

NORTHERN TERRITORY
DICTIONARY
OF
BIOGRAPHY

REVISED EDITION



Edited by
DAVID CARMENT, CHRISTINE EDWARD, BARBARA JAMES, ROBYN MAYNARD,
ALAN POWELL and HELEN J WILSON

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Charles Darwin University Press

2008

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Published by Charles Darwin University Press, <http://www.cdu.edu.au/cdupress>

First published as three volumes in 1990, 1992 and 1996

Published as revised edition in one volume in 2008 and available in paperback (ISBN 9780980457810) and on CD under the same title (ISBN 9780980384697)

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Title: Northern Territory dictionary of biography [electronic resource] / editor David Carment ... [et al.].

Edition: Rev. ed.

ISBN: 9780980384697 (CD-ROM)

Subjects: Northern Territory--Biography.
Northern Territory--History.

Other Authors/Contributors:
Carment, D., 1949-

Dewey Number: 920.09429

Produced in Darwin by UnipriNT, Charles Darwin University, Darwin NT 0909, Australia.

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PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

This edition of the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography* includes numerous factual and stylistic corrections to articles in the three previously published volumes. No attempt, however, is made to update or substantially re-write the articles based on research undertaken since they originally appeared. That would be an enormous task well beyond currently available resources. Articles are, consequently, up to date only until the time they first appeared in 1990, 1992 or 1996.

I am most grateful to Christine Edward for doing much of the hard work involved with this revised edition.

DAVID CARMENT

PREFACES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FROM EARLIER VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

Preface

This volume sprang from the belief of Darwin historian Peter Spillett that Northern Territory history, with its distinctive themes of 'last frontier', Australian colonialism and the direct impact of war, warranted a much wider biographical record than could be provided in a national publication such as the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. In 1983, a working party was set up under the auspices of the Northern Territory University Planning Authority to formulate criteria for inclusion and to contact potential authors. Darwin Institute of Technology took up the support of the project in 1985 and at that time, the working party became an Editorial Committee. In mid-1986, the project transferred, with the General Editor, to the newly created University College of the Northern Territory. The amalgamation on 1 January 1989 brought the Institute and the University College together as the Northern Territory University. The project continues with that body. Several early decisions have shaped this work; firstly, that the spread of entries should provide a broad reflection of life in the Territory rather than focussing upon eminent public figures. Thus, while public figures are represented, they are not all here. Many who were representative of sections of Territory society, in time, geographical distribution, occupation, are included.

A special effort has been made to record the lives of migrant groups, women and Aborigines, those people whose contribution to Territory society has been great but often poorly documented. In that regard, another decision was made: that it was better to publish what could be found on such people, no matter how incomplete, than to leave them unrecorded. It was also determined that authors be sought from the widest possible range of strands in the Australian and Northern Territory population: represented in this volume are professional historians and eminent academics, students, librarians, those whose work or special interests have given them knowledge of people of the past, members of pioneer families with access to family archives. The wide range of authorial occupations and interests is matched by the range of writing styles; for we have rejected the established custom of editorially-imposed unity in favour of allowing the maximum permissible expression of personality, attitude - and even idiosyncrasy - to come through in the writings of each author; 'colour' is not incompatible with historical worth. Lastly, we have kept firmly in mind that the main interest of this volume is the Northern Territory. Many of those recorded here had extended careers outside the Territory; in all cases, their Territory experience is the focal point of the entries.

This volume spans the period from the early British and French explorers of the Northern Territory coast to 1945, - and all those recorded herein are dead. Within that period, our work has shown, there are many, many more who would be worthy subjects for inclusion in a work of this kind; and there is a whole generation since 1945 as yet unrecorded. They are to be the subjects of later volumes in this series.

Acknowledgements

This volume is very much the result of combined effort. From the earliest days of the project, members of the Editorial Committee, Don Brech, Jack Haydon, Michael Loos, Vern O'Brien and Peter Spillett have consistently given it strong support and the benefits of wide knowledge in Territory history. There could be no more energetic and able Deputy General Editor than David Carment. Helen Wilson admirably overcame the administrative and academic problems of getting the project under way. Long after Helen had moved on to academe, my research assistant Robyn Maynard earned special mention because she took up the cause when it seemed to have lost all momentum and, in two strenuous years, brought it to fruition. Kerry Davies brought the final version to order. From 1985, Mr Kevin Davis, Director of the Darwin Institute of Technology encouraged the project and generously provided logistical support from the resources of D.I.T. Professor Jim Thomson, Warden of the University College of the Northern Territory, did likewise from mid-1986; and both, as Deputy Vice Chancellors of the Northern Territory University, have continued their support; it is fitting that this volume should be one of the first major publications of the new tertiary institution. Evi Adams and Donna Duke, with their usual speed and efficiency, reduced the mass of material to coherent order on the word-processor. There were many outside the Northern Territory who contributed materially, too: foremost amongst them were Dr Geoffrey Serle and Dr Chris Cunneen of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* who provided many leads and allowed us the use of their vast research findings. Our research assistants in Canberra, Pati Sharp and Alan Fraser, provided a firm basis for many entries. Registrars of Births, Deaths and Marriages in several States and in the Northern Territory did all they could to facilitate our research.

Lastly, there are the people who created this volume - the contributors. We owe them everything.

ALAN POWELL
General Editor

VOLUME TWO

Preface

The *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography* came from the belief of the well known Darwin historian Peter Spillett that Northern Territory history, with its distinctive themes of 'last frontier', Australian colonialism and the direct impact of war, warranted a much wider biographical record than could be provided in a national publication such as the Australian Dictionary of Biography.

The first volume of the *Dictionary* was published in 1990. Edited by David Carment, Robyn Maynard and Alan Powell, it spans the period from the early British and French sea explorers of the Northern Territory coast to until the end of the Second World War. Its preface sets out the origins of the project and the various decisions that had shaped it.

This second volume covers the period from 1945 until the attainment of Northern Territory self-government but also includes some subjects that could not appear in Volume One. Like the first volume, Volume Two aims to provide a broad reflection of life in the Territory rather than focusing on eminent public figures. In some cases, this has meant that subjects are included about whom relatively little is known. Nevertheless, we felt it was better to publish what we could about them than unjustifiably leave them unrecorded. Authors come from the widest possible cross section of the community and there is a considerable range of writing styles.

The principal interest of the volume is the Northern Territory. In all cases, the Territory experience of subjects, however eminent they might have been elsewhere, is the focal point of entries.

Despite the fact that every care has been taken, it is inevitable in a project like this that there will be unfortunate omissions, errors of fact and odd interpretations. For these the editors, not the authors, take full responsibility. Our principal hope is that, notwithstanding any such defects, this volume, like the first, will record in an interesting manner the lives of many persons associated with the Northern Territory who are worthy of remembrance for their good or evil deeds, their influence, or, quite simply, their fascination as human beings.

DAVID CARMENT and BARBARA JAMES

Acknowledgements

This volume, like the first, is very much the result of combined effort. Members of the Editorial Committee, Baiba Berzins, Greg Coleman, Jack Haydon, Michael Loos, Robyn Maynard, Eve Gibson, Barbara James and Helen Wilson worked enormously hard and with real enthusiasm and expertise to bring the project to fruition. The Faculty of Arts at the Northern Territory University provided logistical support and resources. Special thanks must be given to the Northern Territory Minister for Education, Hon. Shane Stone, and the Territory Minister for Conservation, Hon. Mike Reed, for providing, through their departments, generous financial assistance. The Northern Territory Archives Service awarded the project a History Grant, which came at a crucial time and was much appreciated. John Ritchie and Chris Cunneen of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* at the Australian National University were always helpful and allowed use of their records. The assistance of the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Adelaide deserves special acknowledgement. Librarians, archivists and public servants throughout Australia, of whom there are far too many to name individually, provided enormous assistance. Gratitude must also be expressed to the hard working staff of the University Printing/Publishing Services and Helen Wilson for her proof reading. Last, but certainly not least, there are the contributors. They are the real creators of this volume.

DAVID CARMENT
General Editor

VOLUME THREE

The Northern Territory University Press published the Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography's first two volumes in 1990 and 1992. Their prefaces set out the origins of the project and the various decisions that shaped it.

This, the third volume, has as its focus people whose careers flourished from 1978 until 1990 but it also includes many lives that belong to an earlier period. The book aims to provide a broad reflection of life in the Territory with authors and subjects coming from a wide cross section of the community.

The volume is very much the result of combined effort. Members of the Editorial Committee gave it a strong backing. Special thanks must go to the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, Hon. Shane Stone, for his invaluable and sustained support. The Office of the Arts and Cultural Affairs in the Department of the Chief Minister and the Heritage Conservation Branch in the Department of Lands, Planning and Environment, both provided grants that allowed the project to continue and be published. The Historical Society of the Northern Territory Incorporated ably providing information on births, deaths and marriages. Librarians, archivists and public servants throughout Australia, of whom there are far too many to name individually, provided enormous assistance. The Northern Territory University Press agreed to publish the volume and thanks go to the Press committee members for their patience and support. Last, but most important, there are the contributors. They are the real creators of this volume.

DAVID CARMENT and HELEN J WILSON

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Australian Archives
ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
AIM	Australian Inland Mission
ANUA	Australian National University Archives
AWM	Australian War Memorial
BA Hons	Bachelor of Arts with Honours
CCNT	Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory
CPD	Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates
CPP	Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers
DIT	Darwin Institute of Technology
HRA	Historical Records of Australia
JRAHS	Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society
NAA	National Archives of Australia
nd	no date
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSWA	New South Wales Archives
NTA	Northern Territory Archives
NTDB	Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PRGS	Papers of the Royal Geographical Society
PRGS, SA	Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australia
PRGSSA	Papers of the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia
RAN	Royal Australian Navy
RGS	Royal Geographical Society
RGSA SAB	Royal Geographical Society of Australia, South Australian Branch
RGSSA	Royal Geographical Society of South Australia
RN	Royal Navy
SAA	South Australian Archives
SAPD	South Australian Parliamentary Debates
SAPP	South Australian Parliamentary Papers
TRSSA	Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia
V + P (LA WA)	Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, Western Australia

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ABBOTT, CHARLES LYDIARD AUBREY (1881–1975), policeman, soldier, pastoralist, politician and Administrator of the Northern Territory, was born on 4 May 1886 in North Sydney, the son of Thomas Kingswell Abbott and his wife May, *nee* Lydiard. His father was the chief stipendiary magistrate in Sydney.

At 10 years of age he was boarded at The King's School, Parramatta, where he was four years younger than any of the other 160 students. He enjoyed Latin and won a prize in athletics. At the age of 14 he ran away from school and went first to his mother's relatives in Victoria before finding work as a jackeroo near Gunnedah. After a brief attempt to become an actor in Sydney, he drifted to Queensland where he worked as a stockman at Mitchell and Roma before becoming a canecutter at Pleystow Mill near Mackay. After three years at Pleystow he joined the New South Wales Police Force as a mounted constable. From 1908 to 1914 he worked as a confidential clerk at police headquarters.

In 1914 he joined the expeditionary force sent to capture German New Guinea. Upon his return he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force, and was posted to the 12th Light Horse. He saw action at Gallipoli (where he went ashore a corporal and left an officer), in Sinai (where he was wounded), Palestine and Syria. He achieved a mention in dispatches. He met T E Lawrence in Damascus and heard of the latter's disappointment that the city had fallen to the Australians and not to him. While in Egypt he met **Hilda Gertrude Harnett**, the first Australian woman to serve overseas with the Red Cross. He proposed in front of the Sphinx, 'and the Sphinx smiled'. They were married on 24 October 1916. Returning to Australia in 1918, he resigned from the army with the rank of Major.

After the war he used a family inheritance to establish a property called Echo Hills near Tamworth, where he joined the Country Party and was unsuccessful in a bid to enter the New South Wales Legislative Assembly. In 1925 he won the federal seat of Gwydir with a majority of 2 000, and on 29 November 1928, as Minister for Home and Territories, became the youngest minister in the Bruce–Page Government. From 10 December 1928 to 22 October 1929 he continued to be responsible for the Northern Territory as Minister for Home Affairs. He lost his seat when Scullin's Labor Government swept into power in 1929, but was returned in 1931 and again in 1934 with a majority of about 7 000. He was offered the post of Administrator of the Northern Territory in 1937 and he resigned his seat in the House to accept it.

Shortly after his appointment to Darwin, Abbott allowed the use of public servants in an attempt to break a wharf labourers' strike. By this action he alienated himself from the strong local union element and subsequently made no attempt to re-establish a better relationship. Believing that the future prosperity of the Northern Territory lay in the development of the pastoral industry, he had the Murrarji stock route cleared and tried to encourage graziers. His suggestion that Hobo Downs was an inappropriate name for a property that was part of the Territory's economic backbone led the manager to rename it Utopia. Abbott's point was that the original name did not evoke a feeling of pride.

Abbott's attitude to Aborigines was ambivalent. He was patronising, in the manner of his time, and saw the 'natives' as a valuable component (or resource) in the development of the cattle industry; but he was also aware of the inequality of Aborigines before the law. Although opponents accused him of extreme callousness in the case of an Aboriginal maid killed during the first Japanese raid on Darwin, he seems to have had a good relationship with his Aboriginal staff: 'Sam' and his wife 'Silver' endured incredible hardship in an endeavour to join Abbott in Alice Springs because 'Sam' felt the need to be with his boss. They walked over 650 kilometres from Cape Don to Mataranka.

As Administrator, Abbott bore some responsibility for the unpreparedness of Darwin for the Japanese air raids that began on 19 February 1942 and for the subsequent behaviour of civilians. He had enjoyed a good relationship with the armed services and expected that in an emergency martial law would be introduced. His advocacy in Canberra of the requests from his civil defence volunteers was not forceful, and these people had resigned in protest immediately prior to the initial attack. At the Royal Commission into the attack his opponents were granted complete confidentiality but he was refused counsel. Although the commissioner's findings were damaging to Abbott, he retained the confidence of his minister and departmental secretary. His attempt to clear his name was, however, unsuccessful.

From February 1942 to 1946 the administration of the Northern Territory was transferred to Alice Springs. From there Abbott struggled against staff shortage and conflict with the local army commander, Colonel Noel Loutit, to keep civil power alive. He supervised the move of government back to Darwin before his replacement by **A R Driver** at the age of 60. Abbott left Darwin, almost alone and unnoticed, in May 1946. He never received another government appointment.

Abbott was a tall man—his father and two uncles together measured over 5 metres—with strong features and wavy brown hair. He was thoroughly conservative, having told S M Bruce that he would leave the ministry and the Country Party before he would vote with Labor. He was also arrogant: having classified Darwin's population into four groups, he dismissed that group consisting of permanent residents as 'having a mentality not of a very high standard'. After five years as Administrator he was able to tell the Lowe Royal Commission that he would not call the people of Darwin his enemies; he simply did not know them. He had a much greater empathy with graziers and was pleased to have visiting VIP guests stay overnight at Government House when the airlines introduced a passenger service through Darwin. He described the catering for a millionaires' cruise as the 'most successful thing I did' and was proud to have known all the prime ministers except Alfred Deakin.

He died at St Luke's Hospital, Darling Point, on 30 April 1975, just five days before his 89th birthday. His wife, Hilda, and daughters, Hilda and Dorothy, survived him. He was the last survivor of the Bruce–Page Government. A state funeral was conducted at St Mark's Anglican Church, Darling Point. He is best remembered for his book *Australia's Frontier Province* (1950), a critical history of the Northern Territory in which he argued that, although Britain had been unsuccessful in settling the north and that South Australia and the Commonwealth had each achieved only a little, the Northern Territory was worth developing and would eventually repay the costs of such development. Abbott Crescent in Darwin is named for him.

C L A Abbott, *Australia's Frontier Province*, 1950; D Lockwood, *Australia's Pearl Harbour*, 1966; Commission of Inquiry concerning the circumstances connected with the attack made by Japanese aircraft at Darwin on 19 February, 1942 (Lowe Report); L Nicklin, 'My Friend Mr Abbott', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1975; *Canberra Times*, 2 May 1975; C L A Abbott, taped interview, 22 April 1971, NLA.

MURRAY MAYNARD, *Vol 1.*

ABBOTT, HILDA GERTRUDE nee HARNETT (1890–1984), secretary, author, voluntary worker, designer, traveller and film maker was born on 9 September 1890 at Eucumbene Station, near Adaminaby, New South Wales, the daughter of John Joseph Harnett, grazier. Educated at Loreto Convent at Kirribilli in Sydney, she trained as a secretary. She travelled extensively, visiting Europe in 1895–1898, South and Southeast Asia in 1911 and New Zealand in 1912. Before 1916 she worked in Parkes, New South Wales, for a law practice.

In 1916 she was in the office of the Australian Red Cross Society in Cairo before being sent to London when the Australian Red Cross commissioners transferred their activities to the British capital. There she married Lieutenant **Charles Lydiard Aubrey Abbott** of the Australian Imperial Force on 24 October 1916 in Westminster Cathedral with Catholic rites.

After the war she settled with her husband at Echo Hills, a property near Kootingal, New South Wales, and assisted him with his career in federal politics and the Producers' Advisory Council. They also had two daughters. With Gladys Owen she wrote *Life on the Land*, published in Sydney in 1932. She enthusiastically continued her travels with journeys to Africa in 1925 (going from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo) and 1929, around Australia in 1932 and 1933 and Europe in 1934 and 1936.

Hilda was with her husband for much of the time he was Administrator of the Northern Territory between 1937 and 1946. She was an energetic 'first lady', who quickly adopted a vice regal style which not all Territorians appreciated. She particularly enjoyed entertaining important visitors who passed through the Territory but was less enthusiastic about those she regarded as her social inferiors. An enthusiastic anglophile, she attempted to establish personal links with the various British aristocrats who served as Governors of some Australian states and as Australian Governors General. She did, though, revive the Darwin Branch of the Red Cross in September 1937 in spite of initial opposition from local medical practitioners such as **Dr C E Cook** and was subsequently an active Branch President. In 1946 the Red Cross recognised her work when one of its buildings in Darwin was named 'Hilda Abbott Cottage'. She also supported several other organisations. A skilled furniture designer and interior decorator, she designed, among other things, a desk for Darwin's Government House. She continued her travelling, making a film in Central Australia in 1937 and surveying high country tracks for the Australian Light Horse in New South Wales during 1940.

The Territory provided new inspiration for her writing. As well as recording her memoirs in an unpublished manuscript 'Good Night, All About', she wrote scores of articles for numerous newspapers and magazines, notably the much read *Walkabout*, under the pen name 'Haliden Hartt'. The Darwin *Northern Standard*, probably not knowing who she was, once reprinted one of her articles, in which she described life in Darwin from a rather elitist point of view. It is a romantic picture of a balmy tropical town late in 1941, seemingly oblivious to the war clouds threatening all around.

In Darwin during the first Japanese bombing raid on 19 February 1942, she and her husband were lucky not to be killed when a bomb damaged a building at Government House very close to their shelter. They dragged Elsey, an Aboriginal maid, from the rubble and Aubrey Abbott rescued Leo, also an Aboriginal employee, but they were unable to save another. Hilda and Elsey clung together and lay flat until the raid was over. She then went to her room to collect some necessities when a gigantic explosion rocked her and the others when *Neptuna* blew up in the harbour nearby. As she prepared to go to the Red Cross headquarters to collect any surviving records and take them to Alice Springs, she was told of the loss of life when the post office was bombed and reflected sadly that none of the Red Cross aides she had helped train were able to get to their posts.

Hilda drove a group of evacuees in the Administrator's official Vauxhall Tourer from Darwin to Adelaide River, where they spent the evening sheltering during air raid alarms in a hole in the riverbank. At last they were able to load the vehicle and themselves onto a train and illegally travel southward to Larrimah and then, by road again, to the safety of Alice Springs. Despite the lack of a travel permit, she bluffed her way through various military obstacles and even obtained Army fuel for the journey and other assistance along the route. Her rationale for this extraordinary trip was that she had to warn the civil authorities in Alice Springs about the flood of evacuees the town would need to accommodate. She spent anxious days there waiting for news of her husband, who eventually joined her.

The Abbotts lived, although not always together, in the Residency, Alice Springs, until Government House in Darwin was reoccupied in July 1945. Hilda, however, spent several months following the Darwin air raid resting near Jindabyne, New South Wales, where she wrote an account of her traumatic experiences that was eventually published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1972. She shared some of her husband's frustrations at the limited role the military authorities allowed the civil administration in Alice Springs and was unhappy about restrictions on her

own role. Elsey remained with her until after she returned to Alice Springs, being outfitted in the fashions of the day in Adelaide and Melbourne.

The Abbotts left Darwin in May 1946, eventually retiring to Bowral, New South Wales. In 1948 Hilda published a children's book *Among the Hills*. She also resumed her travels. In 1947 and 1948 she was in Africa, filming there for the Australian Museum in Sydney. She travelled to the Kimberleys in Western Australia during 1950 as part of a scientific exhibition, making films of Aboriginal cave paintings. She journeyed to the Roper River in 1951, Darwin and Arnhem Land in 1952, Europe in 1955, where she lectured on Australia, Central Australia in 1959 and 1961, Asia and Europe in 1964 and 1965 and East and Southeast Asia in 1966. During the 1950s she became well known as a broadcaster and her work as a designer included a commission to redecorate the bedrooms of the Wentworth Hotel in Sydney. There is some evidence that late in life she was concerned that the opening of wartime archives for public inspection could provide additional material for critics of her conduct and that of her husband in the aftermath of the Japanese air attack on Darwin. She died, survived by a daughter, on 26 May 1984 in Bowral and was buried with Roman Catholic rites in South Head Cemetery, Sydney.

Hilda had great physical charm. A close friend, Lady (Maie) Casey, frequently referred to her beautiful green eyes. She and her husband shared a strong sense of superiority over most other Territory residents that made them both unpopular. Yet her energetic work for the Red Cross, actions in the aftermath of the air raid on Darwin and deep interest in the Territory which continued long after 1946 showed her in a much more positive light. Her many writings, that present a vivid picture of certain aspects of Territory life, are a most valuable legacy.

B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1972; Abbott Papers, National Library of Australia; H de Berg, Hilda Abbott (taped interview), National Library of Australia.

PETER ELDER, BARBARA JAMES and DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 2*.

ADAMS, COLIN FRANCIS (1910–), mining engineer and public servant, was born on 10 January 1910 at Adelaide. He was educated at Brompton State School, Queens School and St Peters College, Adelaide. He graduated from the School of Mines, University of Adelaide. In 1938 he married Dorothy Helen Stephen and there are three children, Christine, Sue and John. Prior to graduation Adams obtained the required working experience at Mt Lyell, Mt Isa and Broken Hill. During 1931 he took a year off study and worked at the Golden Dyke mine not far from Grove Hill. This was shortly after Bill Lucy (see [Alf Colley](#)) built the Grove Hill pub out of old railway lines and galvanised iron. It is virtually unchanged to this day. He also had an official appointment as the part-time Postmaster at Grove Hill. The period there gave Adams a love for the Territory and in his words 'I promised myself if ever I can do any good for this place, I'll come back'.

After graduation, Adams worked in Western Australia. He was at Wiluna 'on the shovel', managed the Galena mine at Northampton and then in 1939 was appointed Inspector of Mines based at Cue, in charge of an area as far north as Port Hedland and Marble Bar, across to the Northern Territory border and south to Northampton. Travel was by vehicle over rough roads. Once a stub axle broke and the wheel fell off, a nearby station's blacksmith's shop was borrowed to fix it. In 1950 he was appointed Superintendent of State Batteries with headquarters in Perth and 20 batteries to supervise spread all over Western Australia. Of this he said that batteries are good politics but bad economics.

In 1955 Adams was appointed Director of Mines, Northern Territory. On arrival in Darwin he found the Mines Branch located in a tin shed with holes in the roof and a staff comprising a Chief Clerk, two Mining Registrars, three inspectors and five others, no diamond drills, several defunct batteries and one geologist owned by the Bureau of Mineral Resources. After reading all the files of importance, ably selected by Arthur Scott, it was clear to Adams that the existing Mines Branch was little more than a figurehead. Of this, he told a Public Accounts Committee in 1958 in answer to the question 'How did you find the Mines organisation when you arrived?' 'Not very good'. 'Not in first-class order?' 'Not in first-class order', replied Adams.

