a tracing of the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map. I was able to verify this by reproducing both maps to the same scale and viewing them superimposed through a light table. They have nearly identical treatment of the courses, widths

and shapes of the rivers on the journey, the other topographic features and the overall path of travel.

This map was last in the possession of Joseph Tice Gellibrand and John Batman on 25 June 1835 when they gave it to the governor of Van Diemen's Land, Colonel George Arthur, to help substantiate their right to lands they claimed to have just purchased in Port Phillip from their Wurundjeri owners.[11]

The map was professionally drawn but has twelve omissions from the original. These include the coastline of Wilsons Promontory, all of the coastline of NSW north of Twofold Bay, the feature labels, 'Ram Head', 'Green Cape', 'Reids Ck', 'Emu Creek', and the two commercially important annotations mentioned above that are on the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map. The omission of these annotations indicates that the purpose of the exercise was navigation and the defining of territory rather than the promotion of the pastoral potential of the land. Other elements omitted from the Hume (Gellibrand) map include samples of the two handwriting styles present on the Hume (Mitchell) map. This further reinforces the fact that the Hume (Mitchell) map was the earlier of the two.

Date of the Hume (Gellibrand) Sketch Map

Gellibrand and Batman had first sought official permission to move from Van Diemen's Land and settle at Western Port in January 1827 when they wrote to Governor Darling requesting land at the proposed settlement there.[12] That meant that, in 1827, the venture was prominent in Gellibrand's mind.

Gellibrand certainly possessed this map in 1835 when he gave it to Governor Arthur, but he had had the opportunity to commission its drafting personally where it was held in New South Wales on three occasions before that year, including in 1827. Gellibrand was successful as a barrister and trader in Van Diemen's Land and visited Sydney in September 1827 for the long period of two months[13] and twice again in 1828 for a fortnight each time.[14] No other member of the Port Phillip Association, including John Batman, visited Sydney between 1827 and 1835 except for the peripheral investor John Robertson, who travelled there in 1834.[15] Robertson did not participate personally in the settlement of Port Phillip and was one of the first to sell out of the Port Phillip Association in March 1836.[16] This left Gellibrand as the only individual in a position to commission the tracing of the original

Hume (Mitchell) sketch map, and September/October 1827 as the time during which he had the longest opportunity to do so.

The map itself reveals that the commissioning was done in person. Instructions were given to the draftsman to leave out certain of the topographical features and descriptions, and to produce a near identical copy of the rest. These attributes had to have been approved on the spot when the tracing was still pinned to the original map.

The venture to Port Phillip was referred to routinely in Van Diemen's Land as being led by Gellibrand 'the leading Gentleman of the Port Phillip Company' and never Batman.[17] Governor George Arthur, in writing to Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, on 4 July 1835, did, however, refer to Batman's expedition to Port Phillip, because Batman personally went there. But Arthur went on to explain that Batman had the subordinate role of acting 'on behalf of an association [The Port Phillip Association], of which, it appears, he is the agent'.[18]

The records indicate that Gellibrand had a greater role in the settlement of Port Phillip than history has sometimes credited him with, and, as a person of substantial wealth, who left an estate of £40,000 made up of high-cash-flow businesses, he had the finances to support it.[19] In comparison, Batman was a regional sheep farmer who had no such ready cash resources and did not travel beyond Van Diemen's Land until settling at Port Phillip. It was Gellibrand who wrote the letters to Governors Darling and Arthur and the deed of purchase with the Wurundjeri people, and he also represented the Port Phillip Association in negotiations with Governor Richard Bourke in Sydney in 1836.[20] Batman's journal indicates that all of those things were beyond his talents; he was barely literate.[21] James Bonwick in 1867 relied on letters from John Helder Wedge and William Sams to assert that Batman was the sole originator of the notion to settle at Port Phillip.[22] The pair had no knowledge of the central initiating role of Gellibrand from 1827, nor of the numerous other Van Diemen's Land individuals who had had the same idea, from the Henty brothers in 1834 to the equally wealthy George Palmer Ball group of eight individuals in the same year.[23]

Hume (Pettingell) Sketch Map

The Hume (Pettingell) sketch map is held by the Royal Historical Society of Victoria.[24] This map carries the annotation that it was drawn for Gellibrand by Joseph William Pettingell. It was prepared with ordinary script handwriting and lacks precision in the elementary copying details

of topographic features; it also shares all of the omissions of commercial information left off the Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map and an additional eleven features, making a total of 23 items missing that had been present on the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map. This map originally had been cut into eight segments and pasted onto linen board for use in the field. When a copy of the map was cut and reassembled with no gaps by the author, it showed the same line of travel as the Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map. These features indicate that it was derived from that map.

Date of the Hume (Pettingell) Sketch Map

The date of creation of this map can be deduced from Joseph Pettingell's personal history. He arrived in Van Diemen's Land in September 1834 under his wife's name, Linden.[25] He left a journal of his trip from Liverpool to Hobart that contains sketches of the voyage in an untrained hand.[26]

Pettingell initially set up business in Hobart as a tailor, across Campbell Street from Joseph Gellibrand.[27] He established a school in May 1837, advertising that he could teach surveying subjects,[28] and claimed to have been chosen as the surveyor for the Port Phillip Association by Joseph Gellibrand, notwithstanding the fact that John Helder Wedge was both the surveyor of, and a shareholder in, the association.[29] By May 1837 Gellibrand had died and was not present to dispute Pettingell's claims. A few months later, in September 1837, Pettingell was gaoled for debt.[30]

Pettingell must have drafted the map sometime between September 1834, when he arrived in Hobart, and 25 June 1835, when Batman and Gellibrand gave the Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map, from which Pettingell's map was derived, to Colonel Arthur.

This analysis has demonstrated that the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map was the earliest and original of the maps, that the Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map was a tracing of it, and that the Hume (Pettingell) sketch map was derived from the Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map.

Western Port or Port Phillip?

On 24 January 1825, six days after returning from the expedition, Hume wrote to the governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, stating unequivocally that he and the party had reached Western Port;[31] he then repeated the statement in three newspaper articles published between February 1825 and 15 December 1826.[32] This claim was repeated by Dr William

Bland in nine newspaper advertisements between December 1825 and December 1826, their purpose being to publicise the book he was preparing on the expedition based on the journals of both Hume and Hovell.[33]

In January 1827 the first revelation was published in the press that Hume and Hovell had not been to Western Port but, rather, had reached Port Phillip.[34] This occurred when Hovell was present with the settlement expedition then at Western Port, and he confirmed it personally. The pair were rebuked for the error of not identifying Western Port correctly since they were now implicated by association with the wasted expense of setting up a new settlement there based upon their fulsome recommendations.[35]

Notwithstanding the fact that Hume and Bland had previously and repeatedly declared that they had reached Western Port, both of them from this time on wrote that their party had in fact arrived at Port Phillip, and the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map, derived from Hume's skeleton chart, showed a destination of Port Phillip. In addition, in the 1837 edition of his book, Bland produced a purported map of the journey showing a destination of Port Phillip.[36] It appears to be hurriedly hand-drawn and leaves off the concluding point of the journey at Kennedy's Creek (Lara) despite the detailed description provided in the text. The error was corrected in the next edition of Bland's book; all of the missing section was inserted.[37]

Francis Labilliere as early as 1878 provided proof, including Hume's letter of 1825 to Governor Brisbane cited above, that from 1855 onwards Hume had publicly issued false statements that he knew all along that the party had reached Port Phillip and not Western Port.[38] It was a logical extension of this behaviour for Hume to have drawn his Hume (Mitchell) sketch map to show a false destination of Port Phillip. It was also a demonstration of astonishing risk-taking by Hume for him then to give the map to Sir Thomas Mitchell.

The Original Hume Skeleton Chart

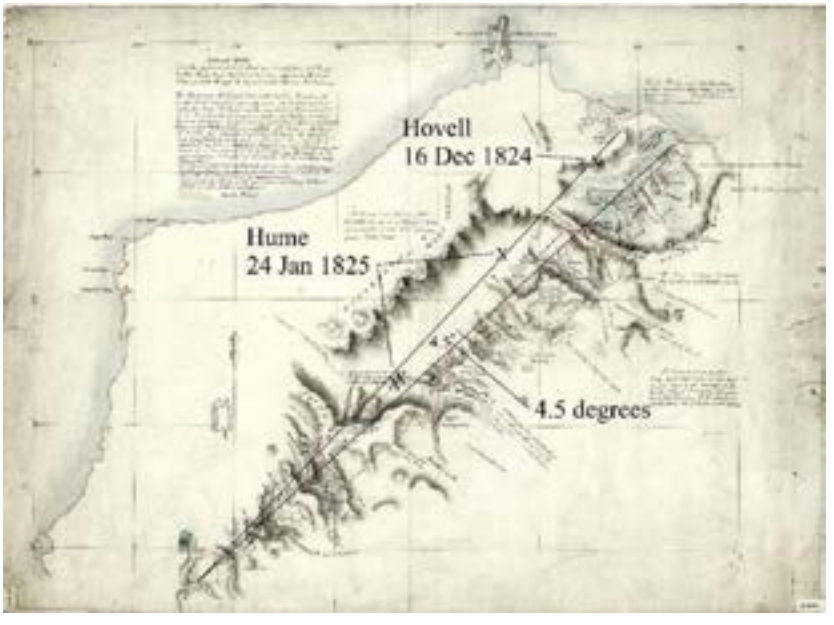

Figure 1: Hume (Mitchell) Sketch Map

My additions to this Hume (Mitchell) sketch map include:

a. An upper line drawn from Hume's station at Gunning to the western shoreline of Western Port, much as it would have appeared on his original explorer's skeleton chart.

b. Four coordinates all marked with a capital X: one recorded by Hovell on 16 December 1824 and three listed by Hume on 24 January 1825.

c. A lower line drawn from Hume's station to his version of the western shoreline of Port Phillip. It forms an angle of 4.5 degrees from the line to Western Port.

The true composition of the original skeleton chart now becomes critical to this argument. It can be deduced from Hume's account that he drew a line on it from his station at Gunning to Westernport. I have thus inserted a straight line from Hume's station at Gunning to what was initially an arbitrary location on the western margin of Western Port. It is the upper line in Figure 1.

On 16 December 1824 Hovell recorded his coordinates in his journal for that day: 'I was enabled to get a Maredian Altitude, which gave the latitude 38°. 6. S. and my Longitude 145°. 25. E..'[39] These coordinates were in fact on this same upper line (Figure 1, Hovell 16 December 1824)

and were 42 miles east of Hovell's true location at Port Phillip on that day. Hume provided the three following coordinates six days after his return from the expedition in his report, dated 24 January 1825, to Sir Thomas Brisbane:

> On Tuesday, 16th November, when in Lat. 36° 20', Long. 147° 25', we came on an extensive river [Hume/Murray] … on the 24th November and 3rd December we fell in with and crossed two more considerable streams, the former of which is in Lat. 36° 24', Long. 147° 10', [Mitta Mitta] and the latter, the last stream we crossed before we arrived at Western Port, is in Lat. 37° 22', Long. 146° 25'[Goulburn].[40]

On 21 November 1824 Hovell had measured with his perambulator that the Mitta Mitta was four miles from the Hume river.[41] Hume's coordinates placed it 14.3 miles south west of the Hume, a clear error that has been corrected for this particular exercise and is shown in Figure 1. All four of the coordinates—Hume/Murray, Mitta Mitta, Goulburn and Western Port—have been shown with a capital X. Given that Hume's original line was to Western Port and had to accommodate all four of these coordinate readings as well as that of Hume's station, the line of best fit was the upper one to the western shoreline of Western Port as drawn. It shows where the original line must have been present on the Hume skeleton chart. It also demonstrates that none of the four coordinates was instrument based. They were all read off the skeleton chart, a recognised method of estimating coordinates at the time that was referred to as the 'by account' technique in navigation. This means that Hovell did not get his longitude wrong by 'an error of about thirty or forty miles in longitude' as Bland wrote in the 1831 edition of his book[42] and as became a staple of nineteenth-century historians. Rather, Hovell had read the coordinates off the skeleton chart in front of him on that day, 16 December 1824. By then, the skeleton chart displayed the long path of journey painstakingly drawn on it by the explorers during sixty days of travel. That path was eleven miles from the Western Port on the chart. Hovell had every reason to believe what their path showed him and wrote down the coordinates from it. He immediately proved his reliance on the chart alone by travelling that eleven miles in the south-west direction that it showed to the sea, when he was a mere two miles west of it. He had the option of discovering their correct location by performing an instrument measurement, but he did not do it.

Hovell's later account confirms this interpretation. In 1874 he wrote that 'No observations were taken with the instruments' and blamed Hume: 'Mr. Hume gave me the time so carelessly, that they were of no value even as an approximation.'[43] Hume's next step in creating a new destination of Port Phillip was to alter his skeleton chart by rotating its recorded path of journey and all of the inland topographical features with it through 4.5 degrees clockwise in order for the final destination shown to be his version of the western shoreline of Port Phillip rather than Western Port. I have inserted this line in Figure 1 on page 12. This rotation was deliberate and required the skilled use of a pantograph to perform. But Hume's chosen angle of rotation was guesswork because in reality it requires a rotation of 6.0 degrees to get the line of journey to reach the true western shoreline of Port Phillip.

Further evidence that Hume used this technique was that the outlines of Western Port and Wilsons Promontory and all of the coast north of Twofold Bay remained present on the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map in their correct coordinates (Figure 1). Hume did not alter those coastlines because they were already known and could be checked in Sydney; rather, he altered the inland path of journey and all of the topographical features with it, a record of the route travelled that no one could dispute because no one else had been there.

Hume then drew in a version of Port Phillip Bay on his sketch map. The western coastline that he created for it appears to owe key features to the shape of the Western Port shoreline and its sea entrance as they appeared on the skeleton chart in front of him. The dominating form of the Bellarine Peninsula was shown as about one-tenth of its true size, and with a visible sea entrance inaccurately placed nearly due south.

Hume continued to maintain this charade in July 1831 when he published what were purported to be excerpts from his original journal of 1824: 'The entrance from the sea, at least, the place which we supposed to be the entrance, bore by compass S by E … and a distant view of the ocean was obtained.'[44] There was no such view of the ocean.

Hovell recorded Hume's vantage point on 17 December as being '4 or 5 miles' from the fresh water that the explorers found at 'Kennedy's Creek' (Hovell's Creek, Lara).[45] Hovell personally showed the location to the Victorian surveyor general, Alexander Skene, 'near the Bird Rock', when he returned to Geelong in 1853.[46] He described it fully in 1874: 'We never reached, and never saw, Port Phillip at all. The spot where

we made the saltwater was the Bird Rock, opposite Bird Island, and an inlet of what is now called Corio Bay'.[47] These accounts by Hovell were delineated on a County of Grant, Victoria, surveyed map in 1874,[48] then personally by Skene for the Department of Lands and Survey in 1879,[49] and in high detail by that department in 1884.[50] They confirmed that Hume's vantage point was adjacent to Bird Rock, Point Lillias, Avalon. From that location any potential view of the ocean was blocked entirely by the sixteen-mile-long Bellarine Peninsula all the way to the due east, not merely to south by east. This demonstrated that Hume's description of the ocean view in July 1831 did not come from his journal of 1824 but from what he himself had drawn onto his Hume (Mitchell) sketch map. Hume had to support the map with its false destination of Port Phillip because he had already given it to Thomas Mitchell, as will be shown shortly, and could not alter it.

Hovell left separate evidence that the location was Point Lillias. He recorded bearings that were transcribed by William Bland: N45W to Mt Berry (Mt Buninyong), S45W to 'high land' (Mt Cowley), which were correct for Point Lillias, as was a third bearing of N5W to Mt Woolstonecraft (You Yangs). Bland erred in transcribing this last bearing as N25W, which was to a featureless flat plain. The reading of N10W to Mt Woolstonecraft, taken when Hovell was two miles inland from Point Lillias, was also correct. Bland transcribed two other bearings of N76E to Mt McIntosh (Mt Dandenong) and N85E to Mt Campbell (Mt Beenak) that were correct for the location of Hovell's 'Maredian Altitude' eleven miles north east. The final bearing of N50W to Mt Woolstonecraft was taken half way between there and Bird Rock.[51]

John Batman Detected the Deficiencies

These deficiencies were confirmed the first time that a Hume map was used, and by John Batman on his journey to Port Phillip in May 1835 in the sloop *Rebecca*. He carried what must have been the purpose-made Hume (Pettingell) map: 'Mr. Batman reached the hill marked out by Mr. Hume, on his expedition with Howell [Hovell]'.[52] Well before Batman had reached that hill, he had to have observed that the Bellarine Peninsula and the Port Phillip shoreline bore virtually no resemblance to Hume's version of them. The large expanses of the Bellarine Peninsula that Batman wanted to include in the purchase by the Port Phillip Association were not even on the Hume map.

Within two weeks of Batman's return to Launceston on 11 June 1835, a new map had been prepared and handed over to Governor George Arthur on 25 June 1835.[53] This new map restored the nine-tenths of the Bellarine Peninsula that had been left off by Hume. The map was based on Flinders chart of 1803, which was freely available commercially and was certain to have been carried to Port Phillip by the experienced master of the *Rebecca*, John Barker Harwood, in order to guide him into the bay.[54] This discovery also provides the explanation for the odd event of Gellibrand giving away his seemingly valuable Hume (Gellibrand) map to Governor Arthur; it was of no further practical use to him.

Absence of Port Phillip Shoreline

It was evident that Hume's original skeleton chart did not have the western shoreline of Port Phillip drawn onto it despite the fact that Grimes in 1803 had surveyed both it and Western Port. It was present on the Flinders chart of 1803.[55] Indeed that chart was the basis of all of the coastlines that were copied onto the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map. The draftsman had put in part of the eastern shoreline contiguous with the destination of the western side of Western Port and had left off the rest.

There was logic to the omission. Port Phillip was publicly known to have been dismissed as unsuitable for settlement in 1803 so there was no point in travelling there.[56] The destination this time was the new frontier, the unknown land side of Western Port.

When did Hume Create the Hume (Mitchell) Map?

Hume had been a confidante of, and explorer with, successive surveyors-general, John Oxley and James Meehan (as a deputy), and could expect to have the same standing with the incoming Thomas Mitchell when he arrived in the colony in September 1827. This was precisely what happened. Hume travelled with Mitchell in December 1827, almost immediately after his arrival, to show him the road to Bathurst he (Hume) had just pioneered.[57]

Mitchell's imminent arrival in September 1827 gave Hume the motive to create a new map showing a destination of Port Phillip. It was in his interests to present Mitchell with a map showing Port Phillip as a *fait accompli* so that it could not be an issue of conjecture. This also happened to be the time when Gellibrand had the longest opportunity to copy the map in turn. The fact that it was drawn on James Whatman paper made in 1825 provides further circumstantial evidence to support

the creation of the new map relatively soon after that year. This was a reckless act, and doomed to failure, unless Hume had control of the whereabouts, or the contents, of the versions of the skeleton chart that had been made during the expedition. Evidence of the existence of these versions is as follows: Alexander Berry asked Hume to see a copy of 'your journal, the map' on 2 June 1825;[58] Hume himself wrote that he took from Hovell 'my chart of our overland journey … six and twenty years' before 1854;[59] and the explorer Johann Lhotsky used Hovell's copy of 'the chart of Mr Howell's [Hovell's] journey' to plan his own journey of exploration on 11 January 1834.[60]

Test of Hume Sketch Maps

Whilst Hume rotated his path of travel and all of the associated topographical features with it by 4.5 degrees to create the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map, this technique should have left the inland topographical features in their same relative positions. This can be shown by comparing Hume's sketch maps with the written journals at one specific location that contains distinctive topographical features described by the explorers and still readily identifiable. Indeed many still carry the names that were given to them by the explorers in 1824.

The location I have chosen is the immediate vicinity of Mount Disappointment in Central Victoria. The region contained the Twisden (Goulburn) River, King Parrot Creek, Mount Disappointment itself, and Sunday Creek. All were named by Hume and Hovell and were described by Hovell in his original journal. The region is shown in Figure 2. It is a portion of the Hume (Mitchell) sketch map, the earliest and most credible of the three sketch maps. It also shows the then-unnamed Black Swamp Gully and Dry Creek.

Amongst the derivative maps, the Hume (Gellibrand) sketch map did not name Reid's Creek but showed all of the rest, whilst the Hume (Pettingell) sketch map omitted Reid's Creek and the southern reaches of Sunday Creek. All three maps show the same path of travel of the journey in this region.

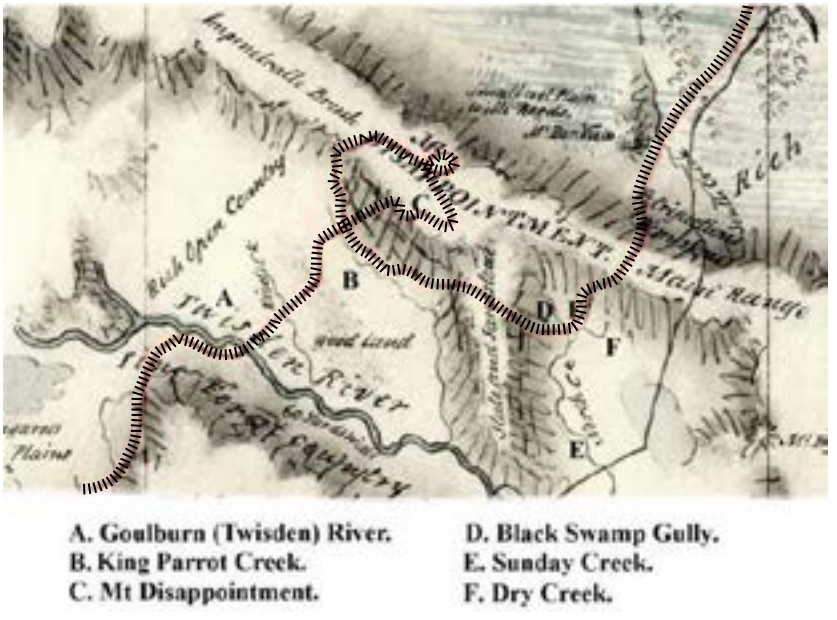

Figure 2: Hume and Hovell at Mount Disappointment

Hovell described this part of the journey in great detail. His original grammar, spelling and punctuation are replicated in the interests of historical accuracy. On 7 December the party made an attempt to climb to the peak of Mount Disappointment in the hope of seeing the coastal plain, but they did not reach it and returned to King Parrot Creek. They made a second attempt on 9 December and reached the peak but were unable to see through the dense forest and camped on the mountain that night.

Hovell then wrote that they were under pressure to get to the coast before their food ran out: 'we have not been able to penetrate … across the range … to have a sufficiency of Flowr left to return to Agryleshire with … unless we find a Country at the West end of this range'.[61] They resolved to descend the mountain again to King Parrot Creek and find a path through the mountains further to the west: 'Friday 10th … we set forward on our journey, about 2, oClock, following the Course of the King Parrot Creak down'.[62] They camped on King Parrot Creek that night and struck a passage towards the west the next day but were blocked by fire: '11th December … Set forward with intention to Keep about a

West Course, but … found it advisable to return … fire and smoke was blown full in our faces'.[63]

On 12 December they crossed a feature now known as the Murchison Gap: 'we now decanded the Mountain ranges, and took our Course for a remarkable looking Sugar loaf hill … it bore W. b. S.'.[64] The hill was Mount Piper, which they named, and Hovell gave it that precise bearing in his journal in his unmistakeable handwriting. His use of the term 'W. b. S.' meant the navigational west by south, which was one point of the compass, namely 11.25 degrees, south of due west. It was not south west. It meant that the bearing from the Murchison Gap to Mount Piper was 258.75 degrees. The party continued on that bearing, crossed Black Swamp Gully, and reached the confluence of Dry Creek with Sunday Creek (now Broadford). The journey in a direction of W. b. S. was shown on all three of the Hume sketch maps when corrected by 4.5 degrees, as was their reaching this same confluence of creeks and gully (Figure 2). The party stopped at this location: '12th December. at 5 we stoped, haveing travelled 12¼ Miles, beside a Creak which we call Sunday Creak'.[65] Hovell's journal indicated that the party had traversed precisely 26¾ miles in a forward direction from the night of 9 December to that of 12 December. That fits correctly with the actual distance today.[66]

Figure 3: Georgian Wooden Pocket Compass *c.*1820 (Courtesy Compass Library, Lancashire, England, at https://www.compasslibrary.com)

This shows a typical British Pocket Compass, *c.* 1820, displaying individual points of the compass, including W. by S. and S. by E. Hovell could read his bearings directly off such a compass.

The eyewitness accounts and sketch maps continue to be consistent in describing the next section of the journey, and Hovell provided similar precision in recounting it. He wrote on 13 December that the party 'could not cross Sunday Creak, it being too muddey', and that they were required to travel seven miles along Sunday Creek in a direction of 'S. b. E' (11.25 degrees east of due south) before they could find a place to cross.[67] This provides another precise location of a feature that the party reached. It is now known as Waterford Park.

From there Hovell recorded various explicit topographical features. The party:

> passed over several ranges … at 15 miles … we came in sight of a plain … backed in by Mountains—for this place we shaped our course, its bearings being S. by E., distant about seven or eight miles … we decended the range … and stoped at the end of 16 Miles beside some waterholes … the Creak run to the southward.[68]

Meanwhile, Hume made these observations in his journal:

> On the 13th we ascended a main, or a dividing range, and saw at a distance of five or six miles, in a S.S.W. direction some extensive plains … We encamped … on the bank of a small stream, running to the Southward. This stream was the first met with running in that direction.[69]

Nearly 30 years later, in 1855, Hume added graphically to these observations:

> The same day, 13th December, we crossed the dividing range, (now known as the "Big Hill") and being some distance in advance of the party I observed an opening and fall of land far to the south; thinking the struggle at last won, my heart rose, and I cheered long and loud, most of the men left their cattle, and rushed towards me, Mr. Hovell among the number.[70]

In 1831 Bland pointed out that the last of the ranges was a dividing range: 'the waters … on the north side, run to the northward … Those on the southern side proceed to the southward … discharge themselves into the sea'.[71]

The sole location that matches all of these eye-witness accounts is the watershed peak on the dividing range 1,260 metres south of present-

day Arkells Lane, Wandong–Heathcote Junction (37° 23' 09" S; 145° 00' 47" E.). It is quite distinct on the skyline. The separate north- and south-flowing watercourses are only 200 metres apart. It is fourteen miles from the party's camp of the previous night.

According to Hume the party crossed the dividing range and proceeded for another mile down what is now Eastern Ridge, Wallan, to about the present-day Emilia Court intersection, which is at the distance of fifteen miles as measured by Hovell and must have provided the views ranging from 'S. by E.' (Hovell) through 'far to the south' (Hume) and on to the 'S.S.W' (Hume). One mile further distant, on a bearing of S. by E., was the Merri Creek at about present-day Kelby Lane, Wallan.

This location fits the local topography and is further substantiated by the three Hume sketch maps. The maps indicate that after the party crossed Sunday Creek they moved south west. This would have taken them through a low pass across the range straight in front of them, the obvious route to take as it was the easiest and quickest for the pack animals. It is now part of the current Hume Freeway. (37° 19' 17" S; 145° 02' 16" E). At its top there was another low pass that took them further towards the south as Hume indicated, again the obvious route to take. It followed what is now Broadford–Wandong Road. Immediately upon crossing it there was a third low pass along the valley formed by the tributary of Dry Creek through present-day Wandong–Heathcote Junction. This final valley has at its highest point the watershed ridge south of Arkells Lane. It in turn was the obvious high point for Hume to head for on horseback in front of the party. Hume also showed on his map that the final direction of the party out of the mountains was south by east.

The route through Wandong described here required the crossing of three ranges in accordance with Hovell's 'several ranges'. It was first shown on an official Victorian Department of Lands and Survey map, County of Dalhousie, in 1884.[72] Herbert Hansford in 1924 referred to the crossing as being 'near Heathcote Junction railway station', which is inclusive of this location,[73] as is Alan Andrew's 'Hume's Pass' of 1981.[74] It also fitted with Hansford's own map of 1924.[75]

The journals and maps were consistent; the explorers had broken free of the Mount Disappointment impasse.

Hume and Hovell Records Misquoted

Some elements of the Hume and Hovell records were misquoted or ignored over time. In 1842 English cartographer John Arrowsmith published a map that purported to show Hume and Hovell's line of journey. He had the party travelling across the top of a feature labelled 'Mt. Piper' although the journals showed they had not, and furthermore Arrowsmith mislabelled it for the current Mt Hickey. He placed the true Mt Piper six miles north of its actual location with no label at all.[76]

Hume himself unintentionally caused a drift in accuracy. He wrote in 1855 that on 12 December 1824 'we came to Sunday Creek, near the present site of Kilmore … and … we crossed the dividing range, (now known as the "Big Hill")'.[77] Hume had never returned to Victoria. These two place names were clearly read off a contemporary map as his reasonable approximations to the original locations. This was confirmed by Hume himself when he wrote in 1867: 'I was by that time as far as "Big Hill", or rather the Dividing Range on my return to New South Wales'.[78]

The eyewitness accounts of both Hume and Hovell provide the evidence that the 'Dividing Range' referred to by Hume was the watershed ridge south of what is now Arkells Lane, Wandong–Heathcote Junction. It was three miles east of what was later named 'Big Hill'.

Hume's casual approximations were accepted as precise locations by seemingly credible nineteenth-century historians. Henry Kingsley wrote in 1865 that Hume 'passed through the town of … Kilmore' with no citation.[79] George W. Rusden extended it further in 1871 to: 'Hume passed over at the "Big Hill" on the Kilmore Road', also with no citation.[80] George Grimm magnified the errors in 1888, and again with no citation: 'The most serious difficulty … was a boggy creek in the locality where the town of Kilmore now stands … the Dividing Range, in this part known as the Big Hill, was finally crossed'.[81]

Modern Treatment: Errors

If nineteenth-century writers misquoted or ignored the original Hume and Hovell accounts, worse was to come in the 21st century. In June 2015 Victoria's peak authority for protecting heritage, the Heritage Council of Victoria, made a formal Decision that, contrary to the eyewitness accounts left by Hume and Hovell, effectively endorsed a proposition that the party was physically present at a location now known as Monument Hill, Kilmore, on 13 December 1824. This followed the

receipt of public submissions relating to the historical significance of the location. Two such submitters were singled out: 'In verbal submissions, following evidence led by Ms Goble and Mr McInnes, the Executive Director's representative submitted that it was probable that Hume and Hovell did climb Monument Hill'.[82]

Whilst the Decision used the term 'probable', the implied degree of uncertainty was minimised and the proposition converted into a citable historical fact by the declaration that 'a circle of forty (40) metres diameter from the centre of the tower, is of cultural heritage significance to the State of Victoria' and thereby protected under the Heritage Act 2017.[83]

Evidence to the panel was led by Anne Goble and Ken McInnes.[84] Goble purported to quote William Hovell's actual journal: 'took our course for a remarkable looking ~~Shugar~~ Sugar loaf hill It appears clear all on the east side, to the top, but thick of timber on the other sides. It bore WxS'.[85] While Goble transcribed Hovell's spelling and punctuation errors, she altered his critical sentence, misconstruing its meaning. Hovell wrote explicitly that the bearing was 'W. b. S.', meaning one compass point, or the angle of 11.25 degrees, south of due west and, to the lay person, virtually due west. In 1921 Professor Ernest Scott transcribed Hovell's identification of the location correctly as 'W. by S.', as did Alan Andrews in 1981.[86] Goble, however, went on to claim that the misquoted sentence had the following meaning: 'he [Hovell] is saying they travelled from the top of the Tallarook Ranges in a South Westerly direction for a distance of 8 and a ½ miles'.[87]

This is incorrect. Hovell did not write that the party approached Mt Piper on a south-west bearing, but rather on a W. b. S. bearing, namely 11.25 degrees south of due west. Hovell's location when he measured Mt Piper to be at a bearing of W. b. S. was at the northern edge of the Murchison Gap, a low pass between Mt Disappointment and Mt Hickey. That direction took the party across Black Swamp Gully and to the junction of Dry Creek and Sunday Creek, where Hume and Hovell wrote that they camped on the night of 12 December 1824. This exact location was shown on all three of the Hume sketch maps (Figure 2).

Goble also misconstrued the directions in Hovell's journal for the next day, 13 December 1824, and altered them to read: 'for this place we shaped our course, it's bearing being SxE dis about 7 or 8 miles'.[88] Hovell did not write 'SxE', he wrote quite plainly in his own hand in his

journal 'S by E', meaning one point, or the small angle of 11.25 degrees, east of due south. This alteration to the record was followed by an additional obfuscation: 'The noted rock change we believe to be the volcanic bluestone rock (basalt), located through the Bald Hills, NxE of Kilmore'. None of 'WxS', 'SxE' or 'NxE' are terms known to navigation. They do not mean either south west, south east or north east. With these alterations to Hovell's journal exposed and the resulting errors revealed, Goble and McInnes's conclusions about the explorers' location fall apart. Hume and Hovell were miles away from Monument Hill on 13 December 1824.

The faults in Goble and McInnes's evidence could have been identified with elementary checks against the original journals. Hovell wrote that the distance between the campsite on Mt Disappointment on 9 December and their campsite at Sunday Creek on 12 December was the precise distance of 26¾ miles.

If the party had indeed approached Mt Piper from the south west across the Tallarook Ranges, then the equivalent distance back to the Mt Disappointment camp was 38.8 miles, twelve miles too far. Furthermore, Hovell measured that the party had travelled sixteen miles from their camp of 12 December to that of 13 December 1824. If they had left from the campsite purported by Goble and McInnes to be north of Broadford and had travelled via Monument Hill, then their camp at the end of the sixteen miles on 13 December would have been near McKercher's Lane Bylands, still on the northern side of the divide, not in a valley, and nowhere near a south-flowing creek.

The Heritage Council of Victoria panellists made two site inspections of Monument Hill in 2014 and 2015.[89] Perhaps they were misled by the large sign beside the monument that repeats the words used by Hamilton Hume one mile south of Wandong–Heathcote Junction on 13 December 1824, just after he had crossed the dividing range: 'being some distance in advance of the party I observed an opening and fall of land far to the south; thinking the struggle at last won'.[90] The sign makes the erroneous claim that these words were said at that very location on Monument Hill, seven miles from the true location.

The panellists could have seen for themselves the fatal defects in the evidence put before them. By standing on the top step leading to the monument and turning south, they would have been at about the eye level of a seated horse rider. They would have found that their view

to the south was fully blocked by the rising ground of the same ridge immediately to the south, and additionally by forest.

That forest was still present in 1911 when John Monash (later General Sir John) produced the first survey map of the region for the Easter Manoeuvres on the Kilmore Plains.[91] The forest was also present when the land was set aside for a town reserve and commonage for Kilmore in 1861,[92] and it was present in December 1824.

If, hypothetically, Hamilton Hume had been able to stand at a height of 7.3 metres (as measured by the top of today's monument), he still could not have seen over the forest to the coastal plains that he sought. If he had risen another ten metres above that, the view would have been one of continuous forest across the Big Hill (Pretty Sally Hill) complex, stretching along the Plenty Ranges all the way to Mt Dandenong and as far south as Port Phillip Bay. He would have seen no coastal plains from this location, just endless dense forest to battle through. The party, already demoralised and running low on supplies, would have had no choice but to abandon the trip and return to New South Wales as failures.

Proximity to Monument Hill

Hume and Hovell did travel near to Monument Hill, Kilmore, but that was on their return journey. William Bland wrote that on 22 December 1824 Hume and Hovell 're-cross[ed] the Jullian Range by the same pass by which they had entered … on the 13th … and camped on Sunday Creek near … a small stony range stretching obliquely'.[93] That small stony range was five miles north of Broadford. Hamilton Hume's maps (Figure 2) in fact show that the party travelled not by the 'same pass' of Bland, but along Dry Creek, Kilmore East, to get there. In doing so they came within about 1.4 kilometres of Monument Hill to the east, but that was as close as they ever got to it.

Putting the Record Straight

The Heritage Council of Victoria has been the unwitting victim of the misunderstanding and alteration of William Hovell's journal. The Hume and Hovell journey is of seminal significance in the history of Victoria, New South Wales and Australia. It would be a travesty of historical accuracy if this Decision, endorsing even the remotest possibility that Hume and Hovell were physically present at Monument Hill on 13 December 1824, were not overturned under the provisions of the

Heritage Act.[94] This should be done both for the credibility of the HCV itself and because of the imminent bi-centenary of the Hume and Hovell journey in 2024, when the rest of Australia will take historical accuracy for granted.

The Three Sketch Maps

The three Hamilton Hume sketch maps have had eventful lives central to the exploration history of New South Wales and Victoria. The earliest map, the Hume (Mitchell) map, began life when Hamilton Hume chose to alter the destination of Western Port shown on his 1824 explorer's skeleton map to Port Phillip on this new map. Hume's narrow purpose was to prove that he alone knew that he had reached Port Phillip rather than Western Port. The need for the alteration arose because a draftsman had left the western shoreline of Port Phillip off the skeleton map. This simple omission bedevilled Hume and Hovell. It resulted in their misidentification of Port Phillip, the abortive settlement at Western Port in 1826, their loss of reputation, and years of deception by Hume. However, it did arguably have the dramatic effect of ensuring that Victoria began its existence as a free state and not as a convict settlement once the Western Port settlement had failed in 1827. This same map was used personally by Sir Thomas Mitchell during his journey of exploration of Australia Felix in 1836.

The next two maps were commissioned by Joseph Tice Gellibrand. His Hume (Pettingell) map was used personally by John Batman during his first trip to Port Phillip in May 1835. Batman discovered that the western side of the bay as represented on the map bore virtually no relationship to the true Port Phillip shoreline, and a new map had to be created immediately to reflect accurately the area of land purchased by Gellibrand's Port Phillip Association. The commissioning of the new map allowed Gellibrand to make a gift of his earlier Hume (Gellibrand) map to Governor George Arthur. The evidence associated with Gellibrand's commissioning and use of the two maps between 1827 and 1835 demonstrates that he had a far greater role in the settlement of Victoria than John Batman.

The misrepresentations and errors of interpretation associated with the journey and the maps continued for nearly two centuries. In 1855, Hume himself published a casual approximation to the location on the Great Dividing Range of his first view of the coastal plains of Port Phillip in 1824. This resulted in 157 years of wrangling, culminating in

the erroneous declaration by the Heritage Council of Victoria in 2015 that the location was further inland where there is no view of the coastal plains. Hume's crossing of the Great Dividing Range on 13 December 1824 was the critical point of the entire journey because it demonstrated to the doubting party members that they had succeeded in their quest. The location, now accurately identified, is as important to the history of Victoria as is Mt Disappointment, yet it remains unrecognised and unnamed.

The rich story of the three Hamilton Hume sketch maps can now enter the historical record of Victorian exploration and settlement and, in the process, correct some previous misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

Notes

1 Hamilton Hume, *A Brief Statement of Facts in Connexion with an Overland Expedition from Lake George to Port Phillip, in 1824*, edited by the Rev. William Ross, Sydney, J. Moore, Bookseller, 1855, pp. 13–14.

2 Hume, 1855, p. 14.

3 James Meehan, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 26 April 1826, p. 2.

4 Hume, 1855, pp. 29–30.

5 Hamilton Hume, 'Hume's sketch of a tour performed by W. H. Hovell and himself from Lake George to Port Phillip, Bass's Straits, at their own expense in the years 1824 and 1825 through the request of Sir Thomas Brisbane', T.L. Mitchell Papers, State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), Call Number, Cb 82/24, 1826.

6 Thomas L. Mitchell, 'The south eastern portion of Australia showing the routes of the three expeditions and the surveyed territory', London, T. & W. Boone, 1838, National Library of Australia digitised item. MAP NK 1476 copy.

7 Thomas L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales*, London, T. & W. Boone, 1839, p. 156.

8 Mitchell, 1839, p. 291.

9 Mitchell, 1839, p. 300.

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Transition from Tyranny: Establishing Local Government on the Ballarat Goldfields, 1851–1856

Graeme S. Cartledge

Abstract

This article contends that the establishment of local government at Ballarat is a neglected aspect of the history of the miners' movement that culminated in the Eureka Stockade. It argues that the miners' demands included replacing rule by the commissioners with representative municipal administration, a demand that coincided with government policy towards regional Victoria as civic society developed. It also documents the subsequent process of transition, which necessitated negotiation of issues such as mining and land occupation, maintenance of law and order, and differences in tenure between freeholders and leaseholders before the municipality could be established.

Introduction

At the jubilee celebration of the first municipal council at Ballarat in December 1905, James Oddie, the inaugural chairman, reminded the invited guests, 'the miners rose up against tyranny and the rule by the commissioners winning local autonomy and municipal government'.[1] This suggests that demand for local government on the goldfields was part of the protest movement led by the diggers in the mid-1850s. It reminds us of the long-forgotten social and civic aspects of the miners' grievances, which have generally been overlooked by historians and others in favour of the wider political dimensions of the rebellion.

The social dimension concerned the liveability of goldfields life in the context of growing and more complex localised populations, whose civic needs—such as commerce, postal services, roads, planning, licensing (especially liquor), and law and order—were increasing in importance. Central to this was the vexatious issue of taxation, its fairness and affordability, public benefit, and the power to impose and collect it. Under the rule of the commissioners this power was not based on any form of public consent from the goldfields populations, hence the accusation of tyranny. This was at the heart of the matter identified

by Williamstown Mayor Sir George Frederick Verdon shortly after Eureka, when he pointed out: 'the Goldfields Commissioners had to make and administer laws specific to mining but made no allowances for the peculiar requirements of a mining community'.[2]

It was this that concerned the majority 'moral force' position in Ballarat led by J.B. Humffray, who, along with other reformers like Dr Owens of Bendigo, stood on a platform of rights denied, local government, regional prosperity, and colonial integration. These objectives were articulated in social action and electioneering throughout the period from 1854 to 1856. For Humffray, as he repeatedly claimed before and after Eureka, the main defect of government at Ballarat was the Goldfields Commission with its three years of arbitrary administration collecting taxes with no commensurate social or political return to the miners.

James Oddie, 50 years later, confirmed this claim, reminding subsequent generations that the civic needs of the local populations played a significant but largely forgotten part in the miners' demands. They formed a noteworthy part of the 'Charter' of 1854 (which was heavily influenced by Humffray and other Chartists), as well as the petition of 1853 and the submissions and findings of the two inquiries held in 1853 and 1854–55.

These claims challenge historians to dig deeper into the issues that concerned the Eureka rebels to uncover the story of transition from a goldfield managed by unrepresentative commissioners to a civic society and the establishment of an elected municipal government.

Historiography of Eureka and Local Government

Marjorie Theobald's recent work *The Accidental Town* portrays the creation of Castlemaine and its transition from the arbitrary control of the Goldfields Commission to rule by an elected local government.[3] Theobald argues that a sense of civic consciousness emerged from a curious event in May 1853 that involved a temperance agitator, sly grog sellers and an over-zealous camp commissioner.[4] Perjury and counter-claims make it difficult to determine what really happened amongst all the competing local factions with an interest in the matter. However, this episode illustrates the confused state of many mining communities under the rule of the commissioners without any civil administration. It also places the focus on the Goldfields Commission and the question of its legitimacy as an arbiter of public utilities and bylaws for local

goldfield communities, together with the campaigns by the miners for more control over their affairs.

Frank Cusack in his 1973 history of Bendigo tells a similar tale of another goldfield town making a rather rocky transition.[5] It was there in 1853, Cusack argues, that 'the seeds of dissent that were to flower at Eureka were being sown'.[6] In three chapters Cusack retells the story of the social movement against the underlying and explosive issue of unfair taxation, which finally led to 'breaking the grip' (chapter 13) of the commissioners. It was his assessment of these events that 'the abolition of the Goldfields Commission in 1855 and the changed nature of the administration made for a first substantial development in the field of local government'.[7]

For the most part, the importance of Oddie's long-forgotten declaration in 1905 has escaped the notice of researchers and historians. Bernard Barrett's history of local government in Victoria, for example, is dominated by his well-documented recounting of the evolution of the city of Melbourne and its suburbs and the progress of legislative solutions to urban growth. But, as Barrett shows, this was not without problems, particularly in the controversial origins of Emerald Hill (now South Melbourne) where staunch resistance to being rated by Melbourne City Council was accompanied by cries of 'no extravagant taxation' and 'no taxation for which value for money is not given'.[8] However, in his brief description of the transition of the goldfield districts to municipalities there is no suggestion that similar resistance to an unfair tax and administration may also have influenced a change in methods of governance.

Barrett uses Castlemaine as a 'central example' of how the goldfield communities made the transition to civil government.[9] Although this is problematic when applied to Ballarat, Frank Cusack agrees that generic problems with the Goldfields Commission were shared across the goldfields. However, as he writes, 'common grievances cut more sharply on the southern field' where physical differences in mining made for greater hardship. And, as he further points out, there were no level heads at Ballarat like Sandhurst's Panton to maintain order and good relations with the miners.[10] Nevertheless, he also shows that, despite the success of the 'Red Ribbon' protests in forcing a reduction to the licence fee in the latter part of 1853, new leaders such as Dr Owens, Dr Wall and William Denovan quickly emerged calling for its total

abolition. This resonated loudly twelve months later at Eureka amongst the unsuccessful miners on Ballarat East who were unable to pay.[11] As Cusack also shows, the new movement or 'Diggers' Congress' stood for a much more comprehensive agenda that included all matters relating to political, social and individual rights as determined at a large meeting of over 2,000 at Bendigo in December 1853.[12] The diggers' intentions were made clear by local elder Angus Mackay to the Sandhurst survey party led by the colonial secretary, John Foster, and Andrew Clark, the surveyor-general, in January 1854; constant unrest on the goldfields would continue, he declared, until the franchise was extended to the miners, together with the privileges enjoyed by the other members of the community.[13]

The significance of Ballarat activists such as Alfred Carr and Henry Silvester six months earlier appears to have escaped the attention of Ballarat historians W.B. Withers and Weston Bate. Nevertheless, Withers, Ballarat's first historian, also identified the root cause of the miners' grievances as their lack of official status under the Goldfields Commission, which he aptly described as 'outside the mystic circle of governing power'.[14] And Weston Bate recognised too in *Lucky City* that, by early 1854, the situation was becoming increasingly untenable for the growing community of a rapidly urbanising market town such as Ballarat. The anticipated release of large tracts of farming land to the west most likely accounted for the early advocacy for and adoption of municipal government, as commercial interests began positioning themselves for the realisation of the city's economic potential. The location, Bate pointed out, perfectly catered to all interests, with a township centrally located high on the escarpment relatively free from mining, flooding and other geographical impediments.[15] This contrasts with Bendigo where the city was at an earlier stage of development. Here the transition was delayed, with local government and 'another tax' initially ridiculed and resisted, and in Castlemaine likewise. Boundaries and rates were thorny issues for both localities owing to geographical obstacles and the scattered groups of miners.[16]

Weston Bate, who favoured the 'social' rather than the political explanation, described Eureka is as 'more of a vehement last-ditch protest than a rebellion', a theme he reinforced and expanded in an article published in this journal in 2004.[17] More importantly, Bate suggested that Eureka might not have been the catalyst for democracy as

many believe but should more accurately be viewed as a final kick against the oppressive burden the commissioners represented to the Ballarat community. Yet, unlike Oddie, the royal commission of 1854–55 and the contemporary Melbourne and Geelong press, Bate failed to draw a clear link between the need for effective local government and services and the miners' protest movement, which was evident, as the 1853 inquiry found, over many social issues well before Eureka. Overlooked also is the fact that local government was clearly a priority at Ballarat early in 1855, with the newly formed Victorian Reform League declaring 'we would gain a local self-governing power of unquestionable advantage'.[18] Discussion of the period between Eureka and the first elected local government when this important transition occurred remains strangely absent in Bate's history of Ballarat.

