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Our coverstar is **Celia Wills née Reibey** (1803–23). Celia was the eldest daughter of **Thomas Reibey** (1755– 1811) and prominent female emancipist and colonial businesswoman **Mary Reibey née Haydock** (1777–1855). This beautiful portrait is likely to have been painted in Britain during her visit there in 1820–21. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID a128654.

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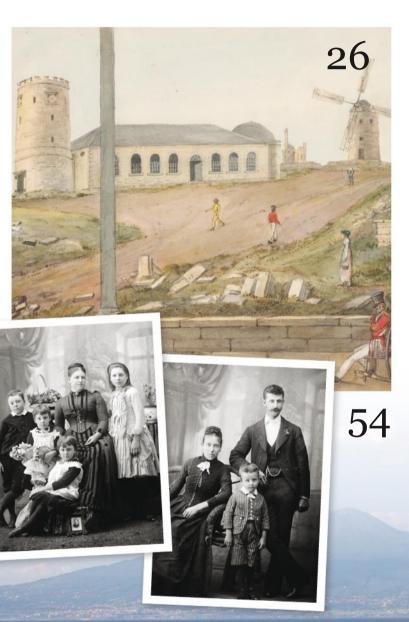
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## Autumn 2017

## On the cover

## 22

## What's new online?

Discover more than 150 free and paid new record sets to help find your family

## 32

## Pompeii and the Roman navy

Go behind the scenes with the curator of the latest exhibition at the Australian National Maritime Museum

## 44

## A fugitive from justice

Delve into the daring world of a 20th-century bushranger

## 50

## State of the artist

Explore the curious case of controversial painter, Mary Edwards

54

## The future of genealogy

The past 10 years have been witness to extraordinary changes — Shauna Hicks looks at what the future could hold

## your history 26

## A tale of two convicts

We examine the very different lives of two men charged for the same crime in 1817

## 38

## The devil's river

Meet alleged murderess Elizabeth Scott, the first and youngest woman to be hanged in Victoria

## travel

## 60

## Around Australia in 11 convict sites

Take a historic tour of our World Heritage listed convict sites

## 38

## regulars

**O** Editor's letter

10 Postie's here! Your thoughts, your say

## 11

## Bob's your uncle

Network with other researchers and break down those genealogy brick walls

## 13

## Cup of tea with...

Author Susanna De Vries discusses the challenges of writing about unsung hero Joice NanKivell Loch

## 16

## **Platform** The latest news from the genie

and history world

## 20

## Ask our experts

Photo-dating expert Margot Riley helps a reader discover more about a family postcard

## 58

## What we're reading

The latest history titles that we're loving right now

## 66

50

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As those of you who receive our e-newsletter know, unfortunately we have important news here at *Inside History*. It is with great sadness that I've decided this issue of the magazine will be the last. It's not been an easy decision.

It was a passion of mine to start a magazine that focused on Australian history, to offer a platform to people like yourselves who research and discover inspiring stories about our heritage, and share it with an audience who are just as passionate about our history.

As a sole trader for the past seven years it's been difficult to break even. And while we have built up a loyal following, I have always had to prop up the business financially; I cannot continue to do this.

To our readers, all 60,000 of you across our print, digital and social platforms, thank you for reading and supporting the magazine, for sharing your stories and engaging with each and every issue. Many of you have already contacted us to express your sadness, yet understanding, about this decision. For that I am extremely touched, and grateful.

It's been so rewarding to work on Inside History. I'm constantly amazed by the fascinating research you keep uncovering, and this issue is no different. On page 32 we feature an eyewitness account of the horrors of Pompeii in 79 AD. And on page 20, photo-dating expert Margot Riley helps a UK-based reader discover more about a postcard. Margot even identifies the backdrop used in the portrait.

And I'm truly proud to have brought your stories to life and to a wider audience. Stories such as mother Annie Bennett on page 66, alleged killer Elizabeth Scott on page 38 and passionate artist Mary Edwards on page 50. And our entertaining story about the young rebelwithout-a-cause Frank Thomas on page 44.

Our website (**insidehistory.com.au**) will continue to thrive, and we'll update it regularly with new research, stories and reviews. And if you haven't already, do follow us on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Pinterest, and sign up to our e-newsletter for regular features and tips.

l've been fortunate to make many new friends throughout my time editing *Inside History*. I hope you continue to enjoy our stories.



## Congratulations

In issue 36 we were giving away five military history book packs valued at \$99.95 each. We've published the names of the winners on our website. Check insidehistory.com.au/ category/special-offers to see if your name is there!

# This issue we ask the **IHM TEAM**

What have you most enjoyed about working at *Inside History* over the years?

## Penny Edwell, social media manager

There's a genuine passion for Australian history that drives *Inside History* magazine — both behind the scenes and from the readers. I've absolutely loved the stories, discussions and connections that have come out of the IHM community, inspired by this shared passion.



## Andrea Swan, designer



*Inside History* has been a pleasure to work on. I have thoroughly enjoyed being a part of the *Inside History* family; the passion everyone has for the magazine is very evident in the work they produce and makes it a pleasure to work with them all. Getting to read all the stories

as I design has been a bonus! The best part of the process is when the magazine arrives printed and complete. I am very proud to be part of such an interesting publication.

## Sarah Trevor, deputy editor

In a word: everything. The wonderful, switched-on team; the satisfaction of holding the finished product of the latest issue in your hands following the frantic rush of every deadline; the lovely, insightful exchanges with readers. Above all, the addictive thrill of getting to learn more about Australia's past for



a living — and sharing these stories with fellow history lovers. (On that note, as much as I'll miss the print edition, we do have some great upcoming stories planned for the *Inside History* website. Stay tuned.)

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## Share your thoughts with the Inside History team.

#### LINKED TO GENEALOGY

The links to the genealogy courses ('Back to the books', issue 37) were fantastic — including some free podcasts and webinars that I'm busy watching already! Thanks! — Leslie Grey McCawley,

via Facebook

#### **NOTES FROM A NURSE**

I've done my usual trick and flipped through the whole magazine (issue 37) and read the headings and looked at the pictures to see what jumped out at me first.

As a retired nurse my focus was immediately drawn to the history of Crown Street Women's Hospital ('Sanctuary in the city'). Although I never worked in the hospital I recognised equipment in the pictures and had similar experiences, too. Our hospital relied solely on members of staff to interpret what our Italian patients were saving. It was much easier and safer for both patients and staff to communicate when proper interpreters were brought in to help. Thanks for the article and prompting memories of my nursing days.

> — Julie Watt, via Facebook

#### **ON JUSTICE AND HEROISM**

Once again, you have produced a wealth of valuable background information and resource leads for family history researchers, presented in an engaging and informative style! Having read the review of *Denny Day* [by Terry Smyth] in issue 36 ('What we're reading'), I am moved to remind our readers about the companion work concerning the Myall Creek murders.

I refer to Mark Tedeschi's book Murder at Myall Creek. Mark has contributed to Inside History on this subject (issues 22 and 23), and his research has brought into focus the critical role of the then NSW Attorney General John Hubert Plunkett in prosecuting all but one of the murderers, and securing convictions and the execution of seven in a second trial. It was Plunkett's singlemindedness and determination to see justice done, and his preparedness to put his reputation on the line, that was a stand-out in this particular case.

Delivery of just outcomes is a complex and sometimes fortuitous choice of who is chosen to play the various roles of judge, prosecutor, and defence. Judicial processes do not always deliver the expected outcome. It takes characters of the integrity and commitment displayed by Day and Plunkett to make the system work.

> — Ross Oberin, via email

#### **SAYING GOODBYE**

I read your email with a sad heart in regards to the end of your magazine. You should all be very proud of the joy and information that you have brought people.

I stumbled across your very first magazine all those years ago, and have still got every copy published, so I definitely want the final one. I will still continue to read and get as much enjoyment from the magazines as I always have. Good luck to you all and thank you for the time, effort and love that you put into every issue. I wish you all every success in your new ventures.

> — Kylea Hughston, Valdora, QLD

Each issue the writer of our star letter receives a wonderful history prize for writing in. This issue, Kylea Hughston wins a copy of *Miss Muriel Matters* by Robert Wainwright (ABC Books, \$32.99).

Want to have your say on *Inside History*? Write to us at **contribute@insidehistory.com.au** 



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# BOB'S YOUR UNCLE

Are you looking to connect with other descendants or historians? Each issue we'll feature who and what people are researching.

#### SEEKING SYDNEYSIDERS FOR ORAL HISTORIES

The Sydney Harbour Federation Trust runs an oral history program and is seeking to interview those who have lived or worked at any of the following sites:

- Cockatoo Island;
- Snapper Island;
- The School of Artillery or North Fort at North Head;
- Woolwich Dock, Georges Heights, Chowder Bay and HMAS Platypus (namely military personnel); or
- Macquarie Lightstation in Vaucluse (any lighthouse keepers and family).

We would love to hear from you so we can capture the memories and stories, both official and unofficial, of these unique sites.

If you'd like to discuss being interviewed by one of our volunteer interviewers, please email me at **catherine**. **enright@harbourtrust.gov.au** or call 02 8969 2112.

Catherine Enright,
 Volunteer Manager, Sydney
 Harbour Federation Trust

#### **BOUND FOR BOTANY BAY**

I am trying to locate a book or journal article regarding the attitude of convicts following being told they were to be transported to Botany Bay, New South Wales. Some were happy, others maybe not so. This is for an essay as part of my Advanced Diploma in Local, Family and Applied History through the University of New England.

> — Phillip K Johnson, philnbren@bigpond.com

OV

#### **OLD WAGGA WAGGA**

I'm seeking images of old Wagga Wagga, such as pictures of the old shops and cafés. If you have any material please contact me.

— Clark Blunt, clark\_bunt@hotmail.com

#### **TRACING A SIKH ANZAC**

The Australian Sikh Heritage Association (ASHA) is looking for descendants of Private **Sarn Singh**. Private Singh is one of 19 Sikhs who were recruited into the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps during World War I, but he was the only known casualty among them.

Private Singh enlisted in Waikerie, South Australia, indicating that he was born in Jullundur, India, and was a farmer by trade. He sailed from Adelaide on 12 August 1917 aboard the *Ballarat*. Serving in the 43rd Infantry Battalion, he died in the line of duty in Belgium on 10 June 1917 during the attacks on Messines Ridge in West Flanders, Belgium.

The other Sikh Anzacs returned home to Australia following the war. You can read more of what is known about the Sikh Anzacs at **australiansikhheritage.com/sikh-anzacs** 

On 16 June 2017, the governor of South Australia will host a reception in Adelaide in honour of Private Singh's sacrifice. The ASHA is hoping to make contact with any of Sarn Singh's living descendants in India or Australia in the hope that they may be able to attend the landmark commemoration in Adelaide. If you have any information or leads, please contact the ASHA at **australiansikhheritage.com/contact-us** 

Lots of researchers have been linking up and knocking down their research brick walls via 'Bob's your uncle'. To place an ad, email: contribute@insidehistory.com.au. Adverts are free!



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## **CUP OF TEA** with Susanna De Vries, author

Writer and humanitarian Joice NanKivell Loch is arguably Australia's greatest unsung hero. Here, her biographer **Susanna De Vries** tells **Sarah Trevor** about Joice's extraordinary life and the updated edition of her book *Blue Ribbons Bitter Bread*.

#### How did you first come to learn about Joice NanKivell Loch?

When giving a talk about pioneer women in Melbourne to a women's club I asked for more stories of pioneer women and **Joice Welsh**, daughter of **Joice Loch**'s best friend, gave me the story. She invited me to her home and showed me rugs that the women of Ouranoupolis, Greece, had woven to Joice's designs as well as various books written by Joice Loch and photos of her in the tower (which appear in *Blue Ribbons Bitter Bread*). I was fascinated by the story.

Joice Welsh said if I wished to visit the village she would arrange for me to stay with Joice's housekeeper **Fani Mitropolour**. My husband and I went to the Greek village and spent a summer there talking to people in the village about Joice and seeing her grave.

### Despite her incredible humanitarianism and heroism, few people are aware of her story. Why do you think this is?

She died in a remote village in the era before the internet and Australians did not hear about her.

## What do you most admire about her?

Her courage, resourcefulness and the fact she never gave up no matter how difficult the task in hand.

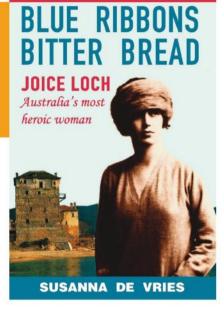
#### Could you tell us a bit about the amazing rescue Joice helped pull off in World War II?

In World War II the Germans and Russians invaded Poland and, to escape them, over 2,000 Polish people — including members of the Polish government in exile — had fled to Bucharest in Romania.

Joice and her husband, who spoke Polish (as they had worked in a Polish refugee camp after World War II), were sent by the Quakers to run a refugee centre in Bucharest.

Hitler put pressure on the Romanian government to imprison the Poles. Joice and her husband, **Sidney Loch**, aided by the British government, led two separate escaping groups out of Bucharest to Constanza on the Black Sea and by boat across to Istanbul.

Sidney took the men and Joice took the women and children, including some Jewish



**UPDATED 'SMYRNA 1922' EDITION** 

children whose father, a Jewish banker, paid the expenses of the group. Joice had to hire two large fishing boats in Turkey to take them to Cyprus, then a British possession, where the British army took over their expenses and sent the Polish men to England where many of them enlisted.

Joice took the women and children to Haifa in Palestine where she ran what was known as the 'camp of 1000 orphans' for the rest of World War II. She received a medal from the Polish government for her work with the children.

#### What's new in this updated edition of *Blue Ribbons Bitter Bread*?

The prologue tells the unpublished story of the 1922 British naval rescue of 2,000 Greek refugees from the burning of Smyrna, a Greek city on the Turkish mainland. The Turkish army set fire to it and some 4,000 Greeks and Armenians died in the fire.

My father was a young naval officer and he and other officers volunteered to row over to the burning city and save women and children who were huddled on the quayside.



I found his photographs in an album and have added them to the story as they are unique and very valuable. This is evidence that the two naval battleships, *King George V* and *The Iron Duke*, saved 2,000 refugees, and why they were sent on a ship chartered by the British consul to Thessaloniki. And once the refugees arrived they were looked after by the Quakers in the refugee camp where Joice Loch worked.

Were there any sources or resources that have come to light since the last edition of the book? The photograph album of Lieutenant James Guthrie Adamson RN, my father, who was later promoted to Commander, and the story he recounted to me during my childhood of the rescue in rowing boats of the refugees.

#### What were some of the challenges involved in researching the book? The fact the Turkish government

The updated edition of Blue Ribbons Bitter Bread by Susanna De Vries (Pirgos Press, \$34.95) is out now denied that the massacre happened and continues to do so although former American president Barack Obama has officially recognised it. Naval records in London also confirm that the rescue was approved by Whitehall, who chartered the ship to take 2,000 Greek refugees to Thessaloniki, and more were saved by American ships.

#### Which resources did you find most helpful in the course of your research?

Those of my father and the memories of Joice's housekeeper and her Swiss assistant, **Martha Handschin**.

#### Were there any instances during the course of your research that stopped you in your tracks, or touched you personally?

I was totally immersed in the story as Joice Loch was a writer like me and her story touched my heart.

I kept in touch with her housekeeper for a decade and when Fani's daughter died, because Fani had loved the book, she sent a portrait of Joice Loch to me. I donated it to the National Library in Canberra as Joice Loch is Australia's most decorated woman so it belongs in Australia.

## What would be your top tips for writing a biography?

Write from the heart and use photographs to document the story. %





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# THE LATEST NEWS

## FROM THE HISTORY AND GENIE WORLD



### French expeditions Down Under

Did you know that **Napoleon Bonaparte** himself funded an expedition of French explorers, scientists and artists that travelled around Australia from 1800 to 1804?

