



# TOWARDS 1988

THE ORATORS OF 1888 looked back proudly on Australia's first hundred years. They looked forward, too, with an optimism limited only by the reach of their imaginations. The winner of a centennial essay contest on 'The future position of Australia among the nations' was sure that 'Australia, as a nation, must be *QUEEN OF THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE*'. The author was a Methodist minister, the Reverend H.T. Burgess of Burra in South Australia, and his prophecy had been judged the best by two premiers, Sir Henry Parkes of New South Wales and Sir Samuel Griffith of Queensland, and the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Burgess summarised the elements of Australia's greatness: a territory extensive enough to support a large population; proximity to other growing nations; a climate suitable to the development of 'a hardy and energetic race'; an abundance of material resources; a people endowed with the nation-building characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon races; free political institutions and an intellectual culture favourable to 'the highest forms of civilisation'. Australia's progress would not be propelled by 'adventitious aids', or retarded by oppression or civil war, as the development of the United States had been. 'No ready-made and royal road to fortune has been followed but a path carved out and beaten hard by the sterling qualities of industry, thrift, energy and endurance; which still leads upwards and always to success.'

How many people would live in this continent by 1988, compared with the three millions of 1888? The Victorian statistician Henry Hayter, extrapolating rather than prophesying, estimated that at the present rate of increase, the population of Australia and New Zealand would be 83 865 138 in 1981 and 133 288 495 in 1991. The larrikin socialist John Norton thought it probable that the continent would have 30 million people in 50 years, and 100 million in less than a century. The Congregational minister Dr James Jefferis thought 100 million by 1988 'a moderate computation'. In the centennial year of a booming society, it was an appealing figure: another hundred years, a hundred million people. Twice the population of the United States of America at its last census? Why not? Colonies



that had increased their numbers almost tenfold since 1850 could surely multiply themselves thirty times in a whole century. More cautious judges, including Sir Henry Parkes, anticipated a slackening of immigration and plumped for around fifty million by 1988.

Australia's population would grow by filling up the unpeopled spaces of a vast continent. Measured by its material resources, Burgess argued, Australia was already 'among the greatest and wealthiest nations of the world'. Its cultivated land was greater than all of Greece, and with irrigation a new era of agricultural progress was dawning. Its flocks and herds, already vast, would be increased beyond calculation by refrigeration and artesian wells. Its mineral development was as yet only as 'the froth on a glass of champagne' compared to 'the sparkling wine beneath it'.

The Australian of 1988 would not be a product of the physical environment alone. In order to develop the great resources of its tropical third, so it seemed to the visiting British Congregational leader Dr R.W. Dale, European settlers would need to employ coloured labourers in their tea, cotton and sugar plantations. It would hardly be possible, Dale thought, for hundreds of thousands of those workers in the fields and mines of the north to be excluded forever from the south. What then would become of the descendants of settlers from England, Scotland and Ireland once they were 'a proud aristocracy' waited on by 'inferior races'? Dale did not profess to know, though he was sure that such a circumstance would 'gravely modify the national character'. Dale's fellow Congregationalist James Jefferis welcomed the prospect of immigration from Asia. An 'excessive invasion of Asiatic races' would be in nobody's interest: but a controlled admixture would create a new and strong civilisation.

England has become what she is by a fusion of races. Australia will become great by a fusion and mingling of races. The New and the Old Worlds meet on our shores. East and west will join hands. The unequalled metaphysical power of the Hindoo, the unswerving steadiness of the Chinese, the singular artistic faculty of the Japanese, will be joined by the idealism of the French, the philosophy of the German, and the practical sagacity of the Anglo-Saxon to create 'an empire which embodies the divine idea of justice and freedom'.

Jefferis was unusual among those who offered visions of Australian destiny in a year when politicians in several colonies were agitating and legislating to exclude Asiatics for ever. The republican Robert Thomson imagined a future in which the Chinese contributed to Australia not as citizens but as a necessary enemy. The threat of Chinese invasion 'would be the greatest blessing we could possibly achieve', giving Australians an excuse for clearing out every yellow alien, inducing an outburst of military patriotism among men and women, boys and girls, and carrying the nation 'from the tutelage and the milk of dependence into the clear light of manhood and independence'.

Australians were apt to think big partly because their vast land encouraged them to do so. 'Their whole conception of distance differs from ours as might that of the inhabitants of a large planet', remarked the London *Spectator*. New forms of travel and communication were expected to enlarge their vision during the coming century. One Sydneysider imagined himself transported forward in time to the eve of the bicentenary. From a 1000-foot (305-metre) tower in Hyde Park he looked down on 'a teeming city of over two millions'. He watched the electric-powered, heavier-than-air flying machines leaving on their daily mail flight to England. The steamer journey from England had been reduced to only ten days by means of a tunnel under the English channel, an electric roadway to Singapore, a



60-kilometre-an-hour ship to Darwin and a rapid overland journey to Sydney. Even the cultural distance between nations had shrunk under the impact of an international language and the 'invention of a method of destruction which rendered war impossible'.

More important even than the transformation of their environment by new scientific knowledge would be the transformation of the Australian people themselves. Descended from 'the pick of the most energetic and superior races of mankind', they nevertheless faced the challenge of a different climate and a new social environment. Australians peered ahead through Darwinian spectacles and expected their destiny to be determined through the fierce, and possibly bloody, struggle for national supremacy. Would the coming race of Australians prove as fit for survival as their British ancestors? The dominant races of mankind had hitherto come from cool climates. Would Australia's youth, reared under a tropical sun, suffer a deterioration of muscular and moral tone? Most of the population, Burgess noted, lived within the same climatic band as the Mediterranean and therefore enjoyed just enough sun to encourage a healthy outdoor life, and just enough cold to promote an energetic disposition. The future Australian race might combine 'the hardy patriotism of the Swiss; the Roman capacity for rule; Greek culture; and Egyptian industry'.

As transplanted Europeans, their national evolution would bear close comparison with that of North America. The *Spectator* predicted that the two lands would modify national types in different ways. Because Australia was less agricultural than America, future Australians would be horsemen rather than gig-drivers. 'They will have, almost from the first, more ambition . . . a greater largeness of view and more unscrupulousness.' Unlike the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, who had had to fight hard against the sea, the forest, the Indians and a bitter climate, Australians had entered a warm and hospitable land. They would be 'a softer, though not weaker people, fonder of luxury and better fitted to enjoy art . . . The typical Australian will be a sunnier man.'

A sunnier *man*. Only a few crusaders for women's rights paused to consider that 1888 might one day be recognised as 'the first crack in the egg-shell of social opinion from which the emancipated woman . . . was to emerge'. For Catherine Helen Spence, South Australia's pioneer of female emancipation, it had been a troubled year. The death of her mother disturbed the domestic pattern of a lifetime and led her to question the future of family relationships. In her utopian novel, *A week in the future*, she imagined an ageing Adelaide spinster magically transported to the London of 1988. In this smoke-free, electrified metropolis, the time traveller discovered that a revolution had taken place in domestic life. The nuclear family had been almost entirely superseded and the people of the future lived in extended, often three-generation, families housed in 'Associated or Unitary Homes'. This larger family unit greatly simplified household management and provided better for the care of infants and old folk. 'The Associated Homes seem to be the paradise of declining years', the old lady remarked. She found that couples married younger but that they could easily divorce by mutual agreement. Science had perfected the regulation of family size and society endorsed the merciful killing of 'imperfect' babies, so the population did not increase. The fewer children of this stationary society were correspondingly dearer to their parents. They grew up into a healthier, more rational and more leisured world. Six hours was the maximum day's work and the unemployment and sweating that blighted the lives of nineteenth century working people had been entirely abolished. Women could now participate in all the occupations open to men, and thanks to the nurseries incorporated in the Associated Homes, mothers were perfectly free to work



'What time will see.'  
Melbourne Punch, 2 Feb  
1888.



outside the home. 'No longer degraded as the slave or toy of man', women had achieved an equal place in all the phases of life.

Most Australians expected the better society of 1988 to emerge smoothly from the society of their own day. Catherine Spence was unusual in foreseeing a great revolution that would sweep away the obsolete rule of monarchs, priests and capitalists and inaugurate a new era of freedom, reason and equality. Sydney's little band of republicans, Henry Lawson among them, yearned

For the changes, blessed changes, of the coming 50 years  
 For the throwing down of monarchs, for the thrusting forth of peers,  
 For the growing love of knowledge, the destruction of the church,  
 For the vested wrongs of ages left by progress in the lurch,  
 For superstition in the rear and science in the van,  
 For the liberty that's coming, and the Brotherhood of man.

The visiting Englishman Francis Adams urged his fellow revolutionaries to drill for 'the struggle that must come'.

Even those who feared the coming revolution often recognised its 'irresistible force'. James Jefferis thought that the growing gulf between England's rich and poor would end in social tumult, and that Australia's statesmen also had cause to view with concern the rising tide of unemployment. Only if churchmen and politicians heeded the cry of the poor could the day of reckoning be averted. Why had Australians been given such 'incalculable treasures' if not to build a more just society? 'Is it simply to furnish increased means of selfish enjoyment', he asked, 'that God is giving us, in our centenary year, these Mount Morgans and Broken Hills?' The exaggerated hopes and shady morality of the land and mining booms made some Australians apprehensive about the future. As Broken Hill shares reached their peak, the evangelist Henry Varley drew hundreds of Melbourne businessmen to his lunch-time lectures on 'The Second Advent'. Varley and his followers pondered the possibility that history itself might end before 1988 came around.

Visions of the future Australia were as many as the visionaries who proclaimed them. But on one great question almost everyone was agreed: long before the bicentenary, Australia would have become a federated and independent nation. The centenary rekindled the federal ardour of Sir Henry Parkes, who now predicted that an 'Australian commonwealth' would come within a generation. Most prophets assumed that New Zealand would be included in an Australasian federation and many agreed with the Reverend H.T. Burgess who envisaged that the new nation would rule its hemisphere. An Irish Catholic archbishop could share this vision with an English Protestant minister. In Cardinal Moran's centennial forecast, Australia became 'the great Christian nation of the southern world, and the centre of civilisation for all the races of the east'. John Norton foresaw 'the whole of the islands of the Western Pacific ... peopled and controlled from the great Australian Continent ...'. The republican Robert Thomson affirmed that true to the words 'Advance Australia!' her sons would be 'the lords of the Southern Sea'.

But if Australians agreed that federation was near, they were far from united about how it would come. Republicans insisted that national independence could be achieved only by the complete overthrow of the British throne and Australia's secession from the empire. The one national birthday worth celebrating, said Robert Thomson, would be the anniversary of Australia's Bastille Day or Independence Day. Many more, however, believed that the future of nations, like the future of commerce and arms, lay with big batallions. Australia's future greatness would be best guaranteed as a free and equal partner in a Greater Britain.

In the midst of their celebrations, the people of 1888 sometimes wondered how

the Australians of 1988 would judge them. Proud to have triumphed over the shame of their beginnings at Sydney Cove, they realised that their achievements would be dwarfed in turn by the progress of the coming century. 'The Australians of 1988', one journalist predicted, 'will read with some amusement the accounts of the celebrations of the first centenary, and will marvel at how little could satisfy the public 100 years ago'.

Yet no one could tell how the future would judge the people of 1888. Imperialists and republicans, racialists and feminists, speculators and diviners, might all attempt to predict and shape the future according to their own hopes and wishes. But as men and women closed their private diaries on the year of 1888, their first concern was the immediate future, the future that had been partly decided by the choices and actions of the year just past. Not everyone saw 31 December as an important date. Fanny Barbour had stopped making diary entries on 20 May, when she happened to run out of pages in the book she had been given. 'Heigho Ho I've come to the end of my dere diry', she remarked, perhaps with some relief. 'Well I commenced with a dance and ended up with a wedding ... I started on 14th July 1887 end 20th May 1888—almost a year I have travelled and now I am quiet for a space. Goodnight!' For Fanny, weddings marked important ends and beginnings. At the other end of the social scale, Thomas Dobeson kept his narrative without recording dates, and did not mark the end of one year and the beginning of the next. The past held few happy memories and he was too preoccupied with the struggles of the present to give thought to a future that promised him little.

Many, however, made the passing of 1888 a time of celebration or reflection. As usual, Fred Coneybeer was too busy enjoying himself to have much energy left over for philosophical considerations. He spent the last evening of the year strolling around Rundle Street with a friend before he returned home. 'When I got home', he noted, 'they were just preparing to go out with the band from Mr. Briardocks and we saw the Old Year out and the New Year in ... it was a grand night and the boys were in large numbers following the band our Willie was amongst the crowd'. There was no such celebration for William Stagg on his lonely farm in the country. He was not sorry that this year of 'hardships and miserable disappointments' had passed, and he looked forward to the next year, 'hoping it will be better'. The confident John Monash had no regrets. 'A happy close to a happy year', he noted on New Year's Eve. 'My material advancement has been rapid, and I can look back with ecstatic self-satisfaction on exceptional difficulties and obstacles overcome.' While few could or would look back with 'ecstatic self-satisfaction', a year was long enough for people to assess events and decisions, their results and consequences; a long enough time to plan ahead for the immediate future. It was only with hindsight that they recognised how such millions of everyday plans and hopes had contributed to the past hundred years. And it was only through a faith born of simple habits of perseverance that they confidently expected a steady progress, onward and upward, to an Australia of 1988 better than their own.

Sydney from the north shore, detail from an oil painting by C.H. Hunt, 1888.  
ART GALLERY OF  
NEW SOUTH WALES





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## NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

These notes supplement the information contained in the captions to illustrations and maps. They include, as necessary, the titles of works and details of their location, as well as other details as required by holding institutions.

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Page 190 Henry Grant Lloyd, *Adelaide . . .*, 16 August 1888. Watercolour, in his *Views of New Zealand, Melbourne and Adelaide*, 1880–1900, Mitchell Library. Thomas Shackleton Henry, *Hobart, Tasmania*, 1890. Watercolour, 41.3 × 67 cm, National Library. Page 209 From poster for Spottiswoode estate, Troedel Collection, La Trobe Library. Page 214 Map drawn by Gary Swinton, Geography department, Monash University. Page 225 Tom Roberts, *The evening train to Hawthorn*, c1889. Oil on cedar panel, 14 × 22.6 cm. Collection of Rod Ellison. Page 227 Hugh R. Hamilton, *A Brisbane backyard*, c1885. Watercolour, 18.7 × 35.7 cm, from his sketchbook *Queensland '85*, Brisbane City Art Gallery and Museum.

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*ABBREVIATIONS*

Periodical titles are followed, as appropriate, by volume or series number, issue number and year of publication.

AONSW	Archives Office of New South Wales	<i>Labour hist</i>	<i>Labour history</i>
<i>Aust 1888</i>	<i>Australia 1888</i>	LaTL	La Trobe Library
AA Co	Australian Agricultural Company	ms(s)	manuscript(s)
ADB	<i>Australian dictionary of biography</i> (followed by volume number)	ML	Mitchell Library
<i>Aust econ hist rev</i>	<i>Australian economic history review</i>	NLA	National Library of Australia
<i>Aust geog stud</i>	<i>Australian geographical studies</i>	PD	<i>Parliamentary debates</i> (followed by volume, year and page number)
<i>Aust j polit &amp; hist</i>	<i>Australian journal of politics and history</i>	PP	<i>Parliamentary papers</i> (followed by volume, year and page number)
ANU	Australian National University	pprs	papers
BC	<i>Brisbane Courier</i>	Roy Comm	Royal Commission
<i>Bus archives &amp; hist</i>	<i>Business archives and history</i>	SAA	South Australian Archives
c	<i>circa</i>	SLSA	State Library of South Australia
ch(s)	chapter(s)	SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
<i>Comm bur met bull</i>	<i>Commonwealth bureau of meteorology bulletin</i>	TCJ	<i>Town and Country Journal</i>
DT	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	UNE	University of New England
dept	department	<i>Vic hist j</i>	<i>Victorian historical journal</i>
<i>Econ record</i>	<i>Economic record</i>	Vic PRO	Victorian Public Record Office
ed(s)	editor(s)/edited by	VSL	Victorian State Library
<i>Hist stud</i>	<i>Historical Studies</i>	vol(s)	volume(s)
J	journal	V&P	<i>Votes and Proceedings</i> (followed by volume, year and page number)
<i>J commerce</i>	<i>Journal of commerce</i>		
<i>JAust hist soc</i>	<i>Journal of the Australian historical society</i>		

*Convention Adopted in Quotations*

Throughout this series quotations have been transcribed literally from the original documents. The use of 'sic' to refer to errors has generally been avoided.



# ENDNOTES

In these endnotes, if no year is specified in a date or sequence of dates, the year being referred to is 1888.

## 1. CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

- 1-2 We are indebted to Maya Tucker who carried out much of the newspaper research for this chapter and contributed a preliminary report, 'Centennial celebrations 1888', to *Aust* 1888 7, 1981, 11-25. The description of Sydney Cove on Anniversary Day is based on *SMH*, 27 Jan. For details of earlier observances of the day see K.S. Inglis, 'Australia Day', *Hist stud* 13/49, 1967 and his *The Australian colonists: an exploration of social history*, Melbourne 1971, 137-50, and A. Atkinson and M. Aveling (eds), *Australians 1838*, ch1.

## PATRIOTS AND POLITICIANS

- 2-3 Sydney's jubilee celebrations are reported in *SMH*, 22 June 1887 and their dampening effect on the centenary, 28 Jan 1888.
- 3 Harold Stephen's motion is reported in *NSW PD* 19, 1886, 1653-6 and Jennings's reply *ibid*, 1655. Support for the exhibition comes from *SMH*, 13 Aug 1886 (editorial) and from a large meeting of city businessmen and unionists reported *ibid*, 11 Aug 1886.
- 3-4 For Parkes's early ideas about the centennial see *NSW PD* 19, 1886, 1656 and 21 1886, 3892. His letter of 7 Aug 1886 is in Parkes papers, ms A916, ML.
- 4 Jennings's plans are announced on 27 Aug, *NSW PD* 23, 4402-4, 5060 and criticised in *SMH*, 28 Aug 1886, where Selfe's Centennial Square is outlined 11 Aug 1886. Jennings mentions the idea of a statue of 'an ideal form of Australasia' in *NSW PD* 23, 1886, 5164.
- 4 The financial and political difficulties of the Jennings government are described in P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, *Parliament, factions and parties*, Melbourne 1966, 131-5 while the broader context of Vic-NSW rivalry is discussed in G. Serle, 'The Victorian government's campaign for federation 1883-1889' in A.W. Martin (ed), *Essays in Australian federation*, Melbourne 1969, 1-56. Gillies tabled his inquiry to Jennings in *Vic PD* 53, 1886, 2593. The critical Victorian was D. Gaunson, *ibid*, 2603 and Gillies was also mildly criticised by the *Age*, 2 Dec 1886.
- 5 The chronology of progress on Centennial Park is set out in F. Franklin, *Correspondence and report in connection with the origin and design of Centennial Park . . .*, Sydney 1907. Parkes outlines his Centennial Park scheme in *NSW PD* 27, 1887, 2325-7 and predicts that his State House will become a 'holy place', 2530.
- 6 Dibb's remarks are from *NSW PD* 27, 1887, 2328. For adverse press reaction see *SMH*, 28 June 1887. Parkes's young supporters

are Bernard Wise and Nicholas Hawken, *NSW PD* 30, 1887-88, 2683-4, 2692.

- 6-7 The sceptical critics of his proposal are Thomas Walker, *ibid*, 2686 and *SMH*, 1, 4 July 1887. For details of the work on Centennial Park see Franklin, *Correspondence*, 1-4 and Parkes to Charles Moore, 18 July 1887, Parkes correspondence, PC AS 118, ML. Parkes's plans for Centennial Week are outlined in *NSW PD* 28, 1887, 870 and Walker voices his objections, 876.
- 7 Arrangements for centennial gifts to the Aborigines are mentioned in *Echo*, 11 Jan.
- 8 Sir Alfred Stephen introduces a bill to name NSW 'Australia' and the bill is debated in *NSW PD* 27, 1887, 2869. Parkes revives the measure *ibid*, 30, 1887-88, 1476-9. For press reaction to the proposal see *SMH*, 23 Nov 1887, editorial and *Bulletin*, 3 Dec 1887, 4-5. Gillies rejects the title of 'Australasia' in *Vic PD* 56, 1887, 2211, 2263. Stephen's bill stimulates some amusing alternative titles for NSW; see *NSW PD* 27, 1887, 2868. More are contributed after Parkes's bill; see *SMH*, 23, 24, 25 Nov 1887.
- 8-9 The acrimonious correspondence between Parkes and Gillies is found in 'The colony of Australia—correspondence respecting a bill to confer on the colony of New South Wales the name of Australia', *NSW LA V & P* 3, 1888-89, 1271-6. Loch's telegrams are noted in *CO* 201/608 and the Colonial Office response is summarised in Carrington to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 8 Dec 1887, *CO* 201/606.
- 9-10 Carrington rebuffs Parkes in his letter of 30 Dec 1887 and Parkes replies on 2 Dec 1888, both in 'Proposal to change the name of the colony of New South Wales to Australia', Col sec special bundles 4/875, 1887-88, AONSW. The Government House interview is summarised in Lord Carrington's diary, 19 Jan 1888, Carrington papers, in possession of Brigadier Llewellyn Palmer of Sark.

## SYDNEY'S WEEK OF CELEBRATIONS

- 10-11 The comings and goings at Government House are recorded in the diaries of Lord and Lady Carrington, 19-23 Dec 1888, Carrington papers, and the travel arrangements of other governors are outlined in *Argus*, 18, 21 Jan. The adventures of the unfortunate train travellers are recounted by the Victorian journalist, the 'Vagabond' [Stanley James] in the *Age*, 24 Jan.
- We have mainly relied upon his impressionistic accounts and the more sober and detailed reports of *SMH* and *Argus* for our description of events during Centennial Week. We have provided references only for direct quotations or to other sources.
- 12 Arrangements for the distribution of food to the poor are discussed in *Echo*, 11 Jan, *Argus*, 11, 25 Jan.



- 12 The estimated costs of Parkes's State House continued to rise in the concluding months of 1887 and many of his supporters, and even Parkes himself, gradually lost interest. See discussions in *NSW PD* 30, 1887, 1672–7. Once the centenary itself was over, and the immediate occasion for the project had passed, it was quietly laid to rest, *ibid.*, 32, 1888, 4148. Already by 27 Jan *SMH* reports that 'it is believed that he [Parkes] has abandoned the idea of erecting the building at all'.
- 12-15 Carrington's impressions of the opening of Centennial Park are recorded in his diary, 26 Jan 1888. Parkes insists on 'going proud' into Federation in *NSW PD* 30, 1887–88, 1517. For the earlier history of the Centennial Regatta see Inglis, 'Australia Day'. Details of the regatta luncheon come from Lord Carrington's diary, 27 Jan 1888.
- 15 The 'Vagabond' records his impressions of Sydney's workmen in the *Age*, 2 Jan. The views of the *Bulletin* on the coming centenary had been made known as far back as 18 Sept 1886 but its most bitter assault comes in the special anti-centennial issue of 21 Jan from which this quotation is taken. Similar attitudes are expressed by *Republican*, 7 Jan and William Lane's *Boomerang*, 21 Jan, 11 Feb. The quotation from J. Norton's *History of capital and labour*, Melbourne 1888, is from pages viii–ix. *SMH* warns of the ascendant working class in 30 Jan, editorial.
- 16-17 For comments on the religious element in the centennial celebrations see *Argus*, 1 Feb. James Jefferis expands on the theme of his address in 'Australia's mission and opportunity', *Centennial magazine* 2, 1888, 102–4. The parallels with the Pilgrim Fathers are further explored in *Victorian Independent*, Sept 1888, 175.
- 17 The feeble religiosity of Australian nationalism contrasts strongly with the full-blown civil religion of the United States perceptively analysed by R.N. Bellah, *Beyond belief*, New York 1970, ch 9, 'Civil religion in America'.
- 18 Parkes's private troubles around 1888 are sensitively recounted in A.W. Martin, *Henry Parkes: a biography*, Melbourne 1980, 363–78. His outburst of temper is mentioned by Carrington in his diary, 30 Jan 1888: the newspapers record his mood but not the expletives.
- 18 Lady Carrington's opinion of her husband's performance is in her diary, 30 Jan 1888.
- 18 The popular verdict is recorded in *TCJ*, 4 Feb.
- ACROSS THE CONTINENT
- 18-19 The *Register* contemplates the consequences of a Sydney earthquake on 28 Jan.
- 19 Reactions to the centenary in the NSW countryside are reported in *Narrabri Herald*, 17 Jan, *SMH*, 27, 28 Jan (Parramatta, Inverell, Kiama), *Burrangong Argus*, 7 Jan (Yass) and *Western Herald*, 14, 28 Jan (Bourke).
- 20 The details of Melbourne's celebrations come from *Argus*, 26, 27 Jan, George Belcher diary, 26 Jan, and John M. Hughes diary, Q6 Jan, LaTL.
- 20 In the early days of Jan, Adelaide's *Register* is still preoccupied with the closing days of the Jubilee Exhibition. The anxious South Australian patriot's letter appears in *Register*, 26 Jan and the day's activities are reported the following day. Fred Coneybeer confesses his regrets in his diary, 26 Jan, SA Archives.
- 20 Qld's response is documented in *BC*, 26, 27 Jan, *Queenslander*, 28 Jan;
- 21 Hobart and Launceston's appear in *Hobart Mercury*, 21, 26, 27 Jan, *Launceston Examiner*, 27 Jan;
- 21 Perth's in *West Australian*, 26, 27 Jan.
- MELBOURNE'S BIG SHOW
- 21 The *Argus* looks forward to the exhibition on 20 Jan and *DT* on 2 Aug 1888; also see *Echo*, 9 Jan.
- 21-2 The role of exhibitions as national festivals is discussed in G. Davison, 'Exhibitions', *Australian cultural history* 2, 1982–83, 5–21; W. Hofmann, *Art in the nineteenth century*, London 1961, 165, and J. Allwood, *The great exhibitions*, London 1977. We are also indebted to G. Serle, *The rush to be rich*, Melbourne 1971, 283–90; E. Barrow, 'The Melbourne centennial international exhibition: its relationship with and influence on the cultural life of "Marvellous Melbourne"', BA hons thesis 1963, University of Melbourne.
- 22 Opposition to the exhibition is expressed in *Vic PD* 53, 1886, 2595–7, 2603; 55 1887, 941. Shiels's remarks are from *ibid.*, 54, 1887, 545–7.
- 23 The account of building arrangements comes from Serle, *Rush*, 285, H.G. Turner, *A history of the colony of Victoria*, London 1904, 2, 266–7, *Argus*, 2 Aug, Exhibition supplement.
- 23 The interior decoration of the building is described in *Argus*, 25 Jan. Frederick Cowen recounts the story of his engagement as conductor in *My art and friends*, London 1913, 151.
- 23 The opening procession and ceremony are described in *Argus*, 2 Aug.
- 23-4 J. McArthur notes the progress of his cantata-writing efforts in his diary, 4 Jan 1888, LaTL, and the results of the competition are given in *Argus*, 2 Aug. The words of the winning entry are reproduced in *Argus*, 2 Aug and W. Allen, *Inaugural prize poem for the opening of the Centennial International Exhibition*, Melbourne 1888. Melbourne's tradition of exhibition cantatas is discussed in G. Davison, *The rise and fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne 1978, 242–5.
- 24 Reactions to the 1888 performance are reported in *SMH*, 2 Aug, Belcher diary, 1 Aug. The centenary is the occasion for a great deal of rather indifferent commemorative verse: Alexander Sutherland, 'One hundred years', *Argus*, 2 Aug, Alpha Crusis, 'Australian centennial ode', *TCJ* 21 Jan, Edward Holland, 'To Australia', *ibid.*, 28 Jan; Thomas Holland, 'Centennial poem', broadsheet, ML; P. Lucien Buddivent, *The Centennial or simple rhymes of an idle rhymster*, Sydney 1888; E. Vethick, 'Australia's century—a retrospect', *Sydney quarterly magazine*, 1888, 203–7. There is also a commemorative anthology—D. Sladen, *A century of Australian song*, London 1888.
- 24 A parody of the cantata is published in the *Bulletin*, 18 Aug.
- 24-5 The contents of the various national and colonial exhibits are catalogued in Centennial International Exhibition, *Official catalogue*, Melbourne 1888, and *Official record*, Melbourne 1889, the *Popular guide to the Centennial exhibition*, Melbourne 1888, and a series of weekly supplements to *Argus*.
- 25 The *Argus* theorises about the development of national culture on 2 Aug, editorial.
- 25-6 Ada Cambridge recalls her exhibition visits in *Thirty years in Australia*, London 1903, 185–7 and uses the exhibition setting for her novel 'A woman's friendship', serialised in the *Age*, 31 Aug–26 Oct 1889. This interesting story was brought to our attention by Elizabeth Morrison. John Monash's amorous adventures are noted in his diary 12, 18 Aug, 2 Sept 1888, 13 Jun 1889, NLA and see G. Serle, *John Monash*, Melbourne 1982, 87–105.
- 26 On popular reactions to the exhibition see *J commerce*, 21 Sept. Travel arrangements for the exhibition are debated in *Vic PD* 59, 1907, 1990 and the traffic on opening day is estimated *Argus*, 2 Aug. Reactions in Ballarat and Hamilton are reported in *Hamilton Spectator*, 2, 28 Aug, *Ballarat Courier*, 14 Jul, 2 Aug, 25, 27 Oct.
- 26 Jenkins's journey is noted in W. Evans (ed), *Diary of a Welsh swagman 1869–1894*, Melbourne 1975, 167, and John Currie's in the diary of Ann Currie, 30 Aug 1888, LaTL.
- 26 The exodus from Sydney is noted in *DT*, 2 Aug;
- 26 Fred Coneybeer's impressions come from his diary 15, 19, 29 Oct 1888.
- 27 The perceptive journalist writes in *Argus*, 4 Aug, editorial.
- THE EYE OF HISTORY
- 27 The citizens' dinner for the centenary is reported in *SMH*, 31 Jan and George Thornton's origins are described *ADB* 6.