The Northern Territory to which Adams returned was in a state of depression with Darwin still showing the effects of wartime bombing and post-war neglect. A year or so later Adams told me that to rebuild the prestige of the Mines Branch he had to do three things—fix the batteries, find a water supply for Tennant Creek and find a mine. An early request from the Administrator, [F J S Wise](#), was to do something about the batteries. This resulted in rebuilding the Tennant Creek battery and construction of the Mt Wells battery over the next several years. Apart from treating prospectors' ores the Tennant Creek battery was used to prove the metallurgy of a complex ore-body that the Peko group had at Orlando mine. This was a joint effort and enabled Peko to design a milling circuit for the ore.

During Adams' period as Director of Mines he built the Branch into a respected and competent organisation which included the establishment of a diamond drill section (and this located the Frances Creek iron ore mine), a well-equipped laboratory including an atomic absorption spectrograph, a full mines inspectorate including electrical inspections and a machinery inspection section. Of this Adams said that when he arrived he found an Ordinance but no inspectors. Each Darwin Show Day he would solemnly inspect the merry-go-round and charge 10 shillings. This was the total extent of machinery inspection. The section was established and the Ordinance amended to require operators to be qualified; likewise an Ordinance was made to regulate the storage and use of explosives. The geological section was expanded but still remained under the control of the Bureau of Mineral Resources, mainly due to Canberra bureaucratic jealousies.

Shortly after Adams' arrival in Darwin he was informed by D R M (Deric) Thompson, Clerk of the Legislative Council, 'Of course, Mr Adams, you'll be on the Legislative Council', to which Adams responded 'What Council?' He went on to say that he didn't claim to be a politician and knew very little about politics. Thompson said,

‘You’ll learn’. Adams said that in time he did learn, and to keep his mouth shut on any subject except mining. He was, however, a member of a Select Committee on the Licensing Ordinance and one outcome of this was the establishment of Wayside Inn licences, much the same as had operated in Western Australia for many years.

During Adams’ term on the Council legislation was either enacted or amended ranging from machinery inspection, explosives, authorities to prospect, mining and petroleum prospecting, silicosis and tuberculosis (mineworkers) to name some of the more important. The Mining Ordinance was substantially amended to provide for Authorities to Prospect more appropriate to modern trends in mineral exploration. He was a member of the Port Authority and Chairman of the Petroleum Advisory Board.

The period of Adams’ service as Director of Mines saw a tremendous increase in mining activity and importantly an increasing interest by the great mining groups such as BHP and Mt Isa mines. It covered gold, copper and bismuth at Tennant Creek, which originated with a Bureau of Mineral Resources drill hole at Peko which was then a small gold mine, and extended to a chain of small mines in the area discovered by Geopeko, the prospecting arm of Peko, manganese at Groote Eylandt, Alumina at Gove and natural gas in Central Australia. Mt Isa found a huge deposit of silver-lead-zinc at Macarthur River. Over the period the value of mineral production increased some nine times, from 1.6 million to 13.9 million Pounds.

Apart from his efforts to successfully build up the Mines Branch in the face of many difficulties, Adams found a water supply for Tennant Creek. Not long after he arrived in the Territory he was told by **Jock Nelson**, the Territory’s only member of the Commonwealth parliament, that the Government had a plan to move all the people out of Tennant Creek because of the water supply problem. Some little time later he was with **Paul Hasluck**, Minister for Territories, in Tennant Creek and the Minister said to him and **Len Purkiss**, ‘My files show that Tennant Creek is a dying mining town and nothing can be done about it’. At the time there was a certain amount of unrest in the town and people were pressing for the expenditure of further money on bores in areas which were known to be uncertain.

Now Adams had recognised some travertine limestone in the Cabbage Gum area a few miles south of Tennant Creek and this he knew as a good indicator of underground water. So he asked Hasluck to accompany him and they spent the next couple of days looking around the entire area. The upshot was that Adams was given approval to sink some wells, which he did, and of seven sunk five produced water. At that stage he again met Hasluck in Tennant Creek, took him out to the wells and said, ‘This is going to cost about a quarter of a million pounds to put a pipeline through.’ Hasluck was very direct and said, ‘Mr Adams, you get the water and I’ll get the money’. The result was an adequate supply of reticulated water, not only for the town, but for the mines. There was mutual respect between the two men as the following illustrates. Many years later Adams’ daughter Christine met Hasluck at his office and during the brief conversation he said to Christine, ‘tell Mr Adams that if ever he should go back there (the Territory) there is no-one I would rather go back with’.

Adams and his Branch assisted other worthy causes. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Darwin decided to build a cathedral out of Larrakeyah stone, which occurs in the cliffs at the seafront of Darwin, and he used to call at the Mines Branch to seek advice—not that they had much. However, one day Adams visited the quarry and there was the Bishop in boots, socks, a tattered pair of shorts and a singlet picking up bits of stone and trying to saw them. Shortly afterwards Adams hosted a conference of State Chief Inspectors of Mines. In an interval between sessions he took them down to the quarry and introduced them to the aforesaid rough-looking character. ‘Gentlemen, this is the Right Reverend Dr **J P O’Loughlin**, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Darwin’. There was initial disbelief but finally the visitors accepted that he was in fact the Bishop of Darwin and he did not spend all his time in his robes of office. The upshot was that the Chief Inspector for South Australia sent up a great deal of material, which gave the Bishop the answers he was seeking.

After his retirement in 1970 Adams served as a consultant to the government of Papua New Guinea on the revision of its mining laws for some 12 months.

Adams’ main contributions to the Territory were the building up of a thoroughly professional Mines Branch carrying practically all the functions of a state Mines Department which formed the basis of the present Department of Mines and Energy. The finding of a water supply for Tennant Creek he regards as his greatest achievement. His efforts were not unnoticed by others. It was reported to the Administrator that his success was due ‘almost miraculously... by the demonstration of personal interest in Tennant Creek by the Director of Mines, by the practical success he is having in the search for permanent waters and by the general respect that he engenders’.

I was closely associated with Adams over several years and quickly came to respect his opinions and judgments. He told me that he always believed that ‘people are more important than the system; if you can get people to work properly and contentedly you can do nearly anything. I think the crux in life is to understand people, not systems’.

National Archives of Australia Northern Territory, CRS F1 1955/976; personal information.

TIMOTHY G JONES, Vol 3.

ADAMSON, DUDLEY PLAYFORD (DUD) (1895–1962), postal official and soldier, was born at Tanunda in South Australia on 14 October 1895, one of six children of an immigrant Swede who became a member of the South Australian Mounted Police Force and married a South Australian girl, Katherine Welbourne. Adamson lived with his family in such country towns as Tanunda, Carrieton, Riverton and Gawler, before finally moving to Adelaide. He joined the Postmaster General’s Department as a messenger at 13 years of age and served in various places in South Australia.

In 1913 he transferred to the Alice Springs Telegraph Station where he worked as a telegraphist. He met and became a very close friend of Bill Heffernan and for a time became his partner in Ti Tree Station.

The two friends, together with Alf Turner, a Centralian pastoralist, were the first Territorians to volunteer for service in the First World War. Adamson travelled as camp cook with a mob of **Hayes**'s cattle to Oodnadatta and enlisted in Adelaide. He was classified, however, as being in an essential service. It was not until he wrote to the then Prime Minister, Billy Hughes, that his application for release was successful. His enlistment took effect from 17 August 1915, initially with the Citizen Forces and then as a Signaller in the Australian Imperial Force. Before he could be posted overseas he suffered from peritonitis and was discharged on medical grounds on 16 April 1916. When fully recovered he re-enlisted in the First Signal Squadron on 27 August 1917. He served in Egypt. At war's end he returned to Australia and was discharged in July 1919.

Adamson returned to work at the Alice Springs Telegraph Station. There he met an attractive young lady, Mabel Wilkinson, who had arrived in The Alice with her parents in May 1920 after a long journey by horse and buggy from the railhead at Oodnadatta in South Australia. At that time only five white women lived in the town. Adamson and Mabel were married in Adelaide in July 1923 and once again undertook the long wintry journey by horse and buggy to their future home in The Alice.

A family of five girls and three boys followed as the Adamsons lived at the various towns and cities where Dud Adamson's work took him. In 1932 he became the first Postmaster at the new post office in Alice Springs when it opened for business. He also worked in Victor Harbour, Kadina, Port Adelaide and the city of Adelaide, all in South Australia. At the time of his retirement in 1960 he had been Postmaster at the Grenfell Street Post Office for eight years. Formerly President of the South Australian Branch of the Postmasters' Association, Adamson was one of the best-known postmasters in South Australia. He passed away at his home in Adelaide on 29 June 1962.

The Adamsons took an active part in the social life of Alice Springs, supporting church and school activities. Dud Adamson was President of the local branch of the Returned Services League from 1934 until 1936 when the memorial was planned and built on Anzac Hill and in that capacity he unveiled the plaque and his wife laid the first wreath. The Reverend Harry Griffith dedicated the memorial. The whole family loved music and Mabel Adamson and the girls were accomplished pianists. Their friends often joined them in musical evenings and they often entertained troops in their home during the Second World War.

Alice Springs had a firm grip on the hearts of the family and the town returned this love. Two of the girls, Marie Parkinson of Alice Springs and Jean Lovegrove of Darwin, continued to live in the Territory and another, Dorothy Gill, returned to live in The Alice. Mabel Adamson regularly visited her old hometown. All the family continued a close relationship with it and in 1992 11 of Adamson's grandchildren and 16 of his great grandchildren resided there.

Dud Adamson was a true Territory pioneer who chose to live in what was then a very lonely and remote part of Australia and who, with other such committed pioneers, helped to make it a comfortable place.

Adamson family records; Anzac Hill private records; Army records, Melbourne; South Australian Post Office and Overland Telegraph records.

JEAN LOVEGROVE, Vol 2.

ADCOCK, HERBERT HENRY (1859–1908), businessman, was born in June 1859 at Richmond, Victoria, the youngest son of George Charles Adcock. He arrived in the Territory in 1877 to join an elder brother, William Eddrup Adcock, then carrying on a successful storekeeping business. At the time there were high hopes for the Territory's success and as the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* lyrically put it, the young Adcock was 'one of the cheeriest and brightest and most sanguine among the crowded seekers after fortune then congregated in this incipient eldorado'.

He was representative of the second generation of pioneers in the north. Like his predecessors he was involved in gold mining and in 1884 became Director of the Extended Union Gold Mining Company. He was promoter of the Exelsior Gold Mining Company at Howley in 1888 and in 1889 he held minerals licences in land near Mount Wells.

He and his brother, with **V V Brown**, traded as Adcock Brothers until 9 September 1887 when the partnership was dissolved. This was partially brought about by the collapse of the Town and Country Bank to whom the partners were indebted. At the time most mortgages were held 'at call' so a mortgagee in difficulties immediately called in its debts. On 1 October Adcock assigned his estate to the Bank's liquidators and though declared insolvent in February 1888 it was an error, as an apology in April 1888 publicly recorded. He did, however, lose all the real estate in which he had any interest. In 1882 he had built 'commodious offices' for the shipping business. He had purchased the lease of Lot 306 in 1886 for 2 350 Pounds, the cost of which included the Terminus Hotel and he also had an interest in Lot 530 on which the Exchange Hotel stood. His brother, W E Adcock, chose a different path and having failed to cooperate with the liquidators spent four years in Adelaide Gaol for debt.

H H Adcock and V V Brown joined **J A V Brown** and formed the Port Darwin Mercantile Agency Company, auctioneers, shipping and customs agents. Adcock personally held the Lloyds Agency for many years. In February 1895, at a time of considerable depression in Palmerston, the Mercantile Agency also went into voluntary liquidation. As soon as he was permitted Adcock ran a small agency business on his own account.

Between 1884 and 1892 Adcock was regularly elected to the Palmerston District Council and served as Chairman for several years. In that capacity he welcomed the Governor of South Australia, Lord Kintore, when he visited in 1891. As Council Chairman Adcock was appointed to the first local Board of Health in Palmerston in June 1885; he continued to serve on this body for the next seven years.

H H Adcock was a most community minded man, forever seeking to better the lot of the Territorian. He was Honorary Secretary of the North Australian League and prominent in the fight for Territory representation in the South Australian parliament. In 1888 at the time of the visit of the Minister, **J C F Johnson**, he was Chairman of the Reform Association. He was signatory to a number of petitions placed before the South Australian government; among them were several relating to the cost of telegrams. Visitors to Port Darwin expected to be able to hear the latest news but the South Australian government insisted that all news telegrams from overseas be received in Adelaide before they could be released in Palmerston, at full commercial rates. It took three petitions before suitable school premises were provided and Adcock was Chairman of the board of advice in 1884, which recommended the exclusion of Chinese children unless they were 'half caste'. He did not, however, sign the petition that sought to exclude Chinese from government projects. In 1888 as Council Chairman he presided over several meetings called to discuss the Chinese inroads into European business and on the petitions which resulted he was signatory.

In 1901 Adcock stood for election as a Northern Territory representative in the South Australian parliament. He made no promises but relied on his 24 years of residency. In the event he was defeated by **S J Mitchell**, later to become Government Resident.

Adcock was one of the executors of **Joseph Skelton**, Editor and proprietor of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*. Skelton died in 1884 and at the time Adcock was acting as Sub Editor of the paper and was Palmerston correspondent of the *Adelaide Register*. In 1897, by which time G W Mayhew was the proprietor of the *Times*, Adcock acted in his stead when the former took a trip south. Adcock had a very long association with the *Times*, often behind the scenes. He was Editor from January to May 1903 and fostered his literary interests by joining the Pickwick Club, a literary and debating society, in May 1901.

By the turn of the century he seems to have become the town's 'secretary'. He was regularly elected Secretary of the cricket club that was his sporting enthusiasm. He was elected to the committee in 1886 and re-elected in 1887. In February 1887 he was a member of a team that won a match against a visiting Kimberley 11 and in 1899 was granted life membership of the club. In 1888 he was Secretary of the committee that organised the Northern Territory display shown in the Melbourne Centenary Exhibition that year. For a number of years he was Secretary of the Northern Territory Racing Club and in 1902 he received a 10 Pounds honorarium for his work. In March 1902 he was Secretary of the committee working for the re-election of C E Herbert to the South Australian parliament. He was on the committee of the Palmerston Institute in various capacities for many years and ran the library, which his wife took over after his death. He served as Auditor for the District Council for a number of terms, including 1903 and 1904.

He married Ellen Annie Pickford, daughter of a publican, on 16 June 1888 and a son was born in 1897. For a number of years she and a sister ran a small drapery business with which 'H H' helped.

None of Adcock's business dealings were attended with any great success and his last years were dogged with chronic ill health, though he was still considered a 'public spirited optimistic citizen'. He died in Palmerston Hospital, where he spent the last few months of his life, on 28 February 1908, survived by his wife and son. He was buried in the Palmerston Cemetery at Goyder Road according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

J Rich, 'Port Darwin Mercantile and Agency Company', in V Dixon (ed), *Looking Back*, 1988; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 30 December 1882, 2 August 1884, 29 August 1884, 4 July 1885, 5 February 1887, 19 February 1887, 2 June 1888, 20 October 1888, 16 February 1889, 16 April 1889, 28 September 1889, 8 February 1895, 17 September 1897, 7 April 1899, 8 June 1900, 8 March 1901, 12 April 1901, 24 May 1901, 14 June 1901, 21 June 1901, 31 January 1902, 14 March 1902, 30 April 1902, 25 May 1902, 12 April 1904, 28 February 1908; *North Australian*, 9 September 1887, 8 October 1887, 17 February 1888, 16 June 1888, 14 July 1888, 24 August 1889, 21 September 1889; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1- 178/1884, 365/1884, 834/1884.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

AH CHEONG (c1870–1935), businessman, was born in Hong Kong about 1870. When he was about 13 he came to Darwin (then Palmerston) to live with two uncles Wing Cheong Sing and Chin Wah who were already in business.

As a British born subject he was not subject to the restrictions of some of the other Chinese in Darwin and as an adult he prospered in business. For many years he was the principal partner in the tailoring and outfitting firm of Wing Cheong Sing and Company who had their premises in Bennett Street on part of lot 397, on the northwest corner of Cavenagh Street. As with most of the lots in Chinatown this was subdivided and in 1932, in partnership with Took Fung, Ah Cheong (also spelled Ah Chong) obtained the freehold of about one third of the lot facing Bennett Street. He also tried other business ventures and advertised in 1918 that he had recently erected a photographic studio.

Ah Cheong was president of the Wah On Society, which presented greetings to new Government Resident, Justice **S J Mitchell** and his wife when they arrived in Darwin in 1910. He also, with **Yet Loong**, presented a gift from the Chinese community to the outgoing Judge Herbert. The press report noted their 'picturesque appearance as they appeared on the stage dressed in the loose and flowing robes of their own national costume'. By the 1920s he was the recognised leader of the Chinese community but when the establishment of the Kuomintang society split the Chinese community he remained active in the Wah On Society and kept a very low profile in the town.

Ah Cheong spoke English fluently and acted as interpreter and translator for his compatriots. He was a witness to at least one Chinese Will. He was noted for his sense of humour with which he told 'highly interesting stories of the early life of the gold fields of the Territory, both of their rise and fall'. For many years held a mining lease at Bridge Creek, a property in which he had great faith. Although he complied with the lease conditions he was never able to realise on it, as he was unable to sell it before his death. He also made strenuous efforts to revive and

expand the export trade of dried, smoked and salt fish from Darwin to China without much success, the enterprise being finally ‘crippled through official impediments, shipping set backs and other causes’.

He died on 27 March 1935, aged 65, from a heart condition for which he had for some time been hospitalised though he died at home, at his request, ‘in the back premises of the boot maker’s shop’. A wife in China and four sons and three daughters survived him. His death had, according to *Northern Territory Times* obituary, removed from the ranks of local Chinese citizens ‘an interesting and striking personality’. He was buried according to the Chinese rites and interred in the Darwin Chinese cemetery at Stuart Park.

Northern Territory Archives probate records; Northern Territory Land Titles Office records; *Northern Standard*, 29 March 1935; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 17 June 1910, 17 August 1918.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

AH TOY, JIMMY (1915–1991), businessman and community worker, was born at Mount Diamond, Northern Territory, on 1 June 1915 on a mining field under very harsh conditions. A second generation Australian of Chinese descent, he was the son of Jimmy Ah Yu, a butcher, and Chun Lan Ah Yu.

In 1916 he and his family moved to Pine Creek, where they were involved in retailing and with a bakery. Ah Toy received all his education at Pine Creek Primary School. One of his first chores was to find and bring in horses early in the morning before going to school. He was so small that he had to climb a tree in order to get the horses back! Later he and a brother came to Darwin and started a garden at the Two and a Half Mile, the later site of Parap Shopping Centre. He returned to Pine Creek in 1935, taking over his family’s business interests there.

Ah Toy’s subsequent career was a reminder of the old Chinese proverb, ‘The longest journey begins with the first step’. From his ‘first step’ in 1935 he provided tremendous input into the community and won great respect as the head of his family, storekeeper, civic leader, pastoralist and businessman extraordinaire. He had the ability to establish firm friendships, respect and rapport among people of all races. All through his life he was on good terms with local Aborigines, who referred to him as ‘maluka’ or ‘old man’. He was always conscious of his own humble beginnings.

He married Lily Wong on 9 November 1936 and they ultimately produced five children. Lily was also of mining stock and later, as a grandmother, obtained an Associate Diploma of Ceramics. She proved a wonderful mate for Jimmy. In 1942 she and the children were evacuated to Adelaide. Ah Toy initially stayed in Pine Creek but later joined the family in Adelaide, where he was employed in munitions and canvas factories. The Ah Toys returned to Pine Creek in 1945, reopening their store, which has continued to operate ever since. In 1947 he set up a business in Knuckey Street, Darwin, which traded as J Ah Toy and Company. He commuted fortnightly between his two businesses in Pine Creek and Darwin.

His children were of great assistance to Ah Toy and as they got older established their own careers. Edward (Eddie) ran the Pine Creek store while Laurence graduated in Economics and became an accountant, Joyce qualified as a teacher and was Head of the Department of Fashion and Fashion Design at the Northern Territory University’s Institute of Technical and Further Education, and Grace and Elaine helped with the family business.

In 1954 Ah Toy met W J (Joe) Fisher, who was then exploring for uranium in the South Alligator Valley. During the following years the Fisher and Ah Toy families became firm friends and many parties and outings were enjoyed at the Ah Toys’ home in Pine Creek and the Fishers’ home at Moline as well as in the recreation areas of the South Alligator Valley.

Backed by his family, Ah Toy was able to effectively supply the mining operations at El Sherana and Moline during the 1950s and 1960s. He extended credit without collateral to all and sundry on the premise that good fortune would follow and all who could do so would make repayments. He staked many of the early agricultural pioneers, such as the peanut farmers on the Daly River, many buffalo hunters such as the well-known Allan Stewart, dingo scalpers, prospectors, timber getters and many small pastoralists. His son and daughter in law, Edward and Pauline, continued the family tradition, operating the Pine Creek Store and giving the same high level of community service. With the help of Ah Toy’s brother Shin, they had the store modernised.

A strong supporter of worthy causes, he took a leading part in the McDouall Stuart centenary celebrations in Pine Creek during 1961 at which the Minister for Territories, **Paul Hasluck**, presided. His family provided several floats for a procession, with the girls riding on them in colourful Chinese costumes. Ah Toy served for many years on the Pine Creek School Committee, receiving a letter of commendation from the Administrator of the Northern Territory for this. He was Chairman of the Pine Creek Progress Association during the period when the town’s electricity supply was first connected and the water supply was upgraded. He was a Trustee for Chung Wah Society properties and on the first Northern Territory Churchill Fellowship Committee. He was a member of the National Trust Council in the Territory for several years, also serving for a time as the Trust’s President and Chairman of its Pine Creek Branch. In November 1982 he presented a paper on the history of Chinese miners in the Territory at a seminar conducted by the Northern Territory Branch of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy. A Justice of the Peace, he often sat on the local bench in Pine Creek. In 1967, in recognition of his contribution to the Pine Creek district, he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE)

In later years Ah Toy acquired Claravale Station and Farm, which occupied a lot of his time. His one last dream and accomplishment was to build a dam on Claravale that provided a haven for birds and other wildlife.

He died of cancer on 6 May 1991, survived by his wife, five children, 15 grandchildren and one great grandchild, a fifth generation Territorian. His very well attended funeral took place in the Darwin Memorial Uniting Church.

Family information.

W J FISHER, Vol 2.

ALBRECHT, FRIEDRICH WILHELM (1894–1984) and **MINNA MARIA MARGARETHA nee GEVERS** (1899–1983), Lutheran missionaries to Aborigines in Central Australia. Friedrich Wilhelm was born to German parents in the small village of Plawanice in Russian Poland on 15 October 1894. He was the eldest of ten children born to Ferdinand and Helene, nee Reichwald.

Most who knew him thought the boy's future unpromising. He was lame from a fall into a cellar that occurred in infancy and, subsequently, his schoolwork was indifferent. His father assumed he would work on the family farm. Debarred from active sports by his disability, the boy turned to reading and, in the mission tracts of his Lutheran church, discovered a world beyond the village. At the age of ten, he knew he wanted to be a missionary. His mother and a Christian neighbour encouraged him but the difficulties were formidable. The village school was no preparation for higher studies and most qualifying examinations were in Russian. Finally, with the help of his church pastor, the farm boy was admitted in 1913 to a missionary training institute in Hermannsburg, Germany. War broke out within a year and he was drafted into the medical corps of the German army and sent to the Russian front where he almost died of cholera. Meanwhile, the Russians deported his family to Siberia, where five brothers and sisters died in a month in hopelessly overcrowded conditions.

During his army service, Albrecht was awarded the highest order of the Iron Cross for bravery in rescuing wounded under fire. In 1919 he was reunited with his parents and remaining family on the farm in Poland. Six months later he managed to escape across the still hostile Polish border to Germany and return to study at Hermannsburg. Here he met Minna Gevers, born on 11 December 1899, the only daughter of Wilhelm and Katharine Gevers, nee Barrels, farmers in the village of Wesseloh. Her history of tuberculosis had stood in the way of her desire to go to a mission field as a nurse. In early 1924 Albrecht received a call to the Aboriginal mission of Hermannsburg on the Fink River in Central Australia. He spent some months at a seminary in the United States to improve his English and was then joined by Minna. They were married in Winnipeg, Canada, on 14 September 1925, and sailed for Australia.