On show at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery in Hobart until 9 July 2017, *The Art* of Science: Baudin's Voyagers 1800–1804 showcases original paintings and drawings by early 19th-century artists **Charles-Alexandre Lesueur** and **Nicolas-Martin Petit**, created aboard the Géographe and Naturaliste. Many form early impressions of Australian fauna and flora.

MORE tmag.tas.gov.au



Above Nicolas Baudin. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons. Above top Chart of the north, west, and south coasts of Australia. Courtesy National Library of Australia, ID 232620852.

## Indigenous Australians at war

Learn more about the contributions that Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders have made over more than a century of military service in Australia at the award-winning exhibition Indigenous Australians at War from the Boer War to the Present. It's on display at the National Archives in Canberra until 30 May. MORE naa.gov.au

## Anniversary of the *Kuttabul* sinking

This year marks the 75th anniversary of the sinking of the *Kuttabul*. On 31 May 1942, the ship was torpedoed and sunk by a Japanese midget submarine that had entered Sydney Harbour. Twenty-one sailors were killed and 10 were wounded in the attack.

To commemorate this anniversary, a not-for-profit Sydney Harbour Commemorative Lunchtime Cruise and official wreath laying ceremony will be held on 31 May.

Email customerservice@ medalsgonemissing.com

#### Family history events galore

Family historians are a busy bunch, and this year is no exception! Just a few genie-focused events to add to your calendar include:

- 13 May 2017: Botany Bay Family History Society Heritage Fair in Gymea, NSW.
- 19–21 May 2017: Footsteps in Time Family and Local History Conference and Fair on the Gold Coast, Queensland.
- 22–24 September 2017: The NSW & ACT Association of Family History Societies Annual Conference hosted by the Orange Family History Group and Orange City Council.
- 13–15 October 2017: Family History Expo, held by the Deniliguin Genealogy Society.
- 20–22 October 2017: Weekend of Family History in Colac, Victoria, combined with the Victorian Association of Family History Organisations' bi-annual Family History Expo.



Above Out and about in Orange, c.1920. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID 06771h.



Above A meeting at the Colac Shire Hall in Victoria, c.1906. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID H97.186/42.



**Beechworth Gaol database** Search the online database of prisoners who have served time in Beechworth Gaol, Victoria, between 1860 and 1940. This comprehensive and searchable resource includes a range of records, primarily from the Public Records Office of Victoria. Recent updates include Gaol Acts. *MORE hmgaolbeechworth.com* 

**Above** The iron gates of Beechworth Gaol. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID H20167.

### Unsettled in South Australia

Unsettled: Colonial Ruin in the Flinders Ranges, open at the State Library of South Australia until 14 May, is an innovative exhibition that aims to rethink colonial ruin in the remote Flinders Ranges region of South Australia.

Featuring the stories of the local Adnyamathanha people, and inhabitants of the Beltana 'ghost town', the exhibition uses media art, archival images, photography and documentary interviews to delve beyond typical settler-colonial reprsentations. It also features images from the State Library's collection of photographs from the Nepabunna Mission taken by anthropologist and photographer Charles Mountford in the 1930s. MORE slsa.sa.gov.au

#### Trove is hitting the road

Librarians, curators, archivists, collection managers and others involved in data and digitisation are invited to come along to the special Trove roadshow touring Australia this May and June.

During a one-hour presentation and Q&A session, the Trove team will help explain how to make your organisation's content accessible in Trove, and share tips on useful resources and the digitisation process.

Check dates and locations, and register to attend, on the link below. MORE help.nla.gov.au/trove/ roadshow **Right** Dorothea Mackellar, 1918, photographed by Glen Broughton. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID a928963.

#### New Aussie additions to the Memory of the World

A diverse range of significant papers, recordings, artworks, writings and other records have been added to UNESCO's Australian Memory of the World register.

New additions include: foundational records of Westpac (the Bank of New South Wales) from 1816–52: the only manuscript of Dorothea Mackellar's poem "My Country", first published in 1908; the James Tyson Papers, records relating to the pastoral empire of Australia's first millionaire; and eight wax cylinders containing the only spoken records of any original Tasmanian Aboriginal language as spoken by the last fluent speaker, Fanny Cochrane Smith, around the turn of the century.

Also recently added are the Warlpiri Drawings: crayon drawings by the Warlpiri people at Lajamanu, Northern Territory, which were collected by anthropologist Mervyn Meggitt in 1953–54 during his fieldwork with the Warlpiri.

A collection of papers of enemy aliens interned in Australia during World War I, held by the State Library of NSW, has also been added to the register. These are credited with recording daily life and culture within the internment camps.

MORE amw.org.au/amwregister

#### **Pictures of our convict past**

Two genealogists from Perth have recently unearthed dozens of photographs of convicts among the State Records Office of Western Australia's collections, marking what may be the largest collection of convict photos in Australia.

Similar to mugshots, the 74 photographs were discovered among Fremantle Prison records, after Lorraine Clarke and Cherie Strickland of Swan Genealogy cross-referenced convict names with a range of prison and police records.

The Friends of Battye Library Inc have published the photographs, along with additional information, in the recently released volume *Australia's Last Convicts: Reprobates, Rogues and Recidivists. MORE friendsofbattyelibrary.org.au* 



Our resident experts are here to answer your queries. This issue, **Margot Riley** looks at a reader's mysterious postcard portrait.



I have a real-photo postcard portrait identified by an embossed stamping as

being taken at Poulsen Studios, Brisbane. The card is on Kodak Austral card stock and the split reverse side design and detail of the stamp box only offer some clue as to its probable date range. The earliest evidence I can find of Poulsen Studios in Brisbane specifically advertising real Photo Post Card portraiture was in *The Telegraph* on 12 January 1918.

Within the stamp box on my postcard, there is a pencilled number: 1723. Might this be a serial number of the negative from which the card was printed? Are there any existing records of the Poulsen Studio negatives?

The photograph of the lady in question was discovered among a small collection of mainly family photographs in the possessions of my uncle **William Nevin Anderson** (my father's brother), who died 35 or 40 years ago. The collection contains pictures of several generations of both his parental families. The families are Webb and Anderson, and both are found in or near Dudley, UK, from around 1840. In the Anderson family, we find Mary three times; the most likely 'Mary' was born in 1846, the daughter of **Thomas Anderson** and his second wife **Elizabeth Williams**.

My sisters remember being told of Webbs or Andersons who emigrated to Australia — but with no dates or firm evidence. Mary is recorded in her parents' home in the census of 1851 and 1861, but in 1871 a 'Mary Anderson (b.1846)' appears as an Assistant Female Nurse in an institution in Dudley. After that, I find no more trace of her. Did Mary emigrate to Australia? If so, when? Did she have the postcard photograph taken at Poulsen Studios, and send it to my grandfather?

We don't know enough of Mary to recognise her from the many 'Mary Anderson' emigrants to Australia — nor do we find any evidence that she married, either in England or Australia.

- Don Anderson, Winchester, UK



Above left The postcard of 'Mary'. Above right A portrait of the Ruthenberg family, 1917, with the same background. Courtesy State Library Queensland.

Join us on Facebook for more expert tips. Visit facebook.com/insidehistorymagazine



The term 'real-photo postcard' portraiture (1907–40) is used to distinguish between the lithographic (or offset) printing processes applied in the manufacture of standard postcard images and the process of printing real photographs onto postcards. Real-photo postcards (sometimes called RPPCs) were made by developing a negative onto sensitised photo paper with a pre-printed 'postcard back' on the other side.

Postcard-format Kodak cameras for personal use were also available in the early 20th century and, between 1906 and 1910, Kodak began offering a fee-based service for processing and printing. This encouraged the general public to take their own photographs for printing onto postcard backs, which were issued in the same dimensions as standard vintage postcards, adding to their convenience. The practice of making and mailing personalised photographic postcards became a popular pastime.

In Australia, Kodak's sensitised Austral postcards were made at the Austral Works, a photographic manufacturing business at Abbotsford in Melbourne founded in 1884. Professional photographers with access to a darkroom could also purchase postcard paper from Kodak and make their own postcards. Many RPPCs made by smaller professional photographic studios have no text to identify their images. Alternatives to printed text included exposing text directly onto the photograph's negative

or using a company's handstamp or embossed mark — of the type shown on this example by Poulsen Studios in Brisbane.

Poul Cristensen Poulsen (1857–1925) travelled from Denmark to Sydney in 1876, founding Poulsen Studios in Queen Street, Brisbane, in 1885. Advertising frequently in the local press, Poulsen claimed to offer *'high class work at moderate charges'*. After his retirement in 1915, his sons — and a grandson — continued the business until the 1950s.

Kodak Austral RPPC backs can be distinguished by subtle changes over time to the detail and font of the border of the postage stamp box. Austral postcards with the style of stamp box shown in this example uniformly sized, upper-case typeface and a cross in each corner — have been recorded in use from 1916 to 1948. Given this longevity, the best date indicator is likely the clothing of the sitters.

During World War I, lavish garments fell out of favour as clothing generally became more serviceable. Women wore less jewellery and dressed more practically as they were encouraged to enter the workforce, labouring in factories, agriculture, transport and hospitals. The unnatural S-shaped silhouette fashionable during the early Edwardian period had begun to evolve into a straighter, more natural line as women's lingerie moved away from moulding the body to giving it greater support, flexibility and comfort. In the second half of the 1910s, V-necklines with turn back collars were adopted, as the frills, flounces and high collars of the previous decade disappeared, and waistlines loosened.

In this front facing <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>-length standing RPPC portrait, 'Mary' wears a simple, practical ensemble suited to Brisbane's

tropical weather conditions. Refreshingly cool and dainty in appearance, her one-piece 'slip-on' dress or 'blouse suit' is made of a fine, light-coloured fabric. It comprises a 'shirt waist' blouse with long sleeves, deep buttoned cuffs and a flat (sailor) collar above a moderately high V-neckline fastened by a bar brooch set with a square cut stone – her only visible jewellery - and a line of small mother of pearl shell buttons, opening down the centre front. She wears her dark hair in a moderately full version of the standard Edwardian hairstyle known as the 'Pompadour' – named for Madame de Pompadour (1721-64), mistress of King Louis XV.

'Mary' has been posed against a studio backdrop paper with a very distinctive mirror design suggestive of an elegant drawing room interior. This same backdrop can be seen in another Poulsen Studio RPPC which is held in the collection of the State Library of Queensland (opposite). It shows the Ruthenberg family and is dated 1917. Two of the three women photographed are dressed in a very similar manner to 'Mary'. It would be good to ascertain if SLQ's Ruthenberg Poulsen RPPC bears the same stamp-box design as Mary's Kodak Astral Card.

The most intriguing feature of this image is, however, the booklet or pamphlet 'Mary' holds out in front of her.

Folded open, in both hands, to display a photograph of a woman or a child, the unusual prominence given to this booklet in the image could suggest that 'Mary' may have had a professional involvement in some aspect of mother/child welfare or healthcare. So

> Margot Riley is based at the State Library of NSW. She is a cultural historian specialising in photography and dress.

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- The New Zealand Gazette, 1860–94
- Scotland and Northern Ireland, Death Index, 1989–2015 (updates)
- Scotland, Rolls of Male Heads of Families, 1834–42
- Somerset, England, Church of England Baptisms, Burials and Confirmations, 1813–1914
- Somerset, England, Church

of England Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1531–1812

- Somerset, England, Gaol Registers, 1807–79
- Somerset, England, Marriage Registers, Bonds and Allegations, 1754–1914
- South Australia, Passenger Lists, 1853
- Swansea and Surrounding Area, Wales, Electoral Registers, 1839–1966
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- Victoria, Australia, Wills and Probate Records, 1841–2009

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- The Bystander (London), 1903–40
- *Dublin Evening Mail*, 1876– 81; 1883–96
- Freeman's Journal (Dublin), 1901–10
- *Jarrow Express* (Durham, UK), 1873–1913
- Liverpool Echo, 1939–45
- Longford Journal (Ireland), 1839–1914
- Montgomeryshire Express, 1875–76; 1878; 1880; 1883–86; 1891; 1895; 1906–07
- *Sligo Journal*, 1828–61
- *The Tatler*, 1901–66
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 Highgate Cemetery records, 1839–2010

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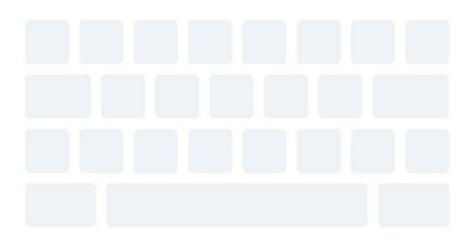
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- Birth, death and marriage records from the *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1806–07
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## Visit fibis.org

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- British Newspaper Archives,
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- England Births and Christenings, 1538–1975
- England, Cambridgeshire Bishop's Transcripts, 1599–1860
- England, Derbyshire, Church

of England Parish Registers, 1537–1918

- New South Wales, Deceased Estate Files, 1880–1923
- New Zealand, Archives New Zealand, Probate Records, 1843–1998
- Queensland, Immigration Indexes, 1864–1940
- Transcripts of Irish memorials of deeds, conveyances and wills, 1708–1929
- United Kingdom, Royal Hospital Chelsea: Discharge Documents of Pensioners, 1760–1887
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 First Legislative Council records (papers, Bills, minutes of proceedings, reports of debates, correspondence), 1824–55

### Visit parliament.nsw.gov.au

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- The Traveller, 1890–1905

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## TROVE

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- Macleay Argus, (Kempsey) NSW, 1885–1907; 1909–10; 1912–13; 1915–16; 1918–54
- *Smith's Weekly*, NSW, 1919–50
- The Young Chronicle, NSW, 1902–10; 1913–15; 1924– 34; 1936–40
- *The Banner*, (Strahan) TAS, 1901
- Bent's Monthly Advertiser, TAS, 1828
- Bent's News and Tasmanian Register, TAS, 1837–38
- Colonial Advocate, and Tasmanian Monthly Review and Register, TAS, 1828
- Cornwall Advertiser,
  (Launceston) TAS, 1870–77
- The Federalist, TAS, 1898–99
- Fun or The Tasmanian Charivari, TAS, 1867
- Hobart Town Punch, TAS,

1867-68; 1878

- The Independent, (Launceston) TAS, 1831–35
- The Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate, TAS, 1850–51
- *The News*, (Hobart) TAS, 1924–25
- The Tasmanian and Austral-Asiatic Review, TAS, 1844–45
- The Tasmanian Democrat, TAS, 1891–98
- *Tasmanian Evening Herald*, TAS, 1878
- Tasmanian Punch, TAS, 1866; 1869–70; 1877–78
- Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch, TAS, 1839–41
- Weekly Examiner, TAS, 1872–78
- The St. James and Devenish Herald, (Dookie) VIC, 1905
- The Goldfields Morning Chronicle, (Coolgardie) WA, 1896–98
- The Magnet Mirror and Murchison Reflector, WA, 1928–35
- The Manganese Record, Peak Hill, Nullagine and Marble Bar Gazette, (Meekatharra) WA, 1928–41
- *The Menzies Miner*, WA, 1896–1901
- The Mt. Leonora Miner, WA, 1899–1910
- The Murchison Times and Day Dawn Gazette, WA, 1894–1925
- The Yalgoo Observer and Murchison Chronicle, WA, 1923–41

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## Handy Hint

Check out the David Rumsey Map Collection database. It contains more than 75,000 historic maps and images dating from the 16th through to the 21st centuries — including some from Australia (on the home page, click 'Pacific' then the filter 'Australia'). Search at **davidrumsey.com** 



Two conspirators in an 1817 theft were transported to the colonies where they went on to lead very different lives. Here, in a striking study in contrasts, **Judith Carter** and **Don Bradmore** retell these two men's stories.

**PETER HANSLOW** and **Joseph Wilkes** were convicted together at the Warwick Assizes, England, on 2 August 1817 for their part in the theft of a large quantity of wick yarn, and sentenced to seven years' transportation. After their trial, they were sent to the hulk *Laurel*, moored at Portsmouth, to await transport to New South Wales. A year later, Hanslow was put aboard *Globe*, which departed

England on 26 August 1818, and reached Port Jackson on 8 January 1819. Wilkes spent two years on *Laurel*, eventually leaving England on *Dromedary* bound for Hobart Town in Van Diemen's Land on 11 September 1819. He was disembarked there in January 1820.