- 27 Jennings warns about 'the future eye of history' in *NSW PD* 22, 1886, 5063 and patriot William Foster links national greatness to history *ibid.*, 27, 1887, 2526. Parkes's plans for a history are set out in his letter to Jennings cited above and the fortunes of his scheme for *Historical records* are described by L. Trainor, 'Britain and late nineteenth century historiography in eastern Australia', unpublished paper to Later British History Conference, Adelaide 1983. Henry Lawson's reflections on 'A neglected history' appear in *Republican* in 1888 and are reproduced in C. Roderick (ed), *Autobiographical and other writings*, Sydney 1972, 5–7.
- 27 The Carringtons' visit to Wynyard Square is reported in *SMH*, 24 Aug 1886.
- 28 Sutherland defends his historical approach in his *Victoria and its metropolis*, 1, [5]; Favenc defines the task of exploration history in his *The history of Australian exploration*, Sydney 1888, vi, and Garran outlines his aims for *Picturesque atlas* in his Introduction. Other examples of the style are W.F. Morrison (ed), *The Aldine centennial history of New South Wales*, Sydney 1888, W.F. Morrison (ed), *The Aldine centennial history of Queensland*, Sydney 1888, T.W.H. Leavitt and W.D. Lilburn (eds), *The jubilee history of Victoria and Melbourne*, Melbourne 1888.
- 29 On the development of the 'pioneer legend' see J.B. Hirst, 'The pioneer legend', *Hist stud* 18/71, 1978; L. Astbury, 'Frederick McCubbin: the spirit of the pioneers', *Aust* 1888 7, 1981.
- 29 The collector of the potted biographies in Sutherland, probably R.P. Whitworth, writes in the introduction to *Victoria and its metropolis*, 2, vi–vii. For discussion of these biographies see G. Davison, 'The dimensions of mobility in nineteenth century Australia', *Aust* 1888 2, 1979, 7–9. The Curries' dealings with the 'book feind' are recorded in Ann Currie's diary, 22 Dec 1887, 30 Apr 1889.
- ## 2. PEOPLE
- The main source for the statistics of the people of 1888 is T.A. Coghlan, *A statistical account of the seven colonies of Australasia*, Sydney 1890–1904. This chapter draws mainly on the volumes of 1890, 1891 and 1893. The 1890 edition contains some figures for 1888, but the volumes use mainly the figures from the 1881 and 1891 censuses. The 1893 edition uses figures from the completed 1891 census, and in some cases the figures given in previous editions have been revised in the light of information from this census.
- 34 Coghlan speaks of the 'industrious colonists' in the concluding remarks of *Statistical account* 1891, 289, and of the object of his work in the introduction to the same volume, v, vi.
- 34 William Archer's perfect statistics are admired by C.W. Dilke, *Greater Britain: a record of travel in English-speaking countries* 2, London 1868, 25, and Hayter is praised in the report of the Official statistics committee of the House of Commons. See F.L. Jones, 'Is it true what they said about women: the census 1801–1911, and women in the economy', *ANU working papers in economic history* 23, 1984, 21–2.
- 34 Biographical details of Coghlan are found in E.C. Fry, 'Labour and industry in Australia', *Hist stud* 14/55, 1970 and *ADB* 8.
- 34–5 Information on the British census and the work of William Farr comes from M.J. Cullen, *The statistical movement in early Victorian Britain*, New York 1975; Farr's remark on successive generalisations, 34. Matthew Arnold speaks of order, society and human perfection in the concluding chapter of *Culture and anarchy*, London 1920 (1869), 158.
- 35–6 Ann Currie notes the arrival of Mr Bradley in her diary, 15 Apr 1889, LaTL.
- 36 The origins of the people are from Coghlan, *Statistical account* 1891, 27–8. A discussion of people settling in different regions is in G. Sherington, *Australia's immigrants*, Sydney 1980, 82; for German settlers on the Darling Downs see 72–3. Sherington estimates the population of Newcastle at 40 000, 78, but the census figures indicate that it may have been closer to 50 000. For a description of the distinctive flavour of Australian country towns see J.M. Freeland, 'People in cities', in A. Rapoport (ed), *Australia as human setting*, Sydney 1972, 108.
- 37 Pictures of Lutheran churches in the Barossa valley of South Australia are found in E. Jensen, *Barossan foundations*, Nuriootpa 1969, and of Cornish buildings and chapels in P. Payton, *Pictorial history of Australia's little Cornwall*, Adelaide 1978. Payton discusses the influence of Cornish terminology, 14–15.
- 37 The lack of Australian born premiers is noted in Sherington, *Australia's immigrants*, 68.
- 37–8 For a discussion of the effects of the gold rush immigration see A.R. Hall, 'Some long period effects of the kinked age distribution of the population of Australia 1861–1961', *Econ record* 39/85, 1963, 52. Coghlan's description of 'the goldrush immigration' is in *Statistical account* 1891, 21.
- 38 McCubbin's memories are published in A. Galbally (ed), 'Notes by Frederick McCubbin', *La Trobe Library J* 6, 1979, 73.
- 38 Coghlan discusses the under-estimation of the number of Aborigines in *Statistical account* 1891, 29. The complaint about natives in railway carriages is reported by *SA Register*, 10 Nov. The number of Pacific Islanders in Australia is calculated by A. Birch, 'The organization and economies of Pacific Island's labour in the Australian sugar industry 1863–1906', *Bus archives and hist* 61/1, 1966, 63.
- 39 Numbers of Chinese are recorded by Coghlan, *Statistical account* 1891, 30, and newspaper remarks come from *Register*, 23 Feb, 7.
- 39–40 Population densities are in Coghlan, *Statistical account* 1890, 5–6, and 1891, 17. For proportions of people living in city and country see R.V. Jackson, *Australian economic development in the nineteenth century*, Sydney 1977, ch 5.
- 40–1 Proportions of men to women are in Coghlan, *Statistical account* 1890, 16, and proportions in WA are calculated from the 1891 WA census. The balance of the sexes in city and country, and reasons for differences, are discussed by J.B. Hirst, *Adelaide and the country 1870–1917*, Melbourne 1973, 6–7.
- 41 Coghlan notes birth and marriage rates, *Statistical account* 1890, 7 and 1891, 22–5, and the remark on the decline in the birthrate 1891, 23. Reasons for the decline are discussed in W.D. Borrie, *Population trends and policies*, Sydney 1948, 44–55. Age rates of women at marriage, 39.
- 42 The occupations of the people are found in *Statistical account* 1891, 168–9, and numbers of young women in domestic service are calculated from the 1891 NSW census.
- 42 For a discussion of the Victorian attitudes to work see W.E. Houghton, *The Victorian frame of mind*, Yale 1959, 242–57. Thomas Carlyle speaks of work in *Past and present* 3, London 1843, ch 5.
- 43 The superintendent of the Dunwich Benevolent home gives his report in *Qld V & P* 1, 1889.
- 43 Coghlan speaks of the unscientific comprehensive classes of the occupation tables in *Statistical account* 1890, 167. The English expert is Dr Ogle who writes in *J of the Roy Statistical Society* 1886, 438.
- 43 See J.R. Vincent, *Pollbooks*, Cambridge 1967, 53, for the British discussion of occupational classification.
- 43 For divisions between employers and employees see N.G. Butlin and J.A. Downie, 'Estimates of Australian workforce and employment 1861–1961', *Aust econ hist rev* 9/2, 1969, 138–55.
- 43 Coghlan discusses the standard of living and 'greater degree of comfort', *Statistical account* 1890, 69–70, and 1891, 173–7.
- 43 The small proportion of income spent on food, 1891, 181; high wages and the remark on thrift, 1891, 270; savings of the people, 1891, 271–3. Thomas Dobeson complains in his Narrative, ML.
- 44 Figures on religious affiliations come from *Statistical account* 1890, 246, and the remark on the Chinese erroneously classed as pagans from 1891, 247. The major denominations are listed 1891, 247.



- Coghlan estimates church attendances in *The wealth and progress of NSW*; see W. Phillips, 'Religious profession and practice in NSW, 1850–1901: the statistical evidence', *Hist stud* 15/59, 1972.
- 44–5 The desire for English schools is made clear in *TCJ*, 21 Feb 1880, 352. See B. Mitchell, 'Climate, education and religion', *Aust* 1888 12, 1983, 57. Information on private and public schools is from *Australian encyclopaedia* 8, 'Schools, independent'.
- 45 Coghlan remarks on the compulsory clause in Qld in *Statistical account* 1891, 251. On the gap between elementary and secondary schooling see R. Selleck, 'State education and culture', in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds), *Australian cultural history* 1, Canberra 1982, 35–6. Coghlan's remark on the headmaster is from a study of his papers by J.M. Cordell, cited in Fry, 'Labour and industry', 431.
- 45–6 Numbers of people at school are in *Statistical account* 1891, 256; literacy statistics, 261; newspapers passing through post offices, 1890, 172. Newspapers are listed in Gordon and Gorch's *Australasian newspaper directory* 1888, Melbourne 1888; G. Serle, *The nash to be rich*, Melbourne 1971, 29–31, supports the opinion of the directory that *Argus* is one of world's leading newspapers.
- 46 The details of insolvency, insanity, suicide, illegitimate births and divorce are included in the chapter on Social Condition, *Statistical account* 1890, 171–7.
- 46 The sad story of Teenie is found in the diary of Albert Wright, 9 Feb and 9 July, 1888, UNE Archives.
- 47 Coghlan closes his *Statistical account* with optimism, 1891, 289–90.
3. LAND
- 49 The lecture of the Rev Dr William Wools, 'New South Wales: The past and present', is reported in *Sydney Mail*, 16 July 1887.
- 49 The opening of the Centennial Agricultural Show and Carrington's remarks are recorded in *SMH*, 26 Jan 1888.
- THE DRIEST YEAR
- 49–50 The meteorological reports for each colony for 1888 appear in the parliamentary papers. The Jan floods are reported in *TCJ*, 7, 14 Jan, and the Greenough flood in WA Meteorological Report for 1888, *WA PP*, 11, 1889, 6–7.
- 50 *Sydney Mail*, 2 June, notes the withering vines and sugar cane.
- 51 A report on 'Rainfall in South Australia and the Northern Territory during 1888', *SA PP*, 3, 1889, viii, ix, notes the problems of the wheat farmers and the dying Riverina trees. Low water at Wilcannia is reported in *TCJ*, 4 Aug, and the price of water in Bourke is given in the same paper 1 Sept. Bushfires are reported in *TCJ*, 28 July, 11, 18 Aug, 1 Sept.
- 51 Details of mortgages come from A.C.B. Allen, 'Marginal settlement—a case study of the Channel Country of southeast Queensland', *Aust geog stud* 6, 1968, 1–23; and R.L. Heathcote, *Back of Bourke*, Melbourne 1965, 216. The reporter writes of 'The barren West' in *Sydney Mail*, 6 Oct, and the manager of the Melbourne pastoral company describes conditions in *J commerce*, 14 Dec. For an account of travelling stock see J.C. Foley, 'Droughts in Australia: review of records from the earliest years of settlement to 1955', *Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology Bulletin* 43, 1957, and *J commerce* (Melb), 14 Dec 1888.
- 51–3 An account of the journey of R.B. Pitt is in his diary, held by the John Oxley Library. Boylan's calculations of profit may have been influenced by the heavy restocking of sheep and cattle which had been going on early in 1888; see Registrar General's Report on the returns of agriculture and livestock, *Qld PP*, 4, 1889.
- 53–5 The impact of the drought on agriculture is given in T. Coghlan, *The wealth and progress of NSW 1888–89*, Sydney 1889; and Foley, 'Droughts'.
- 55–6 For records on the management of *Warrah* see letters of George Fairbairn to Jesse Gregson, Australian Agricultural Company, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU. The quotation is from a letter of 4 Dec.
- 56 The impact of the drought on mining is shown in the 1888 Report of the NSW Dept of Mines, *NSW V & P*, 4, 1889, 170; the troubles of the field parties are noted in the 1888 Report of the Superintendent of Drills, *NSW V & P* 4, 1889, 205–49. For effects of drought in cities see J.M. Hughes diary, LaTL, Nov 1888, and G. Davison, 'Public utilities and the growth of Melbourne in the 1880s', *Aust econ hist rev* 10/2, 1970, 184.
- 56 Religious services are reported in *SMH*, 31 Aug, 5 Sept, and the liberal churchman is quoted in *Echo*, 12 Sept. Days set aside for prayers for rain are listed in *The Australian handbook*: see *Aust* 1888 11, 1983, 21–5. On the Judaeo-Christian tradition see J. Passmore, *Man's responsibility for nature*, London 1974, 6–10.
- CHANGING THE LAND
- 56 Ernest Favenc writes of the resources of the land in *The history of Australian exploration from 1788 to 1888*, Sydney 1888, 386. For biographical details see *ADB* 4.
- 56–7 Recent general studies of the transformation of the land and patterns of settlement are G. Blainey, *A land half won*, Melbourne 1980, ch 19, and G. Bolton, *Spoils and spoilers*, Sydney 1981, esp chs 3, 4, 8 and 9, and J.M. Powell, *Environmental management in Australia 1788–1914*, Melbourne 1976. More specific studies are D.N. Jeans, *An historical geography of New South Wales to 1901*, Sydney 1972, and M. Williams, *The making of the South Australian landscape*, London 1974.
- 58 The hoof weights of animals come from R.L. Heathcote, *The arid lands: their use and abuse*, London 1983, 98. Evidence of the damage animals could cause is given by the chairman of the Bourke Land Board to the NSW Royal commission into the conservation of water, *NSW V & P*, 4, 1885. A letter from G. Mair to J. Gregson 13 May 1881, *Warrah Papers*, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU, describes yards and buildings buried in dust and an account of cane swamps is in W.E. Abbott, 'Notes on a journey on the Darling', *J proc Roy Soc NSW* 15, 1881. Royal commission on the conservation of water was told in 1885 that tanks silted up within five years in western NSW.
- 59 The SA farming authority is N.T. Grierson, who writes of 'The position of agriculture', in *Garden and field*, Adelaide 1888–89, 14, 128. The Roseworthy situation is described in Williams, *South Australian landscape*, 280–1.
- 59 The information on NSW forest clearance comes from A.G. Hamilton, 'On the effect which settlement in Australia has produced upon indigenous vegetation', *J proc Roy Soc NSW* 26, 1892. Destruction by miners is reported in the 1888 annual report of the Dept of Mines, *NSW V & P* 4, 1889, 123, and in Williams, *South Australian landscape*. A description of cutting mulga to feed sheep is in J. Cameron (ed), *History of Bourke*, Bourke 1982–83, 181. The 'genius of destruction' is noted by J.A. Froude, in *Oceana*, London 1886, 126.
- 59 Blainey, *A land half won*, Bolton, *Spoils and spoilers*, and Powell, *Environmental management*, all have general information on restoring the woodlands. See also the final report of Royal commission of inquiry into forestry, *NSW PP* 1, 1908, 181–1130; and for SA the Annual progress report upon state forest administration for the year 1888–89, *SA PP* 3, 1889, no 106. The comments of J.E. Browne and the spirited journalist are in *Argus*, 3 Aug, and Wools is quoted in *Sydney Mail*, 16 July 1887.
- 59–60 There is information on the spread of weeds in two chapters of D.J. and S.G.M. Carr (eds), *Plants and man in Australia*, Sydney 1981: 'The history of introduced weeds', by W.J. Parsons, and 'Prickly pear', by C.B. Osmond and J. Munro. The story of the Astronomer's sprouting straw is found in Froude, *Oceana*, 92. The details of NSW weeds are from the annual report for 1888 of the Stock and Brands Branch of the Dept of Mines, *NSW V & P* 4, 1889, 667.
- 60 The spread of pine and whipstick scrub is documented in two reports in *NSW V & P* 3, 1881, 253–7, and 259–66, and in a further report in *NSW V & P* 2, 1883, 377–9. The description of



- the 'noble pines' is in evidence to the NSW Royal commission 1901, *NSW V & P* 4, 1901, 289, 650.
- 60 There is a general description of grasses in R.M. Moore (ed), *Australian grasslands*, Canberra 1970. A Riverina selector notes the beneficial effects of clearing in evidence to the Report of inquiry into the state of the public lands (Morris and Ranken Report), *NSW V & P* 2, 1883, 45.
- 60 Evidence of over-stocking is in Heathcote, *Back of Bourke*, McCaughey's comment is from Western Land Commission, Sydney, File LA 257/1886, dated 31 Jan 1887.
- 60 The expert estimate of stock-bearing capacity comes from A.G. Hamilton to Western Lands Commission, Sydney, File LA 206/1896, 15 Dec 1896. The 'pitiless stamp of desolation' is noted by Francis Adams in *The Australians: a social sketch*, Melbourne 1893, 135.
- CLIMATE
- 61 Clarke's views are set out in 'Effects of forest vegetation on climate', *J proc Roy Soc NSW* 10, 1876. The claims of J.E. Browne are recorded in *Argus*, 3 Aug 1888. W.E. Abbott puts his point of view in two articles, 'Ringbarking and its effects', *J proc Roy Soc NSW* 14, 1880, and 'Forest destruction in New South Wales and its effects on the flow of water in watercourses and on the rainfall', *J proc Roy Soc NSW* 22, 1888.
- 61 The telegraphing of daily rainfall readings between the colonies is noted in Heathcote, *Back of Bourke*, 119. The Meteorological Conference is reported in *SA PP* 3, 1889, no 47. H.C. Russell elaborates on his theory of weather cycles in his paper 'On periodicity of good and bad seasons', *J proc Roy Soc NSW* 30, 1896. Todd's formula is in 'Rainfall in South Australia', *SA PP*, 1889, no 31, x-xi.
- 61 Ellery advises on conserving water during a discussion by meteorologists on causes of drought, reported in *Argus*, 27 Dec.
- 62 John Forrest's address is in A. Liveridge and R. Etheridge (ed), *Report of the first meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Sydney 1889, 353. The press carries many articles on irrigation; *TCJ* reports on developments in California on 3, 17, 24 Nov and 29 Dec; on irrigation in India on 11, 18 Aug; the Chaffey scheme is discussed on 8 Sept.
- 62 Artesian water at Blackall is reported on 4 Aug.
- INHABITANTS OF THE LAND
- 63 Woolls remarks on the extinction of animals in *Sydney Mail*, 16 July 1887. The diary of Alf Broome is held at LaTL, and extracts are reproduced in *Aust 1888* 7, 1981, 74.
- 63-4 The killing of 'noxious' animals is noted in the 1888 report of the Stock and Brands Branch of the NSW Dept of Mines.
- 64 Tasmanian naturalists draw attention to the plight of mutton birds and seals in *Launceston Examiner*, 14 May, and to the Tasmanian tiger in *Hobart Mercury*, 27 Sept. *BC* carries a story on the Queensland native birds on 15 Sept.
- 64-5 The importation of foxes and sparrows is discussed in E. Rolls, *They all ran wild*, Sydney 1969, 240-1, 304-5, and the spread of sparrows is noted by *Launceston Examiner*, 30 Nov. William Staggs makes an entry in his diary on 9 Jan 1886, recording his destruction of the sparrow nests. There are many reports of the mice plague, but see esp *TCJ*, 2, 9, 16 June, 14 July, 8 Aug.
- 65 The rabbits are described in the Morris and Ranken Report *NSW V & P*, 1883, 45; general coverage is in *Australian encyclopaedia*, Sydney 1954, 'Rabbits', and F. Fenner and F.N. Ratcliffe, *Myxomatosis*, London 1965, ch 3. See also Rolls, *They all ran wild*, ch 3. A major contemporary source is the Report of Royal commission to inquire into the introduction of contagious diseases among rabbits, *NSW V & P* 4, 1889, 704-38. Other sources are *NSW PP* 4, 1892-93, 399; *Qld PP* 3, 1888, 829; *BC*, 2 Jan.
- 65 Goyder's belief that Aborigines spread the rabbits is in question 2020 of evidence to the SA Pastoral Lands Commission, *SA PP*, 1891, no 33.
- 65 Effects of good rains on the rabbit population are discussed in *Sydney Mail*, 13 Oct. Samuel Hubbe's remark about rabbits and drought is made to the Intercolonial Royal commission on rabbit extermination, *NSW PP* 5, 1890, 110-12.
- 65 The drover speaks of drought and rabbits to O. Comettant in 1888, and his remark is recorded in *In the land of kangaroos and gold mines*, Adelaide 1980 (1890), 83. The effects of trapping were discussed in the report of the intercolonial Royal commission, xxxii.
- 65-7 For general discussions of remedies for the rabbit problem see 'Rabbits, remedies and rewards', *Evening News*, 20 Apr; 'The rabbit pest', *Sydney Mail*, 13 Oct; Final Report of Royal commission appointed to inquire into the introduction of contagious diseases among rabbits, *NSW PP* 2, 1889, 187. On the effectiveness of fences see evidence of A. McFarlane and J. Reid to Intercolonial Royal commission, 56, 108.
4. ENERGY
- 69 A longer version of this chapter appears in *Aust 1888* 10, 1982. Readers of F. Braudel, *Capitalism and material life 1400-1800*, London 1973, will recognise how much we owe to his chapters on 'The spread of technology'. Details of mechanical devices at the Centennial Exhibition are in *Argus*, 2 Aug; Ken Slater, Acid to ashes: 19th century electrical technology and the foundations of electricity supply in Melbourne', MA thesis, 1981, La Trobe University, 218-19; K.L. Murray, 'The lighting of the Centennial International Exhibition Melbourne 1888 and 1889', *Victorian electrical and telegraphic journal*, 1890, 208. The pioneer's recollections come from *The land of the lyrebird*, Korumburra 1920, 268.
- MUSCLEPOWER
- 69-70 In the late colonial period, 'hard physical work was normal', as Blainey reminds us in his article, 'The history of leisure in Australia: the late colonial era', *Vic hist j* 49, 1978, 8. See, for example, D. Rowe, 'The robust navy: the railway construction worker in northern NSW, 1854-1894', *Labour hist* 39, 1980, 28-45; and B. Morris, 'Alf Broome and his work diary', *Aust 1888* 7, 1981
- 70 Information on wharf labour is found in W. Mitchell, 'Home life at the hungry mile: Sydney wharf labourers and their families, 1900-1914', *Labour hist* 33, 1977, 94-6 and in Select committee on grain sacks regulation bill, *NSW LA V & P*, 1906, questions 63-8. Remarks on the need for physical strength are made by F.J. Cato to F. Bethune, 9 April 1883, in U.B. Porter (ed), *Growing together, letters between Frederick J. Cato and Frances Bethune 1881-1884*, Melbourne 1981, 247.
- 71 The table of energy ratings is taken from E. Grandjean, *Fitting the task to the man*, London 1980, 67. The figures of course must be modified to allow for varying hours of work, for whether labour was constant or intermittent, and for the use of labour saving devices.
- 71 Blainey estimates the number of people able to sit down at work in 'The history of leisure in Australia', 8. The estimate of use of public transport in Melbourne in 1888 is based on a comparison of ticket sales for trains and trams with journeys of the workforce. For a fuller description see *Aust 1888* 10, 1982, 30, n13. A.J. Mayne concludes that in late nineteenth century Sydney 'the bulk of working people commuted by foot': see Mayne, 'Commuter travel and class mobility in Sydney, 1858-1888', *Aust econ hist rev* 21/1, 1981.
- 71 Mary Gilmore describes the work of women in the Riverina in *Old days, old ways*, Sydney 1963 (1934), 18-19, and the work of women in the Richmond River district is described by E.S. Sorenson, *Life in the Australian backblocks*, London 1911, 286.
- 72 The Royal commission to inquire into the general condition of the sugar industry in Queensland hears the evidence of T. Mackay and J.D. Johnston, whose remarks are quoted here. The evidence may be found in the *Qld LA V & P* 4, 1889, questions 1498, 531.