Hermannsburg, the oldest mission in the Northern Territory, had been established in 1877, only a few years after the building of the Overland Telegraph Line between Darwin and Adelaide. In the early 1920s, the mission was a community of several hundred Aranda Aborigines 130 kilometres west of the telegraph station and tiny township of Alice Springs. The nearest railhead was Oodnadatta, 650 kilometres to the south, from which goods and mail came by camel train. The mission's isolation from medical help had caused the death of the previous missionary, Carl Strehlow, in 1922, and the mission board had experienced great difficulty in finding someone to replace him.

The Albrechts arrived in Australia at a time when tribal lands were rapidly being depopulated, numbers of tribal Aborigines were drastically reduced and it was generally believed that the Aborigines were a dying race. In April 1926 Central Australia was in the early stages of what Aborigines there still call 'the seven year drought'. Thousands of cattle died, bush foods disappeared, and tribal Aborigines living on Crown lands to the west came in to the mission for food. Government apathy toward Aborigines was at its height. One government official, hearing of the deaths of 30 Aborigines in the bush, told Albrecht 'that was thirty less to worry about'. At the mission and elsewhere in the district, people began to die of a mysterious disease, eventually diagnosed as scurvy. 'Death stared us in the face', wrote Albrecht later, 'and our prayers seemed hollow'. Despite strenuous nursing efforts, 85 per cent of the babies born in those years died. For the Albrechts, the 'great dying' was a time of trial they never forgot. Told by many they were wasting their time and risking the lives of their own children, they nevertheless stayed at Hermannsburg, believing God had called them there.

Rain came in 1930 and the desert bloomed. The experience of the drought had taught Albrecht that Aboriginal lives and health could not be secure without a better diet—especially more fresh fruit and vegetables. A water supply became one of his major objectives over the next five years. Neither government nor church felt it their responsibility, though the only facilities for a community of several hundred people were wells, which grew salty in dry times, and a few rainwater tanks on staff houses; Aborigines carried their supplies in kerosene tins from the Finke. With the help of Melbourne artists Una and Violet Teague, and public appeals in Victoria and South Australia, a pipeline was built in 1935 and 'Kaporilja water' from springs in the hills eight kilometres away flowed to the mission for the first time. A large vegetable garden was started, general health began to improve and, among the Hermannsburg Aranda at least, the birth rate started to exceed the death rate.

With the rains in 1930, Albrecht pursued another goal. Accompanied by Aboriginal men, he trekked north and west on camels to make contact with bush Aborigines—Warlpiri Pintupi, Loritja and later Pitjantjatjara. Over the next 10 years, *ingkata inurra* ('Lame Pastor') became known and trusted by hundreds of tribal Aborigines. Deeply sensitive to injustice from his childhood, he thought it outrageous that Aboriginal people were pushed off their living areas with no compensation or adequate alternative support provided by government or pastoralists. Horrified by the large-scale disappearance of tribal groups in the rapid drift toward white settlement, he worked strenuously to help tribal people remain in their home districts. He stationed Aboriginal evangelists in outlying areas, and worked with **Charles Duguid**, **T G H Strehlow** and others for the establishing of secure reserves on tribal lands. In co-operation with a now more concerned government, he established ration depots and trading stores staffed by Aborigines at Haasts Bluff in 1941 and Areyonga in 1943, and contributed to the establishing of Yuendumu. Convinced that Aborigines needed not charity but a secure economic base to re-establish themselves, he put enormous effort into setting up locally based industries—a tannery, handcrafts, a pastoral association—and played an important part in the early career of **Albert Namatjira**.

Simultaneously he was running a large institution on a shoestring budget with minimal staff—attending to correspondence, accounts, medical needs, building and maintenance, and a constant stream of visitors and officials.

Despite the pressures, people were received in the Albrecht home with a kindness and hospitality that won many lifelong friends and supporters.

In the early 1950s, Minna's ill health forced them to move into Alice Springs. Instead of the semi-retirement that was envisaged, Albrecht characteristically found an opportunity to develop a whole new field of work. He worked with urbanised Aborigines and part-Aborigines and began to visit Aboriginal workers on pastoral stations to the north and south. Feeling that cattle stations, rather than institutional settings like government settlements or missions, offered the best chance for many Territory Aborigines to establish personal and economic independence, he did all he could to build up these 'working communities', arguing for government help with schools and training, encouraging station owners and managers to provide better housing and a store for their workers, working with Aboriginal Christians to establish small churches, helping with social and literacy problems. Writing ten years later on land rights, he argued that the most urgent and practical aspect was to provide areas on stations through freehold or long-term lease to Aborigines who in many cases had lived and worked there for several generations.

Always a prolific writer, he wrote and duplicated pamphlets—some in Aranda—on issues like voting rights, alcohol and communism. His long experience with Aborigines in Central Australia made him a resource for hundreds of people across Australia and sometimes elsewhere who wrote for information or assistance. He was a friend to many part-Aboriginal children in town and on the cattle stations, encouraging them to go further with education, arranging foster home stays in the south during teenage years for education and wider experience. Throughout his time in Central Australia, he trained Aboriginal evangelists and gave them responsibility in leading and teaching their people. Several became the first ordained Aboriginal pastors in the Lutheran Church in Australia.

Medical reasons again required the Albrechts to move to Adelaide in the early 1960s. He continued to write, visit hospitals and gaols, meet trains, and speak to groups large and small about Aborigines and the issues affecting them. The Australian government recognised his life's work in the awarding of a Queen's Coronation Medal and Membership of the Order of the British Empire (MBE); the West German government in the rarely bestowed Budent Verdienst Cross for services to humanity. He and his wife are also remembered in Albrecht Drive, Alice Springs.

To his life's work with Australian Aborigines, Albrecht brought a complexity of cultural and personal experience rare in the Australia to which he came in 1926. His approach was intensely personal; he identified with Aborigines as far as possible and enjoyed a rapport with them rare among white Australians. He never separated the physical and spiritual aspects of life, and worked strenuously to help Aborigines in both. He spoke fluent Aranda, worked for the translation of religious and educational materials into Aranda, and supported tribal ways and authority where they did not seem to him to conflict with Christian truth. He had a deep respect for Aboriginal spirituality, feeling that some Aborigines were the finest Christians he had ever known, though he could find no way to reconcile traditional Aboriginal religion with Christian faith.

In the almost 40 years he spent in Central Australia, he saw and was part of vast changes—a dying race to a virtual population explosion. An astute and resourceful man, he worked well with government, always urging that it exercise appropriate responsibility for a people economically and spiritually dispossessed by the advent of the white man. But he never saw government provision as replacing the need for people to struggle for their own survival and growth. This was intrinsic to human life—Aboriginal or white. Though his theology remained conservative, his thinking was often interesting and wide-ranging. He read extensively and his mind reached out to ideas and questions unusual among his contemporaries. Though he believed that Aborigines had in some measure to join Australian society to survive, his awareness of cultural differences made him feel this process would be gradual and he never saw it as a complete blurring of Aboriginal identity. But he was saddened by the trend toward separate development in the 1970s and 1980s, and by the collapse of many of the employment opportunities he had worked so hard for. His enduring consolation late in life was the development of the Aboriginal ministry and that the gospel was rooted among Aborigines in Central Australia.

His immense dedication to his life's work did not preclude a basic enjoyment of life and people. He enjoyed food, was immensely hospitable, and liked talking. He was a man rich in stories—always 'people' stories and usually from his experiences with Aboriginal people. In their turn, Aborigines who knew him remember and retell a host of stories—jokes, incidents, memories from more than half a lifetime. The words of an old Pintupi man, recalling Albrecht's first trek to the west, arc as good a summation of his life as any: 'Old man Albrecht, he went everywhere. He came on camels and camped there, and he shared us everything—tea, sugar, flour, the good word—everything.'

Despite a long history of frail physical health and recurring battle with depression, Minna Albrecht was an integral part of her husband's achievements. A person of great inner strength, her support gave him, paradoxically, the impetus and autonomy necessary to pursue his task with such single-mindedness. After she died on 18 November 1983, aged 83, he lived only a few months. He died on 16 March 1984, in his ninetieth year, and three Aboriginal Lutheran pastors from Central Australia participated in his funeral service. Both of the Albrechts are buried in Adelaide. Two daughters and three sons survived them.

L Leske (ed), *Hermannsburg: A Vision and a Mission*, 1977; *Lutheran Herald* and *Lutheran Almanac*, 1926–75; Mission correspondence and reports, Lutheran Archives, Adelaide.

BARBARA HENSON, *Vol 1.*

ALDON, ALBERT PAUL: see **JOHN, ALBERT PAUL**

ALLEN, DOROTHY: see **HALL, DOROTHY**

ALLEN, PHILIP REDMOND (c1836–1887), businessman, was born in about 1836, a son of George and Ruth Redmond Allen of Victoria. He arrived in Palmerston in late 1873, and established a store that traded as P R Allen and Company in a tent on the Esplanade. He then took a 21-year lease over Lot 540, Mitchell Street, on the corner of Bennett Street, from the English owners, the Churcher family. The rent was considerable: 50 Pounds annually for the first seven years, 75 Pounds for the second seven years with 100 Pounds for the remainder of the term. Allen built a store 24 metres by nine metres, its footings firmly in concrete. At the time it was the largest store in Palmerston and on its completion Allen gave a ball to celebrate. In 1887 the Government Resident described it as a ‘handsome building’ which 10 years later was valued at 1 500 Pounds. It was destroyed in the 1897 cyclone with stock losses estimated at about 10 000 Pounds. Nevertheless the business recovered.

As with most other early storekeepers, Allen held a shipping agency, was a wine and spirit merchant and carried a vast range of general stock. He had his own coastal trading vessels, which took stores to the folk in the Kimberleys and along the Territory coast. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Allen was clearly a good businessman with considerable financial expertise. There is no suggestion that the firm was ever in financial difficulties.

Although Allen offered himself for the first District Council elections in 1874, he was unsuccessful. He was elected in September 1877 and was a Councillor continually until 1884. He served three terms as Chairman and in that capacity welcomed the parliamentary party led by **J L Parsons** in 1882. Other than as a Councillor, he was not particularly prominent in public matters but was highly respected for his ‘unswerving integrity, large hearted liberality and sound common sense.’ He was among the residents who continually called for the beautification of the town and was a keen gardener.

In July 1882 Allen took into partnership Robert Young Harvey, his brother-in-law, and **George McKeddie**. Two years later Allen retired from active business and left the Territory as then he was suffering from a serious heart condition. At first he left the business under the management of his nephew H A G Rundle.

He died somewhat unexpectedly at his residence in Strathfield, Sydney, on 5 May 1887, survived by his wife Margaret, *nee* Twinem, and four children. When news reached Palmerston several days later, all the flags, including those at the Government Residence, were flown at half-mast, a measure of the respect in which he was held. The obituaries in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* and its competitor the *North Australian* were obviously heartfelt. Many a miner was dependent on the goodwill of the storekeepers for his sustenance when times were bad and Allen was noted for his help whenever he was asked. He was a ‘genial friend’ and sorely missed.

After Allen died the store continued to prosper. In March 1888 Rundle left for Adelaide to go into business in his own name. Harvey withdrew from the partnership that was then reformed between Margaret Allen, her brother James Twinem and George McKeddie, who remained the Manager in Palmerston. Twinem died in 1903 and the partnership between Margaret Allen and McKeddie was dissolved on 29 March 1904, when the firm became a limited company registered in Sydney. McKeddie remained Manager until P R Allen junior was old enough to run the business himself. Margaret Allen visited Palmerston in 1905 and was described by the press as the ‘virtual head’ of the old firm. The company continued to trade until it was sold to A E Jolly and Company in 1920. No other store started in the pioneering days of Palmerston can boast an unbroken record of trading for 47 years. Margaret Allen died at Austinmere, New South Wales, on 1 February 1921, aged 75 years.

D E Kelsey, *The Shackle: A Story of the Far North Australian Bush*, 1975; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 22 July 1882, 30 December 1884, 22 August 1885, 29 August 1885, 12 March 1887, 7 May 1887, 10 January 1897, 29 March 1904, 4 August 1905, 3 January 1920, 5 February 1921; *North Australian*, 7 May 1887, 10 March 1888; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1887; New South Wales Births, Deaths and Marriages Records, 87 02440; Victorian Births, Deaths and Marriages Records, 3902 1877.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

ANDREW, ABRAHAM (1877–1951), miner, farmer, businessman and pastoralist, was born in Kadina, South Australia, son of James Andrew and Emily, *nee* Symonds. He married Bertha Martha Cook (1882–1963) at Broken Hill in New South Wales on 9 April 1903 at the Salvation Army church. Bertha was born in Koolunga, South Australia and was daughter of Thomas Cook and Rose Ellen, *nee* Chapman. Both Abraham and Bertha were of Cornish descent. The children born to the union were Maisie Semmons (1904–1938), Oswald Clarence (1906–1974), Gladys Rose (1907–1988) and Mervyn James (1909–1989).

Abraham and Bertha left Port Lincoln, South Australia, in 1934 and arrived at Henbury cattle station in Central Australia in 1935, six months later. Travelling with them were daughter Maisie Parker (*nee* Andrew/Arbon) and her two children Gladys Kathleen Arbon (born 1926) and Arthur Raymond Arbon (born 1928). Two young brothers, Dick and Murray Garrett from Port Lincoln were also with them in the wagons.

At this particular time Abraham was 58 years old and he had a vision of acquiring land to the south of Tempe Downs. In earlier life, he had been a miner at Broken Hill and in the Moonta copper mines. When the Moonta mine closed down he had tried farming at Crystal Brook. During the early depression years he had moved to Spalding Cove. There he worked at cutting firewood that was picked up by ketch and sold in Adelaide. Later, a brother and a brother-in-law of Bertha’s joined the Andrews.

Afterwards, the three families moved over to Thistle Island, where they had been offered the opportunity to ‘share farm’, for the Tapley family. For about 12 months they all shared a house on the south end of the island. The Andrew family then moved back to Port Lincoln.

Abraham was a very versatile person, who could turn his hand to most work. He was an excellent well sinker, as well as a builder of stockyards and fencing with bush materials. During the very early 1940s, he burned limestone and built two houses; one in Alice Springs and the other at Glen Helen. Abraham had a great natural affinity with

animals and had once worked in a circus. Also, he was a good cornet player and most of the Andrew family were very musical.

Bertha Martha was 53 years old at the time of the trip to Central Australia in the donkey powered wagons. She was very religious and became a Seventh Day Adventist, having originally been a member of the Salvation Army. Bertha was of pioneering spirit and had the ability to give the roughest camp a homely atmosphere and to present bush cooked meals with the barest ingredients.

They travelled up with a heavy wagon, pulled by 27 donkeys, and a lighter van pulled by about eight donkeys. With this number of animals, a great amount of harness was required with most of the harness being made by Abraham. It would have been a rugged trip in those days of infrequent settlement and the roughest of indirect bush tracks. With only about 10 Pounds to start with, they accepted a few small jobs on the way. They carted firewood at Coober Pedy and performed other work at Mabel Creek.

When they arrived at Henbury cattle station, Harold Hyde the manager gave them some work; firstly at Idracowra, which was then an outstation of Henbury. A well was re-timbered, and then some work was done on the homestead. Further work was offered at Henbury. One particular job was to construct a long bush timbered 'corduroy' on the northern bank of the dry, sandy Finke River crossing. This entailed cutting much bush timber and locking it together, to make a motor track up the loose and steep sandhill. Motorists used this thankfully for at least 15 years, before main road improvements were made.

On completion of the work, **Bryan Bowman** offered Abraham a well sinking contract on Tempe Downs. In 1937 son Merv Andrew came up from Port Lincoln and joined the family on Tempe. A little later the well sinking job proved difficult so Abraham returned south where he obtained a second hand model T Ford truck and some equipment. Daughter Maisie, who had previously returned to Port Lincoln with her two children, travelled back to Tempe with him in the truck. After a mammoth effort, the water supply at Langs Well proved inadequate. An earth dam was then scraped out with very primitive equipment.

On completing the work at Tempe, the Andrew family then moved to a water soakage named Yowa. Abraham had meanwhile obtained a small grazing license of 320 kilometres over the area that was situated between the boundaries of Tempe and Angas Downs. The property was named Andaloo; the 'And' was short for Andrew and the 'aloo' was the latter part of Beetaloo, which had an association for them. By this time Abraham had accumulated some stock, including a few head of cattle, a big herd of goats, some horses and some of the original donkeys. Having sunk a few wells for other local stations, Abraham had taken cattle in part or full payment, so had by this time about 100 head. Apart from the well sinking on Tempe, he also sank one for George Frazer on his property near Ernabella.

The Andrews had lived in a cave at Reedy Hole in the George Gill Range for a while before setting themselves up at the Yowa water hole. In 1938 a terrible tragedy occurred here when Maisie Parker was found dead one morning. Her children Gladys and Ray were at this time aged 12 and 10 respectfully.

From neighbouring stations, Bryan Bowman, **Bob Buck** and Ben Nicker came over to assist this battling family, in their time of need and bereavement. Police Officer Bob Hamilton, Doctor Townsend and **Ted Strehlow** arrived a little later. After some legal formalities were attended to, Maisie was laid to rest nearby. Her grave (later marked) would have been one of the loneliest in Australia until recent years of closer settlement. Unfortunately no death certificate was issued or is available these days. The date of death is generally accepted as being 13 March 1938.

After the burial on 17 March, took Mrs Andrew, Merv Andrew, Gladys and Ray Arbon over to his property Middleton Ponds, to assist them in time of tragic circumstance. Bryan Bowman in his recollections of the bush death of Maisie Parker expressed his feelings as 'I have seen a lot of tragedies in the 50 odd years I have been in the bush but I don't think I have ever saw anything sadder than what I saw at the Yowa that day in early 1938'. Bryan, who was present at the death scene, went on to describe the setting and events of this very remote bush drama now over 56 years ago.

The Andrew family abandoned the Yowa camp after they moved back from Middleton Ponds and established a more substantial camp at nearby Olunga on Andaloo.

In May 1940, Bryan Bowman, now the owner of Glen Helen station, contracted Abraham Andrew with son Merv to build a lime concrete homestead at the Glen Helen Gorge. As the Second World War was in progress cement and other building supplies were in very short supply. With good quality limestone available in the hills close by, this was burned and the homestead erected in good time. A problem occurred over the roofing material, so the Andrews accepted some breeding cows in payment for their services and Bryan completed the roof at a later date. In later years, this became the nucleus of the present day Glen Helen tourist chalet, albeit much modified since a disastrous fire and floods. The buildings have also been extended.

It was at about this time that daughter Gladys Rose Ware (*nee* Andrew) arrived with her four children, Laurel Arizona (born 1928), Kevin Ronald (1929–1957), Merna (born 1933) and Raelene (born 1936). Gladys Ware had recently parted from her husband and many years later in 1960 she married Reginald Baker in Alice Springs.

The Andaloo property was an awkward block, being jammed in between Tempe Downs and Angas Downs too small to develop and mostly poor grazing country. Also the Andrew family were still upset and unsettled over Maisie's death from a heart problem. Young Ray Arbon, who could speak the Aboriginal language fluently, heard of a native water or spring some distance to the south.

Merv, Ray, Kevin Ware and a couple of Aborigines went off by horse to find this possible good water supply. They found it about 100 kilometres to the south, in an area of limestone out-crops. It proved to be a reasonably good supply and the spring was named Eurca.

Meanwhile Merv married an Aboriginal woman named Myrtle MacDonald. She had two children Jean and Ray. For a while Merv worked at Hatches Creek then returned to Eurca with his family in 1942–43.

Merv Andrew originally took up the grazing license himself. A little later, the Andaloo property was abandoned and the Andrew family moved over to the new block. The Andrews, being of an old time socialistic inclination, intended to name the property in honour of Stalin, the Soviet leader of this period. However, Stalin was not an acceptable name, so the property was named Curtin Springs, to honour the then well respected Australian Prime Minister, John Curtin. I estimate this as being 1944.

After developing the Eurca Springs to a suitable watering point the family found and opened up another native well 11 kilometres to the southwest. This is where they built their first homestead and where the present Wayside Inn is situated.

In 1947, Oswald Clarence Andrew (known as Ossie) drove his 1938 V8 truck up from Port Lincoln, and this now brought the whole of the Andrew family together. Brothers Ossie and Merv drove the now two station trucks up to Darwin where they purchased a great mass of Army disposal building materials and other equipment.

In May 1948 a problem occurred among the large family group resident at Curtin Springs. Merv, with wife Myrtle and family, left the station in one of the trucks. Gladys and Ray Arbon went with them, leaving the elderly Bertha Andrew with Ossie, Gladys Ware and her four children. At this time, Abraham was more or less living at Port Pirie, South Australia, where he died of a heart attack in 1951, aged 74 years. An agreement with a firm of solicitors was drawn up on 23 January 1949, between Oswald Clarence Andrew and Gladys Rose Ware who were to retain Curtin Springs and buy out the retiring partners, namely Gladys and Ray Arbon and Mervyn James Andrew.

The original copy of Pastoral lease No 439, quotes the leaseholders as 'Gladys Rose Ware and Oswald Clarence Andrew'. It is dated 24 July 1952 and ran from 1 July 1951. It was about this time that the station leases had been progressively squared up by the Lands Department. Paddy De Conlay lost most of his Mount Conner station to Curtin Springs, with some being added to Erldunda. Paddy was given a lease on the Palmer River, which adjoined Alf Butler's Titra Well to the south. Both these properties were not developed to any degree and were soon sold to later become the Palmer River station. The old Andaloo grazing licence became part of Angas Downs. Ossie and Gladys (Ware) battled on Curtin Springs for some years but did no good financially. With the road to Ayers Rock at the front door they saw the tourist industry of the early days grow. By 1953/54 the road to Ayers Rock was somewhat upgraded and an airstrip was established at Curtin Springs and Ayers Rock. Curtin Springs was a very hospitable place and of great assistance to those in trouble.

In 1950 Curtin Springs borrowed money from the Stock and Station Agents, Bennett and Fisher. Unfortunately, the station did not prosper and the property was taken over by the agents and sold to brothers Rollo and Peter Severin. This was registered on 13 February 1958. A short time later, Peter Severin bought his brother Rollo out. With much hard work and attention to the opportunity of increased tourism to Ayers Rock, the loan was soon paid off. Peter Severin took over Curtin Springs at the start of the great Central Australian drought, which lasted for seven years. Curtin Springs prospered and is still owned by the Severin family.

In later years Bertha Martha Andrew lived with her daughter Gladys Rose Baker in Alice Springs. Early in 1963 Bertha relocated to the 'Old Timers Home', which was run by the Australian Inland Mission. On 8 November 1963 she died at the Old Timers and was buried in the old Memorial Drive cemetery, Alice Springs.

Personal information and documents from Mrs BM Andrew and other family members, B Bowman, H Harvey (Cook family researcher), and K Mooney Smith.

MAX CARTWRIGHT, Vol 3.

ANDREWS, MARY JANE *nee* **FOELSCH** (1863–1932), Territory pioneer, was born on 22 December 1863 in Strathalbyn, South Australia, to **Paul Heinrich Matthias Foelsche** and his wife Charlotte Georgina *nee* Smith. In 1871, with her mother and sister, Rosie, she came to the Northern Territory where her father was inspector of police. Foelsche, who was on the first ship carrying settlers to the Palmerston (Darwin) township in January 1870, had written to the authorities requesting that his wife and family be allowed to join him. When the Government Resident, **Bloomfield Douglas**, wrote a letter supporting his request he pointed out that 'the residence of educated women here has been a very great advantage to the settlement, their presence contains the men from irregular and rude habits'.

Mary Jane and her sister spent much of their youth in the Territory where their home in Palmerston's Mitchell Street was described as 'one of the most cheerful and comfortable in the town'. Mary Jane and Rosie were fine sportswomen, particularly excelling in archery. Mary Jane was also an accomplished pianist and performed at many community and church functions. The Foelsche sisters seem to have attended school in Adelaide during their teenage years. Mary Jane arrived back in Palmerston on 12 June 1887 and immediately became active in fancy dress balls, musical performances, archery and church activities. In April 1888 her future husband, **William Wallace Andrews**, arrived to take charge of the construction of the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway.