On the surface, the men appear to have had much in common. They were both from Birmingham and of similar age — Hanslow 19, Wilkes about 23.

#### Above A

government jail gang, Sydney, by Augustus Earle, 1830. Courtesy National Library of Australia, ID 172457. They had good trades — Hanslow a blacksmith and gunsmith, Wilkes a silversmith. However, their lives in the Australian colonies could not provide a starker study in contrasts.

Hanslow was a model prisoner. He served his time without re-offending, married well, established a stable family life, acquired property and died a wealthy and respected citizen of Sydney at the age of nearly 70.

Wilkes, on the other hand, reoffended many times and was banished to the notorious Norfolk Island settlement for a number of years. After his return to Sydney, he continued to re-offend. He was involved in three separate murders and spent the last 11 years of his life in Parramatta Gaol. When released in his late 70s he was a sick man and died soon afterwards.

At Sydney, Peter Hanslow served his sentence in the government shipyards where it is assumed his skills and previous training were useful. He was never assigned to a private employer. In 1824, seven years to the day from the date of his trial, he received his certificate of freedom and shortly afterwards was given a grant of land in Clarence Street in the heart of the Sydney business district.

There, he set himself up in business as a blacksmith and gunsmith. By 1832, he was able to buy 10 acres of land near the jetty at Ryde where, with business associates, he erected a shot tower. Within a year or two, he had purchased houses in Crown Street and Cross Street and, as an elector, was taking an active interest in local politics. In 1838, according to the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, he was granted the licence of The Horse and Jockey Inn in Upper George Street near the toll gates.

Although the inn was in a most advantageous position, being one of the first inns reached by travellers coming in from the hinterland, Hanslow kept the licence only until 1841. By 1844, he had demolished it and replaced it with a two-storey inn, The Dog and Duck. It was considered the pre-eminent inn of its time.

In 1825, Hanslow married **Mary Porter**, the daughter of a Second

Fleeter, **Richard Porter**, who had prospered on his land grant at Ryde. The marriage produced seven children but when Mary died in 1839, Hanslow remarried soon afterwards. His second wife, **Louisa Berringer**, with whom he had four more children, was the granddaughter of a First Fleeter, **James Bradley**.

When Hanslow died at 67 on 28 February 1866, he still owned the property in Clarence Street, the 10 acres in Ryde, three houses in Surrey Hills and a terrace of houses in Chippendale. The cause of his death was 'disease of the heart'. He was buried in St Peter's Church Cemetery, St Peters, Sydney.

The prosperity and success that seemed to come so readily to Peter Hanslow in his new country completely eluded his erstwhile partner-in-crime, Joseph Wilkes, whose fortunes in the Australian colonies could scarcely have been more different. His story is a tragic and shocking one.

On 16 June 1821, less than 18 months after his arrival as a convict in Van Diemen's Land, Wilkes was charged with forging and uttering two promissory notes, to the total value of £23, with intent to defraud Mr **Henry Cresswell**, a servant of Mr Raynor, a local landowner. Found guilty, he was sent to the penal settlement at Newcastle, New South Wales, to serve the remainder of his original sentence and left Hobart aboard the *Mermaid* three weeks later. For the next few years, he managed to avoid trouble and, in October 1824, he was granted a certificate of freedom.

But, in late 1831, Wilkes was involved in a particularly gruesome murder. In **>**  Below Portsmouth Harbour with Prison Hulks by Ambroise Louis Garneray, 1824. Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.



Below Convictos En La Nueva Olanda [Convicts in New Holland], by Juan Ravenet, in 1789– 94, a watercolour painting depicting a female and male convict. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID 756004h.



November of that year, he had been in a boat on the Parramatta River with a man named **Samuel Chapman**, also known as **Samuel Priest**, a butcher, for whom he was working as a ticketof-leave servant at the time. When the boat returned to shore, Wilkes told police that Chapman had fallen overboard accidentally and was thought to have drowned.

It was another 15 days before Chapman's body, from which the head had been removed forcefully, was found floating in the river. At a subsequent inquest, doubt was thrown on Wilkes's claim that Chapman had fallen overboard and drowned, the mutilation of the body making that seem highly unlikely. Although a number of witnesses gave evidence that appeared to implicate the deceased's brother, William, the deceased's wife, Julia Chapman, and an acquaintance named Henry Mills in the murder, there was insufficient evidence to charge them. Wilkes was charged with being an accessory to the death and committed to stand trial for murder.

When the case came to court in April 1832, however, the Solicitor General, **Mr McDowall**, expressed the view that there was insufficient evidence to warrant him continuing with the case against Wilkes. The judge agreed, and Wilkes was acquitted and discharged.

But that was by no means the end of the affair. Shortly after his acquittal, Wilkes married. His wife was 19-yearold **Elizabeth Jane Price**, who had arrived in the colony as a free settler from England aboard the *Palambam* in October 1832. The marriage, however, did not last long and produced no children.

Very soon after he and Elizabeth Price were wed, Wilkes was imprisoned again. In October 1833, as reported in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, he was charged with 'falsely forging and counterfeiting a certain order for the payment of £7, at Concord, with intent to defraud **Richard Loseby**', a publican of Bong Bong, New South Wales. Wilkes was sent to gaol to await trial.

Later, he was to claim that, while awaiting the trial he had been offered



immunity from prosecution in return for giving evidence against William Chapman, Julia Chapman and Henry Mills, who were finally being brought to court to face the charge of murdering Samuel Chapman, and this he had agreed to do.

As the main witness for the prosecution, Wilkes testified that the relationship between the Chapman brothers was not good and that he had often heard them quarrelling. He said that, on 10 November 1831, he had gone by boat along the Parramatta River with Samuel Chapman who wished to collect a debt from a customer. On their return journey, Chapman, who was intoxicated, was asleep in the bottom of the boat. As they approached the wharf, they were met by William and Mills who, after ineffectually trying to rouse Samuel Chapman, proposed that they should all go a little further along the river to take a drink themselves.

After drinking on the shore for some time, William Chapman and Mills went back to the boat and found that Samuel Chapman had managed to get to his feet but was lying awkwardly over the gunwale. Mills then took an iron wrench and struck him across the back, stunning him. William Chapman also struck him before assisting Mills to push him overboard where they held him underwater by the legs for five minutes. The body was then lifted into the boat and Mills, with William Chapman's assistance, cut the fleshy part of the neck with a knife before twisting off the head. After removing the dead man's clothes and taking money from the pockets, heavy weights were attached to the body, which was then ferried further out into the stream and thrown overboard. The head was

Above A panorama by Edward Charles Close labelled 'Sydney in all its glory', c.1817. Couretsy State Library of NSW, ID a2821064h. wrapped in a yellow handkerchief and tied to the stern of the boat, presumably to be disposed of elsewhere.

Maintaining his innocence. Wilkes stated that there had been no understanding between William Chapman, Mills and himself about what was to happen to Samuel Chapman in the boat and that he had had no opportunity of rowing away from the others once the attack on the deceased had commenced. While the charge against Julia was soon dismissed, William Chapman and Henry Mills were found guilty and sentenced to death. They were hanged in Sydney on 18 August 1834, just a few days after the trial. On the scaffold, both men denied their liability but Chapman did confess to having lived in adultery with Julia Chapman, the wife of the deceased, before his death.

In court the following month, Wilkes objected to the forgery charge being heard. He reiterated his understanding that the charge would be dropped in return for his giving evidence against William Chapman, Julia Chapman and Henry Mills. However, the prosecutor denied that any such suggestion had been made to Wilkes and the judge ruled that the forgery trial could proceed in due course.



Wilkes was remanded to prison to await the trial. When the case came to trial in November 1834, Wilkes was found guilty and ordered to be transported to Norfolk Island. He left Sydney aboard the convict vessel *Isabella* on 3 April 1835. Understandably, nothing more was heard of him for some years.

Back in New South Wales in the first half of 1845, Wilkes married again. His second wife was **Nora** (or Honora/ Norah) **Cary**. Little is known of her but it is believed that she was about 19 years of age when she had arrived from Tipperary, Ireland, some time before the marriage. By early 1855, she had given birth to six children by Wilkes between 1846 and 1854–55: **David**, **William**, **Margaret**, **Jeremy** and two unknown daughters. However, the marriage was to end tragically.

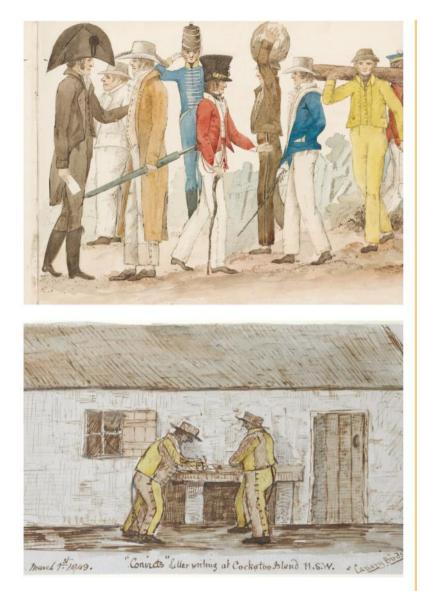
In April 1855, Nora and her two eldest sons, David and William, were found dead outside the bush hut in which they were living at Deep Creek, in the Richmond River district of New South Wales where Wilkes was employed as a shepherd at that time. Nora's body had been horribly mutilated. Both boys, around nine and eight years old respectively, had been struck multiple times across the head with an axe.

Wilkes, who was the first to discover the bodies, told police that he had seen a man named **James William Lynch** proceeding towards the hut earlier that day. Lynch was remanded in custody on suspicion of the murder but the police advised that an investigation would be ongoing.

During the next two years, both Lynch and Wilkes were charged, separately, with the murder. However, at their trials, both were acquitted by proclamation, there being deemed insufficient evidence to sustain either charge. In early 1857, however, Wilkes was again committed to stand trial for the murder.

In response, he presented a petition to the New South Wales Legislative Assembly in which he sought redress in the matter. He claimed that he had been treated with cruelty and neglect by the police magistrate, Mr Mackellar, and the constable who had investigated the

Below St Philip's Church, Sydney, by Edward Charles Close, c.1817. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID a2821041h.



Top A sketch by Edward Charles Close, c.1817. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID a2821039h. Above Convicts on Cockatoo Island depicted writing letters, by Philip Doyne Vigors in 1849. Courtesy State Library of NSW, ID a928881h. crime and that both had refused to hear evidence against Lynch.

A Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly was then appointed to sift through the evidence. During its deliberations, the Committee was told of Wilkes's transportation as a convict from England, the forgery charges brought against him, the colonial sentence he had served at Norfolk Island and his involvement in the decapitation murder of Samuel Chapman.

The Committee was also told of two other particularly serious incidents in which it was suspected that Wilkes had been involved but for which he had never faced charges. The first suspicion was that he had murdered a man when living in the New England or Maitland District many years ago. The man was a hut-keeper with whom Wilkes was living, and who was supposed to have had money. When that man suddenly disappeared, the universal belief was that Wilkes had murdered him and afterwards burned the hut over him.

The second suspicion was that he had poisoned two of his children and buried them quietly. A local magistrate, suspecting something was amiss, ordered that the bodies be exhumed. A post-mortem examination showed they had died after ingesting 'blue-stone' (copper sulphate) mixed with sulphur. When questioned about this, Wilkes said that his wife and children had been ill and that he had given them all a dose of the mixture, the ingredients for which he had purchased from a chemist some time earlier. He himself had not been ill and so had not taken any of the mixture. Shortly afterwards, two of the children had died. Wilkes admitted burying them but strenuously denied that he had deliberately murdered them.

Despite the fact that these incidents were no more than 'suspicions', the Select Committee came to the conclusion that Wilkes was a very bad man and recommended that the attention of the Attorney-General be again drawn to the axe murder of Nora Wilkes and her sons. As a consequence, Wilkes was brought to trial again. In April 1858, he was found guilty of the murder of his second son, William. Wilkes was sentenced to death and returned to prison to await execution.

On the morning of 15 June 1858, the day set for the execution, Wilkes was being led to the gallows by the hangman when he was informed by the Prison Governor that he had been granted a last-minute reprieve. He was returned to his cell where he heard that he would spend the rest of his life in Parramatta Gaol with hard labour.

Prison records in New South Wales show that he remained there until 1869. By that time, he was white-haired, feeble, sick and unfit for labour of any kind, and it was agreed that he could be released into the care of someone who might provide him with a home and subsistence. He was taken to Liverpool — possibly to the asylum there — where he died, aged 79, in 1871. Few, if any, would have mourned his passing. So



# AND THE ROMAN NAVY

A spectacular new exhibition at the Australian National Maritime Museum casts light on one of the ancient world's most famous natural disasters – the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD, which destroyed the towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Curator **Will Mather** outlines the dramatic events and profiles Pliny the Elder, the Roman naval commander who recorded them.

Above Body cast of one of the victims from Pompeii. This is a copy of a cast made in 1875. It shows the victim with her clothes forced up around her waist from the power of the pyroclastic surge. Courtesy Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale Pompei.

**OLLECTING MATERIAL** for a history of the Roman Empire, the historian Tacitus sent a letter to Pliny the Younger asking for an account of the death of his famous uncle, the polymath Pliny the Elder, who had died some 25 years earlier in 79 AD. Pliny's gripping reply is the only eyewitness account of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which devastated Campania, burying the towns of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae. It is also the only account of Pliny the Elder's attempted rescue of civilians from the disaster using the ships of the Roman navy – an effort that cost him his life.

An unlikely hero, Pliny was 55, overweight, asthmatic and a bookworm with a long list of published works to his name. His most famous work, his *Natural History*, still survives today. Published just before the eruption, it covers a huge range of natural history topics – astronomy, geography, zoology, botany, agriculture, medicinal drugs obtained from nature, mining and minerals – in 37 books. As he writes in his preface, the *Natural History* contains more than 20,000 facts mined from 100 authors, which he hoped would be a useful reference work for the masses, farmers and artisans. It is one of the few works to survive from antiquity, as it did indeed prove useful.

Pliny was born in Como in northern Italy at the foot of the Alps, a region that had only fairly recently been given Roman citizenship. In his discussion on wool Pliny recounts that his father remembered wearing rough woollen topcoats, while he recalled coats shaggy inside and out, as well as shaggy woollen waist bands clearly they were not toga wearers. His family belonged to the equestrian class, just beneath the senatorial class in wealth and status. Pliny did his military service in the cavalry on the German frontier. There he served with Titus, who would follow his father Vespasian to become emperor after the overthrow of the emperor Nero. Pliny did not seek any office under the flamboyant but murderous Nero. Only with the accession of Vespasian in 69 AD did Pliny take up public office, serving the new emperor as procurator in Roman provinces in France, Spain and North Africa. A procurator was a kind of chief financial officer of the province, there to assist the governor in financial matters but also to keep an eye on him for the emperor. When in Rome, Pliny served on Vespasian's private advisory council, confirming he was in the inner circle of the new regime.

Around 76 AD he was appointed commander of the Roman naval base at Misenum on the Bay of Naples. This was the highest-paid and highest-ranking position outside Rome. The fleet had about 50 warships and 10,000 men, and was the largest military force in Italy, the legions being far away on the empire's borders. Pliny was responsible for the whole of the western Mediterranean and, most importantly, Rome. In the absence of any enemies the fleet's role was to suppress piracy and provide speedy communications throughout the empire.

Misenum was some 250 kilometres from Rome - not particularly close, but the Bay of Naples provided the best harbours along the entire west coast of Italy. Rome's port at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, was too exposed to storms and flooding to be used as a naval base, nor was it a good commercial port; 200 grain ships were destroyed in one storm there in 62 AD. With its two flooded volcanic craters Misenum proved ideal, providing an inner and outer harbour protected from winds and with beaches for careening ships. It could protect Rome's main commercial port further along the Bay at Puteoli (Pozzuoli). The famous grain fleet from Egypt that fed Rome docked there, as the ships were too large for Ostia.