- 72 The remarks on ploughing come from W. Evans (ed), *Diary of a Welsh swagman 1869–1894*, Melbourne 1975, 72, and from the Stainthorpe memoirs as quoted in C.E. Sayers, *Shanty at the bridge*, Melbourne 1963, 131.
- 72-3 The work of Joseph Jenkins is noted in Evans, *Diary*, 91, 112; Jenkins notes the increase in machinery in *ibid*, 128. The number of reapers and binders increased from 787 in 1884 to 3491 in 1888, 'reaping' machines remained at around 9000 throughout the 1880s, while 'strippers' increased from 5717 in 1883 to 8484 in 1888. See Vic *Statistical registers*, 'Production', and compare D.J. Jeans, *An historical geography of NSW to 1901*, Sydney 1972, 203–7. The information about machinery left by estates comes from an analysis of probated estates of farmers in north-central Vic in 1888–89 by C. Fahey. The labour required to harvest a 640 acre farm is given in Sayers, *Shanty*, 123.
- 73 On shearing see the article on Wolseley, *ADB* 6, and for reports of demonstrations see *Riverina Recorder*, 30 May and *Riverina Grazier*, 3 Aug. The Riverina pastoralist quoted here is W.E. Abbott, who gave evidence to Royal commission on strikes, Sydney 1891, question 3207; see also evidence of A. Wilson, *ibid*, questions 2605–8, and article in *Australasian*, 9 June 1888, 1243.
- 73 Wolseley is quoted in *Australian Pastoralists' Review*, 15 May 1893, 118; compare also *ibid*, 15 Feb 1892, 494.
- 73-4 Information on the work of miners is taken from G. Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, Melbourne 1963, 300–1, and from J. Scarborough, 'Early history of compressed air rock drilling in NSW', *J Roy Aust Hist Soc* 60, 1974.
- 74 The Royal commission on strikes hears that a man could be required to work for fifteen or twenty hours in the coal mines; see question 69, 10793–7, 10818–9; and the miners are described as 'rolling stock' in evidence to Royal commission on coal mining regulation bill, NSW LA V & P 3, 1896, questions 1517–9.
- 74 The first unionist comparing British and Australian conditions is quoted in the same source, questions 363–75, and the second in J. Norton, *A history of capital and labour*, Melbourne 1888, 96–7.
- 75-6 Information on the installation of cranes at the wharves is in Parliamentary standing committee on public works—harbour improvements at Newcastle, NSW LA V & P 2, 1888–89, questions 14, 49, and in Details of wharf machinery in Sydney and Newcastle harbours, in NSW *Statistical register*, 'Interchange', 1893. A. Sutherland remarks on the Melbourne waterfront in *Victoria and its metropolis* 1, Melbourne 1888, 547, and the old stevedore gives his evidence to the Royal commission on strikes, questions 2393–6. The lumper's testimony is from the same source, questions 313, 440–52, as is the remark on the uncertainties of the maritime labour market, question 432.
- FOOD
- 76-7 'An Old Housekeeper' advises on the time of meals in her *Men and how to manage them*, Melbourne 1885, 65.
- 77 T.A. Coghlan's study on diet is in *Wealth and progress of NSW 1889–90*, Sydney 1890, 373–8.
- 77 The fisherman gives evidence to the Select committee on the fishing industry, Vic LA V & P 1, 1892–93, question 3512.
- ANIMAL POWER
- 78 A horse is usually reckoned to exert between two-thirds and four-fifths of one mechanical horsepower; a powerful man up to one-eighth of a horsepower; see Callaghan and Millington, *Wheat industry*, 300 and compare Braudel, *Capitalism*, 246. Vic, the most industrialised of the colonies, had a total recorded industrial power capacity of about 50 000 hp. Even with generous estimates for locomotives and other unrecorded steam engines, such as steam shovels, it is doubtful if the total coalpower came close to this.
- 78-9 The paragraphs on bullocks are based mainly on Olaf Ruhen, *Bullock teams, the building of a nation*, Sydney 1980, esp 44, 68, 79, 113, 138, 148, 156, 159, 172; K.M. Dallas, *Horsepower*, Hobart 1968, 57–8; L. Braden, *Bullockies*, Adelaide 1968, 65, 82. See statistics on sugar mills powered by bullocks in NSW *Statistical register*, 'Production', 1888. On the uses of camels in the outback see H.M. Barker, *Camels and the outback*, Melbourne 1964. The arrival of camel trains in 1888 is reported in *TCJ*, 28 July, 4 May 1888, see also *Western Herald*, 4 Aug 1888.
- 80 Advertisements for the de Laval cream separator and for Buncle chaffcutters may be found in *Argus* exhibition supplement, 4 Sept and 10 Oct 1888. The number of animals maintained on a SA farm is found in D.W. Meinig, *On the margins of the good earth: the South Australian wheat frontier, 1869–1884*, Adelaide 1962, 110–12; compare Jeans, *An historical geography*, 206.
- 80 In NSW, with its large pastoral industry, 'draught horses' comprise 32 per cent of the recorded horse population while in SA where agriculture was more important 'working horses' are 66 per cent of the recorded horse population. Within each colony, too, horsepower seems to be concentrated in areas beyond the rail or where cereals predominated.
- 80 For data on horse food we have relied on H.A. Woodruff, *The economics of feeding horses*, London and Victoria 1912, 66; NSW Department of Agriculture, *Farmers bulletin no 64, Feeding of farm horses*, Sydney 1913, 12 ff and J.L. Thompson, 'The clydesdale horse', *Agricultural gazette of New South Wales*, 3, 1982, 614–15. Stagg's remark on feeding horses is found in N. Robinson (ed), *Stagg of Tarcowie, the diaries of a colonial teenager 1885–1887*, Jamestown 1973, 63, and Dobeson's experience is recorded in his 'Narrative', 1887–91, ML.
- 80-1 The land used for oats and hay is recorded in Vic *Statistical register*, 'Production'. The bill for feeding the horses of the Melbourne Omnibus Company is found in the balance sheets of the company in Defunct companies papers no 151, Vic PRO.
- FIREWOOD
- 81 The horsepower from wood-fuelled boilers is taken from *Statistical registers*, 'Production'.
- 81 The cost of carting wood in Vic is found in Evans, *Diary*, 88, and in Tas in G. Blainey, *The peaks of Lyell*, Melbourne 1958, 47. Local firewood prices in Vic are in *Statistical register*, 'Interchange'.
- 81-2 See N. Houghton, *Timber and gold, a history of the sawmills and tramways of the Wombat Forest, 1855–1940*, Melbourne 1980; and for details of timber supplies to the Vic goldfields see 'Timber consumed in mining in Victoria in 1887', Vic government, *Agriculture bulletin*, 1888, 66–9. Scarcity of timber in the other colonies is discussed in M. Williams, *The making of the South Australian landscape*, London 1974, 135; Annual Report of the state forest administrator in NSW for the year 1890, NSW LA V & P, 69, 1891–92, 35–6; J. Nolan, *Bundaberg—history and people*, St Lucia 1978, 186.
- 82 Details of supplies of firewood to Adelaide come from Williams, *South Australian landscape*, 167–8. SA railway freight returns for 1888 show that the largest tonnages of firewood were loaded along the section of line between Eudunda and Morgan. Information on the sources of Sydney's supplies comes from *SMH*, Sydney market reports for Jan and *TCJ*, 14 Apr.
- 82-3 *Argus* report of firewood supplies is from 28 Aug.
- COAL POWER
- 83 In estimating Australian domestic coal consumption we have deducted the exports of NSW coal to places other than the Australian colonies. I have thus assumed that foreign coal exports from colonies other than NSW were negligible. The distribution of coal production between the various fields is given in *Statistical register*, 'Production'.
- 83-4 The location and production of the NSW coal fields are taken from the following sources: M.G.A. Wilson, 'Changing patterns of pit location on the NSW coalfields', *Annals of the association of American geographers*, 58, 1968, 83–5; Parliamentary standing committee on public works—harbour improvements at Newcastle, 7; K.R. Bolton, 'Urban beginnings—a development of the colliery villages of Northern Illawarra' in R. Robinson (ed), *Urban Illawarra*, Melbourne 1977, 77–9.



- 84 The cost of transporting coal is based on K.H. Burley, 'The overseas trade in NSW coal and the British shipping industry, 1860–1914', *Econ record* 36, 1960, 413; coal advertisement, *SMH*, 19 Jan 1888; market report, *Argus*, 16 Jan 1888; *Vic Statistical register*, 'Interchange', gives local cost prices.
- 84 For a listing of NSW gasworks see *NSW Statistical registers*, 'Employment', and for Vic see *Victorian municipal directory* entries for individual towns. On Bega's coal supply see Ruhen, *Bullock teams*, 140.
- 84 NSW Railways had much lower fuel bills than Vic. About half the NSW railways coal was bought from the Esk Bank, Lithgow and Hermitage Coal Companies situated on the busiest western rail line. Railways (Return of coal contracts for 1890), *NSW LA V & P* 5, 1890, 1075. The estimate on the Victorian fuel bill is found in Royal commission on coal, *Vic LA V & P*, 6/178, 1891, questions 8278–9, 8348, 8358, 8284.
- 84-5 The coal consumption of the Australian Gas Light company is a rough estimate based on a newspaper report during the 1888 coal strike that the company has on hand only 12 000 tonnes or 14 weeks normal consumption (*Argus*, 28 Aug). We have based our estimates of gas-cooking households on the statistics of gas cookers leased by the Metropolitan gas company (see G. Davison, *The rise and fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne 1978, 173) and estimate of daytime consumption in *Argus* (Exhibition supplement), 9 Oct. Gas companies in the 1880s, like electricity authorities in the 1980s, may have promoted daytime usage in order to boost the base-load of the system.
- 85 Information on hydraulic lifts was obtained from Blainey, *One hundred years—Johns and Waygood Limited 1856–1956*, Melbourne 1956, 22–3; Annual reports of the Melbourne hydraulic power company in Defunct companies papers, no 1030, *Vic PRO*; Report of the select committee on hydraulic system bill, *Vic LA V & P* 1, 1887, 1479–1514. By 1889, more than 70 hydraulic passenger and goods lifts had been connected to the Melbourne system, and by 1890 271. The prospectus of the Sydney company is in *SMH*, 21 Feb 1888 see also Report of select committee on Sydney hydraulic power company's bill, *NSW LA V & P* 3, 1887.
- 85-6 The advantages of the gas engine are given in W. McGregor, *Gas engines*, London 1885, 80. Several appliances exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition—including a model bakery, a wood turning plant and a sausage-making machine—were powered by gas engines see *Argus* (Exhibition supplement), 2, 18 Oct.
- 86 The remark on the petrol engine is also from *Argus*, 9 Oct. The account of Hargrave's exhibition of the compressed air engine is found in Royal Society of NSW, *Proceedings 1889*, 48. See also the article on Hargrave in *ADB* 9.
- 86 The president of the Victorian Railways Electric Society is reported in *Victorian electrical and telegraphic journal* 1889, 152 and the reports of electrical devices come from the same source. Pritchard's tram car is mentioned in *Echo*, 11 Jan and Mrs Cornwell's Schanschieff electric light in *Argus*, 20, 21, 22 Aug.
- 86-7 For the technical problems of electric light see K. Slater, 'Acid to ashes' and M. Cannon, *Life in the cities*, Melbourne 1975.
- 87 The significance of the transformer is underlined in Slater, 225 and Cannon, 11; suburban electric lighting schemes are mentioned in 'Electric lighting', *Australasian builder*, 12 May 1888. Tamworth's electrical system is described in *Argus*, 12 Nov.
- WIND POWER
- 89 The Royal commission on the construction of public tanks and wells may be found in *NSW LA V & P* 3, 1888–89. See esp questions 2492, 53, 557, 324, 1205, 1229, 3324; this last reference is the source of the quotation from Arthur Wood.
- 89 For information on wind pumps see W. Minchington, 'Windpower', *History today* 30, 1980, 35.
- 89 The description of windmills around Dubbo comes from A. Garran (ed), *The picturesque atlas of Australasia*, Sydney 1886–88.
5. DISTANCE
- Information on timetables, travel costs and postal and telegraph arrangements cited throughout the chapter are taken from the *Year book of Australia for 1888*; *Australasian A.B.C. travellers Guide*, monthly 1887–89; New South Wales Government Railways, *Timetables and fares from 3 June 1888*, Sydney 1888; *Book time-table of the Victorian Railways, 1 October 1888*, Melbourne 1888; *Time and fare tables of the South Australian railways, and tramways on and after 1 October 1887*, Adelaide 1887; *Cobb and Co's guide*, Geelong 1887; the annual reports of the post offices printed in *V & P*, *Vic, Postal and telegraph guide*, Apr 1888. Steamship sailings and passenger charges are advertised in the newspapers and voyages reported in their shipping columns. The best account of transport and travel is G. Blainey, *The tyranny of distance*, Melbourne 1966, which is critically assessed by J.B. Hirst, 'Distance in Australia—was it a tyrant?', *Hist stud* 16/64, 1975 to which Blainey replied *ibid*, 16/65, 1975.
- 91 The *SMH* Centennial supplement appears on 24 Jan.
- 92 The loss through delay of the mail is reported in Report of Post and Telegraph Department, *Vic V & P* 3, 1889, 17 and the signalling of the mail in *Vic Postal and telegraph guide*, Apr 1888, 3, 5.
- 92-3 The negotiations on how the federal mail service was to be financed occurred at the 1888 Intercolonial Postal Conference, whose proceedings appear in *SA V & P* 3, 1888. The new contracts are printed in *Vic V & P* 2, 1888, and their performance recorded in *Vic's Post and Telegraph Report V & P* 3, 1889, App D, E, J, K. Qld's dilemma is charted in its postal reports for 1888 and 1889; its initial objection to the scheme was supported by *Courier Mail*, 28 Jan.
- 93 On the new artists see A. Galbally, *Arthur Streeton*, Melbourne 1969.
- STEAMSHIPS AND RAILWAYS
- 94 Freight costs in the intercolonial steamers are given in G. Henning, 'Steamships and the 1890 maritime strike', *Hist stud* 15/60, 1973.
- 94-5 Blainey describes railway development in *Tyranny*, chs 10, 11, and J.B. Hirst the linking of the South Australian system in *Adelaide and the country: their social and political relationship*, Melbourne 1973, 99–103.
- 95 *Newcastle Morning Herald*, for which there is an index, reports Newcastle's protests in the weeks after the line opened, the activities of the Decentralisation League and the half-yearly meetings of the steamship companies. For the largest public meetings see issues for 20 Jan, 17 Feb. Newcastle's formal complaint to the new Railway Commissioners is reported *ibid*, 11 Dec 1888, 17 Jan 1889 and several official reports on freight and fares on the line are printed in *NSW V & P* 6, 1887–88. A statement made by the Commissioner of Railways upon relinquishing office, *NSW, V & P* 2, 1888–89, 12–37, contains a defence of differential rates.
- 95-6 Coastal shipping in the 1880s is described in chs 4–11 of N.L. McKellar, *From Derby round to Burketown, the A.U.S.N. story*, St Lucia 1977, and in Henning 'Steamships' which compares boarding house and steamer charges, 580.
- 96-7 McKellar claims that the intercolonial railways were not much of a threat to the passenger trade, 189. But Adelaide Steam felt the pinch, 113, and the Huddart Parker Board Minutes in the University of Melbourne Archives for 3 June 1889 show real concern. The estimate on the numbers travelling between Sydney and Melbourne is derived from *Argus* reports which list each day the names of passengers arriving by ship and train; a count was made for the three weeks beginning 13 Feb, 23 Apr, 11 June.
- 97 The most substantial accounts of the conflict between river and rail are G. Painter, *The river trade, wool and steamers*, Sydney 1979 and N.G. Butlin, *Investment in Australian economic development*, Cambridge 1964, 305–14 (which has a table on NSW exports overland), 401–3. I. Mudie, *Riverboats*, Adelaide 1961, 234–8, tells



- the story of the long voyage to Bourke and P. Phillips, *River boat days on the Murray, Darling, Murrumbidgee*, Melbourne 1972, 60, 61, 64 describes navigation. There are steamers' log books in the papers of McCulloch and Co, LaTL.
- 97 'Commercial Traveller' reports prices in *Diary of a three months' trip to the outlying districts of the north and north-west of Queensland*, Brisbane 1887, 30, 46; Brisbane's bread prices are in *Statistics of the colony of Queensland*, 1887, 124.
- 97-8 N. Robinson (ed), *Stagg of Tarcowie, the diaries of a colonial teenager 1885-1887*, Jamestown 1973, records the train journeys 45, 47, 102-3, 105, 112 and the wheat returns 100, 102. For travelling to the city see Hirst, *Adelaide and the country*, 31-7, W. Evans (ed), *Diary of a Welsh swagman 1869-1894*, Melbourne 1975, 143, 158; H.J.W. Stokes, 'North-west Tasmania 1858-1910: the establishment of an agricultural community', PhD thesis, 1969, Australian National University, 87.
- 98-9 The information on time is taken chiefly from the discussion on the introduction of the zone system (which provided for eastern, central and western standard time) at the Intercolonial Postal Conferences of 1891 and 1893, reported in *SA V & P* 3, 1891, and 2, 1893; the parliamentary debates on the Standard Time Bills which established the system; and the metropolitan and country newspaper reports before and on the change-over days in 1895 (Qld 1 Jan, NSW, Vic, SA 1 Feb, Tas 1 Sept, WA 1 Dec).
- 99 *Port Denison Times* and *Bowen Advocate* reports on clocks and cannons, 7, 14 Apr, and *Donald Times*, 18 Sept and *Coleraine Albion*, 26 Oct, 7 Dec, report problems with accurate time keeping.
- 99 Broken Hill's time is referred to in the 1891 postal conference proceedings, 25, and for Ipswich see *Queensland Times*, 1 Jan 1895. The *TCJ*, 27 Oct, answers a query on pub closing. The fullest account of an observatory's work is for Melbourne: *Report of the board of visitors to the observatory together with the annual report of the government astronomer, 1860-1908*. J. Russel, 'Electricity and railway work', *Victorian electrical and telegraphic J*, Dec 1887, 39-40, reports on railway clocks. Mary Gilmore discusses the use of almanacks themselves, which were distributed as calendars as today, give abundant evidence of the survival of local time, as does *Table showing differences of time between Melbourne and other places throughout the world*, Melbourne 1884.
- ANIMAL TRANSPORT
- 100 L. Braden, *Bullockies*, Adelaide 1968, 47, 62, 91, 107, gives travelling distances; the Parliamentary Standing Committee of Public Works in reporting on the proposed railway Nyngan to Cobar examines the secretary of the Carriers Union and collects evidence on the variation of freight rates, *NSW V & P* 6, 1890. 'Commercial Traveller' meets a philosophical teamster, *Diary*, 13, and teamsters with families, 58-9, 67-9. On the carriers' problems in the drought see *TCJ*, 11 Aug, 22 Sept. The provision of water on the roads is detailed in Public Works Report for 1888, *SA V & P* 2, 1889; Report of Hydraulic Engineer on water supply, *Qld V & P* 3, 1889, 7; Royal commission on conservation of water, 1st Report, *NSW V & P* 6, 1885-86, report 28, evidence 137.
- 100 The work of packhorses and camels is reported in W. Middlemiss, *Notes on a trip to North Queensland*, Hamilton 1937, 13-15; *SMH*, 14 July. For travel in Western Tasmania see Ouse to Mount Lyell and Macquaries Harbour; report by deputy surveyor-general, *Tas V & P* 12, 1887; Public Works, Report of Engineer of Roads, *ibid*, 14, 1888-89, 5, Report of Secretary of Mines, *ibid*, 14, 3, 8-9. A meeting of the Silver Queen Prospecting Association reported in *Mercury*, 1 Aug, discusses the Mount Zeehan tramway. G. Blainey, *The peaks of Lyell*, Melbourne 1954, is a history of mining in the region.
- 100 The doings and conversations of bullockies are imaginatively treated in Tom Collins [Joseph Furphy], *Such is life*, Sydney 1944 (1903), and reported in E.S. Sorenson, *Life in the Australian backblocks*, Melbourne 1911, 56-65. For the Afghans and their camels see T.L. McKnight, *The camel in Australia*, Melbourne 1969.
- 100-1 This account of droving is taken from H.H. Peck, *Memoirs of a stockman*, Melbourne 1972 (1942), which reports the Alps crossing, 73, and J. Carter, *In the tracks of the cattle*, Sydney 1968. T.L. McKnight, *The long paddock: Australia's travelling stock routes*, Armidale 1977, is useful but wrong in claiming that control of water supplies was the chief impulse to regulation. The regulations themselves, collected in P.R. Gordon, *The drover's guide*, Brisbane 1893, make clear the need to interpose between drover and land holder. The number of stock inspectors is given in Annual Report of Stock and Brands Branch, *NSW V & P* 1, 1885-86.
- 101 The debate on the merits and demerits of trucking stock can be followed in Select Committee on travelling stock reserves, *SA V & P* 3, 1889, and Select Committee on slaughtering stations for fat stock in the interior, *Qld V & P* 4, 1889. The movements of stock on the Blayney railway are noted in *TCJ*, 10 Mar, 21 Apr, 5 May.
- 101 K.A. Austin, *The lights of Cobb and Co: the story of the frontier coaches, 1854-1924*, Adelaide 1967, describes coach travel and stresses the importance of the mail subsidy for the company, 190. The estimate of coach speed is taken from *Cobb and Co's guide* and the journeys recorded by 'Commercial Traveller' in his *Diary*.
- 101-2 The debate in the NSW parliament on the introduction of free postage for newspapers indicates the rationale of the policy, *SMH*, 14, 21 Nov 1872. The disadvantages for Melbourne are discussed in *Vic PD* 44, 1495-502. The early history of *Bulletin* is the subject of S. Lawson, *The Archibald paradox: a strange case of authorship*, Melbourne 1983.
- 102-3 The complaint of the Wilcannia correspondent occurs in the issue of 19 May. Evidence on Wilcannia's experience during the drought and its transport needs was collected by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, in reporting on the proposed railway Nyngan to Cobar, *NSW V & P* 6, 1890, sectional committee's evidence, 54-74. The baker justifies his high price in *Wilcannia Times*, 16 Nov.
- TELEGRAPHS
- 103 The introduction of skating to Wilcannia can be followed in *Wilcannia Times*, 29 June, 20, 27 July, 3, 10 Aug and was reported in *TCJ*, 14 July, whose reports from country correspondents indicate the extent of the craze.
- 104 The SA telegraph did well in 1888-90 because of the rise of Broken Hill and the silver boom and because of land speculation see Todd's Report, *SA V & P* 3, 1896, 7. The papers of McCulloch and Co, the river traders and carriers, held in LaTL provide a fine example of a business conducted by telegram. In north Qld all business was done by telegraph according to Middlemiss, *Notes*, 21. The Historical Section of Australia Post, NSW, holds originals of 40 telegrams lodged at Bourke Post Office, 1880-83. Hirst discusses the history of the telegraph and its users in 'Distance—was it a tyrant' 442-5 and *Adelaide and the country*, 31, 128, 226.
- 104 The telegraphic arrangements for the Cup are fully outlined in *Australasian*, 5 Nov 1887, and confirmed for 1888 in the reports of *Argus* and *Age*, 7 Nov. The development of the Cup as a national event is discussed in K.S. Inglis, *The Australian colonists*, Melbourne 1974, 130-6.
- 104 The provision of telephone services were part of the Post Office and are treated in the annual reports in *V & P*.
- 104-5 The account of the break in the cable is based on the reports in *Argus* and *SMH* for the period of the interruption. Editorial views on the consequences of the break and the usage of the cable appears in *Argus*, 14 July, *SMH*, 3 ('a failure of the senses...'), 19, July.
- 105 The breaks in the telegraph line are linked in the annual report of Vic Post Office, *V & P* 3, 1889, 13 and repair parties described in Telegraphic Operator [Frederick Gosse], 'Life in the Never-Never country of South Australia in the 70s to 90s', typescript D4436(L), 6-7, SA Archives, and D.E. Kelsey, *The shackle: a story of the far north Australian bush*, Blackwood 1975, 85.1x



6. THE SOCIAL MAP
- 109 As the topics of this chapter are discussed in detail in the following chapters of Part Two, these notes are limited to a short list of the most important and interesting books and articles that deal with the general subject of Australia considered as a regional mosaic.
- THE INLAND CORRIDOR
- 109 Two books by G. Blainey bring the inland corridor to life and set it in the sweep of Australian history. They are *The tyranny of distance*, Melbourne 1966, and *A land half won*, Melbourne 1980, in which Blainey uses the title 'to the grasslands' for the first part of the book. Three books by M. Cannon are also relevant: *Who's master? Who's man?*, Melbourne 1971; *Life in the country*, Melbourne 1972; and *Life in the cities*, Melbourne 1975.
- 109-13 J.W. McCarty discusses ways of writing the history of the corridor, and looks at how American and Argentinian historians have written about their own grasslands, in 'The inland corridor', *Aust* 1888 5, 1980, and in 'Australian regional history', *Hist stud* 18, 1978. In 'The seven colonies of Australasia in 1891' he explains the links between the corridor and the cities: *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: papers and proceedings* 29, 1982. He draws his explanation from N.G. Butlin's *Investment in Australian economic development 1861-1900*, Cambridge 1964.
- CITIES AND TOWNS
- 113 R.V. Jackson, *Australian economic development in the nineteenth century*, Canberra 1977, has a chapter on urbanisation, and J.W. McCarty & C.B. Schedvin (eds), *Australian Capital Cities*, Sydney 1978, has chs on each capital city. Urban histories include P. Bolger, *Hobart Town*, Canberra 1973; G. Davison, *The rise and fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne 1978; W. Bate, *Lucky city: the first generation at Ballarat, 1851-1901*, Melbourne 1978; and C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth*, Perth 1979. Suburban histories include M. Kelly, *Paddock full of houses: Paddington 1840-1890*, Sydney 1978, W. Bate, *History of Brighton*, Melbourne 1962, G. Blainey, *History of Cambewell*, Melbourne 1964, and A. Lemon, *The Northcote side of the river*, Melbourne 1984.
- PEOPLE MOVING
- 115 H. Reynolds and G. Davison, the authors of the following chapters on 'Aborigines' and 'People moving', are leading historians on these topics. H. Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier*, Townsville 1981, is an original interpretation of 'the Aboriginal response to the invasion and settlement of Australia', in the words of the subtitle of the book. G. Davison's article 'The dimensions of mobility in nineteenth century Australia', in *Aust* 1888 2, 1979, led the way for further studies, many of them written by his students, in subsequent issues of *Aust* 1888.
- CONTEMPORARY BOOKS
- Some interesting books written at the time have now been reprinted. Cassell, *Picturesque Australia*, 1976 (1887); A. Garran (ed), *Picturesque atlas of Australasia*, 1974 (1886), and M. Cannon (ed), *Vagabond Country: Australian bush and town life in the Victorian age by the Vagabond*, Melbourne 1981, take us everywhere and are lavishly illustrated.
- A. Sutherland's *Victoria and its metropolis*, 2 vols, Melbourne 1977 (1888), offers an exceptionally rich portrait of the Victorian people in 1888 in the form of some 5000 biographies of farmers, merchants and politicians. Subscribers paid £6 an entry and wrote with simple pride of their own lives and achievements. There are few working people in the book. R.E.N. Twopeny cast a sharp eye on *Town life in Australia*, Sydney 1973, (1883), and the English historian J.A. Froude wrote one of the best visitors' accounts in *Oceania or England and her colonies*, abbreviated edition Melbourne 1985 (1886).
7. ABORIGINES
- 117 Expeditions in north and central Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries record many instances of contact with Aborigines who had experienced little or no contact with Europeans. See for instance, Notes by J. Carruthers on a surveying expedition in the Everard, Musgrave, Mann and Tomkinson Ranges during 1888, 1889 and 1890, 140/106, SA Archives; D. Lindsay, *Explorations in the Northern Territory of South Australia*, Adelaide 1888; D.W. Carnegie, *Spinifex and sand*, London 1898; *Journal of exploration in Central Australia under the leadership of Allan Davidson, 1898-1900*, Adelaide 1905; E. Favenc, 'Explorations in the region of the Upper Gascoyne and Ashburton Rivers, Western Australia', *Proc of Roy Geog Soc* 11, 1889, 492-5; W.H. Tietkens, *Journal of the Central Australian exploring expedition*, Adelaide 1891; *Journal of the Elder scientific exploring expedition, 1891-2*, Adelaide 1893.
- 117-18 For Carl Lumholtz see his, *Among cannibals*, London 1889; T.G. Birtles, 'Carl Lumholtz: a translation of answers to a questionnaire', *Queensland history* 3/4, 1976, 4-22; R. Sumner, 'Among cannibals—Carl Lumholtz in North Queensland', *J Aust stud* 1, 1977, 84-91.
- FRONTIERS OF CONFLICT
- 118 For the Queensland Native Police see Qld V & P 1, 1888, 931, and for the results of conflict see *Cairns Post*, 4 May 1887.
- 118 Pfalzer's comments are quoted in J. & L. Haviland, "'How much food will there be in heaven'"—Lutherans & Aborigines around Cooktown to 1900', *Aboriginal history* 4/1-2, 1980, 127.
- 118 Remarks on carrying of guns are made by Musgrave goldfields correspondent, *Cairns Post*, 11 Apr; letter from 'Selector' in *Cairns Post*, 27 July; letter from C.W. Russell in *Queenslander*, 31 Dec 1887; Macarthur River notes in *Northern Territory Times*, 15 Sept 1888.
- 118-19 Conflict with pastoralists is discussed in *Queenslander*, 17 Mar; Macarthur River notes, *Northern Territory Times*, 15 Sept; Papers respecting the necessity of increased police protection from settlers in the Kimberley District, WA LC V & P, 1888, 27; *Government Resident Northern Territory, report for 1887*, SA PP, 3, 1888, 53.
- 119-21 For conflict on northern mine fields see Kimberley notes in *Northern Territory Times*, 18 Aug, 8 Sept, 3 Nov; Papers respecting the necessity of increased police protection; N.S. Kirkman, 'The Palmer River gold field 1873-1883', BA hons thesis 1984, James Cook University; *Cooktown Courier*, 21 Apr, 8 May; *Queenslander*, 17 Jan, 25 Feb, 12 May, 2 June. The 'emaciated appearance' was noted in reports of A.C. Haldane, Mining warden, Etheridge, Qld V & P 3, 1888, 407 and 3, 1889, 481.
- 121-2 Conflict in the North Queensland rain forest is discussed in N.A. Loos, *Invasion and resistance*, Canberra 1982, 88-117. See also *Wild River Times*, 7, 28 Oct 1887, 27 Jan, 3 Feb, 13 Apr 1888; *Queenslander*, 19, 26 Jan; *Cairns Post*, 21 Dec 1887, 1 Feb, 25 Aug 1888; *Herberton Advertiser*, 13 July.
- 123 For references to the Macassan fishermen see *Northern Territory Times*, 25 Feb, 16 June.
- 123-4 Material on Aborigines in the maritime industries may be found in Loos, *Invasion*, 118-59 and Loos, 'Queensland's kidnapping act: the native labourer's protection act of 1880', *Aboriginal history* 4/2, 1980. See also Report of the Inspector of pearl fisheries for 1888-89, WA LC V & P 9, 1889; annual report of the Acting Government Resident at Thursday Island, Qld V & P 3, 1888; Report on pearl and pearl shell fisheries of North Queensland by W. Sarielle Kent, Qld V & P 3, 1890. See also *Cooktown Independent*, 14 Nov, Thursday Island correspondent, *Queenslander*, 11 Aug, Cooktown correspondent, *Queenslander*, 19 May.
- THE MISSIONARY FRONTIER
- 124 For information on A.C. Haddon see A. Hingston Quiggin, *Haddon the head hunter*, Cambridge 1942; A.C. Haddon, *Head hunters, black, white and brown*, London 1901; P. Bolger, 'Anthropology and history in Australia: the place of A.C. Haddon', *J Aust stud* 2, 1977, 93-106.
- 124-5 The German missions in North Queensland are discussed in K. Evans, 'Missionary efforts towards Cape York Aborigines 1886-1910', BA hons thesis 1969; Haviland, "'How much food'", 119-49; *Kirchliche Mitteilungen etc.* (Church News) Neuendetteslan, 1886-90, (English translations held in History