When Mary Jane went to Adelaide in August 1892, friends gave her a purse of sovereigns in appreciation of her services to the choir of the Wesleyan Church. Two months later, on 25 October 1892, at the age of 28, she married Andrews, who was in Adelaide on holidays from his Northern Territory job with the railway as a civil engineer. They arrived back in Palmerston on 24 February 1893 and a year later they had a stillborn son who is buried in the Goyder Road cemetery. In 1895 her first daughter, Dorothy Charlotte, was born. A second daughter, Rita Campbell, was born in 1900.

Mary Jane was very involved in community activities particularly those connected with the church. One of her favourite causes was the Wesleyan church organ fund. An accomplished organist herself, she performed in fundraising concerts at the Town Hall. In 1895, at the age of 31, she became one of the 82 Territory women who enrolled to vote after the franchise was granted to South Australian and Territory women in 1894. Along with the other enrolled Territory women, she had her first opportunity to vote on 2 May 1896.

When the January 1897 cyclone devastated Palmerston, she and her husband and young daughter spent a terrifying night sheltering with the Foelsche and Stevens families in the one dry room of the cable company's headquarters on the Esplanade. (Mary Jane's sister, Rosie, married [H W H Stevens](#).)

Two months after the birth of their second daughter, Rita, the Andrews family took six months' leave in the south, returning to Palmerston late in 1900. Over the next nine years Mary Jane was actively involved in the Palmerston Rifle Club, various musical performances, church functions and services and helped pioneer the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, at whose shows she often exhibited. She also attended fancy dress parties and 'book title' parties, usually in a creative costume of some kind. Mary Jane was also involved in instigating euchre competitions—a popular card game of the time. For many years, Mary Jane and her two daughters made an annual visit by train to Pine Creek for a holiday. One of these holidays prompted the newspaper to suggest that as her husband was the Railway Superintendent perhaps he would be able to arrange for special excursion fares during the cool season to Pine Creek and thus enable many more Port Darwin residents to escape from their daily surroundings and enjoy a holiday to the 'little wayback township'.

The family left the Territory in July 1909 when William transferred back to South Australia and a more temperate climate. The community held a farewell progressive euchre party for them with the ladies' prize being an electroplated vase. In 1911 another transfer took the family to Peterborough, South Australia.

Mary Jane died on 19 May 1932 at Mosley Street, Glenelg having been predeceased by her husband who died of a seizure in February 1924 leaving her an estate of 2 400 Pounds. Mary Jane is buried in the Church of England section of North Road cemetery in Adelaide with her husband and members of his family. Both her daughters were living when she died and she left them equal shares in her estate as long as both remained unmarried. If either daughter married, everything was to go to the unmarried daughter and if both married, it was to be divided equally. Dorothy Charlotte died unmarried on 27 February 1971 in Adelaide. She was cremated at Centennial Park. Rita Campbell Andrews married Albert Rodney Cook on 10 December 1938 and she died, aged 91, on 20 October 1993. The Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory received several important pieces from her estate. One is a large silver tray with the inscription 'Palmerston Archery Club Champion Prize Season 1888 Won by Mary Foelsche'. There is also a gold watch inscribed 'presented to Mary Andrews by the Wesleyan Church Port Darwin in recognition of her services as organist'.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; personal research notes.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

ANDREWS, WILLIAM WALLACE (1860–1924), railway engineer, was born in South Australia in 1860, son of William Buckton Andrews, an Anglican clergyman who had emigrated from Essex, England, in 1854. At the age of 16 Andrews became a cadet surveyor and engineer and spent six years in the United States working on the construction and maintenance of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe line, a line later to become famous as the title of a hit song. He joined the South Australian railways on his return to Australia and came to Palmerston (then Darwin) to join the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway as Chief Engineer in 1889. In 1891 after he saw to the repair of the line after some unusual flooding he was presented with a gold watch by the community as a token of their esteem for his efforts. On 2 December 1892 he was promoted to be Superintendent of the Territory line. He had a reputation of being rather pious, however, and apparently had a 'swear list' of unacceptable words and if any of his workers used them they were fined.

On 22 October 1892 he married in Adelaide [Mary Jane Foelsche](#), daughter of [Paul Foelsche](#) and they returned to the Territory in February 1893, the local press commenting on the marriage and his promotion that 'the new super will come back to us with something more than a mere official claim on the place'.

He was a community minded man and much involved in the town's activities. He was a good marksman with the Port Darwin Rifle Club and he also played tennis. He was prominent in the organising committee for the visit of the Governor of South Australia, Lord Kintore, in 1891. He served as Vice President of the Palmerston Institute (then the library) and helped to see that library books were sent by rail to the Brocks Creek branch. He also served as Vice President of the Palmerston Debating Society and performed with the Dingo Glee Club. As a prominent public servant he often sat on juries. With his father in law, Paul Foelsche, he is thought to have been one of the original group who formed the Port Darwin Masonic Lodge in 1902; he was installed as Worshipful Master of the Lodge in 1902.

When the South Australian government was making plans to erect lighthouses to watch over Northern Territory waters he accompanied the Territory Member of Parliament, [V L Solomon](#), to inspect the site of Charles Point in 1893. He also accompanied Justice Herbert and the South Australian Governor, Sir George Le Hunte, on a visit to the Daly River aboard the steam yacht *White Star* in 1905 and inspected the lighthouses at Cape Don and Cape Hotham in 1908.

In 1908 he was transferred to the Gawler–Angaston line in South Australia and he and his family left the Territory in July 1909. The European and Chinese community presented him with a purse of sovereigns to 'purchase a piece of silver plate suitably inscribed' and he also received a presentation from the tennis club of which he was secretary. He was later promoted to the position of Assistant Engineer for Railway Construction, a position he held

until his death. He died at Glenelg, Adelaide, on 22 February 1924 and is buried with his parents at the North Road cemetery, Adelaide. His wife and two daughters survived him.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; records held by Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory.

V T O'BRIEN and BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

ANGELES, ELNA ANNIE nee ERLANDSON (1911–1986), cook and wards maid, was born in Darwin on 10 September 1911, the first of four children to Eric Erlandson, a man of Norwegian descent from Colac in Victoria, and Annie Clark, a part Aborigine born at Borroloola in the Northern Territory.

When Elna was 10 years old her mother died and she and her three younger sisters and brother were taken by the Church of England from Darwin to live in a Salvation Army home in Chelmer, Brisbane. At the age of 14 Elna was sent to work in outback stations in Queensland and she also cooked at a dairy farm at Beaudesert for 15 Shillings a week.

In 1929 she returned to Darwin on board *Marella* and stayed with her aunt, 'Grannie' Spain, the 'Queen of Darwin'. At this time she worked as a wards maid and cook at the Darwin Hospital. From this association with the hospital, she developed a strong interest in medical care, and although she was unable to make a career in that field, her medical knowledge proved invaluable on numerous occasions.

In 1933 she married Timothy (Tim) Angeles at Saint Mary's Catholic Church in Darwin. Tim's father was a Filipino and his mother was a part Aborigine from Pine Creek. Tim was born in 1908 and left school at an early age to become a drover. Elna and Tim had 12 children, eight daughters and four sons. Well known Darwin midwife '**Granny**' Tye, who was present at Elna's birth, was also present at the birth of some of the children.

In January 1942 Elna and her seven children at this time were evacuated to Brisbane prior to the first Japanese air raids on Darwin in February, during which their home on Beetson Street, now Smith Street West, was bombed. Tim had worked at the Koolpinyah ice works until the war and he joined his family in Brisbane after the February air raids.

On their return to Darwin in 1946 they proceeded to re-establish themselves, living in various huts and houses. Tim became a government employee. In 1974 Elna and Tim were evacuated to Brisbane after Cyclone Tracy. Their earlier corrugated iron home had withstood the 1937 cyclone; however, Cyclone Tracy destroyed the family home they had later built.

After they returned to Darwin, Tim died in 1977 following a long illness. Elna continued to take a keen interest in her close-knit family until her death at the Royal Darwin Hospital on 17 April 1986.

Northern Territory News, 29 March 1974; oral history interview with E Angeles, 23 November 1981, in Northern Territory Archives Service, TS 151, NTRS 226.

GREG COLEMAN, Vol 2.

ARCHER, JAMES CLARENCE (CLARRIE) (1900–1980), public servant and Administrator, was born in Castlemaine, Victoria, on 28 July 1900. He served as a public servant in the Territory of New Guinea and was a Lieutenant in the New Guinea Volunteer Regiment at Rabaul in 1942. Following the war he was in the Department of Territories, of which he was, at the time of his appointment as Northern Territory Administrator in April 1956, Deputy Secretary. He served as Acting Administrator during the absence of **Frank Wise** in November 1955. His work in the public service had been recognised with the award of Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE).

His appointment as Administrator was not popular. Many Territorians resented Canberra based public servants and he did not have the skills to get on with the local press. 'Unlike his successor', Fred Walker later wrote, 'he was not skilled in the political art of self promotion and was unaware of the advantages that a well stocked refrigerator in the office could bring from local journalists.' On the other hand, Walker continued, he 'showed more integrity and regard for parliamentary procedures than any of his predecessors and those who succeeded him'.

Walker argued that Archer worked hard for Territory political reform and initiated several changes and ideas for which he did not receive credit as they were implemented by his successor, **Roger Nott**. Many Canberra bureaucrats, Walker also contended, regarded him as almost too 'pro-Territory' for their liking.

As part of the Standing Orders Committee of the Legislative Council, along with Ron Withnall and Neil Hargrave, he helped produce a substantial report that recommended a number of alterations in Standing Orders, adapting them to the particular needs of a Territory legislature. Historian Peter Donovan later claimed that Archer 'worked strenuously for the devolution of political power in the Northern Territory and for a delegation of financial responsibility' and was far from being the mere 'rubber stamp' that many of his critics claimed.

Sir Paul Hasluck, who as Minister for Territories appointed Archer, has stated that he came to the job with a deep and varied experience of administration in both New Guinea and Australia and had risen to senior levels in the Commonwealth Public Service. 'His expertise and diligence', Hasluck suggested, 'brought not only an improvement in public service efficiency but a more practical and convincing preparation of the Budget.' According to Hasluck, Archer was knowledgeable, practical and quiet in method: the Territory administration became a reliable and workmanlike part of government under his guidance.

During Archer's term the Public Service Act was amended to enable the appointment of an Assistant Administrator to liaise between the public service and the people in the Territory.

He stepped down as Administrator in April 1961 and retired to Canberra. He died on 23 December 1980, survived by his wife Nina and a son.

ARRARBI, also known as ARRABI, ARABI, ARABI BEY, COWLE BOB and POLICE BOB (c1870–c1945), was a Matuntarre man of the Tempe Downs Station and George Gill Range country southwest of Alice Springs. His detailed knowledge of the area from Reedy Rockhole to Kings Canyon indicates that he was conceived and born in this western section of the George Gill Range.

It is probable that, shortly after the initial stocking of Tempe Downs as a pastoral property in 1884, the shareholder-manager R J Thornton gave him the name of Arabi Bey. The latter name appeared regularly in the overseas news of the major newspapers, so one can reasonably assume that the true name Arrarbi suggested the word play Arabi, hence Arabi Bey. Similarly, his association with **Mounted Constable C E Cowle** provided further word play on Arrarbi to give Robby then Bob; these names led to his others, Cowle Bob and Police Bob.

In 1894, at the time of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition, Thornton suggested Arabi Bey as the best guide for the country at the western end of the George Gill Range. He could speak English well, in addition to Matuntarre Yankuntjatjara, Aranda and Kukatja; as **Charles Winnecke**, an expedition member, observed he was able to act as a go-between for the various language groups. There is every indication that he was an extremely intelligent, quick learning, man. He and other Aboriginal companions guided the scientific party to the Middleton's Fish Ponds, which were later associated with **Bob Buck**.

This party subsequently went west to the Levi and Gill ranges, then north-west to Giles' Tarn of Auber, and finally via Haasts Bluff to Hermannsburg Mission. There is a possibility that Arrarbi also travelled to Alice Springs and south to Oodnadatta, in the final stages of the expedition. In addition to his specialised guidance in the George Gill Range, Arrarbi acted as contact with Aborigines near the Mereenie Range.

Ninety years later this was to be the location of the first oil field in Central Australia. Arrarbi also accompanied the Aboriginal known as 'Racehorse' on an expedition with Winnecke to the hiding place of an extremely large hoard of sacred tjurunga boards and stones. Winnecke plundered 48 of the 75 sacred objects, which other expeditions had been unable to find, 'as nothing would induce the local natives to betray its whereabouts'. 'Racehorse' had been very reluctant to reveal its location but was executed under Aboriginal law for his betrayal of the sacred cave's location. Winnecke clearly indicated that 'Racehorse', not Arrarbi, was the person who led him to the cave. Although Arrarbi helped in the interpretation of the meanings of the tjurungas' totemic designs, the council of elders judged him not guilty. The experience was, however, the first of his 'nine lives' in his often-dangerous adventures.

As with the other people of the Tempe Downs area, Arrarbi was a close observer of, and associated with, pastoralists, station hands, scientists, police and other white people with whom he came into contact. Mounted Constable Cowle, who was stationed at Illamurta, was obviously impressed by him and, in an attempt to prevent him from joining cattle killers on Tempe Downs, organised employment for him with the police at Barrow Creek, 300 kilometres north of Alice, early in 1895. By mid-1895 he was back at Illamurta police station. Cowle commented: 'We have been examining him and he reports being discharged but from my previous knowledge of the gentleman I feel certain he has shirtcoated [*sic*], however he will go to Tempe till further particulars come to hand but sooner or later I fear certain parts of his anatomy will adorn some-one's shelves (saving presence of missionaries).'

Cowle's fears were realised. Cattle killing increased on Tempe Downs, and Arrarbi's name became more and more prominent. By February 1898 he was 'one of the worst' but, despite Cowle's determination to capture him (along with others of his band) 'by hook or crook', he continued with impunity for another year. The ranges were Arrarbi's sanctuary and, although Cowle was willing to travel hard and fast on foot and managed to capture most of the cattle-killers, Arrarbi remained at large. There is little doubt that, by now, Arrarbi had considerable authority among his people. In that year, 1898, he and an older man—almost certainly on the order of the council of elders—speared two Yankuntjatjara men of the Ayers Rock (Uluru) area who were visiting the Tempe Downs country. The Yankuntjatjara men must have severely transgressed Aboriginal law for the death penalty to be carried out. Now Arrarbi the executioner was wanted by both Aboriginal and 'whitefellow' law.

Early in 1899 Arrarbi and two other men visited Hermannsburg Mission, with the intention of running off with Aboriginal women who had been left there by Cowle. It was a brazenly daring plan, calculated to upset both Cowle and the missionaries. However the missionaries captured all three men and sent word to the policeman, who instantly rode to the Mission but, to his chagrin, arrived to find only two of the three cattle-killers remained. Arrarbi had 'once more escaped although the Mission boys had hold of him'.

In April 1899, Cowle's luck changed as evidenced in a letter to **Baldwin Spencer**: 'I have our mutual friend Arabi chained up outside at last, he cunningly saved his bacon when he found he was cornered—he would not get a shot while we were galloping in the scrub at foot of the range as both hands were occupied in steering our horses and I reckoned he had once more escaped but we headed him off the gorge and he dare not tackle the range which would have exposed him too much so he walked back to us.'

Cowle was happy to at last have Arrarbi under arrest, but the laws of the land did not allow the policeman much peace of mind. Arrarbi was sent to gaol at Port Augusta, some 1200 kilometres south of his home country, but returned to Illamurta and Tempe Downs within the year. He then saved one of his few remaining 'nine lives' by travelling west to the George Gill Range at the crucial moment. While away, an avenging party of Yankuntjatjara men travelled north from Ayers Rock to Tempe Downs. There, in the dead of night, they crept upon a camp of three men. They attacked, leaving Arrarbi's executioner—companion of 1898 'rather bristly with 8 spears in him' but not touching the other two men. As Cowle observed, 'They also wanted 'Arabi' but the devil looked after his own.'

Arrarbi's career is obscure after this time. It is likely that he engaged in more cattle killing that, together with drought, forced abandonment of Tempe Downs Station from 1902 to 1906.

He had two wives, one named Tapia, and several children. Eventually the responsibilities of marriage, a family and increasing age, caused him to settle down. There is a possibility that he rejoined the police force as the name Police Bob was one by which he was widely known in his old age: a tracker of this name was based at Arltunga in the mid-1920s. His reputation ensured that other Aborigines regarded him with a mixture of respect and fear for the remainder of his life. He is believed to have died in 1945.

In Mounted Constable Cowle's view Arrarbi and his companions were 'scoundrels', but Baldwin Spencer was able to sympathise with their resistance and 'look on them as heroes'. Each view is probably correct: Arrarbi was a scoundrel, but he was also undoubtedly heroic in his leadership of Aboriginal resistance and was, at times, an able contact between Aborigines and European settlers.

W Geisler, *Dutch Australiens Wildnis*, 1928; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1985; T G H Strehlow, *Songs of Central Australia*, 1971; R Vanderwal (ed), *The Aboriginal Photographs of Baldwin Spencer*, 1982; C Winnecke, *Journal of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition To Central Australia, 1894, 1896; Centralian Advocate*, 10 August 1984; C E Cowle, Letters to Baldwin Spencer, AIAS; A Hamilton, 'Lake Amadeus Land-Claim Genealogies for the Central Land Council', 1985; R G Kimber, *Journal Record*, 3 March 1983, (unpublished copy lodged with NTDB 1985).

R G KIMBER, *Vol 1.*

ASCHE, BERYL VICTORIA nee ZICHY-WOINARSKI (1896–1970), was born in Victoria on 19 May 1896, the granddaughter of Count George Gustavus Zichy-Woinarski (1825–1891). A Polish lawyer and a graduate of Lvov University, Zichy-Woinarski was an officer in Kossuth's rebel army during the Hungarian Revolution and in 1851 was sentenced to death *in absentia* by the Austrian government, but by this time he was living in England. The following year he migrated to Australia. Beryl's father, Dr Victor Zichy-Woinarski (1865–1921), served in 1915–1916 as a Medical Officer (with the rank of Captain) in the Australian Army in Egypt during the First World War; her mother was Gertrude Zichy-Woinarski (*nee* Brind). For service to the community she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE).

On 24 February 1925, in the Chapel of Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, Beryl married **Eric Thomas Asche**, a Legal Assistant in the Secretary's Office of the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department. Beryl had obtained one of the first driving licences granted to a woman in Victoria and for some years had acted as a chauffeur for her father. She enjoyed driving, and Eric Asche's engagement present to her had been a Baby Austin. Their first child, born in Melbourne in November 1925, was named Keith John Austin—after John Austin, the first Professor of Jurisprudence in England, but Beryl always claimed that he was named after her car. They had a further four children, Erica, Carol, Ingrid and Victor.

From August 1926, the family spent a year in Rabaul, where Eric was Legal Assistant in the Territory of New Guinea Crown Law Office. They then moved to Darwin, arriving on the SS *Marella* on 18 February 1928. Their home was 'the Mud Hut' built by **J G Knight**, but it burnt down on the night of 31 December 1933, while the family was on holiday in Melbourne. On their return to Darwin they moved to the newer government housing on Myilly Point; when the 1937 cyclone devastated much of Darwin their house was one of the worst hit. Beryl wrote, 'First fire and now a cyclone! I think we must have been intended to board!... there are advantages in only paying rent after all, as I'd hate to pay the bill for our house damage'.

For recreation from time to time the family would take the Sandfly train and stay at the pub at Pine Creek, from where they went out to Mataranka as guests of Beryl's great friend **Doris Giles**, who lived at 'The Elsey'.

Due to his ill health, Eric Asche and his family returned to Melbourne in 1938 and he died in 1940, leaving his wife virtually penniless and with five children to raise. Beryl Asche was not one to be defeated and, drawing on the strength of character that had seen her through some tough times in the Territory, she supported the family by working as Assistant Secretary and then Secretary of the Melbourne Ladies' Benevolent Society. Although she was never able to return to the Territory, she never forgot it and often would say, 'You can leave the Territory but the Territory never leaves you'. To help satisfy her longing for its seductive lifestyle she would hold regular 'Territory' parties in Melbourne, inviting any ex-Territorians she could find.

Beryl Asche died on 2 May 1970, regrettably unable to see one of her children become Chief Justice and then Administrator of the Northern Territory.

Family information.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG and VALERIE ASCHE, *Vol 3.*

ASCHE, ERIC THOMAS (1894–1940), soldier and lawyer, was born in Armadale, Victoria on 20 March 1894, the son of John Frederick Asche and Lucy Rebecca, *nee* Wilson. He was the grandson of Thomas Asche (1826–1898), a lawyer from Norway who graduated from the University of King Frederick in Christiana (now Oslo) in 1851, and arrived in Victoria on 27 August 1854 during the gold rush days. John's younger half-brother, Oscar, was one of the best known Shakespearian actors of his generation, who wrote, produced and directed the famous musical *Chu Chin Chow*. After education at Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, Eric commenced a law degree at the University of Melbourne, in the same classes as Robert Menzies.

After the First World War broke out he served with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), as a Red Triangle worker, in New South Wales camps from December 1915 to March 1916. He then embarked as a YMCA

Military Representative attached to the Australian troops in Egypt from March to December 1916. He was commended for his enthusiasm and initiative, and was described as a 'high souled Patriot'.

He returned to Australia and enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) on 30 April 1917, and served as a signaller with the 2nd Battery, 1st Australian Field Artillery Brigade. He was awarded the Military Medal (MM) for exemplary and courageous behaviour when he kept up communications after laying a ground line after heavy shellfire on 29 September 1918, in the vicinity of St Quentin Canal. He was wounded and gassed at Etricourt on 3 October 1918, and carried the scars for the rest of his life.

Following the War he remained in England (where he sometimes stayed with his Uncle Oscar) and completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in Jurisprudence at Magdalen College, Oxford, with Distinction in Shortened Honours. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in April 1920. He was discharged from the AIF on 27 May 1920 with the rank of Lance-Bombardier, and returned to Australia on 26 March 1921. In the intervening period he gave up his intention of completing a postgraduate degree and instead travelled with the Red Cross to assist during the famines in Poland and Russia. Upon his return to Melbourne he completed his studies at the University of Melbourne and obtained the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1922. He was then admitted to the Victorian Bar.

From 1921, he was a Legal Assistant in the Secretary's Office of the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department, at first in Melbourne and then in Canberra. On 24 February 1925, he married **Beryl Zichy-Woinarski**, and their first child, Keith John Austin, was born in Melbourne in November 1925. (He was named by Eric after the English jurist John Austin (1790–1859), the first Professor of Jurisprudence in England). In 1926, Eric was appointed Legal Assistant in the Crown Law Office, Department of the Government Secretary for the Territory of New Guinea. They departed from Sydney on 25 August, and the family spent a year in Rabaul. Eric then successfully applied for a job in Darwin, and the family sailed on the SS *Marella*, arriving on 18 February 1928. They lived in the old home built by **J G Knight** overlooking the port, and which was known either as 'Knight's Folly' or 'the Mud Hut'. The house burnt down on the night of 31 December 1933, while the family was on holiday in Melbourne, and on their return to Darwin they moved to the newer government housing on Myilly Point, which was devastated by the 1937 cyclone.

Eric Asche was admitted to practice in North Australia in March 1928, and was appointed Crown Law Officer of North Australia by the Commonwealth Attorney-General on 11 June 1928. At this time, the federal government had divided the Territory at the 20th parallel into North and Central Australia, each with separate administrations. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Central Australia on 31 May 1929. However, the Supreme Court did not sit in Alice Springs until 1935, by which time North and Central Australia had been reunited (in 1931), and Eric Asche had been appointed as Crown Law Officer for 'Our Northern Territory of Australia'. He was Crown Prosecutor at the first Supreme Court sittings in Alice Springs on 6 February 1935, and travelled there with **Judge Wells** and **J W Nichols** by train and then by De Havilland Dragon.