Puteoli was also the hub for luxury goods coming from the east, highly convenient for the Roman elite who chose the Bay of Naples as their favoured holiday destination, attracted by its beauty and climate. The volcanic action that made the great harbours also made the volcanic springs. The spa resort of Baiae, next door to Misenum, was particularly popular. Nowhere had more plentiful or more ►

Below Marble relief of a Roman warship, end of 1st century BC, Parco Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei. Courtesy Claudio Garofalo.



healing water, according to Pliny. Food was another attraction – the fish and shellfish were unequalled, and the volcanic soils made the area the most fertile in Italy.

Next comes the well-known fertile region of Campania. In its hollows begin the vine bearing hills and the celebrated effects of the juice of the vine, famous the world over, and, as writers have said, the venue of the greatest competition between Bacchus and Ceres ... These shores are watered by hot springs and in no seas can the repute of their famous fish and shellfish be equalled. Nowhere is the olive-oil superior, another object of mankind's pleasure. – Pliny the Elder, Natural History III 60

Across the bay, beneath Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii and Herculaneum tapped into this network. Herculaneum, favoured for its sea breezes, was more of a resort, while Pompeii with its river port – which also served three towns further inland – was more commercial. Both were wealthy and connected to the capital and to the wider Mediterranean world due to their position on the bay and, thanks to Vesuvius, the fertility of their lands.

Pliny had no wife or children of his own, and at Misenum his widowed sister and her teenage son, Pliny the Younger, lived with him. Around 1 pm on 24 August 79 AD, his sister drew his attention to a cloud of unusual shape and size, resembling an umbrella pine, rising from a mountain in the distance (later ascertained to be Vesuvius). Pliny's interest piqued by what he thought was a relatively benign natural phenomenon, he ordered a Liburnian galley – one of the small, fast ships originally used by the pirates of Dalmatia – to be made ready to go and have a closer look.

He then received a message from his friend Rectina begging to be rescued. Her villa was at the foot of the mountain and the only escape was by sea (how she got the message to Pliny is not explained). Realising that people's lives were in danger, he ordered out the warships to save as many people as possible.

He changed his plans, and what he had begun in a spirit of inquiry he

<image>

completed as a hero. He gave orders for the warships to be launched and went on board himself with the intention of bringing help to many more people besides Rectina, for this lovely stretch of coast was thickly populated. – Pliny the Younger, Letters VI 16

The warships Pliny sent out were quadriremes, the largest ships in his fleet at 39 metres long and four metres wide. Each was powered by 232 oarsmen arranged in four banks called remes (hence the name of the ship). Attached to the bow of each vessel was a large metal beak called a rostrum, designed for ramming enemy ships to sink or disable them, the oarsmen providing the power. Oar power also made the ships highly manoeuvrable, ideal for the tricky situation into which they were going. Sails were used to get the ships to and from battle sites, and were most likely used to get the ships across the bay. The wind blowing from the north-west was in their favour.

Vesuvius was 28 kilometres away, and with an estimated speed of eight knots it would have taken the ships around threeand-a-half hours to get there. On the way Pliny was dictating, taking notes on each new movement and phase of the eruption. Hot ash started falling thickly on the ships, followed by pumice, around 5 pm as they neared the coast. Suddenly the water became shallow, caused by the seabed rising as Vesuvius' magma chamber filled, and they were prevented from getting any closer to the shore by rafts of pumice.

Ashes were already falling, hotter and thicker as the ships drew near, followed by bits of pumice and blackened stones, charred and cracked by the flames: then suddenly they were in shallow water, and the shore was blocked by the debris from the mountain. – Pliny the Younger, Letters VI 16

This indicates that they attempted to land somewhere south of Herculaneum, as that town had virtually no pumice fall during the entire eruption. This was due to the prevailing north-west wind blowing the ash and pumice south-east over Pompeii, where it had been falling since midday at a rate of about 15 centimetres an hour. As Pliny approached the coast, balconies and roofs in Pompeii were beginning to collapse from the weight. It would have been increasingly dangerous to stay indoors. Though there was little ash fall at Herculaneum, the ominous 30-kilometre-high volcanic cloud would have cast the town into darkness and the constant tremors would have encouraged people to flee or seek shelter in stronger buildings, like the arched superstructure of the Suburban Baths where most of Herculaneum's victims were found.

Pliny refused to retreat. He ordered his ship south past Pompeii to Stabiae, to the villa of his friend Pomponianus. On arrival he found Pomponianus wisely trying to leave, having loaded his belongings onto a ship, although he was unable to depart due to the contrary wind. Pliny had made a miscalculation; having landed, he too was unable to leave for the same reason. He stayed in his friend's villa. During the

## Below Mount Vesuvius from one of

the Roman villas at Sorrento. Courtesy Matthew O'Sullivan. **Opposite** A loaf of carbonised bread from Herculaneum. Courtesy Ministero dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico di Napoli. Below The rostrum (a warship's ram) became a symbol of victory for the Romans. Captured rostra decorated the speakers' platform at Rome 'like a wreath crowning the Roman nation' as Pliny has it, giving the platform its name. Here one decorates a household furnishing, maybe a stud to hold back curtains. Courtesy Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale Pompei.

> Left Drink warmer from Pompeii, used like a samovar. Courtesy Ministero dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico di Napoli.

night more pumice fell, the level rising so high there was danger of Pliny being stuck inside his bedroom. He joined the others and they debated whether to stay indoors or take their chance in the open, as the buildings were now shaking violently. It was a debate that would have been happening throughout Pompeii as well. Choosing to stay outdoors, they tied pillows to their heads to protect themselves from falling debris.

The decision to run or stay during this period was fateful. The deadly phase of the eruption was about to begin as the volcanic cloud began collapsing. Around 1 am the first pyroclastic surge of superheated gas and ash travelling at 30 metres per second smashed into Herculaneum, instantly killing everyone still there. At 400–450 degrees Celsius it carbonised wood, leather and foodstuffs and burned the flesh off living people. Further flows buried the town and extended the coastline 400 metres to the west.

The first surge and the next two did not reach Pompeii. When the fourth surge swept over Pompeii just after dawn, at 6.30 am, it killed everyone still present. Many were found trying to make their escape over the pumice fall. This surge was not as hot – it did not burn the bodies but rather formed a hard shell around them, creating a void once the

> bodies decomposed. It is from these voids that the famous Pompeiian body casts were made. Before the pyroclastic flow, deaths in Pompeii would have been from building collapse, and these bodies did not form casts as they were buried in loose pumice and ash.

The fourth surge, or the ones that came quickly after it, caused panic in Stabiae, 14 kilometres from the crater. Flames and the smell of sulphur gave warning of the approaching surge. Pliny tried to flee with the others, but the fumes and ash caused too much stress on his lungs and

Right A fresco from Pompeii, 1st century AD. Courtesy Ministero dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico di Napoli.



heart and he collapsed and died. His body was found two days later. Due to Stabiae's distance from Vesuvius, and possibly the intervening Sarno river, the surge that reached Stabiae had cooled, so wasn't fatal to all those present.

Whether or not the ships sent out by Pliny the Elder saved anyone is not clear from his nephew's account, but then its main focus was not the rescue but his uncle, of whom he was genuinely fond. Pliny the Younger does make it clear that people were leaving the area as his uncle went in, and people in both towns had plenty of time to leave - in Pompeii's case 18 hours - though this would have been increasingly difficult with the constant rain and build-up of pumice, and the complete darkness. To date, 1,500 bodies have been found at Pompeii, and 350 at Herculaneum - only about 10 per cent of their estimated populations. More victims may be found along the roads leading out of the towns or in their still-undiscovered ports, but it is likely most people escaped.

The ash cloud was so great it darkened Rome, and some of the ash reached Africa, Syria and Egypt. The emperor Titus, Pliny's patron, appointed a board of magistrates to relieve the distress in Campania and he went there himself to supervise the disaster relief first hand.

Pliny the Elder does not seem to have been aware that Vesuvius was a volcano, though he mentions the ones in the nearby Aeolian Islands and Mount Etna in Sicily. Earlier authors did think it had been an active volcano from the scorching found on its summit, but it had been dormant for a very long time. The link between volcanic eruptions and earthquakes was also not yet understood. Pliny held the common view that they were caused by wind:

I think there is no doubt that winds cause earthquakes. For earth tremors never occur unless the sea is calm and the sky so motionless that birds cannot hover, because all the air which bears them up has been taken away. – Pliny the Elder, Natural History II 192

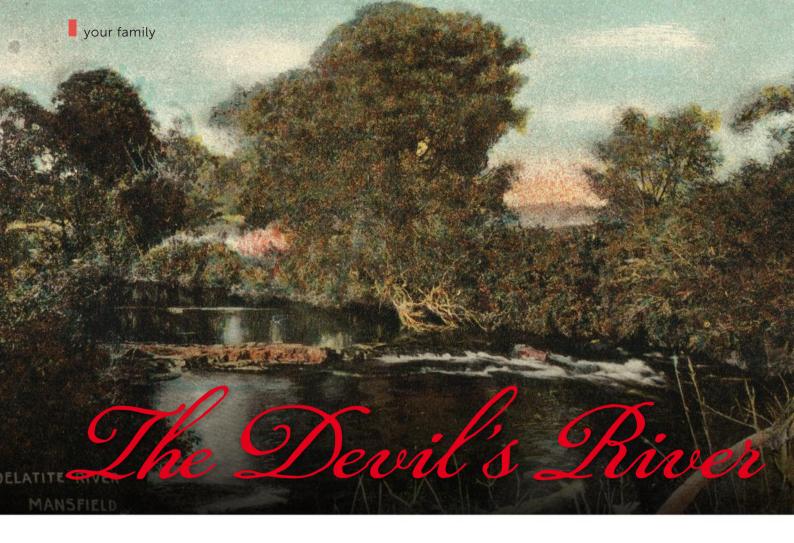
A devastating earthquake in 63 AD that destroyed parts of Herculaneum and Pompeii was most likely caused by magma rising beneath Vesuvius. Another major earthquake in 64 AD destroyed the theatre at Naples. Although many fled the area after the 63 AD earthquake, tremors had become so common just prior to the eruption that they ceased to cause alarm.

In his will Pliny left his entire estate to his nephew, and also adopted him. His nephew then took his name to become Pliny the Younger. He went on to have a successful political and literary career, hence the survival of his letters to Tacitus. The section of Tacitus' Histories in which he described the eruption of Mount Vesuvius has not survived. It would have been very interesting to see how closely he followed Pliny the Younger's account and in what light he put Pliny's uncle – whether heroic or foolhardy. So

Escape from Pompeii – The untold Roman rescue *is on at the Australian* National Maritime Museum until 30 August 2017. Escape from Pompeii *is* developed by the Australian National Maritime Museum in association with Expona and Contemporanea Progetti. Below A fresco

from Pompeii illustrating a story from mythology – Narcissus admiring his reflection, while in the background Echo pines away with unrequited love. Courtesy Ministero dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo – Museo Archeologico di Napoli.





Intrigued by a local legend about a haunted house formerly inhabited by early settlers, **Emma Beach** set out to research the ruined building and its infamous tenant: the alleged murderess Elizabeth Scott. Here, Emma tells Elizabeth's story.

N SUMMER, the Victorian High Country hosts a seasonal explosion of visitors. The lucky few are privy to a secret little swimming hole on the Delatite River close to Goughs Bay. It's beautiful there, the sun glinting off the water, the little rapids proving a delight for children on tyre-tubes. Sharp blackberry canes and majestic stringybark soldiers guard a bigger secret on the high eastern bank. The majority of bathers splashing about are oblivious to the 150-year-old murder scene hidden behind this tangled screen of wild scrub.

In the 1860s this river was once known as Devil's River. One of the local legends describes early settlers, finding the country bordering on the river so rough, wild looking and difficult of access, christened it the 'Devil's own place'. Whatever its origins, the Devil's River holds true to its name.

Hosting drownings and murders, the river's reputation didn't deter hardy colonials who chose to make its banks their home. Among these settlers were **Robert 'Bob' Scott** and his wife, pretty 21-year-old **Elizabeth**, running an illegal sly-grog shanty.

Until the late 1960s, the shanty was still standing. Rumours circulated the Mansfield community of a woman murdering her husband at the shanty. My mum regaled me with tales about the proverbial 'haunted house' that she and her friends were so scared of. Raised in the bush and afraid of nothing, Above A postcard of the Delatite River (a.k.a. Devil's River) in Mansfield, Victoria, c.1907. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID H91.63/7. riding home from school they crossed to the other side of the lane to avoid the derelict shanty.

Intrigued, further enquiries led me to research the ruined building and the woman that lived there some 150 years ago. She turned out to be Elizabeth Scott, the first and youngest woman hanged in the newly created colony of Victoria at Central Melbourne Gaol on 11 November 1863; to think I live down the road from the murder scene and sadly never knew the tale.

As with legends, the facts were so distorted that when I came across a passage in *The Argus* (see box to the right) about the significance of the 'vanishing record' of our local history, I was determined to tell her story — my research ended up with enough to fill a book!

Criminologists say women rarely commit murder. When they do, their victim is invariably the person closest to them. In the gold fevered colony of Victoria, the young and beautiful Elizabeth Scott was alleged to be one such woman.

In April 1863, Elizabeth and her two boarders, **Julian Cross** and **David Gedge**, were indicted at Devil's River for feloniously and with malice aforethought murdering her husband, the illegal shanty owner Robert Scott, a man twice her age. Her tale is one of sexual intrigue, domestic abuse and murder.

## A chance for a new beginning

In the 1850s tens of thousands of emigrants crowded onto ships. Those that still wanted the safety of a harbour to which they may return sought the most British of colonies: the colonies of Victoria and New South Wales. Fleets of steamships and graceful clippers crisscrossed the equator bringing hope and wealth. The thought of not totally severing ties with Great Britain, reinforced by reports of 'striking lucky', coaxed emigrants across the sea towards their own El Dorado.

The Canterbury Association wished to create so far as possible a facsimile of England in Port Lyttelton, New Zealand. Elizabeth, her three sisters and mother emigrated on *The Canterbury*, ship number eight in the Association's emigration fleet. They sailed from the East India Docks in London on 18 June 1851 and arrived at Port Lyttelton four months later on 21 October. The reason for their emigration is unknown. They then journeyed on to the colony of Victoria.

Raised in England, the Victorian bush became Elizabeth's finishing school. Elizabeth had been in the colony for a short time, nigh on 12 months. She married Robert, aged 35, on 18 December 1853, a couple of months short of her 14th birthday. Little Elizabeth 'Betsy' Luckett graduated to Mrs Elizabeth Scott.

Robert Scott was a boundary rider at Goomalibee Station, Benalla. John Goodman owned this station and was later to build 'Mie Gunyah' Below Sir William Stawell, the chief justice presiding over Elizabeth Scott's trial. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID H37475/39.

Every school child should be familiar with the history of their own district, indeed of the pioneers, villains and victims, everyday people who forged and settled, moved on or long forgotten in this age of a transient population. – WJ Hughston, 'Vanishing record', The Argus, 20 March 1909





in Orrong Road Toorak. (The mansion recently sold for \$23 million!)

Elizabeth recounts that if it weren't for her mother, she wouldn't have married Robert. She was underage even considering the colonist usually married two or three years earlier than her English counterpart. Elizabeth's age on the ship's manifest in 1851 was recorded as 14 and yet two years later, her marriage certificate put her as being nearly 14. By the time she was 20, Elizabeth had borne five children. **John**, aged eight, and the youngest, **Thomas**, three years, alone survived.

# Sly-grogging

Her dreams of respectability and drawing rooms were dashed; to make ends meet, the couple set up an illegal sly-grog shanty on the banks of the Devil's River. Liquor laws prevented the sale of alcohol on goldfields so enterprising sly-groggers sprang up to accommodate prospectors' needs.