What *is* acknowledged by some is the fractured nature of colonial Victorian society from 1851 to 1854 and the need to incorporate the goldfields population. Contemporary historian and politician William Westgarth thus argued that the diggers at Eureka were making a case to become an integral part of the newly created Colony of Victoria.[19] This is also the conclusion drawn by Weston Bate in *Lucky City*; the removal of the Goldfields Commission 'achieved at last by Eureka, simply freed the goldfields to join the rest of the colony'.[20]

The social and administrative divisions caused by the continued operation of the Goldfields Commission was highlighted by many public figures both from within its ranks and from outside, thus confirming the validity of the diggers' ongoing protests. Sir George Frederick Verdon, a prominent leader in the municipal movement in the 1850s and 1860s, and Goldfields Commissioners J.R. Hardy (first chief goldfields commissioner for NSW) and R.H. Horne of the Waranga goldfield were among many attributing the Eureka uprising to the failure to spend the mining taxes on the mining communities and too much power in the hands of a centralised administrative regime.[21] Nevertheless, despite these indictments, the Goldfields Commission for a number of years carried out many functions of local government until it was restructured in June 1855 after the findings of the 1854–55 royal commission.

The Goldfields Commission Administration 1851–1854

The Goldfields Commission was the first form of local government on the frontier of inland Victoria for well over three years from September 1851 to June 1855. It was a huge organisation governed from its Melbourne head office to which all resident commissioners reported. There were many stations and outstations, all staffed with commissioners, deputy commissioners, clerks, couriers, and medical personnel. The Goldfields Commission also encompassed the legal arms of government in each locality, including local magistrates and police, all of whom, in an *ad hoc* sort of way, saw themselves as an essential part of a network of individual working communities. For example, in the absence of a resident commissioner at Ballarat in the month of December 1852, Acting Police Magistrate Eyre at Buninyong fulfilled this role as well as his own. He reported that he was informed by local diggers of a new discovery of gold, settled a criminal and medical matter where a man was shot, took a census of the district, and reported on the need for staff at Creswick Creek, which he deemed to be a permanent settlement. He appeared to be well informed on the amounts of gold discovered and was careful to distinguish between 'working miners' and others in the 6,400-strong community, such as the 600 women and 800 children, whom he considered to be a great benefit to order and contentment.[22]

The camps also had structure and routine, with 'knock off time' notified by a cannon from the government quarters in the more-established locations.[23] Living and working areas occupied separate locations, and, by 1854 in Ballarat, permanent government structures as well as private and commercial establishments were appearing in the township and along the main road to Buninyong and Geelong. Observation of the Sabbath was a weekly event for many diggers, and services were also attended by camp officials. Public health was considered a priority with weekly reports filed,[24] and schools were beginning to make their appearance in 1854 as the population approached 30,000.[25] Travelling shows, entertainment venues and a large variety of stores and service industries, such as blacksmiths and various mechanical workshops, gave the impression of a permanent city, but its management was a far cry from the participatory civic arrangements of Melbourne.

Although they were not elected, the commissioners generally showed a strong sense of responsibility for their charges, as can be seen in the numerous acts of kindness and generosity that contributed to a deepening sense of community. For example, at Ballarat after a tragic incident with a flooded mineshaft in November 1853, police were instructed to assist the diggers with the water dispersal.[26] And, in July 1854, Commissioner Robert Rede was elected head of a miners' committee that successfully lodged an application with the chief commissioner for £1,000 as joint funding with the diggers for a hospital. Rede was an enthusiastic lobbyist, noting in his correspondence that the hospital was 'imperative for gold fields so extensive and populous as Ballarat'.[27]

A year earlier, under Resident Commissioner Clow and at the behest of the chief commissioner of the goldfields, 15-year-old miner John McMah (also of Ballarat), 'a friendless lad' with a deformed hand, was awarded the £30 in fines imposed on those who stole his hard-won pay dirt. Charitable allowances were also made to local widows.[28] At Ballarat in September 1853, at the height of the 'Red Ribbon' protests, the local miners' protest committee led by Mr Silvester and Dr Carr foiled an attempted robbery on the 'treasure tent' where gold was stored for transport, offering their services to the resident commissioner to act as special constables.[29] During the same period, the committee also instructed local miners to continue paying their licence fees until instructed otherwise.[30] Early in 1854, Chief Commissioner William Wright, for his part, ordered that illegal liquor should be sold and the proceeds allocated to the provision of hospitals on the various goldfields.[31]

By 1854, the commission was administering policing, health regulations, licensing, postal services, public buildings and roads, thus performing many of the functions of a normal municipality.[32] At Ballarat the commission organised the mapping of the township boundaries and arranged for local roadworks.[33] But by the middle of 1853 its resources were becoming severely stretched, and the miners' ongoing protests became more organised and effective in exposing the vulnerabilities of the commission arising from the temporary nature of its conception.

The Goldfields and Local Government Policy Development 1851–1854

Opinions on the hastily formed Goldfields Commission and the licence fee instituted by the NSW legislature quickly moved from support to concern over its detrimental effect on civil liberties and the future development of regional areas. A report by NSW MLC James Martin tabled in November 1851 expressed concern that there was no precedent for the commission in British practice and that its powers might be exercised in a way that was dangerous to the liberties of the people.[34] The *Geelong Advertiser* had earlier called for the gold legislation to be 'nipped in the bud' as an unacceptable escalation of centralisation using arbitrary power to rob the Western District and 'cram the insatiate maw of ravenous government officials'.[35]

Nevertheless, Victoria's recently appointed first lieutenant-governor, Charles Joseph La Trobe, was resolute, setting up the Goldfields Commission in September 1851 in the belief that it would control a large, diverse, and 'excited' population and that it guaranteed a close connection between the goldfields people and the government. But he also believed that it would be a transitional measure until it could be 'abandoned with safety, when the financial and social advantages derived from it may be secured in some other manner'.[36]

The process for this 'abandonment' began in December 1851 when local diggers at Ballarat, just a couple of months after the discovery of gold, requested the government to make land available for successful miners to purchase and settle down. La Trobe promptly sent W.S. Urquhart, the district surveyor, to Ballarat. Urquhart commenced the survey of the Ballarat township almost immediately, completing it by 17 January 1852 (Figure 1). Urquhart then proceeded to the other mining districts of Castlemaine and Bendigo on a frenetic schedule of town surveys for these and many other localities throughout the colony over the course of 1852.[37]

Once the surveys were completed in 1852, the goldfield townships, with their private allotments, became subject to the existing Town and Country Police Act, which vested power in local magistrates to administer licensing, permits, crimes, sanitation, commerce and public records.[38] Large expenses for roadworks, public buildings and other local needs were met by application to the Department of Works and the Colonial Treasury owing to the absence of any local road board or rate-collecting body.[39] These powers, however, were effectively suspended in

Figure 1: Ballarat First Survey 1852 (Courtesy Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 8168 P0005 FEAT 665A)

The escarpment runs north to south and the 'Flat' is the river flats of the Yarrowee. Streets from right to left are Lydiard, Armstrong, Doveton and from top to Bottom are Mair, Sturt, Dana.

favour of the Goldfields Commission, which acted as a mediatory body for the townships until it was disbanded in June 1855.[40]

The next major step was initiating the Select Committee on the Administration of Local Funds. It was commissioned in December of 1853 and reported to the Legislative Council in February 1854. While its original brief was to examine and assess the growing size of the city of Melbourne and its budget, Colonial Secretary John Foster

also decided, in view of the growing townships on the goldfields and other locations, to include a proposal for the application of municipal government to the whole colony. This would then provide the means for local communities to levy rates, create bylaws and manage their own defined areas. According to Foster this would alleviate problems caused by the growing size and cost of infrastructure as well as the bureaucracy to manage it, which, he argued, was 'creating a dangerous level of centralization that was prejudicial to almost every individual in the colony'.[41]

Over the course of 1854 the committee began drafting the Act for the new municipal corporations, led to a large extent by the expertise of Andrew Clarke, a former army engineer and now the new surveyor-general. Clarke provided a list of localities that included the goldfield districts of Castlemaine, Ballarat, Buninyong and Heathcote. The municipal corporations would be elective, with a franchise that included any adult male who had owned or occupied property for six months, and they would be empowered to make bylaws, levy rates and tolls and be responsible for local utilities and infrastructure.[42] The government then put the final pieces of its colony-wide local government system together, presenting it to the Legislative Council in October 1854. Royal assent came on 29 December 1854, just a few weeks after the Eureka uprising.

The legislation was presented and discussed during 1854, its proponents anticipating that the bill would remedy the discontent on the goldfields. Andrew Clarke, echoing the colonial secretary almost nine months earlier, declared at its second presentation to the Legislative Council in October 1854 that this was a departure from the past that would 'destroy the spirit of centralization—a spirit which had made distant localities discontented and rendered nugatory many efforts of the government'. Pointing to the prosperous state of Canada, Clarke praised the wisdom of Lords Metcalf and Sydenham in granting Canadians municipal government and reminded Victoria's Legislative Council of the preamble to the Canadian Act, which stated that 'the true development of the country would thereby be promoted'.[43]

Strong support for the bill came from John Pascoe Fawkner, who believed that the facilities enjoyed in Melbourne should be available to the regional areas, while Colin Campbell MLC argued that the bill signalled a 'new era in the history of a country when a system of self-government was thus provided'. The consensus of the Legislative Council

was that the introduction of municipal government on the goldfields was essential to their transformation and 'progressive success' and was a timely concession that would bring system and cohesion to the formative arrangements of the community.[44]

The bill was further viewed by the *Age* as a solution to the goldfields' animosity towards the government,[45] the primary grievance being the lack of recognition accorded the goldfields for the large amounts they paid to the treasury. This argument was supported by the *Statistical Report* for Victoria, 1852, which showed that the licence fee formed the greatest category of general revenue, and it had been successfully utilised in petitions filed by the Bendigo and Mt Alexander miners in 1852 and 1853 for roadworks, escorts and lowering the licence fee.[46]

1853: An Existential Crisis for the Commission

By 1853, in the settlements where they lived, many miners were witnessing the construction of commission residences for the staff as well as barracks and other buildings—all paid for by their hard-earned and often fruitless licence fees. This had the effect of creating deep resentment and a class divide between officials and the tent-dwelling miners. At a meeting in August 1853 at the Ovens field, thousands rallied for an end to the 'extravagant waste' of the commission, its abolition, and a return to police administration. The miners met under the shadow of a huge banner emblazoned with a slogan voiced from the very beginning of the gold rushes—'taxation without representation is robbery'—and called for their taxes to be more properly spent on civic needs such as roads, bridges and public buildings like court houses and post offices. This reinforced earlier calls after a fatality during a licence inspection sparked an insurrection at Reed's Creek at the start of the year.[47]

Unrest grew between July and September 1853, when 'Captain' Brown panicked the diggers on the Bendigo, Mount Alexander and Ovens fields with the news of a looming population influx. Large posters on trees, poles and anywhere they could be attached announced that 400,000 immigrants under Governor General Charles FitzRoy's 1851 scheme were on their way from the home countries in the next few months. This raised the prospect of greatly diminished returns and potential impoverishment for everyone. As a result, a successful passive resistance campaign for a fee reduction was waged between July and September 1853 with miners at many locations either threatening to surrender themselves in groups or offering themselves for arrest.[48]

In July 1853 a report of unarmed police being overpowered by a mob at Sandhurst in the rescue of a prisoner, and another of resistance to collection of licences at Waranga, heightened concerns of the chief commissioner as to the viability of the Goldfields Commission and its policy.[49] As the protest gathered momentum, Chief Commissioner Wright argued that 'no amount of police could reverse the passive resistance to the license', pointing out that the staff and money needed to process thousands of potential fines or prosecutions were beyond the capacity of the organisation. This report no doubt strongly influenced the confusion behind the suspension and reinstatement of licences while the new bill was under discussion. The application of 'coercive measures', Wright believed, would 'throw serious obstacles in the way of establishing any regulations that could be enforced'.[50]

1853: Ballarat Miners and Local Government

Meanwhile in Ballarat the Ballarat Gold Diggers Association had been formed in support of their fellow miners' campaigns in Bendigo, Castlemaine, and the Ovens. Led by Dr Carr, Mr Sylvester and Dr Kemp, the association held regular meetings up until the select committee inquiry into the goldfields in October of that year. As a result of these meetings, a list of items was voted on and presented as a petition to the government expressed in much the same tone as the famous Miners' Charter the following year, just before Eureka. This petition contained six points, reported as follows:

1. A reduction of the license fee.
2. Enfranchisement of the several districts of the gold-fields.
3. Local government.
4. That a sum of money from the proceeds of the license-fees, fines, and fees of escort, be laid out in the formation and repair of the roads to the gold-fields.
5. That there should be regularly licensed tents established on the gold-fields, for the sale of fermented and spirituous liquors, (under stringent regulations,) for the benefit of the diggers.
6. That there should be offered for sale to the digger (on the ground) small sections of land abutting on the gold-fields, for the purpose of cultivation, and for permanent establishments.[51]

As leaders of the association and delegates to the inquiry, Alfred Carr and Henry Sylvester argued that funds extracted from the miners

should be spent where they were collected. Dr Carr also declared to the inquiry: 'the first thing we want is local self-government'. The chairman then asked Silvester: 'you wish in fact to establish a municipality?' Silvester answered in the affirmative, adding: 'if we had Local Government on the diggings … I believe that the 30s license fee would be collected as easily as a penny'.[52]

The core issue of the protests, according to the *Geelong Advertiser* correspondent, was the fact that the miners, as Westgarth later pointed out, were not considered citizens of the Colony of Victoria, and yet as a class they were heavily taxed and were contributing to society in the same way as taxpayers in Melbourne and Geelong. Therefore, the select committee, by proposing no remedy, had failed 'to attain a fair allowance of political *and* [my italics] social justice on the goldfields'.[53]

1854: Terminal Developments and Commission of Inquiry

The overriding factor behind the protests was the large number of people who had become permanent residents. Most residents were loath to forfeit their claims when the weather was unfavourable, as had been the case in earlier years. In addition, as predicted the year before, individual returns had declined substantially. Many who could not afford to leave remained to pick up income from employment in other enterprises or from government work on the roads or other building and maintenance undertakings. According to the chief commissioner, this accounted for 'one third of the whole adult population'.[54] These demographic changes were recognised in the 1854–55 royal commission. Seasonality, longer-term projects such as deep sinking (which was more characteristic of Ballarat), together with the puddling enterprises in Bendigo and steam technology, were thus contributing to a return to normal social relations. A permanent population with employer and employee relationships was beginning to emerge.[55]

Commissioner Wright's concerns about the uncertain success of 'coercive force' were finally realised in December 1854. At Ballarat, the population had trebled from 8,200 in October 1853 to almost 25,000 in December 1854.[56] The aggressive method of licence collection from October 1854, especially towards those unable to pay, thus created the spark that ignited the Eureka uprising. The large group of unsuccessful Irish miners on the Eureka lead, who had been exercising violence against fellow miners and threatening 'physical force' for more than twelve months, were driven to the point of desperation.[57] This triggered

the famous licence burning and uprising and hastened the government inquiry announced at the end of November 1854.

The inquiry found that the causes for the unrest were three-fold:

1. The licence fee and its method of collection;
2. The land grievance and impossibility of investing their capital in a section of ground;
3. The want of political rights—large numbers contributing substantially to the wealth and greatness of the colony without enjoying any voice whatever in its public administration.[58]

This finding matches reasonably with the 'Ballarat Reform League Charter' or declaration and list of demands handed to the colonial secretary in November at the trials ensuing from the Eureka Hotel riot and Bentley murders. It also maintained the tone of the petition of the year before by the Ballarat Gold Diggers Association calling for 'a thorough agitation of the goldfields and the towns' and the immediate disbanding of the Goldfields Commission.[59] Local government, which had been the major theme of the earlier petition, had already been guaranteed in the new Act passed in October of that year.

1855: A Year in Transition

The events in Ballarat reverberated loudly in Melbourne as people voiced their opposition to having such a large population under undemocratic and arbitrary rule. The clash at Eureka reinforced a widely held perception by the people of Victoria that the government's delay in updating policies and laws to integrate the mining communities was behind much of the social unrest across the goldfields. This was the point made by the *Age* early in January 1855.[60]

The Melbourne rallies covered by the *Age* correspondent called on Governor Hotham to sanction a transitional body of civilians at Ballarat to lead the community and provide for new forms of revenue 'in connexion with central and local government'. The governor, however, was unmoved, choosing to be guided by the findings of the royal commission. Its findings, presented in March 1855, led to the restructuring of the goldfields administration that effectively ended the Goldfields Commission's governing role in the district by June 1855.

With the commencement of 1855 moves were underway in the township to establish civic and economic authority just as the operations of the Goldfields Commission were being wound down in expectation of its demise. The township was no longer a small oasis

of private allotments in the middle of the gold district but was rapidly expanding. By the end of the year, it had grown 20-fold from its original six streets and 40 lots to fifteen streets and 595 properties, as well as 428 properties earmarked for impending sale on the southern part of the township boundary (Figure 2).[61] This represented well in excess of £50,000 in potential rate revenue and a firm basis on which to establish a municipal corporation.[62] In this context, it is not surprising that residents soon began to assert themselves, and the process of forming local administrative institutions commenced.

The correspondent for the *Colonial Times* (Hobart) on 13 January 1855 reported on 'a meeting of considerable importance' convened by 'the principal Camp Officials, merchants, storekeepers, and residents of the township' on 4 January at Bath's Hotel. Its reported purpose was the establishment of a local branch of the Free and Accepted Masons and 'for the furtherance of loyal, constitutional and fraternal principles, which have been much required on these diggings'.[63] Shortly after, the Victorian Reform League announced in the *Ballarat Times* that it was commencing the application of the new Municipal Institutions Act to the district.[64]

As the year progressed, property crimes increased across the district as rogue military elements and criminals took advantage of the much-reduced police presence after the cessation of the digger hunts at the end of 1854.[65] The catalyst for permanent change came in the weeks between the end of March and the middle of April, when a local gang of bushrangers was openly harassing shopkeepers and private individuals at will. It was only the bravery of the local police in a daring night-time ambush that put an end to it.[66]

This motivated both communities to take action for better policing and public safety. Robert Muir, representing the township, and J.B. Humffray, as the diggers' advocate, were appointed to lead an inquiry into the social unrest and lawlessness. As a subcommittee of the newly formed Victorian Reform League, the Ballarat members in early April 1855 appointed a commission sitting for three days at the Star Hotel to compile an official report.[67]

The report stated that it was a

> memorial of the miners and storekeepers of Ballarat … proving that the police are totally inefficient in affording protection … and that your Excellency will take immediate steps for providing a sufficient

Figure 2: Township & Extension of Ballaarat, County of Grenville, Surveyor-General's Office (1855) (Courtesy State Library Victoria, Maps Collection MAPS 820 BJE 1837—BALLARAT 1855)

> force of police … and thereby save your memorialists the expense and inconvenience of organising themselves for mutual protection … signed R Muir Chairman.[68]

The report was then approved for printing and duly signed by H.R. Nicholls, H.T. Holyoake, and C.F. Nicholls.[69]A further meeting was called on Saturday 16 April to hand the matter over to the local community for action. The meeting was again chaired by Mr Robert Muir of the drapery firm, Muir Bros. The next speaker, Mr J.B. Humffray, had been one of the prominent leaders of the Eureka movement and, according to the *Age* correspondent, reiterated the themes of the miners' charter of November 1854:

> there was a well-known sound political maxim, that for a people to be well governed they must govern themselves … and that in as much as the people of Ballarat paid their proportion of taxation, they ought to have their proportion of protection to life and property. Ballarat must be declared a municipality, and the people will secure two important political rights, namely, the raising of local taxation and expending of the same for the benefit of those who pay it, and thus prevent its being squandered by a system of official centralization.[70]

The governor's response to the petition came in the form of a suggestion from the colonial secretary on 25 May that effectively endorsed the self-protection measures that had already been adopted while promising as many spare police as could be found.[71] By the end of July 1855 fears for public safety had eased due in no small part to the success of the crime prevention measures employed by the local committee, which was subsequently disbanded.[72] However, this did little to unite the freeholders on the Ballarat West plateau and the miners in Ballarat East on government land as both groups became increasingly partisan in the drafting of the petition for the municipal corporation. The matter hung in the balance for almost six months, its fortunes at the mercy of mining activity.

1855: Freeholders vs Leaseholders

By the middle of 1854, mining activity and the buildings that accompanied it had crossed the river and were approaching alienated township land on the escarpment just above present-day Albert Street.[73] The careful construction of a drinking establishment provocatively erected on the boundary line created an uproar.[74] The freeholders in the town were reported to be 'very wroth that tents and stores were allowed so near to their property on which they had expended so much money'.[75] This situation reached an impasse in September 1854 when the Gravel Pits lead finally reached the township boundary at Lydiard Street (Figure 3), where building activity stopped as deputations for protective measures were lodged with the governor by miners and town storekeepers. The question on the lips of the population was 'how is the Government going to act if the Gravel Pits heads into the township?'[76]

Figure 3: 1906 Survey Map (Courtesy Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 8168 P0005 GF5)

Rows of dots indicating shafts sunk along leads leading to the Township. Although this survey map is dated 1906, it does not include the mines along the escarpment or any shown inside the town as does the 1857 survey of Ballarat South. We can thus assume that it refers to the period 1855–1856.

The governor ruled first in favour of the township and then, as he had prevaricated for over six months, overturned his decision in favour of the miners on the flat early in 1855.[77] This was due in no small part to the enterprising actions of entrepreneurs who, in the meantime, had established a wide variety of commercial premises, even speculating substantial sums with options placed on possible shopfront positions (Figure 4). The *Age* correspondent described it as 'a great centre of business, frontages began to command high prices, and though on crown lands, the stores along the road were transformed into permanent premises'.[78]

By June of 1855, there was a growing belief that the township would soon be overtaken as various commentators began calling it a 'parchment township'.[79] As the leads progressed at a quicker pace with steam technology,[80] some believed that the government should provide the means to repurchase the township land from the sale of the

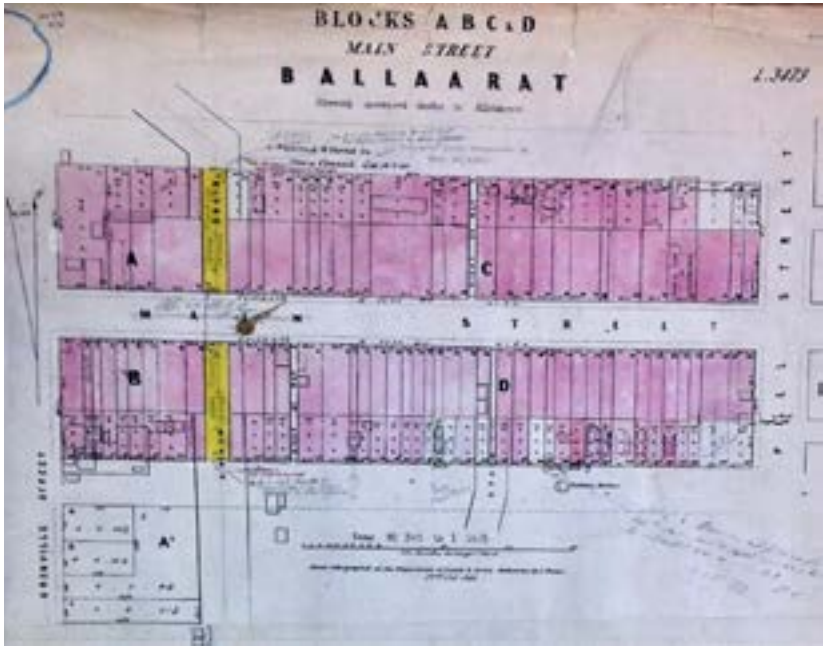

Figure 4: 1857 Plan detailing surveyed lots for Main Street (now Bridge Street on the Southern end of Sturt Street) Ballarat East and Bakery Hill (Courtesy Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 2500 P0000/1, Ballarat Municipal Council Letters Inward January – December 1856–1857)

Bridge over the Yarrowee in yellow marks the boundary set in 1856—lots on the west side fell into Ballarat West.

occupied lots on the flat.[81] More weight was added to this position later in the year when the London Chartered Bank of Australia established a branch on the Main Road in the diggings, providing great relief to the local miners who had been compelled to make an uphill 'trudge to the township to do their banking business'.[82] Residents and traders along Main Road in the diggings were now viewing the locality as a permanent arrangement as is evident in the early appearance there of gas lighting.[83]

October 1855, however, was a turning point as diminishing returns from the Gravel Pits and Golden Point leads sparked a search for the lead in differing directions. While the westward ventures, now stalled, threatened the township premises on Lydiard Street, another series of operations involved plans to dig up the government camp to

the north-east, with many claims already marked out. Consequently, the resident warden of the Gold Department declared a pause on mining while he lodged an appeal to the governor for direction.[84] However, it was the fortuitous find by miners on the flat of a branch of the Gravel Pits lead running south in parallel with the Yarrowee River that diverted attention from the township in October 1855. Nevertheless, the threat continued to raise its head during 1856 after incorporation as the mining activity moved southward towards White Flat[85] and under the basalt of Ballarat South.[86]

While the issue of mining's threat to the township continued to fester over the remainder of the year, the coming of the telegraph—greatly anticipated in Ballarat West—was seen as confirming endorsement of the township as the business centre of the district as well as providing the final component of integration with the rest of the colony (Figure 5). It was also a much-anticipated revolution in the flow of information, especially daily domestic and international news, as well as a means of enhancing social cohesion and acting as a deterrent to crime, with particular benefit to legal and commercial interests such as banks, solicitors, police and gold buyers.[87]

The interests of the miners and traders east of the river, however, were frustrated by delays in the process of municipal incorporation even though it seemed to have gained impetus after the law-and-order crisis in April. It was their understanding that land would soon be available for purchase along the river on the eastern side and that it would form part of an expanded township. Fulfilment of these hopes remained in doubt, however, owing to concerns raised by the Ballarat West faction that the land was not suitable for occupation because of its susceptibility to flooding and potential further mining activity.[88] This explains why two petitions were commenced, with one dominated by H.R. Nicholls and a proposed mining project along the river that offered prospects of large-scale employment.[89]

Unfortunately, both petitions were returned with one of them twenty signatures short.[90] Following this, a meeting was called on Monday 13 August 1855[91] where it was decided to combine the two petitions into one based on the original provisions in the surveyor-general's Municipal Institutions Act. The combined petition would also

Figure 5: Enlargement of Township. Ballarat First Survey 1852, showing proposed location for Telegraph Office on Lydiard Street (Courtesy Victorian Public Record Office, VPRS 8168 P0005 FEAT 665A)

have an option to extend the boundary later to include the Main Road and the diggings as suggested by Colonial Secretary William Haines at a meeting at Ballarat in the same month.[92]

This confusion resulted in the final petition being gazetted twice as the government sought clarification. The second petition, gazetted on 2 October 1855, is thus a resubmission of the first accepted petition gazetted on 4 September 1855.[93] Significantly the final version reflected the contested interests, omitting most of those who would become officers and councillors of the municipality, with Thomas Comb, the future town clerk, and Councillors Robert Muir, William Tulloch, and James Stewart the only participants.

Once the petition was finalised, the Ballarat West Township faction immediately tossed all overtures of accommodation with the diggings aside, and a further meeting to deal with the issue of commercial

establishments occupying crown land in the township was immediately called.[94] A committee chaired by Robert Muir was formed to monitor the situation and to petition the governor for the removal of business premises on unsold land inside the town boundary.[95] The intention was to force the issue of making lessees become owners, remove their competitive advantage and significantly boost future rate revenue.[96]

The promise to incorporate the diggings was just partially kept as the eastern municipal boundary was extended only as far as the western bank of Yarrowee River.[97] The option to extend east of the river was seriously considered again by the new council early in 1856 when an approach to the government was suggested to extend the eastern boundary by two miles to incorporate the proposed eastern property sales.[98] However, this plan was discarded shortly thereafter in favour of extending southward towards Sebastopol and the new co-operative mining projects.[99] This affirmed the status of Ballarat West as a separate municipality and was the major contributing factor in the establishment of Ballarat East in 1857 as a second municipality that incorporated the old diggings of Eureka, Brown Hill, Golden Point and Canadian on the eastern side of the river.

Conclusion

The origins of the Municipal Corporation of Ballarat arose amid the miners' protests, particularly at Ballarat in 1853, and the development of government policy towards regional Victoria that same year. The uprising at Eureka highlighted the fact that, as predicted, the Goldfields Commission's continued viability was too dependent on the unlikely success of 'coercive force'. While the commission had established a form of government at Ballarat and a community, it had failed to keep abreast of technological, social, and demographic progress, thereby becoming an impediment to the social integration of the mining communities and out of step with the rest of colonial society. The absence of local government was raised in the findings of the royal commission in 1855 and acknowledged as one of the fundamental failures of government policy towards the mining districts.

With the demise of the Goldfields Commission after Eureka, many residents joined together to assert control in the face of challenges from mining and a failure of law and order in the district. This coincided with

a rapid increase in the pace of private land ownership, which exploded during 1855 to the point where the amount of alienated township land rivalled that of the goldfield itself, thus confirming the viability of a rateable base and justifying the application for municipal status.

Whereas fees and taxes had previously gone into the wages of commission staff and the building of commission infrastructure, the vision of men like Chairman James Oddie, Councillor Robert Muir and MLA J.B. Humffray ensured that local taxation in Ballarat would now be used to meet the growing needs of the township and the local population and unlock the social and economic potential of the district. This became a strong focus after Eureka, and it gained momentum over the course of 1855 in the face of many obstacles until incorporation was finally achieved in January 1856, thus changing the status of Ballarat for ever.

Notes

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Principles and Practicalities: The Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century British Burial Reform in St Kilda Cemetery

Lee Sulkowska

Abstract:
Opened in 1855, St Kilda Cemetery is more than a repository for the dead. The nineteenth-century colonial cemetery was a symbol of the transmission of cultural values from Britain, a final resting place for the increasing numbers of dead in gold-rush Victoria, a leisure ground for the living, an act of colonisation, and a space where the unique development of colonial cultural values took place. It remains today as a remnant of the colonial narrative. This article compares British cultural values with the reality of managing St Kilda Cemetery to reveal postcolonial insights on themes such as space, resources and governance, both within cemetery spaces and in colonial society more broadly.

On 2 May 1855, a 10-year-old girl named Charlotte Green was interred in the soon-to-be-opened St Kilda Cemetery in the colony of Victoria, Australia. Charlotte, placed in the Baptist section, was the first burial in the new cemetery that would officially open on 9 June that year. St Kilda Cemetery, laid out in the garden cemetery style, would serve as the local area's primary graveyard for 46 years until the official sale of graves was discontinued in 1901. The Scottish writer and cemetery reformist, John Strang proposed that garden cemeteries should serve as a moralising and improving force, a *memento mori* or 'remember that you will die'. Such sentiments were widely shared among influential British thinkers and writers of the nineteenth century. Lisa Murray's work explores this idea and describes the 'cemetery ideal', a concept developed in Britain that was transmitted to the Australian colonies. Murray states that 'through its location, landscape and monuments, the cemetery was to be a sanctuary of spirituality, decency and decorum. The cemetery was seen as an important civic institution that improved the taste and morals of the public'.[1]

This article is situated at the stem of a broad funnel of death- and burial-related literature. In *Western Attitudes to Death* (1972) Philippe Ariès provides broad insights into changing attitudes to death, while Richard Etlin's and James Stevens Curl's bodies of work describe the nature of the garden cemetery movement and British burial reform in the nineteenth century.[2] 'The Rise of Cemetery Companies in Britain' (1992), by Julie Rugg, and 'Landscapes of Memory: The Nineteenth-Century Garden Cemetery' (2000), by Sarah Tarlow, examine themes of changing attitudes to burial, memory and commemoration within burial spaces.[3] These works are focused on Britain, and Ariès's work especially has been criticised as culturally narrow and religiously biased, while Etlin and Curl only briefly, if at all, consider the influence of the garden cemetery in colonial nations.[4] Katie Holmes *et al., Reading in the Garden* (2008) is an excellent antipodean contribution to the literature as it explores the transmission to the Australian colonies of British cultural values relating to gardens and garden cemeteries as colonising tools.[5] Celestina Sagazio's *Cemeteries: Our Heritage* (1992) is another excellent, close-to-home cemetery resource. In this guide book and conservation resource, Sagazio provides context for the construction of Victorian colonial cemeteries, as well as listing their various features, famous burials and sound suggestions for their continued preservation.[6] While these analyses collectively provide a rich resource, the cultural history of garden cemeteries, in particular relating to colonial cemetery spaces, needs more sustained attention.

Lisa Murray's article, 'Modern Innovations' (2003), argues that 'further research should be conducted on the evolution of the cemetery landscapes to establish their conformity (or lack thereof) to the cemetery ideal'.[7] Murray's article, built on her doctoral thesis 'Cemeteries in Nineteenth-Century New South Wales: Landscapes of Memory and Identity' (2001), elaborates on garden cemeteries in the colony of New South Wales and the transmission of the cemetery ideal, focusing on the practical consequences of the colonial interpretation of British burial reform.[8] It is an exceptional piece of research and has been utilised extensively in this study. This article aims not only to provide an analysis of a garden cemetery in colonial Victoria, but also to explore how settlers reconciled societal ideals with the complexities of managing space, resources and governance in a cemetery space and in a fledgling colony. To this extent, this study has taken to heart

Murray's call to action by building on the existing British literature and expanding it to provide a study of the cemetery ideal within a colonial garden cemetery in Victoria.

Using St Kilda Cemetery as a case study and focusing on sources from the period 1851–1901 such as maps, letters, newspaper articles and board of trustees management documentation, this article will determine if the cemetery was created and managed in adherence to the practical recommendations of British cemetery reformists George Alfred Walker, John Strang and John Claudius Loudon. Five features of the cemetery ideal will be discussed in more detail, drawing on principles identified in the British burial reformers' respective treatises. These include appropriate location and drainage, landscaping, burial rites, burial in perpetuity and cemetery management. The ideals will be compared with five aspects of the administration and management of St Kilda Cemetery, as demonstrated in primary sources. The subsequent critical analysis will explore the intersection and tensions between the moral principles of the cemetery ideal and the practicalities of managing such a space in a British colony.

The purpose of this article is to explore the colonial understanding of the cemetery ideal of thinkers like Strang, Walker and Loudon in the context of St Kilda Cemetery. It asks: how were aspects of the British cemetery ideal interpreted in St Kilda Cemetery, and what do these realities reveal about certain colonial social values? The complexities of colonial Australian society begin to emerge more clearly in light of the ways influences from Britain in the nineteenth century were interpreted and modified. In particular, this article suggests that the principles of *memento mori* and the cemetery ideal were often forgotten in the pursuit of more pragmatic desires, be it a yearning for profit, land, reputation, or power. The translation of the garden cemetery movement in St Kilda Cemetery, for example, proved to be a useful and persuasive tool in the making of personal fortunes and colonising power.

The Industrial Revolution produced unprecedented technological, economic, political, social and demographic change, and, during the first 30 years of the nineteenth century, Britain's population increased by 47 per cent.'[9] With a massive expansion of the working class in urban centres, living conditions were cramped, squalid and a breeding ground for disease, causing mortality to soar 40 per cent higher than in rural areas.[10] The resulting increase in bodies demanded increased burial

space. Since the seventeenth century, burial space in metropolitan areas had become limited as the dead from catastrophes such as the plague had overfilled urban churchyards. The continual disturbance of the topsoil as bodies were buried on top of each other had not allowed grass to grow 'and a black, evil-smelling slime covered the surfaces of the soil'.[11]

By the mid-nineteenth century, burial reform ideas stemming from the importance of hygiene and morals became a popular subject for discussion in society and government, and reformist writings such as Strang's *Necropolis Glasguensis* (1831), Walker's *Gatherings from Grave Yards* (1839), and Loudon's *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries, and on the Improvement of Churchyards* (1843) were widely disseminated.[12] These publications argued for the creation of burial spaces outside of churchyards, not only to improve hygiene but to encourage moral feeling through public interaction with these spaces. The style of graveyard favoured was the garden cemetery, also referred to as a general or rural cemetery. It is important at this point to define burial terms, which can vary within both existing literature and primary sources. Historian Deborah Wiggins provides a concise definition of the different styles of burial in Britain that will be used throughout this study: 'A churchyard is under the control of religious authorities; a cemetery may be managed by either a local authority or private company … and a graveyard is a more generic and descriptive term.'[13]

A garden cemetery is a cemetery style characterised by its location, layout, landscaping and purpose. St Kilda Cemetery is categorised as a garden cemetery owing to its location outside of the Melbourne CBD, together with its winding pathways and landscaped gardens.

Garden cemeteries were not unique to Britain, nor were they the invention of British cemetery reformists. They would, however, prove to be the most widespread form of interment in Britain by the middle of the nineteenth century. The primary features of garden cemeteries were their situation outside of urban centres, attractive landscaping, the importance placed on sanitation and drainage, and space for differing religious denominations not managed by the church but by private management. These arrangements were introduced in Britain by Sir Christopher Wren as early as 1711.[14] However, it was Père Lachaise in Paris, opened in 1804, that is credited as the first garden cemetery, providing inspiration to Britain and the wider western world.[15] With

winding paths and verdant plantings of trees and flowers, garden cemeteries like Père Lachaise were designed to emulate the aesthetic of the Elysian fields—a Christian imagining of paradise on earth.[16]

Inspired by Père Lachaise, Britain's burial place reformers quickly followed suit with the development of garden cemeteries such as Kensal Green, West Norwood, Highgate, Abney Park, Brompton, Nunhead and Tower Hamlets cemeteries, colloquially dubbed 'The Magnificent Seven' by Hugh Meller in 1981.[17] These garden cemeteries were all created during the period between 1832 and 1841.[18] They were all outside of urban centres and featured intricate masonry, wide pathways and impressive plantings. For burial reformists like Walker, Strang and Loudon, garden cemeteries like the Magnificent Seven (and many others) were not only a step forward in improving the poor hygiene conditions of Britain but also, they hoped, a means by which the moral quality of society might be advanced. Strang viewed garden cemeteries as 'beneficial to public morals, to the improvement of manners', and as a place for humans to remember their mortality.[19] Walker believed that 'much yet remains to be done in the way of social improvement, ere the foul blot, cast upon the shield of civilization, be removed', an advancement he believed could be found in the improvement of burial places.[20] Loudon, who was well known in Britain and Australia for his writings on landscape design and horticulture, had highly specific ideas for the use and design of garden cemeteries. In *On the Laying Out,* Loudon claimed two 'objects' for garden cemeteries, or what might otherwise be called justifications or intentions for effective burial space reform.

> The *main object* of a burial-ground is, the disposal of the remains of the dead in such a manner as that their decomposition, and return to the earth from which they sprung, shall not prove injurious to the living; either by affecting their health, or shocking their feelings, opinions, or prejudices. A *secondary object*, or ought to be, the improvement of the moral sentiments and general tastes of all classes, and more especially of the great masses of society.[21]

Loudon believed that, through the attainment of the primary object, a garden cemetery would also achieve its secondary object.

Early nineteenth-century British burial reformists wrote their treatises in response to overflowing urban churchyards, but the Australian

colonies did not at this stage suffer from large cities with ancient burial spaces. By 1851, however, the population of the newly formed colony of Victoria had grown from 224 when the settlement was founded in 1836 to 77,345. In the ensuing decade, following the discovery of gold, it exploded to more than half a million.[22] With life comes death, and the need for more burial spaces. Early cemeteries in Victoria included the Melbourne Burial Ground (1837) and the Melbourne General Cemetery (1852).[23] Today, the Southern Metropolitan Cemeteries Trust manages nine cemeteries, six of them established in the nineteenth-century, one of the earliest being St Kilda Cemetery.[24]

Cemetery Ideal vs Cemetery Reality

'The cemetery is an open space among the ruins, covered in winter with violets and daisies. It might make one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.'[25] Percy Shelley's 1821 elegy to John Keats is romantic fodder to the British cemetery ideal. While it might be easy to be swept up in the beautiful words of poets and galvanising proclamations of moralists and burial reformers, the reality of everyday life, especially in the Australian colonies, often saw practicality trump principle. There is evidence that the kinds of practical and moral principles that Murray describes as the cemetery ideal were imported to colonial Victoria from Britain. These ideals, such as location and soil conditions, cemetery aesthetics, the concept of burial in perpetuity and at a specific depth and time, shaped the planning and policy making of government and cemetery trustees, but within the cemetery walls they often fell by the wayside.

The following section of this article contrasts those aspects of the cemetery ideal with the reality within St Kilda Cemetery from its foundation in 1851 to the initial closure order given in 1901. In doing so, it holds a mirror to colonial Victorian social values and the processes of colony administration and argues that these ideals were not reflected in reality because of conflicts around space, resources and governance.

The nineteenth-century cemetery ideal placed great emphasis on the appropriate location and drainage of new cemeteries because, by the middle of the century, hygiene had become one of the primary concerns in disposing of the dead. Walker wished to emulate the French, who had banned burial within towns, and advised that cemeteries be situated on high ground. Loudon prescribed at least a half mile distance between the dead and the living in country towns, and Strang, more amorphously,

demanded that the site be 'appropriate', 'commanding', 'picturesque' and 'romantic'.[26] The soil, according to Strang, should be able to accommodate different styles of monuments, while Loudon argued that it 'ought to be dry to the depth of 20 or 30 feet, or capable of being rendered so by underground drains'.[27] Loudon and Walker, especially, argued that above all else cemeteries should not prove injurious to the living. There is evidence that these values were transmitted to the Australian colonies. Walker's treatise was quoted by a Sydney doctor in the *Empire* newspaper in 1866 embracing the belief that intramural burial was a true public health threat.[28] The guidelines provided to cemetery surveyors were similarly influenced by the recommendations of reformists like Loudon. Such guidelines required attention to sanitary conditions, appropriate soil quality and for cemeteries to be placed out of town.[29] Colonial Victoria was also concerned with the hygienic disposal of the dead, with the Legislative Council passing a cemeteries bill in 1854 that would set aside appropriate elevated land for burial 'to prevent the propagation of disease'.[30]

In reality, the location and soil of the land set aside for St Kilda Cemetery would prove contentious for cemetery workers, members of government and the public alike. As reported in the colony's newspapers over a period of more than 40 years, Victorians struggled to reconcile their principles with the practicalities of living near a burial space. In the year of the cemetery's opening, 1855, a local settler wrote to the editor of the *Argus*: 'The site is well chosen, being on a knoll or elevation, which commands a picturesque view of the Bay and surrounding country … from its position it is high and dry and the soil in consequence is extremely favourable to decomposition'.[31]

This was high praise. However, further commentary would rarely be so complimentary. There were a number of attempts by various parties over the years to have the cemetery closed, primarily on the basis that drainage was ineffectual. Complaints varied: the ground was too high, too sandy, too central to the population, the soil too wet, the smell was distressing, there was a danger of pollution to the water supply, and the runoff of cemetery water would cause diseases like typhus.[32] The trustees of the cemetery sought to refute these claims. On more than one occasion, officers from the Board of Health undertook investigations, only to report back to the community that soil and drainage were

adequate.[33] However, the debate would continue to rage until after the cemetery's official closure in 1901.[34]

According to the British cemetery ideal, the trustees of St Kilda Cemetery were responsible for keeping the cemetery ordered and neat at all times.[35] Murray suggests that 'ordered nature was seen as a metaphor for genteel civilised society', and, although they differed slightly about the virtues of function over aesthetics, Loudon and Strang's styling recommendations were to instil a sense of peace and beauty.[36] Appropriate fencing, administration buildings, chapels, public walking paths, evergreens, shrubs, flowers and grass were features of the ideal garden cemetery, which the Australian colonists aimed to replicate.[37]

Celebrated colonial examples of garden cemeteries include Rookwood in Sydney (1867) and Melbourne General (1852). Both were planned and landscaped (Rookwood ornately so) with the garden cemetery ideal in mind.[38] Historian Chris McConville paints the scene: 'Melbourne General was laid out in a winding and landscaped style … with a high spiked fence, a basalt gatekeepers lodge, garden rotundas and Gothic chapels, all set out around a broad and sweeping entrance driveway'.[39] The management of St Kilda Cemetery made similar provisions in order to appropriately accommodate both the living and the dead (Figure 1). The deed of grant required the maintenance of walks and shrubberies, while the gazetted rules and regulations of the cemetery stipulated that 'all monuments, vaults, graves, and grave-stones … be kept in repair and proper condition by and at the expense of the owners'.[40]

Figure 1: The St. Kilda General Cemetery, 1866, 1870 (Courtesy State Library Victoria, H29631)

The trustees of St Kilda Cemetery undoubtedly took these regulations seriously. However, the space did not immediately evoke

the idyllic Elysian field of the British cemetery ideal, nor did it long remain in such a state after the beautifying work was completed. The initial surveyed site, as laid out by Robert Hoddle in 1851, was akin to the Melbourne CBD grid before it gave way to winding paths in a garden style.[41] The grounds budget was seemingly inadequate at the outset, as a letter in the *Argus* from an aesthetically minded member of the public indicated in complaining about a lack of paths or embellishment and bemoaning that the sexton was housed in a 'miserable tent'.[42] Beautifying work was primarily funded through grave upkeep fees, and this continued late into the century. In 1871, the *Telegraph* reported on a recently completed bluestone-based, iron railing fence, and in 1891 six tenders were submitted for the erection of a lodge.[43] However, for a time, St Kilda complied with the aesthetic aspect of the cemetery ideal. Newspapers heralded its 'beautiful gates and fine wall' and reported on 'carefully cultivated beds of flowers now blooming and casting rich perfumes upon the air' (Figure 2).[44] This Eden on earth was not to last, however, and, as the cemetery began to reach capacity, compromises were made. Dr Charles Bage complained to the *Argus* in 1899 that trees were being cut down and paths and flower beds were being utilised for burial—an outrage that would fuel the argument for the closure of the cemetery in 1901.[45]

Figure 2: Entrance to St. Kilda Cemetery, Vic., *c*. 1890 – *c*. 1900, George Rose, Photographer
(Courtesy State Library Victoria, H92.291/33)

Burial rites were an important aspect of the cemetery ideal for both the living and the dead. Out of respect for the dead, and for the health of the living, Walker and Loudon decreed that corpses should be buried at a minimum of five or six feet into the soil.[46] Loudon recommended that plots with gravestones should be a surface area of no less than eight feet by four feet.[47] Strang, typically less pragmatic and more romantic, insisted that plots be no less than sixteen feet wide to maintain vegetation growth within the cemetery.[48] A right of burial certificate issued in 1893 to Charles C. Taffs reveals his position in the Baptist section of St Kilda Cemetery. Taffs was granted Loudon's recommended eight by four feet.[49] This appears to be a common plot size, mirrored in right of burial certificates in other Victorian cemeteries.[50] In St Kilda Cemetery, the timing of burials was important. The gazetted rules and regulations stated that funeral times must be between 10.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. September through April, and from 10.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m. May through August (except on Sundays, which were strictly 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.) and these times must be punctually observed.[51] Unlike burial depths, burial times seem not to have been standardised; cemeteries like Boroondara and Sale shared burial times with St Kilda, while cemeteries such as Melbourne General and Benalla performed burials from 8.00 a.m.[52]

In reality, adhering to the recommendations for burial proved controversial. During the 1860s, the St Kilda Cemetery trustees had some staffing difficulties, with allegations of mismanagement made against the sexton of the time. In 1861, Mr Tulloch of the Births and Deaths Office was instructed to arrive at St Kilda Cemetery at 12.00 p.m. to bury his child in a public grave. He was aghast at the sexton having dug a 7-foot-long, 3½-foot-wide hole for a coffin approximately three feet by three feet and only filling it to cover the coffin.[53] The sexton was applying what was known at the time as the 'packing system'. This was the practice of burying multiple pauper coffins in a single hole; it was also found in cemeteries like Rookwood and Camperdown where it caused similar outrage to that expressed by Mr Tulloch, for it appeared to the bereaved that little had changed from the burial practices of eighteenth-century Britain.[54] Depth and punctuality were also a problem. Mr Leplastrier's arrival at the cemetery to bury a friend saw the sexton still at work digging the hole, which had reached only two feet by 6.00 p.m., after which he departed for the day. Leplastrier claimed

the mourners were left to finish the work and that the situation had occurred on more than one occasion. The trustees were subsequently called out, and this resulted in the sexton being sacked.[55] However, this incident was indicative of a broader management problem that will be explored further below.