- Department, James Cook University). This last source discusses the difficulties of translating the commandments.
- 125-6 Information about the Northern Territory missions may be found in the Report of the Government Resident in SA PP 2, 1888, 53 and 2, 1889, 28 and D. Mackellop, Report of Aborigines mission, 20 Jan 1888, Government Resident, Northern Territory, 1888, A/10643, SA Archives.
- FRINGE CAMPS
- 126-7 For Aboriginal labour see D. May, *From bush to station*, Townsville 1983, and Loos, *Invasion*, 28-61.
- 127 G. Blainey discusses Aboriginal assistance to travellers in *The nish that never ended*, Melbourne 1978, 182-3.
- 127 For the case of the Aborigine Schank see letter of James Casey, Aboriginal Office inward letters, 1888, 20, 6R6/S2/2/1, SA Archives, and Letter of Protector of Aborigines, 9 Jan 1888, Protector's letterbook 1886-92, 6R6/S2/7/6, SA Archives.
- 127-8 For Aboriginal fringe camps see H. Reynolds, 'Fringe camps in C19th Queensland', *Lectures in North Queensland history*, 3, Townsville 1979, 247-60; H. Reynolds, 'Townsppeople and fringedwellers', *Race relations in North Queensland*, Townsville 1979, 167-80. For specific incidents see *Port Denison Times* (Bowen), 21 Jan, *North Queensland Telegraph* (Townsville), 18 Jan, 16 July, Letter of Secretary Townsville Aborigines Protection Society to colonial secretary, 10 Sept 1889.
- 128 For Normanton see the report of an inquiry in col sec in letters, 88/105, COL A531, Qld State Archives. For Ingham see *Queenslander*, 18 Feb. *Cooktown Courier* reports tribal fighting, 13 Mar, 17, 20 July. See also *Northern Territory Times*, 16 June, SA colonial secretary in letters, 1888 nos 16, 112, 6R6/S2/2/1, SA Archives. Reynolds discusses the curfew in 'Fringe Camps', and 'Townsppeople and Fringe Dwellers'.
- 128 Information about Aborigines in the old settled areas is in Reports of the Aborigines Protection Board, Vic LA V & P 3, 1888, 119, 4, 1889, 129; Report of Aborigines Protection Board, WA LC V & P 8, 1888; Report of the board for the protection of Aborigines, 1888, NSW LC V & P 5, 1889. See also S.C. Johnston, 'The New South Wales policy towards Aborigines, 1880-1909', MA thesis 1970, University of Sydney.
- 129 The letter from a neighbour in support of the Aborigine Coppering is found in Aborigines Affairs Department in letters, 258/1888, 6R6/S2/2/1, SA Archives.
- 129 For developments in Vic see D. Barwick, 'Coranderrk & Cumeruogunga: pioneers and policy', in T. Epstein et al, *Opportunity and response*, London 1972, 11-68; see also the Daniel Matthew papers, A3384 ML. For developments of policy in Qld see *Queenslander*, 1 Sept, 1 Dec.
- ARE THEY DYING OUT?
- 129-30 *The Australian handbook for 1888*, Melbourne 1888, notes that Aborigines were few, 122, and A. Sutherland confirmed the opinion in *Victoria and its metropolis* 1, Melbourne 1888, 255. Meston sees the shadows deepening in Report by A. Meston on the Government scientific expedition to the Bellenden Ker Range, Qld V & P 5, 1889, 1213.
- 130 The views of Strele are printed in the Annual Report of the Government Resident for the Northern Territory, SA PP 2, 28 and those of J. Fraser are printed in *Queenslander*, 17 Mar.
- 130-1 The conference of the Anthropological Institute is reported in *Journal of Anthropological Institute* 16, 1887, 201-10. Lumholz's report is printed in Quiggin, *Haddon the head hunter*, 87.
- 131 Pantoni's visit to England is described in a letter by R. Edwards to the Aboriginal Affairs Department, 28 Mar 1888, 6R6/S2/2/1, SA Archives, and Cunningham's troupe is described in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 17, 1888, 83-5.
- 131 Sutherland's ideas are in *Victoria and its metropolis* 1, 28, 233, 255.
8. PASTORAL LIFE
- 133 A rich tradition of writing on Australian pastoral history began with M. Kiddle, *Men of yesterday: a social history of the western district of Victoria 1834-1890*, Melbourne 1961. Other social histories of pastoral regions include R.B. Walker, *Old New England*, Sydney 1966, G.L. Buxton, *The Riverina 1861-1891*, Melbourne 1967, D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, selector and storekeeper: a history of the Darling Downs 1859-1893*, Sydney 1968, and W.K. Hancock, *Discovering Monaro*, Cambridge 1972. The central hill country gentry of South Australia are described in E. Williams, *A way of life: the pastoral families of the Central Hill country of South Australia*, Adelaide 1980. For the economic history of the pastoral industry see N.G. Butlin, *Investment in Australian economic development 1861-1900*, Cambridge 1964, ch 2, and A. Barnard (ed), *The simple fleece: studies in the Australian wool industry*, Canberra 1962. Good contemporary accounts of the pastoral industry are found in Coghlan, *Wealth and progress*, G.A. Brown, *Sheep breeding in Australia*, Melbourne 1880, and E.H. Fisson, *Flocks and fleeces*, London 1894.
- 133-4 Grant's diary is in Elder Smith papers, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU. The *Australian handbook 1889* describes the Channel country as 'purely pastoral'. Bonwick's comments are in *The romance of the wool trade*, London 1887, 103.
- PASTORAL REGIONS
- 134 For land settlement see Coghlan, *Wealth and progress* 1893, 256.
- 135 The statistics in the table are from the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Bulletin*, 46, 1951-52.
- 136 Fleece weights are given in Brown, *Sheep breeding*. Waterson's *Squatter* gives the size of freehold properties, 292.
- 137 The distribution of sheep is in Barnard, *Simple fleece*, ch 21. Albert Wright's story is told in his diaries, held in UNE archives, and by his grand-daughter Judith Wright, *Generations of men*, Melbourne 1970.
- 138 Kiddle, *Men of yesterday* tells the Western District story.
- 138 J. Senyard describes the fall of the Wimmera pastoralists, 'Pastoral Settlement in the Wimmera 1843-1883', PhD thesis, 1973, University of Melbourne; for Lascelles see S.F. Wessels, 'E.H. Lascelles and the Victorian Mallee', MA thesis 1966, University of Melbourne.
- 138 Williams, *Way of life*, describes the Central Hill country pastoralists and the size of their properties.
- 138 The Mount Eba property is described in SA PP 3, 1886, 3, and in N.A. Richards, *The pioneers of the north west of SA*, Adelaide 1925, who laments that nearly all the original pastoralists have now 'closed their accounts and passed to the great beyond', 74.
- 139-40 The country between Perth and Bunbury in WA is described in J. Forrest, WA PP, 1890/91; while G. Bolton writes 'A survey of the Kimberley pastoral industry from 1885 to the present', MA thesis 1953, University of Western Australia. One of the last great overlanding trips, undertaken by two young Western District pastoralists, from Normanton in Qld in July 1887 to WA over a year later, is described by M. Tucker, 'The last of the stockmen pioneers', *Aust* 1888 14, 1986.
- SHEEP: THE PASTORAL YEAR
- 140 The Warrah manager Fairbairn complains about arsenic and pea vetch in his monthly reports for Jan and Nov 1888, AA Co papers, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU.
- 140 For the Victorian lambing season see *Victorian yearbook* 2, 1892, 303, and for the year at Warrah see Fairbairn's reports. NSW lambing rate of 55 per cent is in Coghlan, *Wealth and progress*, 1890-91, 242.
- 141 The Corona shearing is taken from the financial journal of 560 large pages for the period June-Dec 1888 which records all financial transactions on the property in fascinating detail. It is in Goldsbrough Mort Collection, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU. Roy Bridges tells of Patterson and Broken Hill in *From silver to steel*, Melbourne 1920, 93, 120.



- SHEARERS
- 142 In 1909 C.E.W. Bean described the movement of the shearers as a great wave that 'starts in the Four Corners and along the inner-most borders of Queensland. Some part of Australia is always in motion with it...' *On the wool track* Sydney 1925 (1909), 132. Recent accounts are L. Kelly, 'Knights of the blade': shearers in 1888', *Aust* 1888 8, 1981, 51-64; J. Oppenheimer, 'Shearing Difficulties in New England', *Aust* 1888 11, 1983, 62-4; and J. Merritt, *The making of the AWU*, Melbourne 1986.
- 143 The 50 000 extra men is the estimate of *Australian pastoral review*, Oct 1891. Its estimate of permanent labourers is also 50 000.
- 144-5 The Wolesey machines (which were successful) are described in ch 4 above. Warrah fitted Suckling machines but they did not work, as Gregson had to report to the London directors of the AA Co in AA Co papers, Annual report to Directors, 1888.
- 145 For the failure at Warrah see Albert Wright's diary for 31 Aug 1888, and for Albert's own reservations see the entry on 26 Jan of the same year. 'The wandering insubordinate shearer' is the phrase of the London directors, 12 Sept 1888, AA Co records.
- 145 Spence wrote a *History of the AWU*, Sydney 1911. His role is described in G. Blainey, *A land half won*, Melbourne 1980, ch 16 and in *ADB*. The Goonoo Goonoo manager's comment is quoted by Oppenheimer, 'Shearing difficulties', 67.
- 145 Thomas Williams' address is reported in *Sydney Mail*, 29 Oct.
- 145 The Brookong strike and other labour disputes in the Riverina, which can be followed in *Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, *Sydney Mail* and many other newspapers, was the most dramatic confrontation of the season.
- 145-6 For the police involvement, chief secretary's dept, AONSW, and entry on Halliday, *ADB*. The comment of Halliday's neighbour Wilson is in col sec's files 88/11050, AONSW. The trial of the shearers is reported in *Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, Aug-Oct and *Sydney Mail*, 27 Nov. The judge's remarks are from *Queenslander*, 27 Oct. W.A. Bayley also tells the story in *Land galore: a history of Lockhardt shire*, Lockhart 1979.
- 146 Oppenheimer's 'Shearing Difficulties' is an excellent local account of shearing disputes. Albert Wright complains about 'young Chad' on 7 and 10 Nov. The strike at Mount Elephant is reported in *Queenslander*, 10 Nov.
- 147 John McArthur records his decision not to 'stand out' in his diary on 29 Oct.
- A POSITION OF AFFLUENCE
- 147 The incomes of SA pastoralists are from SA PP 3, 1895, 124, the Vic pastoralists' from J.C. Fahey, 'The wealthy in Victoria', unpublished paper.
- 147 John McArthur tells his story in his diary, and we learn more of him in *ADB* and in J. Smith (ed), *Cyclopaedia of Victoria*, Melbourne 1909.
- 148 T.M. Hamilton's story is told by K.M. Fennessy, 'Thomas Macknight Hamilton and the improvement of a pastoral station: 'Ensay' station 1883-1892', MA thesis 1974, University of Melbourne.
9. FARMING
- 151 Our knowledge of selectors and the land laws has been greatly enhanced by a number of local studies: G.L. Buxton, *The Riverina 1861-1891: an Australian regional study*, Melbourne 1967; M. Kiddle, *Men of yesterday: a social history of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890*, Melbourne 1961; J.M. Powell, *The public lands of Australia Felix*, Melbourne 1970; D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, selector, and storekeeper: a history of the Darling Downs 1859-93*, Sydney 1968; D.W. Meinig, *On the margins of the good earth, the South Australian wheat frontier 1869-1884*, London 1963. The only single volume account of land legislation in all colonies remains S.H. Roberts, *History of Australian land settlement 1788-1920*, Melbourne 1968 (1924).
- 151-2 When Worboys wins a prize for his farm the *New South Wales Agricultural Gazette* prints a description of the farm and biography of its owner, 5, 1894, 75-80.
- 152 W.S. Campbell, *Extracts from reports on certain agricultural districts of New South Wales*, Sydney 1888, 16-21 describes farming at Bathurst and Orange. A survey of agriculture and land use in the colony generally is given in D.N. Jeans, *An historical geography of New South Wales to 1901*, Sydney 1972, chs 13, 14.
- 152 On the growing of fruit and vegetables see J.B. Hirst, *Adelaide and the country: their social and political relationship*, Melbourne 1973, 53; G.C. Bolton, *A thousand miles away: a history of North Queensland to 1920*, Canberra 1970, 223; and for contemporary complaints about farmers' lack of interest, Campbell, *Extracts*, 3, 17, 29; *NSW Agricultural Gazette*, 4, 1893; *Launceston Examiner*, 18 May. *TCJ*, 26 May, records Quirindi's views on Chinese and *Tamworth Observer*, 6 Dec 1884, their enterprise in that place.
- 152 G. Parker, visiting in 1888, compares German and British/Australian farmers, *Round the compass in Australia*, London 1892, 160, 166-8, 176-9; see also Buxton, *Riverina*, 197-202, Waterson, *Squatter, selector, and storekeeper*, 126-34.
- 152-3 Jeans, *Historical geography*, 216-8, 285-7 and Buxton, *Riverina*, 189-93 record these changes in the wheat industry and land legislation.
- 153 The competition from SA and Vic wheat and the protectionist response can be followed for the various colonies in: Jeans, *Historical geography*, 217, P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, *Parliament factions and parties: the first thirty years of responsible government in New South Wales*, Melbourne 1966, 122-6, Waterson, *Squatter, selector, and storekeeper*, 187-91, 198-200, C.T. Stannage (ed), *A new history of Western Australia*, Perth 1981, 217-8, D.S. Garden, *Northam; an Avon Valley history*, Melbourne 1979, 106, 109-10, 119.
- 153 The description of SA is based on Meinig, *Margins of the good earth*, and Hirst, *Adelaide and the country*, 10-14, 19-23.
- 154 The failure of the early Victorian Acts is described in Kiddle, *Men of yesterday*, chs 11, 13, Powell, *Public lands*, chs 3, 4. The more effective laws were the Grant Acts of 1865 and 1869 which replaced the Nicholson Act (1860) and Duffy's Act (1862). The power to cancel a selection was given in section 22 of Grant's 1869 Act, 33 Vic no 360. For cancellations in the northern wheatbelt see J.C. Fahey, 'Wealth and rural mobility in Bendigo and north central Victoria, 1879-1901', PhD thesis 1981, University of Melbourne, 215-16. The land boards are proclaimed in *Victorian Government Gazette*, 1 Feb 1870.
- 154 The downgrading of the significance of the land laws is part of J.W. McCarty's argument in 'The staple approach in Australian economic history', *Bus archives and hist* 4/1, 1964, 1-22. Fahey establishes the wealth of the farmers, 'Wealth and rural mobility', 227.
- 154-5 South Australian farming methods are described in Meinig, *Margins of the good earth*, ch 6, and M. Williams, *The making of the South Australian landscape*, London 1974, 37-49, 135-53.
- 155-6 The 'dig' at potatoes is recorded in *New South Wales Agricultural Gazette*, 3, 1892, 19. Williams, *South Australian landscape*, 268-75, discusses declining fertility.
- 156-7 W. Evans, (ed), *Diary of a Welsh swagman*, Melbourne 1975, 12, 14, 19, 66, 92, 118 records Vic harvesting methods. The changes in Vic harvesting machinery are analysed in I.W. McLean, 'The adoption of harvest machinery in Victoria in the late nineteenth century', *Aust econ hist rev* 13/1, 1973, 41-56.
- 156-7 SA efforts to develop a complete harvester are described in Meinig, *Margins of the good earth*, 106-10. McKay and his solution to the problem are dealt with in A.R. Callaghan and A.J. Millington, *The wheat industry in Australia*, Sydney 1956, 343-4, and F. Wheelhouse, *Digging stick to rotary hoe: men and machines in rural Australia*, Melbourne 1966, ch 6. For a description of a machinery trial see *Warracknabeal Herald*, 26 Jan, 23 Feb. The size of Vic farms is discussed in E. Dunsdorfs, *The Australian wheat-growing*



industry 1788–1948, Melbourne 1956, 118. Ballarat's farm machinery works and McKay's move there are treated in G.S. Cope, 'Some aspects of the development of the metal trades in Ballarat, 1851–1901', MA thesis 1971, University of Melbourne, 128.

#### OPENING THE COASTAL FORESTS

- 157-8 Jeans, *Historical geography*, 169, 230–1, 235–7 describes the spread of maize cultivation along the north coast and its problems; for details of cultivation see Campbell, *Extracts*, 10 and L.T. Daley, *Men and a river: a history of the Richmond River district, 1824–1895*, Melbourne 1966, 102. George Towner's Diary, held at UNE Archives, records work sharing among maize growers.
- 158 The pre-eminence of maize in Queensland's agriculture is detailed in J. Cameron, 'Agriculture in Queensland in the 1880s—optimism and reality', *Aust* 1888 5, 1980, 139–43, 146–8. Bolton, *A thousand miles away*, 81, 84 refers to Pacific Islanders' diet. N.A. Cobb attempts to overcome the prejudice against maize in 'Maize for the table', *NSW Agricultural Gazette* 2, 1891, 524–34, and *ibid* 6, 1895, 777–83 describes the horse fodder market.
- 158 The account of NSW sugar growing is taken from Jeans, *Historical geography*, ch 15.
- 158-9 H.J.W. Stokes, 'North west Tasmania 1858–1910: the establishment of an agricultural community', PhD thesis 1969, Australian National University is a comprehensive study of this region.
- 159 The details on the clearing and settlement of Gippsland are taken from individual accounts collected in *The land of the lyre bird: a story of early settlement in the great forest of South Gippsland*, Korumburra 1966 (1920), 44–5, 57, 58–9, 132. On the butter market see G.S.J. Brinsmead, 'A geographical study of the dairy manufacturing industry in Gippsland 1840–1910', MSc thesis 1977, University of Melbourne, 160.
- 159 The options for new farmers are given in *Report of the Council of Agricultural Education for the years 1888 and 1889*, Melbourne 1889, 133–4.
- 159-60 The story of Alf Broome is taken from B. Morris, 'Alf Broome and his work diary', *Aust* 1888 7, 1981, 74–93 and from the diaries held in LaTL.
- 160 A study of the Registrar-General's records in Victoria reveal that of the sons of farmers born anywhere in Australia and married in Vic in the third quarter of 1888, 130 were farmers and 119 had other occupations.
- 160-1 L.J. Peel, *Rural industry in the Port Phillip region 1835–1880*, Melbourne 1974, is a detailed study of the changes in an old agricultural area. Ruins are recorded in *Tamworth Observer*, 3 Jan 1885; Evans, *Welsh swagman*, 23; M. Cannon, (ed), *Vagabond country: Australian bush and town life in the Victorian age*, Melbourne 1981, 28. The area under crop is taken from C.M.H. Clark, *Select documents in Australian history 1851–1900*, Sydney 1955, 155. Figures on the number of farmers are taken from the occupation sections of the various colonial censuses. 'Farmers' includes male farmers of all sorts, except dairy farmers who were usually included in a pastoral category, and by 1891 were not yet a large group. There were some female farmers, usually widows, they are excluded from the count because the censuses give uncertain information on whether women were assisting or farmers in their own right.
- 161-2 P. Corris, *Passage, port plantation: a history of Solomon Islands labour migration 1870–1914*, Melbourne 1973, 39, 82 gives Queensland wage rates. Griffith and the remaking of the sugar industry are described in Bolton, *A thousand miles away*, 145–57.
- GOVERNMENT AND FARMING
- 162 Yield figures are taken from Dunsdorfs, *The Australian wheat-growing industry*, 534. The Vic Royal commission on vegetable products appointed in 1885 published a number of reports. Only its final report appears in *V & P* 1, 1894. SA's commission of the same name reported in *V & P* 3, 1887.
- 162 The work of the government researchers and advisers is referred to in detail below. On Farrer see A. Russell, *William James Farrer. A biography*, Melbourne 1949.
- 162 Custance's work on superphosphate is described in Williams, *South Australian landscape*, 280–7 which also describes the method by which super was eventually applied.
- 162-3 Dunsdorfs, *Wheat growing*, 148, and Jeans, *Historical geography*, 218, discuss wheat types and further details were obtained in Commission into diseases in cereals, *SA V & P* 2, 1868–9. Evidence 7, 9, 13; *NSW Agricultural Gazette* 4, 1893, 505, 3, 1892, 656–7. Cannon, (ed), *Vagabond country*, 33, refers to millers.
- 163 The researchers' and advisers' work is reported in Vic's *Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 1, 1888, 31–2; *NSW Agricultural Gazette* 3, 1892, 657; N.A. Cobb, *Seed wheat*, Sydney 1903. Callaghan and Millington, *Wheat industry*, 250, 261 describe wheat fertilisation and the discovery of Steinwedel. Its distribution is reported in *Council of Agricultural Education 1888, 1889*, 10, 144, 145. Russell, *Farrer*, 41, notes his change of method.
- 163 The aims and fortunes of the irrigation scheme are closely studied in L.E. Frost, 'Victorian agriculture and the role of government, 1880–1914', PhD thesis 1982, Monash University, 63–85. Alfred Deakin is chairman of Royal commission on water supply, *Vic V & P*, 1885, 1887. On the Chaffeys see G. Serle, *The rush to be rich: a history of the colony of Victoria 1883–1889*, Melbourne 1971, 54–7, ADB, and Williams, *South Australian landscape*, 235–6.
- 163 Jeans, *Historical geography*, ch 16 describes south coast dairying. The estimate of the separator's improved efficiency is D. Wilson's in *A homely chat about dairying*, Melbourne 1888, 8. On private factories and co-ops see Vic's, *Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, 3, 1889, 28; Frost, 'Victorian agriculture', 139.
- 163-4 The butter market and its products are described in Vic's *Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 6, 1889, 65; *Royal commission on vegetable products, 2nd progress report*, Melbourne 1886, 93; Brinsmead, 'Dairy manufacturing in Gippsland', 153–5. Factory butter's success in Sydney is reported in *Vegetable products 6th report*, Melbourne 1888, 32, 39.
- 164 The reasons for the dairy revolution are canvassed in *Vegetable products 6th report*, 52–3; Jeans, *Historical geography*, 253, 258. Its transfer to Vic is studied in G.S.J. Brinsmead, '1888—turning point in the Victorian dairy industry', *Aust* 1888 5, 1980, 67–79.
- 164 The dairy experts' reports are in the *Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 2, 1888, 50–3, 3, 1889, 29–30, 34–40. Cannon (ed), *Vagabond country*, 67, notices women bidders. The invitation to the Exhibition model dairy is printed in *Maffra Spectator*, 16 July 1888.
- 164-5 Victoria's *Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 6, 1889, is devoted to ensilage and dairying; see also *NSW Agricultural Gazette* 3, 1892, 17–18, 103–28, D. Wilson and R. Crowe, *Modern dairying*, Melbourne 1898.
- HARD TIMES
- 165 The new mixed farming methods are described in Frost, 'Victorian agriculture', 90–1, 105–7; Williams, *South Australian landscape*, 287–95; Vic's *Department of Agriculture Bulletin* 2, 1888, 37, 41; *NSW Agricultural Gazette* 4, 1893, 539.
- 165 The farmers grievances, plans, and organisations are treated in Serle, *Rush to be rich*, 318–21; Buxton, *Riverina*, 209, 268; Hirst, *Adelaide and the country*, 112–19; G.M. Messner, 'The formation and early history of the South Australian Farmers' Co-operative Union Ltd.', BA thesis 1964, University of Adelaide. At the 1891 census 44 per cent of the male farmers in NSW and Vic were employers of labour; in Australia in 1901 it was 47 per cent—see J.W. McCarty, 'The inland corridor', *Aust* 1888 5, 1980, 44.
- 165-7 The story of the Staggs is taken from N. Robinson, (ed), *Stagg of Tarowie, the diaries of a colonial teenager*, Jamestown 1973. The scheme under which Stagg finally got land of his own is described in J.B. Hirst, 'G.W. Cotton and the workmen's blocks', BA thesis 1963, University of Adelaide.



10. MINING

- 169 For Ann Williams at Araluen see H.J. Gibbney, *Eurobodalla*, Canberra 1980, 113. The 'eternal music of the stamps' comes from I.J. Iveney, *The Gympie mining handbook*, Brisbane 1887, and the stamp mill near the Ravenswood Hotel is in K. Kennedy (ed), *Readings in North Queensland mining history 2*, Townsville 1982, 42. For the history of mining see G. Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, Melbourne 1963, and for illustrations see B. Carroll, *Australia's mines and miners*, Melbourne 1977. A contemporary account with descriptions of the leading fields is S. Prior, *Handbook of Australian mines*, Sydney 1890. The *Annual reports* of the Depts of Mines in NSW, Vic, Qld and Tas provide voluminous evidence. The reports for 1888 are NSW *V & P* 4, 1889, Vic *PP*, Qld *PP* 3, 1889, Tas *PP*. They contain informative reports from the mining wardens in the fields. Statistics of mineral output are in N.G. Butlin, *Australian domestic product, investment and foreign borrowing 1861-1938/39*, Cambridge 1962, 115.

TECHNOLOGY OF PRODUCTION

- 171 D. Menghetti describes technology in 'Extraction practices and technology on the Charters Towers goldfield', *North Australia Research Bulletin* 8, 1982, 1-30. There is much detail in H.A. Gordon, 'Mining machinery and treatment of ores in the Australian colonies', *New Zealand PP*, 1889.
- 171 T.A. Rickard's criticism of Sandhurst stamp milling is in the Vic Dept of Mines *Annual report*, 1890, 67-74, and Menghetti discusses inefficiencies in 'Extraction practices', 12-13.
- 171 For the decision of BHP to engage American experts see Blainey, *Rush*, 154-5 and G. Blainey, *The rise of Broken Hill*, Melbourne 1968.

SANDHURST

- 172 The story of Sandhurst comes from J.C. Fahey, 'Wealth and social mobility in Bendigo and north central Victoria 1879-1901', PhD thesis 1982, University of Melbourne. A short description is in Prior, *Handbook*. Ballarat, Sandhurst's Victorian rival, has a history by W. Bate, *Lucky city: the first generation at Ballarat, 1851-1901*, Melbourne 1978. H. Willoughby's claim of a mine in every backyard is in his *Australian pictures*, London 1886, 60. The number of stamp heads is in *Reports of Mining Surveyors and Registrars*, 1888. J.W. Roberts, the Melbourne journalist who spoke of the 'widespreading banners', is quoted in A. Mackay (ed), *Bendigo: the golden city of the south*, Bendigo 1893, 16-17. Dust storms are mentioned frequently in the diary of Isaac Dyason, LaTL.
- 172 The depth of mines is reported in the Registrar's Returns. Investment in mines is described in Fahey, 'Wealth and social mobility', 21-4. Dividends and rolls for 1888 are listed in *Bendigo Independent*, Dec 1888. Dyason describes himself as becoming morose, and vows to get even with his bank manager on 9 Nov.
- 172 For investors and shareholding in the Sandhurst mines see Fahey, 'Wealth and mobility', 134-40, 284-6, and App 1. Dyason expresses doubts about Lansell on 24 July. Brief biographies of the silver kings of Broken Hill are given in Blainey, *Broken Hill*.
- 172 The diversified workforce is described in Fahey, 'Wealth and mobility', 26-47 and the ratio of men to women, 54. For the ratio of men to women at Broken Hill see B. Kennedy, *Silver sin and sixpenny ale: a social history of Broken Hill 1883-1921*, Melbourne 1978, 35.
- 173 Cornish migration to Vic is described by C. Fahey, 'Bendigo 1881-1901: a demographic portrait of a Victorian provincial town', in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville and E. McEwen (eds), *Families in colonial Australia*, Sydney 1985, 142-3. For the Cornish in South Australia see O. Pryor, *Australia's little Cornwall*, Adelaide 1962 and in Broken Hill see Kennedy, *Silver sin and sixpenny ale*, 45-8. The ethnic composition of Newcastle is described in E. McEwen, 'Family, kin and neighbours, the Newcastle coalmining district, 1860-1900', *Aust* 1888 4, 1980.

- 173-4 Miners wages are in *Mineral statistics*, 1888. For Broken Hill see the wage books of the Broken Hill South Mining Company in the Melbourne University Archives. Conditions of employment, rates of unemployment and the tribute system are described in Fahey, 'Wealth and mobility', 122-4. For most claims being worked on tribute see the diary of Dyason, 4 Aug 1888.
- 174 For unemployment in Newcastle see the letterbook of William Turnbull, mine manager of the Australian Agricultural Company's Mines, deposit 1/86/9, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU.
- 174-5 For unemployment at Charters Towers and statistics on accidents see Qld Mines dept, *Annual report*, 1888. Accidents and the rates of death from phthisis are in Fahey, 'Wealth and mobility', 122-4.