On 29 April 1930 Eric Asche was with Government Resident for North Australia, **Robert Weddell**, together with the Chief Medical Officer, **Dr C E Cook**, when Weddell met with a deputation of unemployed men, who were joined by other protesters who forced their way into Weddell's office, bolting and locking the doors behind them. Two of the protesters left and the other nine were forcibly evicted by Police Inspector **Stretton** and five constables: all 11 were charged with unlawfully imprisoning the Government Resident in his office and a further fourteen were charged with trespass. In 1937, after the arrival of Administrator, **C L A Abbott**, an office for the Crown Law Officer and the Administrator were built adjacent to each other in the grounds of Government House next to the garage.

Due to his ill health Eric Asche and his family returned to Melbourne in 1938 where he died on 26 March 1940.

L Blake, *Tales from Old Geelong*, 1979; *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette*, 10 October 1919; family information; First AFA Brigade Routine Order No 94, 6 November 1918; *Liber Melburniensis*, Centenary Edition, Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, 1965; *London Gazette*, 4th Supplement, 17 June 1919; *North Australia Government Gazette*, 11 June 1928; *Northern Standard* (various).

PAUL ROSENZWEIG and BARBARA JAMES, *Vol 3*.

ASHBURNER, IDA (1900–1961), (later **EDWARDS, IDA**), nurse, was born on 7 February 1901, the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Ashburner, a theology graduate from Cambridge University. He came to Australia as a priest with the Church of England in Queensland and married Mary Ann Lydia Watson. Reverend Ashburner served with the church in several country areas and his first child, Ida, was born at Childers. She was the eldest of four children.

As recalled by her brother Guy, life was hard for the children as their parents were poor. Their mother died when Ida was ten years old and from then on things were difficult under the care of indifferent housekeepers.

Ida attended primary school at East Drayton, Warwick, and completed her schooling at St Catherine's, Stanthorpe. She then trained in general nursing and midwifery at Brisbane General Hospital.

She joined the Northern Territory Medical Service on 28 June 1928 and set sail in the *Malabar* for Darwin on 4 July that year. There had been some turmoil among the staff in Darwin Hospital and this led to resignations. Ida Ashburner was appointed as matron on 6 February 1929 and her pleasant but firm personality helped restore stability and provide direction. Legislation providing for a Nurses Registration Board was passed in 1928. Matron Ashburner was one of the members of that board.

A training school for nurses was begun in 1929. It was a four-year course based on the curriculum used by Brisbane General Hospital. The Nurses Registration Board in Queensland agreed to conduct examinations and provide registration. The first local nurse completed training in 1933 and the number of students in training increased to twelve on the eve of the Second World War.

On 7 October 1939 Ida married **Roy Edwards** who owned his own aircraft and flew for the Aerial Medical Service. As the public service did not employ married women there was no alternative but to resign from her position. The war emergency followed soon after. She was in Darwin for the bombing on 19 February 1942 and as her husband's aircraft had been destroyed she was evacuated by train and then truck with some of the hospital staff.

During the war she worked in a private nursing home in Melbourne. Afterwards, she returned to Darwin but her health began to deteriorate and over the next few years she developed crippling arthritis and became housebound. She died in her home in Marella Street, Larrakeyah, on 30 October 1961.

Ida Ashburner made a considerable contribution to Darwin Hospital and to the establishment of nurse training. All who worked with her held her in high regard.

Registrar, Births, Deaths and Marriages, Qld and NT; AA, ACT; personal communications from Guy Ashburner (brother) and Jill Currie (niece).

ELLEN KETTLE, *Vol 1.*

ATKINSON, CARL (1913–1985), engineer, adventurer, salvage diver and businessman, was born in Melbourne on 14 February 1913, son of Enoch Atkinson and his wife Frances. Nothing is known of his early life and Carl encouraged the mystery. Rumour also had it that he might have been born in Germany or Canada.

He moved to Darwin in 1945 with salvage rights obtained from the United States Foreign Liquidation Commission for USS *Meigs* and USS *Moana Loa*, vessels that had been sunk in Darwin Harbour by the Japanese in 1942. In 1946, however, the Commonwealth Disposals Commission claimed that under a blanket deal with the United States Government it had gained sole rights to all the cargoes in all the wrecks in Darwin Harbour and that included the many army vehicles that Carl had planned to salvage. Carl's solicitors in turn wrote to the Disposals Commission saying that Carl intended suing it for storage fees of one penny per cubic foot per day for the four years that the Disposals Commission cargoes had spent in Carl's ships. The Commission decided it did not want the cargoes after all! Carl's plans to salvage the cargo from the ships were then thwarted by the Customs Department, which demanded prohibitive and unrealistic duty on any goods landed. Carl was in his element when he salvaged several trucks from *Meigs* and despite their years under the sea, he was able to make one truck mobile. He did a tour of Darwin in the vehicle. The ongoing battle between Carl and Customs continued. Customs pounced; Carl could not afford to pay the duty on the vehicles so he promptly took them out into the harbour and dumped them. Eventually, in 1949, the decision to charge duty on the cargoes of the vessels was reversed.

Later Carl was able to add *Zealandia* and the United States destroyer *Peary* to his 'fleet'. The location of *Peary* was unknown and although he sought help from survivors and anyone who might have had an idea of her whereabouts, it was by spending many hours walking the floor of Darwin Harbour that he finally found her. *Peary* was reported to have been carrying a large quantity of gold pesos brought out of the Philippines, but Carl always claimed she was 'the poorest ship in the United States Navy'. He found several rings in a safe on board and was able to return these to their owners or families. The ships were sold to the Japanese in 1959 for scrap.

Up until the early 1950s Carl's diving was done in a cumbersome suit, complete with hardhat, shoulder weights and weighted shoes, all of which required attendants to work with him. Later in the 1950s he converted to diving in overalls with a leaded belt, a facemask and an air hose connected to his compressor, which he used mostly, unattended. He felt his destiny was then in his own hands and not those of crew.

Huts of an ex-air force Catalina base at Doctors Gully were Carl's home for many years and his bedroom was appropriate for the outgoing personality Carl was, with a huge mango tree growing through the middle. 'Sammy' the snake would entwine itself around the rafters, while 'Cuthbert' the crocodile languished in his pen outside. Various greatly loved dogs were in residence over the years.

Carl was renowned for his ability to be able to repair or make parts for ships' engines, fix geiger counters, open safes whose owners had lost their keys, and because of his knowledge of the tides and the harbour he saved many a boatman and swimmer lost in Darwin Harbour. On one occasion a man working on a wharf extension in Darwin dropped his pay packet into the water, and it floated away. Carl was called some time later. By dropping a like-weighted envelope into the water and tracking that, he eventually came upon the pay packet drifting down the harbour. On many occasions he kept the presses rolling when the then antiquated machinery of the *Northern Territory News* broke down, and the Editor would send out an urgent SOS for Carl to come to the rescue.

An explosion occurred in Carl's sheds at Doctors Gully in 1953 and Carl's close friend, Paul Becker, was killed. Carl suffered severe shrapnel wounds and his eardrums were shattered. This put paid to his diving for a long time. His working life had to take a different turn. He was a good cook, and for many months while he recovered, he took over the running of the kitchen and dining room of the Don Hotel.

Carl had had a recompression chamber built for his own use while diving on the wrecks, which he could operate alone and from inside. A pearl diving fleet worked out of Darwin in those days and Carl spent many (unpaid) hours saving the lives of 16 pearl divers in his—by today's standards—rather primitive chamber. The last of these rescues was in 1959 when an Okinawan diver who had been working in 54 metres of water was brought in with the 'bends'. Many hours were spent working with the man, and although they were making good progress, there was a crisis when the diver was able to turn off an air pressure valve inside the chamber. However, despite this setback, his life was saved. Divers suffer 'bends' when the dive is too deep or they are brought to the surface too quickly and nitrogen that has been absorbed into the bloodstream forms bubbles which block arteries and cause excruciating pain. In simple terms, the function of the recompression chamber is to 'take the diver down' to a depth at which he feels comfortable, then gradually, often over many hours, bring the pressure inside the recompression

chamber back to surface level. Carl's recompression chamber is now in the possession of the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory.

Carl also hunted crocodiles in his early years in Darwin, but like many people before him and since, in his later years he became very conservation-minded and the thought of shooting crocodiles became abhorrent to him.

During the 1960s, and before television had reached Darwin, Carl visited the Leprosarium at East Arm. He was sad to see bed-ridden Aborigines with little to do. The Aborigines loved western movies so Carl arranged for some television sets to be donated and flown to Darwin. He wrote to film companies for the donation of films, and eventually after much time and effort, was able to set up closed-circuit television for the patients. This was yet one more unpaid community service.

After being on a fortnightly tenancy at Doctors Gully since 1946, in the early 1960's Carl was given a 99-year lease on the northern side of Doctors Gully where he built a marine centre with a flat above which overlooked the water. He saw fish swimming below and thought 'ah, fresh fish for dinner!' and proceeded to feed the fish to encourage them to stay. More and more fish of many varieties came in to be fed by hand at each high tide but Carl did not ever have his fresh fish for dinner—he always said 'one doesn't eat one's friends!' Carl didn't commercialise 'his' fish but was pleased when Cherry and Marshall Perron bought Doctors Gully and continued the fish feeding.

Carl was the first person to water ski in Australia—in the 1930s in Sydney Harbour—and when his heavy diving days were over he concentrated on teaching water skiing and running a marine business from Doctors Gully. In 1960 he was among a group of enthusiasts who founded the Northern Territory Water Ski Association

Carl, who was 188 centimetres and larger than life, had always been a colourful character, and during his days of tussles with the Customs Department was something of a controversial figure in Darwin. As is usual when a person attracts publicity, he had his detractors, but he was admired and respected by those who knew him well.

Carl loved life, loved animals and people, loved parties, but a stroke in 1972 badly paralysed him down his right side and left him unable to walk, unable to speak properly and no longer able to read or write, other than to sign his name. His lifestyle was changed dramatically. However, with the great willpower that was his he managed to walk again with the aid of a stick, was able to drive his car and boat, and even had a ladder built which enabled him to climb up onto his front-end loader to continue making the pool in front of his marine centre. Driving the front-end loader sounds an easy task but one must remember he was badly paralysed. With a 'dot and carry one' motion he would climb the ladder, hang his walking stick on the vehicle, swing himself across the gap, right side throwing him off balance, and plop down into the seat—beaming!

Because of his disability, the very high rise and fall of tide in Darwin meant that Carl could go boating only during the rare king tides, so after his long and interesting years there, he decided to move south where the tides would not be a problem. After much searching, in 1983 Carl finally bought a home on the banks of the Tweed River at Tumbulgum in northern New South Wales. On 3 July 1984 he and his long-time companion, Wendy Iles, were married at their home at Tumbulgum. However, with boat ramp completed, and boat ready, his new life on the river was not to last. Carl was hospitalised in Murwillumbah, New South Wales, with cancer in November 1984 and died there on 17 February 1985. He was cremated at Tweed Heads, New South Wales.

On 5 March 1985 the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly took official note of Carl's death. Both Tom Harris and Marshall Perron, who had known Carl since boyhood, recounted some of his doings with great affection. As Perron put it, 'I think Carl may have fostered a little bit of the mystique about his background and some of his exploits. Just the same, they were part of what made him such a character.' He continued, 'I hope that someone takes the trouble to write about a big man who lived a full life and left his mark on the Territory as one of those irrepressible characters who did everything his way'.

Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 5 March 1985; personal information.

WENDY ATKINSON, Vol 3.

B

BAGOT, EDWARD (NED) MEADE (1822–1886), pastoralist, businessman and contributor to the development of the Northern Territory, was born on 13 December 1822 at Rockforest, County Clare, Ireland, the third son of Captain Charles Harvey Bagot and his wife Mary, *nee* MacCarthy. Edward Bagot was educated in Ennis, near Limerick, at Dr King's School. When seventeen he sat for, and passed, the East India Company's civil service examination, but while waiting for his ship to Portsmouth he 'was suddenly attacked with fits resembling epilepsy', whereupon he missed his posting and was sent home. His father decided to take his family to South Australia in 1840 and, in December that year, the ship *Birman* deposited the Bagots upon Australian shores. In 1841 the family settled in Koonunga and it is here that Edward gained his first experiences of pastoralism. In 1843, with the discovery of Copper at Kapunda, he acquired the job of grass-captain and accountant here as well as running a store and butchery for the men working at the mines. To show his head for business, we see him become a director of the South Kapunda mine at the age of twenty-eight.

At 34, Bagot ran the Murthoo property that was situated on the River Murray, and in 1854 took up Ned's Corner and later Kulnine and Wall Wall. Between 1853 and 1864, he also owned the Beefaces Estate on the River Torrens. Only the best for this young man, as can be seen by the stock he bought for these properties: horses, cattle and imported Suffolk Punch Sires, Shorthorn Bulls and Berkshire pigs—all producing progeny of the finest quality which later won many prizes at local shows. With more than just a passing interest in horseracing, he bought thoroughbreds from New South Wales and bred many winners, one of which was Don Juan who went to stud after winning the 1873 Melbourne Cup. Bagot's knowledge of the pastoral industry was immense and his stock judgement and advice was sought after continuously. The Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society was strongly supported by Bagot and so too were most other rural and pastoral organisations.

In 1860, at the age of 38, he branched out and became a stock and station agent in Kapunda when the railway had reached there. This venture, like all those previously, proved very successful and thousands of cattle, horses and sheep passed through his sale yards at Kapunda. E M Bagot and Co. eventually merged with the firms of James Shakes (1807–1900) and [John Lewis](#) in 1888.

The early 1870s saw Bagot begin his involvement within the Northern Territory. When [Charles Todd](#) called for tenders for the construction of the overland telegraph line in 1871, Bagot won the contract for the erection of the first 800 kilometres of the line from Port Augusta to within 90 kilometres of the Northern Territory border. October first that year saw the planting of the first pole at Port Augusta. The distance he was contracted to cover was divided into sections, one of which was under the control of B H Babbage, and the other of W H Abbott. Over 2 000 iron poles were erected by Bagot's men, including those that were washed away during severe flooding when sections of the line intersected watercourses. These areas were immediately repaired and steps were taken for the prevention of such happenings. Bagot finished his contract in good time; he received 38 000 Pounds and the knowledge that he had played a major part in the development of the Northern Territory.

The Overland Telegraph Line project opened up the middle of Australia, promoted northern Australia's settlement and provided all of the Australian colonies with communication to the outside world.

Wealthy South Australians began to invest in Central Australian pastoral regions. In 1872 E M Bagot and his friend Joseph Gilbert sent their sons north with cattle from their South Australian properties to find good pasture land. William Gilbert seized upon an area to be later called Owen Springs Station; Ned Bagot Jr founded the station Undoolya within the MacDonnell Ranges in 1873. Together the stations totalled an area of nearly 6 000 square kilometres and by 1876 they were fully stocked and ready to be leased. That year also saw Bagot sell-out due to heavy financial losses: 30 000 Pounds to be exact. South Australian businessmen had been deceived by the lushness of northern Australian flora after the rains; they had not allowed for severe drought, hostile Aborigines, heavy costs and markets that kept fluctuating. But, although Bagot may not have done well, Undoolya remains as one of the oldest runs in the Northern Territory.

Gold fever hit the Territory in the early 1870s, and so too did it hit Bagot. In 1871, he and John Chambers formed a company in Adelaide called the Northern Territory Gold Prospecting Company. This company sent the ship *Alexandra* up to the north with nine prospectors aboard. These men were Westcott, Noltenius, Houschildt, Roberts, Hylandt, [Litchfield](#), Hulbert, Woods and Porteous Valentine. In 1873 Bagot sold his River Murray runs so as to invest more heavily in the Northern Territory Gold Mines. His sweet dreams of great returns soon soured and by 1876 this investment was deemed a complete failure.

Another activity Bagot found himself in which had to do with the Territory was his leading position in the company, Northern Territory Newspaper and Telegraphic Agency Company (Limited). This was one of Bagot's more successful ventures as the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* proved over the many years.

By the mid 1870s Bagot had sold all of his stations despite the huge losses, and concentrated on his other businesses. These included a boiling-down works in Thebarton, which in just one year handled over 70 000 sheep. In 1875 he opened a business for fellmongering and wool washing, and began manufacturing a very popular meat extract that he called 'Bagots'.

E M Bagot married Mary Pettman on 1 August 1853, and before she died in 1855 they had one son. Two years later, on 30 July 1857, he remarried; this time to Anne Smith, and together they had six sons and six daughters. He was very well liked by his many friends, business associates and family. On 24 July 1886 when he failed to return home, considerable alarm was generated, and the *Adelaide Register* stated: 'Whether he lives or not it is

impossible to say, but the earnest hope of all who knew him personally or by repute must be that he may still be restored alive to his friends. The idea of this genial, honest, kind-hearted gentleman, the soul of honour and candour and straight forwardness, having mysteriously perished as he has mysteriously disappeared will not be seriously entertained until it has been proved beyond all possibility of doubt.' Unfortunately though, after a very long search of 10 days, his body was found at Yatala on 2 August. A massive crowd of mourners attended his funeral at the North Road Anglican Cemetery. Five daughters, four sons and his wife outlived him.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1968; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 3, 1969; *Adelaide Observer*, 31 August 1872; *Adelaide Register*, 31 July 1886; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1 May 1875; *South Australian Register*, 7 September 1872.

SUZANNE JIPP, Vol 1.

BAINES, JOHN THOMAS (1820–1875), artist and explorer, was the first-born son of ‘neither very poor nor superfluously rich, but, as times go, tolerably honest parents’, in the ancient and loyal Norfolk borough of King’s Lynn on 27 November 1820. His father, Thomas, was a master mariner, with a keen interest in, if not an ‘unpretentious knack’ of, painting pictures of ships. Thus a fascination in art was manifest at an early age in young Baines.

After first being instructed by his mother, Mary Ann (*nee* Watson), Thomas was enrolled at the age of ten in Horatio Nelson’s Classical and Commercial Academy before being accepted at Mr Beloe’s school in New Conduit Street, Lynn, where he was best remembered as a voracious reader. His skill at drawing was also noticed, as was an early interest in Latin, knowledge of which stood him in good stead when he later used Latin phrases to embellish his journals.

At the age of sixteen Thomas was apprenticed to William Carr, a local ornamental painter—‘ornamental painting’ being the name applied to an all-embracing field involving carving, gilding and sign writing—for which his father paid 10 Pounds annually as well as maintenance. During the five years of his indenture, Baines was forbidden, by his articles, to ‘frequent taverns, inns or alehouses... nor contract matrimony’.

In 1842 Baines immigrated to Cape Town where for two years he sustained himself as best he could. Part of the time he worked for a coachbuilder who, on realising the skill Baines had with a paint brush, quickly had him decorating panels with heraldic and other designs.

Books he had borrowed and read gave him the impetus to explore the inland areas of Africa. During the next decade he was able to travel through, paint and explore many remote parts of the Cape Province. Subsequently, in 1851, he fulfilled an ambition to become a war artist, whilst accompanying General Somerset’s 74th Highlanders. His first real recognition as an artist resulted from his portrayal of the Kaffrarian campaigns, involving the Boers, the British and the Kaffir tribes.

On the subsequent departure of the 74th for India, Baines returned to working on commissions and historical scenes. He did not prosper locally. Works which were sent to England were more successful: sketches were published in the *Illustrated London News*, lithographic reproductions of his paintings were shown publicly, and he even solicited (through his mother) and received, royal patronage.

On his return to England, after 11 years spent in Africa, Baines knew what he most wanted to do: to have his art and his explorations sustain one another. Whilst working with the noted cartographer, Arrowsmith, on a book dealing with his experiences (*Scenery and Events in South Africa*), at the Royal Geographical Society in London, he met the Austrian adventurer Ernest Haug. Haug at the time was endeavouring to mount an expedition to northern Australia under the sponsorship of the Society.

When the expedition was subsequently announced, it was not to be under the command of Haug—the result of a decision made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Duke of Newcastle). Instead, a surveyor living at the time in Western Australia, **Augustus Gregory**, was appointed leader of the North Australian Expedition, and Baines was given the responsibility for the joint tasks of artist and storekeeper. These positions he looked forward to with considerable interest and anticipation, particularly as he had been keen to visit Australia since meeting fellow artist George French Angas at the Cape several years previously. Together with James Wilson, the expedition’s geologist, Baines left Liverpool in March 1855 on the RMS *Blue Jacket*, bound for Sydney.

In an endeavour to lighten the boredom of his companions on the voyage to Australia, Baines launched a weekly paper, the *Blue Jacket Journal and Chronicle of the Blue Waters* (held by the National Library of Australia), which he filled with stories and poems—mostly humorous—and liberally embellished with sketches and cartoons. Writing under the pen name ‘Tim Touchemoff’, his puckish sense of fun exemplified the lighter side of a long ocean voyage. The clipper reached Melbourne in a record sixty-nine days. Subsequently, on arrival in Sydney, Baines met Gregory for the first time, and preparations for the expedition commenced.

On 17 July 1855 members of the expedition were farewelled at Government House in Sydney by Sir William Denison. They left the following day in two vessels engaged for the journey to northwestern Australia—the barque *Monarch* and the schooner *Tom Tough*. Horses and sheep were loaded on to the ships during a brief stopover at the Brisbane River, and from there the expedition set off for its destination via Cape York and Port Essington, arriving at the mouth of the Victoria River in mid-September. The *Monarch*, unloaded and released from the expedition’s service, then sailed for Singapore. The task of exploring began.

At an early stage Baines’ experience and ability were recognised by his leader, who delegated responsibility to him in areas other than those to which he was appointed. During Gregory’s first excursion from the principal camp—established near the present township of Timber Creek—Baines was left in charge. Whilst Gregory was away, Wilson, whom Baines had earlier thought to be quite ‘a pleasant fellow’, showed signs of jealousy and churlishness. This was the beginning of what was to be a continual irritant for both Gregory and Baines as time

passed. Perhaps one of the contributing causes of jealousy by the geologist was the naming of the Baines River, a major tributary of the Victoria, which Wilson insisted should be called the Norton Shaw River, after the secretary of the Royal Geographical Society.

Gregory's main thrust into the interior, seeking the long hoped for inland sea (one of the principal objects of the expedition), began in January 1856, and lasted three and a half months. The river led the explorers not to an inland sea but to the barren emptiness of the Great Sandy Desert. Baines travelled half the distance with Gregory, and was then left to form a depot, near Mt Sanford, to which Gregory would return after penetrating the interior.

Although much of the country around Depot Creek, as it was subsequently named, was difficult to explore, it was nevertheless fascinating for Baines. Indeed, working conditions were not radically different from those he had known in Africa. The light intensity was the same, much of the country ruggedly similar, and camp life was comparable with what he had known in the African bush. The importance of his work, and his compelling desire to record as many of the explorers' discoveries and activities as possible, gave Baines a great feeling of exhilaration which showed through strongly in his work.

On returning, the explorers found the base camp in a deplorable state. Most of the schooner's crew were down with scurvy, supplies were scarce due to mismanagement and salt-water damage, and morale was low. Gregory instructed Baines to take the *Tom Tough*, only partially repaired after it had grounded on a shoal in the Victoria River, to Kupang, in Dutch Timor, to obtain food. He was then told to rendezvous with the overland party, attempting to cross the continent to the east coast at the Albert River in the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Baines' problems were compounded by the presence and provocations of Wilson (who by this time had resigned from the expedition), inadequate cooking facilities on board for the crew as well as for the captain's large family, insubordination, general disrepair of the schooner and scurvy. After minor repairs were undertaken in the fetid little settlement of Kupang, Wilson had the majority of the men successfully petition the Government Resident into declaring the *Tom Tough* unsafe for travel to the Albert River. Thus, on travelling a further 1300 kilometres to Surabaya, where repair facilities existed, Baines determined it more expedient to engage another vessel, the brigantine *Messenger*, than to wait for the repairs demanded by the Dutch authorities. Baines' impatience resulted from his knowing that Gregory would be waiting for supplies at the Albert River.

The return journey proved to be intolerably slow; so slow, in fact, that Baines decided to take the brig's longboat and try to rendezvous even sooner, for he believed that he could reach his destination, the Albert—a little less than 1600 kilometres away—in three weeks or so. The three-man crew in the longboat journeyed for 20 days—from Croker Island, roughly north of Darwin, to Sweet Island, north of Burketown. The hardships and dangers encountered were incredible. On one occasion Aborigines attacked the crew, and several times the boat was almost wrecked. Worst of all was the fact that Baines arrived too late to rendezvous with Gregory, who had passed through two months earlier. The *Messenger*, however, was waiting, 'flying her burgee and firing her guns to welcome the adventurers'. She had taken advantage of favourable winds further out to sea, and so passed the hapless trio unnoticed.