The width, depth and timing of burials were important aspects of the nineteenth-century cemetery ideal. However, even more so was the concept of a single burial in perpetuity. Loudon was resoundingly firm on the subject, stating that cemetery management should 'allow no grave to be dug, except in ground which never had been opened before'.[56] Loudon and Walker asserted that, once filled, the grave should never again be disturbed.[57] This facet of the cemetery ideal was very clearly transmitted to the colonies. St Kilda Cemetery regulation number two stated that any person, upon payment of burial fees, 'is entitled to have, maintain, and keep a vault, monument, or tombstone, according to the tenor of such permission, to and for the sole and separate use of such person or persons, and his or their representatives for ever'.[58]

This regulation was required by the Melbourne General Central Cemetery Act of 1850 and was also gazetted in the regulations for Melbourne General, as well as being reflected in the right of burial certificates in several colonial Victorian cemeteries.[59] While this regulation of the cemetery ideal was widespread in the colonies, Murray provides an example of a member of the public being shocked upon finding out that burials were occurring where multiple coffins were interred in the same hole. The fact that the testifier believed this was not how burials should be conducted demonstrates that cemetery reality often did not match the settlers' understanding of the cemetery ideal.[60]

It is perhaps indicative of the degree to which the cemetery ideal had been internalised in colonial Victoria that this sense of shock was shared by the local community during the latter years of the nineteenth century when St Kilda Cemetery faced accusations of overcrowding and multiple burials. Contrary to Walker's assertion that 'a particular space can only receive a limited number; that number having been deposited, the ground should be closed and no disturbance on any account be permitted', in 1896, a 'deputation of residents of Prahran and St Kilda' accused the trustees of mismanagement, and an inquiry was called to investigate the claim that 200 bodies had been buried without record.[61] The following year, the trustees presented diverse

proposals on how to solve the overcrowding problem. One such proposal was for the development of a crematorium, while another suggested that the roadway on the left of the rotunda should be repurposed for burial. Neither proposition received public support. Rather, a chorus of increasingly loud voices of local residents, councillors and even members of the cemetery board argued that the cemetery was a hazard and needed to be closed immediately.[62] Even the chairman of the board agreed that the cemetery had passed capacity. In the absence of a new burial place in the near vicinity, however, the trustees had no choice but to continue to permit interments.[63]

The management of garden cemeteries in the nineteenth century is a somewhat grey area in the context of the cemetery ideal. In Britain, management styles over the century were influenced by religion, capitalism and legislation. Historian Julie Rugg claims that there were three distinct periods in the nineteenth-century cemetery movement in Britain, each with a different reformist focus. She argues that cemetery companies established between 1820 and 1832 were primarily formed by Nonconformists and Dissenters. From 1833 to 1839, these companies were joint-stock companies and were primarily profit driven. Last, in the period 1839–1852, cemetery companies' motivations were dominated by inner city hygiene concerns that saw legislation passed for the creation of burial boards.[64]

These changing management motivations undoubtedly influenced burial reformists like Strang, Walker and Loudon. While Walker's treatise was a direct call to the British government for hygienic burial reform, the minutiae of cemetery management recommendations were not overt in reformist literature. Loudon instructed cemetery directors to appoint a sexton and curator, and Walker stressed that a registry of ground burials be kept; but little was said about the kind of people that should be appointed to directorial boards (which may have been a reflection of the changing motivations of cemetery companies in Britain).[65] The direction of the recommendations was clear, however; the managerial boards of cemeteries should maintain the space and uphold the ideal. In the Australian colonies, cemetery development was primarily influenced by Britain's mid-century focus on hygiene, and Victoria's Cemeteries Act of 1854 appointed trustees to manage these spaces (much like the burial boards in Britain).[66] In calling for gentlemen of different religious communities to be elected as St Kilda

Cemetery trustees in 1854, the governmental implication was that these men should maintain and co-manage the cemetery according to the Act, and according to expectations.[67]

Eleven men from different religious denominations were gazetted to the St Kilda Cemetery board of trustees on 11 January 1855, with trustees from St Kilda and Prahran councils joining the board from 1860, and Jewish representation added in 1878.[68] However, a harmonious co-management board of the St Kilda Cemetery would prove an unrealistic expectation. From the time of the original gazette announcement in 1855 to the year before closure in 1900, six trustees had died and eleven had either resigned or retired, often in quick succession.[69] Disgraced ex-sexton Charles Truelove stated in 1906 that this was because council-appointed trustees only held their membership for the duration of their office, while the religious representatives held office indefinitely. According to Truelove, 'this means constant changes; each fresh Trustee coming with an axe to grind'.[70] A steady flow of complaints against the cemetery and its management throughout the second half of the nineteenth century indicated probable differences in management priorities. These complaints reached their zenith in the late 1890s when allegations of overcrowding were rife, with some agitators claiming that the trustees wanted the cemetery closed just as much as the public, while others declared that the trustees were so money hungry that they continued to advocate digging up the pathways to facilitate ever more burials.[71] In 1907, the lieutenant-governor in council called an inquiry to investigate the historical actions of the trustees and their management of the cemetery.[72]

Like other cemeteries in the Australian colonies, St Kilda Cemetery engaged with the concepts of the cemetery ideal but failed to realise its goals and suffered from burial, drainage and management issues, among others. Murray argues that 'the ambivalent attitudes to the maintenance of cemetery landscapes in the nineteenth century challenges the importance and influence of the cemetery ideal'.[73] However, the deviations from the cemetery ideal discussed above suggest that the colonists were far from ambivalent about the cemetery space and engaged with it in ways that reveal unique insights into colonial society. From these examples, three themes stand out: space, resources and governance. Space was at a premium in gold-rush Victoria. As population and wealth grew in the colony, so did the number of dead

and the dilemma of how to dispose of them appropriately. The resulting sewage and hygiene concerns demanded more space.[74] Many who agitated for the closure of St Kilda Cemetery on hygiene grounds had purchased cheap land in the immediate area and, as the population grew, so did land value. Counter-arguments in the newspapers claim that these campaigners opposed the continued operation of the cemetery as they believed it would lessen their land value.[75] As with accusations against other colonial cemeteries, it is hard to verify whether landowners were altruistically engaging with the hygienic cemetery ideal (and, indeed, if St Kilda really did suffer poor drainage), or if they were protesting for their own interests and benefit.[76] Adequate space for both the living and the dead was difficult to find in the old country, especially for those who resided in large cities like London. This may explain why colonists, when presented with an abundance of space in their new home, were acutely conscious of its value and fought against perceived threats to the land they had managed to claim for themselves. Regardless of the motives behind their actions, space was important to the colonists, and Victoria provided an opportunity for those with enough resources to spread their metaphorical wings.

Although Victoria had developed into a colony with an abundance of wealth, both personal and institutional, the availability and management of resources still played a role in the disparity between the St Kilda Cemetery ideal and its reality.[77] British Australia in the mid-nineteenth century, its status as a nation state still half a century away, was anxious to produce, in Strang's words, 'convincing tokens of a nation's progress in civilisation', not only as an outpost of the Empire, but for its own sake.[78] Adherence to Strang's romantic ideal of a picturesque landscaped garden cemetery was seen as a convincing token of such progress.[79] However, reproducing Elysium on earth cost money, and colonial cemeteries did not benefit from the funding that private joint stock companies brought to their British equivalents. After threats of closure from 1864, the trustees of St Kilda Cemetery realised they would not be able to pay for the upkeep of the grounds if the cemetery closed and grave fees were no longer collected. With over sixteen kilometres of paths and flower beds to maintain, grave decoration was offered as a service to fund beautification works for the grounds.[80] As was the case with Boroondara and other cemeteries around Australia, the eventual selling of garden borders as burial plots to maintain cemetery grounds

caused outrage in the community.[81] Without outside funding, however, the public had to balance their own metaphysical books and reconcile their desire to be classed as civilised (especially in a land they considered savage) with the unavoidable reality of the cemeteries' limited income. In lieu of doing so, they directed their ire at the ineffective governance of cemetery trustees and the colonial government.

Governing St Kilda Cemetery was much like governing the fledgling colony of Victoria. The men on cemetery boards, like those in the legislature, were required to be educated, of a certain social standing, and able to speak publicly; the original members of the St Kilda Cemetery trustees board were all 'esquires'.[82] The common challenge in governance came from being required to cater to a population of different religious denominations, morals, classes and personalities—within both governmental institutions and cemetery spaces. As Truelove commented, each trustee had his own 'axe to grind', and St Kilda, like other colonial cemeteries, suffered from the differences of opinion inherent in a board comprising multiple denominations, which did not allow for continuity and cooperation.[83] The cemetery trustees had ongoing difficulties with their staff, the public, and even the government itself. While the trustees struggled with cohesion, so too did the Victorian government, especially in the latter part of the century when tasked with allocating space for a new cemetery (and thereby solving the overcrowding problem at St Kilda).[84] According to Murray, 'it could take months, even years, to be granted a piece of land'.[85] The newly formed colonial government, as slow moving as any established bureaucratic institution, had to contend with unique circumstances. The government and the cemetery trustees were required to work around a simultaneous abundance and demand for space together with a profusion and restriction of resources, while also negotiating with individuals who differed in class, creed and opinion.

Conclusion

From these examples, it is evident that burial regimes in colonial Victoria did not exist in a vacuum. Aspects of the British cemetery ideal, which incorporated reformist literature with romantic and moral sentiment, was transmitted to Victoria and influenced not only the practicalities of establishing and managing St Kilda Cemetery but also how colonists interacted with the space. From the location and condition of the soil to the layout and planting of the grounds, burial at a certain depth and

time, and the concept of burial in perpetuity with limited space, the cemetery model that was transmitted from Britain was adapted and translated in a way that was unique to St Kilda Cemetery. A number of factors influenced the realities of the cemetery's operation: an immediate need for burial space in the mid-nineteenth century; a proliferation of resources and the challenges of distributing them; and fledgling governing institutions that were still developing policies and processes. In an unfamiliar land, a metaphorical world away from the old country, the practicalities of colonial life were often difficult to reconcile with the lofty ideals of British burial reformists. Conflicts around space, resources and governance not only reveal the challenges of burial in the colonies but also reflect the difficulties the settlers faced in setting up the institutions required for a new nation state. The contrasts between cemetery ideal and reality in Victoria need to be further explored in the context of other colonial cemeteries; however, this article shows that cemetery spaces reveal much more than changing attitudes toward death and burial. They tell stories of individual lives, business practices, communities, nations, and empires.

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Young Men in a Hurry: How a Cyclist's Death Defined Early Motoring in Victoria

John Schauble

Abstract

The first recorded fatal accident involving a motor car in Victoria resulted in the death of a cyclist. A drapery salesman was killed when his bicycle collided with a car driven by a wealthy grazier on the edge of the city in January 1905. Precisely who was at fault and how fast each vehicle was travelling were matters deeply contested at the subsequent coronial inquest. The accident opened community divisions between those who embraced the 'newfangled' motor car and others worried that they were rapidly taking over the streets of Melbourne. The collision was also a symbolic one between labour and capital. The crash had an immediate impact on the debate on road laws around the use of motor vehicles. It was also a tragic early skirmish in an 'undeclared war' between cyclists and motorists that has lasted more than a century.

The often passionate, sometimes rude antipathy between cyclists and motorists in Victoria these days is nothing new. The contemporary battle between bicycles and motor vehicles for the streets of Melbourne dates to a more sedate era when both forms of transport were in their infancy. It also recalls the public outcry that surrounded the first fatal collision between a motor car and a bicycle to occur on the city's streets more than a century ago.[1]

Ironically enough, early motoring in Melbourne was entwined with the world of cycling. Before World War I, motor cars were still regarded as something of a novelty. Their role in shaping the growth of the city was still some decades away.[2] The first motorised vehicles were little more than crude adaptations—bicycles with engines. The standard bicycle was itself a recent addition to the city's streets following more cumbersome velocipedes (first raced at the MCG in 1869) and high bicycles, better known as penny farthings. By the 1890s, bicycles for transport and cycle racing were phenomenally popular and affordable to all classes.[3]

Motoring, however, was another matter. Motorised bicycles and tricycles began to appear from the mid-1890s. Four-wheelers (or 'quads')

were being imported by the end of the nineteenth century.[4] Yet early motor cars were unpopular with a wide cross section of the community. Popular history has conceived 'the pioneer period of motoring as a "dark age" in which a vanguard of progressive motorists faced a hostile society of Luddites, horse-loving reactionaries, regressive law-makers and over-zealous police'.[5]

Under the guise of reliability trials, early organised motoring was often little more than an excuse for racing. The Automobile Club of Victoria (ACV)[6] organised its first official rally just two months after its foundation. It was held at Aspendale Park in February 1904. The participants at the Aspendale Park meeting numbered several Melbourne society notables, including Chief Secretary Sir Samuel Gillott[7] and an assortment of councillors from the cities of Melbourne, St Kilda and Brighton, industrialists, and leading figures in the emerging motor trade.[8] The club's membership trebled within its first year to more than 160 members.[9]

For a rich young man in a hurry (the earliest drivers were overwhelmingly male), these were exciting times. By the start of the twentieth century, Melbourne was a handsome and well-planned provincial city. Its roads were wide and well formed—at least in the inner city and suburbs. The competing traffic comprised trams, pedestrians, carriages, horse-drawn drays, bicycles and their offspring, motorcycles (Figure 1).

Few regulations were imposed upon the antics of motorists before 1910. In fact, there were no specific rules relating to motorised transport, except steam traction engines. Regulation and the contest it presented to Melbourne society has already attracted the attention of scholars.[10]

> Upper-class and wealthy Victorians who became motorists at the turn of the twentieth century exposed themselves, for the first time ever, to regulation and the police … many were able to use their political influence with the authorities; their ability to defend themselves in court also helped to stave off conviction. At this period, most motorists were drawn from the same social class as the parliamentarians who were mandated to create new motor-vehicle legislation.[11]

The speed of motor vehicles rapidly emerged as a key cause of public concern. About all the police could do—if they could even catch offending motorists by giving pursuit on their bicycles—was apply the

Figure 1: Swanston Street, Melbourne, from *A Photographic Souvenir of Greater Melbourne Illustrated*, *c.* 1903 (Courtesy RHSV, BL-25.4)

offences of 'furious' or 'negligent' driving under section 5(xvii) of the *Police Offences Act 1890*. The Act was geared towards other forms of transport, including horses and bicycles, and did not deal adequately with the issue of wanton speeding by motorists. St Kilda Road was one speeding hotspot. 'They simply smile at us as they rattle by and we cannot catch them', commented one police constable.[12]

In the United Kingdom, numeric speed limits for mechanical vehicles were first introduced in 1861. Revisions to the *Imperial Locomotives on Highways Act 1865*, commonly known thereafter as the 'Red Flag Act', demanded that a vehicle 'propelled by steam or any other than animal power' have a person walking at least 60 yards in front of it carrying a red flag to warn other road users of its approach.[13] In 1903, a national speed limit of 20 miles per hour was set in the UK. In Victoria, speed would remain completely unregulated by the state until 1910. Specific speed limits were initially introduced piecemeal by local councils in the early 1900s; Brighton set a limit of 10 miles per hour, while St Kilda passed a by-law limiting speed to 12 miles per hour. (The average running speed of Melbourne's cable trams around this time was 8.9 miles per hour.[14])

Amid rising public disquiet at the speed and manner with which powered vehicles were seen to be careering around the streets, a 'Motor Car Bill' was introduced to the Victorian parliament by Premier Thomas Bent in 1905. (Britain had passed a Motor Car Act into law in 1903.) The Victorian bill, however, lapsed before its third reading after the Labor Party attempted to attach to it industrial relations provisions relating to chauffeurs. The conventional view is that 'motoring interest groups had exerted a great deal of political pressure on State politicians, and consequently the 1905 Motor-Car Bill was thrown out'.[15] However, law and technology expert Kieran Tranter suggests this assessment is too simplistic and that the ACV favoured and influenced the eventual regulation of vehicles.[16] Cultural and social historian Humphrey McQueen considers it failed 'because the reactionary Legislative Council believed any form of control was an interference with the freedom of anyone rich enough to own a motor car'.[17]

There was certainly a level of public concern, fuelled in part by a series of fatalities involving motor vehicles. Fatal accidents involving Australians had already occurred overseas.[18] Even the famous were not spared the novel trauma of motorised death. A vehicle in which the prima donna Nellie Melba was being taken for an afternoon drive in Paris in September 1904 struck and killed an 84-year-old man, leading the singer to take to her bed for a month in shock and distress.[19] Motoring historian Rick Clapton has argued that the real impetus for the introduction of the Motor Car Bill in Victoria was not crashes and deaths caused by cars, for the roadways were already dangerous places. Any number of people had been killed or injured over the years in accidents involving horse-drawn vehicles, trams and bicycles. 'Rather, it was the potentially exorbitant speeds of motor vehicles and the loss of autonomy this caused other road users.'[20]

'Exorbitant speeds' of up to 30 miles per hour were possible in these early machines, although judging them accurately was tricky. Speedometers were only routinely fitted to vehicles after 1910.[21] The consequences of such speeds, however, could indeed be fatal. On 5 May 1904, an Italian-born bicycle mechanic, Arthur Gaj, was killed when taking a motorised tri-wheeler on a test run. The front wheel caught in the tram tracks on St Kilda Road, flipping the vehicle over and smashing him headfirst into the paving stones. Gaj likely has the

unwanted distinction of being Victoria's first motorcycling fatality, his hybrid vehicle being more motorbike than car.[22]

On 24 August 1905, in an incident sometimes mistakenly recorded as the city's earliest motor-car fatality,[23] the first pedestrian to be struck and killed by car was Thomas Hall, 47, an iron foundry worker. Hall was killed as he crossed the intersection of Nicholson and Gertrude streets in Fitzroy. The notoriety of this accident owes much to the fact that the driver of the vehicle was Macpherson Robertson, a prominent Melbourne manufacturer, owner of the MacRobertson's confectionary empire later to produce the Cherry Ripe (introduced in 1924) and Freddo Frog (1930). Hall was conveyed to hospital in Robertson's vehicle but declared dead upon arrival. Robertson was a keen early motorist and within a few years would use a fleet of motor lorries and cars in his business. He was exonerated of any blame in the death of Hall, with evidence at the coronial inquest suggesting the dead man was intoxicated when he crossed the road into the vehicle's path.[24]

A Fatal Crash, a Cyclist's Death

Often overlooked, however, was the first fatal collision between a motor vehicle and another conveyance.[25] This was on 4 January 1905 and involved a motor car and a bicycle, both reportedly travelling at speed through the intersection of Albert and Evelyn streets in East Melbourne. As in the later Macpherson Robertson case, the driver in this instance was fully exonerated and blame shifted to the dead victim, a young cyclist named Samuel Payne. The driver of the car was 25-year-old Fred Hutchings, a Boer War veteran, grazier and sometime man about town (Figure 2).

Not everyone was convinced by this verdict. The evidence suggested various interpretations of what had happened. There were differences over whether Payne was pedalling or coasting, precisely when Hutchings had sounded his horn in warning, the points of impact on the motor car and whether it had been pushed sideways by the collision. It was, however, the question of speed that perplexed both those who witnessed the accident and the coroner who investigated it, and in turn triggered a flurry of public debate.

The crash occurred shortly after 8 a.m. Payne was on his way to work, riding his bicycle downhill in Albert Street, while Hutchings and a passenger were traversing Evelyn Street (now part of Nicholson Street)[26] when they collided. Payne suffered a fractured skull when he was thrown

Figure 2: Lieutenant Frederick Hutchings, aged 21, 4th Victorian Imperial Regiment Contingent, Boer War (Source *Leader*, 7 April 1900, p. 33)

from his bike and died in the Melbourne Hospital at around 2 p.m. never having regained consciousness. The afternoon *Herald* reported that both Hutchings and his passenger accompanied Payne to the hospital and were 'greatly distressed' by the accident.[27]

The accident immediately prompted the chief commissioner of police, Thomas O'Callaghan, to consult with the chief secretary, Sir Samuel Gillott, on the following day and decide to adopt 'such measures as will effectually provide for the disregard of public safety', especially where cars and bicycles were involved. While not prepared to specify the measures he would take, the police chief identified a number of speeding hotspots around the city. He bemoaned the lack of regulation of motor vehicles and their drivers, either through registration or specific driving offences. The problem was exacerbated by the growing number of motor cars, which meant that individual vehicles and drivers could no longer be readily identified.[28]

A two-day inquest before City Coroner Curtis Candler[29] began a week later on 11 January. Hutchings and his passenger, F. James, and the

family of the deceased were all represented by legal counsel. Constable Thomas Wardley (No. 3492) from Russell Street barracks told the court that he had heard nothing that would suggest other than Hutchings had been proceeding at a modest pace and that the cyclist Payne had crashed at speed into the motor car. His evidence noted that the collision bent both the front and rear mud guards of the vehicle and damaged both wheels on the side struck by the bicycle. The bicycle's frame was doubled up, the front wheel rim bent, and spokes broken. Payne, he noted, 'from the particulars I am able to obtain up to the present' and from the apparent damage to the vehicles, was riding 'very fast'. 'He was riding a free-wheel bicycle, but was not pedalling; and appears to have lost control of the bicycle as he crashed into the hinder part of the motor car.' Constable Wardley was satisfied that Hutchings, seeing a collision imminent, had 'put down his brakes but could do nothing to avoid the accident'.[30]

Precise details of the vehicles involved are elusive. One clue as to the size of the motor car can be found in the evidence of Wardley, who estimated its weight at 16 hundredweight—or about 800 kilograms. Hutchings attested that he had owned the vehicle involved in the collision for just one week. This and its weight suggest it was the 9–11 horsepower Clement-Talbot he would drive in a reliability trial the following month. No details about the bike are known other than it was a freewheeler, meaning the rear wheel was not engaged when the rider stopped pedalling.

Other witnesses at the inquest recounted a version of events quite different from Constable Wardley's interpretation. Herbert Frith told police that shortly before the accident he had seen a motor car in which there were two men coming down Nicholson Street towards Bourke Street. As it crossed Victoria Parade 'the car was being driven very fast, I think it was going at the rate of nearly 40 miles per hour'. In a later deposition, however, he altered this to 20 miles per hour (mph).[31]

Edward Gahan, a baker's cart driver, had just turned off the tram tracks at the corner of Victoria and Evelyn when he heard a 'terrific noise' behind him: 'I just put my head out of the little window at the side of the wagon when my cap blew off'. He too saw a car with two gentlemen aboard, and 'they were going at a very fast pace'. He attributed the loss of his cap to the wind they generated as they went by. Hearing the car sound its horn just before the crash, Gahan also saw Payne approaching

the intersection. He was adamant he was not speeding when the collision occurred: 'I do not think the rider was going too fast … I do not think the cyclist was going at too great a speed approaching the corner'.[32]

John William Tucker, a proof-reader,[33] was in Evelyn Street on his way to work when he heard the sound of a car horn: 'I then noticed that the motor was coming at an outrageously fast rate of speed'. Anticipating an accident, he watched it as a cyclist came into view at, he judged, about 11 mph. The car did not slow down according to Tucker: 'The driver of the car did not appear to me to deviate from his course; he was going at an exceptionally fast rate of speed'.[34]

Another witness, tramway employee Alexander Ross, estimated the car was travelling at 30 mph. Thomas Tallochson, a tramway gripman, believed Hutchings was travelling at between 20 and 25 mph when the car passed his tram in Nicholson Street, basing his judgment on the speed at which trams travelled. Yet another witness, Robert Ainley, suggested 15 mph.[35]

More damning was the deposition of Arthur Kenney, a gardener, who saw the crash from the grounds of the Model School[36] in Evelyn Street.

> On the morning of the 4th instant at 8.15 am … my attention was attracted by a motor car coming at a great speed along Evelyn Street & I also noticed a cyclist coming down Albert Street on the left—south—side of Albert Street he was coming into Town. I noticed the motorist from 80 to 100 yards before he got to the corner of Albert & Evelyn Streets going at a furious pace & when he got into the middle of Albert Street he blew the horn and almost immediately he collided with the cyclist. The motor car dashed straight on & the cyclist was thrown about 3 feet in the air and landed on his back with his head towards Melbourne and his feet towards Carlton.[37]

Kenney said a minute or so later he saw the car return: 'the next thing I saw was that the cyclist was picked up and taken to the Hospital'. In the moments before the collision, he also saw Payne try to avoid Hutching's car: 'In my opinion the motor was going as fast as an ordinary train or about 25 miles an hour. The speed of the motor was not abated in the slightest when crossing over. The cyclist was riding at an ordinary rate of speed just before the impact'.[38]

John Kitchin, a tramway gripman, gave somewhat different evidence suggesting both vehicles were travelling at around 14 mph.

He stated that Payne had his head down, was pedalling and appeared to be trying to ride ahead of the car when the collision happened.[39] Another eyewitness whose evidence put more blame on the cyclist was Samuel Barratt, an employee of the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works. He was coming down Albert Street in his buggy and pulled up at the corner when he saw Hutchings's car—which he estimated to be travelling at 18 mph—coming along Evelyn Street. As he did so he heard the car sound its horn.

> I had pulled up and to my surprise on my left side a young man came dashing along on a bicycle … the cyclist was pedalling when he passed me. I cannot estimate the speed he was going at. Had he full command at the time he saw the motor car he could without doubt have avoided the occurrence … I think it very probable that my buggy obscured the view of the deceased.

The sole expert witness called before the coroner was Duncan M'Kenzie, an experienced motorist and a draughtsman with the Public Works Department. He was in no doubt that the cyclist was at fault. He speculated as to the speed of Payne (12 mph). After inspecting the scene, he experimented by riding a bicycle 'in all manner of ways at and round that corner'. While he was unwilling to speculate on the speed of the motor car, he gave the view that a car travelling at 30 mph could be pulled up within 20 yards, while one at 10 mph could be stopped in a yard and a half. M'Kenzie concluded that 'the accident could have been avoided by reasonable care on the part of the cyclist. I could not say if it could have been by the motor driver'.[40]

The final witness was the driver, Fred Hutchings. He told the court he was travelling south along Evelyn Street at a little past 8 a.m. at 'about 12 to 15 miles an hour'. He said he blew his horn before reaching the intersection.

> When I reached the centre of Albert Street I saw a cyclist within 3 or 4 yards of me. I could not say at what pace he was going or in what position he was on the machine. Mr James [his passenger] was on my left and he would obscure my view. I think the cyclist would be coming down about the centre of the street. I should say the cycle struck the motor about the front mud guard … I had no time to swerve to escape him. I had no time to do so.[41]

After pulling up the car (James having got out while it was still moving) about 30 yards on, Hutchings backed up to the scene of the accident. He gave evidence to the effect that he had 'about 12 months experience of driving a car' and had motored extensively in a number of vehicles. While he owned the car involved in the accident, he had only been driving it for a little over a week.

In view of such conflicting evidence, the coroner reserved his decision until the following day. The *Age* reported that the evidence taken by the coroner from thirteen witnesses, most of whom had seen the accident, was 'remarkable for its diversity regarding the rate of speed at which the vehicles were travelling'.[42]

After retiring overnight to his rooms at the Melbourne Club to consider both his verdict and the conflicting accounts, Mr Candler was unequivocal in his finding.

> I find that the weight of evidence goes to show that that the driver of the motor-car was not going at an excessive rate of speed when crossing the intersection of the said streets, that he had blown the horn of the car several yards before reaching the corner of Evelyn Street, that the motor-car was on the proper side of the street and that he had full command of the vehicle after the impact of the bicycle with it; whereas it would appear that the deceased, who was going at a fast pace, might have avoided the collision if he had seen the motor-car and had had proper control of his bicycle.
>
> I find that no criminal blame attaches to Fred Hawthorne [*sic*] Hutchings—the driver of the afore-said motor-car.[43]

A Collision of Class and Money

This was not just a crash of vehicles. It was equally a collision of class and money, and it played out as such in the columns of the daily and specialist press.

The Melbourne dailies were largely unsympathetic to early motorists. One weekly paper was, however, compromised when it came to advancing the interests of motorists over cyclists. Although it had begun life in September 1893 as the *Australian Cyclist* and become the official journal of several Australian cycling organisations, in March 1901 this journal became the *Australian Cyclist and Motor-Car World*. Here was another measure of the close links between the world of cycling and the emerging powered vehicle technology. By 1905 it had become

a more generalist sporting paper, *Cyclist and Motor News*. On balance, however, it sided with motorists when it came to issues of regulation and the curtailment of speed. Sometimes it was simply defiant. In 1904, it challenged the authorities: 'Can the police point to any one case of "high speed motoring" causing an accident of life and limb?' A bolting horse, it went on to claim, was far more of a danger.[44]

Cyclist and Motor News identified the Hutchings–Payne collision as central to attempts to regulate motorists and sanction their pursuit within the realm of stricter rules. In an editorial headed 'The Motor-Car Fatality', it bemoaned the attitude of the daily press:

> To saddle the entire blame upon the shoulders of the car-owner is a task which the dailies assume with fiendish delight. The "Age" says: "There is to all intents and purposes no check upon motor cars: their owners are seemingly free from the penalties rigidly imposed upon the driver of a horse who allows his steed to gallop between the shafts at a pace not one third as rapid as the ordinary rate of an engine propelled vehicle."[45]

Arguing the contrary, the *Cyclist and Motor News* pointed to the low rate of collisions involving motor cars, considering the 'large number' by then on the roads. Stopping barely short of attributing this to the good breeding of motor-car drivers, it opined:

> What is it then that is responsible for the happy dearth of accidents? Simply that almost all car owners are responsible gentlemen, who handle their hundreds of pounds worth of motor car with due regard to their own pockets; and even more humane regard for the safety of others. Were motorists the reckless lot of demoniac ruffians which the daily press would have us believe them to be, where is the substantiation of it? The records do not prove it, therefore it exists only in the minds of the hacks who penned the scare articles.[46]

Motorists by this account were 'responsible gentlemen', though with an eye to their pocketbooks. Cyclists were another matter, to be ignored or even swatted away if necessary. 'It has come to be practically an unwritten law that the cyclist must look out for himself', the editorial concluded. In an alarming final retort akin to a backfiring car, it added that most vehicle drivers 'take no more notice of [the cyclist] than if he were a mosquito'.[47]

The influence of class and money in these matters was a view shared by the *Bendigo Independent*, although its sympathies lay squarely with the cyclists. In an editorial headed 'The Speed Mania', it commented:

> The speed mania had, of course, to strike Australia. In the motor car form of it, it is rather surprising that it did not begin to force itself upon public attention sooner than it has. In each country where it has been introduced it is very much of a menace to the public safety. This is chiefly because only the wealthy can afford carriages of this kind, and because it is in the nature of things that municipal councillors, magistrates and justices should shrink from applying the common law to people so uncommonly well circumstanced as the possession of a motor car indicates.[48]

In the case of the 'sensational death' at the corner of Evelyn and Albert streets, while conceding the cyclist had also been proceeding at pace, it continued:

> The evidence called was conflicting as to the speed at which the motor was being driven. It may have been conflicting as to whether they were careering through the streets of Melbourne at twelve, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five or thirty miles an hour. But it was emphatically unanimous that the machine was going at a rate which made it almost certain that a collision must soon occur with something or other.[49]

By any estimation, including that of the driver Hutchings, the *Bendigo Independent* concluded that the car was travelling 'far too fast to be tolerated in any properly conducted town or city'. Had the accident involved a horse being ridden furiously, the rider would likely have found himself up on a charge of manslaughter. The paper called for regulation of speed through an Act of parliament.

Did this Collision Cut across the Class Divide?

The idea that the early motor vehicle was no more than a rich man's toy had popular appeal to the middle and working classes in an era when a private car cost the modern equivalent of a luxury yacht. The contemporary press played up to this sentiment and to the perceived irresponsible and arrogant nature of the early motorists. Historical accounts, Tranter noted, have reinforced this view ever since. Bicycles were then, as now, a more democratic mode of transport.

The notion that members of the establishment could be stopped, interrogated and charged by working-class police constables over their use of motor vehicles continued to cause affront and likely slowed the introduction of motoring regulation, according to Clapton. Recreational motoring was largely the province of the monied and powerful in the early years of the twentieth century. It was hardly a coincidence that Chief Justice Sir John Madden, also the lieutenant-governor of Victoria, was the ACV's first president.[50]

The witnesses at the inquest who challenged the police summary of events practically all pursued working-class occupations: baker's van driver, gardener, tram gripman among them. Those who supported the police case mostly came from clerical or white-collar occupations. The class divide between the cyclist and the motorist was even greater. The accident served to illustrate an increasingly polarised Victorian community in which old-world, British-based notions of status predicated on class were increasingly being challenged.

The dead man, Samuel Payne, aged 26, was an assistant draper working for wages for his brother John (his elder by twenty years) at a well-regarded store at the top end of Bourke Street. He was not a partner in the business but a salesman. His imprint on the life of Melbourne was slight. A single man, he lived in Kew, was of temperate habits and an experienced cyclist. According to his brother, Samuel had been riding bicycles for around ten years and was a skilled cyclist who had never had an accident.[51]

Samuel Payne was the youngest surviving of eleven children of Freke (1825–93) and Martha Payne (1833–1906), Irish immigrants from County Cork. The drapery where he worked was Payne's Bon Marche, later to expand into a noted department store straddling both sides of the city's major shopping thoroughfare, with branches in the suburbs and country. Started by John Payne in the 1880s, the business prospered, and its sale in 1917 made Payne a wealthy man. When John died in 1938, he left an estate valued at £54,016 to his children and grandchildren.[52] Samuel, on the other hand, died having never married and with a personal estate worth just £702. Another brother, Richard, was appointed administrator of his estate since Samuel had died without a will. Among his assets was somewhat sadly listed: 'Bicycle, damaged £2'. The bulk of his assets were in the form of £344 plus interest owed by

another brother, Thomas, for his share in the sale of a drapery business in Echuca and a life insurance policy valued at £300.[53]

While we know relatively little about Samuel Payne, Fred Hutchings left a greater and not altogether appealing impression upon early twentieth-century Melbourne, especially as a motorist. In many ways, Hutchings typified the pioneering drivers. Mostly well heeled and full of swagger, they would occupy the better bars and restaurants of the city, often still resplendent in their long, dusty driving coats, hats, goggles and mufflers, no doubt loudly discussing unintelligible matters such as carburettors and cranks. Car ownership represented both wealth and social status; the behaviour and public demeanour of early motorists underlined community concerns, and Hutchings was a case in point.

Frederick Hawthorn Hutchings[54] was born in Melbourne on 4 February 1879, the son of James Hutchings (1822–84) and his wife Jane (1850–93). His father was a successful manufacturer of agricultural machinery, as partner and later principal of T. Robinson and Co. The family lived a comfortable upper middle-class life at Craigevar, a large villa built for the them in Riversdale Road, Hawthorn.[55] However, Fred was just five years old when his father died and fourteen when his mother passed away. The elder Hutchings left an estate in 1884 valued at over £72,000 for probate—around $10 million in modern terms—with substantial provisions made for his wife and in trust for his four surviving children.[56]

For young Fred Hutchings money was clearly not an issue. He was educated at Geelong Grammar and, in the years immediately after, was noted in the social columns of the Melbourne papers riding to hounds or attending soirées around town. At the age of 21 he enlisted as a lieutenant in the 4th Victorian Imperial Contingent, which sailed to the South African War on 1 May 1900. Hutchings survived sometimes intense skirmishing in which the 'Victorian Bushmen' were engaged in South Africa and was awarded the Queen's Medal with five campaign clasps. At Mafeking, he took time out to attend the Federation Banquet on New Year's Eve in honour of the creation of the new Commonwealth of Australia. On 2 August 1901 he shipped for London, where he was demobbed.[57]

By December 1901, Hutchings had returned to Melbourne in time to attend the Geelong Grammar sports day where he was 'heartily welcomed' as a defender of the Empire.[58] He was soon back to the life

of a gentleman, riding to hounds and apparently intent upon becoming a member of the landed gentry. At the age of 24 in 1903 he purchased Clebyarra, an established sheep-grazing property with a fine homestead at Goon Nure, between Stratford and Bairnsdale in Gippsland. In addition to Clebyarra (1,035 acres) he also acquired the nearby Gracemere (983 acres) at Bengworden and a further paddock of 135 acres, all sold on behalf of C. Forbes Mitchell.[59] With his semi-permanent removal to the country, he resigned his probationary commission in the Victorian Garrison Artillery, putting aside the military life for the moment but retaining honorary rank within the Commonwealth Military Forces.[60]

As a young man with plenty of money who had already travelled the world and faced the adrenalin rush of war, it is perhaps not surprising that Hutchings should become engrossed in the possibilities and excitement that motor vehicles presented. As a resident of Gippsland, which then endured some of the worst roads in the state, he may even have foreseen a role for the motor vehicle in the country.

At a time when there were only around 300 private motor vehicles in Victoria,[61] Hutchings was an early adopter. He was addicted to speed and in due course would become the Edwardian equivalent of a hoon driver, accumulating a string of convictions for motoring offences. Motoring was expensive. In 1905, an average vehicle cost around £500 when the average annual wage was closer to £150.[62] Although not among the original ACV members,[63] Hutchings moved in social circles that saw him soon intersect with them. When in town around this time he stayed at the comfortable Port Phillip Club Hotel in Flinders Street, where the first meeting of the ACV had been held. He also rode to hounds at the Oakland Club with a number of early motorists.[64]

In early 1904, Hutchings purchased a five-horsepower, two-seater Humberette light car,[65] one of ten recently imported by Charles Kellow, a champion cyclist and later a noted car retailer and businessman, who many years later would marry Hutching's widowed sister Lucy.[66]

On 12 March 1904, Hutchings—now numbered by the press among the 'well-known motorists of Melbourne'—raced his new car against nine others in an ACV–Commercial Travellers' Association picnic event at Sandown over one-and-a-half miles, coming home in fourth place.[67] This is generally regarded as the first organised motor-car race in Australia (Figure 3).[68] An official sports meeting for motor

Figure 3: A motor club outing at Sandown Park, 1904. Photographer Algernon Darge, 1881–1941 (Courtesy State Library Victoria, H99.100/106A)

vehicles, styled as a 'motor gymkhana', attracted 2,500 spectators at the Maribyrnong Racecourse on 30 April 1904.[69] In the same month, Hutchings joined the 40-member ACV 1904 Easter tour over 400 miles through western Victoria in the Humberette.[70]

Motoring on after the Crash

Involvement in the fatal accident in January 1905 seemed no more than a minor inconvenience in Hutching's motoring adventures. It appears to have had absolutely no impact upon his pursuit of speed. On 21 February, he joined 35 competitors in the inaugural 1905 Dunlop Reliability Trial, a 572-mile points-scored time trial from Sydney to Melbourne.[71] The event followed the course of the old coach road between the two cities (proximate to the modern Hume Highway) and took five days to complete. Hutchings performed well enough in the heavy car class, driving a 9–11 horsepower, two-cylinder Clement–Talbot until Albury, where he was forced to withdraw with a broken axle.[72] He later rode as a spotter with J.G. Coleman in the deciding elimination trial of light car class finalists from Melbourne to Ballarat and back in March 1905. Coleman was forced to withdraw after hitting a cow.[73]

Perhaps it is not surprising that Hutchings would repeatedly come to the attention of police and the courts over the following months. Alarmingly, he would be involved in at least one further collision with a cyclist and a near miss with another. He was always represented in court by counsel ready to contest the charges.

On 4 April Hutchings was charged with driving 'furiously' along Fitzroy Street, St Kilda, 'at the rate of about 16 or 18 miles an hour'. When spoken to by police, he claimed to know nothing of a 12 mph speed limit.

He admitted going 'a bit fast near the junction', while a cyclist told the arresting officer that he was nearly knocked off his bike there. The St Kilda Police Court—comprising three justices of the peace (including the mayor)—discharged him upon his payment of ten shillings into the poor box.[74]

Remarkably, on the same day, he was picked up by police and charged with 'furious' driving in East Melbourne.

> A motorist named Fred H. Hutchings was charged before Mr. Dwyer P.M. at the District Court yesterday, with having driven his car at a "furious" rate of speed. Constable Peverill deposed that on the 4th inst. Defendant drove his car along Wellington-parade at the rate of about 30 miles an hour. The offence was not denied and a fine of 20/-, with £1 19/- costs was inflicted.[75]

In the latter case, the fine—equivalent to a week's wages to a labourer—was pin money to someone of Hutchings's means and hardly a deterrent to further offending.

The St Kilda incident prompted a letter to the *Age*, suggesting that the small penalty imposed upon the 'well-known motorist' followed 'what appears ludicrous alacrity [with which] the bench compromised with the defence, and allowed a cheque to be put in the poor box'. The correspondent added sourly: 'What is the use of the St Kilda council making by-laws when its own mayor fails to administer them?'[76]

Hutchings evidently learnt little or nothing from any of these experiences. In May 1905, he was again in court, this time at Flemington in relation to another serious incident a month earlier. On 13 April he drove 'furiously' (allegedly 30 mph) in Epsom Road, Ascot Vale on the wrong side of the road and crushed a bicycle belonging to one Harry Griffiths, who leapt to safety just before the collision. Evidence was given by witnesses that, after running over the bike, Hutchings failed to stop at the accident scene. He was later intercepted by Constable Hennessy (on his bicycle) at the Maribyrnong Racecourse. Defence witnesses who were passengers in the car, one being the owner of the well-known Hosie's Hotel in the city, were called by Hutchings and claimed that he was variously driving at 10 or 20 mph. All three had originally denied any involvement in the accident.

The bench, comprising a police magistrate, Mr Keogh, and two JPs, was unconvinced, ruling they were 'quite satisfied that at the time of

the accident the motor car was being driven at a furious rate'. This time a fine of £5 was imposed, plus £1 2s costs, and fines amounting to one shilling were added for charges of damaging the bicycle and driving on the wrong side of the road.[77] The account of the proceedings in the *Age* was headlined 'Motorist with a Record'.