It was noted later at a Parliamentary enquiry that surrounding The Jamieson, 'each and every shanty in these hills serves liquor.' Publican's licences were expensive and often came with the need for provision of accommodation for travellers and families, but a victualler's licence (similar to a publican's licence) could be granted in the bush for a building composed principally of a few sheets of bark and offering a paddock for the stabling of horses. The small building was aptly named 'Scott's Shanty', a reminder of Robert's public identity and status.

Whether he sold counterfeit schnapps or colonial ale, the business was prosperous. In 1861 Robert applied for a 25-pound refreshment house license but was rejected. Robert reapplied to the Mansfield Court. On 9 March 1861, his application was steadfastly refused. Four months later, on 3 August, he was back in court.

Robert Scott was no stranger to the law. **Alfred Chenery**, the magistrate for the district, familiar with Scott's exploits, having previously employed him as a boundary rider on his station 'Delatite', complained to Chief Commissioner of Police **Frederick Standish**. Commissioner Standish subsequently wrote to Superintendent **Frances Cobham**, who was stationed at Benalla: Mr Chenery of Mansfield informs me that there is a man of the name Robert Scott, who keeps a refreshment and sly grog establishment on the Delatite Run, that the Bench has refused him a refreshment licence, but that he persists, notwithstanding this in carrying on a thriving business.

According to newspaper reports, towards the end of 1862 or early in 1863, a young ostler (or stableman), **David Gedge**, was thrown from his horse. Picked up and conveyed to Scott's Shanty, it was quickly diagnosed that David had sustained a fracture of the leg. Through the long illness that followed, Elizabeth, as the mistress of the shanty, nursed the beardless boy. Bob meanwhile indulged himself, allowing the evils of spurious brandy to insinuate its way into his body.

Isolated at the crossroads of the Upper Goulburn reefs, the young mother cowered before her husband in a cycle of alcohol-induced abuse. The thin bark walls of the shanty provided no privacy for relationships. The close living arrangements in the Scott household could not hide any domestic quarrels. David Gedge and Julian Cross, the shanty cook, must have been well acquainted with Bob's threats of violence and ill treatment of Elizabeth. Witness statements later reported in The Argus (28 October 1863) intimate Elizabeth was subjected to physical abuse and experienced fear from the threat of violence of her domineering husband:

... [she] said that she did not know how to leave home, and did not think she should as he [Bob] was so jealous of her that she was afraid to leave the place without him.

Elizabeth's later statements and witness testimonies at the Mansfield Inquest reported individual abusive incidents:

My husband when in liquor was quiet but he used to blow me up now and then ... he used to get sometimes delirious and talk other languages. During his late illness he has threatened to take my life but I never took any notice of it ... He was always drunk when he threatened to take my life and when he was sober he was always sorry for it.

According to newspaper reports, she sought solace and passion in the arms of their boarder, 19-year-old Davey Gedge. Local gossip determined that an attachment between the two sprang up which soon ripened into an alleged guilty passion. 'Davey', as 'Missis' Elizabeth liked to call him, was four years her junior.

Elizabeth then allegedly conspired with her young paramour to dispose of the inconvenient husband.

### The murder

Bob's abuse came to an abrupt halt around midnight one Saturday night, on 11 April 1863.

A single gunshot to the head killed Bob Scott of Devil's River.

The lovers cried suicide, but were quickly disproved by medical opinion and witness testimony. Mansfield doctor **Dr Samuel Reynolds** testifies:

I have examined the body of Robert Scott, and find all the internal organs healthy. The skull is in a dreadful shattered condition, a lacerated and contused wound: just behind the left ear, together with an external fracture of the ones of the head-caused by a bullet or some hard substance: passing from the wound through the right temple, where the bullet had escaped from the head — the brain full of pieces of bone scattered in every direction through it. The injuries must have caused instant death.

No pictures or sketches were taken of the murder weapon. The Melbourne medical fraternity did not fully embrace the study of forensics in 1863. Suspicion was often enough and physical evidence was indisputable. Dactyloscopy or fingerprinting was an unproven science in courts until 1905, even though Scotland Yard relied upon a large index of fingerprints in solving their crimes. Knowledge of how to preserve fingerprints would have been invaluable in Elizabeth's defence. Unfortunately, latent prints from the murderer on the discharged firearm and patent prints lifted from the clay mould allegedly created for the murderous shot was not police procedure in 1863.

A scapegoat was found in the shanty's Macao born Portuguese cook, Julian Cross. He wasn't going down alone — he pointed the finger of blame at Elizabeth and Davey.

The first Mansfield inquiry under **Mr Govett Esq.** and subsequent inquiry by **Mr Cogden**, Police Magistrate, heard damning statements against the three prisoners. At the Jamieson's Detective's intervention and insistence, the case was adjourned to a higher court — The Beechworth Assizes. ►

## **Below** The

township of Beechworth in 1864, around the time of Elizabeth's incarceration. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID IMP25/07/64/5.

# Opposite

Beechworth Prison, date unknown. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID H90.100/1476.

# The trial of her life

After a brief stay in the local logs, the trio was incarcerated at the Beechworth Gaol. Elizabeth — wife, mother and alleged adulterous lover — is on trial for her life, accused of using her feminine charms to coerce two other men to murder her husband. 'Unsexed by the cool and callous deliberation' in which her husband's murder was perpetuated, Elizabeth is demonised by the press.

Six months later, on 23 October 1863 at the Beechworth Circuit Court, the assembled public in clean boots and confections of bonnets rubbed shoulders with journalists — every one of them more than ready to hear the shocking evidence of the husband's shattered skull and the juicy details of sexual intrigue intimated at the Mansfield inquest.

Elizabeth stood cool and indifferent to her murder charge in the Beechworth dock. There were no tears, no outbursts of hysteria. This unladylike demeanour engendered no sympathy from colonial society. Elizabeth wasn't even present when the shot was fired. **George Milner-Stephen** was Elizabeth's barrister. His closing summary was staunch in its defence of her (as reported in *The Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 24 October 1863):

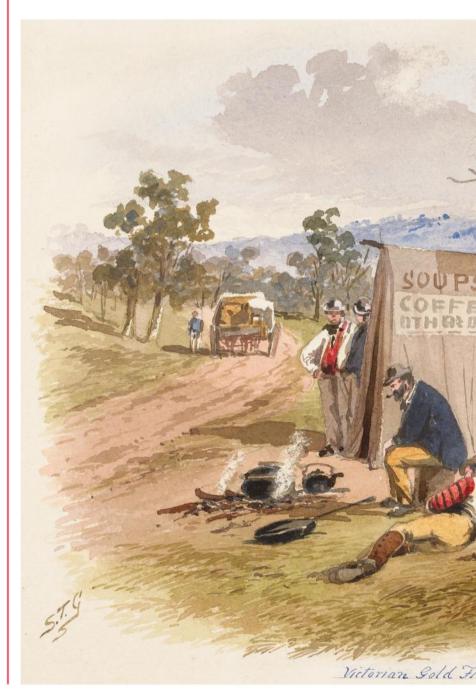
Are we to accuse a woman advanced in years of improper conduct because she walked with a boy in broad daylight and in the presence of a man and a woman who were looking close by?

What was there in her conduct, but that of a tender wife watching her sick husband's bed till she was worn out with fatigue, personally endeavoring to alleviate the torture from which he was suffering by giving him brandy, the best medicine for the disease of the heart? What was there in all this to justify her being called before a jury as an adultness and murderess?

... How can the crown allege Mrs Scott conspired with Gedge and Cross to murder her husband when it was not her hand that did the deed? ... Gentlemen of the jury, look at my client, is she the sort of person, who would commit the murder of a man teetering on the verge of his grave? I think not.

If blood had been shed, let blood be shed unjustly no more. Do not send Mrs Scott from this world with the sin of her husband's murder on her head.

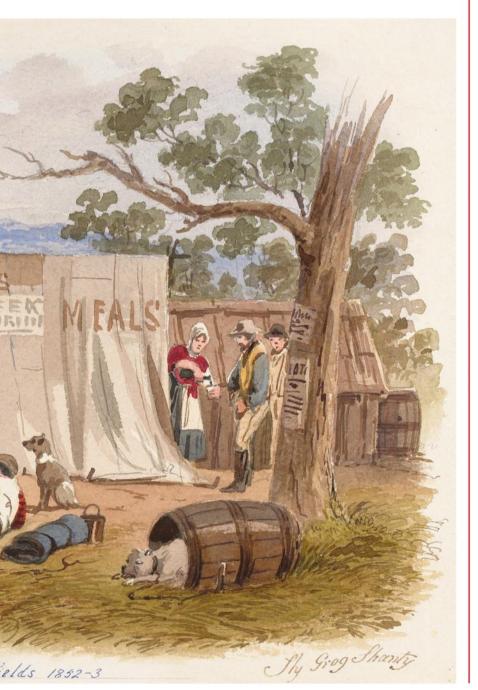
**Chief Justice Stawell** presided, magnificent and omnipotent in his judicial robes. In his summation, Stawell



was clear on what constituted the most heinous crime of murder. He directed the jury to disregard all cross-allegations in the verbal statements made to the police by Davey Gedge and Julian Cross. His Honour also fairly directed the jury to separate the verbal confessions of the prisoners given to the police. In particular, any statement made by one prisoner could only be used as evidence for or against that prisoner:

Below ST Gill's depiction of a sly grog shanty in 1869. Courtesy State Library Victoria, ID H86.7/33.

'Whatever Cross said must not affect Gedge or Scott; whatever Gedge said



# must not affect either Cross or Scott; and whatever Scott said affected herself alone and not the others.'

Stawell failed to point out once the jurors did this, there was no concrete evidence against Elizabeth Scott on which she could be convicted of murder.

His Honour concurred that the prosecution is relieved of some difficulties of proof but not of all. He reminded the jury that it must be proved beyond reasonable doubt that the defendants maliciously and with aforethought murdered the victim Robert Scott. He instructed that the jurors must 'consider each case separately and if they had a doubt, give the prisoners the benefit of that doubt.' His Honour concluded his address at ten minutes to five.

In less than half an hour the all-male jury of her 'peers' found the felonious trio of Elizabeth, Davey and Julian guilty of murder. Chief Justice William Stawell sentenced Elizabeth and her co-conspirators to hang by the neck until dead.

At the last minute on the scaffold of the Melbourne Gaol, Elizabeth asks Davey to clear her but he didn't answer. On 11 November 1863, Elizabeth Scott became the first and youngest female in Victoria to be hanged.

# Sideshow attraction

Elizabeth was thankfully oblivious to her final degradation — modelled in wax as a sideshow attraction. Her young and amiable features attracted the attention of the famous anatomical modeller **Max Kreitmeyer** of Madam Sohier's Waxworks Exhibition, in Bourke Street, Melbourne. The lifelike trio of 'The Mansfield Tragedy' were displayed in the infamous Criminal Room. The vacant stare of the 'well authenticated likeness' of Elizabeth Scott, David Gedge and Julian Cross greeted the Waxworks visitor for one shilling. **So** 

> Fallen Woman, a novel about Elizabeth Scott by Emma Beach and Cheryl Burman, has been submitted to publishers for consideration. Stay tuned!

# A fugitive from

In the early twentieth century, the Mid West region of Western Australia was home to a lesser-known bushranger with a taste for a challenge and a knack for daring escapes. Andrew Bowman-Bright, historian at the Carnamah Historical Society and Museum, reports. The career of the Kelly gang and their decline and fall, is a memorable episode in Australian history, but the chronicler of Australian bushranging may find almost equally excellent material in the exploits of Francis Henry Thomas. On May 23 this man effected a dramatic escape from the Geraldton Gaol, where he was awaiting trial on charges of theft. As soon as he was clear of Geraldton Thomas, who is a brilliant horseman, executed a number of raids on camps pitched at various points between the Wongan Hills and Midland railway lines, stealing valuable horses and considerable quantities of stores.

On Friday last he was recaptured by the police at Perenjori, and was being escorted to Geraldton when he again escaped custody, near the township of Buntine. Chief Inspector McKenna has now received information that Constable Wreford has followed the man's tracks to a point eight miles from Perenjori, and that police parties from Three Springs, Goomalling and Mingenew are searching the district in the hope of discovering the hidingplace of the fugitive.

− The West Australian,
 15 November 1922 ▶



Above Headshot of the young Frank Thomas, taken in 1921 and published in the Police Gazette of Western Australia. Images courtesy Carnamah Historical Society and Museum unless otherwise stated.



### **Opposite** A

re-enactment of a bushranger robbing some travellers on a country road, c.1898–1918. Courtesy State Library of Victoria, ID H33027/10a. This story began in 1897 when the youngest son of **Beulah** and **Frank Thomas** was born at Greenough, an agricultural district 400 kilometres north of Perth. They named their little boy **Francis Henry William** and, like his father, he was soon known as Frank.

A few years after his birth his parents moved southward to Coorow and took over the remaining remnants of Coorow Station. This once large pastoral station had been established by the Long family in 1862 but bankruptcy and ownership changes had seen it diminished to a handful of small blocks surrounding waterholes. Frank took up residence with his parents in the old mud-brick Coorow House and their contribution as early and respected farmers was immortalised with Thomas Street in Coorow being named in their honour.

After about eight years, Frank Snr fractured the old property further by selling most of it to a Perth businessman. The family then moved into nearby bush to carve out a farm from land surrounding Jun Jun Spring.

It was here at Jun Jun that Frank Jnr became an accomplished horseman and excellent bushman. He assisted his father and elder brother **Jack** on the farm but things were not going well.

He could not read or write and it was said that his father hadn't provided him with the same educational opportunities as his brother. Others claimed that he'd got on the wrong side of the law after being pursued by police for a theft he hadn't committed. Potential reasons aside, at the prime age of 21 he retreated from society and took to the bush.

He constantly stole the best of horses and helped himself to livestock, food, clothes and blankets. He often threw boxes of goods off moving trains then returned on a stolen horse to go through the boxes and take what he wanted. When the horse he was riding became tired he'd simply set it free and steal another one. To the womenfolk he was behind every tree and they felt unable to cope. The men just swore about what a pest he'd become.

Frank operated across multiple districts and along two regional railway lines. He was constantly sought by police but continuously evaded capture. On one occasion police stumbled upon his camp while he was cooking a stolen chicken. He fled on horseback and as usual got away. The police figured they might as well return to his camp and enjoy the chicken but by the time they arrived Frank had already doubled back, collected the chicken and left again.

After causing trouble over 12 months he was finally captured by Police Constable **Charlie Kroschel** and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour. Following his release he returned to Coorow in 1922 but was soon once again wanted by the police. Two constables and an Aboriginal tracker chased his tracks for two weeks through the bush in the freezing cold and wet of winter. They found several of his campsites and multiple stolen goods but no Frank Thomas.

Years later it was suggested that **Jochim Dido**, the tracker, hadn't been as proficient as he could have been as he knew Frank and didn't want him to be caught. The efforts of police were also thwarted by some farming families who believed he was being harshly targeted. When questioned by police they would pretend they hadn't sighted Frank when in reality some had even spoken to him.

The harder the police tried to capture him, the more he flaunted his skill to escape. Often they'd know he was around and would keep watch waiting for him to steal a fine horse or supplies left at a railway station. He was never deterred and would go out of his way to take their bait and escape.

One moonlit night his father caught wind that he was nearby so hung up some mutton in a shed, knowing his son might steal it. His father kept watch all night but to no avail. Around dawn he fell asleep for just a moment and woke to find the mutton gone.