QUEENSLAND AND THE FRONTIER FIELDS

- 175 Two general accounts of Queensland mining are G.C. Bolton, *A thousand miles away: a history of North Queensland to 1920*, Canberra 1963, and P. Bell, 'Essay on North Queensland mining settlement', in K. Kennedy, *Readings*. Useful handbooks include *Australian handbook* 1889 and Qld *Official directory* 1889. *Australian mining standard* has a good survey of the year to Jan 1889, and the Queensland wardens' reports are particularly interesting. For detail on Gympie see A.J. Iveney, *The Gympie mining handbook*, Brisbane 1887, *TCJ*, and H. Holthouse, *Gympie gold*, Sydney 1973. Gov Musgrave at Gympie is reported in *Queenslander*, 17 June 1888. D. Menghetti writes of 'The gold mines of Charters Towers' in Kennedy, *Readings*. Warden Selheim described the prosperity of Charters Towers in *Annual report*, Qld Dept of Mines, Qld *PP* 3, 1889.
- 175 Mount Morgan is described in Blainey, *Rush*, ch 20 and Prior, *Handbook*, 77-81. *TCJ* for 16 Aug 1888 calls it 'a junk yard of machinery.'
- 175-6 Croydon and Etheridge goldfields are described in the *Annual reports*, Qld *PP* 1887-89 which reveal large annual fluctuations of population.
- 176 The comments by Hodgkinson and others are in the 1888 report.
- 177 The 'gross outrage' was reported in *Queenslander*, 19 May, and the warden at Ravenswood writes in *Annual report*, 1888. The candidate for Toowoomba J.C. Garget makes his claim in *Queenslander*, 7 Apr. The remarks of the Minister for mines and works are reported in *Wild River Times*, 3 Feb.
- 177 The *Annual report*, 1888, reveals the Palmer River as a backwater but with men ready to rush. The 'old war horse' is mentioned in *Sydney Mail*, 24 Nov 1888.
- 177 News of Sudest and other new finds was reported in detail in newspapers across Australia. *Queenslander* and *Australian Mining Standard* have been used for Sudest, and also H. Nelson, *Black and white and gold: gold mining in Papua New Guinea 1878-1930*, Canberra 1976, 8-28.
- 177 For the Northern Territory rush of 1873 see Blainey, *Rush*, 93-4, and M. Kennett, 'The Northern Territory goldfields, 1871-74', *Bus arch and hist* 4, 1964, 63-71. For the rush to the ruby field near Alice Springs see *Wild River Times*, 20 Jan which reports 860 men there, and *Queenslander*, 28 Jan.
- 177 The SA government resident in the Northern Territory writes a detailed report of mining activities in SA *PP* 2, no 28, and the government geologist H.Y.L. Brown reports on his tour of mines near Alice Springs in no 24. For the Kimberleys see WA LC, *PP*, 1890-91, no 13. News of 'a mountain of gold' from Yilgarn was published in *Wild River Times*, 27 Jan. Yilgarn became the staging post for the discovery of Coolgardie in 1892.

COMPANY TOWNS

- 178 Beaconsfield is described in the *Australian handbook*, 1889 and M. Scholl, *Tasmanian mines and mining*, Launceston 1888. For Mount Bischoff see Prior, *Handbook*, and *Australian handbook*. Moonta and Wallaroo are described in *TCJ*, 29 Sept, and the Cobar copper field in *TCJ*, 28 Apr. For Herberton see T.G. Birtles, 'Queensland's northernmost "White Man's Paradise", Herberton 1888', *Aust*



- 1888 5, 1980 and a pamphlet, 'Herberton', published by the Herberton council for distribution at the Melbourne Exhibition.
- 178-9 For the rapid rise of Broken Hill see Kennedy, *Silver sin and sixpenny ale*. Blainey describes the 'giant boomerang' in *The rise of Broken Hill*; and the New Zealand visitor is H.A. Gordon, *Mining machinery*.
- 179 A.R. Hall describes the share boom in *The stock exchange of Melbourne and the Victorian economy 1852-1900*, Canberra 1968, 140-7. Edwards' share dealings are reported in *Queenslander*, 27 Oct.
- NEWCASTLE
- The Newcastle coalmining district and particularly its union is described in R. Gollan, *The coalminers of NSW: a history of the union, 1860-1960*, Melbourne 1963.
- 180 E. McEwen in the *coalmining district NSW* provides a detailed account of the social structure of the district. The number of miners employed in each mine and the amount of coal produced was reported in *Age*, 4 Sept.
- 180 For the operation of the vend see Gollan, *Coalminers*, 14-16. The most detailed account of how miners were paid is given in McEwen, *Newcastle coalmining district*, 63-82.
- 181 This description of Newcastle is drawn from *Age*, 13 Sept. For the organisation of the coalminers' union see Gollan, *The coalminers*. Short biographies of the principal union leaders are given in *TCJ*, 15 Sept.
- 181 The 1888 strike can be followed in the Melbourne, Sydney and Newcastle dailies from Aug to Nov. *SMH's* correspondent and editors were on the side of the mine owners. More balanced accounts were given in *The Age* and in *Newcastle Morning Herald*. The latter paper carries long verbatim accounts of negotiations between the mine owners and men.
- 182 Information on the Lambton riot can also be found in the col sec's files particularly files 88/10020, 10121, 10122 and 88/11672, AONSW. An account of the strike is given by Jesse Gregson, manager of the AA Co, in a private letter to his directors in London, Archives of Business and Labour, ANU.
11. THE CAPITAL CITIES
- 189 T.A. Coghlan remarks on the growth of the cities in *A statistical account of the seven colonies of Australasia*, Sydney 1894, 70.
- 189-91 For a summary of population trends and the functions of the capital cities see J.W. McCarty, 'Australian capital cities in the nineteenth century', *Aust econ hist rev* 10, 1970, 119 and app. Gilbert Parker, who was on the editorial staff of *SMH* in the late 1880s summarises his impressions of the capitals in his *Round the compass in Australia*, Sydney 1892, 100.
- 191 The table of male work force in capital cities is based on a reclassification of the detailed occupational tables in the 1891 colonial censuses along the lines described by G. Davison, *The rise and fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne 1978, 261. Figures for Adelaide are unavailable.
- 192 The view of the capital cities as a mosaic of subregions is developed in J.W. McCarty, 'Australian regional history', *Hist stud* 18, 1978. The reflections of the Brisbane journalist are found in *Boomerang*, 19 Nov 1887.
- BOARDROOMS AND MANSIONS
- 193 The description of Collins Street is based on A. Sutherland (ed), *Victoria and its metropolis* 1, Melbourne 1888, 542-7; E.E. Morris (ed), Cassell's *Picturesque Australasia*, London 1889, reprinted as *Australia's first century*, Sydney 1980, 51; A. Garran (ed), *Picturesque atlas of Australasia* 1, Sydney 1886-88, 219-23; and Sands and McDougall, *Melbourne directories*, 1888 and 1889.
- 193 The Sydney observer is 'Huron', *SMH*, 15 Aug 1888 and the motto on the ES&A Bank Clock is mentioned in historical notes issued by the bank.
- 193-4 The sleepiness of Hobart is mentioned by P. Bolger, 'The changing image of Hobart', in J.W. McCarty and C.B. Schedvin (eds), *Australian capital cities*, Sydney 1978, 165; Perth's 'six hungry families' are discussed by C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth*, Perth 1979, 200, 203-4, and the details of Harper's career come from an unpublished paper contributed by Stannage. The close relationship of Adelaide's elite to the country is the main theme of J.B. Hirst, *Adelaide and the country*, Melbourne 1973, esp ch 1, while the details of the Elder and Barr Smith connection come from D. van Dissel, 'The Adelaide gentry: a study of a colonial upper class', MA thesis 1973, University of Melbourne, 16, 19-23, 189-93.
- 195 Brisbane's elite is described in R. Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, St Lucia 1973, 59-63, 103-4. Whish's social circle is discernible from an analysis of entries in his diary for 1888 in the John Oxley Library. The merchants complaining of too many lawyer-politicians are quoted in Brisbane Chamber of Commerce, *Annual report*, 1891.
- 195 The social geography of Darling Point is based upon *Map of the municipality of Woollahra, ... published by Higinbotham and Robinson* [1888], an analysis of entries in *NSW electoral roll, 1894* (Woollahra electorate), biographical information in *Australian representative men*, Sydney 1888 and photographs in E. Russell, *Woollahra—a history in pictures*, Sydney 1980.
- 195-6 The statistics on the composition of the Victorian wealth-holding elite come from an analysis of probate returns 1888-89 and biographical sources by J.C. Fahey. The journalist's description of Cliveden is from *Table talk*, 5 Oct 1888.
- 196 Lady Clarke's ball is reported in *Table talk*, 17 Aug.
- 196 Fanny Barbour chronicles her social life in her diary, *LaTL*, 20, 29 Jan, 8 Apr 1888.
- 197 Henry Miller's biography is surveyed in A. Sutherland's *Victoria and its metropolis* 2, 487.
- 197-8 The outlines of Thomas Guest's career are in Sutherland, 605, and the description of his family affairs is from T.B. Guest, private letterbook. He compares Melbourne to London in a letter to his sister Elizabeth on 29 Mar.
- 198 He mentions Were's proposal for a public company and his reluctance to comply in letters to his son Tom on 22, 27 Mar.
- 198-9 He earlier sets out his ambitions for his children in a letter to Tom 15 Mar and comments on Edgar's progress. Edgar's classmates are recorded in *Liber Melburniensis*, Melbourne 1965, 66-7.
- 199 Guest also comments on Amy's engagement on 31 May and 12 July.
- 199 Thomas Guest's letters to Tom are full of fatherly advice; his homily on the need for delegation is written in Dec.
- 199 For general comment on the relations between generations among Melbourne's rich see Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 2-4, 29-34, 130-1.
- ON THE WATERFRONT
- 199-200 The description of Circular Quay and the central business district of Sydney is based on Garran, *Picturesque atlas*, 77-81; Gibbs, Shallard & Co, *Illustrated guide to Sydney and its suburbs*, Sydney 1882; E. Balint, T. Howells and V. Smyth, *Warehouses and woolstores of Victorian Sydney*, Melbourne 1982.
- 200-1 The account of Darling Harbour is based upon 'Darling harbour', *Evening News*, 2 Mar 1888; 'The boys of Sussex street', Newspaper cuttings, 116:42, ML; A.J.C. Mayne, *Fever, squalor and vice*, St Lucia 1982, 6-12; *Docks, slips and engineering establishments of Port Jackson*, Sydney 1886; and J.S. Emery, 'The port of Sydney 1788-1945', MA thesis 1965, University of Sydney, 58-60.
- 201 The monthly statistics of wool movements through the port of Sydney are compiled from returns in the *Shipping guide* for 1888-89.
- 201-2 Evidence of its effect on employment comes from William Currie to Royal commission on the working of the government labour bureau, *NSW LA V & P* 8, 1892-93, questions 787-8; R.



- McKillop to Royal commission on strikes, Sydney 1891, questions 652–8; Return of men employed at Darling Harbour during the wool season, NSW LA *V & P*, 6, 1892–93.
- 202 E.J. Brady's recollections are in his *Sydney harbour*, Sydney 1903, 26–30 and additional material is found in an article from *Sydney Truth*, 1892 and a letter to Bro Carroll 20 Oct 1946, both in Brady 'Personal', ML.
- 202 R. McKillop testifies to the sudden falling-off of demand for labour in his evidence to Roy comm on strikes question 675 and the consequent fluctuations in earnings are reported by W. Currie, question 847 and G. Herbert, question 258. McKillop also tells of the labourer's preference for staying on the job, questions 754–6 and the role of the timekeeper questions 693, 982.
- 202-3 The residential patterns among wharf labourers are mentioned by J. Davidson to Royal commission on the excessive use of intoxicating drink, NSW LA *V & P*, 7, 1887–88, question 1066 and are revealed in more detail through an analysis of *NSW electoral roll*, 1894, electorate of Sydney, Lang division. E.J.B[rady], reports on the Chinese community of Lower George street in *DT*, 8 May 1888.
- 203 High rents are mentioned by McKillop and Herbert to Royal commission on strikes, questions 259–60, 745–6.
- 203 The statistics of unskilled workers come from a count of entries in the electoral roll for Lang division, and may be compared with those compiled from 1891 ratebooks by L. Fricker, 'Aspects of Melbourne's nineteenth century urbanisation process', PhD thesis 1978, University of Melbourne. The movement of sailors into wharf labour is mentioned by McKillop and Herbert to Royal commission on strikes, questions 381, 841 and by T. Davis to Royal commission on ... drink, question 11844. Crimping is mentioned by T. Davis, questions 12404–26; see also *Echo*, 25 Aug, 9 Sept 1888, *Illustrated Australian News*, 9 Feb 1889.
- 203-4 The predominance of bachelors in the Rocks is evident in the 1891 census statistics for age and conjugal condition for Lang division and is confirmed by the street-by-street returns of male and female residents of inner Sydney in the Royal commission on city and suburban railways, NSW LA *V & P* 5, 1891–92, App 2.
- 204 The appearance of beggars and unemployed people is described in *Evening News*, 26 July 1888, 'Sydney street mendicants', Newspaper cuttings, vol 135, 102, ML. The composition of the unemployed is documented in *SMH*, 19 Mar 1888; Returns of the unemployed registered with the Central Labour Board, 2 July 1887, col sec's Special Files, AONSW.
- 204-7 Dobeson's story comes from his 'Narrative 1887–1899', ML. His age and some other details are from his son Charles's birth certificate, and his grandson, Charles Dobeson of Epping supplied some photographs and other biographical details. The social geography of Botany is documented in F. Myers, *Botany past and present*, Sydney 1885; Royal commission on noxious trades, NSW LC *V & P*, 35, 1883, questions 32, 125, 183, 265; Royal commission on alleged Chinese gambling and immorality and charges of bribery against members of the police force, NSW LA *V & P* 8, 1891–92. Joseph Creer recalls that the unemployed were 'at the point of revolution' to Select committee on working of the Government Labour Bureau, 353.
- 207-8 The impact of steamers on the docks and the rhythm of labour is described by R.C. Vallard and A. Lamb to the Parliamentary standing committee on public works—report on improvements at Circular Quay, NSW LA *V & P*, 1888–89, questions 384–5, 680. The more fleeting visits of seamen are mentioned by R. Bradley to Royal commission on strikes, questions 6826, 7080.
- 208 The new Customs House is described in *TCJ*, 26 May 1888, and the increased regularity of dock labour is remarked upon by R. Garn to Royal commission on strikes, question 1353. The greater time-sensitivity of the labourers is mentioned in evidence of McKillop to Royal commission on strikes, questions 676, 963, 1010 and the demand for smoke-ohs in *Echo*, 2 Oct 1888.
- 208-9 Both the missionary J. Shearston and the unionist T. Davis testify to the decline in hard drinking on the waterfront to Royal commission on drink, questions 11238–9, 11852, 12687. Shearston's missionary activities are described by *Illustrated Sydney News*, 3 Jan 1889 and their ineffectiveness among the secular-minded labourers is commented upon by Davis to Royal commission on drink, questions 11121–2, 11870.
- WORKSHOPS AND COTTAGES
- This chapter draws, in a general way, on the studies of inner suburbs and working class communities in B. Barrett, *The inner suburbs*, Melbourne 1971; J.F. Lack, 'Footscray: an industrial suburban community', PhD thesis 1976, Monash University; and L. Lynch, 'A community study: Balmain c1860–1894', PhD thesis 1982, University of Sydney.
- 209 For studies of the forces promoting the development of industry in capital cities see McCarty, 'Australian capital cities', 110; G. Parsons, 'Some aspects of the development of manufacturing of Melbourne 1870–1890', PhD thesis 1970, Monash University; S. Fisher, 'Life and work in Sydney, 1870–1890', PhD thesis 1978, Macquarie University, ch 2; G.J.R. Linge, *Industrial awakening: a geography of Australian manufacturing 1788–1890*, Canberra 1979, chs 8, 11, 13.
- 209-10 The development of Hudson's Clyde works is described in B. Hardy, *Their work was Australian*, Sydney 1970, 34–49, *Echo*, 25 Sept, 4 Dec 1890.
- 210 T.B. Guest complains of being 'too far away' in a letter to his son Tom, 11 Oct 1888 and the factory's machinery is described in Sutherland, *Victoria and its metropolis* 2, 605.
- 210 The offences by juvenile employees are recorded in the firm's wages book 1885–89 and the social origins and previous employment of operatives are from an analysis of Guest's engagement book 1888–89, both in Melbourne University Archives.
- 210 Henry Lawson recalls his employment at Hudson's in 'A fragment of autobiography', (1903–08) in C. Roderick (ed), *Henry Lawson the master story teller*, Sydney 1984, 745–5, and draws upon the same episode in his 'Arvie Aspinall' stories.
- 210-11 The numbers of operatives in Victorian factories are tabulated in Employees in factories, Vic *PP*, 1889, 871, and the size of the whole industrial work force is estimated from figures in *Statistical registers* and the 1891 census. The problems of measuring the size of the 'factory' and 'industrial' workforce are discussed in Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 265–6 and A.G. Thompson, 'The enigma of Australian manufacturing 1851–1901', *Aust econ papers* 1970, 76–92.
- 211-12 Coneybeer's story is based on the diary in his papers, SA Archives. The diaries and the broader contours of his career are discussed in G.L. Fischer, 'This book is a mirror: some notes on the diaries and papers of Hon Frederick William Coneybeer', *South Australiana* 22, 1983, 1–35 and in his 'The Hon Frederick William Coneybeer 1859–1950, a political biography', MA thesis 1968, University of Adelaide, where his preference for piecework is noted, 6. The history of Holden and Frost is told in N. Buttfield, *So great a change: the story of the Holden family in Australia*, Sydney 1974, chs 8,9. The seasonal pattern of coach building is remarked upon by J. Duncan to Royal commission into shops and factories, SA *PP* 2, 1892, question 4887.
- 212 The estimate of the number of Adelaide tailoresses comes from Trades and labour council minutes of 9 Mar 1888, SA Archives, and Elizabeth Roger's testimony from Royal commission into shops and factories, question 2180. The numbers of women clothing workers in Sydney and Melbourne come from NSW and Vic *Statistical registers* while the account of their family background is based on a statistical analysis of replies to a factory inspector's survey in Report of the chief inspector of factories on the 'sweating system' in connection with the clothing trade, Vic *PP* 3, 1890, 1243–4 and evidence in Census and industrial returns act of



- 1891, NSW LA *V&P* 7, 1891–92 which also describes the seasonal cycles of the clothing trade.
- 212 The workman who wanted married women kept at home is G.H. Buttery to Royal commission into shops and factories, question 325 and W.T. Walsh proclaims himself 'head of the family' to Royal commission on shops, factories and workshops, Qld *PP* 2, 1891, questions 562–4.
- 213 Coneybeer paints his 'nice picture' on 25 Mar.
- 213 *Scrymgour's sixpenny guide to Adelaide*, Adelaide 1887, 52, gives a succinct social profile of North Adelaide and fuller accounts of the area are contained in P. Nagel, *North Adelaide 1877–1901: a social history of North Adelaide*, Adelaide 1971 and R.M. Gibbs, *North Adelaide: a local history guide*, Adelaide nd.
- 213 We have also mapped the occupational pattern of residences from *South Australian directory* 1888 which contains an almost complete registration of householder's occupations.
- 214 Coneybeer records his summer evening promenade on 21 Jan.
- 214 J. Lack, 'Working class leisure', *Vic hist j* 49, 1978, 49–65 gives an excellent account of pastimes in a working class suburb.
- 214 Works picnics are described in *Collingwood Observer*, 9, 23, Feb; *Boroondara Standard*, 20 Apr, 18 May, 11 Sept.
- 215 For the strength of friendly societies in Adelaide and among the skilled working class see R. Hobbs, 'Ventures in providence, the development of friendly societies and life assurance in nineteenth century Australia', PhD thesis 1978, Macquarie University, 141, 171. In Vic, where friendly society branch membership was enumerated in *Statistical registers*, the inner ring of working class suburbs, Fitzroy, Williamstown, Port Melbourne, South Melbourne and Collingwood had almost twice as many members in proportion to their populations as the outer middle class suburbs of Brighton, St Kilda, Essendon and Hawthorn.
- 216 The estimate of trade union membership among Adelaide workers is based on J. Rickard, *Class and politics*, Canberra 1976, 315–16 and 1891 census figures. Since no occupational statistics were published in the 1891 SA census we have made an estimate of the number of male employees from the figure for adult males reduced proportionately with the 1901 census count of employed, self-employed and employer groups. Coneybeer's views on the condition of other trades come from his diary supplemented by the TLC minutes 4 Feb, 23 Mar, 6 Apr, 14, 15, 18 June. He complains of the 'yellow agony' in his diary on 18 Nov 1887 and visits Sir Edwin Smith on 6 Oct 1888.
- 216-17 Magarey's motion is reported in *Register*, 10, 17 Oct and the summary of current views on the eight hour day is based on editorials in *BC*, 1, 2 Mar 1886, 1 Mar 1887, 2 Mar, *Register*, 26 Apr, 2, 3, 4 Sept, *Argus*, 25 Apr. Lane's views come from *Boomerang*, 3 Mar.
- 218 Coneybeer picks up his watch on 8 Oct and the advent of the mass-produced watch is recounted in ch 5, 'Distance'. The home-loving cabinet maker was G.H. Buttery to Royal commission into shops and factories, question 298.
- 218 For evidence of high rates of home-ownership among skilled workmen see Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 184; Lack, 'Footscray', 2, table 51; Lynch, 'A community study', 214–8. *Australasian building societies' and mortgage companies' gazette* extolls home-ownership on 2 Feb 1889, 622, and the transformation of the building societies is described by N.G. Butlin, *Investment in Australian economic development 1861–1900*, Cambridge 1964, 245–61.
- 218-19 Carrington's visit to Leichhardt is reported in *Echo*, 27 Sept and the development of the suburb is outlined in Fisher, 'Life and work', ch 2, and A. Vialoux and C. Reeves, *Leichhardt: its history and progress 1871–1921*, Leichhardt 1921.
- 219 Leichhardt's town hall is described in *TCJ*, 8 Sept and Collingwood's in *Collingwood Observer*, 25 July. The list of town halls under construction is based on *The heritage of Australia*, Melbourne 1981, various local histories and articles in *Australasian builder*, 1888.
- THE SUBURBAN FRONTIER
- 220 The waves of commuters arriving in the city are described in *Argus*, 19 June 1885.
- 220 The estimate of trains arriving at Flinders Street station is from Sutherland, *Victoria and its metropolis* 1, 547.
- 220 The statistics of the spread of Sydney and Melbourne come from T.A. Coghlan, *Wealth and progress of New South Wales*, Sydney 1892, 102 and the astute observer is Gilbert Parker, *Round the compass*, 102. Further information on the suburban growth of Melbourne is from Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, ch 7, G. Blainey, *A history of Camberwell*, Melbourne 1964, W. Bate, *A history of Brighton*, Melbourne 1962; on Sydney from Fisher, 'Life and work', 26–7, 43, the series of articles on Sydney suburbs in *SMH*, Jan and Feb and in *Echo*, 1890 (ML scrapbook), and M. Kelly, *Paddock full of houses: Paddington 1840–1890*, Sydney 1978, ch 4. Brisbane's social geography is outlined in Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, 99–114, Adelaide's in Williams, *Making of the South Australian landscape*, London 1974, ch 9, Perth's in B.J. Shaw and J.T. Jackson, 'A comparative study of residential development in Perth and Fremantle 1880: some initial findings', *Aust 1888* 5, 1980, and Stannage, *The people of Perth*, 240–50, and Hobart's is touched upon in Bolger, 'The changing image', 162.
- 220 The diary of John Mills Hughes, from which details of his life are taken, is deposited with other papers in LaTL. Hughes describes the membership and operations of his friendly society to Royal commission on charities, *Vic PP* 4, 1892–93, question 14964 and some activities of his mining company are reported in newspaper articles in a scrapbook in his papers.
- 221 He confesses that 'all things seem the same' in his diary on 27 Mar.
- 221 Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 193–5 and P. McDonald, *Marriage in Australia*, Canberra 1975, 129, note the tendency for clerks and professional men to defer marriage and S.J. Butlin, *Australian and New Zealand Bank*, London 1961, 260 describes the rules for marriage in one financial institution. Hughes recounts the unhappy denouement of his early love affair in his diary, 25 Oct 1866, his mother's fears on 9 Sept 1867 and his appreciation of Melbourne ladies on 14 June 1878.
- 221 His first meeting with Emily Hochkins is recorded on 27 Dec 1884 and the advertisement for the Griffin estate appears in *Argus* that morning.
- 221 Prahran is described as 'the great sub-centre' by its mayor in *Prahran Telegraph*, 29 July 1888. The subdivisional plan for the Pridham estate is in the Vale collection of real estate maps 6, 28 LaTL. The district's early professional residents are mentioned in *Argus*, 6 Sept 1884 and its developers are the subject of G. Curr, 'Liberalism, localism and suburban growth: developing Prahran and the Gippsland railway's suburban route in the 1870s', MA thesis 1977, University of Melbourne.
- 222 G.W. Taylor's activities are outlined in T.W.H. Leavitt and W.D. Lilburn (eds), *The jubilee history of Victoria and Melbourne*, Melbourne 1888, *Table talk*, 16 Mar, *Prahran Telegraph*, 2 June, *Prahran Chronicle*, 31 Mar, M. Cannon, *The landboomers*, Melbourne 1966, 32, 184, A. Lemon, *Broadmeadows—a forgotten history*, Melbourne 1982, 86–90.
- 222-3 Comparative statistics on commuter traffic in Sydney and Melbourne are from Victorian railways commissioners annual reports and *Victorian yearbooks* as quoted in Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 163, 169 and NSW railways commissioners annual report for 1887 and in Royal commission on city and suburban railways NSW LA *V & P* 5, 1891–92, 14 and App A2. The continuing popularity of omnibuses in Sydney is emphasised by D. Ardley, 'Sydney's horse bus industry in 1889' in G. Wotherspoon (ed), *Sydney's transport: studies in urban history*, Sydney 1983, and the development of the tramway system is outlined in B. Lennon and G. Wotherspoon, 'Sydney's trams 1861–1914: the rise of an urban



- transport system', in *Sydney's transport*, and A. Roberts, 'City improvement in Sydney: public policy 1880–1900', PhD thesis 1977, University of Sydney, chs 2, 3.
- 223 Pressures for suburban railway building in Melbourne are described in Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 164–7, and G. Curr, 'Liberalism, localism and suburban development in Melbourne 1870–1890', *Hist stud* 19, 1980. The importunate local member, John Keys, writes to Gillies 16 Nov 1887 in Railways Construction Board, Doncaster line, Vic PRO. *Australasian Building Societies' Gazette* boasts of the societies' representation in cabinet in May 1886, 7. The debates on Sydney's public transport are outlined in Roberts, 'City improvement', ch 3, activities of the Railway extension league are reported in *Echo*, 8, 13 Sept, 8 Oct and the opinion of the mayor of Glebe is from Royal commission on city and suburban railways, question 362.
- 223 Parkes's opinion is from *SMH*, 2 Aug, his railway extension scheme is announced Aug 1888 and his plan for leasing of the tramways in *Echo*, 16 Oct.
- 223-4 The development of Adelaide's tram system is described by L.S. Kingsborough, *The horse tramways of Adelaide and its suburbs 1875–1907*, Adelaide 1967 and M. Williams, *South Australian landscape*, ch 9, *Yearbook of Australia* 1888 and *Register*, 1 Mar. William Westgarth notes the development of Brisbane's suburbs in his *Half a century of Australasian progress: a personal retrospect*, London 1889, 133–4, and the extension of the railway and tramway routes is outlined in R. Lawson, *Brisbane in the 1890s*, 9–11, *Pugh's almanac*, 1886–89. The demand for workmen's trains is reported in *BC*, 2 Apr, 22 Oct, *Evening Observer*, 4 May.
- 224 The evening bystander is Sutherland, *Victoria and its metropolis* 2, 547.
- 224-5 Hughes reports on his tranquil evenings 23, 24 Mar 1888 and on the culling of old letters 10 Apr 1887. The fashion for naming houses is remarked by *Australasian Building Societies' Gazette*, 1 Feb, 3 Apr 1888.
- 225 Hughes mentions his wife's reading on 27 May and the verses in praise of the 'dear little wife' are from the *Presbyterian Monthly*, 1 Sept 1887, 245.
- 225 Hughes's strenuous evening was 29 Mar 1888.
- 225 The suburbs' lack of social life was remarked in *Boroondara Standard*, 2 Mar and for attempts to preserve their amenity see Davison 'Introduction' to G. Davison, D. Dunstan and C. McConville (eds), *The outskirts of Melbourne*, Sydney 1986, and J. Green, 'Model suburbs II: Harcourt, Burwood', *Centennial magazine* 2, 1888, 150–4.
- 225 The strength of suburban church-going is indicated by figures in Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 208 and the more detailed study by M. Indian in R. Cashman and M. McKernan (eds), *Sport: money, morality and the media*, Sydney 1980.
- 225-6 Palmer's death is reported in Hughes's diary 17 Jan and in *Age*, 16 Jan and *Argus*, 17 Jan.
- 226 Melbourne's typhoid epidemic is described in Central Board of Health, *Annual report* 1888–89. Comparative figures for typhoid deaths in the capital cities appear in J.H. Cumpston and F. McCallum, *The history of the intestinal infections (and typhus fever) in Australia, 1788–1923*, Melbourne 1927. The opinions of the medical profession on the typhoid problem are expressed in papers in Intercolonial Medical Congress, *Transactions*, Melbourne 1889, 195–6, 442–4, 465. Conditions promoting typhoid in Hobart are described in Report of the Central Board of Health, Tas *PP* 63, 1889, 5; the breakdown of sanitary controls in Melbourne is outlined in Intercolonial Medical Congress, *Transactions*, 1889, 474–6 and D.A. Gresswell, Report on the sanitary condition of Melbourne and suburbs, Vic *PP* 4, 1890, 6–21. Reports of sanitary investigation and activity in Brisbane come from *BC*, 14 Feb, 10, 13 Mar, 26 Apr, 28 June, 2, 11, 13 July, 1 Aug. The SA doctor J. Davies Thomas's remarks at the Intercolonial Medical Congress are reported in *Transactions*, 1889, 196, and Adelaide's declining typhoid rate is mentioned in *Register*, 31 May.
- 226 Sydney's sanitary condition and moves to improve it are outlined in Mayne, *Fever, squalor and vice*. The suburban distribution of typhoid is documented in 'Vital statistics for the city and suburbs for 1887', *DT*, 15 Mar 1888 and the sanitary neglect of the eastern suburbs is highlighted by *Evening News*, 27 July. The story of the Jones family is told in Report on the outbreak of typhoid in Newtown and Macdonald town, NSW *LC V & P* 2, 1889, 5–6, App 1.
- 226-7 The response of the Prahran council to the typhoid outbreak is reported in *Prahran Chronicle*, 21 Jan, *Prahran Telegraph*, 3, 29 Mar, 14 July and the opinion of G.W. Taylor is in *Prahran Chronicle*, 17 Mar.
- 227 Hughes notes the end of the boom on 28 Nov and the *Boroondara Standard* wonders whether a depression is imminent on 7 Dec. Taylor replies to the doomsayers in *Prahran Telegraph*, 20 Oct. Guest confesses his fears to his son Tom on 27 Dec and Hughes's musings on the New Year are from his diary 31 Dec 1888 and 1 Jan 1889.