Hutchings continued his motor-racing exploits, riding as observer for Charlie Kellow in a 100-mile time trial from Melbourne to Woodend and back in May 1905. Their car was damaged as it narrowly avoided colliding with another competitor.[78] For Hutchings in other respects, 1905 was not an auspicious year. In November his only brother, Herbert William Hutchings, died at the age of 31. However, Fred inherited half of his estate of almost £25,000.[79]

Life for this young man in a hurry only apparently slowed when, in November 1907, he married Annie (Cissy) MacGregor of Caulfield. After this, he retreated to Clebyarra, although the couple's visits to Melbourne—usually for the spring races—were faithfully reported in the social columns. Hutchings became involved in local affairs, for example as president of the Bairnsdale Gun Club, as assistant inspector of fisheries, and in country horse racing.[80] However, he retained his love of motor cars. In 1910, Hutchings was among the initial 3,204 drivers licensed in Victoria. He also registered at least two vehicles while living in Gippsland, the first in 1910 (No. 1117) and the second in 1912 (No. 9040).[81]

World War I saw Hutchings return to the military, and, after a stint of officer training at Broadmeadows, he was attached to the 13th Light Horse Regiment on 25 May 1915. On the recommendation of the commanding officer of the regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel George Henry Dean, he was accorded the rank of major and embarked on HMAT A34 *Persic* three days later.[82]

The Melbourne sporting press—under the headline 'Follower of the Hounds Proves his Worth'—commended Major Hutchings as 'an amateur rider of no mean ability', who, after a rapid promotion, 'has been in the firing line for several months' (Figure 4).[83] However, the real firing line he was in by this time was of a different nature. Hutchings's war service ended abruptly in less than glorious circumstances after just two years. His AIF record shows that, after serving at Gallipoli, then in Egypt and France, he left for England in October 1917, and from there he returned to Australia 'at his own expense'. A file note on his record

signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Dudley White, commanding officer of the 13th Light Horse, tells that he had pursued Hutchings's removal from the regiment on the following grounds:

> He is incompetent as a Squadron Leader. He has had two warnings and was warned that if he was brought before me again an application would be made to the 1st Anzac for his removal from the Regiment I have the honour to command. Have given him every help possible since May 20th 1917, when I commenced command, and find that the squadron he commands is gradually getting worse.[84]

The note continues that Hutchings was previously moved from A Squadron to C Squadron 'for the same reason'. His appointment was duly terminated in December 1917.

Figure 4: Major Fred H. Hutchings on 'The Gawk', *Winner*, 4 July 1917 (Courtesy National Library of Australia, at http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article154548950)

There seems nothing to suggest Hutchings was in any way humbled by the circumstances of his discharge. Back in Gippsland, he retained and used the honorific 'Major' and became the first president of the Bairnsdale Returned Soldiers and Sailors Club and Association.[85] He also sued his tenant farmer upon his return in 1918 for allowing Clebyarra to be overrun by rabbits in his absence.[86]

Things soured for Hutchings in the 1920s. Apparently in financial difficulties, Fred was forced to sell part of the property. And he petitioned Annie for divorce.[87] One account suggests she had become involved with the manager at Clebyarra, Hutchings's former batman, and that her husband had moved back to Melbourne in 1924.[88] He died aged 47 at Coonara, a private hospital in St Kilda Road, on 4 June 1926. The principal death notice in the *Argus* was placed by his sister, Lucy Kellow. A second unsigned one noted he was 'formerly of Clebyarra, Gippsland'.[89] Annie continued to live in Gippsland for a further twenty years.[90]

A Roadway to Reform

The fatal collision in 1905 between motor car and bicycle at the corner of Evelyn and Albert streets on the city's edge would, of course, be just one among many thousands of such tragic vehicle collisions over the coming decades. Motor vehicles on the streets of Melbourne and the roads of country Victoria attracted not just wonderment in these early years but also disapprobation and not infrequent resentment on the part of those who could not afford them. In these early years of the new century many evidently regarded the intrusion of these toys of the rich as a source of uncontrolled danger, or at least inconvenience, to other road users.

Amid the flush of pride in Australia's new nationhood, here was a reminder that the old divisions of class and wealth still divided many of its citizens. Private motor vehicles and the impunity with which motorists drove them about were an expression of this. Other jurisdictions had moved earlier to rein in such drivers: Britain in 1903, South Australia in 1904. The New South Wales *Motor Traffic Act 1909* came into force just days before Victoria followed suit.

The regulatory regime over motoring in Victoria began in earnest after the collapse of the Bent government in 1909, with Bent's successor John Murray resuscitating the 1905 Motor Car Bill.[91] With fairly minor amendments it passed into law as the *Motor Car Act 1909* (Vic.). In

addition to governing motorists' behaviour, it also introduced driving licences and motor vehicle registration. All vehicles were required to have lights and a bell or a horn. Importantly, the speed of motor vehicles was regulated through a new offence of 'driving recklessly, negligently or at speed'.[92] The original Act, however, did not impose any numerical speed limits (unlike the UK, South Australian and NSW legislation). The new provisions became law on 4 January 1910, precisely five years to the day after Samuel Payne's demise. The question of whether earlier regulation could have saved this young cyclist's life is a highly speculative one. Given the novelty of motorised speed and the apparent abandon with which both cyclists and the devotees of motor cars were careering around the city's streets in 1905, one has to conclude that regulation alone may have made little difference.

Historian Andrew May notes that by the 1920s 'the motor car had radically changed the physical landscape and geometry of the street. The aesthetic experience of the city had changed'.[93] The death of the street life that May laments was matched by Victoria's roads becoming a vehicular killing field. The 'happy dearth of accidents' the *Cycling and Motor News* had celebrated was long gone, as was the magazine itself.

In 1920, motor vehicles were involved in 43 deaths. By 1929, the figure had reached 307. The number of motor vehicles climbed from less than 40,000 at the start of the decade to just under 180,000 at the end. The death rate in 1926 of 33.9 persons per 10,000 vehicles has not been matched since. As cars became more affordable for all classes, other forms of transport including bicycles and horses fell by the wayside, disappearing as common daily transport after World War II.

While the number of road fatalities increased to more than a thousand in the 1970s, the number of lives lost on Victorian roads is now lower than at any time since the 1920s. Regulation is only one of a complex range of measures undertaken to achieve this over the past 50 years—through the introduction of speed restrictions, seat belts, drink-driving legislation, vehicle safety standards and so on.[94] Better roads and vehicles have had an immeasurable impact. Meanwhile, a resurgence in the popularity of cycling for commuting, exercise and sport over recent years has reignited the battle for the roads. In 2020, after a growing number of cyclist deaths and injuries following collisions with cars, further steps were flagged to physically separate motor cars and bicycles on Melbourne's streets.[95]

Notes

1 An annual study by the City of Melbourne showed that by February 2020 bicycles accounted for 17.1 per cent of all vehicles travelling into the city during the three-hour morning peak compared with just 7.6 per cent of vehicles ten years before. Over the same period, the number of cars declined from 79.4 per cent to 66.2 per cent: 'Survey Reveals Melbourne Commuters Ditching Cars for Bikes', at https://www.racv.com.au/royalauto/moving/cycling/city-commuters-bicycle-traffic.html.

2 See Graeme Davison, *Car Wars: How the Car Won our Hearts and Conquered our Cities*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2004.

3 Ron Sheppard, 'Bicycles and Bicycling', in Andrew Brown-May and Shurlee Swain (eds), *Encyclopedia of Melbourne*, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 72.

4 Susan Priestley, *The Crown of the Road: The Story of the RACV*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1983, p. 2.

5 Kieran Tranter, '"The History of the Haste-Wagons": The *Motor Car Act 1909* (Vic), Emergent Technology and the Call for Law', *Melbourne University Law Review*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2005, pp. 843–79, at p. 845.

6 Founded on 9 December 1903 at the Port Phillip Club Hotel, it became the Royal Automobile Club of Victoria in 1916.

7 The role of chief secretary devolved from that of colonial secretary after Separation and was retained until 1979. The chief secretary was the most senior minister after the premier and treasurer and was in effect a coordinating minister. Importantly, the role was responsible for police and emergency services, prisons and juvenile justice, Aboriginal affairs, mental health, social welfare and the state electoral office, among a raft of other unattached statutory bodies. These and other functions were gradually assigned to separate or combined ministries before the role was abolished.

8 *Age*, 22 February1904, p. 6. Aspendale Park was a horse-racing course owned by James Robert Crooke, an early motoring enthusiast. In late 1905 he added a banked speedway track inside the course for racing motor vehicles, claimed to have been the first such purpose-built track in the world. Motor racing occurred there intermittently from 1906 until the 1940s. See https://localhistory.kingston.vic.gov.au/articles/93; and https://www.hyperracer.com/history.

9 Priestley, p. 20.

10 For a comprehensive account of the early regulation of motoring in Melbourne, see Tranter, n. 5.

11 Rick Clapton, 'Keeping Order: Motor-Car Regulation and the Defeat of Victoria's 1905 Motor-Car Bill', *Provenance: The Journal of Public Record Office Victoria*, no. 3, 2004, p. 13.

12 *Australian Cyclist and Motor-Car World*, 12 May 1904, p. 8.

13 Clapton, p. 13; David Finlay, 'The History of Speed Limits in the UK', at https://readcars.co/2017/06/20/history-speed-limits-uk/.

14 John D. Keating, *Mind the Curve! A History of the Cable Trams*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1980, p. 106.

15 *Motor Car Act 1903* (3 Edw.7, c. 36); Clapton, p. 20; Tranter, p. 850; Robert Haldane, *The People's Force: A History of the Victoria Police*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1986, p. 133.

16 Tranter suggests the bill was dropped as a result of Bent's increasingly unpredictable behaviour (p. 851). He gives a detailed analysis of the role of the ACV at pp. 864–6.

17 Humprey McQueen, *Social Sketches of Australia 1888–1975*, Melbourne, Penguin, 1978, p. 52.

18 The death in a motor accident of an Australian woman, Miss Agnes Logan, in Scotland in 1902 was widely reported. See *Geelong Advertiser*, 22 August 1902, p. 2. In February 1903, George Colebrook, an Australian leather merchant, was killed in a motor-car accident at Hendon in England. See *Daily Telegraph*, 12 February 1903, p. 5.

19 Ann Blainey, *I Am Melba: A Biography*, Melbourne, Black Inc., 2008, p. 231; Pamela Vestey, *Melba: A Family Memoir*, Coldstream, Pamela Vestey, 2000, p. 118; *Argus*, 14 September 1904, p. 7; *Evening Journal* (SA), 13 September 1904, p. 4. Some more salacious newspaper reports went so far as to suggest Melba herself had been driving; she was in fact being chauffeured with her cousins from New Zealand. One report was headlined: 'Melba as Mankiller', *Evening Star* (WA), 13 September 1904, p. 3.

20 Clapton, pp. 15, 24, n. 70.

21 Marilyn Mitchell, 'The Development of Automobile Speedometer Dials: A Balance of Ergonomics and Style, Regulation and Power', *Visible Language*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2010, pp. 331–66, at p. 342.

22 Gaj's name was initially reported as 'Arthur Gay', but this was corrected by the time of the coronial inquest. See VPRS 24/P0, Unit 775, Item 1904/435, Public Record Office Victoria (PROV).

23 The Transport Accident Commission' s website describes it as 'Melbourne's first known motor car road death', at https://www.tac.vic.gov.au/about-the-tac/media-room/blogs/articles/road-safey-history-in-melbourne.

24 Inquest into Death of T.J. Hall, 24 August 1905, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 793, File 1905/992, PROV; Clapton, p. 20. Macpherson Robertson (1859–45) was a noted philanthropist and was knighted in 1932, having sponsored an Antarctic expedition. He endowed the Mac. Robertson Girls' High School, the MacRobertson Bridge over the Yarra, the herbarium in the Royal Botanic Gardens and the 1934 MacRobertson Air Race from England to Australia. See John Lack, 'Robertson, Sir Macpherson (1859–1945)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/robertson-sir-macpherson-8237, published first in hardcopy 1988.

25 Both Haldane and Tranter hold this to be Melbourne's first motor-vehicle fatality. See Tranter, p. 846; Haldane, p. 133.

26 Evelyn Street was the name of the short extension between Victoria Parade and Spring Street. It has since been incorporated into Nicholson Street. The name is now recalled in Evelyn Place, a narrow service lane running between Nicholson and Albert streets.

27 *Herald*, 4 January 1905, p. 1.

28 *Argus*, 6 January 1905, p. 5.

29 Samuel Curtis Candler (1827–1911) became the city coroner after a long career as a coroner in Melbourne's suburbs and country areas. A medical doctor, he lived at the Melbourne Club for over 50 years. See Simon Cooke, 'Candler, Samuel Curtis (1827–1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/candler-samuel-curtis-12839, published first in hardcopy 2005.

30 Report of Constable Wardley 3492 relative to a fatal accident to a cyclist, Proceedings of Inquest held upon the body of Samuel Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.

31 Proceedings of Inquest held upon the body of Samuel Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.

32 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.

33 Tucker was compositor and proof-reader at one of the city's newspapers.
34 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
35 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
36 The National Model and Training School, on the corner of Evelyn and Albert streets, was established in 1854. It became Victoria's first secondary school, the Melbourne Continuation School, in 1905. The Royal College of Surgeons now occupies the site.
37 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
38 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
39 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
40 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
41 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
42 *Age*, 11 January 1905, p. 6.
43 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
44 *Australian Cyclist and Motor-Car World*, 12 May 1904, p. 8.
45 *Cyclist and Motor News*, 12 January 1905, p. 11.
46 *Cyclist and Motor News*, 12 January 1905, p. 11.
47 *Cyclist and Motor News*, 12 January 1905, p. 11.
48 *Bendigo Independent*, 13 January 1905, p. 2.
49 *Bendigo Independent*, 13 January 1905, p. 2.
50 He was also the first patron of the Historical Society of Victoria (later Royal Historical Society of Victoria). His brother, Sir Frank Madden, was the society's founding president.
51 Proceedings of Inquest … Payne, VPRS 24/P0, Unit 784, Item 1905/27, PROV.
52 *Herald*, 2 September 1938, p. 8. The city store continued to trade under new ownership as Payne's Bon Marche until the 1960s, when it was demolished to make way for a cinema.
53 Probate and Administration Files, Samuel Payne, 22 February 1905, VPRS 28/P2, Unit 714, Item 93/871, PROV.
54 His name was sometimes misreported in the press as 'Hutchens'.
55 Deborah Tout-Smith, 'T. Robinson & Co., Agricultural Implement Makers, Melbourne, Victoria', 2004, in Museums Victoria Collections, at https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/articles/2481, accessed 4 October 2020; on Craigievar, see http://juliejoyclarke.blogspot.com/2015/04/craigievar.html.
56 Jane Hutchings remarried another well-to-do manufacturer, John Zevenboom, after her husband's death.
57 *The Times of London*, 3 August 1901. For a brief account of raising the Victorian contingent, see L.M. Field, *The Forgotten War: Australian Involvement in the South African Conflict of 1899–1902*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1979, pp. 133–4, 194.
58 *Australasian*, 21 December 1901, p. 23. Two of the school's alumni died in the conflict.
59 *Australasian*, 11 April 1903, p. 13.
60 *Argus*, 27 July 1903; *Williamstown Chronicle*, 1 August 1903, p. 2
61 By 1910, there were 1,590 registered cars and 1,145 motorbikes. See Priestley, p. 23.
62 The 1907 Harvester Judgment would set the minimum wage for an unskilled labourer at £2 2s 0d per week.
63 Priestley, p. 159. He was not reported among those to take part in the club's first rally on 22 February 1904: *Punch*, 25 July 1904, p. 30.
64 *Australasian*, 1 July 1905, p. 16.

65 Manufactured in Britain by engineer Thomas Humber, these vehicles were direct descendants of his original bicycle-manufacturing business. The Humber marque continued until the 1970s.

66 H.S. Broadhead, 'Kellow, Henry Brown (Charles) (1871–1943)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kellow-henry-brown-charles-6914/text11995, published first in hardcopy 1983.

67 *Punch*, 17 March 1904, p. 30; *Argus*, 3 July 1943, p. 4; see also https://primotipo.com/tag/harley-tarrant/. The race was won by J.R. Crooke. Charles Kellow came second.

68 *Age*, 14 March 1904, p. 6; *Serpolette's Tricycle*, July 2012, p. 16, at http://www.earlymotor.com/serpolettes-tricycle/pdf/serpolettes-tricycle-03.pdf.

69 *Argus*, 2 May 1904, p. 7; *Leader*, 7 May 1904, p. 35. A private horse-racing track owned by the Cox family, Maribyrnong Racecourse, was later used for motor sports.

70 *Punch*, 7 April 1904, p. 30; *Daily News*, 12 April 1904, p. 3.

71 For an account of the 1905 Dunlop Reliability Trials, see Jenny Fawbert, 'Only Venturesome Drivers Are Prepared to Take Valuable Cars over Wretched Tracks: The 1905 Dunlop Reliability Motor Contests', *Proceedings of the Automotive Historians of Australia 4th Annual Conference*, Melbourne, August 2019, at http://www.autohistoriansaustralia.org/conference-2019.

72 *Age*, 25 February 1905, p. 12; Harold H. Paynting (ed.), *The James Flood Book of Early Motoring*, Melbourne, James Flood Pty Ltd, 1968, p. 61.

73 *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 1 March 1905, p. 20; *Herald*, 6 March 1905, p. 1; *Cycling and Motor News*, 9 March 1905, p. 13.

74 *Prahran Telegraph*, 22 April 1905, p. 3.

75 *Age*, 12 April 1905, p. 8.

76 *Age*, 24 March 1905, p. 9.

77 *Herald*, 16 May 1905, p. 3; *Independent* (Footscray), 15 April 1905, p. 3; *Age*, 17 May 1905, p. 10.

78 *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 27 May 1905, p. 9.

79 *Argus*, 18 November 1905; Will and Probate documents, Herbert William Hutchings, VPRS 28/97/45, PROV.

80 He was issued with VRC colours in August 1905. See *Age*, 19 August 1905, p. 14; *Victorian Government Gazette*, 16 July 1913, p. 3102.

81 Gordon Hallett, 'Frederick Hawthorn Hutchings and "Clebyarra"', *The Black Sheep*, East Gippsland Historical Society (newsletter), May 2006, pp. 12–13.

82 'First World War Embarkation: Fred Hawthorn Hutchings', at https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/R2055745.

83 *Winner*, 4 July 1917, p. 8.

84 Hutchings, F.H., Major, B2455, National Archives of Australia.

85 The club would later affiliate with the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia (RSSILA): Hal Porter, *Bairnsdale: Portrait of an Australian Country Town*, Sydney, John Ferguson, 1977, 1985, p. 218; John Adams, *Path Among the Years: History of Shire of Bairnsdale*, Bairnsdale, Bairnsdale Shire Council, 1987, p. 246.

86 While Hutchings sought £1,200 in damages, the Supreme Court awarded him £200 on finding the extent of damage fell well short of his claim. See *Every Week* (Bairnsdale), 19 December 1918, p. 2.

87 Divorce Case Files, Supreme Court of Victoria, Fred Hawthorn Hutchings (Petitioner), Annie Hutchings (Respondent), VPRS 283/P2, Unit 93, Item Case No. 1926/124, PROV.

88 Hallett, p. 13.

89 *Argus*, 5 June 1926, p. 13.

90 When Annie Hutchings died in Bairnsdale in 1947, her death notice described her as 'widow of Major F.H. Hutchings of Goon Nure', *Argus*, 27 June 1947, p. 18. Her estate of almost £20,000 was left mostly to welfare organisations for returned servicemen and women. See *Age*, 14 October 1947, p. 3.

91 As premier, 'Jack' Murray would later initiate the Country Roads Board of Victoria, founded in 1913.

92 Tranter, p. 852.

93 Andrew J. May, *Melbourne Street Life*, Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1998, p. 2.

94 W.K. Anderson, *Roads for the People: A History of Victoria's Roads*, Melbourne, Hyland House/VicRoads, 1994, Appendix 6, pp. 272–3; Department of Transport, *Road Traffic Accident Data and Rates: Australia, States and Territories 1925–1981*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1984, *passim*; Deaths from Vehicular Accidents, 'Vital Statistics', *Victorian Year Books* 1926–27 to 1930–31.

95 In October 2020, the Victorian government pledged an additional $13 million in cycling infrastructure for the inner city in anticipation of even greater bicycle use driven by concern over the long-term impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on transport preferences: 'Safer Cycling and More Routes to Keep Melbourne Moving', Media Release, Minister for Roads and Road Safety, 7 October 2020, at https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/.

Family History and the Long View of the Great War

Fiona Gatt

Abstract

Scholars of the Great War have long been engaged in drawing out its effects well beyond the end of fighting in 1918. Their investigations have, however, tended to begin with the war itself, uncovering the stories of those it affected most. A longer view of the Great War is possible, however, in a study of how it disrupted established pre-war family structures and continued to do so in the aftermath. Such an approach requires the use of techniques usually associated with genealogy; these can de-centre the war, then reintroduce it as part of the story of family lives. The life stories into which the war intervened thus become the starting point for analysis, rather than the war itself.

This article utilises a family case study to provide a long view of the Great War as one event—albeit a major one—in the extended stories of family change and mobility. The genealogist aims to build a family tree and then to gather information about the people in that tree in a quest to understand familial and individual identity.[1] This process prompts what seem like basic questions (what did they do? where did they live? what were they like?). Yet the answers collectively provide remarkably rich results. Members of the Great War generation were born into particular modes of existence (attitudes, expectations, financial and place-based realities), which were significant in determining their experiences and understandings of the war. How well ex-servicemen adjusted to their return to civilian life was heavily influenced by how well their pre-war lives had already been established, their age at enlistment, and their education, skills and occupation, and marital status. These circumstances were as important as illness and injury incurred in shaping how individuals coped with and understood war, thus constructing a version of reality that is difficult to see without this kind of approach. By embracing the process used in family history research, we can reframe the Great War as an event in lives already being lived, revealing the people who experienced the war rather than the war experienced by people.

Forty years ago Bill Gammage noted that 'most Australian historians … treat it [the war] in isolation, and it is time we attempted

to break free from that'.[2] The field has surely developed in response, but in some ways the problem that Gammage identified still remains. The mechanics of family history research offer a useful way of meeting Gammage's challenge. Some studies explore families at war through their correspondence, but, in these studies, pre-war lives can be secondary to examining the meaning of their correspondence.[3] Personal stories, such as those related in Bill Gammage's and Patsy-Adam-Smith's key works, have provided a critical access point to the war, but they do little to explain the lives of the individuals concerned beyond the traces left in their letters or diaries.[4] Joan Beaumont's more recent *Broken Nation*, an accomplished overview of Australia's involvement in the war balancing political perspectives, military campaigns and the home front, has provided a much-needed alternative to reiterations of the Anzac legend.[5] Family history follows another avenue first to query, then to enrich national narratives of war.

Historian Tanya Evans has shown how valuable the methodology of family history can be in both illuminating colonial-era Australian history and serving to 'disrupt many of our assumptions about the past'.[6] Others have also begun to recognise the potential of the approach. 'In an Australian context, where the Anzac legend can underpin superficial, limiting stories of Australians at war, family history has an especially important role', argues historian Alistair Thomson.[7] Furthermore, the family history approach diverges from the common conceptualisation of the war as a discrete event, outside the bounds of longer lives. It is in paying attention to these longer lives—the whole life stories and intergenerational influences—that we find the 'long view'.

The benefits of this approach have been shown in Elizabeth Nelson's study of the impact of the Great War on domestic violence, investigating men's violence towards their wives before, during and after the war, rather than treating men's post-war lives in isolation.[8] Like Marina Larsson's *Shattered Anzacs* my article provides stories of how veterans and their families coped with disability and illness from war service, including the difficulties of repatriation claims.[9] This study, however, also adds to a growing body of literature emphasising that the repatriation process was not merely a post-war experience but was essentially constituted by each individual's pre-war circumstances as much as war-related events. Like Christina Twomey's work on prisoners of war from World War II, this study illuminates how the preconditions

of men's lives before the war helped shape their post-war experiences and responses, and how family history can play an important role in uncovering those life stories.[10]

A family history mindset obliges us to look for the war in peoples' lives, rather than just the people in war. This increases the range of primary material usually utilised in investigating individuals' war service. Government files related to service have been crucial in researching what roles servicemen performed during the war, as well as their repatriation needs. Primary sources that can track pre-war and post-war details about the lives of individuals form another core set of data in this case study (such as rate books, electoral rolls, newspaper articles, local directories, birth, death and marriage registers and certificates, and immigration papers). Family history also engages with materials provided by descendants, offering a kind of knowledge different from that in official records.

One of the Great War generation in this study, Gordon Simpson, left his descendants a war diary, photo album, and various other personal papers. An amateur history of the Simpson family, published in 1997, provided a solid basis for the family tree, as well as remembrances of family dynamics.[11] At that time, interviews were also conducted with family descendants. These unofficial sources complement the official records just as they can also serve to explore their limits. Even when remembering is not accurate it does suggest familial ways of understanding how past experiences survive. Utilising this variety of records extends our capacity to understand the Great War, not just as a major chapter in the nation's history but also as a critical event in the lives of individuals whose histories go back before 1914 and extend well after 1918.

Patterns of Class

Renowned social historian E.P. Thompson wrote: 'If we stop history at any given point, then there are no classes but simply a multitude of individuals with a multitude of experiences. But if we watch these men over an adequate period of social change, we observe patterns in their relationships, their ideas, and their institutions'.[12] Using family history techniques to ground this case study two generations before the Great War reveals some of these patterns (Figure 1).

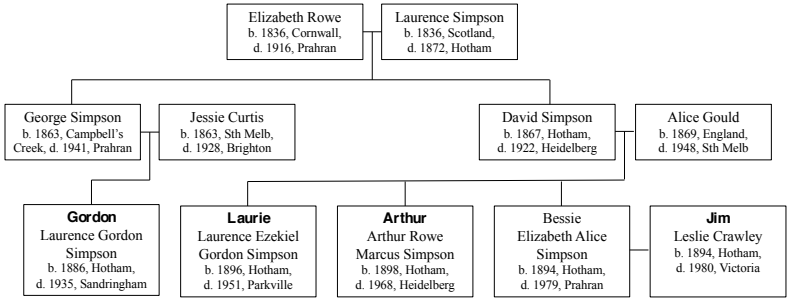

Figure 1: Simplified Simpson family tree (The names of the four men in this case study are in bold)

The four men who served in the Great War in this case study—Arthur, Gordon, Jim and Laurie—were from the Simpson family.[13] Elizabeth Simpson was the matriarch of the Simpson family until her death in 1916.[14] During her grandsons' formative years she lived with their families or in a nearby street.[15] She arrived aged twelve as an assisted migrant in Port Phillip in 1849, together with three brothers and her middle-aged parents.[16] Her father soon followed the pattern of migration of many Cornish migrants who flocked to the goldfields surrounding Castlemaine in the 1850s.[17] In 1860 Elizabeth married Scottish migrant Laurence Simpson, and, after giving birth to their first son in 1863, she and her new family moved to Hotham (renamed North Melbourne in 1887).[18] In the late nineteenth century many shops and businesses were run from the front rooms of residences; this included the Simpson's tailor shop, which operated from the family home.[19] In 1878 Laurence died of tuberculosis leaving Elizabeth to care for George aged 15, David aged 11 and Ann aged 8 (Figure 2).[20]

North Melbourne by the 1890s was struggling to retain its original migrant families. There was a sense of social and moral decline in this inner suburb, with many reports of disorderly houses, a steady increase in illegitimacy rates, the worst records of school truancy in the whole colony, and an ever-widening gap between the haves and have-nots creating tension.[21] David Simpson stayed to raise a family there, marrying Alice, a widowed migrant from London, in 1893.[22] They had five children in nine years, all born in North Melbourne. Because people were leaving the suburb if they could during the 1890s, the number of rental properties increased.[23] David's family moved approximately every

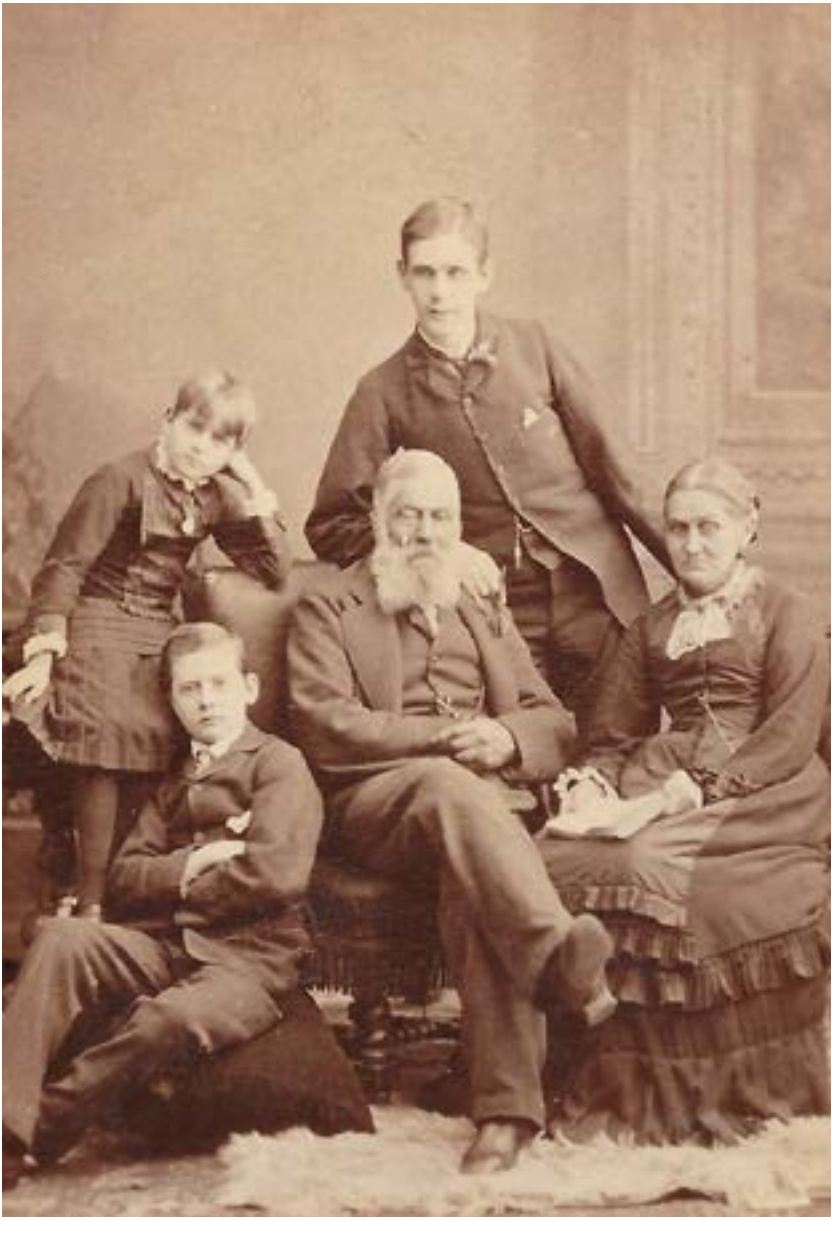

Figure 2: Ezekiel Rowe (centre) with his widowed daughter Elizabeth Simpson and her three children, *c.* 1879 (Courtesy Joan S. Snedden and Simpson Family Private Archives)

three years between 1903 and 1914, probably in a bid to take advantage of cheaper rates.[24] David worked as a hairdresser but was blind by 1916, a likely cause being syphilis. His wife Alice, who was a midwife, became the breadwinner.[25] By the time of the Great War, their older children had finished their education at local state schools and had begun to establish themselves in the unskilled workforce in their home suburb, or in the skilled workforce in nearby South Melbourne.[26] This included brothers Arthur and Laurie, and their brother-in-law Jim.

David's older brother George was, in contrast to David, keen to move on from North Melbourne. As the eldest son, George inherited the family tailoring business after his father's death. This provided him and later his family with an important social and economic advantage.[27] George was one of many Melburnians who came of age in the 1880s and was attracted to country life as an escape from the stagnation of Melbourne during the economic depression of the 1890s.[28] He moved his family of seven children to Charlton in 1898, where he took over a pre-existing tailoring business.[29] His interests defined him as middle class; he sold pianos, taught violin, and became the conductor of a local musical society.[30] The family seemed to live partly in Charlton and partly in North Melbourne up to 1902, then in Essendon, and later Brunswick, before settling for a longer period in Prahran from 1910.[31] The Yarra had become a boundary between working-class and middle-class suburbs, and, with the move to Prahran, George's family had finally crossed tentatively over the Melbourne class divide.[32]

All but two of George's children were to continue as a third generation in the tailoring or dressmaking industry. Gordon was one who did not, and he was the only child in the family to serve in the Great War. He was also the only child in his generation (within the extended family) to attend a private school, Charlton Grammar.[33] He gained entry to the public service, regarded as a solid career path for middle-class children, beginning at age fourteen in 1900 as a telegraph messenger at the post office in Charlton.[34] In 1904 he was promoted to junior postal assistant in Cobram where he met his wife, the daughter of assisted migrants from Suffolk and Cheshire.[35] After Gordon was appointed to the Electrical Engineers Branch of the postal service in Melbourne, the new couple moved around the inner suburbs for several years, an indicator of the unstable and unpredictable nature of social mobility at the time.[36] In 1914, with a son and daughter, they moved in with Gordon's sister and parents at 350 St Kilda Road, Prahran, where

the other members of the family had also been living since 1910.[37] Their cohabitation in Prahran, with its associated family connections and responsibilities, suggests a precarious grasp on middle-class aspirations.

Class, Military Training and Britishness

Reactions to compulsory military training suggest something of the variation in attitudes developing within different branches of the family. Historian John Barrett has argued that, when compulsory military training for young men was introduced in 1911, the overwhelming majority of Australians 'fell in' with the scheme because it accorded with their fears that Australia's defences were weak.[38] Not everyone fell in, however. The two extremes of middle-class and working-class reactions are epitomised in the responses of cousins Gordon and Arthur Simpson. Gordon voluntarily joined the Signals Company in the 49th Prahran Infantry at age 26 in 1912.[39] Involvement in the citizen army was looked upon favourably within the public service, so career advancement may have been one motivation. In his photograph album, however, there are many images of the unit training, which suggests Gordon valued and enjoyed his service.[40]

While many middle-class people like Gordon volunteered in the citizen army, some working-class families could be reluctant. David Simpson (Gordon's uncle, whose family had remained in North Melbourne) was charged in the North Melbourne Police Court in December 1912 with neglecting to register his son Arthur for compulsory training.[41] 'The boy himself knew he was liable for training', argued the prosecutor, 'as he had been going about boasting how he had evaded registration'.[42]

No matter their response to compulsory and volunteer training, however, the Great War generation growing up in 'peace time' from 1902 also lived through a period of continuous debates about Australia's security. Moreover, as historian Martin Crotty has argued, '[n]ational and imperial loyalty permeated all spheres of education'.[43] Australians' loyalty to Empire and the image of their nation as an outpost of Britain were ever present and crossed class lines because of the ubiquity of British family heritage. Whatever class identity they assumed, all of the Great War generation of Simpson cousins had recent and living examples of their British roots. As historian Thomas W. Tanner put it: 'Psychologically, the tie with the mother country was strong, and the enormous fact of Empire had a real effect on the thinking of

Australians'.[44] The Simpsons' intimate link to Empire was embodied in the matriarch of the family and, as such, was not just a conceptual imperial sentiment but one derived from the real connection to grandmother Elizabeth. Alice, wife of David Simpson, mother to Arthur and Laurie, and mother-in-law to Jim, was an even more recent British migrant. The British race patriotism historian Neville Meaney believes to have existed at the dawn of the Great War was thus, for the Simpson family, an organic experience of family identity.[45]

The War in Context

In seeking to understand how the Great War impacted peoples' lives we must recognise that this momentous event did not occur within a vacuum outside the normal chronological progression of life's journeys. As historian E.H. Carr has convincingly argued, individuals are the product of society, which works on each of us from birth to create the 'character of our thoughts' and to determine us as 'social units'.[46] The citizen militia and contemporary political discourse exposed the Great War generation to military ideas. Schooling rituals and publications instilled the notion of imperial loyalty.[47] Some grew up in labour-movement families and developed a sense of working-class solidarity. In this way, larger societal movements impacted the lives examined in this case study and elsewhere. To understand why people acted as they did, however, we must understand not only the societal forces working upon them but also the more intimate context of family and location where people encounter ideas, form values and construct their lives. As this paper begins to unpack how the Great War was experienced by the Simpson men, the impact of their class and their family circumstances becomes increasingly apparent.

For ex-students of private schools like Gordon, there was an expectation, based on a class-based concept of honour, to enlist.[48] While military service promised practical benefits for their post-war careers, loyalty to Empire was embedded in the code of middle-class behaviour and sensibility central to the ideal of honour.[49] Gordon, at almost 30 years old, had qualified as second lieutenant in February 1913 and did not so much enlist for the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) as accept the commission he was assigned (Figure 3).[50] He served in Signals Company (3rd Division). Compared to the infantry experience of his working-class cousins his war was sedentary. Leaving Australia in 1916, Gordon spent his entire time of active duty in France (seven months) billeted in

Figure 3: Gordon with his wife Milly and their children, Jessie and Reg, before leaving for the war in 1916 (Courtesy Simpson Family Private Archives)

Steenwerck and in charge of lines and administration at Armentières and later Messines. Gordon was obsessed with promotion throughout his service, hoping to reach the rank of captain, a title he could carry with him into civilian life, and he felt bitterly let down when it was blocked by corps seniority. He 'visited' the frontline trenches a few times in December 1916 but mainly spent his time in the signals office. On most weekends he toured a nearby town, had lunch or dinner with a friend, or entertained a visiting major. During his final three months, however, the lines work he was managing was often being done under direct fire. In late July, Steenwerck was air bombed, causing 40 casualties. By chance, Gordon had already been evacuated with chronic bronchitis. In August he was sent 'by hospital ship to Blighty' where it was determined he was 'not likely to stand another English winter'.[51] Chance, illness, rank and branch of service defined Gordon's war experience, ending in his being invalided home in November 1917.

Jim Crawley's time in the Great War was also cut short, first by illness and then by injury. At age 21 Jim, born and bred in North Melbourne, married David and Alice Simpson's daughter after he enlisted in September 1915.[52] He worked as a brass finisher, a skilled working-class occupation. Jim did seven months of army training in rural Victoria before embarking for war; he arrived in France on 8 June 1916. His infantry experience began with seven days in the trenches at Sailly and then a 224 km march to Vadencourt. On 5 August he was invalided to the United Kingdom (UK) with appendicitis, just before his unit went into the battle of Pozières. Jim was given eight months of recuperative time in the UK, serving at the record office at Horseferry Road, London. He marched back in to rejoin his unit on 3 May 1917 but received a gunshot wound to the chest and back just five weeks later, during the battle of Messines. After almost two months at Shorncliffe hospital in Kent, he was shipped home on 22 October 1917, arriving for discharge in Melbourne just in time for Christmas.

By comparison, the intensity of action in Laurie Simpson's artillery unit shows that war experiences, even among family members, could be vastly different. Laurie enlisted four months after his brother-in-law Jim.[53] He was almost twenty and worked for a glass-manufacturing company, receiving an above-average wage for the industrial sector in an industry that was undergoing prodigious growth in 1916.[54] This suggests that something more than economics motivated his decision to enlist.

Like Jim he married a local inner-Melbourne woman after enlisting.[55] As a gunner in the 10th Field Artillery Brigade, Laurie lived in the trenches, providing planned and retaliatory bombardment directed at the enemy almost every day (and night) and, receiving the same from the enemy, as a specific target. The frequency of engagement with the enemy and the ongoing lists of men killed and wounded, as recorded in his unit's official diary, are remarkable. The breaks between manning the frontline were usually short and involved marching between villages. There were no long periods of rest, training and sports such as those found in the records of the infantry, let alone the settled living his cousin Gordon experienced in the Signals Corps. Laurie had only one month of leave during an otherwise continuous eighteen months of active service on the Western Front. On 13 August 1918 at Harbonnieres, he suffered shell concussion and was invalided to England with a ruptured eardrum. Four days after the Armistice was declared, he was absent without leave (AWL) for a day, possibly celebrating not only the end of the war but his own imminent return to Australia.

The record of war service of Laurie's younger brother Arthur is vastly different, although they enlisted only months apart. There is a boyish urgency to Arthur's enlistment. He was so impatient to sign up to that he lied about his age, being two days shy of his eighteenth birthday (Figure 4).[56] For unskilled working-class men like Arthur (he worked as a driver in North Melbourne), the security of relatively well-paid employment for the duration of the war seemed an attractive alternative to intermittent employment in a destabilised economy.[57] Arthur's service dossier tells a story of constant disobedience and punishment, even before he reached the front. Tension between the working-class rank and file and their middle-class leaders was a defining characteristic of the AIF, despite official war historian Charles Bean's claims that the men were 'unconscious of any distinction'.[58] Halfway to Europe, in Cape Town, Arthur failed to return to his ship before it departed. He caught up with his unit at Sierra Leone and disembarked at Plymouth on 28 December 1916. Arthur then spent seven months at Larkhill training camp in the UK where he was restless and unruly. He was AWL for a total of twenty days, absent from parade twice, spent 56 days in detention, and forfeited 57 days' pay. Finally, on 8 August 1917, he was shipped to the Western Front and was 'taken on strength' by the 10th Battery of the 4th Australian Field Artillery Brigade to serve as a driver.

Figure 4: Arthur and his mother Alice, dressed in her (civilian) midwife uniform, 1916
(Source Joan S. Snedden and Julie I. Love, *The Simpson Story. A Scottish–Australian History*, Melbourne, 1997, p. 105)

Arthur's period of action was marked by surviving battles and fortuitously avoiding them. The job of a driver was to move the brigade's equipment on wagons pulled by horses or mules. Arthur's role kept him mainly in the back lines of the trenches, an area targeted by enemy artillery. His unit was involved in virtually constant action until respite came with a month of rest and training at Steenwerck (where Gordon had been billeted earlier) in December 1917. Before then, however, Arthur had survived the battles of Menin Road and Polygon Wood in September, Broodseinde Ridge in October, and the Third Battle for Ypres in November. Between 19 December 1917 and 22 February 1918 Arthur served only eight days with his unit; during that time he was discharged to hospital, re-joined, and was twice sent back with an ulcer, cellulitis and abrasions to his feet. He was with the unit in March 1918 during the German Spring Offensive. Arthur was lucky, however; he departed France for leave in England on 31 August, thereby missing the carnage at Peronne and Mont St Quentin.

Arthur's variable record suggests the kind of divergent behaviour that others have recorded among Australian soldiers. Labour historian Nathan Wise argues that within the rank-and-file AIF there were two ways to express manliness to your peers: hard work and impertinence to officers.[59] Arthur expressed both. On active duty in France, transporting ammunition supplies to his battery under appalling conditions, his record was spotless. But before his time at the front and during his time on leave in the UK he was prone to rebelliousness. On 17 September Arthur failed to return to France as ordered.[60] He was caught by civilian police 'breaking and entering into a flat + stealing three coats'. Civil authorities handed the case over to the AIF, which conducted a court martial. Was this the behaviour of a cheeky young lad who disliked military orders, a criminal, or a seasoned driver who could not face the thought of a second winter on the Western Front? He was sentenced to one year detention in Lewes Military Prison of which he served six months, the remainder being commuted in April 1919.[61] It would take another five months for transport to be arranged back to Melbourne, making him the last of the cousins to reach home.

Deciphering the Context of War Service in Post-war Lives

Arthur, Gordon, Jim and Laurie performed different roles in the military, both in practical terms and in line with their understanding of what it meant to be a soldier in the AIF. Each of the men created for himself an

identity as a member of the AIF within the constraints that opportunity and chance afforded him.[62] That their experiences and understanding of war influenced their post-war lives is unquestionable. Yet, equally, their pre-war experiences shaped both their war experiences and their post-war lived realities, a perspective that supports an understanding of the war as contingent upon and interruptive of lives already in motion. In uncovering the post-war lives of ex-servicemen, official repatriation records can only be enhanced by an enriched context and sense of continuity derived from the long view that the family historian teases from these and other records.

Gordon embodied the image of the middle-class returned soldier. Aged 32 on his return, he was welcomed home by work colleagues who honoured his service. When he enlisted his staff had presented him with a watch 'as a token of our friendship and esteem', and upon his return they held a celebratory dinner.[63] Gordon returned to employment at the Postmaster General's Office and by the time of his death in 1935 was officer in charge of the Investigation Branch.[64] He moved his family to a comfortable home in Sandringham.[65] He was a member of the Returned and Services League (RSL) and his closest friends were ex-servicemen.[66] The war had proved to be a time of friendship, travel and service to the nation that was valued by his workplace and well accommodated by his family's secure establishment before it began.

While Gordon returned to a pre-established career and family, single Arthur had signed up aged eighteen and returned to North Melbourne older but just as unskilled as he had been before the war.[67] While Gordon's expectation of his post-war relationship to the army was status and comradeship, Arthur anticipated that his service would be honoured and his practical needs met through government assistance. Arthur first contacted the Repatriation Department (Repat) in February 1925 after losing his job as a fitter.[68] By this time he had been married for five years and had four children. He declared that the trench foot contracted during service had returned, and Repat accepted an assessment of 10 per cent incapacity for arched feet and dermatitis.

Seven years later Arthur found himself out of work again and claimed he had been suffering from chronic bronchitis since his time in France in the harsh winter of 1916/17 and his internment at Lewes. His past employers (at the fitters job), however, contested the amount of time Arthur claimed he had lost. In June 1936 severe pain in his left leg

was diagnosed as sciatica, not related to war service. He appealed but Repat held firm. Then in June 1938 Arthur, 'a rather worried pale looking man', was diagnosed with 'neuritis of both feet directly associated with accepted condition of trench feet', and a double peri-arterial operation was performed.[69] In June 1939 Arthur complained he was 'worse than ever' and was re-admitted to Caulfield Repatriation Hospital where he refused physical therapy and discharged himself in September to start a new job at a munitions factory. Throughout his history of repatriation, Arthur makes claims when he is out of work and stops medical treatment when he finds work. He is willing to work but seems to regard Repat as a safety net. That there were genuine medical conditions at play is irrefutable, but their severity and connection to his war service is less certain.

Restlessness mixed with an inability to cope with civilian life underpinned Arthur's next decision. In October 1940 his wife called the department to inform them that Arthur was working in the country and finding it difficult to report for treatment but 'going on all right'. This was a lie, or Arthur had lied to her. In reality he was training at Puckapunyal, having enlisted in the Second AIF six months earlier. In signing up he changed his birth date, since he was actually over age. He also omitted his distinctive middle names and declared he had no previous military experience.[70] Arthur did not last long in the Second AIF. He was confirmed as sergeant *en route* to the Middle East where he arrived in mid-June 1941, but on 1 December he was evacuated with pains in the legs and feet. A medical examiner determined that Arthur was over age and his disability was not caused by war service but was constitutional. Arthur arrived back in Melbourne in May 1942 and was discharged medically unfit. In September he was back in hospital but discharged himself when he found a position. He had signed up again, this time with the Citizens Military Force, and with full disclosure of his correct date of birth and military history.[71] Arthur worked in the CMF Publications Office in Melbourne as a foreman until January 1946.