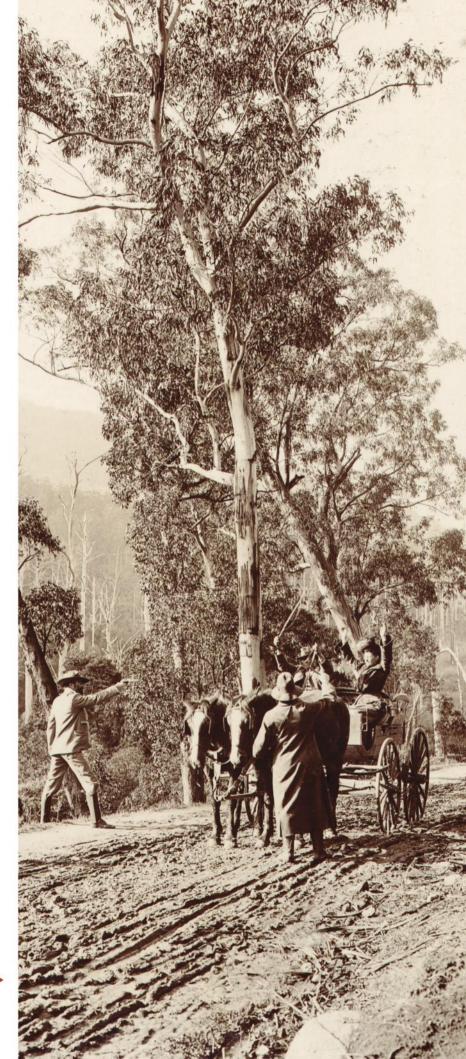
Frank stole horses so many times that one farmer at Waddy Forest had a small yard built alongside his house for his prized horse and kept a firearm at his side through the night. Like the mutton, this proved a tempting challenge and the horse was stolen yet again.

His second stint as a bushranger drew to a close after police pounced on him while he was sleeping in a stable. He offered no resistance and was arrested on 19 charges of stealing and seven changes of unlawfully using horses. He was taken to Geraldton and while awaiting trial he picked a lock and escaped. He immediately resumed his old habits but over an even larger area, now extending up into the Murchison goldfields. With the added crime of escaping custody he was on the run and police again made many fruitless attempts to capture him. For 140 days he thieved his way through farms, camps, railway sidings and trains.

He was finally recaptured on 10 November 1922 and was taken to the police lock-up in Buntine to enable the constable responsible to get some rest, as he'd had almost no sleep for three days. While the constable slept Frank used his coat to pull down some of the wire from the roof of the lock-up's exercise yard and he again escaped, being described by *The West Australian* newspaper as 'a Bird of Freedom'.

Frank had now become a severe problem and embarrassment for the police. Not only had they struggled to capture him but he'd now escaped from their custody on two separate occasions.

Constables from Three Springs, Mingenew and Goomalling joined forces to locate him but the public and the press had their doubts. Frank was an accomplished bushman and had proven



he was capable of enduring fatigue when he was being pursued.

After leaving Buntine he made it to a camp at Latham where he was in the process of stealing a horse, saddle and bridle. After the owner of the items showed up he dropped what he had in his hands and took off with the horse. After arriving in his hometown of Coorow he stole a rifle and ammunition. Many believed he'd never harm anyone, but how could they be sure?

A few days later, Frank very ingeniously stole a horse from **Donald Macpherson** in Carnamah. He went to where Donald's horses would drink each evening and emptied their trough. The horses were waiting around thirsty when he returned with a bucket of water. While one of the horses eagerly drank he caught it with rope taken off the bucket.

Knowing he was in Carnamah the police waited at the railway station, expecting him to steal after a train passed through. Frank entered a shed where a constable was waiting and the constable called for him to surrender. He took off but tripped and fell. He was then given an ultimatum - surrender or be shot. Frank complied and returned to Geraldton with a host of new charges against him. He pleaded guilty to stealing, improperly using horses and escaping custody. He was charged and sentenced to 25 months' imprisonment for 10 offences while dozens of other charges were dropped.

Frank's father wrote a revealing letter to the editor of *The Midlands Advertiser* newspaper, published on Friday 27 February 1920:

My son has been carrying on this thieving game for 12 months or more. In the first part of his little game he was only mild but as the police put some restraint on his behaviour he got worse and worse in his extravagant pursuits, taking horses four or times a week, jumping trains, emptying goods out without any advantage or gain to himself any more than to get a bit of food. He even came at night and took a horse, saddle and bridle from me and very often came home at dead of night and took food from the safe of his own home whilst a fond mother lay within that would walk over an acre of hedgehogs in her bare feet to give him food had she known he was hungry....

He is a fine man and worth a little trouble. I must add my son has been very peculiar all his life. Maybe the complaint is coming to a head now and on the turn to recovery and I hope he will get such treatment as will help him along in that direction.

As is often the case with Australia's more famous bushrangers, this story doesn't have a happy ending. Frank ended up spending most of his adult life in Perth at the Claremont Hospital for the Insane. He died in 1960 and is buried in an unmarked grave at Perth's Karrakatta Cemetery. In the end, for all Frank's clear thirst for a challenge, and his gift for evading and escaping police, his story is not one of mental wellness — a sad final note for one of Australia's last bushrangers.

**Below** Midland Railway line in Western Australia, which Frank frequently raided. Courtesy State Library of Western Australia.

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# State of the

Mary Edwards was an eccentric Australian artist perhaps most famous for spearheading a campaign and court case against the controversial 1943 winner of the prestigious Archibald Prize. Here, historian **Peter Edwell** — Mary's great nephew — delves into the character behind the controversy.

B LANKLY SHE stared straight ahead. Eyes red, cheeks stained by drying tears, anger and sadness combining in that now familiar way. How could such injustice be rewarded? How would she bear such public humiliation, such assault on her life's work, such financial cost?

Brushes and a palette took her gaze, a half-finished portrait of **Dame Enid Lyons** smiled down at her unsympathetically. Sketches and stretched canvasses reminded her of the work which had piled up in recent weeks and flowers dying in a cracked vase symbolised the hopes she had lost. For hours she waited in her studio, pacing at times, sobbing uncontrollably at others, hoping for a consoling friend to arrive but nobody came.

Thus **Mary Edwards** occupied her studio in the headquarters of the Royal Art Society at 26 Hunter Street, Sydney, on the afternoon of Tuesday 8 November 1944. Earlier that day **Justice Roper** of the Supreme Court of New South Wales had ruled against Edwards and her co-informant, fellow artist **Joseph Wolinski**, in what had been billed as one of the trials of the century: the legal attempt to overthrow the decision to award the Archibald Prize of 1943 to William Dobell for his painting of friend and fellow artist Joshua Smith (see artgallery.nsw.gov.au/prizes/ archibald/1943/15672). The build-up to the court case had occupied most of 1944 with Mary Edwards emerging as the leading protagonist against the award of the prize following its announcement.

Dobell's painting of Smith was deemed offensive by a significant section of Australia's art world. Many considered it representative of an ugliness which had emerged in Australian art, expressed no more clearly than in the words of **Margaret Preston**: "Dobell and his kind are only reproducing European miseries." For many, also, the painting bordered on caricature which few in the establishment deemed serious art.

Public interest in the award of the prize to Dobell and the ensuing storm in the art world was fueled by regular reports of the controversy in the press across the nation. Enormous numbers visited the exhibition of Archibald finalists at the gallery and heated arguments were common. Factions of the art establishment and the general public also rose to Dobell's defence; the Contemporary Art Society headed by **James Gleeson** was especially supportive. The establishment of a committee headed by Mary Edwards aimed at legal action to restrain the trustees from awarding the prize to Dobell. While membership of the committee quickly dissolved as the potential costs of losing the case became apparent, Edwards and Wolinski were successful in convincing the Attorney General of NSW to test the award of the prize legally.

When the case opened in Sydney on 23 October 1944 it was hailed in one newspaper as 'one of the biggest legal smash hits since Ned Kelly' and attracted a throng of onlookers in the public gallery. Many members of the Sydney art world and their society backers were present and among the legal representatives of the various parties was **Garfield Barwick**, representing Edwards and Wolinski.

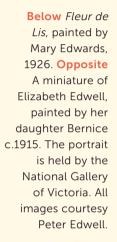
The trial became memorable for exchanges between counsel and expert witnesses as each side sought to prove its definition of portraiture before a cool-headed Justice Roper. Barwick performed with the theatrical precision for which he would become renowned.

From one witness, **James MacDonald**, came the widely reported opinion that the portrait was "a pictorial defamation of character"; from Dobell, under intricate cross-examination about the composition of his picture by Barwick, came the memorable exclamation: "the whole thing, you are taking it bit by bit and I am taking it as a picture. I might as well criticise the conduct of your case by the angle of your big wig as for you to take individual things like that". Journalist **Kenneth Slessor**, writing in *The Sun*, declared that the painting 'shone like a tropical butterfly in a museum'.

As the case unfolded, the public gallery became increasingly difficult to control with outbursts of applause, gasps of incredulity and uncontrollable laughter — especially at some of Barwick's observations. The judge reserved his decision following closing arguments on 27 October, and on 8 November ruled that if the trustees of the gallery believed that the painting was a portrait it should be considered as such. Edwards and Wolinski were visibly shaken by the decision and later moves for a High Court challenge, mostly at the behest of Barwick, were eventually quashed in March 1945.

Debate about the case has continued ever since with much attention focusing on the effect of the trial on Dobell and on Joshua Smith, Dobell essentially retreated to his home at Lake Macquarie for most of the next year and experienced a partial breakdown. Smith never recovered from the acute embarrassment the portrait brought him and bitterly resented Dobell for the rest of his life. The case is often interpreted symbolically as representative of a breakthrough for modernism in Australian art and culture, with generalisations that one side of the debate was comprised of progressives and radicals and the other by arch-reactionary conservatives. Closer analysis of the motives of those involved suggests a more complex picture than this. Much of what drove the case and the bitterness of its aftermath were personal motivations; this is demonstrable in the case of Mary Edwards.

One of Dobell's recent biographers, Scott Bevan, describes Mary Edwards as 'squinting skeptically at the world' and possessing 'the sort of expression that Dobell could have mercilessly portrayed.' This one-dimensional perspective of Edwards has mostly prevailed since the







**Above** A miniature self-portrait of Mary Edwards, c.1917.

trial, in part because of what the case came to represent and partly because so little of her biographical detail has been publicly known until now.

Mary Edwards has become the perfect foil for the much-adored William Dobell in the numerous biographies written about him, yet further research reveals a more complex character. She is described, for example, in a newspaper article of 1939 as:

not only the leading woman painter of Australia but a most interesting personality to boot. ... One month she is up against it, the next month she is in affluence and then every deserving and undeserving person within sight shares her wealth. A marvellous raconteur, with a rare sense of humor, she is a delectable companion on a sketching excursion, and is the proud possessor of that unique distinction of being an 'artist's artist'.

Other reports in the 1930s and '40s refer to her campaigns for animal rights, fierce reactions to racial slurs against Indigenous Australians and Pacific Islanders and what might be termed 'hair-brained' schemes, including a public campaign to have the Sydney Harbour Bridge painted gold. Edwards was highly eccentric, capable of considerable charm, and by many accounts showed little interest in wealth, often living in prolonged periods of poverty.

In 1940, **BJ Waterhouse**, president of the board of trustees of the Art Gallery of NSW, referred to her as "probably the greatest woman painter Australia had produced up to the present time", and in 1936, the *Women's Weekly* named her as one of the eight most influential living women in Australia.

Edwards' activities were reported on extensively in the Sydney newspapers from the 1920s onwards, especially in relation to her intrepid travels in the Pacific and South East Asia, and on an eight-month sojourn in India in 1922. Edwards contributed regularly to the annual exhibitions of the various art societies, held solo exhibitions across the country and was a finalist in most Archibald Prize awards from its inception in 1922.

What was the spark in Mary Edwards that drove such vociferous opposition to the award of the Archibald Prize to Dobell, and what drove her to become the lightning rod for the significant opposition to his art? Dobell's expressionist approach and emphasis on pictorial representation of personal traits did not sit well with 'academic' artists such as Edwards, who held to the view that the artist's interpretation in painting a portrait should be minimal. Many felt personally aggrieved for Joshua Smith and Dobell's ungainly portrayal him. Dame Mary Gilmore, a close friend of Smith's and admirer of Dobell's, was especially critical of Dobell for this.

Edwards, it seems, was driven in part by something more deeply personal which would always haunt her. Ten years after the Dobell case, Mary Edwards changed her name to Mary Edwell-Burke following the death of her mother and was known by this name until her death in 1988.

The reasons for this and how she might be linked to my family were unknown until a copy of her birth certificate revealed that she was born in 1894 to **Rose Burke** and **Henry Edwell**, my 2 x great grandfather. Edwell was married at the time and had three children. He was a maltster and commercial traveller with Tooheys Limited, brought out from England by the firm in 1883 to help develop the business.

Edwell met Rose in the early 1890s and maintained a long-term relationship with her while remaining formally married to his wife **Elizabeth**. In an attempt to provide some legitimacy for herself and her daughter, Rose adopted the name Edwards (incidentally a name with which Edwell is often confused) in circa 1895 and comported herself as Mrs Rose Edwards.

A wealthy man, Edwell maintained both families and in 1903 funded his eldest daughter, **Bernice** (daughter of Elizabeth), to study art at the Academie de Colarossi in Paris. Bernice would become one of Australia's foremost miniaturists and was based in Melbourne with her mother from around 1910. Bernice became part of Melbourne's art establishment and counted **Arthur Streeton**, **Florence Rodway**, **Alice Bale** and **Ida Rentoul-Outhwaite** as close friends. Like her halfsister, Mary, Bernice was also an entrant in the first Archibald Prize for 1922.

In 1908, Henry Edwell was sent to Brisbane as General Manager of Toohey's Queensland operations where Mary and her mother were residing with him at the time. Mary's first art classes were taken with **Godfrey Rivers** at Brisbane Girls Grammar School in the same year and in 1913 she also travelled to Paris to study art at the Academie de Colarossi returning to Sydney just before the outbreak of World War I. Her mother accompanied her and in the 1930s Edwards claimed that her father had spent hundreds of pounds on her art education before his death in 1916.

Mary Edwards' illegitimacy and the nature of the relationship between her parents clearly troubled her and this is reflected in differing accounts she gave of her father's identity at various stages of her life. Edwards resented her mother, deeply at times, as revealed in tapes she recorded with an acquaintance in Fiji in the 1970s. Another acquaintance in the Sydney art world claimed that Edwards "had an unhappy childhood, which would seem to have affected her personality and whole life."

Art, in the traditional forms she excelled in, gave her legitimacy in different ways. Commissions from wealthy and famous patrons were perhaps one example; entry in exhibitions of revered organisations such as the Royal Art Society was another. Chief among them was the Archibald Prize as its prestige continued to grow. Art also gave Mary Edwards the opportunity to travel extensively, especially to the Pacific where she was greeted as a famous artist.

William Dobell and his artistic style, now recognised and rewarded with the Archibald Prize, threatened Edwards both professionally and personally. It potentially undermined the legitimacy she enjoyed as a high profile artist, while the portrayal of personal truths and character in portraiture was confronting to someone who had struggled considerably with the unfortunate truths of her family background. In a memoir written by the daughter of **John Young**, the influential art dealer, Edwards was described as a "*Women's Libber" before her time, she was not one to take what she considered injustice lying down; she was determined, vocal and sufficient of a "stirrer" to get others involved.*'

In 1961, the last year she entered the Archibald Prize, Mary Edwards (now Mary Edwell-Burke) departed Australia permanently. She took up residence near the Fijian capital of Suva and mostly remained there until her death in 1988. She became both a celebrity and curiosity in Fiji, at times living in virtual destitution. One resident of Suva described the sight of her in the mid-1970s as "an apparition from the Bible: shaggy hair, layers of grubby sacking clothes billowing dust along the ground as she strode out supported by a long shepherd's shaft of a stick …"

In the final months of her life, a retrospective exhibition of Mary's work was opened by the Governor-General of Fiji, **Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau**. The exhibition was celebrated in Fiji and drew on loans from art collectors and admirers across the globe. The Governor-General himself commented on Mary's life in Fiji and the Pacific as follows: "There she found herself completely attuned to the people she met and to the way of life which she discovered and which with delight she learned to share."