Thomas Baines and his men arrived in Port Jackson on 1 April 1857, almost two years after their departure from Sydney, with one of the most complete collections of sketches and canvasses ever made on an expedition. Gregory, in praise of Baines, wrote in his official report to Sir William Denison: 'I consider it my duty in this place to recommend his conduct throughout the expedition for the approval of His Excellency, as he has shown considerable energy and judgement in carrying out his instructions, and a constant desire to carry out the object of the Expedition.' The Governor, in turn, reported 'in almost identical language' to the Colonial Secretary.

Leaving Australia, Baines returned to the African bush—to painting, some exploring and, in later life, to politics. His first, and apparently only, love was his painting. He died a bachelor near Durban on 8 May 1875, of dysentery. His portrayal of northern Australia, through his sketches, watercolours and oils, can only be regarded as unique, as he was the first man to visually record the inland of the Northern Territory.

T Baines & W B Lord, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration*, 1871; W Birman *Gregory of Rainworth*, 1979; J H L Cumpston, *Augustus Gregory and the Inland Sea*, 1972; A C Gregory, *Papers relating to an Expedition recently undertaken for the Purpose of Exploring the Northern Portion of Australia*, 1857; A C & F T Gregory, *Journals of Australian Explorations*, 1884; H J Hillen, 'Thomas Baines of King's Lynn', *Lynn News*, 1898; J Makin, 'Forgotten Artist: Thomas Baines', *Parade*, July 1972; J Makin, *The Big Run*, (2nd ed) 1983; J P R Wallis, *Thomas Baines*, 1976; T Baines, 'Additional Notes on the North Australian Expedition under Mr A C Gregory', *RGS Procs*, vol 2, 1857–58; T Baines, 'The Explorer's Christmas in Australia', *Leisure Hour*, 1 December 1868; T Baines, *Journal* 30 January to 3 April 1857, Mitchell Library, Sydney, 'Sketches relating to the countries visited by the Northern Australian Expedition, A C Gregory—Commander', M397, Royal Geographical Society, London.

JOCK MAKIN, *Vol 1.*

BALDOCK, DAVID ROY (DAVE) (1913–), driver, road train operator, was born on 10 January 1913 at Mount Cooper, South Australia, the son of Walter Robert Baldock and his wife Elizabeth Thomas, *nee* Boyd.

Baldock arrived in Alice Springs from South Australia by road in 1934 looking for work. Upon being told that there were jobs in Tennant Creek, he travelled there but found that none of the numerous small mines offered him employment. For six weeks he had to exist on the small amount of money he had saved. He eventually obtained some casual work around the mines and later was employed by Harold Williams, helping in a store and driving Williams' truck to Alice Springs to pick up supplies from the fortnightly train.

In mid-1936 he moved to Alice Springs, where he drove for Charlie Simounds on his mail run to Huckitta and various stations. The mail run was monthly, so in between trips he drove for Eric Miller on the weekly run to Tennant Creek. He next drove trucks between Alice Springs and Tennant Creek for a couple of carriers but by

Easter 1937 decided to go into the transport business in his own account. He purchased a three-tonne capacity Ford truck and commenced a service from Alice Springs to Tennant Creek that carried general freight and perishables.

In those days the Overland Telegraph Line formed the route of the south-north track. On each side of the line a strip 20 metres wide was kept clear by regular patrols of linesmen, who also maintained the Line itself. Vehicles followed this cleared space, weaving between poles where necessary. It was used more as a stock route than as a vehicle road. Before the track was improved in 1938 it was not possible to fit dual rear tyres to trucks using the route as the wheel tracks were so deep that they were only suitable for single tyred vehicles. In fact, trucks could follow them without being steered! From the railhead at Alice Springs the government road train and ancillary government trucks moved supplies and materials to remote stations off 'The Track' and a handful of individuals, including Baldock, dealt with general freight. In 1937 trucks were relatively small but they frequently carried loads twice as heavy as their rated capacity. Thus Baldock's 'three tonner' often carried six tonnes along the Overland Telegraph Line track, through stony and sandy creek crossings and across ant bed flats. In time road gangs with graders began making improvements to the track and relocated it in many places. This led to Baldock introducing the first semi-trailer in 1938 carrying 10 tonne loads.

The improvements in truck technology that took place during the Second World War and the availability after the war of more powerful vehicles resulted in Baldock becoming the first individual to operate road trains as freight transport in the Territory. At post-war disposal sales of surplus equipment he bought two petrol powered GMC 6 x 6 vehicles and coupled each to two trailers, hauling 23 tonne payloads with each of these combinations. Next he purchased a former tank transporter and began hauling up to four trailers with it. He also built a truck body on it to carry additional payload. But he found it was underpowered so he acquired two Diamond T trucks, which were larger and more powerful, and with these he found he could pull seven trailers carrying up to 12 tonnes each. The trailers were also once defence force equipment. The limit on the number of trailers that could be hauled behind each Diamond T were the steep hills just north of Alice Springs on the old highway and the strength of towbars and towing hooks. Moreover, as the trailers were not equipped with brakes, they tended to 'bunch up' at creek crossings, causing couplings to snap. In time, of course, regulations were introduced to restrict the number of units towed by a prime mover and the overall length of any road train.

Baldock's road train operation became one of the best known in the Territory. His principal haulage activity was concentrated between Alice Springs and Tennant Creek, moving general freight north and bringing big tonnages of copper south from the Peko Mine for transfer to rail. He was a foundation member of the Territory Transport Association and was a shareholder in Co-Ord, the Association's business arm which coordinated road to rail services in the Territory.

In 1955 Dave Baldock left the Territory. He had been advised to undergo treatment for problems associated with his back, which had been affected by the hard working conditions experienced during his early working days in transport. He moved to South Australia but retained his financial interest in D R Baldock and Company. In 1966 the company and its fleet of road trains were sold to Fleet Owners, and the Baldock name in road transport disappeared.

Prior to moving south Baldock took an active interest in various sports. He was Patron of the Alice Springs Rifle Club and the Rover Football Club. He was President of the Federal Football Club and Vice-President of the Pioneer Football Club. His association with racing was as a judge for the Barrow Creek Race Club and the Hatches Creek Race Club, and as Steward and later Chief Steward of the Alice Springs Race Club. For some years from 1936 he was Assistant Starter at the Alice Springs Race Club's Christmas meetings. From 1947 he was also a Trustee of the Anzac Hill recreation area.

He married Illma Gregory in 1940 and they had two sons. In 1956 he married Betty Helen Woodhouse (*nee* Shipley) and there were three daughters by that marriage. His second wife died in a car accident in 1972.

Baldock was one of 200 'Remarkable Territorians' nominated as part of the Australian bicentenary celebrations in 1988. In 1990 he was living in retirement at Somerton Park, South Australia.

J Maddock, *A History of Road Trains in the Northern Territory 1934–1988*, 1988; taped interview with D Baldock; correspondence.

JOHN MADDOCK, *Vol 2*.

BALLINGALL, ARTHUR (c1910–1920–1991), bush worker, was born on Undoolya Station near Alice Springs. Some records suggest that he was born in 1910, but it is likely that he was born upwards of a decade later. His father, George Ballingall, was a prospector and miner at Arltunga in the 1890s, a stockman at various stations when the gold petered out, and was later involved in mining at Hatches Creek and Harts Range. Arthur's mother was a Central Aranda woman named Angelina Ongyamba. Through her he was to learn the Aranda language and traditions; by the mid 1970s he was to be acknowledged as the senior person of authority over, and knowledge of, the Ewaninga rock engravings area south of Alice Springs.

As with most Central Australian boys of his era, his childhood was spent in the company of Aborigines, the children of stockmen and miners, teamsters and cameleers, yard builders and well sinkers, and other bush workers. Many of his childhood friends had Aboriginal mothers and white fathers. Although they rarely received a formal education, they were not ignorant. Commonsense and hard work, together with a good sense of humour, made them part of the pioneering backbone of the Northern Territory.

Arthur's early work was with the camel teams, at times in association with his older mate, **Walter Smith**. He brought the loading from the then railhead at Oodnadatta to Alice Springs, and beyond to Hatches Creek and Newcastle Waters for many years. However, on occasions he took on other bush jobs, including droving. As with virtually all drovers with long-term experience, he criss-crossed the Territory and adjoining states on the great

stock routes. Some of his longest journeys were from Borroloola across the Barkly Tablelands to Camooweal, then in an eastern arc around the Simpson Desert to Birdsville in southwest Queensland.

He grew to be a tall, strongly built man, able to walk long distances as a result of his years with the camel teams, as well as to ride either camels or horses well, and to put his hand to almost any bush work. At one stage, following an argument about feats of strength at the Stuart Arms Hotel in the Alice, Arthur disappeared for a moment into Wallis Fogarty's store. His mates were still arguing over whom was the strongest when he emerged with a bag of flour under each arm and one gripped in his teeth. Each bag weighed about 23 kilograms. Arthur carried them a good half kilometre, including across the sandy bed of the Todd River, to Charlie Sadadeen's block. It stopped the argument!

During the course of his travels to Hatches Creek with the loading he met an Alyawarra woman, Topsy, who was to become his wife. She was related to the late Milton Liddle, son of Billy Liddle, through marriage, and the families were to become close friends. A sad aspect for Arthur and Topsy was that they were never to have children.

In the late 1930s and during the Second World War he worked for Bill Walsh and the Liddle Brothers, Milton and Harold, at the Hit-or-Miss wolfram show. It was hard work, but Arthur was always able to see humour in any situation, and he became a favourite 'uncle' to the Liddle children.

During the late 1940s and the 1950s he spent considerable time working in the Hatches Creek, Murray Downs and Elkedra country. At one stage he and his mates were dismantling the windmill at Desert Bore, near Murray Downs, and doing other associated bush work. For some unknown reason the rations did not arrive, so the group of four continued their work, living off bush tucker. One of his fellow workers, Clarrie Smith, brother to Walter, recalled that Arthur's sense of humour and tall tales kept them laughing and happy throughout.

When his wife Topsy died in 1957, Arthur's extensive network of friends, ranging from Oodnadatta to Newcastle Waters, provided him with support. The Liddle home and wood yard in Alice Springs became a second home for him, but he was a welcome visitor over a wide area.

During the 1970s he could often be seen outside the Stuart Arms in Alice Springs, still a big, strong man despite being slightly stooped over a walking stick. The stick was a gnarled branch, the handle polished from use, and was more a friend than a support. He invariably wore a handkerchief, knotted at the four corners, as head protection in the sun, and obliged many a tourist by allowing them to take photographs, and spinning them yarns.

In his old age he entered the Hettie Perkins Home in Alice Springs, where he appreciated the care that he was given, and a yarn in the sunlight with his old mates.

When he died in May 1991, the Territory lost one of its most colourful, genuine, characters.

Interviews with A Ballingall, B Liddle, G Hartley, T Pick, C Smith, W Smith.

R G KIMBER, Vol 2.

BARCLAY, HENRY VERE (1845–1917), surveyor, explorer and civil engineer, was born on 5 January 1845 at Bury, Lancashire, England, son of Henry Bruce Barclay, captain in the 56th Regiment and his wife Charlotte Mannix, *nee* Cummins. His father died in England in 1890 and his mother died in 1900 in Cornwall. Little is known of his education but in his late teens he received training at the Royal Naval College after becoming a cadet in 1861.

In June 1863 he was commissioned into the Royal Marines Light Infantry as a second lieutenant and served at Plymouth Headquarters until January 1866. He then commenced service aboard HMS *Topaze*. *Topaze* sailed from Plymouth in the same month and undertook an extensive voyage to South America where she was based out of Valparaiso, Chile. Barclay was promoted to Lieutenant in January 1867 while on the voyage. In the same year *Topaze* visited the Marquesas Islands, the Society Islands and in the following year she visited Easter Island. The latter, with its colossal statues, left an impression on the young Lieutenant. In 1869 *Topaze* visited Ascension Island and returned to Plymouth in August.

On his return to England, Barclay was appointed to Plymouth Headquarters and in November he married Alice Mary Edens Jee. In September 1871 Barclay was found to be suffering from ophthalmia and 'organic disease of the heart' and in October was placed on the retired list. Barclay then made his first visit to Australia where he lived at Coombe in Tasmania, carried out a private trigonometrical survey and used his engineering training on bridge building and design work. It was during this period that three sons were born to the Barclays.

By 1876 Barclay was back in England furthering his studies in engineering and in August he applied to the South Australian government for an appointment. In January 1877 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society and also an Associate of the Institute of Civil Engineers. Barclay returned to Australia where he was employed by the Surveyor General's Office in Adelaide to carry out a survey from Alice Springs to the Queensland border in the vicinity of the Herbert River.

The party, with **Charles Winnecke** as second-in-command, departed Adelaide in July 1877 and arrived at Alice Springs Telegraph Station in November. In January 1878 Barclay split the party and, while Winnecke carried out triangulation of the area in and around the telegraph station, Barclay set off on the survey to the Queensland border. He first attempted to reach the Herbert River via Mueller Creek but was forced back by lack of water, especially for his horses. During this attempt Barclay fell heavily with his horse and was injured when the butt of his rifle was driven into his side. He next took his party in a more easterly direction. On 20 April they reached a river where, by digging, they found a good supply of water. This Barclay named the Plenty.

In mid-May Barclay sent two of his men off to the northeast with instructions to find water. They returned a week later after being defeated by continuing spinifex and sand. They had almost reached the Queensland border. On 22 May Barclay, with one of his men, set off to the north to find a route. On the same day he discovered and

named the Jervis Range. On 28 May they were forced to turn back once more after almost reaching the then unknown Sandover River. In June, with his provisions very low, two of his men in poor health and himself troubled by his injury, Barclay made the decision to return to Alice Springs where he hoped the remainder of his rations would be waiting for him. He arrived back at Alice Springs at the end of the month, and four weeks later Winnecke received charge of the party. Barclay returned to Adelaide where in October/November he was forced by his injury to resign.

For the next three to four months Barclay worked for the City of Adelaide as a surveyor. He was engaged on a cadastral survey for the deep drainage of Adelaide. In December 1878 he left for New Zealand where for four years he was a contract surveyor for the government. In June 1880 he was placed on the list of Authorised Surveyors for the Colony. Following this work for the New Zealand government his whereabouts are unknown, till in mid-1887 he returned to Central Australia using an alias, H V Barclay Strathallan.

He returned as leader of the Strathallan Central Australian Exploration Party, which appears to have been privately funded, and from 1887 to 1889 Barclay carried out an extensive triangulation of the Harts Range, east of Alice Springs. F W Leech, a member of [David Lindsay's](#) exploration through the area in 1886, and later second-in-command to the Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition, assisted Barclay. The work in the Harts Range was done during the 'ruby rush' and at the time of the discovery of gold there.

Barclay was back in Adelaide in 1890 and on 5 March his father died. He was not mentioned in his father's will. It seems that Barclay had had a major quarrel with his family. In September he was appointed as a surveyor in the New South Wales Railway Construction Branch of the Public Works Department. He was employed on the Cootamundra–Temora and Gulgong–Walgett lines. In June 1891 Barclay was presumed dead by the Admiralty in the United Kingdom and his 'widow' awarded a pension. Perhaps he had not responded to news of his father's death and the family presumed he had died in the colonies. Barclay finished up with the New South Wales Public Works Department in August 1892 but stayed for a time in New South Wales. He was back in Adelaide by early 1894. In 1896 he took out pastoral leases over more than 38 000 square kilometres of land in the vicinity of the Marshall, Hay and Field rivers. He held the leases for three years before they were forfeited. From about this time he dropped his use of 'Strathallan'.

By the end of 1897 Barclay was back in England. He was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in November of that year. It is during this period that Barclay is supposed to have married Constance Moreton in London. However, this second relationship appears to have been de facto. He returned to Australia early in 1898 and read a paper on Easter Island before the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia in April. From this time he began to use the title of Captain of the Royal Navy. While, at the time of his enforced retirement from the Royal Marines, he was possibly entitled to call himself Captain RM, he was not entitled to the higher naval rank. However the title was to stay with him for the rest of his life. By now Barclay had become a champion of the future and resources of the Northern Territory and over the next decade gave several lectures in London, Paris and Australia expounding its virtues.

He returned to England after his Adelaide lecture and continued his lectures there and in Paris. He also wrote extensive unpublished articles on Central Australia and the geography of the Australasian colonies. In September 1899 Mrs A M E Barclay notified the Admiralty that her husband was alive and in London and her pension was stopped. Barclay's mother died in January 1900; again he was not mentioned in the will. All the mother's property went to another son, Arthur Denny Barclay, and a daughter, Lucy Bodilly.

Barclay returned to Australia in March 1903. Soon after he began to raise interest in an expedition to explore the vast unknown area of what today is known as the Simpson Desert. He received sympathetic help from the South Australian Royal Geographical Society and succeeded in obtaining the loan of six camels from the South Australian government. Ronald H Macpherson who was also the second-in-command largely financed the expedition. It left Adelaide in April 1904 accompanied by Captain E J F Langley, the governor's aide. From Dalhousie Springs the expedition travelled to Anacoora Bore, across to Crown Point Station and then north to Loves Creek Station in the MacDonnell Ranges. From there it struck out east to the Plenty River and at the end of October reached its furthest point at Mt Winnecke. The expedition then returned to the Hale River and followed it into the Simpson Desert to make a desperate dash through the desert, largely travelling at night, to reach Anacoora Bore at the end of November. The section through the desert was the only unexplored area to be visited by the expedition. Barclay and Macpherson again set out in 1905 and covered a similar route to the 1904 trip but this time explored as far as Urandangie in Queensland.

Barclay continued to lecture on the Northern Territory and also read a paper on his explorations before a meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science in Adelaide in January 1907. Also during this time he wrote many articles about his experiences for magazines of the era. Barclay then moved to Melbourne. In August 1910 he was employed as a surveyor by the Department of External Affairs in Melbourne and in December, at age 65, was appointed to lead another exploring and surveying expedition to the Northern Territory. Macpherson was appointed second-in-command, Gerald F Hill as naturalist and J J Waldron as cadet surveyor. The expedition departed Adelaide in January 1911, travelled to Charlotte Waters and then followed the Finke River to Hermannsburg Mission. At the mission Barclay carried out an inspection and subsequently submitted an adverse report on the conditions and running of the mission. The expedition then travelled to Alice Springs before returning to Haasts Bluff through the ranges. From there they followed a northerly course through largely unexplored and semi-desert country before reaching Newcastle Waters and Borroloola where the expedition effectively ended in November. Macpherson returned to Alice Springs with the camels on what turned out to be an extremely arduous trip. Barclay stayed on in Borroloola where he carried out extensive survey work in the district and on the Sir Edward Pellew Islands over the next two years. The main objective of this work was to survey a route for a

railway line from Newcastle Waters to a suitable harbour in the Pellew Islands. Barclay was also required to survey the harbour. He returned to Melbourne in December 1913 to write up his reports.

Barclay died in Hawthorn, Victoria, on 20 September 1917 and was buried at sea, south of Melbourne, three days later. Both his wives, and the eldest son, Henry Alfred Leighton Barclay, survived him from his first marriage. There was no issue from his second marriage.

H V Barclay, 'Journal of Mr Barclay's Exploration, 1878', *South Australian Parliamentary Paper*, no 209, 1878; H V Barclay, *Memorandum Upon the Northern Territory of South Australia*, Adelaide (nd); H V Barclay, 'The Aborigines of Central Australia, and a suggested solution of the difficulties surrounding the Aborigines' Questions', *Review of Reviews* (Australasian), 20 May 1894; H V Barclay, 'Recent Central Australian Exploration', *Victorian Geographical Journal*, vols 23–24, 1905–06; H V Barclay, 'Across Unknown Australia: The Mysterious Sand-Waves of the Desert', *Life*, 15 June 1907; H V Barclay, 'The Resources of Central Australia: A Fertile Fifth of the Commonwealth', *Life*, 15 August 1907; H V Barclay, 'Roughing it in Central Australia: The Fascination of Exploring', *Life*, 15 November 1907; H V Barclay, 'Report on Exploration of a Portion of Central Australia by the Barclay-Macpherson Expedition, 1904–5', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia: (South Australian Branch)*, vol 16, 1914–15; H V Barclay, 'Explorations in Central Australia', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch)*, vol 32, 1930–31.

BRUCE W STRONG, Vol 1.

BARKER, COLLETT (1784–1831), soldier, was born in England on 23 January 1784. He entered the 39th Regiment of Foot in 1806, received his Lieutenancy in 1808 and served in the Peninsular War (1811–14), Canada (1814–15), Flanders and France (1815–19). He purchased a Captaincy in the 39th in 1825 and sailed for Australia in 1828. On arrival in Sydney he was appointed commandant of the British garrison at Fort Wellington, Raffles Bay, replacing Captain Henry Smyth. He reached there, on 13 September 1828, in the colonial vessel *Governor Phillip*.

After the abandonment of Fort Dundas, an earlier British garrison on Melville Island, Fort Wellington became the only British outpost on the north coast, where Barker controlled 77 people, mostly members of his 39th Regiment and convicts. The official role of these garrisons was both commercial and strategic, an attempt to create a second Singapore in the south, and to demonstrate British ownership to the French. In practice, the settlements were almost fully occupied by the task of surviving in an alien environment.

On Melville Island, relations between the garrison and the Aborigines had been disastrous and, under Smyth, the situation at Raffles Bay was worse. The local people were shot at whenever they approached and, just before Barker's arrival, a spear injury to a soldier was revenged by a massacre of a number of men, women and children. On his arrival, Barker reversed Smyth's instructions, banning the use of firearms except in extreme danger. He unwaveringly demonstrated his goodwill to the Aborigines by going out unarmed among them and within a few months forged an amicable relationship with their leader, **Mariac** ('Wellington'). Barker and Mariac between them created a time of peace that was to influence permanently future race relations in the region.

The other major problem facing Fort Wellington was illness, which Barker correctly attributed to diet. He placed great emphasis on the cultivation of fruit and vegetables and on fishing, and rapidly restored both the health and morale of the community.

In 1828–29, the garrison was visited by a Southeast Asian trade fleet (the Macassans) and Barker promised them substantial trade the following year. Unfortunately, news of improved prospects at Fort Wellington did not reach England before the gloomy forebodings of his predecessor prompted the decision to close the settlement. Barker was ordered to take command at the military detachment at King George's Sound, Western Australia.

A disappointed Barker, tempted at first to disregard his orders, abandoned Fort Wellington to Mariac and the Aborigines on 28 August 1829. In 1831 he was proposed as the first British Government Resident in New Zealand and was ordered to Sydney. On the way he landed for survey work at the mouth of the Murray River, swam alone across a stream and was there speared to death by Aborigines. A white man, he was killed in revenge by people whose only experience of his race had been the recent depredations of the crews of sealing ships seeking their women.

A most capable officer, a just and merciful commandant and a scholar with an inquiring, scientific mind, Barker deserves chiefly to be remembered for his patient and accepting attitude to the Aboriginal people of Raffles Bay and the successful creation of peace out of fear and tension. It is tragic that this exceptionally humane man should have died for the sins of others.

Historical Records of Australia, vols 3, 5 & 6; *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, 1921; T B Wilson, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, 1835; C Stuart, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of South Australia*, 1834; Barker's Diary, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 2.

BARNES, WILLIAM JAMES (1869–1925), storekeeper and photographer, was born in Tamworth, New South Wales, in 1869. In September 1892, at the age of 23, he came to Darwin and joined the firm of Philip R Allen & Co. On 23 October 1897 he married Mary (known as Mollie), a twin daughter of **W G Stretton** and the family lived in Peel Street. There were two sons of the marriage, a female child died in infancy.

Barnes stayed with Allens until the firm sold out to A E Jolly & Co, about 30 years. During this time he came into contact with almost everyone in the Territory. In November 1917 he received a 'handsome pair of silver entree dishes' in commemoration of 25 years service. At the presentation it was noted that he was the 'oldest servant of this long established firm, and this long service in the tropics speaks volumes for employer and employee'.

Barnes was an enthusiastic photographer and many examples of his work still survive in archival collections in the Territory and interstate. He was also a musician 'of no mean ability' who would play for dances for the whole evening.