Right up until his death Arthur framed every illness, every bodily pain, as war related. Arthur's claims for repatriation occurred in a society that embraced without question the belief that a debt of honour was owed to those men who served. As Alistair Thomson has written, 'Personal identities' become 'interwoven with national identities, individual memories intersect with public legends'.[72] In this way Arthur

worked the Anzac legend to attribute honourable status to his body, with the expectation it should be cared for by the state. In February 1961 Arthur, by then aged 62, was diagnosed with chronic bronchitis, emphysema, and hypertension. He was assessed as being 90 per cent incapacitated, but none of the conditions were attributed to war service, a determination Arthur contested through two unsuccessful appeals. He died of lung cancer at the Heidelberg Repatriation Hospital on 20 August 1968 aged 70. His wife persisted through four rejections of her applications and appeals for a pension. The final argument that settled the case was based on the suggestion that Arthur's smoking habit was influenced and exacerbated by his youth during service. At age 80, in September 1982, his wife was finally classified as a war widow.[73] Arthur had been dead for fourteen years.

Like Arthur, Jim was a smoker and also died of lung cancer. But neither Jim nor his wife ever claimed his illness was war related. It is interesting to note this and to speculate about how the combination of the difference in their characters, their life circumstances, and the depth of their involvement in the Anzac identity, which is reflected in family memory, influenced the differences in their expectations of Repat. Jim's service in the AIF is not included in family memory at all.[74] Arthur by comparison is (spuriously) said to have been personally recommended as the best fighter in his unit by Albert Jacka VC and to have died from bad lungs caused by gassing in the war.[75] Neither of these family myths holds any basis in fact (Jim did serve and was in fact a casualty; Arthur was never in the infantry, let alone 'Jacka's Mob' (14th Battalion), and there is no record of him having been gassed), but they do reflect the men's different post-war reactions to their service and the extent to which it became central to their identity.

The disruptions of war occurred in multiple ways. Arthur did not have a work history that suggested something to which he could return. Jim, on the other hand, had family obligations and an occupation he could resume. When he left for service he was newly married to Bessie Simpson, who gave birth to their daughter while he was on service. At his discharge in December 1917, a review of his gunshot wounds assessed his incapacity at two-thirds, and the family was paid a pension.[76] Even so, he was expected to work. The family lived on sustenance for five months in 1918, the year their second child was born. In the following year Jim was off work for medical treatment for two months.[77] Their precarious

financial situation saw them move eight times around North Melbourne between 1918 and 1920.[78] They probably stayed in the suburb to be close to family support. Repat furnished them with basic household items.

Jim's pre-war working-class occupation as a brass finisher made him vulnerable to unemployment because his war injury impacted his ability to do manual labour. From February to October 1919 Jim was employed under an industrial scheme for returned soldiers, allowing him to continue his pre-war trade. Such schemes often created tensions between other workers and ex-servicemen, who were perceived to have been given special treatment.[79] Jim was absent a total of 54 days over this period owing to back trouble, presumably from his war injury. The reason for his dismissal was cited as 'neglect of duty and insubordination', a charge Jim disputed, claiming he had only used foul language to the foreman after his dismissal. Repat agreed to place him with another firm, but Jim found employment himself. When that ended in July 1920 Repat rejected his application for sustenance on the grounds he had already received too much assistance.

Jim chose not to rely on Repat and instead adjusted to working in jobs better suited to his changed physical capacity. Although his physical problems were due to war wounds, he had no contact with Repat from 1920. Jim and Bessie, and their three children, moved from North Melbourne to South Yarra in 1931, where Jim worked as a handyman (Figure 5).[80] Nevertheless it was evidently important to him to display his status as a former serviceman—he wrote to the Defence Department in 1940 asking for a replacement for his Returned Soldiers' badge.[81] In 1949 the family moved to Hampton where Jim worked as a salesman.[82] He and Bessie both died there in their 80s.

The war did not (initially) disrupt employment for Laurie but it did interfere with his domestic plans. Like his brother-in-law Jim, he planned to return to the wife he had married after he enlisted. Their marriage, however, can be seen as a casualty of the war. Madge had a child while Laurie was on service, but Laurie was not the father.[83] Laurie's mother, unsurprisingly as the local midwife, reported this to the Defence Department. Laurie divorced Madge three months after his return. Earlier in the war Laurie might have looked forward to a new life with Madge; instead he returned to the family home in Molesworth Street, North Melbourne.[84] Laurie was almost two years older than his brother Arthur when he enlisted, and he had left as a skilled worker.

Figure 5: Jim with son Mick and wife Bessie *c.* 1930s (Source Joan S. Snedden and Julie I. Love, *The Simpson Story. A Scottish–Australian History*, Melbourne, 1997, p. 102)

He returned to his pre-war occupation in glassblowing.[85] He married again in 1923, and the couple had five children by 1934. The effects of Laurie's war experience began to emerge as the family grew.

In 1929, when Laurie contacted Repat with concerns about 'nerve trouble', he explained his condition had been present since 1919 but he had hoped it 'would clear away with the passage of time'.[86] Laurie applied for a pension for 'nerve trouble', 'neurosis' or 'shell shock' on five occasions between 1929 and 1936 (Figure 6) but was rejected every time.[87] Appeals were denied. Each time he applied, the symptoms described were markedly worse. A minority of doctors believed neurosis was caused by the extreme conditions of war or mental disturbance

Figure 6: Laurie, pictured probably in the 1930s (Source Joan S. Snedden and Julie I. Love, *The Simpson Story. A Scottish–Australian History, Melbourne*, 1997, p. 103)

resulting from the war experience, but the majority believed it was caused by a pre-disposition to mental breakdown exacerbated by post-war life.[88] The process of establishing a causal link between war service and mental instability was subjective.[89] When there was no documentary link to neurosis suffered during war time, Repat was unlikely to make the connection.[90] Laurie claimed in 1936 that a return to his glassblowing work had been 'making his nerves bad' after several years working for the Country Roads Board during which he had been 'fairly free from nervous troubles', but this meant Repat attributed his troubles not to war service but to his constitution and occupation.[91]

The anxiety of unemployment during the Great Depression, lack of financial means to seek help in the private sector, and repeated negative assessments by Repat of his claims to neurosis saw Laurie resorting to desperate measures. Unable to continue his trade, like his brother Arthur he lied about his age and omitted his distinctive middle names to enlist in the Second AIF in June 1942, recording his marital status as single, though there had been no divorce.[92] His record of service, all in Australia aside from five months in Burma, is marked by frequent absenteeism and illness, and he was discharged with chronic bronchitis in May 1944. Six and a half years later, on 5 December 1950, the body of a man who 'appeared to have been dead for several days' was found on a park bench in Royal Park, which borders North Melbourne.[93] The unclaimed body was identified by fingerprints. The police confirmed Laurie had been 'sleeping out in parks since 1945' and had been in and out of prison on convictions of 'insufficient means', 'offensive behaviour', and being 'drunk and disorderly'.[94] Sadly, Laurie's story was commonplace amongst veterans. 'The men I interviewed', noted Thomson, 'all have vivid stories about soldier friends who … went crazy … became derelict drunks or killed themselves'.[95] Laurie Simpson was one such case.

Claims that the experience of service in the Great War had enormous impact on men's lives are not controversial. How ex-servicemen coped with the readjustment to civilian life, however, can only be understood fully in the context of their pre-war lives. While class privilege remained a continuing influence, the individual and unique circumstances and experiences of the men who served are even more determinative of their lives during the post-war era. Their dealings with Repat were influenced by age of enlistment, whether they were skilled or unskilled, whether their illness was physical or mental and

they were well enough to return to their pre-war occupations, and how the men used their Anzac identity. Enlistment in the Second AIF was a desperate measure achieved through lies and omissions by working-class brothers who found the civilian workforce problematic. Within this mix of circumstances, glimpses of these men's character and ability to adjust begin to emerge.

The Long View

A clearer and more complete understanding of the place of the war experience in post-war lives is made possible through the lens of family history. The relationship patterns that developed in the previous generations, with their variations in economic opportunity, schooling, occupation and urban migration, constituted the worlds of the Great War generation. We see these relationship patterns expressed in many ways, for example the varying attitudes to compulsory and volunteer involvement in the citizen militia. A general sense of Britishness was evident in all the men discussed here, and it was intimately connected to living family members, though its depth and expression were influenced by variations in schooling and exposure to other cultural institutions. The composite experiences of the Simpson men's war are framed by these pre-existing patterns of class and family circumstances. In other words, these men—whose collective stories we may see as the experiences of their generation in microcosm—lived through the Great War and its aftermath in ways constituted by their pre-war realities.

Embracing the methodology of the family historian and building on its foundation provides a long view, a lifetime view, of the place of the Great War in the life narratives of those who fought and lived through it and beyond. Thus the qualitative insights available through family history can offer us a better understanding of the war, for the life stories into which the war intervened become the starting point for analysis, rather than the war itself. Professional or academic historians should not hesitate to ask the more basic, seemingly 'amateur', questions raised by genealogists who seek to uncover details of people's lives. This broader conceptual approach with its emphasis on the everyday context of those who were moved to enlist and serve provides new insights into how war was experienced and what its effects were. In paying attention to personal and familial lives interrupted by the events of 1914–18, we inevitably gain a clearer understanding of the nature and depth of the war's tragedy.

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69 SIMPSON, A.R.M., B73, 21372463, M89080 PART 2, NAA; and SIMPSON, Arthur Rowe Marcus—Service Number—27740, VX20514, V502408, V42476, B73, 21372463, H89080, NAA. Both of these sources provide information on Arthur's Repat claims from 1938 onwards.

70 SIMPSON ARTHUR: Service Number—VX20514, Second Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1939–1947 (B883), 6215499, VX20514, NAA.

71 SIMPSON ARTHUR: Service Number—V502408, Citizen Military Forces Personnel Dossiers, 1939–1947 (B884), 6238990, V502408, NAA.

72 Thomson, p. 8.

73 B73, 21372463, M89080 PART 2, NAA.

74 Snedden and Love, p. 102.

75 Snedden and Love, pp. 105–06.

76 Unless otherwise referenced, information about Jim's Repat claims is from CRAWLEY, L., B73, 20877058, R10986, NAA.

77 Crawley, Leslie: 2130, 46th Battalion, B73, 14072745, M10986, NAA.

78 Australia, Electoral Rolls, VPRS 5707, PROV; B73, 20877058, R10986, NAA.

79 Thomson, p. 133.

80 Australia, Electoral Rolls; Australia, City Directories.

81 B2455, 3461653, NAA.

82 Australia, Electoral Rolls.

83 'Divorce Court', *Argus*, 17 June 1919, p. 9.

84 Australia, Electoral Rolls.

85 Australia, Electoral Rolls.

86 SIMPSON, Lawrence Ezekiel—Service Number—26711, B73, 21133967, M50667, NAA.

87 B73, 2133967, M50667, NAA.

88 Thomson, p. 305.

89 Larsson, p. 161.

90 Thomson, p. 305; Larsson, p. 293.

91 B73, 2133967, M50667, NAA.

92 SIMPSON, L., B884, 6665465, V157475, NAA.

93 B73, 2133967, M50667, NAA.

94 B73, 2133967, M50667, NAA.

95 Thomson, p. 127.

HISTORICAL NOTES

She of the Wando

John Poynter

Abstract

These notes bring together two accounts—both by Scotsmen—of the discovery and settlement by Europeans of a small area in the Western District of Victoria, and its impact on the land and its inhabitants. An afternote adds the author's own experience of the area in the 1930s, when the rabbit plague was at its height.

A Brief History of the Colony of Victoria
(Incorporating the Life and Work of Ned Kelly)

First came the Scots
and stole the land;

then came the Irish
and stole the Scotsmen's stock;

while the English rode about
as though they owned the place.

Then came everyone, looking for gold,
And the locals got rich on the grog they sold.

A Tale of Two Scotsmen

The subjects of this historical note are an Aboriginal woman and two Scotsmen who wrote of encounters with her. One of them also published her likeness, identifying her as 'She of the Wando', the name he gave to the river in Western Victoria near whose bank he found her. That was in 1836. By the time the second Scotsman wrote of the woman—seventeen years later, in 1853—her life, her people, and even the land through which the river ran, were changed irrevocably.

The Wando is a short river, running briskly across uplands north of Coleraine to join the much larger Glenelg River. Rising as a small stream in the Grampians/Gariwerd, the Glenelg has to flow north and west

around these uplands before flowing south. After meeting the Wannon, another stream rising in the Grampians/Gariwerd and flowing south of the uplands, it flows on to the sea at what is now Nelson, between Portland and the South Australian border.

The Scotsman of that first encounter was Major Thomas Mitchell, surveyor-general of the colony of New South Wales since 1828, ambitious, skilled and habitually aggrieved—not least when he was expected to obey the instructions of the governor of the colony, rather than the colonial minister in London, in carrying out routine surveying in the already settled areas and exploration of the as-yet-unknown-to-Europeans interior. Searching in particular for a major river system believed to exist there, his first expeditions, in 1831 and 1835, were only partially successful.

Setting out again in March 1836, he first traced the Lachlan to the Murrumbidgee and thence to the Murray. On 24 May he encountered a group of Aborigines he had met on an earlier expedition and, believing they were a threat to his party, he organised an ambush and killed seven; it brought him notoriety but also troubled his conscience. Quitting the Murray, Mitchell moved south, hoping—partly on information from Aboriginal members of his party—to find a major river flowing to the sea. All this he related later in a detailed account, beautifully illustrated with lithographs of his drawings and published in London in 1838.[1]

Reaching the upper Glenelg in an especially wet season, Mitchell's party had great difficulty dragging its carts and boat-carriage across muddy ravines and bogs until, quite suddenly, on 10 August 1836, they woke to a different prospect.

> At a mile and a half from the camp, a scene was displayed to our view, which gladdened every heart. An open grassy country, extending as far as we could see—hills round smooth as a carpet—meadows broad, and either green as an emerald, or of a rich golden colour, from the abundance, as we soon afterwards found, of a little ranunculus-like flower.
>
> Down into that delightful vale, our vehicles trundled over a gentle slope, the earth being covered with a thick matted turf, apparently superior to anything of the kind previously seen. That extensive valley was enlivened by a winding stream, the waters of which glittered through trees fringing each bank.

Soon after entering this space, the Europeans met two of its inhabitants.

> As we went our way rejoicing, I perceived at length two figures at a distance … They proved to be a gin with a little boy, and as soon as the female saw us she began to run. I presently overtook her, and with the few words I knew, prevailed on her to stop, until the two gins of our party could come up; for I had long been at a loss for the names of localities. This woman was not so much alarmed as might have been expected; and I was glad to find that she and the gins perfectly understood each other.

That was fortunate, since the cultures of the tribes were not identical.

> The difference in the costume on the banks of the Wando, immediately attracted the notice of the females from the Lachlan. The bag usually carried by the gins was neatly wove in basket-work, and composed of a wiry kind of rush. She of Wando carried this bag fastened to her back, having under it two circular mats of the same material, and beneath all, a kangaroo cloak, so that her back at least was sufficiently clothed, although she wore no dress in front. The boy was supported between the mats and cloak; and his pleased and youthful face, he being a very fine specimen of the native race, presented a striking contrast to the whining looks of his whining mother … Such was the only visible inhabitant of this splendid valley, resembling a nobleman's park on a gigantic scale.

The woman told Mitchell's party that that the main river was called Temiangandgeen, 'a name unfortunately too long to be introduced into maps'. He dubbed it the Wando, and 'obtained the gratifying intelligence, that the whole country to the eastward was similar to these delightful vales'.

The cantankerous Scotsman was enchanted: 'A favourable change in the weather accompanied our fortunate transition, from the land of watery soil and dark woody ravines, to an open country. The day was beautiful; and the balmy air was sweetened with a perfume resembling hay, which arose from the thick and matted herbs and grass'.

Before moving on, he had a farewell to make.

> When about to cross the Wando, I took my leave of the native woman before mentioned, that she might not have the trouble of fording the river, and I presented her with a tomahawk, of which our females explained to her the use—although she seemed still at a loss to conceive

> the meaning of *a present*. The use of the little hatchet would have been well enough known, however, to her tribe, so leaving her to return to it, and assuring her at the same time of our friendly disposition towards the natives, we proceeded.

Before parting he sketched her, expertly as usual. When published as a lithograph, it was titled 'Female and Child of Australia Felix' (Figure 1). Mitchell's party then crossed the streams and camped once more on the banks of the Glenelg. The next day the party made its way

> straight across an open grassy valley, at the foot of swelling hills of the same description. Each of these vallies presented peculiar and very romantic features, but I could not decide which looked most beautiful. All contained excellent soil and grass, surpassing in quality any I had seen in the present colony of New South Wales.

A disappointment followed, and a surprise. One of Mitchell's main hopes was that the mouth of what he called the Glenelg River might provide an estuary capable of becoming a major port, saving vessels from the hazards of entering Bass Strait. Instead the river mouth was shallow, blocked by a sandbar. The surprise was the discovery of the formidable Henty brothers settled at nearby Portland, ready to hear Mitchell's reports of fine country inland and with friends from Launceston to occupy the paradisal acres he had discovered.

Pressing on, Mitchell quit his party at what is now Dunkeld and made his way back to Sydney, incidentally observing from Mount Macedon the tiny settlement that was to become Melbourne but not deigning to visit it. His reports soon attracted a stream of settlers ('overlanders') using his route to compete with the Hentys and other Vandemonians in the scarcely-yet-legal occupation of the Aboriginal lands Mitchell had traversed. In 1836 authorities in London and Sydney were still in the process of agreeing that 'respectable' investors could be licensed to occupy land outside the long-prescribed 'limits of location', provided that provision was also made to 'protect' the Aboriginal inhabitants in their progress to 'civilisation'.[2]

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Figure 1: Female and Child of Australia Felix (Major T.L. Mitchell del. Waldeck Lith. J. Graf Printer to Her Majesty, Plate 34, in *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia; with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales, by Major T.L. Mitchell FGS &MRGS, Surveyor General*, Vol. 2, Second edition, London, T. and W. Boone, 1839)

Our second Scotsman, John George Robertson, was among the first Vandemonians to follow the Hentys inland from Portland. Born in Glasgow in 1803, he arrived in Hobart in 1831 with—he later wrote—only half-a-crown and sixpence, but 'easily' found work as an overseer. What he did not mention was his unusual experience as a botanist and naturalist, including two years on an expedition to India.[3] For seven of his nine years in Van Diemen's Land he managed a special farm for the prominent Lawrence family, accumulating some £3,000 in the process. His economical management style earned him the nickname 'Pissant Robertson' among the ex-convict farm hands.[4] Botany and frugality remained his compulsions.

News that one of his sisters was advised to emigrate for her health, and that another would accompany her, prompted him to 'form a home of my own', not in VDL, where land was expensive, but on the mainland. 'In January 1840', he wrote, 'I bought 1,000 ewes for £1,800; a team of six working bullocks, two cows, and a horse, for £195. Freight, stores, tools, &c., &c., cost £311. With four men at a wage of £175, I left for Portland Bay on the 17th February 1840'.

His employer having commended him to Edward Henty, Robertson made his way from Portland to Wando Vale, a block alongside Muntham, the large run Henty had occupied in 1837. His first impressions of the land were as vivid as Mitchell's.

> When I arrived through the thick forest-land from Portland to the edge of the Wannon country, I cannot express the joy I felt at seeing such a splendid country before me where my little all that I was driving before me was to feed. The whole of the Wannon had been swept by a bush fire in December, and there had been a heavy fall of rain in January (which has happened, less or more, for this last thirteen years), and the grasses were about four-inches high, of that lovely dark green; the sheep had no trouble to fill their bellies; all was eatable; nothing had trodden the grass before them. I could neither think nor sleep for admiring this new world to me who was fond of sheep.

But how much of this new world could he regard as his? Boundaries were chaotic, and Robertson prudently defended his by offering hospitality to Foster Fyans, the harassed crown lands commissioner charged with the task of defining them in a district half the size of England. Working carefully and living frugally, Robertson set up a 'pretty little station' with 10,000 sheep on 11,810 acres, a model of careful 'settlement'.

Robertson was scathing in his assessment of most of his new neighbours. 'Numbers of the young gentlemen who came out to this colony about that time, with a few hundred pounds, took up runs with 300, 400, 500 sheep, clubbed together, and expected to make fortunes in a few years'. The severe depression in the wool industry from 1841 to 1843 ruined most, and among those who did not depart many sank into depravity; some, Robertson primly observed, even stopped shaving. One established 'a harem' of Aboriginal women, and almost all became involved in sporadic battle with tribesmen who, deprived of their customary lands, felt entitled to slaughter and eat the new quadrupeds that grazed their grasslands. While never conceding—or even conceiving—that the 'natives' had any form of 'ownership' of the lands, Robertson deeply deplored the atrocities they suffered. Among them was She of the Wando.

> The first day I went over the Wando Vale Station to look at the ground I found old Maggie (that Sir Thomas Mitchell gave the tomahawk to) fishing for mussels with her toes, in a waterhole up to her middle, near where the Major crossed that stream … nearly all her male relatives were killed three days before I arrived on the Wando by Whyte Brothers. Three days after the Whytes arrived, the natives of this creek, with some others, made up a plan to rob the new comers, as they had done the Messrs. Henty before. They watched for an opportunity, and cut off 50 sheep from Whyte Brothers' flocks, which were soon missed, and the natives followed; they had taken shelter in an open plain with a long clump of tea-tree, which the Whyte Brothers' party, seven in number, surrounded, and shot them all but one. Fifty-one men were killed and the bones of the men and sheep lay mingled together bleaching in the sun at the Fighting Hills … the females were mostly chased by men up the Glenelg, and the children followed them. This I learnt since from themselves.

The Massacre of the Fighting Hills, now well documented, was investigated by Assistant Protector of Aborigines Charles Sievwright, but his attempt to prosecute the perpetrators was, as usual, frustrated.[5] Robertson does not mention that within a month the Whytes' station hands surrounded another group of old men, women and children of the Gundididj clan camped at night at Konongwootong and shot all but one, in the Massacre of the Fighting Waterholes. The Whyte brothers,

not present at the shooting, then sacked their station hands, their only punishment. The Konongwootong Reservoir now covers the site.

Robertson's instinct was to feel sympathy for the 'natives', but to keep them at a distance. All but two.

> In the end of 1843 I was passing through the run, and came on a black lad crying, with his face fearfully scalded. I asked him how it happened. All I could get out of him was, "George had thrown a pot of tea in his face." I took him home with me, and dressed his face with lime-water and oil; he felt grateful for what I had done for him, and he was the first I ever allowed about my place, and he and his wife and child are the only ones ever employed by me. They have been with me ever since, and I give them 12s. a week and two rations. He is always very clean; but the woman, Jenny, is never clean.

The lad, Joe, told Robertson he was scalded defending his gin from bullock-driver George, who was 'the terror of all the fighting men on the Glenelg'. Soon after, a neighbour sacked an overseer named George Lewis 'who was too quiet and short-sighted, and always lost himself in the bush'. While awaiting transport to the coast, Lewis was out gathering mushrooms 'when a native started up a few yards from him, asked his name, and when he said "George"' he speared him. 'George' survived, and claimed that if he had called himself 'Lewis' instead of 'George' he would not have been attacked. 'This is the only outrage I have known of', Robertson added, 'where the whites were not the first aggressors, or that the natives had not theft in view'.

Years later, in 1853, when writing his letter to Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe, Roberston admitted his own involvement in atrocities involving 'natives'.

> I have on four different occasions, when they committed murders, gone out with others in search of them, and I now thank my God I never fell in with them, or there is no doubt I should be like many others, and feel that sting which must always be felt by the most regardless of the deed done to those poor creatures …

He claimed there were only two settlers still in the Portland District who had been 'severe on the natives', and before long there would be none. The two were not doing well.

> It seems strange none have done any good who were murderers of these poor creatures—either man or master. I will here change the subject, for it is too painful to dwell on, and I cannot see the way it could be avoided, for no law could have protected these poor people from such men as we had to do with at that time.

Meanwhile Robertson was establishing his family. His two emigrant sisters joined him at Wando Vale in1843. One of them, Stephan, married neighbour William Corney in 1846; the other, Mary Ann, married in 1852 a cousin George Robertson, a diligent carpenter whom her brother had assisted in establishing the remarkable station Warrock, now a monument to Scottish domestic craftsmanship. A third sister, Charlotte, having married William Moodie in Scotland, arrived in Port Phillip in 1841 and later purchased Wando Dale, building its still-existing grand homestead in 1891. At last, in 1852, John George Robertson was himself married to Mary McConochie from Konongwootong Creek Station, near Coleraine. In 1854 he sold his station for £16,000 to another Robertson (William, unrelated) and returned to Scotland, where he died in 1863. All that now remains of Wando Vale Station are some evocative ruins, of house and gardens—except in London. For years Robertson had been sending dried plants to London's herbarium at Kew, and in 1853 William Moodie helped him pack more than 4,000 specimens to take 'home' with him.[6]

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It was inevitable that, when writing to La Trobe, Robertson the botanist–grazier would tell the story of the land as well as of its new settlers. In 1843, informed by his experiences in Van Diemen's Land, he had carefully examined his new pastures on the Wando:

> I looked amongst the 37 grasses that formed the pasture of my run. There was no silk grass, which had been destroying our V.D.L. pastures, where I had watched its progress with uneasiness, and I wrote to my friends there that I had never been able to detect any of this noxious grass … The sheep thrived admirably, and with a little care were clean from the scab, and I did know that there was such a thing as clean sheep.

Fond though he was of his sheep, Robertson's account of the effects on Australia Felix, land of soft-footed animals and barefooted humans, of the arrival of leather-booted Europeans, with iron-shod horses and hard-hooved sheep in their thousands, was sharply observant. The first catastrophes were, however, scarcely attributable to the invaders. Australia was not always felicitous.

> The few sheep at first made little impression on the face of the country for three or four years; the first great change was a severe frost, 11th November 1844, which killed nearly all the beautiful blackwood trees that studded the hills in every sheltered nook—some of them really noble, 20 or 30 years old; nearly all were killed in one night; the same night a beautiful shrub that was interspersed among the blackwoods (Sir Thomas Mitchell called it acacia glutinosa) was also killed. About three weeks after these trees and shrubs were all burnt, they now sought to recover as they would do after a fire. This certainly was a sad chance; before this catastrophe all the landscape looked like a park with shade for sheep and cattle.

It was not long, however, before the pasture showed signs of stress.

> Many of our herbaceous plants began to disappear from the pasture land; the silk-grass began to show itself in the edge of the bush track, and in patches here and there on the hill. The patches have grown larger every year; herbaceous plants and grasses give way for the silk-grass and the little annuals, beneath which are annual peas, die in our deep clay soil with a few hot days in spring, and nothing returns to supply their place until later in the winter following. The consequence is that the long deep-rooted grasses that held our strong clay hill together have died out; the ground is now exposed to the sun, and it has cracked in all directions, and the clay hills are slipping in all directions; also the sides of precipitous creeks—long slips, taking trees and all with them. When I first came here, I knew of but two landslips, both of which I went to see; now there are hundreds found within the last three years.

The extent of this disruption surprised even Robertson.

> A rather strange thing is going on now. One day all the creeks and little watercourses were covered with a large tussocky grass, with other grasses and plants, to the middle of every watercourse but the Glenelg and Wannon, and in many places of these rivers; now that the only soil is getting trodden hard with stock, springs of salt water are

> bursting out in every hollow or watercourse, and as it trickles down the watercourse in summer, the strong tussocky grasses die before it, with all others. The clay is left perfectly bare in summer. The strong clay cracks; the winter rain washes out the clay; now mostly every little gully has a deep rut; when rain falls it runs off the hard ground, rushes down these ruts, runs into the larger creeks, and is carrying earth, trees, and all before it. Over Wannon country is now as difficult a ride as if it were fenced. Ruts, seven, eight, and ten feet deep, and as wide, are found for miles, where two years ago it was covered with tussocky grass like a land marsh.

The future was not promising.

> I find from the rapid strides the silk-grass has made over my run, I will not be able to keep the number of sheep the run did three years ago, and as a cattle station it will be still worse; it requires no great prophetic knowledge to see that this part of the country will not carry the stock that is in it at present—I mean the open downs, and every year it will get worse, as it did in V.D.L.; and after all the experiments I worked with English grasses, I have never found any of them that will replace our native sward.

Moreover, the decline was irreversible.

> The day the soil is turned up, that day the pasture is gone for ever as far as I know, for I had a paddock that was sown with English grasses, in squares each by itself, and mixed in every way. All was carried off by the grubs, and the paddock allowed to remain in native grass, which returned in eight years. Nothing but silk-grass grew year after year, and I suppose it would be so on to the end of time. Dutch clover will not grow on our clay soils; and for pastoral purposes the lands here are getting of less value every day, that is, with the kind of grass that is growing in them, and will carry less sheep and far less cattle. I now look forward to fencing my run in with wire as the only chance of keeping up my stock on the land.

So much for the land; what of that original inhabitant, the young mother Mitchell had encountered only sixteen years before? 'Poor old Maggie died about fourteen days since', Robertson noted in his letter to LaTrobe, 'a dreadful sufferer from rheumatism'.

Afternote

Another Scotsman, my grandfather Joseph Riddoch, settled near the Wando in the 1880s. By then the skirmishes and murders that confirmed the dispossession of the Aboriginal inhabitants were a matter of memory and hearsay, vivid enough among the defeated, their descendants progressively restrained in 'reserves' many miles to the south. The gold seekers who were pouring into the newly separate colony of Victoria in the year Robertson left for Scotland scarcely disturbed the area, and the noted journalist 'The Vagabond', visiting Coleraine in 1885, found the district quiet, even dull, despite its violent recent past.[7]

Joseph Riddoch had arrived in Penola, South Australia, in 1862, and in 1887 moved across the border to a modest sheep station in Nareen, a district a few miles further north from Coleraine than the grand Moodie–Robertson homestead of Wando Dale. Naming his new property Burnside, he soon sought to enlarge it to provide for his two sons. Among his acquisitions was a paddock on the Wando.

When I was born in Coleraine in 1929, Joseph's elder son George owned Burnside, and his younger son James lived in a new house a mile away on a separate property named Myora (an Aboriginal name; Mitchell would have approved). Uncle James and my mother had both served in Europe during the war, and he had returned with his health ruined by poison gas. I spent a good deal of time with my Nareen cousins, especially in 1940 when, aged ten, I attended the tiny Nareen State School—one teacher and thirteen children, four of them my cousins.

I cannot recall when I first visited 'the Wando paddock', but the memory is vivid. My Uncle Jim, by then bedridden, was occasionally driven around his property to observe what had been or needed to be done, and this time I went with him. The Wando paddock was an isolated space, gentle slopes grazed by a few sheep on both sides of a rocky stream: a pleasant place but scarcely Mitchell's 'paradise' or Robertson's 'splendid country'. There we encountered a lone figure, male not female, a stout man with a ruddy face under an aged hat, astride an ambling horse surrounded by a pack of dogs various in size, shape and age. A former driver for my Uncle George, Percy Blay lived on in an ancient hut at Burnside with a full-time occupation pursued for forty years, attempting to clear the country of another scourge introduced by

Europeans. The 'bow-legged man with a rolling gait' I encountered on the Wando was everywhere known as 'Percy the Rabbiter'.[8]

Rabbiters were needed. In the 1930s we were all accustomed to watching a hillside apparently covered with brown grass start up and run away; and a Saturday recreation with my childhood friends was to take spade, pickaxe, greyhound and fox terrier to a suitable warren and dig. The rabbits that swarmed over the Glenelg uplands in those years were as European in origin as those first squatters and their sheep and, at their worst, even more harmful to the land. By the 1940s we all had some past and a future destiny in common, slow though we were to acknowledge it.

History persists. Despite the later apparent victory over the plague, the rabbit continued to influence Australian culture. Why else would the Commonwealth government, when devising plans for a permanent parliament house, choose as model not the usual palace or castle but the warren, burrowed under a well-grassed rounded hill? We should not be surprised that the population underground doubled twice as rapidly as originally envisaged. Where, now, is Percy the Rabbiter?

Massacre at the Fighting Water Holes, Konongwootong, 1841

(Written by John Poynter in 1948 when told 'terrible things happened in the early days')

Malignant winds draw winter round my house;
July winds, and the dark
Cast back into my mind dreams like the cold echo of a sea shell
(Tauber on the radio,
Der Nussbaum, why was Schumann mad?)
I too have built
Some battlement against insanity; sought
Profundity in a stream of notes, found
Universal pity on a gramophone record
(Shall it be Mahler or the Death of Boris next?)

The wind is as wild as ever, and the unpitying moon.
I am drawn out in dreams, like the web of a spider,
Hung fragile and vulnerable to the rain, while
Gaunt gums spit at me like angry cats, rub salt
In the raw wound of my distraction;
And I wonder at those naked men,

Those men I conquered, for it was my crime,
While the dark hills, the still
Limbs of the earthy giant, immobile,
Shake me. Rude and forceful to us now, this forced land.

And I think suddenly of quiet waters,
Pines and the grasses stir, and wild young ducklings.
Wide waters, home of the darting trout.
Clear waters, not the brackish springs
That they knew here. But can mere water
Cover that deed, when years heap condemnation?

I am haunted sometimes by the eyes
Of an aboriginal child, by the red
Flame of gunfire in the dark, red
Blood on dark skins, cries
Of forgotten people meeting inconsequential death.

(Yet do I wrong my people?
Who knows what we had done there.
How can we understand?)

Who understands like these dark lonely hills,
Mourning their first-born, and their latest dead;

Schumann is scattered in a shower of rain
And I tormented by my country's dead.

Notes

1 Passages quoted below are from T.L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia; with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales, by Major T.L. Mitchell FGS &MRGS, Surveyor General*, Second Edition, Carefully Revised, Vol. 2, London, T. and W. Boone, 1839, pp. 211–15. The volume is reproduced online as Project Gutenberg EBook #13033 (2004) and it is this version that has been used here.

2 Their future was assumed to be both Christian and capitalist. The process of legalisation is traced by James Boyce in his *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, Melbourne, Black Inc., 2013.

3 His account, written in 1853 in response to LaTrobe's request to early settlers, is printed in T.F. Bride, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers. Being a Series of Papers on the Early Occupation of the Colony, the Aborigines, etc., Addressed by Victorian Pioneers to His Excellency Charles Joseph La Trobe Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Victoria*, Melbourne, Robert Brain, Government Printer, for the Trustees of the Public Library, 1898. A second edition was edited with an introduction by C.E. Sayers, Melbourne, Currey ONeil, 1983. Passengers quoted here are from the reproduction online in the entry 'John George Robertson (1803-1863) & "Wando Vale" Station', in *Wando Vale and District Settlers* on the website of the Casterton and District Historical Society.

4 Peter Rymill, *Penola and Coonawarra, from Foundation to Federation,* Coonawarra, Peter Rymill, 2017, p. 426.

5 Extremely unpopular among the squatters for his prosecuting zeal, Sievwright was suspended in 1842 and later dismissed.

6 He was constantly in correspondence with other botanists and his name is commemorated by 'Ranunculus Robertsoni Benth' and 'Calochilus Robertsoni Benth'.

7 'After the Major passed, and the Hentys took up Muntham and Merino Downs, and other pioneers followed them, the only excitement was in repressing the scab and fighting the blacks, who were very bad about here … The blacks have all gone now, and the pioneers have also nearly all joined the majority, or reside in Melbourne or Europe. Scotland holds several of them … I daresay they often look back with regret to the brave days of old spent in the real Scottish Elysium.' John Stanley James (Julian Thomas) 'The Vagabond', 'Picturesque Victoria: Coleraine', *Argus*, 25 April 1885.

8 The description is Don Charlwood's, who wrote about Percy in several essays and stories.

Ngamadjidj Encounters with the Tappoc Gundidj: Mount Napier and Buckley Swamp 1836–1841

Benjamin Wilkie

Abstract

This historical note retrieves a narrative of European encounters with Tappoc, Konungiyoke, and the Tappoc Gundidj people from otherwise well-trodden sources for the early history of the Port Phillip District. The aim of this article is twofold. First, it highlights an inherently important landscape in western Victoria. It provides a more detailed historical narrative for a site that is geologically unique and ecologically significant, but historically and publicly poorly recognised. Second, by adhering to relatively limited spatial, temporal, and archival boundaries, it demonstrates the continuing value of more localised narratives of colonial encounters.[1] The history of Tappoc and Konungiyoke, or Mount Napier and Buckley Swamp, reveals the surprising centrality of that landscape in otherwise well-known colonial meetings between Europeans and Aboriginal Victorians.

Introduction

Formed when the lava flow and ejecta from a nearby volcano—Mount Napier—blocked a river valley, at its height Buckley Swamp covered around 3,000 hectares of land south of Hamilton in western Victoria (see map). Buckley Swamp was not the largest or deepest wetland in the region, but it would figure prominently in the lives of the Tappoc Gundidj clan, who were Djab wurrung speakers and called the volcano Tappoc and the swamp Konungiyoke.[2] The swamp would cause great difficulties to the first ngamadjidj (white people) to visit the land. George A. Robinson would, in 1841, pay a special visit to the swamp to meet the Tappoc Gundidj people, who had maintained their village life and culture despite the ongoing pastoral invasion. Even with relatively extensive documentation of these encounters, however, the early history of Tappoc and Konungiyoke, or Mount Napier and Buckley Swamp, plays little role in contemporary understandings of the landscape.[3]

Map showing the location of Tappoc (Mount Napier), Buckley Swamp (Konungiyoke), and other prominent volcanoes in south-west Victoria (Source Benjamin Wilkie)

Mitchell and Tappoc

Setting out on 17 March 1836, Thomas Mitchell—the recently-appointed surveyor general of New South Wales—and his party travelled south from New South Wales until they reached Pyramid Hill, north of present-day Bendigo, where Mitchell was enticed to explore further south. They followed Fenton's Creek and Richardson River before journeying to Mount William and the Grampians, or Gariwerd. Mitchell then rode to the northernmost point of the ranges at Mount Zero and on to Mount Arapiles before following the River Chetwynd and Crawford River to the Glenelg River. The party followed their route far south, where they encountered the Hentys near Portland on the coast, before returning north in late August.

Mitchell first saw Tappoc on 12 August but only named it after ascending the hill he had named Mount Eckersley. 'From this hill I recognised', he wrote on 28 August, 'a very conspicuous flat-topped hill to the northward which had been previously included in a series

of angles observed on the 12th instant … and which I now named Mount Napier'.[4] On 4 September, on his return north from Portland, Mitchell finally reached the vicinity of the volcano. 'I set out for Mount Napier and soon found the broad swamp before me', he wrote: 'After riding up an arm of it to the left for a mile and a half I found it passable and, having crossed, we proceeded towards the hill'.[5] He described the countryside, particularly the numerous streams and creeks, and the swamps and wetlands they fed and drained, and saw evidence of a settlement belonging to the Tappoc Gundidj people:

> We next reached a deeper ravine where the land on each side was more open and also firmer, while a small rivulet flowing through it amongst bushes was easily crossed, and we ascended some fine rising ground beyond it. Rich flats then extended before us and we arrived at an open grassy valley where a beautiful little stream resembling a river in miniature was flowing rapidly. Two very substantial huts showed that even the natives had been attracted by the beauty of the spot and, as the day was showery, I wished to return if possible to pass the night there, for I began to learn that such huts with a good fire before them made very comfortable quarters in bad weather.

'We had heard voices in the woods several times this day', wrote Mitchell, 'but their inhabitants seemed as timid as kangaroos and not more likely to come near us'. Continuing to ride towards the mountain, he noted that

> blue mass of Mount Napier was visible occasionally through the trees, but I found as we proceeded that we were not so near it as I had supposed, for at three miles beyond the little stream we came upon one of greater magnitude, a small river flowing southward with open grassy banks.

The river flowed through a valley 'where the forest land was remarkably open, being sprinkled with only a few trees as in a park, and this stream appeared to fall into the head of the extensive swamp'. After about a mile of riding beyond the river, Mitchell 'came upon the extremities of Mount Napier'. All around the mountain, they met with 'rough sharp-pointed fragments of rock laying about in heaps', which made it 'very difficult and tedious to ride over … The surface consisted wholly of this stone, without any intermediate soil to soften its asperity under the feet of our horses'. Riding across this terrain for three miles or more—the next day, their horses would have to be shod, 'several shoes

having come off on the rough rocks'—Mitchell finally came to the base of the mountain. They proceeded to climb:

> On the sides of it we found some soft red earth mixed with fragments of lava and on reaching the summit I found myself on the narrow edge of a circular crater composed wholly of lava and scoriae. Trees and bushes grew luxuriantly everywhere except where the sharp rocks shot up almost perpendicularly. The igneous character of these was so obvious that one of the men thrust his hand into a chasm to ascertain whether it was warm.

Mitchell wrote that the 'discovery of an extinct volcano' gave additional interest to Mount Napier and hazarded to wonder if 'this remarkable hill' had 'been in activity at no very remote period'. Over the coming days, Mitchell and his party would explore the surrounding area. On 9 September, Mitchell climbed Tappoc again, this time 'followed by a party of men with axes to clear its summit, at least sufficiently for the purpose of taking angles with the theodolite'. From that vantage point Mitchell observed

> two very extensive lakes in the low country between Mount Napier and the south-eastern portion of the Grampian range, which terminated in the hill that I had previously named Mount Abrupt. Between the largest of these waters (called by me Lake Linlithgow) and the mountains there appeared an extensive tract of open grassy land.

He also looked to the east, where he saw 'a solitary hill, somewhat resembling Mount Napier', which he named Mount Rouse. The next day, on 10 September, Mitchell measured the crater of Tappoc and, examining the volcanic ejecta in and around the crater, he observed that 'all the stringy twisted marks of fusion were as sharp and fresh as if the lava had but recently cooled'.[6]

All about the volcano, Mitchell and his expedition had encountered swamps. They 'could not avoid the passage of various swamps or boggy soft hollows in which the carts and more especially the boat-carriage, notwithstanding the greatest exertions on the part of the men, again sank up to the axles'.[7] Eventually, their 'boat-carriage could not be got out of the swamps and that, after the men had succeeded in raising it with levers and had drawn it some way, it had again sunk'.[8] Stapylton reconnoitred the surrounding countryside and reported 'a swamp of

upwards of a mile in breadth and extending north and south as far as he could see lay straight before us'. Mitchell lamented that 'Ere we could reach the nearest habitations of civilised men we had yet to traverse 400 miles of a country intersected by the highest mountains and watered by the largest rivers known in New Holland'.[9]

After they had reached Tappoc and made their initial observations, Mitchell returned to camp, enduring in the process 'a ride of twenty-six miles across swamps and many muddy hollows'.[10] Over the coming days they would find themselves changing their route to avoid more swamps. Leaving Tappoc on 11 September, they lightened their carts and pursued a circular route to avoid the swampy ground: 'Thus lightened we proceeded once more into the fields of mud, taking a northerly direction. For several miles we encountered worse ground than we had ever crossed before yet the carts came over it; but broad swamps still lay before us'. Mitchell continued:

> Despairing at length of being able to avoid them, I impatiently galloped my horse into one and the carts followed, thanks to my impatience for once, for I do not think that I should otherwise have discovered that a swamp so uninviting could possibly have borne my horse, and still less the carts. After this I ventured to pursue a less circuitous route.

Eventually, Mitchell and his party emerged from the swamps of Tappoc to the north, near present-day Hamilton. On 11 September, he wrote:

> a yellow flower in the grass caught my eye and, remembering that we had seen none of these golden flowers since we left the beautiful valley of the Wannon, I ventured to hope that we were at length approaching the good country at the head of that stream … I perceived through the trees a glimpse of an open grassy country, and immediately entered a fine clear valley with a lively little stream flowing westward through it and which I named the Grange …we had at length reached the good country.[11]

It is unclear whether he had seen the wetland that would become known as Buckley Swamp, but Mitchell had, nevertheless, investigated the volcano that caused that wetland to form after its eruption, and its surrounds.