As Mary approached the end of her life, the controversies which had raged in Australia almost half a century earlier were now a distant memory. Perhaps she'd finally found the consoling friends she had waited for in her studio on that fateful day in November 1944. So



Above Bernice, photographed in Hobart not long before she left for Paris. Left Bernice's portable painting box and stand used for painting miniatures.



# The future of in Australia



Leading genealogist and long-time *Inside History* contributor **Shauna Hicks** shares her reflections on the ever-evolving field of family history and predicts where it may take us in the decades to come. ARCH 2017 marked the 40th anniversary of when I first started researching my own family history. Having watched the television series *Roots*, I was totally hooked on the idea of tracing my own family stories and learning more about my ancestors. It even led to a career change and I was able to work in a number of major archives and libraries within Australia where I had the opportunity to research my ancestors firsthand.

Compared to what we have today, back then — the 1970s — was like the Dark Ages. There were no computers, few indexes, no internet, no email and Queensland did not even have a genealogy or family history society. I still have the first genealogy book I ever purchased, *Roots and Branches: Ancestry for Australians* by Errol Lea-Scarlett and it was not published until 1979.

Looking back, it is hard to imagine doing research by writing letters and waiting sometimes months for answers. Fortunately family history research became popular in Australia from the late 1970s and genealogy and family history societies were the place to go for help and to learn about resources. Society members transcribed monumental inscriptions and created indexes to a whole range of records to help members find



their families. Libraries and archives also tried to make their records more accessible with indexes, brief guides and other finding aids. It was an exciting time and many of us became hooked on genealogy for life!

# Fast forward to 2017

Today I am simply astounded by what is available at home via my laptop. I can research just about anywhere in the world and can live chat to someone in Canada, England or even my neighbour without leaving the study. I can even research in my pyjamas.

Huge databases, some available only by subscription, digitised records, online library and archive catalogues, digital books, online forums, social media, webinars and other online resources make it very easy to research at home. Records that took me many months to find scrolling through microfilm can now be found in seconds with a few keystrokes. With digital and social networking I have colleagues and friends around the world, not just within Australia. At any time I can post something on Facebook, Twitter or GooglePlus and know that someone somewhere will see it and answer my question or celebrate my success with me.

Brick walls have come tumbling down for many people through the digitisation and indexing of UK census records and other resources and their availability online through databases such as Ancestry, Findmypast, FamilySearch and MyHeritage. Online indexes to Australian birth, death and marriage indexes mean that we can sketch out probable families and perhaps confirm some of the details using the digitised newspapers in Trove, a wonderful resource provided free by the National Library of Australia.

For a brief overview of what is online today:

• Ancestry was launched in 2006 and at the time of writing is offering members access to over one billion searchable Australian, New Zealand and UK family history records. This includes births, deaths, marriages, shipping records, convicts, military records and other resources.

- Findmypast Australasia, also a subscription site, has over 50 million records for Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and the Pacific Islands including cemetery records, electoral rolls, police gazettes, post office directories and almanacs, and lots of other resources, too.
- FamilySearch is free and has over four billion names from all over the world with some key collections from Australia including Tasmanian birth, death and marriage records, Victorian probates and inquests and New Zealand shipping passenger lists and probate records.
- MyHeritage was established in 2003 and is a subscription site with over seven billion historical records and 35 million family trees online. They have been adding Australian (mostly Queensland) records since about 2012.
- Trove, a free resource provided by the National Library of Australia, has over 500 million Australian and online resources including books, digitised newspapers, maps, photographs, archived websites, music and more.

The statistics for these five well-known resources are truly staggering and collections are being added to them all the time. Even more resources can be discovered online with a simple Google search. The hard part is trying to remember that not everything is indexed or digitised and online.

We really still do need to visit archives and libraries, and joining a local genealogy or family history society is still one of the best ways to learn how to search and what to do with your findings.

Now to the future

Over the years I have been following ►



Dick Eastman, a well-known genealogy speaker and blogger in the US, and he has often written and spoken about the future of genealogy. Last year we were both the keynote speakers at the Auckland Genealogy Expo for National Family History Month in August 2016. His keynote address was 'The Family History World in 10 Years' Time' and, although his focus is North American, much of what he said was applicable to family history everywhere.

## Australian genealogy in 2027

While sitting in that audience I found myself thinking about the Australian situation. One area that Dick did not touch on was the use of DNA research for family history, which seems to be a popular topic here at the moment.

## For better

We can only assume that there will be even more advanced technology and software to be used on even smarter phones and tablets. There will be apps out there not yet even thought about.

Think *Star Trek and Beyond* — and if someone can come up with the 'beam me up' app that would be wonderful. Imagine sitting there and saying "take me to the National Archives" or great aunt Sally's place.

We will see better and more cloud use to store family history information. There will also be more online collaboration as families can contribute to documents and family trees no matter where they are located in the world.

There will certainly be better and bigger databases with more indexes and digitised content. More and more microfilms will be digitised and made available online. Many newspapers and archival records today are only available on microfilm but that will change as technology allows for the easy digitisation of microfilm.

There will be more digitised original records for easier access and record preservation together with more indexing and keyword searching of digitised books, magazines and journals.

Better access to libraries' and archives' online resources via the internet will also occur, as they will be open 24 hours a day. In his 2016 Auckland presentation Dick Eastman predicted that within 10 years all books would be digitised and online. I am not too sure about that as it does take time and resources to digitise.

Better use of DNA to connect families will be available, especially those who may have been separated from their biological parents. We are already seeing a trend where people undertake DNA testing to discover their ethnicity and then want to know more about their actual ancestors through research.

One of the best ways to contact people is through social media sites or by a search in Google to discover who is blogging the family stories. We can find people on Facebook, Twitter and other social media platforms but perhaps in 10 years' time we will be chatting to them live as a routine activity.

It is probably safe to say that everyone will be connected to the internet by 2027 and there will be more involvement from younger generations. Many may have different surnames to their parents, or come from blended families, some may not know their biological fathers or mothers; there are all kinds of family variations today. The future will be no different.

The television series *Who Do You Think You Are?* focuses on the stories of individual ancestors, not every ancestor, and this approach may be favoured by those new to genealogy and family history. Not every ancestor is equally fascinating. Will quality not quantity be a future benchmark?

### For worse

Desktop computers seem to be on the way out with more laptops, notebooks, smartphones and tablets for 'on the move' genealogy. I already know some people who no longer even have a laptop as they can do everything they want on their smartphone. Given that I am still known to use pen and paper, I cannot see myself giving up a laptop anytime soon, although the desktop has been gone since 2012.

Perhaps there will be less use of libraries and archives in person as they adjust to providing resources in









an online world. In his presentation Dick Eastman said that within 10 years traditional libraries will cease to exist. I think this is a bit radical in that as humans we do need to come together and share our information and knowledge. Libraries will find a way to still be relevant. Archives will always exist, as their information is more unique. Even a recent Star Trek movie had an archive but I must admit I was not too happy to see it blown up!

The increased use of e-books and e-magazines will continue but I still think there will be a place for print publications, but perhaps not in 20 years' time.

Decreasing membership of genealogy and family history societies is already a reality for some societies. There needs to be a change of focus to providing for members in an online world and perhaps a greater emphasis on local resources that are not available elsewhere. More should be done with e-publishing to keep costs down and many societies have already moved to e-journals. Focus also needs to be towards younger generations who are technologically savvy. Members without internet or the interest in taking up the new technologies will be left behind, if they are not already.

There will be less personal contact between family historians and genealogists, and we will probably see fewer conferences or seminars in person. The cost of hosting these events in a large country like Australia is a drawback but then we are currently seeing the success of Rootstech and *Who Do You Think You Are?* Live expos. Perhaps we will continue to seek each other out in person. I certainly hope so.

# The best of both worlds

There is no doubt that we currently live in a fascinating time for genealogy and family history. Just about every day we can make an exciting find when new resources are released online. We can research at a time convenient to us without having to travel or even brave the weather. It can only get better with technology advances and more online resources.

As a person who has seen enormous change in the past 40 years, it is exciting to see what is coming up in the next 10 years. While I am looking forward to all the new information and resources, I am somewhat intimidated by having to continually learn new technologies. I suspect the smell of old records in the archives will never be replaced but I really do appreciate having access anytime anywhere.

I really do like attending conferences and seminars in person but can see the financial advantages of attending only virtual events. Virtual friendships are wonderful, but is it really the same as sharing a drink or a meal with them after a stimulating day of presentations?

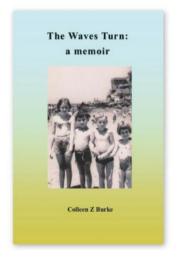
Yes, let us embrace totally all the new exciting changes in genealogy and family history in the next 10 years. But let us also embrace the good friendships and camaraderie of all those who are part of our genealogy world. Surely the two can coexist for the benefit of all. >>



Shauna Hicks is the director of Shauna Hicks History Enterprises. Visit **shaunahicks.com.au** 

# What we're reading

Our reviewers read as many new history books as time allows. It's a tough job, but someone has to do it... Here are our some of our current favourites.

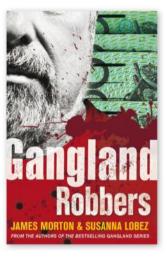


# *The Waves Turn* by Colleen Z Burke (Feakle Press, \$39.95)

The Waves Turn is a memoir that provides a valuable lens through which to explore the intertwined histories of folk music, Irish heritage, and political activism in Australia, traversing themes such as class, religion, gender relations, and personal commitment.

As Burke, a poet, reveals, the realities of her Irish-Catholic childhood were frequently harsh. The narrow opportunities offered to women, and the compounding issues of class and lack of education are strong threads running through the book. Yet Burke never gives up her struggle to achieve creative recognition, education, satisfying work, and supportive relationships. This is a self-portrait that holds the reader at a distance while feeling paradoxically intimate.

- JEANNETTE DELAMOIR

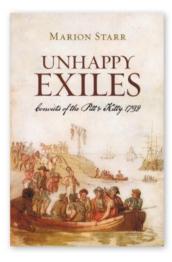


# Gangland Robbers by James Morton and Susanna Lobez (MUP, \$29.99)

As you'd expect for a colony largely settled by convicts, Australia has had its fair share of thieves, swindlers, pickpockets and bushrangers. In *Gangland Robbers*, you'll find accounts of the most entertaining heists, robberies, hold-ups and more from 200 years of history.

The authors' focus is primarily on the crims and their capers rather than taking an in-depth look at the causes of crime and punishment. But it's an entertaining read, covering iconic and lesser-known stories alike; **Squizzy Taylor**, **Tilly Devine**, **Captain Moonlite** and more make their appearances, as does the 20th-century 'Angel of Death', **Julie Wright**, once Australia's most wanted woman.

- SARAH TREVOR



# *Unhappy Exiles* by Marion Starr (Self-published, \$40)

*Unhappy Exiles* focuses on the convicts of the *Pitt & Kitty*, which arrived in 1792. The *Pitt* carried 408 convicts, the smaller *Kitty* only 28. Of those who disembarked, more than 100 would die within the first 12 months of arrival.

Starr's use of primary resources such as letters and journals allows the convicts to speak through the records. The first third of the book details the voyages of both transports to Sydney, before looking at the convicts' arrival and initial experiences in the colony. Starr then pieces together a detailed biography for each individual. Overall, a fascinating and welcome addition for anyone interested in early convict life. To order a copy, visit pittandkitty1792. blogspot.com.au

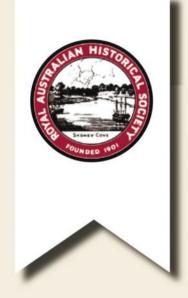
- CASSIE MERCER

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Marked tree nr Mt Blaxland [RAHS Walker glass slide collection]

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# Around Australia in 11 convict sites

Over five years writing for *Inside History*, **Sarah Trevor** has been lucky enough to visit every World Heritage listed Australian convict site — from Norfolk Island to Fremantle, the iconic Port Arthur to one in her own hometown. Here, she traces the insights these places offer into our convict heritage.

# Kingston and Arthurs Vale Historic Area, Norfolk Island

Of all the convict sites, Norfolk Island's collection of Georgian buildings and ruins in the Kingston and Arthurs Vale Historic Area (KAVHA) is the most breathtaking on first approach. Uniquely, its use as a convict settlement bookended the period of transportation to the Australian colonies from 1788 to 1855.

Norfolk Island was settled by a small party of convicts led by **Philip King** just six weeks after the First Fleet arrived in Sydney. This settlement later grew to thousands, but was abandoned in 1814 and its buildings destroyed.

In 1825, however, convict settlement was re-established, this time as a place of secondary punishment for re-offenders. Norfolk gained infamy as allegedly the cruelest of penal settlements. Much of the intact structures and picturesque ruins alike of the KAVHA area date from this period, including the remains of the Prisoners' Barracks, the earliest human-powered crank mill built in Australia, the New Gaol and more. Gradually, this second penal settlement was also closed and the island was handed over to the descendants of the *Bounty* mutineers who resettled here from Pitcairn Island in 1856. Today, KAVHA remains in active daily use as a pier, administrative centre, recreational area and more — another reason the island's convict heritage is so special. **Tips:** Get a Museum Pass for discounted entry on all four fascinating museums plus two guided 'tag-a-long tours'.

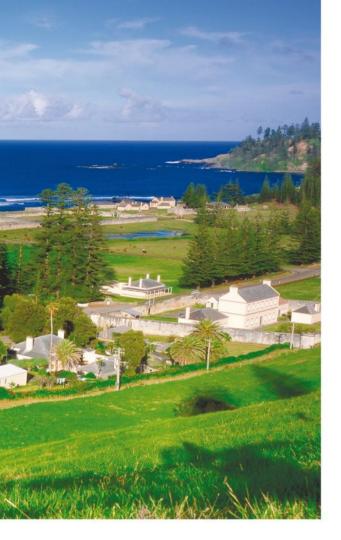
Take a tour of the scenic cemetery, which contains remains dating from the earliest period of European settlement (and is still used today). The immersive Aata Orn History in the Making tour, led by local guide Arthur Evans, is a must. **More: norfolkisland.com.au** 

# Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney, NSW

Designed by convict architect **Francis Greenway**, the simple yet striking Hyde Park Barracks was not only the first government-built barracks in the colony, but also one of its earliest substantial buildings.

Its construction in 1819 marked a crucial shift in colonial administration and penal philosophy, enabling greater surveillance, longer working hours and fewer freedoms for male convicts; previously, they had largely sourced their own accommodation. Trying out the narrow, reproduced hammocks on display paints a stark picture of the overcrowded sleeping quarters.

Later, the building served as a depot for convict reassignment, headquarters of the Office of the Principal



Left A panoramic view overlooking Quality Row and the Kingston and Arthur Vale Historic Area of Norfolk Island. Courtesy Norfolk Island Tourism.

**Below** A scenic vista along Old Great North Road. All images courtesy of Lenny Perricelli unless otherwise indicated.

Superintendent of Convicts, and Court of General Sessions. By the time it closed in 1848, approximately 8,000 convicts had been here. Now an absorbing museum, Hyde Park Barracks brims with artefacts and stories.

**Tips:** An excellent audio guide is included with entry. Don't miss out on the other Sydney Living Museums houses, properties and museums; the Justice and Police Museum (Circular Quay) and Susannah Place Museum (The Rocks) are particularly recommended. If visiting more than one property, you'll save money by getting the Sydney Museums Pass. **More: sydneylivingmuseums.com.au** 

## **Old Great North Road, Wisemans Ferry, NSW**

Set in pristine bushland in Dharug National Park near Wisemans Ferry, a roughly 75km drive northwest of Sydney, this section of the Old Great North Road is regarded the best extant example of a convict-built road.

Constructed between 1826 and 1836 at the behest of Governor Darling, the 264-kilometre-long Old Great North Road linked Sydney to the Hunter Valley, which had recently been settled for farming. It marked a major public infrastructure project, with large-scale engineering works, to help 'open up' the hinterland to free settlers - via the back-breaking toil of convict road gangs. These included road parties, bridgebuilding parties comprising skilled convicts, and the unfortunate iron gangs which consisted of the unruliest offenders chained together in leg irons. They survived on meagre rations in cramped quarters.