12. PEOPLE MOVING

- 229 Randolph Bedford recalls his journeyings in his *Naught to thirty-three*, Melbourne 1976, 116–17.
- 229-30 Benjamin Hosking's biography comes from *Victoria and its metropolis* 2, 704. John Chandler's career is recounted in his *Forty years in the wilderness*, Melbourne 1893 and discussed in G. Davison, 'The dimensions of mobility in nineteenth century Australia' *Aust* 1888 2, 1979, 14–17. The scene at Redfern station is described in *New South Wales tourist guide*, Sydney 1889, 17, and the estimate of traffic is based on figures in NSW Railway Commissioners reports, NSW *V & P* 2, 1889, 266.

MIGRANTS

- 232 The forces influencing intercolonial migration are outlined in D.T. Rowland, 'Migration between Australian colonies in the 1880s', *Aust* 1888 5, 1980, 160–9 and Davison, 'Dimensions', 17–19, and the inward flow to Victoria in 1888 is evident in the figures of shipping movements in *Victorian yearbook* 1889–90, 109.
- 232-3 Shifts in the distribution of the Tasmanian population is the subject of R. Kellaway, 'Geographical change in Tasmania', *Aust* 1888 10, 1982, 38–49 and G. Blainey, 'Population movements in Tasmania, 1870–1901', *THRA Proc* 3, 1954, 62–70, while the movement of SA farmers into Vic is documented in J.W. McCarty, 'Four factors in Wimmera wheat development to 1890', BA thesis 1952, University of Melbourne, 24–8. William Madge describes his migration to the Select Committee on the settlement of the Mallee country, Vic *PP* 2, 1891, 2336 and the Altman's story comes from S. Priestley, *Warracknabeal*, Melbourne 1967, 49.
- 233 B. Kennedy's *Silver sin and sixpenny ale*, Melbourne 1978, 16–17 traces the migration of South Australians to Broken Hill.
- 233 G. Blainey, *The rush that never ended*, Melbourne 1963, 90, 93, 129 mentions the influence of Sandhurst men on mining elsewhere in Australia. J.C. Fahey, 'Wealth and social mobility in Bendigo and north-central Victoria, 1879–1901', PhD thesis 1981, University of Melbourne, 78–9 traces the movement of Sandhurst-born men into north-central Victoria. J.M. Powell, *The public lands of Australia Felix*, Melbourne 1970, 224–8, 235–7 documents the flow of new settlers into the Victorian Wimmera.
- 233-4 The Ballarat men who settled South Gippsland recall their experiences in *The land of the lyrebird*, Korumburra 1920 and reprinted 1972, 276–84, 296–301, 319–24, 348–51.
- 234-5 The Campey family's experiences are recounted in Henry Campey, *Miscellaneous Narratives, 1884–1915*, ms 1380/1-2, ML, Edward Dyson's in *ADB* 8, 395–6.
- 235 Thomas Purcell's comments are in his *Diary* 1882–83 LaTL. We are indebted to Shirley Constantine for some details of Purcell's



family history. The popularity of Footscray as a staging post for goldrush immigrants is mentioned in J. Lack, 'Footscray: an industrial suburban community', PhD thesis 1976, Monash University, 1, 198–9.

SOJOURNERS

- 235 The importance of bureaucratic organisations in promoting mobility is emphasised by J.S. Whitelaw, 'A note on geographical mobility', *Aust 1888* 5, 1980, 170–4.
- 235 Wodonga's round of farewells was reported in *Wodonga Sentinel*, 13 Apr, 25 May, 7 Dec.
- 235-7 Most of the generalisations about the careers of bank employees are based on Ellen McEwen's analysis of a sample of entries drawn from the staff registers of the Bank of New South Wales in the Westpac Archives, Sydney, supplemented by the accounts in G. Blainey, *Gold and paper*, Melbourne 1958, 218–19, S.J. Butlin, *Australian and New Zealand Bank*, Sydney 1961, 260–5, and R.F. Holder, *Bank of New South Wales: a history*, Sydney 1970, 405–10. The experiences of Brooks junior are recounted in the diary of William Brooks 1888, ms 2483, ML, C.E. Preshaw's in his *Banking under difficulties: or life on the goldfields of Victoria, NSW and NZ by a bank official*, Melbourne 1888, viii, 162 and W.E. Southern in his 'Reminiscences of fifty-one years service in the Bank of NSW', 3, in Westpac Archives. John Sawers' views on the qualities of a good bank manager are expressed in his Private letterbook, 17 Aug, 28 Sept 1888 in ANZ Group Archives, Melbourne.
- 237 The patterns of teacher recruitment and career patterns are based on McEwen's analysis of the careers of 152 male and 135 female teachers recruited before 1888 and extracted from the second book of staff history files in the history section of the NSW Department of Education.
- 237-8 C.W. Borrack relates his adventures as a pupil teacher in his diary, 1884–88, LaTL as summarised in A.J. Truscott, 'Primary teachers', *Aust 1888* 8, 1981, 34–8.
- 239 Anderson recites his grievances in a letter to the Department of Education school building file, ss 1722, 88/2307, Vic PRO.
- 240 The discussion of stationmasters' movements is based on McEwen's analysis of a sample of 109 stationmasters listed in the 1879 and 1884 employment lists in the NSW Railway Archives, supplemented by information in the Bluebooks.
- 240 Alfred Deakin speculates on inducements to join the police force in Vic PD 58, 1888, 1048. Rates of pay for police officers are given in the Victorian *Statistical registers*, Finance; on conditions generally see C. McConville, 'A policeman's lot', *Aust 1888* 11, 1983, 78–87 which also presents an analysis of the fortunes of the 1888 recruits based on stationings in the 1897 and 1907 *Police Gazette*. By 1897 many constables still earned no more than 8s 6d a day and almost a quarter had left the force.
- 240-1 The examination system for sergeants is described in *Police Gazette*, 8 Aug 1888. Samuel Mooney complains to the Chief Commissioner on 27 Dec 1887, Inward correspondence series 937/504, Vic PRO.

TRAVELLERS

- 241 The arrival of St Leon's circus in Deniliquin is described in *Pastoral Times*, 23, 30 June, *Albury Border Post*, 12 June, *TCJ*, 18 June, *Deniliquin News*, 30 June.
- 241 The circus's movements in the earlier part of the year can be traced in *Punch* (Melbourne), 16, 23 Feb, 29 Mar, 10 May, 13 Sept. These references come from the transcript notes on circus history deposited in LaTL ms and compiled by Mark St Leon for his *The circus in Australia*, Melbourne 1983, 59, 91–2, 125, to which we are also indebted for information on the routes of the Ashton, Fitzgerald, Perry and Wirth circuses.
- 242 Hamilton's travelling entertainers are mentioned in *Hamilton Spectator*, 3, 10 Jan, 10, 14, 25 Apr, 6 Nov. George Sala recalled his tour in letters quoted in R. Straus, *Sala: portrait of an eminent Victorian*, London 1942, 250.

- 242 Miss von Finkelstein's tour is mentioned in R. Walker, 'Lecturers and lecturing', *Aust 1888* 8, 1981, 80 and the Lotziero brothers in Report of Horsham police, 10 Apr 1889, Chief Commissioner's inward correspondence, 937/504, Vic PRO.
- 242-3 The patterns of movement and reaction to Indian hawkers are described in A. Brewster, 'The Indian hawker nuisance in the colony of Victoria, 1890–1900', BA honours thesis 1979, University of Melbourne, 15, 23.
- 243-4 The description of commercial travellers is based mainly on M. Horne, "'The ambassadors of commerce': Victorian commercial travellers in the 1880s", *Aust 1888* 8, 1981, 40–50. The old hand looks back on earlier days in *Traveller*, May 1890; the Queensland observer is W. Middlemiss, *Notes of a trip to North Queensland*, 4 Aug 1889 and the Parkes correspondent is quoted in *TCJ*, 28 Apr 1888.
- 244 M. Horne reconstructs the residences of Victorian commercial travellers from membership lists of the Commercial Travellers Association and their travel patterns from John McGee and company letterbooks 1888–89, Taylor Ferguson collection, Melbourne University Archives. *Traveller*, June 1890, 5, Sept 1890, 7 defines the ideal commercial traveller.
- 245 The arrival of the Salvation Army Songsters in Bourke is reported in *Western Herald*, 13, 16 June, 28 July 1888.
- NOMADS
- 246 Lawson describes the arrival of his archetypal bushman at Redfern station in his story, 'Enter Mitchell' in C. Roderick (ed), *Henry Lawson the master story-teller*, Sydney 1984, 131. Sydney's pivotal role in the circulation of migratory labour is ably documented in A. Mayne, 'Sydney sojourns: an approach to geographical mobility in nineteenth century Australia', *Aust 1888* 8, 1981, 3–12.
- 246 The movements of shearers are described in L. Kelly, "'Knights of the blade': shearers in 1888", *Aust 1888* 8, 1981, 51–64 and J. Oppenheimer, 'Shearing difficulties in New England', *Aust 1888* 11, 1983, 62–79.
- 246 While the impact of other forms of seasonal labour in northern NSW and the Riverina is documented in Casual Labour Board, 'Return on the state of labour in various country districts', 14 July, 29 Sept 1887, 13 Feb 1888, col sec special bundles 4/891 AONSW.
- 248 The climax of demand for labour in Bourke, Coonabarabran and Forbes is documented in 'Return', Bourke 1887, and closure of schools in Tamworth, Forbes and the Riverina in 'School Files', West Tamworth 1885, 1888, 5/17774, Forbes 1881, 5/15904, Yass 1881, 5/18259, Young 1877, 5/18274, Wentworth 1876, 5/18078, AONSW.
- 248 The continued demand for labour in fruitgrowing districts is evident in 'School Files', West Tamworth 1889, Candelo 1885, 5/15266 and the fruit picking expeditions of the Ramahyuck Aborigines is mentioned by B. Attwood, 'Blacks and Lohans: a study of Aboriginal-European relations in Gippsland in the 19th century', PhD thesis 1984, La Trobe University, 262–7.
- 248 The pattern of seasonal labour at Barellan station is documented by E. McEwen from an analysis of station-ledgers 1875–86 in Gow Papers, Fisher Library, University of Sydney and the Nielsons' seasonal routines emerge from J.S. Nielson, *The autobiography of John Shaw Nielson*, Canberra 1978, 31–6 which is discussed at greater length in Davison, 'The dimensions of mobility', 22–5.
- 248-9 D. Rowe's 'The robust navy: the railway construction worker in northern New South Wales, 1854–1884', *Labour hist* 39, 1980, 28–46 describes railway labour in one important region. John Monash's description of a navy is contained in his letter to Mary Card, 21 Sept 1891, Monash Papers, NLA reprinted in *Labour hist* 40, 1981, 93–4.
- 249 'Banjo' Paterson recalls the impact of the railway on Illalong in 'Big Kerrigan' in *Singer of the bush: A.B. Paterson complete works 1885–1890*, Sydney 1983, 21–3.
- 249-50 The movement of labourers from Forbes, Bega and Casino in 1888 is documented from 'School Files', 5/15904, 14846, 15325.



- 250 The statistics of local residence of workers at Barellan come from a comparison of station ledgers with the electoral roll for the Murrumbidgee district, which covered the area from Wagga to Hillston; the local pattern of labour recruitment is confirmed by 'Returns on the state of labour', 14 July 1887, 13 Feb 1888. William Webb remarks on the bushman's need of influence in his diary 12 Mar 1890, LaTL as quoted by K. Peterson, 'The diaries and letters of William Webb', *Aust 1888* 11, 1983, 40. Robert Graham's local itinerary is seen in Registrar of Bankruptcy, Bankruptcy Files 10/22510 no. 169/88 AONSW and confirmed by 47 of 96 other bankruptcy cases drawn from the same series.
- 250-1 The examples of long distance wanderers come from many 'missing friends' notices in *Vic Police Gazette*, 13 Jan, 8 Sept 1886 and *NSW Police Gazette*, 13 Mar 1889.
- 251 Mitchell gave his views on marriage in Henry Lawson's 'Some day' in *Henry Lawson the master story-teller*, 138. The Qld observer wrote in *Letters from Queensland* reprinted from *Times*, London 1893, 74-5 and his opinion is confirmed by Fahey's analysis of central Victorian death registers in his 'Wealth and social mobility', 254.
- 251 The fate of James Ballingall is reported in *Rutherglen and Wargunyah News*, 12 Aug 1887 and other examples of the same kind are found in Curator of Intestate Estates, 'Case Papers', 6/3735 no 606/88, 6/3734 nos 13, 14, 44/88, AONSW.
- 251-2 Henry Seymour writes to *Western Herald*, 4 Aug.
- MOVING ON AND GETTING ON
- 252-3 The poetic invitations appear in W.F. Morrison (ed), *Aldine centennial history of New South Wales*, Sydney 1888, 419. The declining prospects of factory workers in Melbourne are discussed in Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 52-4 and the statistics of intergenerational mobility based on marriage data come from Fahey, 'Wealth and social mobility', 79, 300-1, S. Fisher, 'The mobility myth: some Sydney evidence', *Aust 1888* 2, 1979, 81-3, 'Sydney women and the workforce 1870-90' in M. Kelly (ed), *Nineteenth century Sydney*, Sydney 1978, 95-105, 'Life and work', tables 16A and B, 17A and B; also compare E. McEwen, 'Family, kin and neighbours: the Newcastle coal mining district 1860-1900', *Aust 1888* 4, 1980, 82. Thomas Dobeson bemoans his lack of upward mobility in his 'Narrative', ML.
13. SEASONS OF LIFE
- 257 C.B. Whish remarks on the centenary in his diary, Oxley Library.
- 259 The toast to women at the centennial banquet is reported in *SMH*, 27 Jan.
- 259 Comments on 'the lordlier sex' and women's role are made by 'Viador', 'Women's Industries', *SMH*, 3 Oct; a similar commentary appears in the same paper on 6 Oct.
- 259 The Methodist paper *Spectator* discusses surnames on 11 May, and debates the possibility of obedience from well-educated women on 13 Apr. The male student is taking part in an undergraduate debate at Ormond College, and is quoted in *Herald*, 27 Apr.
- 260 *The Australian centennial ode* by 'Alpha Crusis' appears in *TCJ*, 21 Jan, and is quoted by M. V. Tucker in *Aust 1888* 7, 1981, 18.
- 260 The kindergarten class at the exhibition is reported in *Argus*, 8 Dec. 'Judicious letting alone' is advised in *Weigal's J of fashions*, 1 Feb.
- 260 A reporter complains of lavish children's presents in *Australasian*, 22 Dec.
- 260-1 The observer writes that Australian children will soon qualify as members of parliament in *SMH*, 2 June. Parkes's speech at the centennial picnic is reported in *SMH*, 28 Jan, the remarks of Loch at the Juvenile Industrial exhibition in *Argus*, 29 Mar. The newspaper reviewer comments on exhibits in *Australasian*, 7 Apr.
- 263 The information on infant mortality is from P.E. Muskett, *An Australian appeal*, Sydney 1892, and the vital statistics for the various colonies in 1888.
- 263 For the effects of climate on infant mortality rates in the period see T. Stevenson, 'Miasmas, morbidity and milieu: mortality in Victorian South Australia', *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch) Proceedings* 81, 1980-81, 40-58.
- 263-4 Coneybeer speaks of Olive's illness in his diary 23 Feb 1887, SA Archives.
- PARENTS AND EXPERTS
- 264-5 The manual by P.E. Muskett, *The feeding and management of Australian infants*, Sydney 1889, proved very popular and was revised and expanded in the succeeding years, reaching its 7th edition in 1906. See also Australian Health Society, *Rules for the general management of infants*, Tract no 5, Melbourne 1876; C.D. Hunter, *What kills our babies*, AHS Tract no 7, Melbourne 1878; C. Dyring, *Lectures on nursing*, Melbourne 1887, 23-8; J.E. Usher, *The perils of a baby*, Melbourne 1888; A.W. Gardner, *The first ten months of infancy: being hints to mothers*, Melbourne 1888; and N. Sisca, *The management of children in health and disease*, Melbourne 1892. The comment on wet nurses comes from Gardner, *The first ten months*, 19.
- 265-6 The case of suffocation in Carlton is in Coroner's Inquests 24/365/162, Vic PRO. In 10 of 38 inquests on the death of children under two in 1888 in Vic, the cause of death was suffocation from overlaying. The evidence on 'reproduction-related crimes' comes from J. Allen, 'Octavius Beale reconsidered: infanticide, baby-farming and abortion in NSW 1880-1939', in Sydney Labour History Group, *What rough beast? The state and social order in Australian history*, Sydney 1982, 111-29. See also the leader on infanticide in *SMH*, 7 May.
- 266 P.E. Muskett discusses the 'alphabetic quadrilateral' in *The health and diet of children in Australia*, Sydney 1889.
- 266 Sisca discusses precocity in 'Living too fast', and *Management of children*, ch 5. R.E.N. Twopeny's comments on children are in his chapters on 'Young Australia', 'Social relations', and 'Education' in *Town life in Australia*, London 1883; the comment regarding parental relation, 101, and the freedom of children, 82-3. An Old House Keeper gives advice in *Men and how to manage them: a book for Australian wives and mothers*, Melbourne 1884, 35.
- 266-7 Rev H.L. Jackson's sermons are found in his book *Parents and Children*, Sydney 1888.
- 267 SA Register, 9 Jan, calls for the establishment of a lending library, and receives an answer 13 Jan.
- 267 On the novels of Thomas Day and Mary Molesworth see J. Sommerville, *The rise and fall of childhood*, Beverley Hills 1982, 143, 174. *Australasian* discusses books for children, 7 Jan. H.L. Jackson's sermons are published as *Parents and children*, Sydney 1888. The discussion of advice to parents draws on the work of K. Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home: modernizing the Australian family, 1880-1940*, Melbourne 1985; and J. Kociumbas, 'Children and society in New South Wales and Victoria 1860-1914', PhD thesis 1983, University of Sydney. Information on the material culture of childhood at the turn of the century is in J. Duruz, 'Australian child-life 1890-1910' BA hon's thesis 1969, University of Sydney.
- 268 'Boat racing: the story of a young gambler', Melbourne 1890, was one of a series of promotional leaflets published by Try Excelsior in the period. Information on Try Excelsior and William Forster is in *ADB* 4. For increasing state involvement see C. McConville, 'Outcast children in Marvellous Melbourne', in G. Featherstone (ed), *The colonial child*, Melbourne 1981, 39-48; and M. Barbalet, *Far from a low gutter girl*, Melbourne 1983.
- CHILDREN'S CULTURE
- 268 An excellent collection of children's toys and games from the nineteenth century, much of it donated by Marjory Gilbert's family, is in the Children's Literature Research Collection, State Library of SA. We thank Juliana Bayfield for her help. Miles



- Franklin's comment is in *Childhood at Brindabella. My first ten years*, Sydney 1979, 68.
- 268-9 The discussion of children's games is from J. Factor, 'Fragments of children's play in colonial Australia' in Featherstone, *The colonial child*, 56-62.
- 269-71 The account of Marjory Gilbert's childhood is compiled from three sources: 'Country life in the late nineteenth century: reminiscences by Dorothy Gilbert', *South Australiana* 12/2, 1973, 57-70; an account of her childhood at Pewsey Vale written for S. Magarey by Dorothy Gilbert PRG 266/34 SA Archives; and an interview with Marjory Gilbert, July 1983. We are indebted to Edward Booth for arranging the interview with Marjory Gilbert and providing information on the Gilbert and Stirling families.
- 271-2 The diary of Reynell Johns is located among his papers, LaTL, and the Currie diary is also held at LaTL. Dobeson records details of his children in his Narrative, ML.
- SCHOOL AND WORK
- 273 Evidence on state schools is drawn from annual reports of the various education departments. L. Burchell, *Victorian schools: a study in colonial government architecture 1837-1900*, Melbourne 1980, gives an account of the design and architecture of schools and describes how classrooms are designed to suit the method of teaching.
- 273 The parliamentarian, Mackay, speaks of buildings as 'an outward and visible sign' in Vic PD 20, 1874, 1869.
- 273 Burchell discusses city schools in *Victorian schools*, 111, playgrounds 168, rural schools 113, 123, discrepancy between front and rear, 149, 187, windows and blinds, 110.
- 274 The early supporter of payment by results is W. Hearn, *Payment by results in primary education*, Melbourne 1872, 9, cited by R.J.W. Selleck, 'State education and culture', in S.L. Goldberg and F.B. Smith (eds), *Australian cultural history* 1, Canberra 1982. M. Sullivan notes that 80 per cent of teachers are female in 'Historiography, history of education and 1888', *Aust 1888* 8, 1981, 24. J. McCalman, *A hundred years at Bank street*, Melbourne 1985, 19, notes that women cannot rise above first assistant.
- 274 A description of interiors is in Burchell, *Victorian schools*, esp 75, 95, 101-2, 139, clocks and curtains, 110.
- 274-5 The discussion of the curriculum is from Burchell, *Victorian schools*, Selleck, 'State education', and A. Truscott, 'Primary teachers', *Aust 1888* 8, 32. The introduction of history and general lessons is described by F. Schutt, *Rathdowne street 1884-1984*, Melbourne 1984, 23. For discussion of state schooling in the period see A. Austin and R. Selleck, *The Australian government school*, Melbourne 1975, part 2.
- 275 Edgar Bartlett's exercise book is ms 1411, ML. The fable in Royal Readers is described by Truscott, 'Primary teachers', 32.
- 275 The Morals textbook is *Notes of lessons on moral subjects, a handbook for teachers*, London 1884. Two copies are found in the Vic education department library. See G. Davison, 'The dimensions of mobility in nineteenth century Australia', *Aust 1888* 2, 1979, 8.
- 275 The corporal punishment list is drawn from the punishment book for 1888 of the Tarrangandah State School in NSW. The discussion of the hidden curriculum draws extensively on P. Miller, 'Schooling and capitalism: education and social change in South Australia 1836-1925', PhD thesis 1980, University of Adelaide, ch 4.
- 276-7 The analysis of the attendance at the Hindmarsh Model School in 1888 is drawn from the data-bank of the Hindmarsh Project. The help of Bill Pearce of the University of Adelaide Computing Centre has been invaluable in the analysis of the data. For fuller discussion of data on attendance in the period see I. Davey, 'Growing up in a working class community' in P. Grimshaw, C. McConville and E. McEwen (eds), *Families in colonial Australia*, Sydney 1985. The comments by the headmaster of the school in 1881, W. Young are in his evidence to the select committee of enquiry into the workings of the Education Acts, SA PP, 1881, 122, *Minutes of Evidence*, 2208-17, 98; 2283, 102; 2290, 102; and 2462, 116.
- 277-8 For 'Georgie and other waifs' see SMH, 13 Feb; for the poem about newsboys see W. Purtell, 'Newsboys Jubilee', Melbourne 1887.
- 278-9 A fuller discussion of irregular attendance and the family economy is in K. Wimshurst, 'Child labour and school attendance in South Australia 1890-1915', *Hist stud* 19/76, 1981, 381-411 and I. Davey and K. Wimshurst, 'The historiography of urban education in Australia: a survey, a case study and a commentary', in R. Goodenow and W.E. Marsden (eds), *Urban education in four nations*, New York 1986.
- 279 The information on rural areas draws on the analysis of the attendance patterns in Angaston in the Barossa Valley in Davey and Wimshurst, 'The historiography'; *Annual reports* of various education departments and information in diaries of rural families such as that of Ann Currie. The comments from the education departments are drawn from *Annual reports* for 1888 of the Central Board of Education in WA and the Ministers of Education in SA and Qld, PP, 1889.
15. YOUTH
- Histories of youth in Australia, as distinct from school histories, remain to be written. J. Kociumbas, 'Children and society in New South Wales and Victoria 1860-1914', PhD thesis 1983, University of Sydney, examines childhood and youth. For youth who came under the control of the state see M. Barbalet, *Far from a low gutter girl. The forgotten world of state wards: South Australia 1887-1940*, Melbourne 1983.
- 282 The fictional sub-inspector appears in A.J. Vogan, *The black police*, London 1890, 59-60.
- 282 The Mount Rennie case is discussed in D. Walker, 'The new criminality', *Labour hist* 50, 1986.
- 282 Parkes's views on the hangings were sent to Carrington and later appeared in *DT* and *SMH*. The *Year Book's* comments appeared in its 'Educational review for 1887'.
- 283 Allusions to Collingwood's working conditions and its larrikins are derived from C. McConville, 'Outcast Melbourne: social deviance in the city, 1880-1914', MA thesis 1974, University of Melbourne, esp ch 5.
- 283-4 Rev Jefferis is reported in *Echo*, 23 Apr which quotes his comments on idle youths and girls who cannot grill a chop. For sympathetic accounts of Jefferis see B. Smith, *The boy Adeodatus: the portrait of a lucky young bastard*, Melbourne 1984, 82-6 and *ADB* 4. *DT's* comments appear in an article on technical education, 20 Oct; *BC* is quoted by *Echo*, 21 June.
- 284 For a discussion of mobility denied see S. Fisher, 'The mobility myth: some Sydney evidence', *Aust 1888* 2, 1979. The chairman of the Casual Labour Board reports on labour conditions in 18 country districts in NSW at the beginning of 1888 in Casual Labour Board, 4/891, AONSW.
- 284 For union officials' responses to apprenticeship see *Official report of the intercolonial trade and labour unions*, Brisbane 1888 and *Supplement of the NSW railway and tramway review*, 22 May 1888, 17-19. *Weekly Advocate*, 28 Jan, presses for the 'culture of the intellect in trade and manufacture' and warns that the young Australians may lose out to their better educated German contemporaries. *DT* has articles on technical education in Oct and Nov; see esp 'Technical education: pros and cons', 20 Oct.
- 285 Parkes advocates military training in a speech on 'some possibilities of Australia's future', *Echo*, 5 Oct. The ailing state of Sydney Boys' High cadet corps is commented upon editorially and in verse, 'The cry of the cadet', *The Sydneian*, Aug 1888.
- WORK
- 285 Reports on the Sydney youth festivals appear in *Echo*, 13, 27 Jan and 23 Feb. Festival arrangements are discussed in J. Sheridan Moore, *Memorials of the celebration of the Australian centenary*, New