He was always active in community affairs and served on the Palmerston District Council for a total of 13 years and was Mayor on three occasions. He occupied that position when Lord Kitchener visited in 1908 and when **S J Mitchell** took up his position as government resident in 1910. He was a life member of the Masonic lodge; a life member of the Northern Territory Race Club, a life member of the Church Tennis Association, President of the Overseas Club, Warden of Christ Church, Vice President of the Music and Dramatic society, President of the Rifle Club and Bandmaster of the Darwin Brass Band. He also found time to be an active member of the Literary and Debating Society, the Pickwick Club, and the Pigeon Shooting Club. He also judged at the Agriculture and Horticultural Shows as well as swimming carnivals and gymkhanas.

Barnes was described as having, even in the last stages of a long and painful illness, a 'cheery optimistic personality who has won the reward of a host of friends during his long and active career in the Territory. Cheerfulness, integrity and industry may be said to have been the keynotes of his character'. He died on 23 November 1925 at the comparatively young age of 56, survived by his wife, who had nursed him 'with loving care and loyal devotion', and sons Keith and Aubrey, both of whom were employees of the Cable Company. He was buried according to the rites of the Anglican Church in the Gardens Road Cemetery.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 11 February 1910, 1 November 1917, 4 November 1925, 1 December 1925.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

BARNETT, EMILY CAROLINE, formerly CREAGHE, nee ROBINSON (1860–1944), explorer, was born on 1 November 1860 on board ship in the Bay of Bengal. She was the sixth child of Major George Cayley Robinson, a civil engineer who, in 1845, joined the British army in India where he served in the Royal Artillery. Her mother, Mary Harriet, was the daughter of Major Woodward who also served with the British army in India.

Not long after Caroline's birth, Major Robinson returned to England and Caroline attended school in Weston-Super-Mare near Bristol.

In 1876 Major Robinson retired from the army and immigrated to Australia with his wife and family of eight children. Caroline was then 16 years old. On arrival in Sydney they boarded at Wynyard Square and then took up residence in Lavender Bay. Some years later, on a visit to her uncle in Brisbane, Caroline met Harry Allington Creaghe, a grandson of the Marquis of Ormonde. Harry had been in Australia also from the age of sixteen years, having migrated from Ireland on the sailing ship *Young Australia* in 1865. Caroline and Harry were married in December 1881. Their first child Cayley, born a year later, died before he was one year old.

In 1882 Ernest Favenc and Harry Creaghe agreed to explore land west of the Queensland border from the head waters of the Nicholson River to Powell Creek on the overland telegraph line and the McArthur River area, for the South Australian government. Both Mrs Favenc and Caroline were to accompany their husbands.

The Creaghes left Sydney on board *Corea* on 23 December 1882 bound for Thursday Island. On arrival they awaited *Truganini*, which took them on to Normanton. Caroline kept a day-to-day diary and reported that 'on the way we had a heavy thunderstorm and all got drenched as we were sleeping'. In Normanton Mrs Favenc announced that she was not strong enough to undertake the journey and the men decided not to take Caroline either. She was bitterly disappointed.

Favenc escorted his wife back to Brisbane while Harry and Caroline set out on horseback for Shadforth's Carl Creek station 320 kilometres inland, where Caroline would wait for the men to return from their expedition. They left Normanton on 20 January 1883 at 3.30 pm accompanied by Shadforth and five other men. Caroline suffered heat, flies and fatigue from long hours in the saddle to which she was unaccustomed, and was often drenched with torrential rain. She found it hard to eat any of the food, which she described as 'dirty hairy dried salt beef, brown sugar half dust and dried hard damper'. They completed the journey in nine days.

Caroline stayed with the Shadforths for two months. She interested herself with the comings and goings of the station and helped about the house. Harry left for Normanton on 8 March to await the return of Favenc. One month later he rode back with the good news that Caroline was to accompany them after all. The expedition left from Gregory Downs station on 14 April 1883 with four horses under saddle, nine packed on the lead and four loose. Favenc had brought along **Lindsay Crawford**, an ex-telegraphist from Powell Creek. They rode seven to eight hours each day, but sometimes spent 12 to 15 hours in the saddle, often without food and little water. They lived on salt beef and damper and soon longed for fresh meat. One day Crawford shot two black ducks, which he plucked and cleaned. In the half twilight Caroline made a curry to cook in time for breakfast. As they ate in the shadowy dawn Caroline complained that Lindsay had left the quills on the ducks. Later, in broad daylight, she went to empty the billy and discovered that what she had supposed were quills, were thousands of flies which had blown off the long grass in the semi-darkness. She remarked that 'all the men were ill' when told of her discovery. Caroline took her turn with all the camp chores throughout the journey, including the unsaddling of horses. She made no complaints but often longed for enough water to wash her face and hands. She was delighted when Favenc named a lagoon after her, scratching the words 'The Caroline' into the trunk of a gum tree.

The exploration of creeks and the inspection of land often took them away off course. Each day brought a search for water and it had to be found in quantities enough for themselves and their horses. They were not always successful. During the day they sucked pebbles to try and allay their thirst. Many times they were forced to camp dry. On one occasion the horses were taken back thirty-eight kilometres to their last water hole as they were perishing. Within 128 kilometres of Powell Creek no water could be found. All were weak from exhaustion and

lack of food and the horses were failing; one had to be shot. The going was difficult, soft deep sand, and within forty-eight kilometres of their destination a range of hills barred their way; only bright moonlight enabled them to negotiate its rocky gorges. Around 7 pm on 14 May 1883, exactly one month since they had set out, they rode their stumbling thirst-crazed horses down from the range and on to the Overland Telegraph Line.

Telegraphists Bole and Goss were surprised to have visitors ride in from the east and amazed to find a woman in their company. Telegraph stations were spaced at 240-kilometre intervals north and south, but east and west the virgin bush stretched away for hundreds of kilometres. The telegraphists' surprise would have been greater had they known that Caroline was at the time three months pregnant.

Two days later Favenc and Crawford left to explore the McArthur River area with the fittest horses while the Creaghes took the weaker animals the 560 kilometres to Katherine. Arriving there three weeks later they awaited the return of Favenc and Crawford, then travelled to Southport by horse and buggy, boarded a ship and returned to Sydney. Caroline's second son was born in north Sydney on 19 January 1884; she named him Gerald Harry. The family moved to a dairy farm at Nankine Creek near Rockhampton in Queensland. Later Harry became manager of Apis Creek cattle station. On 6 August 1886 he was accidentally killed when a horse that he was breaking ran into a tree. Caroline was at that time five months pregnant and gave birth on 26 December 1886 to another son whom she named Harry Percy Archer Butler.

To keep herself and her sons she opened a guesthouse in Rockhampton. Later she went to Toowoomba Station as a housekeeper. On 10 December 1889 she married Joseph Jupp Smallman Barnett, manager of Marlborough cattle station. Joseph was born in Grantchester, England, on 7 March 1849. He came to Australia in 1864 in the sailing ship *The Golden City* with his father Thomas Smallman Barnett and his two brothers Thomas and John Venn Barnett.

Caroline and Joseph lived on Marlborough for many years. Caroline had six more children; twins Eric John and Lionel Tom were born on 1 November 1890, then two daughters, Mavis Lilla on 11 December 1893 and Moira Jessie on 5 January 1896, followed by Harold Douglas, 6 January 1899, and finally Evelyn Roy, 6 May 1902.

On 26 April 1899 Caroline boarded the SS *Perthshire* with five of her children, the youngest of whom was five months old, on an intended visit to New Zealand. Gales sprang up and two days later the ship's tail end shaft broke and she would not steer even under full sail. For seven weeks she drifted helplessly away from the shipping lanes. By this time Caroline was extremely worried for her baby, whose supply of condensed milk was nearly finished. Repairs were affected by *Perthshire* engineers only just in time to prevent the ship being cast on to the rocky coastline of Norfolk Island. *Perthshire* was later taken in tow by the SS *Talune*. Safely back in Sydney, Caroline decided not to continue her journey.

In 1905, to assist with the expenses of the children's education she again opened a guesthouse in Rockhampton. Joseph later retired there owing to ill health. In 1920 they moved to Sydney and when Joseph died in 1922 she spent some years in Roseville, and then settled in Mosman. She made her last trip to England in 1938 to visit her youngest sister, Minnie Duff, whose husband, the Honourable Charles de Vere Duff, was a brother-in-law to the Princess Royal. Caroline was then seventy-eight years old. At the age of 84 she slipped on a mat on a polished floor breaking a hip and did not recover. She died in Sydney on 11 November 1944.

E Favenc, *General Report on Country in the Northern Territory with Sketch Map*; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 June 1899; E C Barnett, diary in possession of Mr E R Barnett, Newport, New South Wales.

W J M MAFF, Vol 1.

BATTARBEE, REX (1893–1973), artist, was born in Warnambool, Victoria, in 1893, the son of dairy farmers. Until the First World War, Battarbee was occupied in helping to manage the farm. In his spare time he practised painting watercolours, taking informal lessons from his sister Florinda, who had received formal training. This was the only training Battarbee ever had in watercolour painting.

In 1915 Battarbee joined the Australian Imperial Force and served in France before receiving severe injuries during the battle for Bullecourt. He spent four years in hospitals as a result of those injuries and even when he left hospital he was unable to return to farm work. However, upon turning to his painting as an alternative, Battarbee found that a living could be made from it. He continued to paint for the next 10 years, travelling around the mid-west of New South Wales and Victoria painting local landscapes and gaining rapid recognition for his work.

In 1928, with fellow artist John A Gardner, Battarbee made his first trip into Central Australia. The two painted several landscapes there, but had to return to New South Wales because of financial difficulties.

In 1934 the two returned and continued to paint landscapes. They held an exhibition at Hermannsburg Lutheran Aboriginal Mission in that year and received an enthusiastic response from the Aboriginal population. Battarbee suggested that the Aboriginal response was due to most of the exhibits being depictions of local landscapes; land which was both familiar and significant to all the Aborigines at Hermannsburg. In the same year, Battarbee won the Centenary Prize in Melbourne for the 'Best Watercolour Painted in the Last Two Years'.

Battarbee returned again to Hermannsburg and Central Australia in 1936, this time alone, eager to teach the Aborigines of Hermannsburg how to paint in a European manner. He later said that his reason for painting in Central Australia was because the colours that could be found scattered throughout New South Wales and Victoria were all in the one place here, and the clear, hazeless air gave them a picturesque beauty that was not to be seen anywhere else. Battarbee also had a high regard for the people of Hermannsburg and, of all the Aborigines he had encountered, was most fascinated with the Arunta (also Aranda) tribe.

Albert Namatjira came from that tribe, and when Battarbee came to the mission for the third time, **Pastor F W Albrecht** allowed Namatjira to travel as camel boy on an expedition in search of new subjects to

paint. Whilst on this expedition, which lasted two months, Battarbee provided Namatjira with the only training he ever received.

Battarbee and Namatjira returned to the mission, where Battarbee began giving classes in art, under the guise of the Arunta School of Watercolourists. Pastor Albrecht was only too willing to assist, and did not hesitate to obtain supplies of paint and equipment for use by the school.

Namatjira's paintings were well accepted by the Australian public; Pastor Albrecht sold six out of the 10 paintings he took to a seminar in Adelaide, and shortly after that, an exhibition of some more of Namatjira's work was held there, many of them being sold. By the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Namatjira's popularity as an artist had outstripped that of his only tutor, Battarbee.

During the Second World War the German origins of the mission staff led military intelligence to regard them, wrongly, with suspicion and to recommend their removal. Battarbee solved the problem by volunteering to act as liaison officer to the Hermannsburg Mission. During this period, he formed an advisory council to guide Namatjira in the sale of his paintings, which were escalating in popularity and value—fetching high prices. The wartime shortage of painting materials did not deter the artists; they used smoothed slices of beanwood. These paintings became more valuable, because of their more natural appearance, and the use of traditional materials on which to paint (in Namatjira's case) met with wide acclaim.

In 1951 Battarbee formed the Arunta Arts Council. This effectively superseded the mission's role in the management of the art of the Arunta tribe, or of the artists, although the Council remained at the Hermannsburg Mission. In the same year, Battarbee's book *Modern Australian Aboriginal Art* was published. Battarbee also held his first exhibition of Aboriginal art at his home in Alice Springs, which he bought because 'my love for this land has become so much a part of my life'. That exhibition was of the art of thirteen Aborigines, including work by Namatjira and his three eldest sons.

As Namatjira became more and more popular, Battarbee faded into the background, although the styles of the artists are arguably very similar. He is now remembered more for his work with Namatjira than for his own accomplishments as an artist.

Rex Battarbee died in Alice Springs on 3 September 1973. A son and daughter survived him. His wife died about two years before him. He is buried at the Alice Springs Memorial Cemetery and is commemorated by Battarbee Street in Alice Springs.

N Amadio, *Albert Namatjira—The Life and Work of an Australian Painter*, 1986; R Battarbee, *Modern Australian Aboriginal Art*, 1951; R Berndt & E Phillips, *The Australian Aboriginal Heritage*, 1973; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 4 September 1973; *Northern Territory News*, 3 & 4 September 1973.

DUNCAN McCONNEL, Vol 1.

BAUDIN, NICOLAS-THOMAS (1756–1803), French hydrographer, was born on an island at Saint-Martin de Re on 17 February 1756, son of Francois and of Dame Suzanne Guillotze. His father was a merchant and later chandler to the Cordovan lighthouse at the mouth of the Gironde. Very little is known of his early life until, at the age of 21, he appears among the troops of the French East India Company. Apparently disillusioned, he returned to France at public expense. He subsequently tried a naval career at the beginning of the American revolutionary war but was relieved of his command by an intrigue of *officiers rouges* (nobles), Baudin being of lower social standing.

It was an age when the military profession lent itself to internationalism and Baudin joined the Austrian navy in the service of Emperor Joseph II, brother of Marie-Antoinette. In 1786 and 1789 Baudin led two successful scientific expeditions as far as the Indian Ocean and the Pacific collecting botanical specimens for the collection at Schonbrunn Palace.

In 1792 France declared war on Hungary and Bohemia. On hearing the news, Baudin made haste to rejoin the French service, anticipating promotional possibilities. However, he was disappointed and achieved nothing but the right to sail free of French intervention. In 1793 he sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and later stated he had been off the coast of New Holland when two consecutive hurricanes had forced him to withdraw.

Unaware that hostilities had erupted between France and England, Baudin put into the port of Bombay and was received with hostility by the English. He continued to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Cape and finally, after a shipwreck, appeared in the United States. He arrived back in France in 1795 via Trinidad, having supposedly acted as a French agent.

On his return to France, Baudin sought to enhance his reputation with the authorities. He suggested organising raids on the commerce of the English East Indiamen, but this was rejected. However, his second proposal, which was to have a great influence on his life, was more acceptable. It seems that, on the strength of his previous voyages, albeit with foreign powers, he had acquired friends and patrons at the Institut National. With the backing of these learned men he secured from a reluctant government, the command of a botanical expedition to the West Indies. Following the success of this trip Baudin broached the idea of the Voyage aux Terres Australes. He turned to the Institut National and, with the influence again of his patrons, use of a certain charm and tact, and the enthusiasm of Napoleon, Baudin was successful.

The aims of the voyage were to determine precisely the geographical position of the principal points along the coastline they would travel and to chart them exactly; also to study the inhabitants, animals and natural products of the countries in which they would land. Baudin sailed from Le Havre in *Geographe* in 1800 accompanied by a consort, *Naturaliste*. Baudin's dogmatic character was soon evident; after they sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, Baudin persisted in keeping close to the African coastline, against the advice of his naval crew, thus missing the favourable winds. This dogmatic approach allowed Flinders to reach the Australian coastline before him,

although Flinders had sailed from England fifty-one days after Baudin. Baudin's problems increased when he sailed into Mauritius, as some of his crew, both scientific and navigational, decided to leave the expedition and return to France. There was conflict between the two sections of his crew and the large number of scientists on board grew intolerant of Baudin's authoritarian approach. To them he was of inferior social standing, an officer raised from the ranks.

Baudin took on new crewmembers and continued with his expedition, sighting the coast of New Holland in May 1801. He steered north up the western coastline and along the northern coastline before turning north to Timor. He replenished supplies and rested the sick for two months and then the *Geographe* sailed to Tasmania. Baudin spent three months in this region, charting the coastline and collating information about the Aborigines. He then sailed westward along the southern coast of the continent where he met Flinders in Encounter Bay. The two men exchanged information about geographical features and charts. Flinders continued eastward toward Port Jackson and Baudin sailed to Kangaroo Island, with Flinders' chart of the area for guidance, and then to the Spencer Gulf region. From there he turned eastward for Port Jackson, meeting Flinders there in June 1802.

Flinders invited Baudin and his officers aboard the *Investigator* to dine. Flinders showed Baudin one of his charts of the south coast of the mainland with the French discoveries marked. Baudin expressed surprise at how small the section was but did not object to the limits assigned to him. Baudin stayed in Port Jackson until November 1802, allowing his crew to recover and enjoy the hospitality offered. Baudin acquired another vessel, *Casuarina*, and when they recommenced their voyage, Hamelin sailed *Naturaliste* back to France with the sick and many of their scientific specimens: Freydnert commanded *Casuarina* and with Baudin in command of *Geographe* the latter two vessels set sail for Bass Strait and more explorations.

Baudin again travelled the southern coastline, western and northern coasts checking much of the information they had gained on their first voyage. A stop was again made in Timor with the intention to continue exploration in Torres Strait and the Gulf of Carpentaria. However, so many of the crew were debilitated by sickness, including Baudin, that course was altered for Mauritius. The *Geographe* reached Mauritius in August and Baudin died there on 16 September, of tuberculosis.

Baudin's expedition was responsible for much of the charting of the coastline of Tasmania; the coastline of South Australia extending eastward 250 kilometres from Encounter Bay; parts of the Western Australian and Northern Territory coastline. Names across the northern coast show the progress of his expedition—Josef Bonaparte Gulf, Peron Islands, Lacrosse Island, Cape Dombey, Cape Helvetius and Cape Fourcroy. Much of the credit for scientific and navigational knowledge obtained belongs to Hamelin, the second in command and to Lieutenant Freycinet.

Baudin's position on the voyage was that of administrator and he certainly saw his commander's role as being to impose law and order '*maitre après Dieu*'. As instigator of the voyage, he took his responsibilities seriously and was aware of the confidence shown in him by the Institut in Paris and the high expectations of success they had of the expedition. He was aware of his inadequacies in seamanship and hydrography; this was shown at his meeting with Flinders when he pleaded ignorance of notes on a chart of Bass and his lack of knowledge at the extent of French exploration.

Baudin was very conscious of his position and would not request or accept advice from his crew regarding sailing manoeuvres or navigation, and in turn received no respect or loyalty from his crew. His reputation was very important to him. In June 1802 *Geographe* had to be assisted into Sydney Harbour, but no mention of this is made in Baudin's diary, or of the second meeting with Flinders.

Despite his arrogant manner there was some humour lurking in him, as shown when Governor King sent out a party to follow Baudin's vessels, convinced they were intending to found a settlement in Bass Strait. The two parties met on King Island and Baudin denied any intention of a French settlement. The young British officer in command, still cautious, hoisted the British flag amongst the French tents and Baudin sent a letter to King stating: 'That childish ceremony was ridiculous, and has become more so from the manner in which the flag was placed, the head being downwards and the attitude not very majestic... I thought at first it might have been a flag which had served to strain water and then hung out to dry.'

Baudin's achievements are perhaps overshadowed by the human conflict and sickness that plagued the voyage. Baudin was ambitious, caught up in the politics of the era, and with his Gallic zeal liberally bestowed French names on Australia. 'French men of science are also French patriots.' Ironically, the publication of his diary did not occur until 1974 and then in an English translation.

Journal of Nicolas Baudin 1800–1803, translated by Christine Cornell, 1974; M Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australia*, vol 1, 1814; A Grenfell-Price, *Island Continent*, 1972; G Ingleton, *Charting a Continent*, 1944; C C Macknight (ed), *The Farthest Coast*, 1969; E Newby, *The World Atlas of Exploration*, 1975; N J B Plomley, *The Baudin Expedition and the Tasmanian Aborigines 1802*, 1983.

J STEEL, Vol 1.

BAUER, FRANCIS HARRY (SLIM) (1918–), farmer, geographer and academic, was born at a hamlet called Reading Center in the State of New York, United States of America, on 5 August 1918, the son of Gustus and Cornelia Bauer. His childhood was spent on the family farm where they kept cattle and cultivated a variety of field crops; his early education was in a one-room country primary school and at the Watkins Glen High School.

After schooling, his early working life was spent in physical pastimes such as working on a power line, working at a salt works and at a lumber camp in California until he enlisted in the United States Army in 1941. He was first sent to Hawaii and, after Pearl Harbour, he was sent to Fiji, Guadalcanal and Bougainville. In 1945 he was demobbed from the army with an interest in further travel and an opportunity to undertake tertiary study.

In January 1949, he graduated Bachelor of Arts (with highest honours) from the University of California (Berkeley). That year he also became a member of Phi Beta Kappa, an American national scholastic fraternity, election to which was a significant academic honour as less than one per cent of American graduands in a given year were invited to membership. He obtained a Master of Arts in Geography in 1952 from the same University. That same year, he received a scholarship from the Fulbright Educational Exchange Program for post-graduate studies in Australia, first at the University of Adelaide and later at the Australian National University, where he was admitted as a doctoral candidate researching the geography of Kangaroo Island. Although the scholarship was for nine months, he stayed in Australia for seven years.

His first experience of the Northern Territory was in May–June 1953 as geomorphologist in an expedition from the University of Adelaide billed as a ‘Biological Reconnaissance of Central Australia’. Places visited included Alice Springs, Harts Range, Arltunga, Henbury Craters, Ayers Rock, Mt Olga, Mt Connor, Ernabella, Oodnadatta and Maree.

Before his doctorate was completed, he became engaged in research at the Australian National University with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), from 1955 to 1958, focussing on the historical geography of European settlement in Central and Northern Australia, and he spent a brief period in Darwin while working on this project in 1957. This research resulted in two monographs on European settlement in Queensland and the Northern Territory. On completion of the CSIRO research he continued his doctoral research on his thesis, ‘The Regional Geography of Kangaroo Island, South Australia’, was awarded a Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1960.

In 1959 he returned to the United States where he stayed for three years. The first six months of this period were spent working on a US Navy missile base at Point Mugu in California, under contract from the University of California (Riverside). This resulted in his monograph, *Kwajalein Atoll: Geography and Facilities*. During this three-year period he lectured in geography at the University of California (Riverside) and at the San Diego State College.

In 1962, Dr Bauer returned to Australia where he established the Geography Department of what is now James Cook University of North Queensland in Townsville, Queensland. He married June Bousen from Toowoomba, Queensland, on 1 December 1962.

In 1965 he returned to California after being offered a position at the California State College at Haywood, where he remained for 10 years. During this period, he undertook visiting professorships at various universities including: The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1966; The University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, in 1966 and 1969–1970, and Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand, in 1972.

Academic posts held throughout his career included: Teaching Fellow at the University of California (Berkeley), 1949–1955; Post-graduate studies and research at University of California (Berkeley), 1949–1952; Post-graduate research at the Australian National University, 1952–1955, 1958; Lecturer in Geography at the University of California (Riverside), 1960–1961; Associate Professor of Geography at the San Diego State College, 1961–1962; Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University College of Townsville, 1962–1965; Associate Professor of Geography at California State College, Hayward, 1965–1968, and; Professor at California State University, Hayward, 1968–1974.

In 1974 he returned from California to Australia to the job of Field Director of the North Australia Research Unit of the Australian National University in Darwin. The unit was formed in late 1972 but he did not take up duties as its first Field Director until August 1974.

Dr Bauer was absent from Darwin during Cyclone Tracy at Christmas-time in 1974, but he returned soon after to clean up and salvage his home and other buildings of the North Australia Research Unit that were damaged by the Cyclone. The next seven years were spent managing the North Australia Research Unit and carrying out research on the history of agriculture in Northern Australia. He was also a member of the Darwin Community College Council, 1976–1979.

In 1981 he retired from the North Australia Research Unit and returned to Canberra as a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Economic History, Research School of Social Sciences, at the Australian National University. In this role he continued his research on agriculture in Northern Australia, focussing on early attempts to grow rice and the role played by American capital in the Northern Territory pastoral industry.