Tyres and Konungiyoke

It was Charles Tyers, the surveyor and explorer, who provided the first explicit description of Buckley Swamp in the reports of his 1840 expedition into western Victoria *en route* to Portland. At the end of October 1840, Tyers reached Mount Rouse, where he 'fixed several points of the Grampians, & c., angles to which had been taken from Mounts Elephant and Shadwell, and which, from their great elevation and well defined peaks, are of some importance in the survey'.[12] Some days later, on 3 November, the party resumed its journey 'in hopes of finding a passage between the great swamp (mentioned by Sir Thomas Mitchell) and Mount Napier, or, should that be found impracticable, to the southward of Mount Napier, heading the numerous swamps, the waters of which run into the long swamp'.[13] Unfortunately, Tyers could not pass. He would report:

> When, having discovered that we were hemmed in on all sides by swamps and stoney ranges, we reluctantly returned to our old encampment under Mount Rouse, where we arrived in the afternoon of the 5th. From a small hill two miles to the northward of Mount Rouse, we perceived, extending from N.W. to the eastward of South, distant from one to six miles, innumerable swampy flats, all trending towards the great swamp. The only opening appeared between North and N.E. … On the morning of the 6th we proceeded about ten miles, in the northerly direction, towards Mount Abrupt, then altered our course to west … and avoided the swamps.[14]

They encamped at the Grange Burn, near present-day Hamilton, and waited as a late spring storm passed. Then, on 8 November, after crossing the Grange Burn, they

> proceeded S.W. … through a thick forest intersected by numerous swamps, and arrived at Mr. Henty's road … on the 11th … We followed this road, crossing the Rivers Crawford, Fitzroy, and Surry, (obtaining angles and true bearings from Mount Eckersley) and arrived at Portland Bay on the evening of the 14th.[15]

Tyers stayed on the south-west coast over the summer. In his final report, he would observe that: 'Between Mounts Rouse and Napier is some fine country, but the greater portion consists of swamps; Mount Rouse is of trap formation; the soil in its neighbourhood is good'.[16] Confirming the landscape that Mitchell had encountered, he wrote that:

> The greater part of Australia Felix, which we traversed, is evidently of igneous origin. Many of the hills are composed of trap, scoria, and very hard cellular ferruginous sand stone. Between Mounts Rouse, Napier and Sturgeon, fragments of trap in great quantities protrude from the surface … Mount Napier is surrounded by sharp angular fragments of trap.[17]

Robinson and the Tappoc Gundidj

It was George Augustus Robinson who, as chief protector of the Aborigines, met with and took detailed notes about the Djab wurrung speakers who lived near the swamp at the base of the volcano—the Tappoc Gundidj people. At the start of May 1841, having already travelled west from Melbourne since March, Robinson expressed interest in meeting with the Aboriginal people who lived at Mount Napier.[18] At Mount Rouse, a Mr Scott told Robinson that he 'had travelled in all directions 700 miles, and had only seen five or six natives and these together near Pyreenees [*sic*]'. An Aboriginal informant told him, on the other hand, that he 'was plenty sulky with Tappoc natives, they killed his brother', while he had received information elsewhere that 'the natives were numerous at Mt Napier'.[19] In either case, on Sunday, 9 May, wrote Robinson, 'the natives consented to go with me by Tyers' new road to Furlong's cattle station and then to Tappoc'.[20] They were to travel west from Lake Linlithgow and south through the Grange Burn station on the site of present-day Hamilton, which the Wedge brothers had sold to Andrew and William Forlonge in the previous year. David Edgar, who had arrived in Port Phillip in 1838, managed the property.[21]

'Rode on to an out station of Forlong's,' wrote Robinson:

> Tyers' line joins the old road here. There is a small hill two or three miles from this station from the top of which you get a fine view of the good country westward. The Glenelg and the hills beyond are visible. Crossed a creek called Muddy Creek. Crossed also a second creek called Murphy's Creek.[22]

Here, the party '[p]assed the frame of a small native hut', which Robinson observed was 'made very substantial and neat and placed on the slope or declivity of a hill with an oven at the back'. Edgar and Robinson rode around the creeks and swamps, where they saw 'several native worns [wuurns] or huts, one 10 feet in diameter'.[23] Robinson was informed that the creek at which he, Edgar, and the party had arrived

> is a favorite resort of the natives in summer season for catching birds. Passed several waterholes where at the natives had been catching birds. This creek contains, like most others, a chain of holes and in dry weather few contain water. The holes with water are then selected by the natives for catching birds.[24]

Making their way to the dairy or cattle station owned by the brothers Forlonge, Robinson's group continued along the road, south, towards Portland Bay. Before coming to the station, Robinson noted that they saw 'several interesting spots'. They met, on their arrival, Donald Cameron from Mount Sturgeon Plains and either Donald or Duncan Kennedy, who owned Hyde Park north of Cavendish and Linlithgow Plains south of Dunkeld. 'They had arrived the day before across the river from the plains, passed Napier to a large swamp which they had supposed, when seen from Mt Napier, to have been good land', recorded Robinson. Cameron and Kennedy reported 'that they had seen numerous natives and native camps round the swamps but they had offered them no molestation'. Robinson said that the 'swamp was reported to be of great magnitude … The country round it was said to be well grassed and fine for cattle'. At the station, furthermore, there was 'a fine spring, the only water on the creek. The natives, therefore', thought Robinson, 'are deprived of their water. A whole village, therefore, have been forced away from their ancient pool'. Robinson and his party sought out more of these villages the next day.[25]

On Monday, 10 May, they set out again—'with my eight Aboriginal attendants, one VDL native, one white servant, two horses and presents'—to establish contact 'with the Tappoc conedeet or Mt Napier natives'.[26] Following the creek for about one and a half miles, they found 'fresh indication of natives. This place, previous to its occupation by white men, was a favorite resort and as this was the only perminent [*sic*] supply of water, a village had been formed'.[27] Robinson continued his description of the village and its buildings:

> I counted 13 large huts built in form of a cupola … they have the appearance of mounds of earth. They are built of large sticks closely packed together and covered with turf, grass side inwards. There are several variations. Those like a cupola are sometimes double and have two entrances; others again are like a niech. Then there are some made of boughs and grass. And last are the common screens. The permanent huts are those in form of a cupola. Three of these huts had

> been occupied a day or two previous to my visit. A shield or, in the language of the natives, por.ral, as also a bucket or po.pare.re, and a shield of boughs for catching birds were left at the huts.[28]

On another day, Robinson further recorded that on his way to 'the great swamp' he 'passed at least 20 well built worns [wurrns] or native huts. Some were placed near the river, others on aclivity [*sic*] of the hills, and some on the top of an emminence [*sic*]. One on the top of an emminence was erected on a mound of earth'.[29] On their initial excursion, however, they continued up the creek. Robinson observed that: 'Old indications were very numerous. Large holes had been cut for oppossum and small holes for [blank] or grubs'. After four miles, they came to 'an arm of the great swamp' noted by Kennedy and Cameron. Robinson's Aboriginal guides 'descried three natives near the edge of the swamp' and a further 'two natives walking on the opposite [side] of the swamp, in the forest. They had not seen us'. Sending his guides to meet with the Tappoc Gundidj people, Robinson examined the edges of the great swamp. 'The ground on the swamp was pulpy and soft like sponge but at the present could not be said to be swamp as it was dry', he wrote. As he rode around the swamp, 'Tappoc at several points between the dairy station and swamp shewed itself. It was easily seen from the eminences round the swamp'. Continuing, he related how he:

> rode along the swamp and on the top of the highest ground the swamp extended on further than I could see and I observed many large arms or inlets branching off. It is of considerable extent. The swamp near to Tappoc is as nothing to it. I scarcely think Mitchell saw this swamp. It was not known at the cattle station at Furlong's although the first branch was not more than five miles off … The creek that runs past the dairy station called by the natives Ar.ren.doo.rong: and which runs from the swamp to the dairy station in a northwest direction. Is one of the drains of the swamp.[30]

Robinson noted how 'the face of the whole country had been burnt and the rushes of the swamp and the young grass, anchistiria, had attained to a growth of seven or eight inches and a most verdant appearance'. He observed how the 'land round the swamp is elevated and undulating, of good quality and lightly timbered. It is a very fine country and the scenery beautiful … It is a beautiful cattle country'. He recorded the name of the great swamp: 'Ko.nung.i.yoke.'[31]

Robinson also found evidence of a Tappoc Gundidj settlement. He recorded how he came across 'a fine large double hut, 10 feet diameter with two entrances and four feet high in centre. I went in at one door and came out of the second'. He described a 'native well, about 2½ deep' with water: 'The hole was about a foot wide at top. To get the water out of such holes the drinking reed is indispensable. Besides which, the water can be obtained without disturbing the sediment. Grass is laid in the well and the water filters through it'. Later in his trip, Robinson would note that the 'great swamp abounds in rushes the roots of which are edible and afford the natives an ample supply and is one of their chief supports. When roasted in the fire is meally and white, like flour. There is another root also they get from the swamp called tar.roke'.[32]

Of the Tappoc Gundidj people themselves, Robinson observed and recorded a great deal. Once his Aboriginal guides had met the first 'three strangers, the rest of the natives, who had been previously concealed, showed themselves and informed me the strangers were females'. He noted that 'Two of them carried, besides a basket of food, two infants on their backs … two of them were far advanced in pregnancy. One that had an infant was quite a girl' and was 'clad in an old shred of a dirty blanket'. Robinson 'shook hands and patted their heads'. He took the names of two of the Tappoc Gundidj women and their children: 'Pac. cun.nuc, or, Wor.rone.beer.rang'; 'Weer.re.ween, or, Yal.ler.ro.been'; 'Moorngal, an infant daughter to [Weer.re.ween]'; and 'Keer.re.chur. re.meen, or, Mor.ro.cort … also an infant'.

After he had surveyed the swamp, he met with 'a party of natives … wending their way through among the trees in the forest on the opposite side of the swamp'. 'When the natives appear', he wrote, 'I brake through all Aboriginal cerimony [*sic*], (which to observe would be a waste of time) and go forth and meet them'. He also recorded their names and ages: 'Ware.ren.gort' (33); 'Ware.ren.gort, the young son to [Ware.ren. gort]' (15); 'Hume.hume' (9); 'Til.le.cur.meen' (9); 'To.lone.oo.rort'; 'Ne. ter' (19); 'Curt.be.durk, infant, 10 months'; and 'Mim.yare.an.yare' (31). One of his Aboriginal guides gave him the names of Nillan Gundidj people who lived southwest of Tappoc, in addition to the names of some further Tappoc Gundidj men: Wane.oo.corn. Wan.de.boke, Wor. rem.doo.rat, Wy.ren.nor.rer, Cur.re.mud.doke, Wane.boom, Ar.re.mut. tom, Cor.rer.beet.mur.ri, and Pang.ut.mar.re.[33] In all, Robinson would

list the names of 59 Tappoc Gundidj people, comprising 17 men, 21 women, and 21 children.[34]

'After taking their names and welcoming the strangers and, further to establish confidence, I made each a present of beads, medals, handkerchief; the men as well as the women', wrote Robinson.[35] He regarded the meeting as one of significance, recording that:

> Although the party I had conferred with was small it nevertheless was a great thing accomplished as I was now assured the purpose of my visit would be made known to the Tappoc tribe even although I should not meet any more … My mind is now at ease and I feel satisfied. Providence has crowned my endeavours with success.

The next day, Tuesday 11 May, riding out to the swamp, he came across a 'party of women and children collecting food—murnong and grubs', who invited him to their camp, where he took the names of a further 24 Tappoc Gundidj people living there. 'Most of all the women were pregnant', he wrote, further remarking that: 'The women of this tribe are extremely prolific; most of them are enceinte [pregnant]'.[36]

Robinson made some further, sporadic observations about the Tappoc Gundidj people during the few days he was with them. The first party he met with 'had lighted torches in their hands. The weather was cold and this is their custom when travelling, to keep themselves warm'.[37] He noted that the men he met were unfamiliar with, and much amused by, his horse; that they were unfamiliar with brewed tea; and, that 'They have no word to express a European. Their distinguishing appellation seems to be "white man, white fellow"'.[38] He would observe that 'these people are very suspicious and have had no intercourse with Europeans'.[39] The next day, meeting with the larger group, Robinson made observations about Tappoc Gundidj families: 'when noting their names, they [took] particular pains to let me know what women and children belonged to them. Each man gathering round himself those who belonged to him and each had a tolerable family. Pollygamy [*sic*] appears more common with this tribe than with others'.[40]

Overall, Robinson's meeting with the Tappoc Gundidj people warranted extended reflection in his journals. The day before departing from them, he would write:

> Such a meeting had never before been held with these people, either within or out of their district. Nor had my most sanguine expectations

> anticipated such an event in so short a time. What had been done in seven weeks: several savage natives had been conferred with and part of their language and history and customs and habits had been acquired. Even this part of the country i.e., the great swamp, had not been known to Furlong's stockkeeper at dairy station until yesterday.

The next day, Wednesday, 12 May, Robinson and his party prepared to depart Tappoc. Moved, he wrote:

> I saw the tear of affection trickelled down the sable cheek of these Mt Napier natives. These, reported to be, so savage and terrible a people and so fierce in their hatred to the white inhabitants. I saw the affectionate embrace of the men towards each other and of the women towards their own sex: more forcible than the cold shake of the hand of the white man.

On the Thursday, they left to continue the journey to Portland Bay.[41]

Conclusion

Between 1836 and 1841, Mitchell, Tyers, and Robinson—and their expedition parties—had all visited the sites that would become known as Mount Napier and Buckley Swamp. Mitchell and Tyers, despite their grievances, provided valuable observations about the physical environment they found. Robinson furnished important details of the Tappoc Gundidj people, observations that contributed to the larger body of knowledge about Djab wurrung and other western Kulin people in the Western District of Victoria and the ways they lived. Read closely, with spatial and temporal limits in mind, these sources are still valuable materials for developing a finer-grained understanding of Victoria's early history.

Notes

1 For recent Victorian examples of this approach, see Bain Attwood, *The Good Country: The Djadja Wurrung, the Settlers, and the Protectors*, Melbourne, Monash University Publishing, 2017; Fred Cahir, '*My country all gone, the white men have stolen it*': *The Invasion of Wadawurrung Country 1800–1870*, Ballarat, Australian History Matters, 2019.

2 Ian D. Clark, '*That's my country belonging to me*': *Aboriginal Land Tenure and Dispossession in Nineteenth Century Western Victoria*, Ballarat, Ballarat Heritage Services, 2003, p. 89. See also more generally on this topic Ian D. Clark, *Aboriginal Languages and Clans: An Historical Atlas of Western and Central Victoria, 1800–1900*, Melbourne, Department of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University, 1990.

3 Neither the official documentation from Parks Victoria, nor prominent regional tourism organisations, make any mention of the volcano's Aboriginal or European colonial history.

4 T.L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia; with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales, by Major T.L. Mitchell FGS &MRGS, Surveyor General*, Second Edition, Carefully Revised, Vol. 2, London, T. and W. Boone, 1839, 28 August 1836, The volume is reproduced online as Project Gutenberg EBook #13033 (2004) and it is this version that has been used here. See http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00036.html.

5 Mitchell, 4 September 1836.

6 Mitchell, 10 September 1836.

7 Mitchell, 2 September 1836.

8 Mitchell, 3 September 1836.

9 Mitchell, 3 September 1836.

10 Mitchell, 5 September 1836.

11 Mitchell, 11 September 1836.

12 'The South Australian Boundary', *Sydney Herald*, 1 October 1840, p. 2.

13 'The South Australian Boundary', *Sydney Herald*, 1 October 1840, p. 2.

14 'The South Australian Boundary', *Sydney Herald*, 1 October 1840, p. 2.

15 'The South Australian Boundary', *Sydney Herald*, 1 October 1840, p. 2.

16 'The South Australian Boundary', *Sydney Herald*, 1 October 1840, p. 2.

17 'The South Australian Boundary', *Sydney Herald*, 6 October 1840, p. 4.

18 Ian D. Clark (ed.), *The Journal of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, 1 January 1839 – 30 September 1852*, 6 Volumes, Melbourne, Clarendon, Heritage Matters, 2000 (henceforth 'GAR'), 6 May 1841.

19 GAR, 8 May 1841.

20 GAR, 9 May 1841.

21 Don Garden, *Hamilton: A Western District History*, Melbourne, City of Hamilton in conjunction with Hargreen, 1984, p. 14.

22 GAR, 9 May 1841.

23 GAR, 9 May 1841.

24 GAR, 9 May 1841.

25 GAR, 9 May 1841.

26 GAR, 10 May 1841.

27 GAR, 10 May 1841.

28 GAR, 10 May 1841.

29 GAR, 11 May 1841.

30 GAR, 10 May 1841.

31 GAR, 10 May 1841.

32 GAR, 11 May 1841.

33 GAR, 10 May 1841.

34 Jan Critchett, *A Distant Field of Murder: Western District Frontiers 1834–1849*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, p. 221.

35 GAR, 11 May 1841.

36 GAR, 11 May 1841.

37 GAR, 10 May 1841.

38 GAR, 10 May 1841.

39 GAR, 11 May 1841.

40 GAR, 11 May 1841.

41 GAR, 13 May 1841.

The Working Environment of Melbourne's Early Gaolers

Anne Marsden and Helen Laffin

Abstract

George Wintle, Melbourne's first gaoler, arrived in Melbourne with his wife Mary in 1838. The Wintles' working environment encompassed a series of structures, leading up to the Russell Street gaol complex built in the 1840s, as the prison system's inadequate and poorly trained workforce struggled to keep pace with Victoria's growing population and crime rate. George appeared equal to the challenges of his role, with Mary, his stalwart life and work partner, at one stage on the gaol's paid workforce. Pentridge prison, in the Melbourne suburb of Coburg, was built in stages from 1850. James Smith, recently arrived from Ireland with his wife Maria and child, became a Pentridge warder in 1854. Smith's working environment improved after he and his family moved in 1864 into a small bluestone cottage, one of seven bluestone-and-timber cottages built, owned and occupied, by Pentridge prison warders. This note provides glimpses into the changing nature of working conditions for Melbourne's early gaolers through the lives of George Wintle and James Smith.[1]

George Wintle Appointed Melbourne's First Gaoler

George Wintle was born in Ireland in about 1809 (Figure 1).[2] In 1835 at Chatham, Kent, he married a widow, Mary Nicholas, about seven years his senior. Mary was to perform an important role in George's later work as a gaoler. Shortly after their marriage, the Wintles emigrated to Sydney where Wintle gained a job on the prison ship *Phoenix* moored in Port Jackson. He became assistant superintendent and was known as 'Daddy' Wintle.[3] He lost his job in 1837 when the *Phoenix* began to sink and was condemned.[4] He sought employment elsewhere and found his way to the new settlement of Melbourne.

In February 1838, Captain William Lonsdale, Port Phillip's first police magistate and administrator, was notified of George Wintle's appointment as Melbourne's first gaoler.[5] Wintle had crossed paths with Lonsdale previously as a drummer in Lonsdale's regiment.[6]

Figure 1: George Wintle. Photographer T.F. Chuck, 1872, mosaic, *The Explorers and Early Colonists of Victoria* (Courtesy State Library Victoria, H5056/345)

It was a traumatic arrival in Melbourne for the Wintles; the existing lock-up was inadequate and insecure, and no accommodation had been earmarked for them. Mary gave birth on 27 June 1838 to a son, George, and to a second son, Charles, on 1 September 1839.[7] In mid-September 1838 a census by Lonsdale estimated the population of Port Phillip as 2,278, and that of Melbourne as 1,036; included were 'G. Wintle, Mrs Wintle, and Geo Wintle'. By the end of 1838, the population of Port Phillip had increased by more than 1,000 to 3,511.[8]

The Early Melbourne Gaol Structures

A thatched slab hut that served as an early lock-up was burned down by the actions of a prisoner in April 1838.[9] It is unclear if Wintle was on duty in Melbourne when that occurred.

On 19 May Lonsdale notified the colonial secretary that he had rented a storehouse as a temporary gaol. Amongst Robert Russell's records of his tenure as Melbourne's clerk of works was found this account on a scrap of paper: 'H.M. Government. Dr. to Jno. Batman. For one Quarter's Rent of Jail—Quarter ending September 30, 1838, at 20s per week, £12'.[10] This temporary gaol soon became inadequate, and Lonsdale began agitating in October for a proper gaol with solitary cells and a treadmill. On 5 November he described the existing premises as follows: 'The present building is of brick, and contains two rooms,

in one of which the prisoners are kept and the gaoler inhabits the other, and there is a loft above'. The Wintle family—George, Mary, and baby George—housed in a room next to the prisoners, would have been subjected to constant disturbance, with George responsible for containing, feeding, and providing the prisoners with limited exercise in the small yard attached, but always on the alert for signs of rioting and violence.

Lonsdale had meanwhile notified the colonial secretary on 3 November of arrangements with the owner of the temporary gaol to strengthen it and provide space for females. One room was set aside and fortified for prisoners requiring extra security, while the other was fitted out for those who had committed less serious crimes. The loft was allocated to female prisoners. This left the Wintles without accommodation, so Lonsdale also directed the clerk of works to erect a small weatherboard hut of one room to be placed nearby for the gaoler. On 8 November Lonsdale wrote again about the need for a watch-house keeper 'as soon as the arrangements are made, to separate the watch-house cases from the prisoners under sentence in the gaol', and three months later, on 1 February 1839, an appointment was made.[11]

In early November 1838, gaoler Wintle wrote to the sheriff, requesting appointment of an under-turnkey and also a yard constable. Because of ventilation problems all the prisoners were turned into the gaol yard 'contiguous to two public houses, from which it is separated by a mere ti-tree fence eight feet in height'. The prisoners could easily elude the sentry.[12] Not until a year later, in August 1839, was Lonsdale able to appoint a turnkey. This was partly in response to Wintle pointing out that he was obliged to attend court sessions each quarter but had no responsible person to leave in charge of the gaol.[13]

Charles La Trobe arrived in September 1839 as superintendent to assume the administration of the Port Phillip District from William Lonsdale, and henceforth took over correspondence regarding the gaol. At this time Wintle's work problems were compounded by the temporary gaol building reverting to the owner, who had threatened to increase the rent if the premises were not vacated at the end of the rental agreement in September. In addition, in December 1839, the turnkey resigned complaining his wages were too low, and, to add to his troubles, Wintle was censured for not informing the superintendent of the sentry vacating his post on one occasion in December. In January 1840 Wintle was obliged to put two drunk prisoners in irons to preserve the safety

of the prison, as well as that of his family living in an adjacent hut. But some easing of Wintle's problems was in sight.

A new temporary gaol structure was completed in early 1840 in Collins Street, on the Market Square behind the Custom House reserve near the William Street corner. The designer, Clerk of Works James Rattenbury, described it as 'a brick building containing four compartments; two 20 feet long, 15 feet wide; one room 12 feet by 10, and one 12 feet by 13'. La Trobe noted that it was 'very well built' and that a small house for the gaoler should be added.[14] A simplified plan for the proposed gaol by Rattenbury shows the four compartments. An exterior view shows small windows high up on the façade.[15] Wintle reported on 10 January that he had removed the prisoners to the new gaol.[16]

Journalist Edmund Finn ('Garryowen') later provided a vivid description of the prison population in the Market Square gaol in the early 1840s:

> The gaol was so inconveniently crowded, that, in hot weather, a number of the prisoners used to be let out for an airing in the street with a cordon of soldiers, ready to shoot any fellow disposed to run away … the inmates had hardly room to lie down … and it was decided to release twenty-five of the best conducted prisoners.[17]

Finn maintained that 'Mr Wintle always showed a coolness and courage before which the rebelling prisoners would quail, and more than once he narrowly escaped injury at their hands'.[18]

Returns for the Melbourne gaols for 1839 reported one gaoler and one turnkey. There were no female officers. The maximum number of prisoners confined at any one time during 1839 was 43 males and one female.[19] Mary Wintle, seven years George's senior and later part of the paid gaol workforce, would have been supporting George through the demands of the ever-changing gaol environment, despite having a one-year-old and a new baby when they moved to the Market Square gaol in 1840.

The Evolution of the Russell Street Gaol

The first stage of a new gaol planned for the northern end of Russell Street was built between 1841 and 1844. Part of the complex still stands as a tourist attraction, known as the 'Old Melbourne Gaol'. It was depicted in 1843 by contemporary artist George Gilbert[20] as a bleak building behind the new Court House (Figure 2).

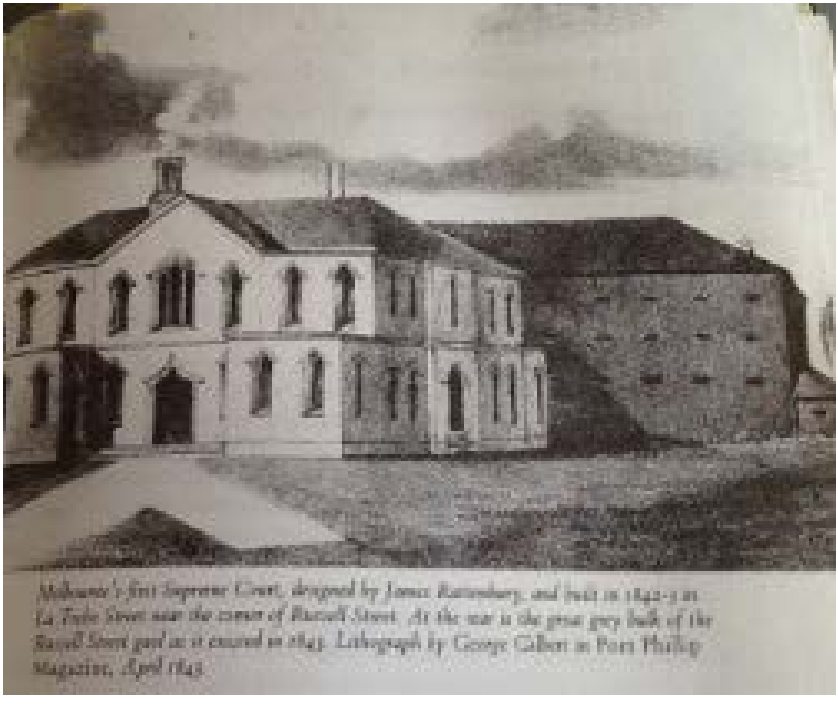

Figure 2: The Court House and [Russell Street] prison, Melbourne 1843. Lithograph by George Gilbert, *Port Phillip Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1843 (Courtesy State Library Victoria, Rare Books Collection, RARELT 052.9, p. 83)

The Russell Street gaol became known as 'Wintle's Hotel',[21] the first wing of which was completed by the end of 1844. Problems occurred frequently over drainage, with the cesspool overflowing. Prisoners were mostly lodged two to a cell; they were issued with two small blankets and slept on palliasses, with straw on the floor to keep them warm at night on the stone floors. The sexes were kept apart by locking cell doors and allowing men and women into the yard separately for exercise and ablutions.[22] A current of air swept through the high window openings at each end of the new gaol, which must have made the building prone to extreme temperatures. La Trobe authorised glazed sash windows to mitigate the hardship. Some further instances of kindness to inmates were occasionally evident. On Christmas Day, 1845, Judge William a'Beckett sent each inmate a plum pudding, roast beef, ale and a loaf of bread.[23]

In the mid-1840s the prison staff consisted of Wintle, on an annual salary of £150, a visiting magistrate and two chaplains, a doctor, a clerk, the superintendent of the treadmill, and four turnkeys. Mary performed a significant role; she had at times been employed as an 'honorary' matron, and this was formalised in March 1845 when 'Mrs Wintle was appointed matron at £25 a year'.[24]

Until a Port Phillip asylum was opened in 1848, the mentally disturbed were housed in the prison unless their families could afford private doctors. Mary Wintle would have been involved with the 'female insane' when, in 1847, George Wintle reported that: 'The female lunatics … from their filthy habits require the attention of some females towards their cleanliness; the whole of the female prisoners having refused to do so … They are likewise in a state of nudity and require some clothing'.[25]

Staffing at the Russell Street Gaol was inadequate and guards and turnkeys unreliable, with too few female turnkeys. It is likely that female prisoners would have been at high risk of assault if guards and turnkeys were derelict in their duties. Indeed, Matron Wintle complained in 1848 that, 'from the want of female assistance', she could not always prevent males from secretly visiting the cells of female or lunatic prisoners. The prisoners were in cells, not dormitories at this stage.[26] Superintendent La Trobe and the Sydney government took note, and, in the estimates for 1849, 'provision was made for employment of the first female turnkey to assist the matron'.[27] But Mary was not without her own tribulations, these stemming from her husband's peccadilloes. In 1847 George decided to avail himself of the services of a young female prisoner whom he released from the prison and kept in a house in Collingwood for five days. The nature of the 'services' she provided was not specified. La Trobe suggested that a 'severe reprimand' would be sufficient'—he would have known it would be difficult to replace an experienced gaoler.[28]

Edmund Finn, who knew George Wintle well, believed him to be 'a good disciplinarian, punctual, patient, and persevering … As the keeper of three gaols in Melbourne he passed successfully through ordeals undreamed of in the Colonial prisons of to-day [1880s]'.[29] For instance, an attempted gaol break in 1851, described many years later by Finn, demonstrates not only George's swift response to trouble, but also provides a small glimpse into George and Mary's working lives. Succumbing to forty winks in their small cottage after a hard mornng's work:

> Wintle … was startled by a distant sound … "Good heavens", cried he to his wife (the matron), "what on earth can this be?" … [B]acked up by the corporal's guard with fixed bayonets … the gaoler met [the ringleader] face-to-face, and throwing up his hands Thomson exclaimed in a loud despairing voice "Tis no go, boys", and then surrendered unconditionally.[30]

A New Era in Melbourne's Prison History

In 1850, the government decided to establish penal stockades in Melbourne. The Melbourne Gaol was full and, with Separation from New South Wales imminent, those Port Phillip prisoners temporarily confined at Cockatoo Island in Sydney Harbour were to be returned to Port Phillip for incarceration in the soon-to-be-independent colony of Victoria.[31] One of these stockades was set up at Pentridge, the original name of Coburg, a suburb to the north of Melbourne. In December 1850 this stockade was to receive sixteen prisoners from the overcrowded Russell Street gaol. The purpose of the stockade:

> was to provide labour for the construction of the newly proclaimed Sydney Road. … The stockade consisted only of log huts on wheels behind a low 1.2-metre wooden fence … Mounted aboriginal troopers (police) were employed to patrol its perimeter. … In the period 1857–64 the stockade was transformed into a typical Pentonville-type prison. Single cells replaced the dormitory accommodation of the earlier stockade and high external bluestone walls with towers for sentries were built providing a much higher level of security.[32]

The Wintles' long tenure at Russell Street was coming to an end—their work had spanned the period from the first Melbourne lock-up structures to the early years of the Pentridge prison era. In 1869 George, then 60 years old, was required to retire on a pension. He died in April the following year, Mary outliving him by about seven years.

From 1854, Pentridge Stockade became permanent and was beginning its transformation into a modern penitentiary, soon becoming Victoria's foremost prison. The expansion can be attributed to pressures from the gold rushes, which brought a doubling in Victoria's population from 1851 to 1853, a tripling in convictions for felonies, and a fourfold increase to 200 in Pentridge's prisoner population.[33] This necessitated an increase in the number of gaolers. In 1854 James Smith, the second gaol worker discussed in this note, became a warder at Pentridge.

James and Maria Smith came from Daingean in Ireland. James was born in 1825 and Maria in 1831.[34] Following the potato crop failure of the 1840s, James and Maria emigrated to Australia, and in February 1852, with their one-year-old daughter, they embarked at Liverpool as assisted immigrants on the *Runnymede*.[35] In June 1852 the ship docked in Portland where an enterprising Irish businessman encouraged some of the immigrants, including the Smith family, to disembark and take up work in the area.[36] James worked as an agricultural labourer for one year for £50 plus keep. However, in late 1853 James and Maria decided to venture to Melbourne, so James could seek work at the new Pentridge Prison as a warder in 1854. He remained in that job for 30 years.[37]

By the mid-1850s, the penal service comprised the Melbourne and Russell Street gaols, stockades at Pentridge, Collingwood, Richmond and Williamstown, and five prison hulks. A large workforce now ran these establishments, and there is no indication that James Smith knew of George Wintle at this or any other stage. By 1857, 1,348 people lived in Pentridge village, of whom 500 were prisoners and 50 were warders (Figure 3). In 1858, two-thirds of the Pentridge warders were Irish, James Smith being but one. Richard Broome, historian of Coburg, notes that 'not one was colonial-born, suggesting that the native-born disliked policework or that newcomers with limited skills and little stomach for bush work and gold digging found warders' work a steady alternative'.[38]

Pentridge developed as a tough place to work or be imprisoned. John Price, a former commandant of the infamous Norfolk Island convict prison, became inspector general of penal establishments in Victoria in 1854. He was a complex character but was disliked by many for his harsh approach.[39] He was known for introducing the 'Crystal Palace', a moveable stockade at Pentridge where prisoners in chains were punished with solitary confinement or additional penalties for any misbehaviour. Price was eventually killed by some prisoners in Williamstown after an altercation on 26 March 1857. Fifteen prisoners were tried for his murder; seven were found guilty and hanged.[40]

The next inspector general was William Champ, a former military man, who was commandant of Port Arthur Penal Settlement and then colonial secretary and first premier of Tasmania. He was critical of excessive harshness and corporal punishment. His approach was to increase control through surveillance, not bodily punishment. A private contractor built 'A' Division at Pentridge along the lines of Jeremy

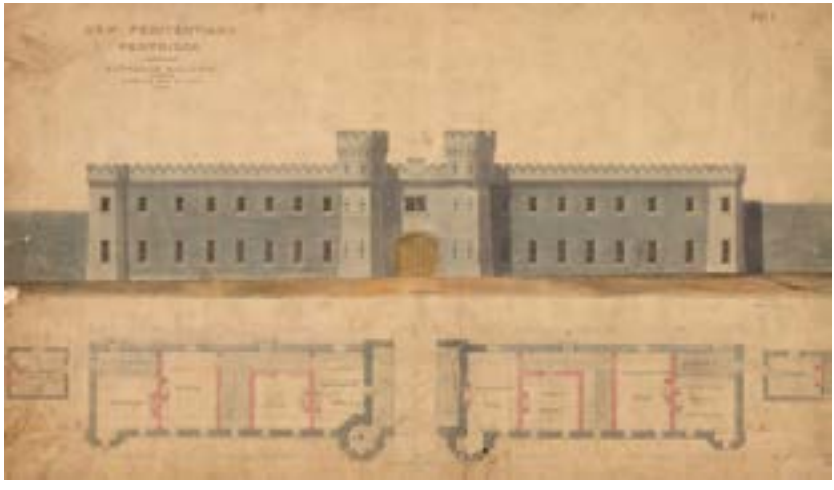

Figure 3: New Penitentiary Pentridge. Construction drawing for the main entrance building at Pentridge, *c.* 1858 (Courtesy Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 3686/P1 Pre-Metric Building Plans, Unit 292, plan PGP 01.9)

Bentham's Panopticon.[41] Bentham, an English philosopher, designed his all-seeing prison in 1785, in which warders in a central tower could observe prisoners at all times, housed as they were in wards running off the central hub. Champ created a separate and silent system in 'A' Division, through which all new prisoners passed (Figure 4). They had to wear a mask when out of their cells and thus could not see other prisoners, and they were allowed to exercise out of their cells for only an hour a day. Prisoners in 'A' Division passed the rest of the time in their cells in enforced silence, with only a bible to read and oakum to pick as their work. In this way they were broken into compliance.[42]

Other buildings were constructed through which prisoners passed as their 'training' in the panopticon was completed and they were deemed ready for dormitory living and communal work in the prison's farm and factories. In the late nineteenth century, there were four different main buildings or 'Divisions' for prisoners, 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D', the last three being built out of bluestone by the prisoners themselves. Prisoners moved through these divisions as they were 'rehabilitated' and judged ready for release.[43]

A Warder's Life

The Smiths lived in a community of 63 of the 80 warders. Warders were required to live within 400 yards of the Stockade so they could

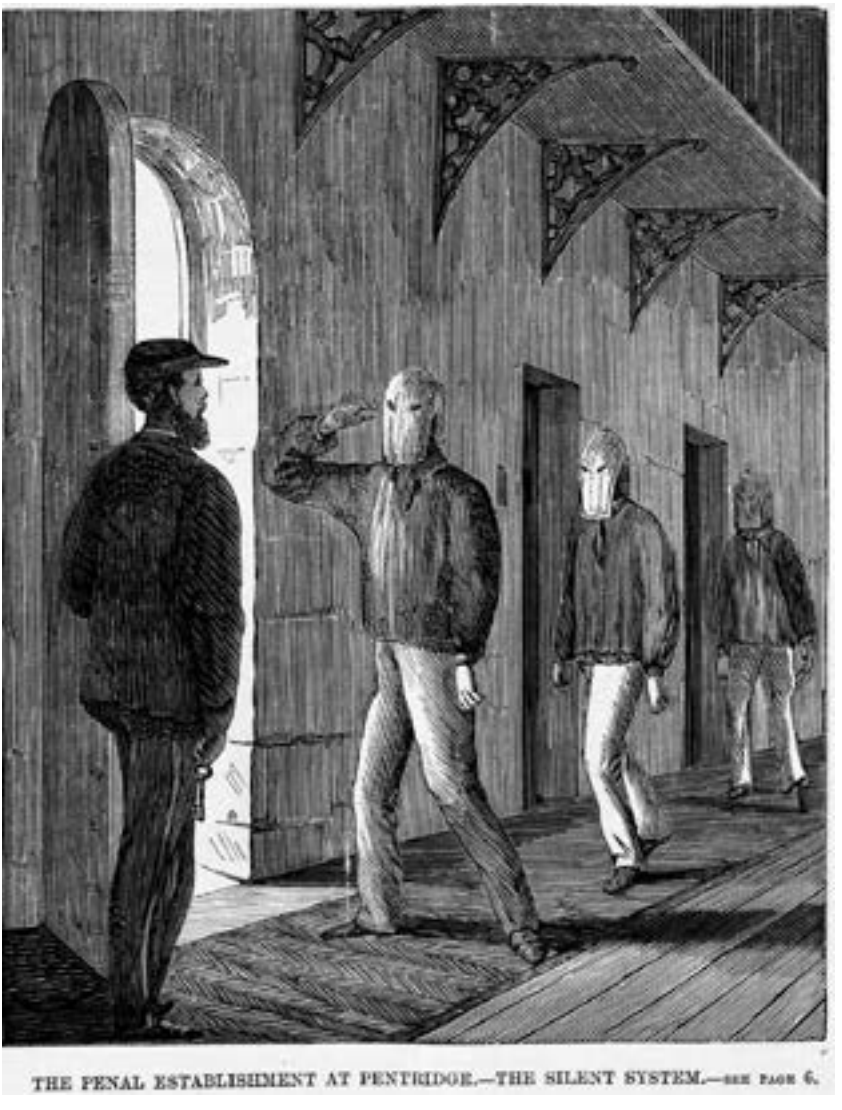

Figure 4: Wood engraving, published in *The Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers*, 20 August 1867 (Courtesy State Library Victoria, IAN20/08/67/13)

hear the prison bell for the start of their shift, or the alarm if there was trouble. Work started at 6.00 a.m. and finished at 6.00 p.m. Warders were required to purchase a prison-made uniform every two years, costing 9s. 9d., which was more than half a week's pay.

Warders were divided into sentries and lockers. The sentries were mainly on tower, escort, and night-watch duties. The lockers, who were considered more experienced, worked amongst the prisoners in the various Divisions and on the gates and checkpoints. Later in his career, Smith was in charge of the Elm Grove gate, which was the second major entry to Pentridge in Urquhart Street on the prison's southern border opposite Elm Grove.[44] Warders had to work in variable weather and risked catching inmates' parasites and infections. While many men were heading to the goldfields, Smith chose to stay in a secure job with a pension, though with fairly low pay. He received 10s. a day, while labourers on the goldfields could earn up to 14s.[45]

The Smiths' first weatherboard house was destroyed by fire in 1857. By this time, they had four children under six years of age. As a temporary measure, Smith first rented and then bought a 'shanty', where the family stayed until 1864. Smith acquired more funds through land speculation and was able to build a bluestone cottage, which was one of a group of seven on Bell Street, Coburg, owned and occupied by warders (Figure 5).[46]

The bluestone cottage had a small front garden, three bedrooms and a living/dining room. Timber was used for the building of a detached kitchen and and later a spare bedroom at the back, which was required as the family grew larger. There was an outside toilet and a wash house with a dirt floor. Eventually the Smiths had twelve children, all born between 1851 and 1877, with only one infant death. Those who did not remain at home settled in Coburg. James Joseph Smith, second son, was a farrier and a shire councillor from 1898 to 1902. William worked as a Pentridge warder all his working life.[47]

Maria Smith died on 2 August 1895, aged 63, and James on 17 June 1904 at 79; both are buried in the Roman Catholic section of the Coburg cemetery. Maria and James's granddaughter, Mary Teresa Lyons, bought the cottage and lived there until she died in 1978 at the age of 93. In that year, it was purchased by the City of Coburg from the Teresa Lyons estate. It was listed on the Historic Buildings Register in 1988 and is now on the Victorian Heritage Register.[48]

Figure 5: The bluestone cottage owned by James and Maria Smith, *c.* 1980, now the home of the Coburg Historical Society and open to the public (Courtesy Coburg Historical Society)

From Early Melbourne to Living Memory

Through looking at George Wintle's and James Smith's careers in the prison service, we have gained some glimpses of a warder's working life in nineteenth-century Melbourne. Hours were long and conditions often unhygienic—George and Mary Wintle were on duty all hours of day and night, and James Smith 'was required to work 12-hour shifts as a sentry in variable weather and also ran the risk of catching inmates' parasites and infections.[49]

George Wintle and James Smith had little opportunity in the early settlement to seek change or promotion. George's primitive work environment slowly improved as Melbourne's prison system grew, while the enterprising James, not averse to a little speculation on land values, was able to build a haven for his family, a small bluestone cottage still standing at 82 Bell Street, Coburg, and now serving as the premises of the Coburg Historical Society.

The story of the Wintle and Smith families covers in microcosm a warder's working conditions from the establishment of the first Melbourne gaol soon after European settlement on the River Yarra to the heyday of the modern penitentiary at Pentridge, which served as Victoria's principal prison until its closure in 1997.

Notes

1 Helen Laffin would like to thank members of the Smith family—Mick Coates, Nancy Pope, Karen Billings, James (Jim) Smith, and Terry Smith—for generously sharing information about their family history, and the Coburg Historical Society for sharing their resources about the story of the Bluestone Cottage.

2 Death Registration.

3 Michael Cannon & Pauline Jones (eds), *Historical Records of Victoria*, Vol. 1, *Beginnings of Permanent Government*, Melbourne, Victorian Government Printing Office, 1981, p. 493.

4 The *Phoenix* was used as the first floating prison in Australian waters after it was damaged on a reef, then broken up and bought by the NSW government as a holding place for prisoners awaiting trial or transportation to Norfolk Island, Moreton Bay and Port Arthur. It was moored at Port Jackson between 1825 and 1837, when it was condemned. See Sydneyliving museums.com.au.

5 Cannon & Jones, p. 493.

6 John M. Wilkins, *Life and Times of Captain William Lonsdale 1799–1864,* Melbourne, Wilkins, 1991, p. 49.

7 Michael Cannon & Ian MacFarlane (eds), *Historical Records of Victoria,* Vol. 3, *The Early Development of Melbourne*, Melbourne, Victorian Government Printing Office, 1984, pp. 598 & 600.

8 Cannon & MacFarlane, chapters 29 and 30.

9 Cannon & Jones, p. 493. Lonsdale wrote to the colonial secretary that a prisoner put a reed through a hole into the guard room, lighting it with a candle and thus setting it alight. There is no menton of Wintle by name. It is likely the event occurred before his arrival.

10 Edmund Finn (Garryowen), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835–1852*, Melbourne, Fergusson & Mitchell, 1888, p. 184.

11 Cannon & Jones, pp. 512–18.

12 Cannon & Jones, pp. 515–16.

13 Cannon & Jones, pp. 520–1.

14 Michael Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town Before the Gold Rush*, Melbourne, Loch Haven Books, 1991, p. 140.

15 Cannon & Jones, p. 522.

16 Cannon & Jones, pp. 517–28.

17 Finn, p. 186.

18 Finn, p. 198.

19 Cannon & Jones, p. 527.

20 George Gilbert arrived in Melbourne in 1841. He was a teacher, creative artist and the founder of Melbourne's first art school, housed in the Melbourne Mechanics' Institution, now the Melbourne Athenaeum Library. See note on the lithograph listed in works by George Alexander Gilbert and his school, taken from published catalogues, in Margaret Bowman, *Cultured Colonists: George Alexander Gilbert and his Family, Settlers in Port Phillip,* Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2014. The image is also reproduced in Cannon, 1991, p. 151.

21 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 338.

22 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, pp. 337–8

23 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, pp. 339–40.

24 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 339.
25 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 260.
26 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 343.
27 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 343.
28 Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, pp. 340–1.
29 Finn, p. 185.
30 Finn, p. 195.
31 Richard Broome, *Coburg: Between Two Creeks*. Melbourne, Lothian Publishing Co., Second Edition, 2001, p. 98.
32 Broome, chapter 5.
33 Broome, p. 103.
34 Copy of oral history notes given by Mary Chamberlin to Coburg Historical Society (CHS), collated by Jim Smith, 5 November 2010.
35 Shipping list, *Runnymede*, from material donated to Coburg Historical Society (CHS) by Jim Smith, 5 November 2010.
36 Martha Rutledge, 'Rutledge, William (Billy) (1806–1876)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rutledge-william-billy-2622/text3625, published first in hardcopy 1967.
37 Personal conversation with Nancy Pope, 12 June 2020.
38 Broome, p. 111. A quote from Richard Broome based on his calculations from 'Pay or Pension Money' (a list of civil servants), in Victoria, *Legislative Council Papers*, 1858–59.
39 Peter J. Lynn and George Armstrong, *From Pentonville to Pentridge: A History of Prisons in Victoria*, Melbourne, State Library Victoria, 1996, p. 38.
40 Broome, p. 113; see also John V. Barry, 'Price, John Giles (1808–1857)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/price-john-giles-2563/text3497\, published first in hardcopy 1967.
41 http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/explore-history/rebels-outlaws/law-enforcement/prison-punishment; see also John V. Barry, 'Champ, William Thomas Napier (1808–1892)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/champ-william-thomas-napier-3191/text4789, published first in hardcopy 1969.
42 Lynn and Armstrong, p. 50.
43 Broome, pp. 116–22.
44 Lawrence Burchell, *The Warder's Cottage*, Melbourne, Moreland City Council, 1998, p. 5.
45 Broome, p. 111.
46 https://www.moreland.vic.gov.au/about-us//our-city/local-history/thematic-history/, p. 24 (accessed 20 June 2020).
47 Burchell, p. 3.
48 Burchell, p. 4; see Victorian Heritage Database, VHR H0689.
49 Broome, p. 111.

The Disaster at Wilmansrust 12 June 1901: Towards an Australian National Outlook

Barry Bridges

Abstract

Press reporting at Federation implies that a great many Australians still saw themselves principally as citizens of their own state and were eager for it to outdo the other states in any way possible. A defeat for a Victorian unit in the South African War would likely have attracted only short-term notice had Imperial Major-General Stuart Beatson not extended offensively denigratory remarks about the Victorians to embrace all Australian volunteers. This roused a stronger national outlook and response than had previously been evident in relation to Australia's participation in the war and can be considered a contributory factor to the growth of national identity before the Great War.

The internal memoranda of the British War and Colonial Offices in the 1890s reveal a conviction that, sooner or later, Britain would fight a major war against Germany. Various schemes were considered on how best to secure men from the settler colonies to reduce Britain's military manpower deficit. The Imperial authorities wanted to avoid creating colonial armies led by their own senior officers, a model that might have encouraged colonial governments to expect some say in how their men were used. Rather, the War and Colonial Offices favoured the attachment of supernumerary colonial companies to existing British regular army units. An opportunity to 'blood' these colonials came with the onset of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899, when an imperialist cabal led by the governor of Cape Colony, Sir Alfred Milner, and mining magnate Cecil Rhodes manoeuvred the British government into military action to annexe two small Boer (Afrikaner) states: the South African Republic (later Transvaal) and the Orange Free State.