- South Wales*, Sydney 1888, 43. The working and factory girls' club is opened by Bishop Alfred Barry on 23 Apr, *Echo*, 26 Apr.
- 285 The specific response of Sydney registry offices to the servant girl question is reported in *Echo*, 28 Feb. Jefferis devotes one of his Sunday evening lectures to the question and *Our good words*, the monthly journal of Rev Charles Strong's Australian Church in Melbourne, has three searching articles on the servant question from Jan to Mar.
- 285 Mary Sanger Evans writes informatively and sympathetically of arduous working conditions for domestic servants in Australia in *Westminster review*, July 1893.
- 285 Teachers' experiences and working conditions are examined by A. Truscott, 'Primary teachers: experiences in rural Victoria, 1888', *Aust* 1888 8, 1981. James Swadling's story can be found in the *Report from the select committee on the infants' and children's protection bills*, Sydney 1892, App A. A. Douglas describes Woolloomooloo as a 'cesspool' in *Devils abroad: and how to fight them*, Brisbane 1888, 25.
- 286-7 All references to William Stagg and members of his family are taken from N. Robinson (ed), *Stagg of Tarcowie: the diaries of a colonial teenager 1885-1887*, Jamestown 1973.
- 287 Kate Currie's work is recorded in the diary of Ann Currie, LaTL. The diaries of Rose Field, LaTL, record her work for brother Tom: see S. Janson, 'The diaries of Agnes Rose Field', *Aust* 1888 13, 1984.
- LEISURE
- 287-8 Fanny Barbour's remarks are in her diary, LaTL.
- 289 Fred Coneybeer reflects on his past in his diary, SA Archives.
- 289 Cavaliet, 'Some thoughts about the boys', *SMH*, 21 July, comments on clubs and leisure activities for working class boys and the shortcomings of the clergy.
- 289 Jefferis condemns bars and casinos before a large audience, *Echo*, 7 May. The police officer gives evidence to the Select committee on the infants' and children's protection bills, Sydney 1892, 935. The YMCA stands at the respectable end of club life.
- SUPERVISION
- 290 *Echo* discusses the *Vernon's* condition on 14 June, 6 and 29 Oct. Statistics on apprenticeships can be found in *State children's relief department. Report by the president, the Hon Arthur Renwick for the year ending 5 April 1888*, Sydney 1888, 17.
- 290 Annie Foy writes to Captain Neitenstein, 18 Sept 1890, 8/1743, AONSW.
- 290 John Henry's case is discussed in *Vernon* records, 8/1743 and the statistics for 1888 are compiled from the files for 1888, 8/1743.
- 291 Files for the Parramatta training school are located 5/3428, AONSW, and for the weekly reports on work completed and success at the exhibition, see 5/3431.
- 291-2 Mrs Sutton's case is recorded in the department of public instruction files, Sydney Girls' High School, 5/17742, AONSW.
- 292 For Chidley's appearance see S. McInerney (ed), *The confessions of William James Chidley*, Brisbane 1977, 45-6. The attack on his penis, 27. There is a large literature on masturbation and puberty. J.G. Beaney's *The generative system and its functions in health and disease*, Melbourne 1875 went through four editions; A. Paterson's, *The male generative function in health and disease*, Sydney 1887 is a medical man's attempt to counter alarmist quack literature; antidotes to masturbation are drawn largely from Paterson's work. For a lurid piece on sexuality and youth see R.J. Poulton, *Snares and pitfalls of youth: a treatise on the derangements and diseases incident to the organs of generation*, Melbourne, nd. The records of Callan park asylum are located in 3/3323, AONSW. The scale of submedical practice is the subject of The select committee into the practice of medicine and surgery, Sydney 1887.
- COURTING
- 292 For a discussion of courtship see R. Fensham, 'Lovers', *Aust* 1888 8, 1981 and for a reminder of what could go wrong, J. Allen, 'Octavius Beale reconsidered. Infanticide, babyfarming and abortion in NSW 1880-1939', in Sydney Labour History Group, *What rough beast?*, Sydney 1982. The advice on engagement can be found in *Australian etiquette*, Melbourne 1886, 187-8.
- 292-4 References to Monash are from G. Serle, *John Monash*, Melbourne 1982, ch 5.
- 294 For Joe Wilson's problems see H. Lawson, 'Joe Wilson's courtship', in *The prose works of Henry Lawson*, 2, Sydney 1935.
- 294 Matrimonial advertisements appear in *Matrimony*, a journal which ran in 1886 and 1887.
- 294 Fanny Barbour's reflections on marriage and her subsequent engagement are quoted by Fenshaw, 'Lovers'.
- 294-5 Thomas Guest's reactions to Tom's love affair come from T.B. Guest, private letterbook.
16. MARRIAGES AND FAMILIES
- This chapter has benefited by help from Susan Janson, Annette Rubenstein, Sara Maroske, Beryl Hooley and Jim Gillespie.
- 297-8 The description of the Riddell/de Fegeley wedding is from a letter written by Mary Ann Riddell to her son Walter 25 Oct, LaTL, the marriage certificate, and *Table Talk*, 26 Oct.
- 298-303 Descriptions of Suttor and Currie households are based on the diaries of Julia Suttor, ML, and Ann Currie, LaTL.
- 303-4 A fuller discussion of extended kinship patterns is in P. Grimshaw and G. Willett, 'Women's history and family history: an exploration of colonial family structure', in N. Grieve and P. Grimshaw (eds), *Australian women: feminist perspectives*, Melbourne 1981, 134-55.
- THE PROCREATION OF CHILDREN
- 304-5 Reproductive rates are derived from W.D. Borrie, *Population and Australia: recent demographic trends and their implications*, Canberra 1978, 11. Fertility patterns in particular colonies or areas are treated in various chs of P. Grimshaw, C. McConville, E. McEwen (eds), *Families in colonial Australia*, Sydney 1985. Childbirth statistics are from *Statistical registers*.
- 306 The comment on midwives is in *Australian medical journal* 9, 1980, 275.
- 306 Comments on the treatment of pregnancy, H.A. Francis, *Pregnancy and labour*, Brisbane 1891, 9.
- 306-9 Descriptions of births are in F. Coneybeer's diary 29 Jan 1887, SA Archives, E. Dyason's diary, 1 Jan to 12 Mar 1888, LaTL, and C. Ellis, *I seek adventure*, Sydney 1981, 37-9 (birth in 1890). Other sources used are M.J. Lewis, 'Obstetrics education and practice in Sydney, 1870-1939', *Australian and New Zealand journal of obstetrics and gynaecology* 18, 1978; T.S. Pensabene, *The rise of the medical practitioner in Victoria*, Canberra 1980; *The Australian medical directory and handbook*, Sydney 1886; *Australian medical gazette; transactions of the intercolonial medical congress*, 2, 1889.
- A REMEDY AGAINST SIN
- 309 Margaret Chirnside writes to Robert Chirnside on 2 Jan 1886. Marriage rates are from P.F. McDonald, *Marriage in Australia*, Canberra 1975, and bridal pregnancy and illegitimacy from Grimshaw, McConville, McEwen (eds), *Families in colonial Australia*, chs on WA, Horsham, Bendigo and Castlemaine.
- 310 The comment on courting couples in parks is in *Herald*, 16 Oct, the remarks on those on the beach from the diary of J.M. Hughes, LaTL. The three women supported partly by prostitution are reported in Royal Commission on shops and factories, Vic PP 3, 1884, 106.
- 310 Prostitution is discussed in K. Daniels (ed), *So much hard work: women and prostitution in Australian history*, Sydney 1984.
- 310-11 Sexuality is discussed in G.J. Beaney, *The generative system in health and disease*, Melbourne 1884; W. Balls-Headley, *Evolution of the diseases of women*, London 1894; R. Poulton, *The reproductive organs*, Melbourne [c1880]; F.B. Smith, *The people's health*, London 1979.
- 311 Bessie Lee's comment is in *Herald*, 8 Oct. Abortifacients are advertised in the *Age*, 2 Jan.



- 311-12 The Windeyer judgment is cited in P. Coleman, *Obscenity, blasphemy, sedition*, Sydney 1974, 54-6. See also A. Besant, *The law of population*, Sydney 1889; F. Forster, 'The Collins prosecution, the Windeyer judgement and publications on birth control', *Aust 1888* 10, 1982.
- 312 Brettana Smythe's comment is in *The limitation of offspring*, Melbourne 1894, 10, 11.
- MUTUAL SOCIETY, HELP AND COMFORT
- 312-17 Further information on Johns is in C. Cooper, 'Reynell Everleigh Johns: a rediscovered Victorian', *La Trobe Library J* 5120, 1977, 90-6. Diary material is from Johns' diary, 1888, LaTL; Fred Coneybeer's diary, E. Dyason's diary, 1888. Details of housework, furniture, diet and clothing are in M. Cannon, *Life in the country*, Melbourne 1973 and *Life in the cities*, Melbourne 1975; 'An old housekeeper', *Australian housewives' manual*, Melbourne 1883, *Men and how to manage them*, Melbourne 1885 and *Australian plain cookery*, Melbourne 1897; *Australasian ironmonger 1887*, 1888; *Household book of fruit canning, preserves and drinks*, Melbourne 1893; 'An Australian', *Our homes and how to make them happy*, Sydney 1887; R. Twopeny, *Town life in Australia*, Melbourne 1973 (1883); Agnes Rose Field's diary, 1888, LaTL. The work of Dobeson and his wife is recorded in the Dobeson memoirs, ML.
- OBEY HIM, AND SERVE HIM
- 317-18 The details of Adelige Barren's marital affairs are drawn from her letters to Henry Barren, dated 25 Aug, 2, 9 and 16 Sept and 4 Oct 1887, LaTL. The Weigel's *J of fashions* comment is 1 Dec 1888, 77.
- 318 Catherine Elliott is reported in *Herald*, 17 Nov.
- 318 Bessie Lee in *Alliance record*, 1 Dec and 5 Sept; Brettana Smythe in *Herald*, 24 Jan.
- 319 The two comments on the threat of women's entry to paid labour are in *SMH*, 21 Apr, 9 May.
- 319-20 The details on Wilson and Hussey are from Royal commission into shops, factories and workshops, Qld *PP* 2, 1891, 11490-509, 12453-92; on Mrs Rogers, Royal commission into shops and factories, SA *PP* 2, 1892, 2137-68.
- FORSAKING ALL OTHERS
- 320 Divorce details are from M. James, 'Marriage and marital breakdown in Victoria, 1860-1960', PhD thesis 1984, La Trobe University.
- 320 The comment on divorce is in *Dawn*, 15 May.
- 321 Information about the breakdown of the Leighton and Stephen marriages is in divorce files for 1888 283/56 and 283/58, Vic PRO.
17. OLD AGE AND DEATH
- 323 Statistical information on the age structure, sex ratios and conjugal condition of colonial populations in 1888 is derived from the decennial censuses conducted in each colony in 1891. Comparable figures for England and Wales are available in B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane (eds), *Abstract of British historical statistics*, Cambridge 1962.
- 323-4 On the rising proportion of people aged 50 years and over see *Census of Victoria*, 1891, Table 37, 346-7; *Census of Tasmania*, 1891, table 3, 37; *Census of SA*, 1891, table 3, 87; *Census of NSW*, 1891, table 4, 5.
- 324 These tables also provide information about the proportion of males to females in the elderly population. The WA figures are from the *Census of WA*, 3, 1891, table 1. The ageing of the 'goldrush' generation in Vic is traced in the *Census of Vic*, 1891, table 37, 346-7.
- AGEING AND THE FAMILY
- 324-5 Evidence about the role of 'Grandad' Currie within the Currie family is from Ann Currie's Diary, LaTL.
- 325 Statistical evidence about widowhood is from the colonial censuses of 1891. See the *Census of NSW*, 1891, table 10, 351-2, and the *Census of Tas*, 1891, table 2, 54, for the figures actually cited.
- 325-6 For a breakdown of the occupations of aged breadwinners in a colonial society see the *Census of Vic*, 1891, table 64, 405. A.
- O'Brien, in 'Poor families in late nineteenth century NSW', *Aust 1888* 9, 1982, 29, 32, discusses the setting up of 'surrogate families' as a means by which poor elderly women sought security and companionship.
- 326 For the results of detailed research into wills probated in Castlemaine see P. Grimshaw and C. Fahey, 'Family and community in nineteenth century Castlemaine', *Aust 1888* 9, 1982 115-17.
- 326 For an analysis of colonial family structure see P. McDonald and P. Quiggan, 'The demographic experience of age cohorts in Victoria in the 1880s', *Aust 1888* 9, 1982, 52-7.
- PIONEERS AND EXPATRIATES
- 327 The comment on the popularity of retirement to England within the clerical profession is based on a survey of the religious press in 1888, which carried such information in reports of farewell services and obituary notices. On Thomas Holt see *Bulletin*, 23 Apr, 18 June 1887; and H.E. Holt, *An energetic colonist*, Melbourne 1972, 192-8.
- 327 Edward Dyson's 'Jonah's Luck', first published in *Bulletin* in 1892, reflects his experience of mining and prospecting communities in the Ballarat district in the late 1870s and 1880s. It is republished in *Bulletin*, 27 Dec-3 Jan 1983/4, 100-1.
- 327 The report on 'old Tompkins' is from *Hobart Mercury*, 6 Aug.
- 328 While the origins of the name 'Tom Ugly's' remains uncertain (with some suggestion that it may be based on a corruption of 'waggerly', an aboriginal word for lame), some association with a veteran of Waterloo certainly seems to have existed. The death of 'Jimmy the Tinker' was reported in *Launceston Examiner*, 12 Jan.
- 328 The *Launceston Examiner's* report on support for elderly members within the Society of Friends appears on 7 Mar. The Childs' golden wedding celebration is reported in *Hobart Mercury*, 2 Feb.
- THE ECONOMICS OF AGEING
- 328 For information on Friendly Societies see, 'Friendly Societies: report for the year 1888', *Vic PP* 2, 1890, App C, 70-233. T.A. Coglean, *The wealth and progress of New South Wales, 1888-89*, Sydney 1889, 609-10, provides figures on the changing value of deceased estates in NSW and Vic.
- 328 For arguments about retirement proposals see *NSW PD* 32, 1887-88, 4232-45; *SMH*, 16 Jan. The suggestion that some sort of 'sustentation fund' should protect the elderly 'from starvation' after retirement is appended to arguments about the advantages to younger workers of retirement provisions for their superiors. (See, for example, *Launceston Examiner*, 13 Feb). The relevant probate legislation is the Tas Probate Duties Act, 32 Vic no 1 (1868), the Vic Duties on Estates of Deceased Persons' Statute, 34 Vic no 388 (1870), the SA Probate and Succession Duty Act, 39 and 40 Vic. (1876), and the Qld Succession Duties Act, 50 Vic no 12 (1886).
- 329 Statistics on the proportion of men aged 65 and over remaining 'breadwinners' are from the *Census of NSW*, 1891, table 7, 624; *Census of Vic*, 1891, table 64, 405. For the Methodist minister's observation about retirement see *Weekly advocate*, 14 July 1888, 162.
- 329-30 For figures on unemployment among the aged in NSW see *Census of NSW*, 1891, table 14, 705-14.
- 330-1 William Langley's story is recorded in 'Case Papers 1888', NSW Curator of Intestate Estates, 6/3735, no 47, AONSW.
- 331-2 Information on the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum is from the 1888 Register of applicants for relief, which contains full details of each case, including name, age, last occupation, place of residence, birthplace, marital status, children, number of years in colony, reasons for application and result of application.
- 332 For an analysis of suicide rates in the various colonies see Coghlan, *The wealth and progress*, 414. The *Hobart Mercury* report appears on 24 Oct.
- THE COLONIAL WAY OF DEATH
- 332-4 The diaries of John and Lachlan McKinnon are held at UNE archives.



- 334-5 Statistics on colonial death rates, comparisons between them and death rates in Europe and United States, and information on the causes of death in 1888, are from Coghlan, *The wealth and progress*, 391-411. The death of John Seddon is reported in *SMH*, 17 Aug.
- 336 The report on Peter Gleeson's death, from *Maitland Mercury*, 5 July, indicates the kind of detailed coverage such accidents received well beyond the immediate community concerned.
- 336 The French visitor, Oscar Comettant, made his comment on sexual modesty in J. Armstrong (trans), *In the land of kangaroos and gold mines*, Adelaide 1980 (Paris 1890), 173.
- GRIEF AND MOURNING
- 336-7 The death of Mrs McIntosh is reported in *Weekly advocate*, 17 Nov.
- 337-8 The poem was written by Mrs Hunter, of Waverley, NSW, in June 1888, in memory of her daughter, Edith Mary Hunter, who died at Mattimuk, Victoria, on 13 February, aged 26, a young wife and mother. It is in *Weekly advocate*, 14 July. For 'Poets of the Tomb' see Henry Lawson, *In the days when the world was wide*, Windsor 1980, 117.
- FUNERALS
- 338 In NSW costs of basic funerals were charged against the deceased estate in the case of those dying intestate, and recorded in 'Case Papers, 1888', NSW Curator of Intestate Estates, 6/3734, 6/3735, AONSW. There is a general discussion of funeral costs in colonial Australia in G.M. Griffin and D. Tobin, *In the midst of life ... The Australian response to death*, Melbourne 1982, 136-57. The figures for Vic come from M.D. Baltutis, 'The mourners', an unpublished History Workshop essay, 1981, University of Melbourne, 2.
- 338 For a report on the Musgrave funeral see *SMH*, 9 Oct.
- 339 On 27 Feb the *Herald* reports Richard Dalton's funeral.
- 339-40 For Lawson's 'Talbragar' see *In the days when the world was wide*, 114-16. For a similar, light-hearted treatment of a bush funeral see E. Dyson, 'The funeral of Malachi Mooney', in W. Murdoch and H. Drake-Brockman (eds), *Australian short stories*, Melbourne 1951, 58-67.
- 340 On the burial of paupers in places like Melbourne General Cemetery see (J.S. James), *Vagabond papers: sketches of Melbourne life in light and shade*, Melbourne 1877, 60-6. There is a discussion of mourning and funeral rituals in late nineteenth century England in S. Meacham, *A life apart: the English working class 1890-1914*, London 1977, 58, 232n.
- 340 The debate about excessive costs of funerals appears in the correspondence columns of *SMH* for about three weeks after 12 Oct. For a more general discussion of what was known in the late nineteenth century as the Funeral Reform Movement see Griffin and Tobin, *In the midst of life*, 100-1.
- 340-1 In *Australian etiquette*, Melbourne 1886, 360-2, the anonymous author describes in detail colonial protocols of grief and mourning.
18. COMMUNITY
- 345 The Thargomindah funeral of Thomas Gardiner is reported in *Queenslander*, 12 May.
- LEISURE
- 346-7 *Shepparton News*, 25 Sept, recounts the pig race, and the menagerie race is described in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 20 Mar.
- 347 Generalisations about sporting activities and mechanics' institutes in country areas are based on a reading of the various country town newspapers quoted in this chapter. Conclusions about suburbs are based on reports in *DT*, Jan-June. The mock description of the opening of the Bairnsdale Mechanics' Institute appears in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 9 Feb.
- 347-8 For Newcastle see E. McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district 1860-1900', PhD thesis 1979, University of Sydney, 224, 229-30; for Herberston, T. Birtles, 'A survey of land use, settlement and society in the Atherton-Evelyn district, north Queensland, 1880-1914', MA thesis 1967, University of Sydney, 113-15. For the contribution of the Ballarat School of Mines see B. Kennedy, *Silver, sin and sixpenny ale: a social history of Broken Hill 1883-1921*, Melbourne 1978, 17, 50.
- 348 These suburban leisure organisations are reported in *DT*, Jan-June. For rules of the Leichhardt Mutual Improvement Association see *Leichhardt Mutual Improvement Association. Revised rules*, Leichhardt 1886.
- 348 For the Colac brass band's activities see *Colac Herald*, 16 Mar, 22 May, 13 Nov. On Plattsburg see McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', 253.
- 348 A description of Watson's funeral and a short biography appears in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 6 June. The names of racing club officials were collected from *Bairnsdale Advertiser* and their occupations traced through newspaper advertisements and *Victorian country directory*, 1888-90.
- 349 The price of tickets to the St Patrick's Day Ball and the committee's decision appear in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 3 Mar, the Philharmonic Society's deliberations, 8 May.
- 349 The class basis of Sydney suburban sporting clubs was established by collecting the names of committee members from *DT*, 1888 and tracing them in *Sands' suburban directory of Sydney*, 1888, 18-89. Those who did not appear were pursued on the 1894 electoral roll for NSW, the first in that colony to state electors' occupations.
- 349 The description of sporting activities in Warracknabeal is based on a reading of *Warracknabeal Herald*, 1888. Occupations of participants were traced in *Victorian country directory*, 1888-90.
- 350 The Stanmore meeting is reported in *DT*, 11 May and the Hebrew literary and debating society's meeting on 28 May.
- CHURCHES
- 350 Information about Narrabri is based on a reading of the *Narrabri Herald*, 1888 and J. Mulholland, *Narrabri jubilee celebrations*, Narrabri 1933, 23-31. Carruthers' opinion is from *Narrabri Methodist Church, Souvenir 1866-1925*, Narrabri 1925.
- 350 The estimate of church attendance comes from W. Phillips, 'Religious profession and practice in NSW, 1850-1901: the statistical evidence', *Hist stud* 15, 1972, 378-400. Towner's routine is evident from his Diary, University of New England Archives.
- 350 The concern about working class infidelity is discussed in W. Phillips, *Defending 'a christian country'*, St Lucia 1981, ch 4, and Tom Dobeson describes his visit to St Andrews in his 'Narrative', ML.
- 351 On the Wesleyan and Bible Christian churches in Moonta see P. Paynton, *Pictorial history of Australia's little Cornwall*, Adelaide 1978, 81-3. The Primitive Methodists and Welsh in Newcastle have been estimated from 1891 *Census of NSW*. Religion in Broken Hill is described by a special correspondent for *SA Register* in *The Barrier silver and tin fields*, Adelaide 1888, 9.
- 351-2 The spread of the Salvation Army is outlined in B. Bolton, *Booth's drum: the Salvation Army in Australia 1880-1980*, Sydney 1980, chs 1, 6, 7.
- 352 We have not found evidence for the judgment in M. Cannon, *Life in the country*, Melbourne 1973, 249, that there was enmity in country towns. Country townspeople in the 1880s often exhibited pride in harmonious interdenominational relations. The examples quoted here are from *Shepparton News*, 6 Nov, *Alexandra Standard*, 10 Feb, *Wodonga Sentinel*, 17 Feb, *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 20 Mar. Details on Koroit are taken from T. Walker, BA honours essay 1980, University of Melbourne, 3-4. On Walhalla see *Walhalla Chronicle*, 6 Jan 1888, 6 Jan 1889.
- 352 The Council's decision to refuse permission to the army is recorded in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 3 Nov. Kapunda's problems are discussed in R. Charlton, *History of Kapunda*, Melbourne 1971, 78.
- 352-3 The activities of religious organisations are reported in *DT*, Jan-June and notices of the Burwood Presbyterian bazaar appear, 23 Mar. The Loyal Orange Lodges in Sydney advertise their meetings in *DT*.
- 353 In working class suburbs like Balmain 50 per cent of prominent Wesleyans and 78 per cent of well known Catholics did manual



- work. Class compositions in town and country were discovered by taking names of prominent churchmen from newspapers and reports of proceedings of the various denominations. Occupations were traced through newspaper advertisements, directories and electoral rolls. The principal directories were *Wise's post office directory of NSW, 1888–90*, *Sands suburban directory of Sydney, 1888, 1889*, *Victorian country directory, 1888–90*. People not traceable through these sources in NSW were pursued in the electoral roll of NSW for 1894. The fight is recorded in *Narrabri Herald*, 7 July.
- SELF-HELP AND CHARITY
- 354 In March 1888 the Bairnsdale shire secretary for fifteen years, Herman Bredt, died leaving a wife and children. The shire president moved to make a gratuity of two hundred pounds to the family while private donations poured into the 'Bredt Fund', *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 24 Mar.
- 354 Difficulties associated with passing round the hat and benefit concerts are discussed in McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', 166–9.
- 354 The reference to Geraldton is from M. Evans, 'Making friends: Geraldton 1888', BA hons essay 1981, University of Melbourne, 11.
- 354 Names of Bairnsdale Benevolent Society members were collected from *Bairnsdale Advertiser* and occupations traced in *Victorian country directory, 1888–90*. Returns of Charitable Institutions are in *NSW Statistical register, 1884, 1888*.
- 355 For friendly societies and pit funds in Newcastle see McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', 162–5. For reports of the Amalgamated Miners Association in Creswick and Walhalla see *Creswick Advertiser* and *Walhalla Chronicle* for 1888. The Broken Hill miners' union is discussed in B. Kennedy, *Silver, sin*, 19. For Port Pirie see N. Robinson, *Reluctant harbour: the romance of Pirie*, Adelaide 1976, 229.
- 355 The role of miners in organising social welfare in their towns is discussed in McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', ch 5.
- 355 For the advent of benevolent societies in Newcastle see McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', 168; in Port Pirie, Robinson, *Reluctant harbour*, 244. The gradual change in the character of hospitals is described by B. Dickey, 'Charity in NSW, 1860–1914', PhD thesis 1967, Australian National University, 146, 214–15. See also *Wallsend and Plattsburg Sun*, 19 Mar 1886.
- 356 Donations to the Bairnsdale Benevolent Society are recorded in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 6 Sept and fundraising activities for the hospital, 7 Jan, 2 Feb, 13 Mar, 26 Ap, 6 Sept, 20, 22 Nov 1888.
- 356 For Balmain hospital see *DT*, 23 Jan, 2 Feb. It is the only suburban hospital listed in *NSW Statistical register* for 1888. The destination of accident and infectious diseases cases is clear from a general reading of *DT* for 1888. The organisation of charity is largely surmised through the paucity of information on suburban charities in 1888 and the knowledge that the NSW Benevolent Society with its office in Pitt Street, Sydney, operated throughout the metropolitan area. The various church charities such as the Sydney City Mission and the St Vincent de Paul Society were local branches of organisations with a central policy making body. The earliest listing of benevolent societies not maintaining asylums is in the *NSW Statistical register* for 1890. The only locality based associations in Sydney suburbs were at Balmain and Leichhardt. The rest were in country towns.
- PUBLIC LIFE
- 356 The annual ravage of infectious diseases receives editorial comment in *Wodonga Sentinel*, 26 Oct. The Broken Hill fire is well described in L.S. Curtis, *The history of Broken Hill, its rise and progress*, Adelaide 1968, 25. The Warracknabeal branch of the Victorian Farmers Protection Association held its meetings after the stock sales every Saturday evening before the full moon. See D. Morgan, 'The rhythm of life, Colac 1888', *Aust 1888* 7, 1981, 99–100. The difficulties of traversing unmade streets on a dark night are described in *Coleraine Albion*, 4 Mar. At Wodonga an irate ratepayer sued the council for damages occasioned by the poor state of the roads, *Wodonga Sentinel*, 17 Aug.
- 356 The best account of Botany is in F.A. Larcombe, *The history of Botany 1799–1963*, Botany 1963.
- 357 Hamilton's letter appears in *Wodonga Sentinel*, 2 Nov 1888. The water crisis is discussed in the local newspaper from Oct to Dec.
- 357–8 For Kapunda see Charlton, *The history of Kapunda*, 34, 36. On Tamworth, J. Hobden (ed), *Tamworth, a look at the past*, Tamworth 1977, 26, 33.
- 358 For Balmain meetings chaired by the mayor see *DT*, 19 Feb, 31 Mar; use of the town hall is described 16 Jan. Donations to the Benevolent Society are recorded in *Bairnsdale Advertiser*, 6 Sept; to the band, 12 June; to the hospital, 4 May. Refunds are mentioned in McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', 144.
- 359 The foundation of the Randwick Ratepayers' Association is recorded in *DT*, 23 Jan. The subsequent trouble between it and aldermen is depicted in W.B. Lynch and F.A. Larcombe, *Randwick 1859–1976*, Randwick 1976, 61. In 1886 Leichhardt with a population of over four thousand had founded a ratepayers' association. According to the *Revised rules of the Leichhardt Ratepayers Association*, Leichhardt 1886, its objects were 'to watch the progress of all works and matters connected with the Municipality of Leichhardt and to consider and discuss the same and generally to promote a knowledge of and interest in municipal and other matters affecting the ratepayers and residents of the municipality'.
- 359 The problem of joint action, the Municipalities Act and the growth of statutory bodies are dealt with in F.A. Larcombe, *The stabilisation of local government in NSW 1858–1906*, Sydney 1976, see 68–71, 158–67. For elections to the Water Supply and Sewerage Board see *SMH*, 23 Mar.
- 360 The names of aspiring aldermen were drawn from newspaper sources. Their occupations were checked through newspaper advertisements, directories and electoral rolls.
- 360 The dominance of blue collar workers in Newcastle is dealt with in McEwen, 'The Newcastle coalmining district', 133. For the Salvation Army see *Wallsend and Plattsburg Sun*, 16 June, 29 Sept 1886.
- NARRABRI
- 360 For a history of Narrabri see G.L. Hunt, *When Narrabri was young*, Narrabri 1980. On 24 May 1883 the parents of Narrabri West applied for a school to be established and a description of the occupations of inhabitants was added by the Inspector. The headmaster writes on 16 Mar 1884, NSW Department of Education schools files, Narrabri West, 5/107692, AONSW. A licensing court hearing reported in *Narrabri Herald*, 4 July 1888 indicates the extent of the carrying business. The existence of wool scours was established from advertisements in *Narrabri Herald* and *Wise's post office directory 1888–89*.
- 360-1 O'Brien and Beavis are witnesses to the fight that broke out at the Salvation Army meeting.
- 361-2 The silting up of Narrabri Creek is recorded in *Narrabri Herald*, 10 Jan, 28 Mar, Dangar's refusal *ibid*, 27 July, 24 Nov. For the sale of liquor to Aborigines see *ibid*, 2 June, 20 Oct. Advertisements in *Narrabri Herald* establish that Maher, Madame Patek, the Moffats and Hayes lived in Dangar Village, and a court case reported in the same paper reveals Keegan's origins. The Stewarts figure in *Narrabri Herald*, 11 April, 2 May. For the council's contributions to Collins Park see *Narrabri Herald*, 6, 21 Mar, 4 Aug, 29 Sept.
- 362 Ireland's and Jordan's convictions are recorded *ibid*, 30 June, 17 Dec.
- 362 The decision to reroute travelling stock is reported *Narrabri Herald*, 10 Jan.
- 362-3 The prosecution of the man who erected a calico building is recorded in *ibid*, 21 Apr. As with other voluntary associations and institutions the occupation of the Bench of Magistrates was traced through the local newspaper, directories and the electoral rolls.