This World Heritage listed component includes the original line of road, the 5.2-kilometre Finch's Line, and the later re-aligned 1.8-kilometre Devine's Hill ascent. Winding through the quiet Aussie scrub, and up a high sandstone plateau, it's hard to imagine the deafening noises of blasting and quarrying that once echoed throughout the valleys here as convicts removed enormous masses of rock. Yet their handiwork survives largely intact, in well preserved stonework, dry stone retaining walls, culverts, bridges and an extensive drainage system. On-site interpretation shares personal stories of individuals such as the heartbreaking story of Sarah Hatchman, the wife of a convict who worked in an iron gang on Devine's Hill.

Other traces of some of the 720 or so convicts who laboured here include the remains of a stockade where convicts were housed, convict graffiti, inscriptions, and stone blocks left as they were unloaded when the order was received to abandon work on Finch's Line — as Darling deemed it too narrow and steep. ►



**Tips:** Walking Devine's Hill and Finch's Line together in a loop forms an occasionally steep, nine-kilometre walk taking three–four hours (which includes a dull two-kilometre stretch along Wisemans Ferry Road which you could avoid in a group by tag-teaming and swapping cars at either end).

Download the Convict Road app for an essential guide before you go. The Cartoscope map (**cartoscope.com.au/ maps/convicttr/convicttrail.pdf**) is also handy.

Plus, take the (free) car ferry from Wisemans Ferry if you're coming from Sydney, and pack a picnic — and mosquito repellent! **More: nationalparks.nsw.gov.au** and **greatnorthroad.com.au** 

# Cockatoo Island, Sydney, NSW

Few of the convict sites have a history as richly varied as Cockatoo Island, a former penal establishment, girls' industrial school and reformatory, gaol, and major shipbuilding and dockyard facility of great significance in World War II.

Cockatoo Island's position near the confluence of Parramatta River and Sydney Harbour naturally lends itself to some stunning scenery — a curiously recurring theme amongst the convict sites, until you remember that remote places hemmed in by sea or dense forest were deliberately chosen to prevent escape. This didn't stop Cockatoo's most famous former resident, however: **Captain Thunderbolt**'s 1863 escape became the stuff of legend (yet the longrumoured rescue performed by his wife, fellow bushranger **Mary Ann Bugg**, is likely false).

Selected as the site of a convict prison in 1839, Cockatoo Island was first and foremost a place of work. Here, the earliest convict residents built their barracks (another recurring theme), and silos to store grain for the colony; later, quarrying provided the daily toil, and the stone utilised in buildings and infrastructure throughout Sydney.

Convict-era structures on the island include the mess hall, prisoners' barracks and hospital, and the only remaining convict-built dry dock in Australia, whose 10-year construction involved excavation of an estimated 1.5 million cubic feet of rock.

As the largest shipyards between 1857 and 1991, Cockatoo Island also boasts the country's most important collection of shipbuilding related heritage — vastly significant for our convict, maritime and industrial history alike.

**Tips:** Look out for regular exhibitions, tours, and art and cultural events: **cockatooisland.gov.au/events** 

The Ghosts of Biloela app brings to life another layer of Cockatoo's history, as a 19th-century reformatory and industrial school for wayward girls. **More: cockatooisland.gov.au** 

# Brickendon and Woolmers Estates, Tasmania

Located in northern Tasmania near Longford, these two estates help illustrate the rural working lives of convicts on pastoral properties.

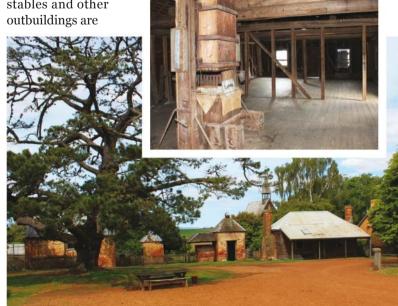
Woolmers Estate, considered a preeminent example of a 19th-century Australian homestead, has a unique family history: from an initial land grant in 1817 through to the early 1990s, it was owned by six generations of one family, the Archers.

Thanks to the assignment system, in which the average convict was allocated to a settler to work in exchange for food and clothing, many convicts worked on homesteads, if not sprawling country estates such as this one. Beyond the well-to-do Woolmers manor and formal gardens are the convicts' former workplaces.

The woolshed, blacksmith shop, stables and other outbuildings are



Above A quiet corner at the former Cascades Female Factory. Below inset Inside one of Woolmers Estate's rural workspaces. Below Brickendon's rustic outbuildings.





richly evocative of their past, complete with roughly textured farming implements and furnishings, and that distinctive farm smell.

Nearby Brickendon, a pastoral property established in the 1820s, remains a historic working farm. Female convicts assigned here worked in domestic service, while male convicts could be bricklayers, blacksmiths, tanners or general farm hands. More than 20 heritage buildings remain on site. Wandering about the outbuildings, around barns, sheds, an outhouse, cookhouse, poultry house, granary, blacksmith's shop and a quaint little church, you'll encounter not only remnants of colonial agrarian life, but squawking chickens, turkeys and ducks. Tips: A guided tour of Woolmers offers personal stories of the Archer family, and the opportunity to see the manor's interior features. There's also the 50-minute Brickendon and Woolmers Convict Farm walk that connects the two sites. Both properties also offer on-site accommodation.

More: brickendon.com.au and woolmers.com.au

## **Cascades Female Factory, Tasmania**

The only distinctively women's site on the list, Cascades Female Factory retains a deep emotional resonance.

An estimated 25,000 female convicts were transported to Australia and Cascades was one of 13 female factories set up to house convict women who were awaiting assignment, childbirth or weaning children, or being punished.

Set amid the swampy foothills of Mount Wellington, Cascades was the primary site where convict women in Hobart were initially processed and incarcerated. It was a place of punishment, of work (namely laundry, needlework, and sewing blankets), a hiring depot, and lodging for sick, infirm and pregnant convict women. Confined within its high walls, the women were subjected to overcrowding and disease; death rates were so excessive that several inquests were held. While women weren't flogged, convicts here were punished through hard labour, enforced wearing of heavy, sometimes spiked iron collars, and head-shaving.

Built in 1828, Cascades was used through to the end of convict transportation to Tasmania. Later serving as a gaol, a depot for the insane, and a hospital, the site was auctioned in 1905. Gradually most of its buildings were demolished. Surviving structures include the matron's cottage, ruins of the perimeter wall, and three of five of the original yards, where footprint landscaping marks where structures once stood.

In 1850, a purpose-built nursery yard, Yard 4, was opened. Here, mothers stayed with their babies until they could be weaned, just a few months old, at which point the mothers were sentenced to six months in the Crime Class for the offence of falling pregnant; children who survived to infancy were sent to orphan schools. This was a place of tremendous suffering. **Tips:** Tours are essential at Cascades. There's a heritage tour (\$15) and the wonderful Her Story tour (\$20), a participatory theatrical experience performed by two actors. **More: femalefactory.org.au** 

# **Darling Probation Station, Tasmania**

Windswept Maria Island, off Tasmania's eastern coast, is best known for its two separate convict settlements which, though operating only a decade apart, had differing purposes.

Colonial settlement began here when **Governor Arthur** set up a penal establishment for re-offending convicts at Darlington in 1825. This settlement closed in 1832 and prisoners were transferred to the newly established Port Arthur, leaving behind a commissariat store and penitentiary.

But in 1842 some of these buildings were reused, and others built anew, when Darlington reopened as a probation station. The ill-fated, uniquely Tasmanian probation system, marking the final major phase of convictism, replaced the widely criticised assignment system. Of the 75-plus probation stations Tasmania once hosted, Darlington features the most intact structures today.

Notable prisoners on the island included five Māori imprisoned here in 1846 for rebellion (one of whom, **Hohepa te Umuroa**, died of tuberculosis and is buried in the cemetery), and Irish political prisoner **William Smith O'Brien**, later sent to Port Arthur.



In the decades following Darlington's re-closure in 1850 many convict-era remains were demolished, yet 14 convict buildings remain, largely clustered in the central Darlington area, whitewashed and Old Georgian in style. Perhaps more curious though are the convict and later industrial ruins scattered around the island in varying states of disrepair amid the picturesque scenery, abundant wildlife and all-round wilderness feel.

**Tips:** The Coffee Palace, built in 1888, now houses a museum displaying period artefacts, oral histories and historic photographs. See the website below to download a visitor's guide and map before your visit. **More: http://bit.ly/2ohkcCl** 

# Port Arthur Historic Site, Tasmania

Situated on the Tasman Peninsula, roughly 100km southeast of Hobart, Port Arthur is the headliner attraction of Australia's convict sites.

Established in the 1830s, this penal settlement was a notoriously harsh place for re-offending convicts. Its variety of buildings — more than 60 are extant today offers a microcosm of changing approaches towards convict punishment. From the commanding Penitentiary to the eerie Separate Prison, Port Arthur comprises some of the most evocative convict-era landmarks, amid verdant lawns, stately oaks, and forest and harbour surrounds.

But Port Arthur's quieter corners are equally worthy of attention. A self-guided trail traces an ambitious convict-built hydro-engineering project that aimed to achieve self-sufficiency in flour production. Smith O'Brien's Cottage reimagines life at Port Arthur for a political prisoner. The pretty Government Cottage Garden, formerly frequented by officers' wives and children, is hard to reconcile with the brutality elsewhere here.

**Above** One of the many beautiful bays of Maria Island. **Below** A view overlooking the Penitentiary of Port Arthur, an iconic convict-era landmark. **Tips:** Allow for two consecutive days (one ticket will cover both) to soak up all the history. The two islands, Port Pirie Boys Prison and the Isle of the Dead, are also worthwhile. Check out the site's daily Museum House talks. **More: portarthur.org.au** 

# **Coal Mines Historic Site, Tasmania**

Coal Mines Historic Site — just a 25-minute drive northwest of Port Arthur — may initially seem underwhelming. But, more expansive and intriguing than it first appears, this place is perfect for those who prefer having historic sites to themselves to wander freely at their own pace.

Established as a colliery in 1833, with the aim of generating coal through the forced labour of reoffending convicts, this penal coal mine is an early example of an industrialised mine site. Almost 600 prisoners lived and worked here.

What remains today is largely ruins. Spread throughout native bushland, they have an almost Romantic sense of mystery, ideal for mental recreations of the site's erstwhile isolation. Among the remains are mining shafts, barracks, wharves, offices, a quarry complete with the marks of convict picks, and a signal station linked to Port Arthur's.

The Coal Mines is also notable for its role in anti-transportation debates, due to authorities' fears of homosexual activity here. This drove the construction of separate apartments and brick solitary cells for the convicts, and later contributed to the site's closure. **Tips:** Download or print off a visitor guide before you go (link below). There are three bushwalks taking in the ruins, varying from 50 minutes to two hours. Allow for several hours to half a day to see it all.

More: coalmines.org.au



### Fremantle Prison, WA

The formidable Fremantle Prison, initially known as the Convict Establishment, operated from the convict era until as recently as 1991. It was built in the 1850s, late in the transportation era but not long after convicts were first brought to the Swan River colony.

Constructed by convicts from limestone quarried on site, Fremantle Prison's 133-year use as a prison has made it a remarkable, tangible record of changing penal philosophies. Set across six hectares, the complex comprises an 1859 cell block, wards, vards, refractory cells and a chapel. Its salient Main Cell Block is both the longest and tallest cell range in Australia. In the late 1880s the service building was converted to the Women's Prison.

For just under 100 years, Fremantle Prison was the only legal place of execution in Western Australia; at least 43 men and one woman were hanged here.

Walking around the site while considering the vast diversity of people of so many generations who've been stuck - or worse - within its walls is a mindboggling exercise in contextualising Australian history: from convicts, bushrangers and Irish Fenians, to paupers and 'lunatics', modern-day serial killers and more. It was also used as a military prison incarcerating 'enemy aliens' and prisoners of war in World War II, and saw several riots in the later 20th century.

Some graffiti, murals, signs and artworks left by prisoners survive. One fine quality drawing uncovered beneath layers of whitewash in 1964 is likely the work of convict artist James Walsh, who was transported for forgery. Tips: The Doing Time tour is a great introduction (\$20). But if you only have time for one tour, don't miss the thrilling Tunnels Tour (\$60), in which you descend some 20m below the prison, locked into ladders, and explore a labyrinthine tunnel network on foot and aboard replica convict punts. You can also stay on site here in the Fremantle Prison YHA, set in the former Fremantle Women's Prison, or the Fremantle Colonial Cottages. More: fremantleprison.com.au





# **Old Government House and Domain**, Parramatta, NSW

Set in the 85-hectare expanse of Parramatta Park, a 40-minute drive west of Sydney CBD, Old Government House is the oldest surviving public building on Australia's mainland. Foundations were laid during the time of Governor Phillip; some brick flooring remains visible today. The house's extant three front rooms were built by Governor Hunter in 1799 and extended to form the house as it stands today by Governor Macquarie in 1818.

Old Government House was the vice regal offices and rural home of the colony's first 10 governors, and today houses Australia's leading collection of colonial-era furniture. What's more, its surrounds in the Domain were crucial in establishing agriculture in Australia. It contains relics of some of the colony's earliest forays into astronomy and botany, sowing the seeds for the gradual shift from penal outpost to free settlement.

Old Government House marked the final stop on my tour around our World Heritage listed convict sites; being mere minutes away from where I grew up, it was a vivid reminder of how fascinating local history can linger around every corner.

Tips: Go on a weekend when the Dairy Precinct tours are available. The recently restored Dairy Precinct is only accessible on tours (\$8, book in advance). A selfguided walking tour of Parramatta Park is also recommended (see http://bit. ly/20xOgbN).

Download the Convict Parramatta walk on the Dictionary of Sydney app and look out for guided tours around Parramatta, such as the National Trust's regular offerings.

More: parrapark.com.au 🧇



**Kead more of Sarah's travel writing** at **worldunlost.com**.

Inset Inside the imposing Fremantle Prison, which operated from the 1850s through to 1991.

Above The two cottages of the recently restored Dairy Precinct in Parramatta Park

# One picture... 1000 memories

Y 2 x great grandmother, Sarah Bennett, was born in 1866 in Adelaide. Her parents, John and Margaret, were originally from County Armagh in Ireland before emigrating in 1855. Sarah, the youngest of five children born into the family, did not have a peaceful start in life. Instead, her upbringing was fraught with destitution, familial violence between her parents, the serving of jail sentences for both her parents, and eventual abandonment.

Sarah spent a great proportion of her teenage years in the Destitute Asylum and subsequent Industrial School until 1882, when she was discharged. Her parents both continued their path of assault, petty crime, and jail through to John's disappearance, and Margaret's eventual death in the Destitute Asylum in 1887.

Sarah reappeared in the Destitute Asylum in 1885 and 1887 when, at age 19 and 21 respectively, she was admitted to the Destitute Asylum's 'Lying-In-Home', and her daughters **Lavinia** and Dora were born. Sadly only the youngest, **Dora**, was permitted to stay with Sarah. This is when Sarah Bennett reinvented herself as 'Annie Bennett', and moved to Freeling, South Australia.

Annie was 23 when she married the widower **Charles Green** in 1889. Charles and Annie went on to have nine children together, in addition to the four that Charles had from his previous marriage. Sadly, on 26 February 1910, at the age of 44, Annie died from complications of childbirth.

Annie Bennett was always remembered fondly as a loving mother and stepmother, who held the family together. The story of Sarah Bennett, who became Annie Green, has only come to light in recent years. I am sure she would have liked her past to remain firmly



buried, but when I look at her photograph I do not think 'poor Sarah.' It is not a tale of tragedy; rather, it is a tale of survival. Despite the hardships she went through, with little guidance Annie raised a loving family, never willingly abandoned her children, and deserved a great deal more compassion than I imagine she received during her life. If her strength and resilience serve as a guide, one can only hope to have inherited these genes from her.

- Erinne Carey, Parrakie, SA

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