Very early in the Anglo-Boer War, before Federation, an attempt was made to merge contingents from the various Australian colonies into one battalion under a Victorian colonel, J.C. Hoad (later the first Australian to head the Australian Military Forces). But this early effort

to form a united armed force roused intercolonial jealousies, especially with regard to its leadership. In particular, it was unacceptable to New South Wales as the senior colony. However, the Victorian government had sent Hoad in defiance of a War Office instruction that no Australian officer above the rank of major was to be sent to South Africa. Some colonials shared the Imperial government's lack of confidence in their military prowess and preferred their formations to be attached to British units so that they might learn from 'proper soldiers'. However, as the British army performed badly in the first phase of the war and the war unexpectedly dragged on into a more guerilla-style war by mid-1901, some Australian 'contingents' grew to battalion size under local officers and, with added confidence, came into conflict with their British commanders. But size and confidence were not always matched by competence.

The 5th Victorian Mounted Rifles, the second contingent of the VMR to fight in the Boer War, enrolled early in February 1901 and departed for South Africa in the middle of that month. It must be admitted that it was a poor unit. As with many other Australian contingents raised during the second half of the war, it contained many men passed over for inclusion in earlier contingents, it lacked experienced officers, and, in particular, it lacked the experienced non-commissioned officers needed to whip recruits into shape and impose some discipline. An Australian officer in a formation working with them and one of its own sergeants were reported as describing the 5th VMR as deplorably slack and careless. Its British column commander, Major-General Stuart Beatson, made no secret of his dislike for these ill-disciplined colonials, and his chief staff officer, Major Waterfield, was given to free expression of his contempt for the Victorians as soldiers.

In an attempt to improve discipline, Beatson divided the 5th VMR into two battalions, with Imperial officers imposed as their commanding officers. In the first week, three Victorians were sentenced to long prison terms. Another Victorian was staked out spread-eagled on the ground and left in that state overnight. The Victorians, as citizen soldiers, resisted the attempt to impose 'barrack room discipline': an attitude characteristic of Australians in general. Their own senior officer deplored punishments of a 'most humiliating character'.

The tensions culminated in the response to what became known as the 'Disater at Wilmansrust'. On the evening of 12 June 1901 one

of the VMR battalions camped on a farm named Wilmansrust in the central Transvaal. Just after dark a Boer commando led by General C.H. Muller launched a surprise attack upon them. In a short engagement the Victorians had 14 men killed, 60 wounded and over 200 taken prisoner. Two Vickers–Maxim machine guns were lost. The Victorians attributed their rout to Major Morris, their Imperial commanding officer, having ordered them to stack rifles and to his inept placement of piquets. This appears a significant response, for Morris had only recently arrived in South Africa from India and was still learning about the changing nature of warfare against the Boers. But it did not suit Beatson or the Imperial Army to take any notice of the Victorians' views.

At this stage, inter-colonial one-upmanship was still in evidence in Australia. The discomfiture of the Victorians was received by some with a reaction akin to glee. *Their* men were superior to the Victorians and incapable of such incompetence. General Beatson's response turned this situation around and caused people across the continent to sympathise with the Victorians as fellow Australians.

On the march during the week following the rout Beatson expressed himself freely, describing the Victorians, in the hearing of two Australian officers, as a 'fat-arsed, pot-bellied, lazy lot of wasters'. Major Samuel Harris, of the West Australian Mounted Infantry, told Beatson that he was sorry to hear him say that and that he was going to record it. Beatson replied: 'Do by all means and you can add if you like that they are a lot of white-livered curs'. He added for good measure that the West Australians kept the Victorians company in running away from Boers and that all Australians were dogs. A few days after this incident Beatson saw some Victorians bayonetting pigs for food and yelled at them: 'When Dutchmen came along the other night you didn't fix bayonets and charge them, but you go for something that can't hit back'. Beatson's remarks became the talk of the camp. Major William McKnight, a Victorian acting as CO of the other 5th VMR battalion, sought leave to go to Pretoria to request official enquiries into the incident in both South Africa and Victoria. Beatson forestalled this by offering apologies to Major Harris and to Major T.F. Umphelby, the currently hospitalised Imperial CO of the Victorians. These officers accepted the apologies.

There were rumours that the men of the 5th VMR intended to pile arms and refuse to leave camp unless placed under a column commander other than Beatson. Three privates were arrested, and, on

11 July, a field general court martial found them guilty of inciting mutiny and recorded sentences of death. Commander-in-Chief Lord Kitchener confirmed the verdicts but reduced the sentences to prison for ten years for Private James Steele, the ringleader, and one year with hard labour for the other two, Privates Arthur Richards and Herbert Parry.

News of the reverse at Wilmansrust was published in Australia immediately after it occurred. However, no one in Australia knew anything of the subsequent events until after the three Victorians had begun their prison sentences in England.[1] On 28 September the Melbourne *Age* published a photograph of Pte Steele's court-martial schedule and an approximately accurate account of the charges and sentences and of Beatson's alleged remarks. These documents had been forwarded by an unidentified soldier. The Australian public was outraged by a senior British officer describing Australian volunteers in such an offensive manner and by the secrecy with which the British Army had imposed sentences on Victorians. Attention was drawn to this in the House of Representatives on 1 October by Queensland MHR James Page, who said that he looked upon it not as a Victorian but as an Australian matter. He had served in South Africa as an irregular from 1877 to 1881 and considered it was unreasonable to try to impose conventional army discipline on non-regulars.[2] In the days following, the Barton government faced a barrage of questions designed to get it to seek full information from the Imperial authorities and to institute an enquiry, particularly with regard to Beatson's language and whether officers guilty of conduct likely to provoke mutiny could be punished under military law.[3]

The government was advised that the men of the 5th VMR were entirely under Imperial jurisdiction having signed on under the (Imperial) Army Act.[4] Nevertheless on 3 October it asked the Imperial government to telegraph full information.[5] In London Elfric Kearney, son of a minister of religion at Geelong, noticing the stir in his home state, got up a petition to the King signed by twenty Australians residing in Clapham and district, pointing out that Australians were less disciplined than Britons, that any of them would resent Beatson's language, and praying for the prisoners' release. Clearly the colonials were restless, and some action needed to be taken to quieten them. Five weeks elapsed before the Colonial Office replied to Barton giving the names and commuted sentences, then adding that, as the judge advocate

general had found legal flaws in the convictions, the War Office had on 26 October ordered the convictions quashed and the prisoners released.[6]

Parliamentary questions continued. Some politicians did not want the issue of Beatson's provocative remarks buried. Barton asked the Colonial Office unofficially for answers on this point. The War Office stated that Beatson's poor opinion of the Victorians, shared by his superior, Lieutenant-General Sir Bindon Blood, was given to an officer on his staff, and that although his words were strong they did not warrant the description of them given in Australia. Beatson positively denied having alluded to the surrender to Victorian officers or men.[7] This answer was unconvincing, but Barton was precluded from offering it to the public through his own action in proceeding unofficially and by the designation 'Secret' on the reply. He had to rest content with the position he had earlier taken that the Victorians had to a degree been vindicated by the removal of Beatson from his command.[8] As Beatson had been promoted from acting to substantive major-general and placed in charge of operations against Commandant Gideon Scheepers,[9] this was lame indeed.

Meanwhile returning invalids from the 5th VMR and letters from men in the field expressed indignant resentment at the charges of lax discipline, cowardice and inefficiency.[10] They complained of Beatson's conduct and lack of interest in their welfare while in charge. The fire of indignation at home was fanned by a further revelation that two men had been gaoled for two years for cowardice in surrendering at Wilmansrust, although a companion had been shot before they gave up their attempt to escape. These men were quickly released by the British authorities without waiting for the Commonwealth to intervene.[11] The Wilmansrust affair had assumed a decidedly Australia-wide and nationalist dimension. An influential Sydney suburban journal spoke for Australia as a whole when it said: 'The consensus of opinion is that unless the system which coins British officers of the Beatson type is altered materially and a few persons of his stamp hung up by the heels, Australians will probably confine their own fighting in future more to their own shores'.[12]

The day before the 1st Battalion 5th VMR was due to land in Melbourne on its return, a federal MP asked that it should be marched through the streets to allow citizens to demonstrate publicly their appreciation of the members' conduct and bravery. Defence Minister

Sir John Forrest did not 'much admire the way in which the question is put', but he had the troops marched through the streets on 25 April 1902 to great applause from a very large crowd in what was in effect a public demonstration against Beatson and what he was seen as representing.[13]

From the great mass of sources relating to this war, it is evident that both British and Australian authorities exerted themselves to 'hush up' rampant Australian indiscipline extending to threats of mutiny and actual mutiny. After the war, no senior British officer had anything good to say of Australian officers. They believed that the major-general's intemperate language had been seized upon as a distraction to allow humiliation to be turned into outrage, and to hide the Australians' refusal to face up to the problem that the 5th VMR was characterised by indiscipline, mutinous tendencies and ineffective officering. For Australians the incident became a symbol of the incipient citizen army's opposition to and rejection of certain perceived characteristics of British militarism: officers without respect or even courtesy for the men under them, military law without 'justice', and a concept of Imperial control without regard for the rights of colonies advancing to nationhood.

Notes

1 Gavin Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo: The Initiation of Australia 1901–1919,* Sydney, Collins, 1976, pp. 56–61, provides an unreferenced account based on the Report of Major William McKnight to Major-General Downes, 21 October 1901, Department of Defence, B168 01/3859, National Archives of Australia (NAA); *The Times*, 17 June 1901; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18, 19 and 20 June 1901; *Maitland Mercury*, 16 July 1901; *Lismore Chronicle*, 16 August 1901, eyewitnesss account; File on Commonwealth action, Department of Defence, B168 02/919, NAA; R.L. Wallace, *The Australians at the Boer War,* Canberra, Australian War Memorial and Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976, pp. 328–33, tends to whitewash the 5th VMR.

2 *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates* (*CPD*), Vol. IV, House of Representatives, 1 October 1901, pp. 5465–6.

3 *CPD*, Vol. IV, House of Representatives, 1 and 2 October 1901, pp. 5408, 5459; also Vol. V, pp. 5670, 6391, 6641–2, and Vol. V1, pp. 7077, 7079, 7836, 12034.

4 Secretary for Defence to Forrest, 2 October 1901, Department of Defence, B168 02/919, NAA.

5 Edmund Barton, Minute for Governor General, 2 October1901, Minute sent 3 October 1901, Department of Defence, B168 02/919, NAA.

6 *The Times*, 26 October 1901; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 and 29 October 1901; *Bathurst Free Press,* 4 November 1901; Cable, Governor-General, CP 78/21, Bundle 45A, NAA.

7 Hopetoun to Chamberlain, 29 November 1901, secret and unofficial cable, CO 418/10, 461, NAA; Hopetoun to Barton, 1 December 1901, Sir Edmund Barton Papers, MS 51/448, National Library of Australia (NLA), thanking him for proceeding unofficially;

War Office to Colonial Office, 12 December 1901, Chamberlain to Hopetoun, 3 January 1902, secret cable, CO 418/16, 847, 849, Record of the Colonial Office, The National Archives, Kew; Wellington (Private Secretary) to Barton, 7 January1902, enclosing cable, Barton Papers, MS 51/461 & 462, NLA.

8 *Bathurst Free Press*, 7 October 1901; *CPD*, Vol. V, House of Representatives, 31 October 1901, p. 6811.

9 Maurice Grant, *History of the War in South Africa 1899–1902*, Vol. IV, London, Hurst and Blackett Ltd, 1910, p. 242.

10 For the kind of article complained of, see *Maitland Mercury,* 2 October 1901. Although unflattering this article does not seem unjust.

11 *Bathurst Free Press,* 4 October 1901, 18 February 1902; *CPD*, Vol. V1, House of Representatives, 29 November 1901, p. 8063.

12 *Cumberland Argus*, 2 November 1901, p. 13.

13 *CPD*, Vol. IX, House of Representatives, 24 April 1902, pp. 11954, 12034.

A.G.M. Michell: Inventor of the Thrust Bearing

Stephen Phillip

Abstract

Anthony George Maldon (A.G.M.) Michell was undoubtedly one of the greatest Australian engineers. A prolific inventor, he is best known for his tilting pad thrust bearing. It remains one of the greatest inventions in lubrication science, and it revolutionised ship propulsion; without it, modern shipping would not be possible. Michell made significant contributions to Australia's proud engineering heritage and deserves to be more widely acclaimed.[1] This note aims to provide an introduction to Michell for readers of Victorian history.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the world's shipbuilding industry found itself in a crisis. The powerful steam turbine engine was gradually replacing the piston engine, and propeller designs were becoming increasingly efficient. However, ships also require a special bearing to transfer the enormous thrust generated by a propeller to the ship's hull. Existing designs for these thrust bearings were hopelessly inadequate and, as a result, the bearings themselves were prone to catastrophic mechanical failure. This technological problem was causing major difficulties and appeared to be unsolvable.

The severity of this situation was particularly acute in Australia; separated by vast distances from England and Europe, it was heavily reliant upon shipping for both the export of raw goods, such as meat and wool, and the import of finished goods, including machinery. It is therefore fitting that the solution, an entirely new concept in marine thrust bearing, was developed by the young Australian engineer Anthony George Maldon (A.G.M.) Michell (Figure 1). Its application, though, was of universal significance, for it made possible the building of much larger ships. Michell was a world expert in hydraulics and a prolific inventor whose creations, of which the tilting pad thrust bearing is only one, revolutionised the world. He possessed the rare quality of having both a keen mind for the theoretical aspects of engineering and the practical skills to make working products based on his theories.

Figure 1: A.G.M. Michell (Source T.M. Cherry, 'Anthony George Maldon Michell 1870–1959', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, Volume 8, 1962)

A.G.M. Michell was born in London in 1870 and spent his early years in Maldon, the small gold-rush town in the colony of Victoria, and later in Melbourne, until the family returned to the UK in 1884. From an early age he preferred to use the name George. George went to grammar school in England and attended lectures at the University of Cambridge before returning to Melbourne in 1890, where he enrolled at the university and completed a Bachelor of Engineering (1895) and a Master of Engineering four years later. He commenced work as a consulting hydraulic engineer, initially as an assistant to his former lecturer and mentor Bernhard Smith, but soon after he established his own business.[2]

George's older brother John was a brilliant mathematician. He had been 'senior wrangler' at Cambridge University in 1887, was awarded the Smith's Prize two years later, and was elected to a fellowship of Trinity College in 1890. However, these achievements were not without consequence; regarding John's gruelling years at Cambridge, George later wrote that: 'It is probable that the strain which he imposed on himself caused permanent injury to his health and spirits'.[3] In 1890 John had been appointed lecturer in mathematics at the University of Melbourne.[4] Over the next twelve years he published more than twenty research papers on various mathematical topics.[5] In 1923 he became professor of mathematics, a position he held until his retirement at the end of 1928.[6]

By his early 30s George Michell had already created three new inventions—a regenerative pump, a cross-flow turbine, and a water meter. This remarkable achievement is a testament to his creative mind. These devices were produced in large quantities by several Melbourne-based engineering companies. When the Victorian State Rivers and Water Supply Commission issued tenders for the supply of pumping machinery for the numerous irrigation development projects then being implemented along the Murray River, Michell was the consulting engineer to George Weymouth Pty Ltd in Richmond. In this capacity he assisted the company to design and manufacture equipment for these projects. In funding them, the Victorian state government stipulated that the equipment should be manufactured in Australia whenever possible.[7] There were some who believed that there was not sufficient engineering capability or manufacturing resource in the country to

satisfy this requirement; however, these sceptics were quickly proved wrong.

The configuration of a typical pumping installation consisted of a boiler, a steam engine, and a water pump. The boiler produced high-pressure steam to power the engine, which was directly coupled to the pump. Thompson and Co., based in Castlemaine, manufactured the boilers and steam engines.[8] The boilers were designed to run on wood fuel, and logs of Murray Pine or Red Gum were typically used because they generated a large heat output and were in abundant supply in the districts along the river. The steam engines were of the high-speed triple-expansion type, the first such engines to be made in Australia.

George Weymouth Pty Ltd won most of the contracts for supply of the water pumps, largely thanks to the technical advice provided by Michell. Owing to their elevation above the Murray River, many of the sites, such as those at Nyah (near Swan Hill), Merbein (near Mildura), Cohuna (near Kerang), and Red Cliffs (near Mildura) required the Smith–Michell regenerative pump.

Michell's most significant invention, however, was the tilting pad thrust bearing. He became aware of the serious deficiencies with existing thrust bearings through his extensive experience with water pumps and turbines, which require a bearing to absorb the thrust developed along the length of the shaft, when running. The existing bearing designs consisted of a large number of flat collars attached to the rotating shaft which made contact with fixed plane shoes. When a load was applied to these bearings, the lubricant between the rotating collars and stationary shoes was squeezed out, allowing these parts to come into direct contact. As a result, the bearings experienced high friction, causing them to overheat and eventually seize.

The creation of the modern thrust bearing originated with a study of journal bearings. A journal bearing is the simplest type of bearing and consists of a support block with a hole through the centre, into which a shaft is placed. The gap between the rotating shaft and the stationary block is filled with lubricating oil.

In 1884 English inventor and railway engineer Beauchamp Tower had conducted an extensive experimental investigation into journal bearings. Tower tested many different configurations of bearing and found that some performed much better than others. Two years later, British engineer and physicist Osborne Reynolds published a

technical paper, 'On the Theory of Lubrication and its Application to Mr Beauchamp Tower's Experiments'. Reynolds' paper contained a mathematical analysis of the pressure and flow conditions within the oil of an operating journal bearing and was able to explain Tower's experimental observations. The paper concluded that bearings are able to sustain considerable loads only if the lubricating oil between the shaft and block is able to take on the shape of a tapered wedge.[9] The pressure developed in the wedge of oil supports the load and prevents metal-to-metal contact.

When Michell read Reynolds' paper, he realised that he could invent a new configuration of thrust bearing that employed this principle of a tapered wedge of oil. To achieve this configuration, he arranged six sector-shaped pads in a ring around the shaft. In this configuration, each pad is stationary relative to a collar that is attached to the rotating shaft but rests on a support on which it can pivot. The pads are therefore able to tilt at a small angle relative to the collar. The whole assembly is enclosed in a housing filled with oil. When the bearing is set in motion, the pads pivot on their support so that the gap at the front (leading edge) is larger than the gap at the rear (trailing edge). This forms a wedge shape filled with oil between the pads and the collar. For the bearing to work properly, a continuous supply of oil is required at the front edge of each pad (Figures 2 and 3).

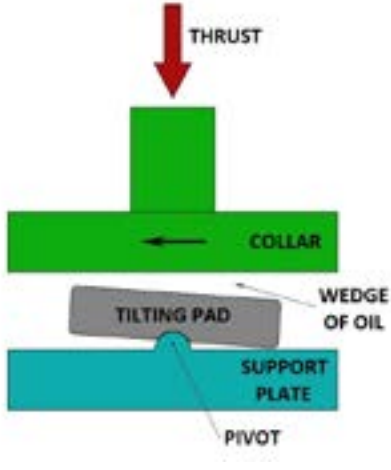

Figure 2: Simplified layout of Michell's tilting pad thrust bearing
(Source Stephen Phillip)

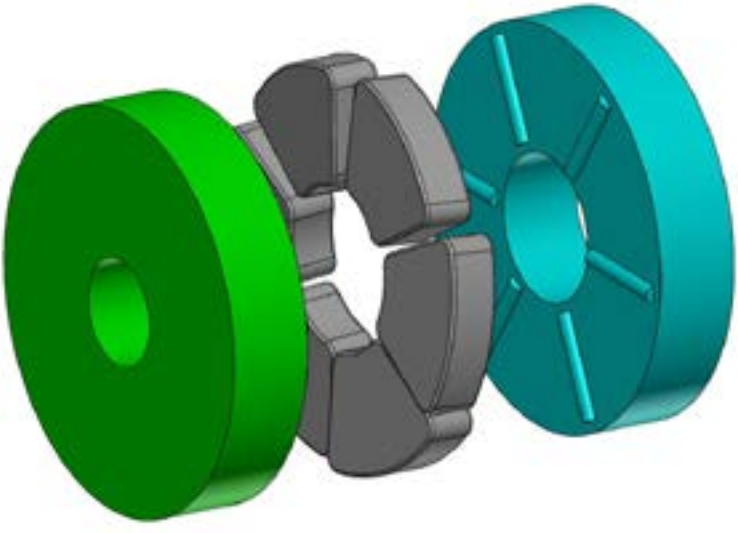

Figure 3: Exploded view of Michell's tilting pad thrust bearing
(Source Stephen Phillip)

In tackling the problem of the thrust bearing, Michell employed the methodical process he used to solve all of his technical challenges. First he visualised the general physical layout of the bearing. He then developed a mathematical model of it and derived the equations that defined its operating capabilities. Finally, he constructed a prototype and conducted experiments on it to verify that the performance matched the theory. From the mathematical model of his new thrust bearing, Michell was able to calculate the load it could support and its frictional losses. Compared to existing bearings, his new bearing could support ten times the load with one-twentieth of the frictional loss.

Michell obtained British and Australian patents for his new tilting pad thrust bearing in 1905. He did not obtain a US patent, a mistake that he came to regret in future years, because the American engineer Albert Kingsbury subsequently invented and, in 1910, was granted a patent for a similar product.[10]

In 1907 the world's first Michell thrust bearings were manufactured by Weymouth Pty Ltd; they were then installed in a number of new centrifugal water pumps at the pumping station in the Victorian town of Cohuna and were a complete success when put into operation.[11]

The Michell thrust bearing soon became very popular in land-based applications. Within five years, Michell had signed manufacturing licence agreements with 70 companies in 14 countries, including 38 in the UK and 11 in France. Three Australian companies also made the bearing under licence: John Walker and Co., Poole and Steel, Thompson and Co.[12] However, the enormous potential of the thrust bearing's application to ship propulsion remained elusive for many years, because the highly conservative marine engineers were reluctant to try such an innovative product. They could not believe that the 'ridiculously small' device could sustain such high loads, and indeed a leading British engineer of the time scoffed that: 'Even if it is successful, I cannot see any field for it'.[13]

The breakthrough finally occurred in 1913, when the cross-channel steamer TSS *Paris* became the first ship in the world to be fitted with the Michell thrust bearing (Figure 4). Built by the shipbuilding firm Denny of Dumbarton, the ship was powered by two geared turbines, each of 10,000 horsepower, and had a top speed of 23 knots. Each propeller generated a thrust of 24 tons that was supported by a single Michell thrust bearing.

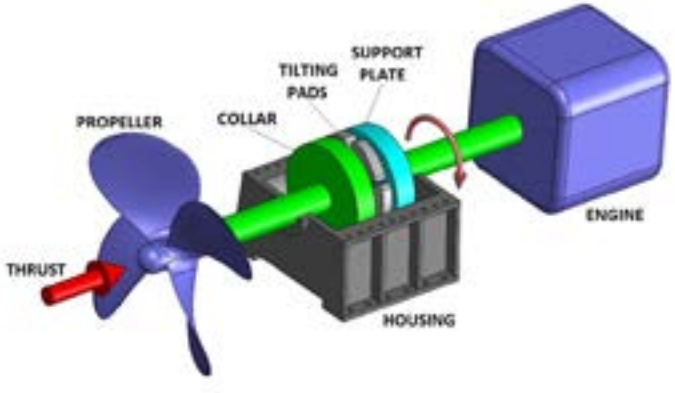

Figure 4: Michell's thrust bearing applied to ship propulsion (Source Stephen Phillip)

The sea trials of the *Paris* were so successful that within a year Michell's bearing was universally specified on all ships built in British shipyards, including those for the Royal Navy. Vice-Admiral Sir George Goodwin, engineer-in-chief of the Royal Navy, said of the Michell bearing:

> The true principles of lubrication, so long known but not utilised, have now been applied in a manner which can properly be described as revolutionary. The practical solution of the problem has been effected by Mr Michell in no uncertain manner and it has been adopted unreservedly in the Navy with complete success.[14]

The enormous success of the tilting pad thrust bearing catapulted Michell to world fame. His elegant and remarkable solution to the perplexing problem of the thrust bearing ensured that, at least for a while, his name was well known in engineering circles.

In 1919 Michell's thrust-bearing patent was due to expire. He made a formal request to the British High Court of Justice for an extension of time, citing the ship industry's long delay in adopting the bearing. Michell provided compelling evidence and the Royal Navy supplied an endorsement, resulting in a seven-year extension being granted.

The following year, Michell and his business associate, Henry Newbigin, established the Michell Bearing company in Newcastle upon Tyne, England. The company began manufacturing large numbers of thrust bearings for use in marine and land-based applications (Figure 5). These were sold to countries throughout the world, except for those in North and South America, where Michell's rival Albert Kingsbury sold thrust bearings under his own patent.

Michell maintained an active interest in the welfare of the company that bore his name but did not involve himself in its operations. He politely declined requests to assist with running the company, primarily because he did not consider himself a businessman. He believed that the main ongoing challenges for the company were to increase sales and consolidate the manufacturing process, and in neither of these areas did he consider himself an expert. The company is still in operation and remains one of the world's leading suppliers of tilting pad thrust bearings.

Owing to the vital importance of shipping in Britain, Michell was better known there than in his home country of Australia. A story, perhaps apocryphal but often told, relates to HMS *Hood* during her circumnavigation of the world from November 1923 to September 1924. Accompanied by HMS *Repulse* and vessels of the First Light Cruiser Squadron, HMS *Hood* undertook the 'Cruise of the Special Service Squadron', also known to the public as the 'Empire Cruise', which visited many countries during its journey of more than 38,150

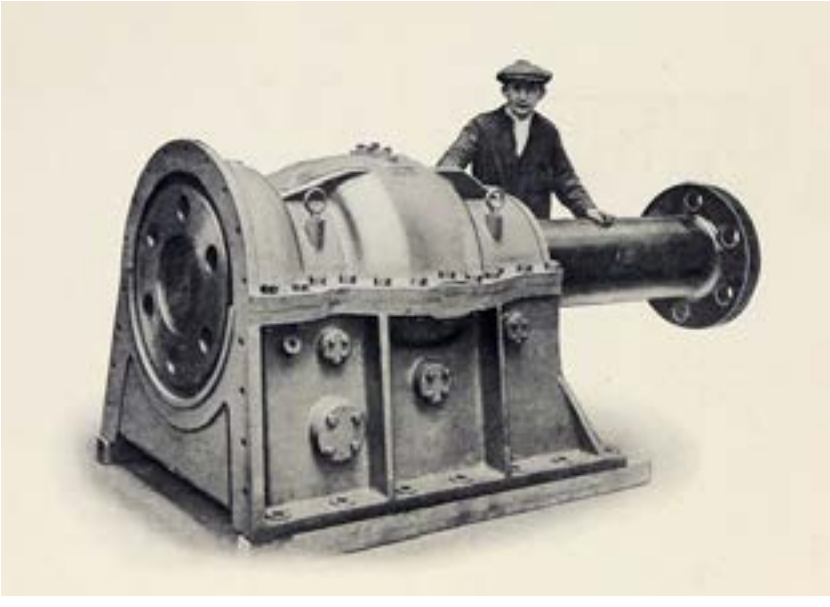

Figure 5: Type C thrust bearing produced by Michell Bearings (Source *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History*, at www.gracesguide.co.uk/Michell_Bearings)

miles. One purpose of the trip was to visit the dominions of the British Empire and remind them of their dependence upon British sea power.

Upon its arrival in Melbourne in March 1924, the ship was met by a welcoming committee of politicians, naval officers, and civic leaders. After the formal introductions, the ship's commander asked, 'But where is Mr Michell? We've all been looking forward to meeting him'. An awkward silence followed, after which the leading official asked, 'Who is Mr Michell?'[15]

For most of his adult life Michell lived at his property, Monda, in the Melbourne suburb of Camberwell. He shared this large house with his brother John, and sisters Grace and Amelia. Behind the house Michell kept a well-equipped workshop, in which he constructed and tested prototypes of his inventions. But Michell had long wished to own a country property, so in 1911 he purchased several hundred acres of land near the town of Bunyip, located 50 miles east of Melbourne. He called this property Ruramihi, which is Latin for 'the fields of mine', and on it he built a timber homestead, which was pleasantly furnished and very comfortable. He considered this country retreat essential to his

'mental health and comfort'; it became an integral part of his life, and he spent many of his weekends there.

Over the following years George Michell expanded Ruramihi by purchasing much of the adjacent forest area so that eventually the property covered more than 1,300 acres. He described it as his forest–farm and claimed that it provided 'most of the foods and not a few of the other material accessories and amenities requisite to affluent and refined human life'. He developed the property into a well-rounded and self-sufficient farm; he grew flax, planted a variety of acacia trees, some of which were used to produce tan bark, and kept sheep and horses. George also became a keen orchardist and planted large areas at Ruramihi with apple and pear trees. He described the style of life that he enjoyed there as 'quasi Utopian' and wrote that 'no other dwelling places can ever be compatible with durable happiness for mankind, or with the permanent stability of any human society'.[16]

For many years Michell was the consulting hydraulic engineer to the State Electricity Commission of Victoria (SECV). In June 1919 the SECV requested him to undertake 'investigations into the feasibility of utilising certain known water-power resources of the State for the purpose of the production of electrical energy upon a considerable scale. These particular resources comprise the Kiewa River, the Rubicon River, and the Sugarloaf Basin at Eildon Weir'. The Kiewa River begins on the slopes of Mt Bogong, the highest mountain in Victoria, and heads north to join the Murray River near Albury. Construction of the Hume Dam on the Murray River had recently commenced, and, when completed in 1936, it would be the largest dam in the southern hemisphere.

Michell undertook an extensive analysis for the design and construction of a hydroelectric power station on the Kiewa River. He conservatively estimated that a power output of 30 MW could be reliably delivered based on the water flow available, even during years with minimal rainfall. He also conducted a preliminary analysis for a proposed hydroelectric power station using the water stored in Eildon Weir. Based on historical rainfall data, he estimated a power output of 6.5 MW. In September 1920 Michell submitted his report to the SECV; it included the design layout for suitable schemes, technical details, power calculations, and an estimated cost for construction.[17] By this stage, however, the commissioners had already committed to building a coal-fired power station at Morwell. Michell's proposal for a

hydroelectric power station at Kiewa was shelved. However, the SECV did build a power station at Eildon, which was completed in 1929. Construction of a power station on the Kiewa River, considerably larger than Michell's original proposal, was eventually commenced in 1937 and was completed twenty years later.

Michell's other significant innovation was the crankless engine, which absorbed much of his time and energy in the period 1920–32. In the Michell crankless engine, the pistons are oriented parallel to the drive shaft and engage with a thick disc (called the slant), which is attached to the drive shaft at an angle. The slant translates the reciprocating (back and forth) motion of the pistons into the rotating motion of the shaft (Figures 6 and 7).

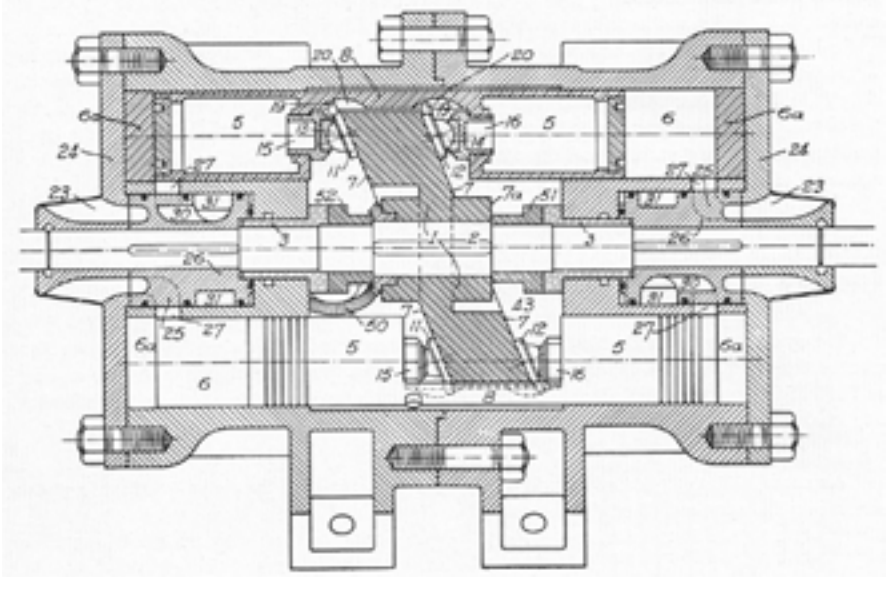

Figure 6: Cross-section view of Michell's crankless engine (Source Michell's British Patent 118098, crankless engine, 1917)

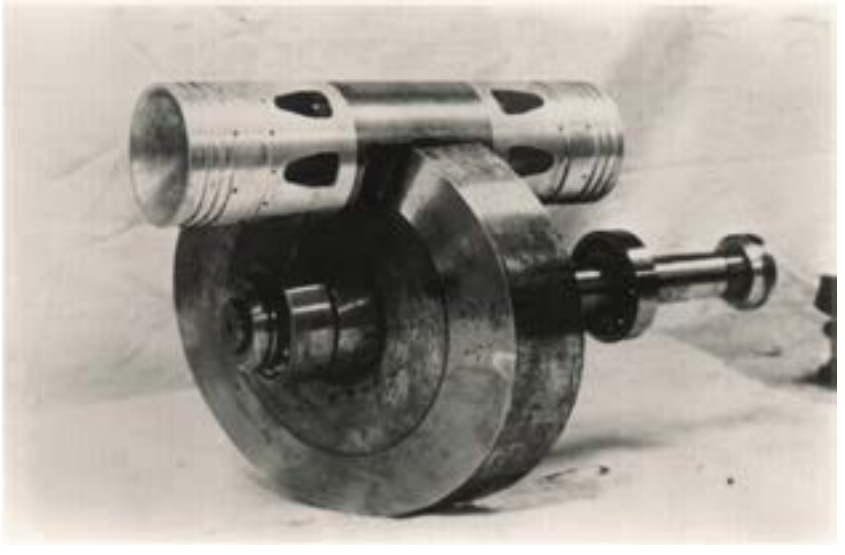

Figure 7: Piston and slant from crankless engine (Courtesy Museum Victoria)

In 1920 Michell founded the Crankless Engines Company and established a workshop in the inner Melbourne suburb of Fitzroy. More than 50 prototype crankless devices were manufactured at the workshop for a diverse range of applications, including automobile engines, airplane engines, compressors, water pumps, and gas boosters. Michell installed a crankless car engine into a Buick and arranged for it to be taken to the US and demonstrated to both Ford and General Motors. Although both companies were impressed with the crankless engine's performance and agreed that it was more efficient than their equivalent production engines, they did not adopt it.

The legendary engine designer, Phil Irving, considered it the 'greatest stroke of luck imaginable' when he started work at the Crankless Engines workshop as a draftsman.[18] Irving's passion for motorcycles prompted him to develop a crankless motorcycle engine, and on his own initiative he drew up a concept layout for a compact air-cooled engine. It comprised three cylinders of 50 mm stroke and 54 mm bore and had a capacity of 344 cc. Irving even purchased a second-hand ABC motorcycle, into which he intended to instal one of the crankless engines. Parts for six engines were made, but the workshop was closed

before they could be assembled. Irving said of Michell: 'In sober truth he was one of the most—in fact, probably the most—gifted and versatile engineer ever to grace the Australian scene'.[19] Years later, Irving was working as an engine designer at Repco Research in Melbourne. His thoughts returned to his 3-cylinder crankless motorcycle engine, and this time he actually built and tested a number of prototypes. They worked extremely well, and his demonstrations to the other engineers generated a strong interest. He was, however, unable to convince management to commercialise this opportunity.

The crankless design was compact and efficient, and worked equally well when run as a compressor. Technologically the crankless engine was a remarkable innovation, and, even though it did not ultimately bring about a major revolution as the thrust bearing had, it did achieve some commercial success. In 1924 the Waller Company, based in Stroud (England), took out an exclusive manufacturing licence for crankless boosters and compressors in England. It supplied many crankless gas boosters to the gas industry, both in the UK and worldwide, including fifteen sent to Australia. These boosters were used to maintain pressure in the town gas supply lines for delivery to homes and factories. The company also supplied the British Admiralty with compact compressors, which produced compressed air at a pressure of 3,500 psi (24 MPa) for firing torpedoes from submarines.[20]

In 1928 the National Gas Engines Company, based in Ashton-under-Lyne (England), took out an exclusive licence for the manufacture of crankless gas engines in Britain. National Gas made dozens of crankless engines over several decades. In 1932 the Sterling Engine Company based in Buffalo (USA) obtained a manufacturing licence for crankless diesel engines. These were to be used primarily on speed boats, cruisers and pleasure craft. At this time Michell was living in America in order to pursue business opportunities for his numerous crankless devices. Charles Criqui, president of the Sterling Engine Company, fitted his cruiser boat *Silverheels* with crankless engines and undertook a promotional cruise from New York to Miami, and back. Sterling produced a modest number of crankless engines throughout the 1930s. Steel Products Engineering Company (SPECO), based in Springfield (USA), developed several crankless aircraft engines under contract for the US Navy. In 1943 the company built a prototype of the largest of these, model 'XB-4070'. This 18-piston engine had a rated

power output of 2,000 hp, weighed 2,150 pounds, and had a capacity of 66 litres. It was delivered to the US Navy, where it passed all the ground-based testing before the project was cancelled.[21] Large piston engines such as these for use on aircraft were subsequently rendered obsolete by the development of the jet engine.

In 1934 George Michell was elected a fellow of the Royal Society (FRS), London. His brother John had been elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1902. Then, in 1942, George was awarded the highly prestigious James Watt International Gold Medal, which is presented by the Institution of Mechanical Engineers for outstanding contributions to mechanical engineering. Michell was unable to attend the presentation ceremony in London as World War II was in progress; however, he was able to listen to a direct radio broadcast of the proceedings, which had been specially arranged by the BBC.[22] In presenting the award, Professor Andrew Robertson, the vice president of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, described the Michell bearing: 'Few inventions have provided so complete a solution to an engineering problem, and it belongs to that small class in which there is little scope left for further practical development'. Indeed, the tilting pad thrust bearings manufactured today are remarkably similar to Michell's original design.

In 1950, at the age of 80, George Michell completed his 'magnum opus', the textbook *Lubrication: Its Principles and Practice*. Published by Blackie of London, it deals with the mathematics of fluid flow, lubrication of surfaces, and the practical application of lubrication theory to the design of machinery.

A.G.M. Michell died on 17 February 1959 at his home in Camberwell, in which he had lived for 62 years. He had accumulated considerable wealth; his estate was valued for probate at £174,000.[23] He never married and had no children.

T.M. Cherry, professor of mathematics at Melbourne University, said of Michell: 'He had the introversion that is natural to a thinker, but he had also the positive feeling that adults should conform to serious standards, and that to be taken seriously a man should pass the hard test of being completely sincere'.[24]

A.J. Francis, professor of civil engineering at Melbourne University, wrote: 'Rarely in the history of engineering can theory and practice have been so happily blended as in the person of Anthony George

Maldon Michell. He wrote as he thought, with precision, clarity, and deep mathematical insight'.[25]

In 1964 a new building for Civil Engineering was officially opened at the University of Melbourne. Within this building is a laboratory devoted to the study of hydraulics and named the 'Michell Hydraulic Laboratory' in honour of A.G.M. Michell. To further perpetuate the memory of Michell, the Mechanical College of Engineers Australia awards the A.G.M. Michell Medal each year. This award is presented for outstanding service to mechanical engineering. Professor John Crisp, who received the award in 1984, described Michell as 'arguably Australia's most versatile Engineer'.[26]

On occasion George used as a motto 'Theory is the captain, practice the soldiers', a slightly altered version of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Science is the captain, practice the soldiers', which precisely and succinctly described Michell's approach to tackling engineering problems. Despite his achievements, Michell remained a genuinely modest man. His contributions, both theoretical and practical, remain a fascinating and vitally important part of Australia's engineering heritage.

Notes

1 This article draws on information and arguments expounded in Stephen Phillip, *What Came Out of the Box: A Biography of AGM Michell*, Victoria BC, Tellwell Talent, 2020.

2 See Sydney Walker, 'Michell, Anthony George Maldon (1870–1959)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/michell-anthony-george-maldon-7567/text13207, published first in hardcopy 1986.

3 A.G.M. Michell, 'John Henry Michell 1863–1940', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, Vol. 3, 1941, pp. 363–82. The term 'senior wrangler' refers to the top mathematics undergraduate at Cambridge University.

4 Michell, 'John Henry Michell 1863–1940'.

5 Michell, 'John Henry Michell 1863–1940'.

6 Michell, 'John Henry Michell 1863–1940'; see also T.M. Cherry, 'Michell, John Henry (1863–1940)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, at http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/michell-john-henry-7568/text132079, published first in hardcopy 1986.

7 A.G.M. Michell, 'Irrigation Pumping Plants', *Australian Mining and Engineering Review*, 5 August 1909, pp. 363–8.

8 T.M. Williams, 'Thompsons of Castlemaine, 1865–1925: A Company History', MA thesis. Monash University, 1996.

9 Osborne Reynolds, 'On the Theory of Lubrication and Its Application to Mr Beauchamp Tower's Experiments Including an Experimental Determination of the Viscosity of Olive Oil', *Philosophical Transactions of the* Royal *Society of London*, vol. 177, 1886, pp. 157–234.

10 The situation is made more complicated by differing patent laws. In USA it is 'first to invent', so patent priority is given to the person who first invents (and can prove it). In the UK and Australia, it is 'first to lodge', so patent priority is given to the person who first lodges a formal patent application. Kingsbury was able to prove that he had first started experimenting on the new thrust bearing design in 1897, even though he did not formally apply for a patent until 1907 (eventually granted in 1910). Michell started his theoretical and experimental work on the new thrust bearing in 1905 and lodged patent applications in the same year. Even if Michell had applied for a US patent in 1905, Kingsbury would have been able to successfully contest it using the 'first to invent' rule. Both inventors claimed that they were unaware of each other's work when inventing their bearing.

11 T.M. Cherry, 'Anthony George Maldon Michell 1870–1959', *Biographical Memoirs* of *Fellows of the Royal Society*, Vol. 8, 1962, pp. 91–103.

12 H.T. Newbigin, *The Michell Bearing Book*, privately published, 1916. Appendix: 'List of Firms Making Michell Bearings under License'.

13 'Michell, the Engineer', *Herald* (Melbourne), 8 July 1942. The 'leading British engineer' is not named.

14 Sir George Goodwin, 'Presidential Address to the Institute of Metals', *Journal of the Institute of Metals*, vol. XXIII, no. 1, 1920.

15 Derek Ravenscroft, 'A Gentle and Unassuming Man', also titled 'Anthony George Maldon Michell, MCE FRS', 1994 and 2008, 2 volumes, typescript, MS 9717, National Library of Australia.

16 Cherry, 'Anthony George Maldon Michell 1870–1959'.

17 Electricity Commissioners, 'Report on Kiewa Hydro-Electric Scheme, together with Report of A.G.M. Michell', 1920, at VPARL1920-2ndSessionNo15.pdf (parliament.vic.gov.au).

18 P.E. Irving, *Phil Irving: An Autobiography*, Sydney, Turton & Armstrong, 1992.

19 Irving.

20 Sydney Walker, 'Modest Man of Genius: A Complete History of the Michell Crankless Engine', typescript, Institution of Engineers, Australia, 1972.

21 Information in this paragraph is sourced from Walker, 'Modest Man of Genius'.

22 Duncan Dowson, 'Men of Tribology', *Journal of Lubrication Technology*, vol. 102, no. 1, January 1980, pp. 1–7.

23 Will of A.G.M. Michell, dated 6 April 1956.

24 Cherry, 'Anthony George Maldon Michell 1870–1959'.

25 A.J. Francis, 'Mr A.G.M. Michell, F.R.S.', *Nature*, vol. 183, no. 4677, 20 June 1959, pp. 1714–15.

26 Walker, 'Michell, Anthony George Maldon (1870–1959)'.

REVIEWS

'I Wonder': The Life and Work of Ken Inglis

Edited by Peter Browne and Seumas Spark. Monash University Publishing, Melbourne 2020. Pp. xvii + 382. $39.95, paperback.

'I think Ken Inglis is the greatest historian in the country.' Coming from Russel Ward in 1979, that comment was close to a coronation. The bright and beanpole-thin Inglis had penned influential short pieces such as 'Anzac: The Substitute Religion' and 'Monuments and Ceremonies as Evidence for Historians', regularly contributed to the Sydney *Nation*, and helped launch the University of Papua New Guinea. By 1979 he was in Canberra planning a pioneering history of the ABC while shepherding a collaboration by 500 historians that would yield the ten volumes of *Australians: A Historical Library* for the 1988 bicentennial. Somehow, he was not crushed by all this effort or by any expectations roused by Ward's praise. Inglis never completed his own four-volume history of Australia hinging on Anzac, but astutely reimagined its coda as *Sacred Places*, a prize-winning history of Australian war memorials and the personal pain and national mythology they represented. He was writing a collective biography of the *Dunera* exiles when he died in 2017.

A year earlier, the history profession thanked Inglis for his leadership, scholarship, journalism and sheer likability at a Monash University colloquium where Joy Damousi called him a formidable role model and Graham Davison hailed the range, depth and fertility of his writing. How Inglis came to earn praise like this, and whether he deserved it, can be judged from this intelligent adaptation and extension of the 2016 symposium's papers.

The book's 22 short chapters, by different authors, look at Inglis's upbringing and education, his writings, and his academic posts. If a couple read like after-dinner tributes, many are also keen and critical assessments, some solicited after the symposium. Stuart Macintyre points to Inglis's early Christian faith, literary influences and graduate training. Robert Dare makes a case for Adelaide—where the 30-something Inglis first wrote on Anzac and championed an Arrente man charged with murder—being central to his intellectual journey.

Graeme Davison charts Inglis's respectful but insightful approach to Anzac and its meanings. Martin Crotty and Frank Bongiorno look squarely at two dead ends in an otherwise fruitful career—a retreat from publishing a critical account of veterans visiting Gallipoli in 1965, and the abandonment of the projected grand history of Australia. Peter Stanley charts the happier story of writing *Sacred Places*.

All the authors knew Inglis and were sometimes part of whatever story they describe. What they say of the man occasionally gushes but cumulatively suggests why he was successful. Yes, he was conversant with multiple histories from socialism to radio and posed useful questions about the past, but this was only part of the reason. Inglis was tall, benign, eager to listen and gently firm, which made him a valued colleague and project leader. His sharp memory, ability to touch type, and invaluable support from research assistants of the calibre of Jan Brazier and Seumas Spark enabled him to write an enormous number of words. And, although no contributor makes enough of this, he was a middle-class man of British ancestry when this still guaranteed privilege and precedence. Like some of his peers, Inglis laboured to cede that privilege, but its benefits remained throughout his professional life.