- 363 The activities of Maitland Street residents are based on a reading of *Narrabri Herald*, 1888. The condition of Maitland Street is gleaned from *Narrabri Herald*, 21 Mar.
19. LAW
- 365 Sarah Francisco's appearances in the Port Adelaide police court are reported in *SA Adv* 14, 16 Jan, 18 Apr and 1 May.
- 366 Timothy Coghlan explains the high rate of crime in NSW in *The wealth and progress of New South Wales*, Sydney 1890–91, 290, 291.
- 366-7 For convicts see *Studies in Western Australian history* 4, 1981, 1–83. The calendar of prisoners tried in the supreme court of WA records the free or convict origins of each prisoner in WA. For concern about French convicts in New Caledonia and the possible effect of escapees on Queensland see *BC*, 19, 26 Jan, and 23 Apr. Examples of the frequent expression of concern over racial mixing in 1888, can be found in: *BC*, 16, 18, 19 Jun, 3 and 23 July; *North Qld Telegraph*, 18 Jan, 13 May; *West Australian*, 10 Feb, 7 Mar, 28 Apr, 6 July.
- POLICE
- 367 There are brief histories of the police forces of the six colonies in D. Chappell and P.R. Wilson, *The police and the public in Australia and New Zealand*, St Lucia 1969, 1–36; and in G.M. O'Brien *The Australian police forces*, Melbourne 1960, 13–72. The 1874 Victorian figure is from Robert Haldane's analysis of the new oaths sworn by all members of the Victoria Police in 1874, which offers the historian a virtual census of the force for that year. He sets this out in unpublished seminar paper for La Trobe University postgraduate seminar 21 Apr 1983: 'Irishmen and the Victoria police force'. We are grateful for his permission to cite this work. The two samples taken of the NSW police are from the Register of police 1862–1904, 7/2613, AONSW; this shows that 60–70 per cent of the men were Irish born, and of these 70 per cent were former policemen or soldiers.
- 367-8 The reports and detailed evidence of the commission on police are in *Vic PP* 4, 1880–81, 97, 3, 1881, 22, 31; 3, 1882–83, 66; 2, 1883, 10, 21. The Vic recruitment figure is in *The Age*, 21 Sept. *SA Adv* reports the Gawler scandal and the board of enquiry: 26, 31 Jan, 1 Feb, and civil service commission recommendations, 2 Oct.
- 368 The Cunnamulla police bribery is reported in *BC*, 27 Feb; the case of constable Brooks and Walker *BC*, 12, 16, 20, 24, 25 Oct, 2 Nov, *BC*.
- 368-9 These NSW episodes are in the col sec's letters received, 88/10965, 88/9962, 88/9942, 88/13912, 88/9290, AONSW. The Lismore enquiry (held behind closed doors) is recorded by the investigating judge, Mr Justice Dowling, in his judge's notebook, Oct 1888, 2/3695 AONSW. *Richmond River Express*, 6 and 13 Oct, refers briefly to the enquiry.
- 369 The argument for greater police protection in WA is set out in: Papers respecting the necessity of increased police protection for the settlers in the Kimberley district from the Aboriginal Natives, WA LC V & P 2, 1888. Accounts of police expeditions to the Kimberleys are in: *West Australian*, 3 July, 15, 21 Nov, and in *Victorian Express*, 16 Jun. A detailed examination is undertaken by A. Gill in his 'Aborigines, settlers and police in the Kimberleys 1887–1905', *Studies in Western Australian history* 1, 1977, 1–28. The routine, duties and isolation of the rural Vic mounted policeman are described by Chief Commissioner Chomley in his evidence to Royal commission 1883, 93 415–22; and in C. McConville, '1888—a policeman's lot', *Aust* 1888 11, 1983, 78–87. Routines of SA and NSW police stations can be followed in Clarendon station journals GRG 5/145/1, SA Archives; Pilliga police correspondence 1878–89, 7/6689.3, AONSW.
- 369 For the Murrurundi police routine see Diary of duty and occurrences at Murrurundi police station 1887–90, 7/6583, AONSW.
- IN THE MAGISTRATES' COURTS
- 369 On the development of the English magistrate in the Australian colonies see A.C. Castles, *An Australian legal history*, Sydney 1982, ch 9, 11–13.
- 369 There is a journalist's description of a typical morning in the Melbourne city police court in *Australasian*, 31 Mar 1888.
- 369-70 The drunkenness statistics can be found in NSW *Statistical Register*, 1888, NSW LC *Journals* 3, 1889, 'Crime and civil justice', tables 8, 33. Coghlan discussed the proportion of arrests for drunkenness in each colony in *A statistical account of the seven colonies of Australasia*, Sydney 1891, 283–5. The Burton divorce case is reported in *BC*, 9 Oct; Sarah Burton's appearances in the police court are reported in *BC*, 14 Feb, 21 Mar, 2, 10, 18 and 24 Apr, 22 Jun, 26 July. John Hole's court appearance is reported in *West Australian*, 28 July. The *BC*'s call is made on 15, 17 Sept. Coghlan, in *Wealth and progress*, 523–6, argues that figures of arrests for drunkenness reflect police practice rather than drinking habits.
- 370 The story of James Jones's arrest is in the files of police commissioner's correspondence, box 41, file 25, 1888, GRG 5/2, SA Archives.
- 370-1 Perth and Fremantle vagrancy cases are reported in *West Australian*, 16, 14, 31 Jan and 15 Jun.
- 371 Sarah Mattie's appearances in court are reported in *BC*, 17 Feb, 24 Mar, 9, 16 Apr, 7 Jun and 20 Sept. A letter from 'Vigilant' appeared in *BC*, 25 Sept, complaining about the failure of the police to 'eradicate the houses of ill-fame which abound' in Albert Street and several other principal streets of Brisbane.
- 371-2 Prosecutions for obscene language are discussed by M. Sturma in *Vice in a vicious society: crime and convicts in mid-nineteenth century New South Wales*, St Lucia 1983, 129–36. The Drake police court bench book, recording the cases heard, for 1887–97, is in 7/85, AONSW.
- 372 *McDaniel v Kirkpatrick* is reported in *SA Adv*, 19 Jan. Senior Constable Mackie's encounter with O'Connell is related in detail in letters and reports in the col sec's letters received, 88/5218, 88/4582, AONSW. Most issues of the major city newspapers during 1888 contains reports of larrikin activities, summary trials of larrikins or editorials deploring the phenomenon of the larrikin, in Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Brisbane.
- 372 William Jones's case is in letters and reports in col sec's letters received, 88/13038, AONSW, and in *DT*, 15 Nov.
- IN THE SUPERIOR COURTS
- 373 The trials of Donoghue, Smith and Towerson are reported in *Argus*, 12, 17, 29 May; and the *Age*, 12, 16, 17 May. The *Age* editorial approving the harsh sentences is 30 May. Their appearance at Collingwood petty sessions is recorded in a volume of the Collingwood petty sessions register, 2490/1, Vic PRO.
- 373-4 The transcript of the trial of Wilson and Holly, the judge's report and his notes in evidence, with correspondence and other relevant documents, are in box 14 of the capital cases records, 264, Vic PRO. A second file, in that same box, details the numerous attempts to gain a reprieve for Holly, from 1888–97. The brief for the trial, containing the depositions of all the witnesses, is in box 571, series 30, Vic PRO. The incident is reported in *Hamilton Spectator*, 27 Mar; a full report of the trial, and an editorial is published on 8 May. See also *Ararat Advertiser*, 8, 11, 18 May, 1 Jun. For the legal status of Aborigines as witnesses in trials see R. Cranston, 'The Aborigines and the law: an overview', *University of Qld law J* 8/1, 1973, 60–64; and Castles *Legal history* 515–42.
- 374 Griffin's case is reported in *West Australian* 30 Nov, 8, 10, 21, 22 Dec (from which comes the passage quoted from the judge's summing up); *Albany Mail*, 20 Oct, 21 Nov, 1, 5, 8 Dec; *Daily News*, 20, 21, 22 Dec, (from which comes the quotation from the defence counsel). *Australasian*, 29 Dec, comments editorially on the case and its implications. The depositions in this case are in bundles of depositions for supreme court criminal cases, held in the supreme court, Perth; numbers 2254 and 2255, in the bundle for 1888.
- 374-5 The problems encountered by the police are well conveyed in the reports to the police commissioner by Inspector Rowe, 11 Nov,



- and Sergeant McKenna, 6 Dec, both in the col sec's correspondence, file 2937/1888, WA Archives.
- 375 The quotation comes from *West Australian*, 22 Dec.
- 375 The Geraldton *Victorian Express* reports Steele's trial on 27 Oct. The editorial (quoted) is in that same issue. Steele's letter (quoted) and a reply to it are on 8 Dec, and *Express* reprints an editorial on the case from *Australasian*, 15 Dec.
- 376 For the shearers' case see *West Australian*, 23 Oct.
- 376 On the Normanton murders, the white reaction to them, and the fate of the deported Malays see *BC*, 16, 18, 19, 25, 29, 30 Jun, 3, 23 July, 19 Sept, 17 Oct; 17 Jan 1889. The murders and the reaction of the white mobs are also extensively reported and commented upon in the Melbourne and Sydney press. The bizarre facts of the Bunya murder, and the change of police and press opinion about the identity of the murderer, can be followed in *BC*, 14 May to early July.
- 376 The *SMH* editorial is 2 Mar. Reports of suicides by 'Rough on Rats' during 1888 can be found throughout the year in *SMH*, *Age*, *SA Adv* and *West Australian*. Another editorial in *SMH*, 23 Nov, refers to a rash of suicides using 'Rough on Rats'.
- 376 The inquests into the deaths of Collins and Andrews are reported in *SMH*, 11, 14, 16, 18, 27 July; 4, 6 Aug.
- 376-7 The first three trials are in *SMH*, 7-9 Aug; 6-9 Nov; 20-23 Nov. The fourth trial can be followed in *SMH*, 6-10 Dec, and in the judge's notebook of Chief Justice Darley, for 9 Aug-7 Dec, 2/2873, AONSW.
- 377 David Buchanan's letter about jury trial is in *SMH*, 23 Aug.
- 378 The appeal is in *SMH*, 28 Dec. Louisa Collins' execution is reported in *SMH*, 9 Jan 1889, and commented on in *SMH*, 11 Jan 1889, and *Bulletin*, 19 Jan 1889. The public debate about her execution can be followed in letters, editorials and reports in *SMH*, *Bulletin* and *Australasian* for Dec 1888 and Jan 1889. The case is also widely reported, and commented upon, in the press of all the other colonies. The petitions and letters to col sec are in col sec's letters received, 4/895.1, AONSW.
- 378 The parliamentary debate on Louisa Collins is in *SMH*, 20 Dec; the petition quoted is in 4/895.1, AONSW. The arguments that Collins's sex aggravates the wickedness of her crime are from letters in *SMH*, 28, 31 Dec. The letter from 'A Wife and Mother' is in *SMH*, 4 Jan 1889. Examples of commutation of death sentences are in the Holly and Wilson file, capital cases records, box 14, 264, Vic PRO: and in the NSW col sec's letters received, 88/5389, 88/5634, 88/6610, 88/12451, AONSW.
- 378-9 Hewart's crime is reported in *SMH*, 26, 29-31 May, and commented upon in *SMH*, 6, 8 Jun, 4 Aug.
- 379-80 Letters and petitions can be found in *SMH*, 29 Aug, 1, 3-4, 6-8, 10 Sept, and in the col sec's letters received, 88/9289, 88/9745, 88/10001, 88/11155, AONSW.
- 380 The execution is reported in *SMH*, 12 Sept, and the governor's refusal of an enquiry, 19 Sept. The quotations from Inspector Anderson's report, the judge's report the petition and the letter from Hawken, are all from 88/11155, AONSW. The inspector-general's reference is in police dept report for 1888.
- IN THE PRISONS
- 380-1 There are accounts of the prisons of the colonies in 1888, in: Prisons (Report for 1888), NSW *LC Journals*, 1889; Statistical report of the colony of Vic for the year 1888, Vic *PP* 4, 1889, 39-50; Penal Establishment, St Helena—Superintendent's report for the year 1888, Qld *LC, Journal with papers* 39, 1889; Sheriff's report upon the gaols of the colony for the year 1888, Qld *LA V & P* 1, 1889, SA *Statistical register, Proceedings of Parliament*, 1 1889, Statistics of the colony of Tas 1888, Tas *Parl Journals & Printed Papers*, 16, 1889; Report on Rottneest prison for the year 1888, WA *LC V & P* 1889, WA *Blue Book*, 178-82.
- 381 In addition to the above statistical and official reports, descriptions of various prisons and gaols in this period can be found. Rev HF. Scott, chaplain of Melbourne Gaol 1882-95, published his experiences of the gaol (including executions) in two series of articles: 'Jottings from gaol' in *The Crusader* in 1892, and 'Recollections of a gaol chaplain' in *Herald*, Jan 1900; he also published 'Pentridge penitentiary. By HFS.' in *Footscray advertiser*, 24 Mar 1894. (We owe these references to Alistair Thomson, in whose possession are Scott's scrapbooks containing cuttings of most of these articles). See also *Age*, 26 Sept, 'The gaols of Vic'; and *SMH*, 2 May, 'The prisons of the colony'. There is a description of Townsville gaol in *North Queensland Telegraph*, 11 Mar 1889, supplement. SA's Yatala labour prison is described in a report in *SA Adv*, 11 Jan, and criticised in an editorial 18 Sep. *West Australian*, 31 Dec, carries a report on Christmas Day in Fremantle prison; and two letters to *Victorian Express*, 18 Feb, and 28 Apr, criticise conditions in Rottneest Aboriginal prison.
20. POLITICS
- 383 Both *TCJ*, 14 Apr, and *Australasian*, 7 Apr, have detailed accounts of the garden party.
- 383 The vestibule floor, and its laying, are described in *Australasian*, 12 May. It was designed by the architect Peter Kerr.
- 383 Two examples of the many contemporary accounts of the work on Parliament House are in *Ararat Advertiser*, 17 Feb, and *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 23 June. At the request of a Royal commission on the parliament buildings, G.H. Jenkins prepared *A short history and description of the Parliament House, Melbourne, Melbourne 1886*, from which we take the quoted claim about its magnificence, 22.
- 384 The quotations about the opening of parliament and Davies' gown are from *Ararat Advertiser's* lively Melbourne correspondent, 22 June. 'Mr Speaker's change of raiment has, with the Gaiety Company, monopolised the greater part of ordinary conversation for the last ten days'. So observed *Australasian* on 30 June, in an editorial specially devoted to the subject and its importance 'in an age when abnormality of costume is rare'.
- 384-5 *BC*, 13 June, has an account of the opening of the Qld parliament by commission.
- 385 Qld's parliament house is described as quoted in *Illustrated Sydney News*, 30 Aug. *Australian encyclopedia* 4, 475, has a brief history of the building and also refers to the Tas and SA parliaments. C.I. Clark, *The parliament of Tasmania*, Hobart 1947, 67-9, has a brief description and history of the Tas buildings. *SA Adv*, 5 Jan, 'New parliament buildings', depicts in detail the west wing as it neared completion. *SMH* and *DT*, 31 Jan, have accounts of the laying of the foundation stone of the new NSW house and a description of the proposed edifice by James Barnet, the colonial architect. The contemptuous remarks about the old parliament are from *Australasian* ('Notes now and then. By J.M.'), 5 May.
- 385 The remark by Parkes's daughter is from A.W. Martin (ed), *Letters from Menie*, Melbourne 1983, 177.
- 386 For a brief discussion of colonial political institutions in this period see P. Loveday, A.W. Martin and R.S. Parker (eds), *The emergence of the Australian party system*, Sydney 1977, ch 1. B.K. de Garis discusses in this volume 'politics before the introduction of self government' in WA, 299-302.
- 386-7 *TCJ* reports the Matheson-McElhone fight on 18 Feb, and the Fletcher-Haynes fracas on 31 Mar. Haynes subsequently sued Fletcher in the Supreme Court for £5,000, damages for assault; Fletcher admitted the assault, offered to pay £5, and the jury found against the plaintiff. *Australasian* notes the case on 25 Aug.
- 387 *Australasian* compares Victoria's 'rowdies' to those of NSW on 25 Feb, and laments that politicians are timid creatures on 21 Apr. An editorial of 3 Mar discusses parliamentary disorder as a problem 'found the world over', mentioning in particular the British House of Commons and the French chamber. *Ararat Advertiser's* editor complains of the 'rowdies' antics on the parliamentary vehicle on 19 Oct.



- 387 The comments on Queenslanders' decorum are from *BC*, 15 Mar.
- 388 Dilke's remark about payment of members as a 'ballast' is from his *Problems of Greater Britain*, London 1890, 285–6.
- 388 Members represented in the table of occupations are those who took their seats at the beginning of the 1888 session in each parliament. Where subsequent resignations or deaths cause vacancies which necessitate bye-elections, it is impossible to take account of the new members in such a table; the changes thus omitted are, however, trivial.
- 388 The basic lists of members' names are from the relevant Hansards and votes and proceedings and the occupations given are from: C.N. Connolly, *Biographical register of the New South Wales parliament 1856–1901*, Canberra 1983; S. Barnett and B. Bennett, *Biographical register of the Tasmanian parliament 1851–1960*, Canberra 1980; D.B. Waterson, *A biographical register of the Queensland parliament 1860–1939*, Canberra 1972; K. Thomson and G. Serle, *A biographical register of the Victorian legislature 1851–1900*, Canberra 1972. Dr John Playford, who is preparing a biographical register of South Australian members, generously supplied a list of the occupations for that colony.
- VOTERS AND ELECTORAL ORGANISATIONS
- 389 The figures of men on the rolls and voting in Qld are taken from D.B. Waterson, *Squatter, selector and storekeeper*, Sydney 1968, 240–1. The point about electors on the NSW rolls, like the general discussion in subsequent pages, comes from tables compiled for NSW, Vic and SA which show electors on rolls, votes cast, and estimated numbers of males over 21 by electorate for all elections between 1856 and 1888. Our sources are the relevant censuses, official returns of voting figures as printed in parliamentary papers and, when figures are otherwise unavailable, the newspapers.
- 389–90 Our remarks, here and below, about the substance of the debate on the Vic electoral bill are based on a reading of *Vic PD*, 59, especially 1957 ff. G. Serle, *The rush to be rich*, Melbourne 1971, 322–3, catches the significance of the legislative council's insistence that plural voting be continued. The newspaper whose editor was so deeply perturbed by the abolition of plural voting is *Ararat Advertiser*, 26 Oct.
- 391 The complaint about unionists' political apathy is from *Official report of the fifth intercolonial trades union congress*, Brisbane 1888, 5–6.
- 391 The Qld delegation reports the drive to the congress, *ibid.* Details of Labour candidatures in the 1888 election are from D.J. Murphy (ed), *Labor in politics*, St Lucia 1975, 135, and the entry on Thomas Glassey in *ADB* 9.
- 391 The SA parliamentary committee's report is printed in *Official report of the congress*, 10–12.
- 391–2 We take the account of changes in the SA council from a penetrating editorial of *SA Adv*, 29 May. Dickey puts Cotton's candidature in context in Murphy (ed), *Labor*, 236, and the details on Cotton personally are from *ADB* 3. Coneybeer records in his diary on 5 May 1888, 87–8, the formation and victory of the Trades and Labour Council committee which worked for Cotton. The Coneybeer diary is held at SA Archives.
- 392 Bede Nairn quotes *Echo's* description of Cameron in *ADB* 3. Sample statements of the political positions taken by Sayers, Little and Hawkes are as follows. Sayers: election speech, *Charters Towers Times*, 27 Apr. Sayers and Little: speeches in address in reply debate, *Qld PD* 60, 22 Aug, 113–16. Hawkes: election speech, Rengarooma electorate, *Hobart Mercury*, 29 June. A.W. Martin, *Henry Parkes: a biography*, Melbourne 1980, 372–3, discusses Parkes's relations with the coal mining electorate and their representatives.
- 392 J. Rickard, *Class and politics*, Canberra 1976, 286–7, is illuminating on the general issue of 'the masses v the classes'. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, *Parliament, factions and parties*, Melbourne 1966, discusses the populist alliance associated in the 1880s with protectionism.
- 393–4 R.B. Joyce quotes Griffith and Lane in *ADB* 9. Serle, *The rush to be rich*, 120, discusses the Melbourne Trades Hall Council's attitude to political representation.
- 394 The details of the Horgan–Burt contest are from C.T. Stannage, 'Electoral politics in Western Australia 1884–1897', MA thesis 1967, University of Western Australia, 224–71.
- 394 Serle makes an observation about localism in *The rush to be rich*, 31: 'many politicians firmly believed in their independence and freedom from party control; the notion of parliament as a collection of individuals whose primary duty was to act as agents for local constituents remained strong.' Theodore Zeldin's words describe the simple element which most complicates any effort to read meaning into elections: '... those people who are interested in politics are not always interested in political questions. At the village level, politics sometimes appears as simply a pastime in which people engage to save themselves from boredom.' Zeldin, *France 1848–1945: politics and anger*, Oxford 1979, 26.
- 394 The general statements about party emergence in NSW and Qld draw principally on Loveday, Martin and Parker, *Australian party systems*, 24, 32–3, 36. Bulcock sued the proprietors of *Boomerang* for libel in consequence of statements made about him in the paper during the 1888 election. Bulcock's own testimony and the cross-examination of witnesses at the supreme court trial brought into the open many facets of Bulcock's work as wirepuller, including McIlwraith's opinion of him, as quoted in our text. The case is reported in *BC*, 21 May. A.A. Morrison, 'Liberal party organisations before 1900', *Hist soc of Queensland* J 5/1, 1953, 757, discusses Bulcock's place in the formation of Queensland parties.
- 395–6 *TCJ's* correspondent, 19 May, calls this 'the most keenly-contested election there has ever been in Rockhampton'. There were two Rockhampton newspapers: *Morning Bulletin* and *Daily Northern Argus*; the first tended to favour the Nationalists, the second the Liberals. Our account of the campaign is constructed from their reports between 12 Apr and 8 May. *Pugh's almanac, 1888* helps with details about local conditions, as do entries for Pattison and Morgan, *ADB* 5.
- THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT
- 397 R. Caldwell is the member who spoke to his constituents at Edithburgh, on Yorke Peninsula, *SA Adv*, 5 Mar 1888.
- 397 *SA Adv* editorial 28 June, reports and deplors Tomkinson's attempt to abolish rail passes.
- 398 *BC*, 12–15 Mar, reports Griffith's tour. *Illustrated Australian News*, Melbourne, tells in its summary of political events of Gillies' 'sphinx-like' tour.
- 398 The ministerial tours in NSW may be conveniently followed in *TCJ*, esp 7, 14, 21 Apr. The same paper reports Parkes' visit to Wagga Wagga on 14 Apr.
- 398–9 On Parkes and leadership see Martin, *Henry Parkes*, 382, 386, 412. Loveday and Martin, *Parliament, factions and parties* discusses the NSW faction system in detail.
- 399 On SA factions see D.H. Jaensch, 'Political representation in colonial South Australia, 1857–1901', PhD thesis 1973, University of Adelaide.
- 399 Serle, *The rush to be rich*, chs 1 and 11 explains the Victorian party system.
- 399–400 Nash's letter appears under the title of 'Democracy in New South Wales', *Fortnightly review*, 41, 1887, 312–15. R.L. Wettenhall, *Railway management and politics in Victoria 1856–1906*, Canberra 1961, 22, quotes Patterson's complaint.
- 400 Dilke writes that in NSW, for example, 'State education, State railways and tramways, and, I fear, some past exercise of political influence in appointments, account for the large numbers', *Problems*, 276. The figure of over 25 000 (25 450) government employees in NSW is Coghlan's estimate, in *Wealth and progress*, 460. The other NSW figures are from N.G. Butlin, 'Trends in Australian income distribution: a first glance', *ANU working papers*



- in *economic history* 17, 27–8. The Vic figures are estimates from *Victorian year book, 1888–9*, Melbourne 1889, 26. No comparable sources provide parallel estimates for the other colonies.
- 400 That, with railway employment discounted, public employment in Australia was not excessive by comparison with other comparable societies is the opinion of N.G. Butlin, given orally to the authors.
- 400 The SA commission's terms of reference are to examine 'the state and condition of the public service' and to recommend means of 'securing the better and more efficient and economical working of such service'. Quoted in its second progress report, Aug 1888–Feb 1889, SA *PP* 2, 1889, no 30.
- 400 The account of railway reform in Victoria is based on Wettenhall, *Railway management*. G. Davison, *The rise and fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Melbourne 1978, 119–21, explains the establishment of the Vic board and K. Knight, 'Patronage and the New South Wales public service: the 1894 royal commission', *Aust j polit & hist* 7/2, 1961, 173–5, discusses the results of the NSW Civil Service Act of 1884. G.E. Caiden, *Career service*, Melbourne 1965, 40–1, succinctly summarises the attempted reforms in all colonies in the 1880s. Ramsay's remarks are in the second reading debate on the civil service board bill, 19 Oct, SA *PD*, 1887, 1146–7.
- AN AMERICAN VIEW
- 401 The Deakin–Royce encounter is discussed in J.A. La Nauze, *Alfred Deakin: a biography*, 1, Melbourne 1965, 123–6.
- 401 Royce's articles appear in *Scribner's magazine*, Jan 1891, and *Atlantic monthly*, May and June 1889. The quotations used here are principally from the latter, which also contains Royce's lyrical account of Australian weeklies, whose 'solid feast' he described in detail; 680–1. F. Oppenheim, *Royce's voyage down under*, Lexington 1980, discusses the significance of the Australian episode for the development of Royce's thought.
21. THE IMPERIAL CONNECTION
- 403 Fred Coneybeer records reactions to the break in the cable in July entries in his diary, SA Archives.
- 403 The *Age* editorial discusses isolation on 3 July.
- 403–4 *Register* counsels against alarm and notes the Victorian reaction on 2 July, and the *Age* discusses possible enemies 2, 3 July.
- 404 Carrington's remarks to Parkes are quoted in A.W. Martin, *Henry Parkes: a biography*, Melbourne 1980, 368.
- 404 *SMH* mocks the Victorians 14 July.
- 404–5 For information on the cable see K.S. Inglis, 'The imperial connection: telegraphic communication between England and Australia 1872–1902' in A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones (eds), *Australia and Britain: studies in a changing relationship*, Sydney 1980, *Cambridge history of the British Empire* 3, 1969; G. Blainey, *The tyranny of distance*, Melbourne 1974; P. Kennedy, 'Imperial cable communications and strategy, 1870–1914', *English historical review* 86, 1971; H. Hayter, *Vic Year book 1888–89*, 1, Melbourne 1889; T.A. Coghlan, *A statistical account of the seven colonies of Australasia*, Sydney 1890; *Illustrated Sydney News*, 23 Nov 1872, and newspapers of the mainland colonies between 2 and 19 July 1888.
- 405 For accounts of maintenance and technology of the cable see Blainey, *Tyranny*, 222–23; A. Moyal, *Clear across Australia: a history of telecommunications*, Melbourne 1984, chs 1–4; F.R. Bradley, 'History of the electric telegraph in Australia', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 20/4, 1934; G.R. Leggett, 'Early Australian cables and the O.T. line', *Vic hist magazine* 22/3, 1949. SA *Register* contains accounts of the history and maintenance of the cable 2, 3 July 1888.
- 405 The number and cost of cable messages are given in *Vic Year book, 1888–89*, 364.
- 405 A. Patchett Martin discusses the cable in *Australia and the empire*, Edinburgh 1889, 63–4, and the English MP is Henniker Heaton, quoted in *Home News*, 8 Apr 1887. Francis Adams writes of Australian literature in *The Australians*, London 1893, 83–4.
- 405 There is discussion of an 'all-red' cable in *TCJ*, 3 Nov 1888, and *Pall Mall Gazette* discussion is reproduced in *Home News*, 8 Apr 1887.
- THE BRITISH EMPIRE
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