Was Ken Inglis the greatest historian in the country? Geoffrey Blainey and Gavin Souter, his exact contemporaries, sometimes saw further than he did. He could never quite inhabit the minds of men and women living well before his own time as, say, Beverley Kingston did in *Glad, Confident Morning*. Hugh Stretton, one of his early mentors, counselled him to get down off the fence when writing, to thunder as well as wonder, but he remained reluctant to do so. There were limits to his wondering that sometimes resembled blinders; Peter Cochrane once pointed to Inglis's refusal to write about trophy guns, those militant early companions to so many war memorials.

But, as this book brings out, the positive side of the ledger was as varied as it was impressive. He was an early analyst of churches as social institutions as well as memorials as indexes of collective experience. His history of the ABC remains the standard work on the subject. His writing was always a delight to read and remains so. For all his respectfulness, he could use humour as effectively as Barry Humphries to skewer an opinion he disliked. At his prime he was an inspiring teacher and supervisor. Above all this, he did what he could to help Papua New Guinea to its feet and save that Arrente man from hanging.

In the 1990s I discussed Inglis's achievement with him while editing a collection of his shorter writing. He rated his achievement at the Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher level—well below the Shakespearean, in other words. He was wrong about that. *'I Wonder'* reminds us that Ken Inglis saw his society from the impressive altitude of a Ben Jonson, jotted down in elegant words some of what he saw, and kept his head while doing so.

Craig Wilcox

A White Hot Flame: Mary Montgomerie Bennett—Author, Educator, Activist for Indigenous Justice

By Sue Taffe. Monash University Publishing, Melbourne 2018. Pp. 468. $34.95, paperback.

Sue Taffe's *A White Hot Flame* is a terrific biography of an extraordinary woman that deserves a wide readership. Her subject is the passionate English–Australian activist for Aboriginal rights, Mary Montgomerie Bennett, who was born into English gentility in London in 1881, enrolled at the Royal Academy of the Arts, presented to the court of King George V and Queen Mary in 1913, married briefly to an older sea captain, then migrated to Western Australia where she died in 1961, in Kalgoorlie, in the desert country of her friends the Wongatha people. Taffe's engaging and detailed biographical study rests on ten years of multi-archival research conducted across Australia and the United Kingdom, as well as numerous conversations with people who knew Bennett, including her sister's descendants and her many Aboriginal friends and students.

Bennett was a dedicated schoolteacher, craftworker, writer, mentor, indefatigable researcher and political advocate. But she is best remembered historically for her searing critique of settler colonialism, which included an indictment of the extensive economic and sexual exploitation of Indigenous people—'under a system analogous to slavery'—resulting from settlers' 'land greed'. Her various letters to the press, articles, books and evidence to the Moseley royal commission in Western Australia were distinctive in their combination of rigorous research, analytical insight and deep feeling for Aboriginal suffering,

especially that of young women trafficked between Indigenous and settler men and the mothers cruelly robbed of their children.

A White Hot Flame is a testament to Taffe's deep commitment to her subject as well as to her subject's compelling life story. Bennett was born in London, the first child of Robert and his (second) wife Mary Christison, a talented actor and artist, shortly after Robert's return to his pastoral station, Lammermoor, located on Dalleburra country in north west Queensland, acquired decades before in 1867. Although, as Taffe emphasises, the young Mary Christison actually spent very little of her childhood and youth on the Queensland property—just 'five magical winters' after first visiting when she was twelve—it became a fabled place, memorialised in her adoring portrait of her father, *Christison of Lammermoor* and subsequent accounts of her upbringing: 'I grew up among the Dalleburra'.

Her father employed the Dalleburra as stockmen and domestic workers—and collected their artefacts for the British Museum—and his children were for a time cared for by their faithful servant Wyma. Robert Christison dedicated himself to Lammermoor for around 50 years, but his daughter Mary lived between worlds—'almost rootless'—spending part of her childhood in Hobart and taking eleven trips between Australia and England, including during World War II. Her father's profits from pastoralism gave her an independent income for life, and she had no children.

That Bennett thought of herself as an Englishwoman until the end surprises Taffe. But this identification, it seems to me, was crucial to the imperial perspective Bennett brought to her critique of rampant and rapacious settler colonialism in Australia. Her fierce criticism of settlers was also informed by her work with Australian feminists from the late 1920s into the 1930s—her excoriation of white men's sexual rapacity, her condemnation of Aboriginal polygamy, her insistence on the sanctity of women's bodies, and her efforts to train Aboriginal women to be self-supporting. After the Second World War, with the advent of the United Nations, Bennett was drawn to the language of human rights, publishing *Human Rights for Aborigines* in 1957.

It was feminist historians, as Taffe notes in a very long footnote, whose work from the 1990s first drew attention to the significance of Bennett's passionate advocacy on behalf of dispossessed Indigenous peoples. Bennett needed support for her crusade and found it first

among feminists active at the British Commonwealth League in London and the Women's Service Guilds in Perth, becoming friends with Constance Ternent Cooke, Ada Bromham and Edith Jones. In 2015 Alison Holland published an excellent book-length study of Bennett as a campaigner for human rights, and for many years a prize in women's history has been awarded in Bennett's name. It would be appropriate for the award to include a copy of Taffe's biography.

Taffe notes in the introduction that, prior to her work and despite the wealth of feminist history written about Bennett, there had been no detailed study of Bennett's whole life, especially her childhood and early adulthood. She suggests persuasively that it is in these formative years that we might locate the source of the activist's sustaining passion, her devotion to working 'single-mindedly … for justice for Aboriginal Australians'. Taffe describes Bennett's deeply conflicted feelings about Lammermoor—her increasing awareness of the brutality of European settlement, the extent of the killings, the fact that northern Queensland had become a 'war zone', even as she continued to idolise her father as an exemplary pioneer and romanticise her relations with the Dalleburra. Her father's story was an honourable one, she always insisted, yet her own independent income that freed her from working for a living derived from the land taken from the 'murdered race'. Bennett worked all her life, Taffe suggests, to atone for her family's complicity in the extermination and dispossession of Indigenous peoples in Australia. To grasp the extent of Bennett's commitment to Aboriginal justice—and the places it took her—you will need to read *A White Hot Flame*.

Marilyn Lake

Distant Sisters: Australasian Women and the International Struggle for the Vote 1880–1914

By James Keating. Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2020. Pp. xii + 257. £80.00, hardback.

Although New Zealand and Australian women were the first in the world to win the right to vote at national elections, in 1893 and 1902 respectively, their work and interactions have received scant comparative

historical analysis. Furthermore, apart from some important biographical studies, discussion of Australasian women's awareness of and active participation in the broader international women's movement in the years before World War I has been limited to a few articles and a chapter in a recent history of the National Council of Women of Australia. The international and transnational turns in histories of Australian women's political activism have until now largely focused on post-suffrage engagement in the period after 1920. James Keating's *Distant Sisters* is thus an important book because it tackles both of these omissions in the literature, specifically emphasising the 'international struggle for the vote'. It is meticulously researched, elegantly written and skilfully organised, building on international as well as local research and eschewing simple celebratory conclusions about Australasian women's global engagement. Thus, while acknowledging the positive achievements, it emphasises contingency, contradictions and limitations, especially in imagining an Australian identity and forging trans-Tasman cooperation. Although the arguments are complex and the trajectories and outcomes of Australasian women's international outreach were not always clear, the division of this book into organisational dimensions and communication strategies provides an effective framework for grasping the extent of these women's persistent efforts, in the face of frustrations and setbacks, to situate themselves in what historian Leila Rupp termed the 'worlds of women'.

Chapters 1 and 2 focus first on the earliest international women's organisation, the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and its branches in Australia and New Zealand, and second on the Australasian and international suffrage movement, broadly interpreted to include the International Council of Women and the Australasian councils as well as the International Woman Suffrage Association (IWSA) and its Australasian delegates and correspondents.

Although it is axiomatic that the WCTU played a key role in all the Australian and New Zealand campaigns for the vote, Keating's close-grained analysis of records of local branches on the one hand and the WCTU of Australasia on the other questions the depth of commitment beyond the leadership. Furthermore, the World's WCTU showed little interest in the achievements of the Australasian unions or in suffrage itself after the death of its American founder and leader, Frances Willard, in 1898. Moreover, with the vote won, the Australian unions returned

to moral and parochial issues, despite the efforts of the indefatigable Elizabeth Nicholls to strengthen the WCTU's national and international leadership on women's suffrage and citizenship rights.

At the conference held in Washington to plan the IWSA in 1902, it seemed that Australasian women were destined to play a leading role in the organisation's future. But Keating demonstrates that, despite Vida Goldstein's initial importance and president Carrie Chapman Catt's ongoing urgings, 'genuine Australian voting women' were largely absent from its meetings until the 1920s. While the spasmodic and inconsistent attendance of Australian women at IWSA conferences before 1920 has long been attributed to the cost and time spent travelling to meetings held exclusively in Europe and North America, Keating argues that this was less important than the lack of a truly national women's citizenship organisation before Bessie Rischbieth formed the Australian Federation of Women Voters in the 1920s. While a number of pre-war Australian and New Zealand suffragists did travel and make their mark in the USA and the UK as individuals, it is true they did not usually do so as national delegates to the major women's international organisations established in this period. But money and distance are not unimportant explanatory factors for sporadic representation. Consistent attendance at conferences required the wealth and time to make repeated trips and was rare, a notable exception being Emily Dobson's self-funded participation in the ICW. Few pre-war women's organisations could afford to sponsor delegates and instead relied on residents overseas acting as proxies or members attending an international conference as part of a once-in-a-lifetime trip.

Keating's remaining three chapters examine Australasian women suffragists' international communication through letter writing, the women's advocacy press, and individual travel, all serving as means of fact finding, networking and exchanging information. The analysis is detailed, sophisticated and illuminating. Keating acknowledges that its compass is inevitably defined by the limits of the archive. The main extant letter collections are those of Sydney's Rose Scott and New Zealand's Kate Sheppard. Both corresponded extensively with leading English and American suffragists, but Keating concludes that the 'epistolary intimacy' said to underpin feminist internationalism in the northern hemisphere was largely absent in Scott's and Sheppard's letters, replaced by a desire to advertise colonial achievement and open avenues

of information exchange with distant metropolitan leaders. For all its limitations, the advocacy press emerges as the most effective means of spreading information locally and overseas, and Keating uses qualitative and quantitative techniques to analyse content and readership. But individual 'suffragists on tour', the final substantive chapter of *Distant Sisters*, best reveals the personal difficulties and disappointments as well as the rewards and achievements of international and national suffrage activism, conveyed here through the travels of Catherine Spence, Kate Sheppard, and Elizabeth Nicholls.

I have just one quibble with this ground-breaking book. Keating has limited its comparative scope to 'three emblematic British colonies—New South Wales, New Zealand and South Australia'. What justification can be made for omitting Victoria—home of Vida Goldstein, arguably Australia's leading suffragist, as well as the site of Australia's most advanced organised women's citizenship movement in this period? Perhaps a focus on Melbourne, the capital of the newly federated nation, would have served to reinforce rather than 'break the fetters of national history'? No explanation has been vouchsafed, but I find the omission both puzzling and disappointing in such an important and exciting book.

Judith Smart

The Personal History of William Buckley: Murrangurk Amongst the First People

By Robert Larkins. Arcadia, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne 2020. Pp. vii + 294. $44.00, paperback.

In *The Personal History of William Buckley: Murrangurk Amongst the First People*, Robert Larkins explores an important cross-cultural subject in Victoria's history, the life of William Buckley (1780–1856). Buckley, an escaped convict, famously lived as Murrangurk for over 30 years amongst the Wadawurrung people of the Kulin Nations, near present-day Geelong.

The book is to be commended for its comprehensive study of Buckley's life, charting it from his roots in Cheshire, England, as a

bricklayer, until his last years in Hobart. A further important feature of the book is Larkins' detailed exploration of Buckley's early life in Victoria, covering the individuals, events, and daily life at the settlement of Sullivan Bay, Victoria's short-lived penal colony in 1803. Within this section, Larkins suggests that the motives of Buckley and fellow convicts in escaping their prison settlement may have been to commandeer a vessel. This part of the book also includes a valuable study of the cross-cultural relations between Sullivan Bay settlers and the Kulin peoples, highlighting the often-violent episodes of those first interactions. Larkins also thoroughly discusses frontier relations in 1835 and the awkwardness Buckley experienced as translator and intermediary, suffering suspicion from both sides of the frontier. Ultimately this led to his departure to Van Diemen's Land in late 1837. These sections of the book provide valuable insight into early frontier relations in Victoria, as well as the history of the Sullivan Bay Settlement.

A welcome feature of the book is the use of the name 'Murrangurk', Buckley's Wadawurrung name, instead of 'Buckley', when Larkins covers the decades of Murrangurk/Buckley as a Wadawurrung man. This firmly places him as a man of differing identities at various stage of his life—William Buckley, the English escaped convict, and Murrangurk, the Wadawurrung man.

Unfortunately, there are some significant geographical inaccuracies. Throughout the book, Larkins (pp. 123, 173, 178) incorrectly lists the nations that make up the political and cultural entity that is the Kulin Nation. These factual errors take the form of an omission and spelling error for the Djadjawurrung nation. Larkins instead lists the Taungwurrung nation twice, providing an alternative spelling of Taungwurrung, 'Daungwurrung', as the Djadjawurrung nation.

Considering that Buckley lived as the Wadawurrung man, Murrangurk, for over 30 years, it is unfortunate that Larkins does not include any perspectives from the contemporary Wadawurrung community. The inclusion of a Wadawurrung viewpoint on Murrangurk/Buckley, as well as on Wadawurrung culture, would have given greater strength to the book. Larkins could have at least drawn upon already published Wadawurrung perspectives, such as from the 2009 documentary film *The Extraordinary Tale of William Buckley*. In this film, the late Wadawurrung elder, Uncle David Tournier, offers his cultural insights on Murrangurk/Buckley's story. An example of where

a cultural explanation was needed is the practice of self-mutilation amongst Wadawurrung women, which Larkins describes as 'very strange' (p. 92). The self-mutilation took place upon Murrangurk/Buckley's adoption/return into the clan because the Wadawurrung believed Buckley was their deceased, and now returned, clansman Murrangurk. Uncle David Tournier provides a cultural explanation of the meaning behind the custom (*The Extraordinary Tale of William Buckley*, 2009):

> Self-mutilation, it's about showing respect, it's there to show that we are going through pain, because you felt pain, we're doing this to show that we care. It's also to show that we are brave, just as brave as you because you've been on this trip and you've come back.

The inclusion of these cultural insights and commentary would have greatly enhanced the book, whereas Larkins' description of Kulin cultural customs as 'strange' simply betrays ignorance. In Larkins' defence, however, we should acknowledge that Buckley himself, then unfamiliar with Wadawurrung culture, would have thought the custom of self-mutilation 'strange'. But, as it stands, Larkins leaves his readers, if they are not familiar with Kulin culture, feeling what he describes as a sense of 'weirdness' towards this 'perceived … bizarre behaviour' (p. 92). This disappointing and judgmental form of description appears elsewhere in the book, feeding into the ongoing colonialist 'othering' and epistemic violence against Australian Indigenous peoples, cultures and knowledges, which figures not only in this book but throughout much Australian history writing.

These criticisms aside, Larkins' research has produced a comprehensive book on the life of William Buckley, contributing further to the scholarship about this famous, yet enigmatic, figure in Victoria's history. The book will also prove a useful and accessible text for those interested in the early colonial history of Victoria, such as the Sullivan Bay penal settlement and early cross-cultural relations.

Jack Norris

Tea in Australia: A History, 1788–2000

By Peter D. Griggs. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2020. Pp. xxx + 714. £80.99, hardback.

Beer, noted the author and journalist Cyril Pearl half a century ago, 'is a religion in Australia'. For all that Australians were long considered to be inveterate beer drinkers, the beverage that most influenced colonial and early twentieth-century society was brewed in a pot or a billy. It was tea upon which the nation was floated. By the mid-nineteenth century, Australians were per capita the world's greatest consumers of the stuff.

For generations, we were 'slaves to the teapot'. Tea was drunk with every meal and often in between, leading one wine merchant to bemoan in 1899 that 'in Victoria tea is rammed down your throat'. In fact, Western Australians and Queenslanders had the distinction of being the greatest tea drinkers by the end of the nineteenth century. Among the reasons given for its popularity—especially in the bush—were tea's transportability and the fact that it required boiling water, which facilitated the destruction of harmful pathogens and parasites in the process. Strong black tea amply laced with sugar was the preferred brew of many a bush worker. In Australia, as in northern England, the word 'tea' became a widely accepted synonym for the evening meal.

One ought to apply the word 'definitive' sparingly in relation to the writing of history, for there is always more to discover and even more to say. If Peter Griggs's history of tea in Australia is not definitive, it is at the very least comprehensive. There seems little concerning the place of tea in colonial and modern Australia that has not at least been mentioned in passing in this lengthy and immensely detailed account, whether served from a billy in a shearing shed or with dainties at the Hopetoun Tea Rooms.

Much of *Tea in Australia* is given over to the importance of tea as a commodity. On balance, the brew's social significance here is secondary to the trade and commerce in tea—its importation, brokerage, regulation, marketing and the eventual rise of a domestic tea-growing industry. In its day, tea was big business. Its traders and merchants became both wealthy and well known. Tea consumption was also intensely parochial, with each major capital having its own importers, packers and favourite labels. The names of tea giants like Griffiths, Bushell, Tuckfield and Timms are still recognisable today, even though

many of their brands have disappeared from the shelves. By the 1890s, Melbourne was the epicentre of the colonial tea trade, with dozens of tea merchants importing from India, Ceylon, the Dutch East Indies and China. Tea auctions occurred all year round.

As with all commodities, there are stories of adulteration and issues of quality, certainty of supply and a flourishing black market due to rationing during World War II. The source of tea in Australia shifted back and forth across Asia as the geopolitics dictated. Meanwhile, tea marketers were in the advance guard of loyalty schemes; everything from free sugar to coupons redeemable for silk stockings, along with collectible cards, might come with a packet of tea.

For younger Australians, the centrality of the teapot to Australian life until quite recently must seem almost unfathomable. Even the teapot itself has largely been relegated to the back of the cupboard, loose leaf tea being steadily replaced from the 1960s onwards by teabags in the name of convenience. (At least the abomination of freeze-dried instant tea introduced in 1969 suffered a swift demise.) Despite its promotion by the temperance movement and the brief rise of the 'coffee palace' in the late nineteenth century, Australians drank little coffee in any form until the 1960s. The influence of European migrants, instant coffee and the rise of a broader coffee culture would all help spell the end of tea's beverage dominance after World War II.

Griggs's account is rich in data. In the 1930s, Australians could choose from around 100 different local brands of black tea. By 2000, there were barely twenty or so, mostly owned by foreign multinationals. In 1938, Australians consumed 3.2 kilograms of tea per person annually. At the start of the 21st century that amount had dropped to less than one kilogram. Not even the rise of boutique teas, nascent domestic production and a range of increasingly curious blends have served to arrest the spiralling decline, which began in the 1970s and rendered tea just another beverage.

Unlike beer or wine, tea's place in the story of Australia has largely remained untold until now. This curious omission is one Peter Griggs has amply addressed in what tea marketers would doubtless call a 'richly satisfying and refreshing brew'. It is full of detail, perhaps not surprising given Griggs is a retired academic, a human geographer whose previous major works include a history of cane sugar production in Australia. *Tea in Australia* is a complex, well-written and generously illustrated

story that tells us much about the social and commercial conditions of an Australia that has all but passed: one where an egalitarian 'cuppa' dictated the daily routine of everyone.

John Schauble

Truganini: Journey through the Apocalypse

By Cassandra Pybus. Allen & Unwin, Sydney 2020. Pp. 336. $32.99, paperback.

Cassandra Pybus is a descendant of one the earliest settlers on Bruny Island, who had benefited from the colonial practice of granting land to European settlers, displacing the original owners. The connection to Truganini and her people is, as she acknowledges, 'fundamental' to her own life story, as she too is ultimately a benefactor.

Pybus challenged herself to 'release these people from entrapment in a paternalistic and self-serving account of the colonial past'. She is a senior academic and accomplished historian with a recognised ability to be able to reveal the story of Truganini, and her people, from their perspective and in a compelling way, thus dispelling the myth that made Truganini merely a symbol of extinction.

Pybus has based Truganini's story primarily on the diaries of George Augustus Robinson. He was appointed by the Van Diemen's Land government in 1829 to conciliate with the Nuenonne clan on Bruny Island. Truganini, a young girl of around sixteen, was Robinson's first contact with this clan when he rescued her from convict woodcutters. A mutual bond of support and protection was then maintained between Robinson, Truganini and some of her kin. It was a unique relationship, and Robinson's detailed daily record of travelling with them for several years provides rare accounts of their lives; it also reveals the beliefs that drove him, his subterfuge, and the Nuenonne people's innocent misunderstanding of his real plans.

With government approval in 1830, Robinson began a 'friendly mission', using Truganini and her kin as key intermediaries to build trust with other Indigenous people, initially in the far west of Van Diemen's Land. But the strategy soon changed to capture and exile, Robinson

claiming a bounty for each person captured alive. It was a strategy he would use right across the island. Robinson acknowledges his reliance on his guides: 'They were well acquainted with the resources of the country and would not allow me to want'. Several times he owed his life to their interventions; more often their lives were lost following his directions.

Pybus accords these people dignity: she gives them appropriate Aboriginal names rather than Robinson's derogatory 'pet' names; their skills are honoured; and the women are given a rare voice, Truganini learning quickly that 'sexuality was a key asset she possessed in her struggle for survival'. Pybus also reveals the reality of those journeys: the endurance of exhaustion and near starvation at times, often at risk from hostile clans, Truganini and others suffering from syphilis, some dying of dysentery.

Pybus shows how Robinson's plans were paternalistic, and always duplicitous. Ultimately, he would secure the government's approval to remove all the people of Van Diemen's Land to Flinders Island, recording exuberantly on 3 September 1832: 'By taking the whole I gain not only the reward but the celebrity'. In January 1835 he announced Tasmania was cleared of the original people. Truganini, Wooredy and Peevay stayed on in Hobart with Robinson, as curiosities and painted by artists, but, when the settlement on Flinders Island proved disastrous, Robinson was forced to go there as supervisor, taking them with him in September 1835. His first project there was delusional: the creation of a pseudo-Christian village, the people given 'aristocratic' names and European clothing. In 1835 Robinson would write of his despair, that he was an unwitting agent of extermination, and the settlement continued to disintegrate. Nonetheless, he happily boiled down decapitated corpses for skulls, as 'curiosities' for Governor Franklin's collection, and provided 'black boys' for his wife. Truganini and some others 'escaped' back to VDL more than once.

Robinson's next appointment was to Port Phillip in February 1839, as the chief protector of Aborigines in the new colony. He took with him Truganini, Wooredy, Peevay and several others, again as conciliators, but language barriers prevented success. His new responsibilities were for the Kulin clans, evicted by John Batman's settlers and living in abject poverty on the fringes of settlement. His diary recorded the financial problems of supporting his 'VDL natives', and, after one brief camping

trip, his interest in them disappeared. Robinson never referred to Truganini again after May 1841.

Truganini and her companions were implicated in the murder of two men in 1841, and, although Robinson intervened in support and the women were exonerated, Peevay and Maulboyheener were hanged on 20 January 1842. Official records suggest Truganini was seriously affected by this experience, making no further attempt to 'assimilate'. She returned to Flinders Island in May 1842 and died in Hobart in 1876. Her remains were displayed for public interest in Melbourne in 1888 and then in Hobart until 1947, and casts were later shared with other museums.

Pybus's account of Truganini's life reveals much about our attitude to the original people, not just in colonial times. The realities of our history are confronting, and the time has come to acknowledge and respect the First Nations of this country. As Pybus concludes, 'That is not too much to ask'.

Jennifer McCoy

A Spanner in the Works: The Extraordinary Story of Alice Anderson and Australia's First All-girl Garage

By Loretta Smith. Hachette Australia, Sydney 2019. Pp. 384. $32.99, paperback.

The opening pages of this splendid book plunge the reader straight into Alice Anderson's world. We are there with her, trying to keep pace with the dizzying array of activities and responsibilities that are central to her world, even as a teenager.

From the first page we find ourselves sharing Alice's unconventional life. We are there with her friends at the Lyceum Club as she jumps down from her Austin 7 and strides into the club's rooms. We sense the anticipation as she prepares to set off for Central Australia. We feel the frisson of excitement at the prospect of a journey into an exotic, little-known destination, possibly into danger. It is certainly a risky adventure for a young woman who holds the entire responsibility for the 1,500 mile (2,400 kilometre) adventure in her leather-gloved hands.

The narrative continues this way, sweeping us along with the same enthusiasm with which Alice Anderson approached life. Early on, her father, an engineer unable to convert his vision into a solid business plan, plunged his family into economic ruin and an isolated and primitive life in the bush at Narbethong. Here Alice was in her element. A tomboy, she wore practical clothing and learned self-sufficiency and the handyman and bush survival skills that stood her in good stead when she set up her business.

This resourceful, precociously clever girl from the bush also craved intellectual stimulation but had little formal education. In 1913, aged sixteen, she was enrolled briefly at Merton Hall, before returning to Narbethong owing to lack of funds. On her eighteenth birthday, Alice's father gave her a Hupmobile motor car, and this was the beginning of the big adventure of Alice's short life, her apprenticeship in the exciting new world of motoring. When her father opened the Blackspur Motor Service, Alice not only ran its office using the bookkeeping skills she had learned at mentor Jessie Webb's city coaching college, but also learned to drive and to repair and maintain cars.

At the end of 1916, aged nineteen, she took her Hupmobile and moved to Kew where a year later this confident, capable young woman set up her own motoring business, the first Australian woman to do so.

Not only was Alice a pioneer of the Australian motor industry, she pushed the boundaries of what was acceptable for women in the early twentieth century. At her Kew Garage she put her ideas into practice. Hers was the first Australian all-woman garage where, in a daring move, her staff wore practical, 'male' clothing and drove and maintained the vehicles in their charge with skill.

By the time she was twenty, Alice—independent, visionary and charismatic—was in charge of her own business. She was an astute businesswoman, and much of her custom came from tours and chauffeuring, but she also offered classes in driving and car maintenance as well as servicing and detailing vehicles. She was an excellent networker, and, as a member of the Lyceum Club, an influential women's organisation dominated by successful academics and businesswomen, she was introduced to many of Melbourne's early feminists. She had enormous stores of ambition, energy and self-confidence. Setting her sights high, by the mid-1920s she became interested in the possibilities of the newly emerging aviation industry, another male-centric world.

When we meet Alice and her Baby Austin again 250 pages after the book begins, we have a much greater understanding of the young driver's history, personality and motivations. When she and Jessie Webb set off on their motoring adventure to Alice Springs in August 1926, Alice was not quite 30, with an exciting future ahead of her. But this was not to be. Less than a week after her return on 11 September 1926, Alice Anderson was dead from a gunshot wound. How she died was a matter of speculation. Accident? Mistake? Recklessness? Murder? Suicide? The inquest opted for accidental death by her own hand. Eighty years later the truth was revealed—Alice was accidentally shot by one of her young employees.

In writing this biography, Loretta Smith has not only told the story of a charismatic young woman and unearthed a truth that lay hidden for 80 years. She has also brought Alice Anderson into her rightful place as a pioneering Australian businesswoman. Alice's story is extraordinary, but so too is this little-known period of innovation in Australia's early motoring history. Very few women feature in Australia's industrial history, let alone the world of the motor car, and Smith provides a rare glimpse of an emerging industry from a woman's perspective.

This is biography at its best. It is a Girls' Own Adventure. Alice, a resourceful and original thinker, built and developed her thriving business in six action-packed years, then had what promised to be an equally enthralling future taken away from her. As Loretta Smith takes us on her fast-paced and vivid story of Alice Anderson's life, we are secure in the knowledge that every speculation and act of imagination is backed by meticulous research and is well placed in the context of its time.

Cheryl Griffin

John Marshall: Shipowner, Lloyd's Reformer and Emigration Agent

By Elizabeth Rushen. Anchor Books Australia, Melbourne 2020.
Pp. 206. $34.95, paperback.

John Marshall has long deserved better than fleeting and sometimes disparaging references in histories of colonial Australia. As a shipowner and promoter of pre–gold rush migration, he played a strategic role

in Australia's transition to a society of predominantly free settlers. In her eponymously titled biography, Elizabeth Rushen succeeds in more fully delineating this, especially his contribution to 'the establishment of systems which ensured the safe passage of hundreds of thousands of emigrants to British colonies around the world' (p. 4).

Marshall's life is also a study in social mobility and its limits. He was born in 1787 into a Yorkshire family of innkeepers, but fortuitous marriages by Marshall and his brother Thomas provided an opening into shipping, followed by a move to London around 1807. Initially a ship broker and insurance agent, he advanced to being a shipowner and trader. By the early 1840s he was the most active agent sending emigrants to the Port Phillip District and using return journeys to ship wool, whale oil, seal fur and suchlike cargo. He reached the threshold of commercial and social eminence but was dogged by bouts of bankruptcy. Marshall did not leave personal papers, direct descendants or (apparently) a portrait. But he did generate a trail of shipping records and bankruptcy reports, as well as pamphlets he published in combative defence of his name. Rushen charts Marshall's complex career in profuse detail, with an interwoven justification of her subject's reputation.

Describing Marshall as 'brilliant, but flawed' and 'one of the greatest nineteenth century unacknowledged entrepreneurs' (p. 1) may be a tad hyperbolic, but there is something to this. He has long been recognised for championing shipping reform. Marshall knew all too well the consequences, commercial and human, of shipping registers that were unreliable in their classification of a vessel's seaworthiness. Wright and Fayle, in their 1928 *A History of Lloyd's*, dubbed him the 'prime mover' in the eventual establishment of *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* in 1834. Yet Marshall declined to join the register's managing committee, instead focusing on his business with the Australian colonies.

This brings us to consider how very differently he has been portrayed regarding his recruitment and shipment of emigrants to Australia. Some earlier authors drew upon the crudity, to modern eyes, of nineteenth-century passenger shipping and the strident allegations by contemporaries that Marshall skimped on safety and was decidedly unpicky in selecting young single women as clients. R.B. Madgwick, in his 1937 *Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788–1851,* found it 'difficult to reconcile' Marshall's claims of careful selection on behalf of the London Emigration Committee, itself an agent of the Colonial

Office, with 'complaints received from the colonies of the character of the women' (p. 102). Michael Cannon, in his 1971 *Who's Master, Who's Man?*, a work your reviewer otherwise esteems for sparking his interest in Australian history, bluntly placed Marshall, 'chief operator of the bounty system' of migration, at the forefront of a 'sordid story' that 'recurred throughout the various assisted migration programmes' (pp. 120–1).

Marshall did have contemporary defenders. Reporting his first bankruptcy, the *Port Phillip Patriot* declared that the district was indebted to Marshall for 'much of that prosperity that has placed us so far in advance of any of the Australian colonies' (p. 97). Rushen references her own previous work and that of A. James Hammerton and Robin F. Haines in defending Marshall's selection of female emigrants, perhaps too succinctly given the complexities involved and the lasting damage to his reputation. She points out for example (as did Hammerton) that, when there was a government guarantee of a fixed payment based on 200 women for all ships, regardless of the actual number on each, there was no need for Marshall to 'stack the ships with additional women, which has often been alleged' (p. 64). She also defends him against a barrage from John Dunmore Lang, no less, dismissing this as prejudice against single Catholic Irish women in favour of Protestant Scottish families. Rushen adds that Marshall had an enviable safety record and that, at Plymouth, he pioneered Britain's first emigration depot to provide his charges with safe accommodation while awaiting boarding, a template for subsequent government depots at London and Liverpool.

All this said, there is more to Marshall's being 'frozen out of history' (p. 4) than a tendency to abrasiveness and his having died in poverty in 1861. As Rushen notes, he lacked business acumen—hence his failure to successfully consolidate his position. Although much of his business was based on implementing government emigration schemes, he seems more an obdurately determined lobbyist than a figure of power or a skilled reader of shifting political winds.

This book opens with a strong statement of the case for Marshall's importance and remains well organised and written throughout. Fulsomely footnoted use of primary sources aids its prospects of being drawn on by historians to better understand the organisational mechanics of migration. Empire builders are not just famed adventurers of the Clive of India-Raffles-Rhodes variety; the sinews of empire were

more often driven by figures like Marshall who in death became hidden lives, to the detriment of history.

Stephen Wilks

Great Expectations: Emigrant Governesses in Colonial Australia

By Patricia Clarke. NLA Publishing, Canberra 2020. Pp. 252. $29.99, paperback.

Colonial Australia was shaped by movement. From the invasion of Aboriginal lands to the various waves of migration that followed, mobility across and within borders was fundamental to the development of the colonies. Living, breathing people were at the heart of this process. Tracing their boundary-crossing lives—including their thoughts, feelings, and experiences—is one way that we can try to understand the past and what it might have been like for at least some of the people who lived through it.

Such is the approach Patricia Clarke takes in her new book, *Great Expectations: Emigrant Governesses in Colonial Australia*. This work explores the transnational lives of a group of middle-class British women who left unemployment and poor marriage prospects behind to search for work as governesses in the Australian colonies. The journeys of this group—who arrived a few at a time from the early 1860s through to the early 1880s—were financed by loans from the London-based Female Middle Class Emigration Society (FMCES). In this book Clarke revisits the material that formed the basis of her 1985 work, *The Governesses: Letters from the Colonies 1862–1882*, namely the letters written by the emigrant governesses to the FMCES. Whereas her earlier book focused largely on these women themselves, quoting their letters at great length, in this venture Clarke uses their lives not only to capture their own thoughts and experiences but also to paint a broader picture of the Australian colonies.

As is common in women's history, this book deals with a highly fragmentary source base. The correspondence is rich but one-sided and, as it mostly centres on the governesses' repayment of their loans to the FMCES, usually ends abruptly after these debts were settled. The

sources therefore capture just a short period in each woman's life; as Clarke explains, tracing these individuals elsewhere in the historical record in any depth is often impossible. Yet these snapshots tell us a great deal about not only these women's lives at that moment in time but also their wider world.

Disjuncture, difference and paradox—all emerging from the gaps between expectation and reality—are key themes that emerge in this story, beginning with the figure of the governess herself. In the British context especially, she was expected and believed herself to be a refined woman; in reality, she did not fully belong to the upper echelons of society like her employers, being driven to work out of financial need. For the FMCES governesses, such disconnection shaped their experiences of migration too. Upon arrival in the colonies—usually New South Wales or Victoria—they were faced with many unexpected realities, which differed depending on their location. Despite the assurances of the FMCES, governess positions were not readily available. Many struggled to find work—especially if they were not proficient in music or French—and had to venture to rural areas, where they faced isolation. Nor were the supposed marriage prospects particularly high, as the gender disparity that shaped the early years of the colonies was no longer so pronounced. On top of this, the governesses were surprised to find a society that was not as tied to class hierarchies as Britain. They perceived a lack of sophistication and were shocked when they were asked to undertake tasks many saw as below their station. Some were resilient and adapted to their new lives; others soon embarked on the long return journey to Britain.

The experiences of dislocation and unmet expectations documented in these letters offer a valuable perspective on nineteenth-century colonial life. The governesses' 'culture shock' is palpable and highlights the profound differences between Britain and the Australian colonies. The unfulfilled promise of better opportunities for finding work reveals the severity of economic recession and the extent of unemployment during this period. Moreover, the nature and vast impact of educational reform is evident in the turn of some of these women to teaching at and establishing schools, especially in post–gold rush Victoria, which Clarke argues was home to a more entrepreneurial spirit than the other colonies. But there are things the sources do not say. Clarke briefly points toward the sexual violence that faced domestic workers, but, as the letters

do not delve into such matters in great depth, nor does she. Drawing on the broader literature to develop a fuller picture of the governesses' highly gendered and quite possibly violent new world would make the book more powerful.

The book itself, published by the National Library of Australia, is beautifully produced. The pages abound with colour copies of historical photographs, portraits, paintings, drawings, advertisements, cartoons, and news clippings. This gives it an exhibition-like quality; Clarke's highly readable prose and the visual material complement one another and bring the story to life. Though the FMCES governesses numbered only a few hundred, *Great Expectations* shows that their relative insignificance in the story of migration to the colonies does not lessen the value of their life stories—and their archives—for interrogating the Australian past.

Michelle Staff

Notes on Contributors

Barry Bridges is long retired from the University of Sydney where he taught history.

Graeme Cartledge was born in 1956 into a family whose members have been residents of Ballarat from the 1860s. Coming from an intergenerational mining background, he developed a keen interest in the history of the Ballarat district and the mining industry. He completed a Master of Arts thesis at Federation University in 2018 on the establishment of local government at Ballarat.

Fiona Gatt is a casual academic and PhD candidate at Deakin University. Her thesis aims to recover the lived experience of nineteenth-century urbanisation on Melbourne's colonial urban frontier, focusing on the town of Hotham, now known as North Melbourne. Fiona's research delves into the quantitative data of the rate books, using urban history techniques blended with qualitative insights.

Cheryl Griffin has spent the past decade, since retiring from secondary school teaching, pursuing her wide-ranging historical interests. She volunteers at the Female Convict Research Centre in Hobart, Friends of Coburg Cemetery, the Genealogical Society of Victoria, Uniting Church Historical Society and the RHSV. She has contributed to books on the lives of Tasmanian female convicts and in 2017 wrote *The Old Boys of Coburg State School Go to War*. She convenes the RHSV's History Writers Group and is currently developing the RHSV Women's Biographical Dictionary.

Helen Laffin holds a Master of Cultural Heritage from Deakin University and was awarded the Roslyn Lawry Award for Excellence in Cultural Heritage and Museum Studies in 2007. She is currently the museum collections and archives officer at the Royal Australasian College of Surgeons and on the heritage team at Schwerkolt Cottage Museum Complex. She is also a committee member of the Coburg Historical Society and a member of the Whitehorse Historical Society.

Marilyn Lake AO, FAHA, FASSA is a former president of the Australian Historical Association and currently professorial fellow in history at the University of Melbourne. Her most recent book *Progressive New World: How Settler Colonialism and Transpacific Exchange Shaped American Reform* (Harvard University Press, 2019) was short-listed for the Prime Minister's Prize in Australian History. A festschift in her honour, *Contesting Australian History* edited by Joy Damousi and Judith Smart, was published by Monash University Publishing in 2018.

Anne Marsden, a Leeds University graduate and former science teacher, held a 2012–13 Honorary Creative Fellowship at the State Library Victoria, leading to papers in the *La Trobe Journa*l, the *Victorian Historical Journal*, and *La Trobeana*. In 2016, *The Making of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institution: The Movers and Shakers of Pre-Goldrush Melbourne*, and in 2018 its companion volume, *And the Women Came Too: Families of the Founders of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institution*, were published with the support of the Melbourne Athenaeum Library where Anne has been a volunteer archives researcher since 2009.

Jennifer McCoy is a PhD candidate at Federation University, Churchill. She is researching the social history of white settlement in the far eastern high country of Victoria, 1870 to 1890, with special reference to the role of Scottish migrants. She is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program (RTP) Fee-Offset Scholarship through Federation University Australia.

Jack Norris, who has lived on Wadawurrung Country for most of his life, is an archaeologist and historian whose research interests include Aboriginal history, archaeology, material culture and museum studies, as well as Victoria's cross-cultural and colonial history. His most recently published article, 'Aboriginal Breastplates: Objects and Images of the Colonial Frontier', focused on Aboriginal breastplates in Victoria.

Stephen Phillip is a mechanical engineer and has an extensive career in product development. Originally from Melbourne, he is currently living in the UK. His fascination with Michell began while he was a student at Melbourne University. He was surprised to discover that a comprehensive biography of Michell did not exist, so decided to write one himself.

John Poynter AO, FAHA, FASSA was born in 1929 at Coleraine, Victoria, near the Wando River, and is a former Ernest Scott professor of history, dean of arts and deputy vice-chancellor at the University of Melbourne, and Australian secretary of the Rhodes Trust. His publications include a study of the English Poor Law, histories of Melbourne University and of Rhodes Scholarships and Australia, and several biographies, among them *Mr Felton's Bequests*, which won the Victorian Community History Award Best Print/Publication for 2004, and *The Audacious Adventures of Dr Louis Lawrence Smith* (2015).

John Schauble has degrees in history, law, politics and emergency management from the University of Melbourne and Charles Sturt University. He worked as a journalist with the *Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* for more than twenty years in Australia and Asia. He later spent over a decade as a senior public servant in Victoria, working in fire and emergency management.

Judith Smart AM, FRHSV co-edits the *Victorian Historical Journal*. She is honorary associate professor at RMIT University and has published on Australian women's organisations, women and political protest, and the Australian home front during World War I, co-authored (with Marian Quartly) *Respectable Radicals: A History of the National Council of Women of Australia, 1896–2006* (2015) and co-edited (with Joy Damousi) *Contesting Australia History: Essays in Honour of Marilyn Lake* (2019), and (with Shurlee Swain) *The Encyclopedia of Women and Leadership in Twentieth-century Australia* (2014).

Michelle Staff is a PhD candidate in the School of History at the Australian National University. Her research investigates the lives of several Australian and British feminist internationalists during the interwar period, exploring themes of gender, race, empire, and international cooperation. Her work has been published in the *Journal of Women's History* and *The Conversation*.

Lee Sulkowska is a PhD candidate at Deakin University, having completed her honours thesis in 2019. She has served on the RHSV Publications Committee for some years. Lee's research explores historical cemeteries as cultural vehicles and suggests that the history of burial spaces in Australia offers postcolonial insights.

Craig Wilcox is a Sydney historian who edited *Observing Australia* (1999), a collection of short writing by Ken Inglis. He specialises in the martial aspects of colonial and Edwardian Australian society.

Benjamin Wilkie is a social and environmental historian whose research covers British imperial and colonial history, and Australian environmental history. His second book, *Gariwerd: An Environmental History of the Grampians*, was pubished by CSIRO Publishing in 2020. Ben is currently a research assistant at Macquarie Business School. He is an associate of the Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Otago, and in 2019 was a visiting research fellow at the University of Glasgow.

Stephen Wilks studied economic history before embarking on a decidedly mixed career in government based in Canberra and overseas, covering issues as diverse as foreign aid, refugees, immigration malpractice, and science and innovation. This was leavened by a shadow career writing reviews and articles on Australian history and much else, prior to returning to study at the ANU's School of History. He now works in the ANU National Centre of Biography. He is author of the recently published *'Now is the Psychological Moment': Earle Page and the Imagining of Australia* (ANU Press, 2020).

Martin Williams graduated in Engineering with two degrees from the University of Melbourne in 1976. He had a research career at the Department of Mechanical Engineering, University of Melbourne, the Australian Road Research Board, and Technisearch Ltd, RMIT University, and he retired as deputy chief of the CSIRO Division of Textile and Fibre Technology, the wool research laboratory of CSIRO. He has a continuing interest in the history of exploration in the Port Phillip District.

About the Royal Historical Society of Victoria

The Royal Historical Society of Victoria is a community organisation comprising people from many fields committed to collecting, researching and sharing an understanding of the history of Victoria. Founded in 1909, the Society continues the founders' vision that knowing the individual stories of past inhabitants gives present and future generations links with local place and local community, bolstering a sense of identity and belonging, and enriching our cultural heritage.

The RHSV is located in History House, the heritage-listed Drill Hall at 239 A'Beckett Street, Melbourne, built in 1939 on a site devoted to defence installations since the construction of the West Melbourne Orderly Room in 1866 for the Victorian Volunteer Corps. The 1939 building was designed to be used by the Army Medical Corps as a training and research facility. It passed into the hands of the Victorian government, which has leased it to the Society since 1999.

The RHSV conducts lectures, exhibitions, excursions and workshops for the benefit of members and the general public. It publishes the bi-annual *Victorian Historical Journal*, a bi-monthly newsletter, *History News*, and monographs. It is committed to collecting and making accessible the history of Melbourne and Victoria. It holds a significant collection of the history of Victoria including books, manuscripts, photographs, prints and drawings, ephemera and maps. The Society's library is considered one of Australia's richest in its focus on Victorian history. Catalogues are accessible online.

The RHSV acts as the umbrella body for over 330 historical societies throughout Victoria and actively promotes their collections, details of which are accessible via the Victorian Local History Database identified on the RHSV website. The Society also sponsors the History Victoria Support Group, which runs quarterly meetings throughout the state to increase the skills and knowledge of historical societies. The RHSV has an active online presence and runs the History Victoria bookshop—online and on-site.

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Guidelines for Contributors to the *Victorian Historical Journal*

1. The *Victorian Historical Journal* is a refereed journal publishing original and previously unpublished scholarly articles on Victorian history, or on Australian history where it illuminates Victorian history. It is published twice yearly by the Publications Committee, Royal Historical Society of Victoria.
2. The submission of original scholarly articles is invited following the journal's *Guidelines* available at http://www.historyvictoria.org.au/publications/victorian-historical-journal.
3. Articles from 4,000 to 8,000 words (including notes) are preferred.
4. The *VHJ* also publishes historical notes, which are reviewed by the editors. A historical note may be up to 4,000 words in length. It contains factual information and is different from an article in not being an extended analysis or having an argument. Submitted articles may be reduced and published as historical notes at the discretion of the editor(s) and the Publications Committee, after consultation with the author.
5. The review editor(s) commission book reviews—no unsolicited reviews.
6. The RHSV does not pay for contributions to the journal.
7. The manuscript should be in digital form in a minimum 12-point serif typeface, double or one-and-a-half line spaced (including indented quotations and endnotes), with margins of at least 3 cm.
8. Referencing style is endnotes and must not exceed 10 per cent of the text. They should be devoted principally to the citation of sources.
9. The title page should include: author's name and title(s); postal address; telephone number; email address; article's word length (including notes); a 100-word biographical note on the author; a 100-word abstract of the main argument or significance of the article.

10 Suitable illustrations for articles are welcome. Initially send clear hard photocopies, not originals. Scanned images at 300dpi can be emailed or sent on disk. Further requirements for final images and permissions will be sent if your article is accepted.

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