Throughout his career, Bauer received several scholarships and grants, particularly for research work with the University of California and the Australian National University. Major publications produced include: *Kwajalein Atoll: Geography and Facilities*, US Navy, 1960; *Historical Geography of White Settlement in Part of Northern Australia, Part 2. The Katherine Region*, CSIRO, 1964; and *A Guide to Kangaroo Island*, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1953. Other published material included the CSIRO reports on the historical geographic surveys of parts of the Northern Territory and numerous articles in international geographic journals. He was editor of the *North Australia Research Directory*, 1974–1976, and editor of the *North Australia Research Bulletin*, 1977–1980.

Bauer and his wife, June, retired in Canberra at the end of 1983, and his interests included travel and reading.

Family information; Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Interview Transcript, NTRS 226—TS 495; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1983.

GREG COLEMAN, Vol 3.

BAXTER, JULIET ELIZABETH: see **SHIELDS, JULIET ELIZABETH**

BEATON, FRANK (1903–1974), bush worker, labourer, Air Force serviceman and market gardener, and **BEATON, IRENE LOUISA (RENE) nee DENMAN** (1908–1988), amateur horticulturist. Frank was born in

Subiaco, Western Australia, in 1903, the son of William Beaton, born in Glasgow, Scotland, and his wife Sarah, *nee* McLean, formerly of Euroa, Victoria. Rene's family, the Denmans, were from Queenstown, South Australia, where she was born in 1908.

At the age of 13 Frank was told to leave home because his parents could no longer afford to support him. He fossicked for gold and shot kangaroos in the Meekathara district of Western Australia but his dream was to find land and start a farm.

Frank arrived in Darwin aboard MV *Koolinda* in 1939 to work on the construction of Manton Dam. Life in a tent beside the crocodile infested river was too much for the young Western Australian. He obtained a job in Darwin helping to build Larrakeyah Army Barracks. Once settled in, he wrote a letter of proposal to his pen friend in Perth, Rene Denman, which she accepted.

On her arrival in Darwin, also on *Koolinda*, Rene went directly to a job at Jack Buscall's Curio Cottage in Cavenagh Street, where she fed native birds, animals, snakes, crocodiles and goannas. A Justice of the Peace at the picturesque sandstone registry office overlooking the wharf in Darwin married Frank and Rene. They looked forward to a long and happy life on their proposed farm.

With the threat of war in late 1941, Rene was evacuated, once again on *Koolinda*, whilst Frank stayed in Darwin. He was there when the first bombs fell in February 1942. He later enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force in Adelaide and served at Morotai constructing airfields.

Frank and Rene returned to Darwin with four young children in 1946. Their fifth child was born there. Frank bought 'Hidden Valley' at Berrimah for 10 Shillings an acre. He paid 50 Pounds for the Sidney Williams hut and established a thriving banana plantation. He also grew cucurbits, limes, gladioli and a single Bowen mango tree. Frank's produce was exported to markets in Perth and Adelaide where record prices became the norm. Even the single mango tree was to attract prominence when the Administrator, **Frank Wise**, arranged for a carton of the huge fruit to be air freighted to London for Princess Alexandra, who, during her visit to Darwin, had expressed her love of mangoes. There were no other ripe fruit available in Australia at that time. The resultant publicity brought requests from several countries for seeds from Frank's 'plantation'.

In 1951 Frank and Rene instigated the 1951 Jubilee Year Exhibition. Frank's idea was to encourage 'returnees' and newcomers to rise up from the ruins and show what Territorians could produce from the land. The following year the North Australian Show Society was born with Frank and Rene holding the Secretary and President positions for many years.

After Frank's death in January 1974, Rene stayed on in their Rapid Creek house until Cyclone Tracy wrecked it. On resettling in New South Wales she was often asked if she would return to the Territory. Her reply was that she had been bombed out and blown out and she would never return. After nearly four decades in Darwin, Rene frequently stated that life in the south suited her much better with so many excellent facilities for the aged, and the invigorating changes during the four seasons there. Her autobiography, *Feet First*, was published in Darwin in 1985 and later reprinted. Rene died peacefully at Orange, New South Wales, in January 1988.

I L Beaton, *Feet First*, 1985; family information.

CHRISTINE COX, Vol 2.

BEETALOO BILL, JANGARI also **WIRINYKARI** or **WEINGARI** (c1915–1983), Aboriginal elder, was born probably around 1915, the son of Roderick Jampin (Mirijilkari) and a Napurrula women. His English name comes from the name of the Batherns' (Bulwaddy Bates') station where he was born, on the east of the Overland Telegraph Line near Newcastle Waters. His parents were, in normal circumstances, a proscribed combination and they had come together in an unusual way. As Jangari told it, the woman who was to be his mother was a Gurindji woman who had been the companion of a white hawker, Billy 'Cabby', who had picked her up from the Camfield area and taken her to Tennant Creek. Being wary of European law which prohibited 'cohabitation', the white men there engaged an Aboriginal man to give the appearance of the two Aborigines being a couple, which indeed they later became, and Beetaloo Bill was their first child. They all travelled around in the white man's horse and cart. He had a younger brother, Charlie Bill, and several younger sisters, one of whom, Hilda Kingston, survived him.

Beetaloo Bill's father also had an unusual ancestry, and was the subject of an ethnographic puzzle for the anthropologist **W E H Stanner**, who interviewed him at Newcastle Waters in 1934, for he was in the opposite patri moiety from his father, Jangari's grandfather.

Beetaloo Bill was made a man in 1929: as he said, 'the year Phar Lap won the Melbourne Cup.' His father's Dreaming was the Laughing Boys story from west of Banka Banka, but Beetaloo Bill's main Dreaming, at least in his later life, was the Snake and Star story, which circles the Barkly Tableland and culminates along Hayward Creek. As a child he spoke his father's language Warumungu, according to which his skin name (subsection) was Jappangarti; in adult life his main language was Mudburra, according to which his skin name was Jangari; he also knew the Warlmanpa and Jingulu languages, and understood Gurindji.

Like a number of his contemporaries, he worked for the Army during the Second World War at camps along the Stuart Highway, including the newly established Elliott Staging Camp. After the war he was employed with the Department of Works, at first on lower wages and later on full award wages. In this work he was part of a gang that maintained government bores on stock routes, and in the course of this work he and his European workmates travelled the stock routes that radiated for hundreds of kilometres from Newcastle Waters. Beetaloo Bill became a well-known figure at cattle stations and droving camps. He was one of the few Aborigines in the Northern Territory who were paid equally with Europeans in the years before this was mandatory, and was a member

of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which led in 1975 to his having the rare status of an Aborigine on superannuation.

He is mentioned in **Mary Ward's** Banka Banka journals: in 1950 as passing by with his first wife Jersey, and in 1961 in an entry which typifies his relations with local Europeans: 'Saturday 16/12/61 Beetaloo Bill came early for Petrol & watermelons.'

Beetaloo Bill bought a new Holden utility from his savings, and traded his vehicles in regularly, long before other Aborigines owned vehicles. He said he would 'run out' of petrol when near a road camp or station where he knew he would get a welcome; his brilliant humour and comic repertoire would more than compensate for whatever favour he requested. His easy familiarity with Europeans and outback customs was matched by a broad and deep knowledge of Aboriginal law in his region, but in an extraordinary mixture: he was unconstrained by convention, black or white.

He used to say that he disagreed with the accusations against European explorers. For instance, he said, **John McDouall Stuart** was only trying to find a way through the country, and his ancestors should have helped him; but his ancestors were ignorant, he said, as evidenced by their thinking that proffered flour was white powder for body decoration. And he told the author **Frank Hardy** that he would be happy for his daughters to marry whom they liked, including a white man, and felt that arranged marriages were past; however, his children have by and large married along traditional lines.

Beetaloo Bill was keen for his children to have a good life in what he saw as the coming European order. His family was among the first Aboriginal residents of the new town, which Elliott Army camp became after the Second World War. Around 1952 he was a leader in the petition for improved conditions in the Aged and Infirm camp: he and his wife were among the dozen Aboriginal adults considered to be permanent residents of Elliott that year. He established a home in the southern corner of the newly declared Aboriginal reserve on the north west of Elliott, the corner closest to the European town (and to Waramungu country). In the early 1950s, from his savings, he paid 500 Pounds to a carpenter to make a substantial galvanised iron shed there, in which his family lived until his death in 1983. He persistently saw that his children received schooling (he had none), in particular in the school integration crisis of 1962. He objected, for instance, to his children being bussed 25 kilometres to Newcastle Waters for school while European children were attending a school in Elliott. Under the headline 'Elliott Colour Bar' the *Northern Territory News* reported that Beetaloo Bill wanted his girl to read and write and 'would not take her away from the school no matter what happened.'

By the 1970s Beetaloo Bill was generally regarded by Europeans in the area as an exception to their generalisations about Aborigines. After drinking became legal for Aborigines he would drink, but not get drunk. He would demonstrate that he had his own ideas about handling his money, for instance clearing his 'book down' at the store and taking his custom elsewhere.

Beetaloo Bill's exceptional knowledge of Aboriginal traditions assisted numerous groups in the hearing of a traditional land claim in 1980, although it did not concern his father's or mother's country. He lobbied for the recognition of the entitlement of his wife's family to its country, which culminated in the establishment of an outstation on an excision near Powell Creek. Despite his exceptional knowledge and genial nature, even after his retirement Beetaloo Bill worked hardly at all with researchers in Aboriginal studies, and did not hold positions in Aboriginal organisations.

Beetaloo Bill was on medication in his last years for heart disease. He died at Elliot and was buried in the Elliott Cemetery on 29 September 1983. His second wife Biddy Judambi Nimarra, two sons and eight daughters survived him. His family use 'Bill' as a surname.

Aboriginal Land Commission, *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976* re the Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warrumungu Land Claim, 1980–1981, transcript 27 October 1980 and following days; Aboriginal Land Commission, Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudbura and Warumungu Land Claim, 1982; F Hardy, *The Unlucky Australians*, 1968; D Lockwood, *Up the Track*, 1964; F Stevens, *Aborigines in the Northern Territory Cattle Industry*, 1974; 'Northern Territory Welfare Ordinance. Register of Wards', in *Northern Territory Government Gazette*, no 19B, 13 May 1957; *Northern Territory News*, 13 February 1962; Australian Archives, F1 52/837, Native Affairs Branch: General Correspondence, quoted from J Wolfe, *Crossed Tracks*, 1990; Banka Banka Journals, Hilda Tuxworth Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland; N Chadwick, Survey Materials, 'Linguistic Survey of Some Townships & Stations on or Near the Barkly Tablelands', 1973, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Library; W E H Stanner, 'Report on Fieldwork in North Central and Northern Australia 1934–5', Microfiche no 1, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

DAVID NASH, Vol 2.

BENNISON, AMY ISABEL: see **CONWAY, AMY ISABEL**

BENNISON (also BENISON), LESLIE SAMUEL (LARRY) (1848–1915), policeman, teamster, lighthouse keeper, miner and seaman, was born in London, England, on 18 May 1848, the son of Major Samuel Bennison and his wife Mary, *nee* Mills. In 1854 as a child he accompanied his parents to Gibraltar, then probably accompanied them to Crimea in Russia, Montreal in Canada and Bermuda. It is thought that he may have attended his Uncle Horace's old school, Bancrofts in Mile End Road, London. He was in London in December 1864 when his father died.

Nothing is known of him from then until 1876 when he was mentioned in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*. In January 1877 he joined the Northern Territory Police Force and in May of the same year married Rose Isabel Lane, daughter of Trooper Richard Lane and his wife Maria, *nee* Thomas. Bennison and his wife had three daughters, **Amy**, Mary and Blanche, and one son, Horace. He was stationed at Palmerston in 1877 and 1878,

Southport in 1879 and Adelaide River between 1880 and 1882. He left the force in November 1882 and became a teamster, taking his wife Rose with him on his trips.

By 1897 he was a lighthouse keeper at Point Charles Lighthouse on the Cox Peninsula. His wife and daughters Mary and Blanche were with him there. In 1901 the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported that he had found the lost 'Bald Hills Copper Mine' at Daly River and had brought some nice looking specimens to Palmerston with him when he came in to apply at the Lands Office for two blocks under a mineral licence. At another time he and Rose were care taking at the Zapopan Mine near Pine Creek.

In 1904 he was captain of the lugger *Minniehaha*, which he took on charter trips. On one occasion Messrs Campbell, Howatson and Pearson chartered him for a month to take them to the Victoria River, where they intended searching for the late Mr Aikman's discovery of ozocerite. They were successful in finding traces of Lieutenant **J.L. Stokes**'s excavation for water where he found 'a light substance which would burn freely', as noted in his journal. They also visited Aikman's old camp, where they found portions of a hand drill used by him and his party.

Bennison and his wife took an interest in public affairs and in 1902 were appointed to the committee to secure the re-election of C E Herbert as a member of the Legislative Assembly of South Australia.

As a young man he partook of the usual sports but favoured cricket and played for the surveyors among others.

Bennison died on 29 November 1915 and was buried in the Palmerston Cemetery, Goyder Road, Darwin. The Reverend Bean conducted the burial and the headstone was made and erected by his friend 'Old' Bill Drysdale from stone quarried at Nightcliff.

Family records.

JOY DAVIS, Vol 2.

BENSTEAD, WILLIAM (BILL) (1856–1940) and the **BENSTEAD FAMILY**, pastoralists and pioneers. Benstead was born in 1856 and as a young man worked as a cattleman and rough rider in South Australia. He was appointed Manager of Undoolya Station in Central Australia, not far from the present town of Alice Springs, in 1877. He travelled from Adelaide to the station with a saddle horse and a packhorse. After five years he returned to Adelaide to marry his fiancée, Trepkina Rains.

Benstead was then appointed Manager of the newly formed Barrow Creek Pastoral Company. He successfully overlanded thousands of head of stock in mammoth treks to establish the new property. He moved the station headquarters to Stirling Creek to be nearer the Barrow Creek Telegraph Station, then returned to Adelaide to bring up his wife, their small son Bertie and his sister in law, Cornelia Rains.

The family travelled from Adelaide to Hergott Springs by train and then for the remaining 1 300 kilometres with horses and two traps. Trepkina drove one trap all the way in an epic six-week journey, even though some of the horses were unused to harness.

The Bensteads went to the Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission for the birth of their second son, Julian, and also for the marriage of Cornelia to Overland Telegraph Line inspector Joseph Skinner. In 1889 Benstead bought two blocks of land in Stuart, later Alice Springs, and built the Stuart Arms Hotel. His daughter Lucelle (Lulu) claimed to be the first European child born in Stuart in 1891.

A few years later the family sold the hotel and moved to Western Australia. They reached Southern Cross just before the first gold strike near Coolgardie, where Benstead became the first unofficial Postmaster of Coolgardie and also worked as a butcher.

Lulu went on to become a well-known professional singer, adopting the name 'Lucille'. She entertained in noted concert halls throughout Britain, Europe and North America. She also sang to troops in both world wars, often at great danger to herself. She died at the age of 92.

The Benstead family moved to England to be near her. Bill became a livestock advisor and travelled the world extensively. He died in London in 1940 and his wife died two years later. His name is commemorated by Mount Benstead on Undoolya Station and Benstead Street in Alice Springs.

Family information.

JOSE PETRICK, Vol 2.

BERNDT, RONALD MURRAY (RON) (1916–1990), anthropologist, was born at Adelaide, South Australia, on 14 July 1916, the son of H T Berndt, of German descent. He completed his schooling in Adelaide, his secondary school being Pulteney Grammar School. Throughout his childhood he showed a keen interest in ethnography, and he spent many hours in the South Australian Museum, where he was appointed as an Honorary Assistant Ethnologist from 1939 until 1941.

His particular interest in the culture of Australian Aborigines was kindled by meeting with a remarkable Aboriginal man called Albert Karloan, of the Yaraldi people. Once he had been introduced to the Aboriginal culture, and to the problems faced by Aborigines in Australia at the time, Berndt's life had found its direction, one that he followed with consistent dedication.

While working at the South Australian Museum, Berndt decided that academic qualifications in anthropology were essential, and enrolled in the University of Sydney, the only Australian university where a degree course in anthropology was available at that time, and he remained at Sydney, as a student and research worker, until 1953. It was soon after coming to Sydney University that he met his future wife, Catherine Webb. Catherine was

from New Zealand, and she too had developed an early interest in anthropology that had brought her to Sydney University, to pursue a Master's degree.

Catherine and Ron were married in 1941, and were to spend the next 50 years in a wonderfully successful collaboration in anthropology, involving fieldwork in the remotest parts of Australia and the publication of an astonishing volume of writing. A year at Ooldea, which enabled them to work with Aboriginal people of the western desert, was later followed by a survey conducted for the Australian Research Council of the relations between Aborigines and Europeans in South Australia and Western New South Wales.

It was during the period at Sydney University that Ron and Catherine Berndt completed the fieldwork in the Northern Territory that was so central to much of their published work.

As university researchers they were both invited, in the years from 1944 to 1946, to work as anthropologists with a Northern Territory pastoral firm. Their task was to enquire into problems of native labour and welfare, and to submit recommendations. This was a very difficult assignment, since the perspective of the pastoral companies at that time and that of the anthropologists was very different. The full history of this period of research is recorded in *End of an Era*, published 40 years afterwards. As Ron Berndt put it in that book, 'The circumstances were quite difficult. The handicaps imposed on us by one large pastoral firm (essentially an aggregation of pastoral firms) in the guise of self-interested concern for its own future prospects and the poor living conditions of Aborigines in that area—these are almost unbelievable today.'

The fieldwork undertaken by the Berndts in completing this assignment took in a wide area of the Northern Territory, including Wave Hill, Limbunya and the Katherine–Manbulloo area.

Ron and Catherine found that, to survive in the conditions under which they worked, the Aborigines held on firmly to their traditional beliefs and customs, and these became the Berndts' great interest and the subject of detailed and thorough study over many years.

The second and third parts of this early fieldwork in the Northern Territory involved anthropological work on Northern Territory Army Native settlements: at Larrimah, Mataranka, Manbulloo, Adelaide River, and Koolpinyah as well as on the Daly River and initial visits to Melville and Bathurst Islands, followed by a further period in Darwin at the Bagot compound.

Two other major anthropological field research trips were made in this period to Arnhem Land. The first, in 1946 and 1947, was to Yirrkala, to Oenpelli and South Goulburn Island, and then to Bathurst and Melville Islands. The last visit in this period was in 1949 to 1950, again to Oenpelli, but also to Milingimbi.

In the Northern Territory, the Berndts put into practice their beliefs about how an anthropologist should work. Knowledge of Aboriginal language was, they believed, essential, especially if research was to cover such areas as religion, social customs and sexual habits, and they saw the anthropologist's role as one of recording data and then presenting that data in accessible form. Ron was very conscious of the close relationship that an anthropologist has with the people amongst whom he or she works. He felt quite strongly that the anthropologist could not simply live amongst the people. A degree of rapport must be built up for there to be a true transfer of knowledge and ideas, and with that rapport came a feeling of personal debt. Again in *End of an Era* Ron and Catherine note how the Aborigines '...expected us to speak for them, and hoped it was in our power to achieve better conditions.' In the Berndts' view, the production of their work in book form, and in books accessible to a general reader, might assist by giving those in authority—administrators, politicians—a better understanding of the people for whom they were developing policy, and thus policies more suited to the welfare of the people of Arnhem Land.

Both Ron and Catherine Berndt felt that their academic study must continue beyond the Masters' degrees obtained at Sydney University and they travelled to London in 1952, where each worked towards a doctorate at the London School of Economics, completing their degrees in 1955. Just prior to their departure for London they completed a period of fieldwork in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea, a remote and at times dangerous, though fascinating place.

Time available to the Berndts for fieldwork reduced after they gained their doctorates and returned to Australia. Ron took a position as Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Western Australia, embarking on an academic career to which he committed his energy and enthusiasm, even beyond his retirement in 1981. He became the foundation Professor of Anthropology at the University of Western Australia in 1963, and dedicated himself to creating a Department of Anthropology of international importance. Amongst his major achievements at the university was the creation of the Aboriginal Museum, now named for him and Catherine Berndt, with its collection of priceless importance.

From the mid 1950s Professor Berndt's academic duties worked against long periods in the field, but, as frequently as possible, the fieldwork was taken up, in Arnhem Land again in 1958, in 1962, and in the 1970s as well as in new areas, many of them in the Kimberleys, and other parts of central and northern Western Australia.

Ronald Murray Berndt was one of the greatest anthropologists Australia has known. His work in the Northern Territory and his interest in the Aborigines of the area continued throughout his life. His concern for the Aborigines' bond with the land of Australia grew as the impact of white development made changes in the Aboriginal way of life inevitable. In his books he made strong pleas for protection of sacred sites, and for the establishment of areas in which traditional Aboriginal life could be carried on.

He combined his outstanding work in the field with a remarkable ability to write, and to write in a meticulous and accurate way, but also in a style that ensured his books and articles are read by the general as well as by the specialist reader. His output, in many cases in collaboration with his wife, was prodigious.

Ron Berndt was awarded the title of Emeritus Professor on his retirement from the University of Western Australia in 1981; he became an Honorary Fellow and continued working and writing until his death in May 1990 in Perth, survived by his wife. He was a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) and a Fellow of the Academy

of the Social Sciences in Australia and the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science.

R M Berndt & C H Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land* (with A P Elkin), 1950, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, 1951, *Arnhem Land*, 1954, *The World of the first Australians*, 1964, *Man, Land and Myth in North Australia*, 1970, *The Barbarians*, 1973, *Australian Aboriginal Art* (with J Stanton), 1982, *Oenpelli Profile*, 1984, *End of an Era*, 1987, *Speaking Land*, 1989; R M Berndt, *Djanggawul*, 1952, *An Adjustment Movement in Arnhem Land*, 1962, *The Sacred Site*, 1969, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, 1976.

FAY GALE and ELIZABETH SPOOR, Vol 2.

BERNHARD, KATHERINE MAUD MARY: see [PEARSON, KATHERINE MAUD MARY](#)

BEVAN, DAVID JOHN DAVIES (1873–1954), barrister and Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, was born in London on 11 January 1873. His father, Llewelyn David Bevan (1842–1918), was a Congregational Minister with an international reputation as an educationalist and social reformer. His mother, Louise Jane Bevan (1844–1933), was active in assisting her husband's work, and in the promotion of women's social and political interests. Both parents had reputations for being widely cultured, with interests in music, literature, poetry, languages, and theology, to name but a few. Bevan had three brothers and two sisters, as well as an adopted sister. His early education was in London and in the United States (where his father held the position, *inter alia*, of Moderator of the New York Presbytery between 1880 and 1882). In 1886 the family moved to Melbourne. Bevan completed his schooling at Melbourne Church of England Grammar School (where he and his brothers were known as 'the brainy, brawny Bevans') and at Trinity College, University of Melbourne, where he graduated with degrees in Arts and Law: Bachelor of Arts (1896), Master of Arts (1898), Bachelor of Laws (1900). At school he was a noted athlete. He signed the Bar roll on 1 May 1901 and practised in Melbourne as a barrister until 1912. He also served as Chairman of the Victorian Football League Disciplinary Tribunal. He joined the Army Reserve (the Artillery) and achieved the rank of Major. He was not the only member of the family to pursue an interest in law. His father had graduated with Honours in Law at the University of London in 1865 before pursuing his career in the church and his sister, Louise Rhys Oxley, became a professor of law in China.

Until the Northern Territory became a territory of the Commonwealth on 1 January 1911, the South Australian administration had usually commissioned the Government Resident to hold the position of Judge of the Northern Territory, with all the powers of a Judge of the Supreme Court of South Australia. There was, however, no registry of that Court in the Territory, with the consequence that the Judge heard only criminal trials. On 30 May 1911 the Commonwealth established the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory with full civil and criminal jurisdiction, and its own registry. The position of Judge was temporarily to be filled by [Justice Samuel James Mitchell](#), who had been Government Resident and Judge of the Northern Territory since 1910, until a permanent appointment was made. Mitchell acted in the position until 1912, but was unable to secure satisfactory tenure for himself, and eventually the position was conferred on Bevan in April 1912. Bevan arrived in Darwin on the SS *Empire* on 21 May. He was sworn in by the Administrator, [Dr John Gilruth](#), on 23 May, at a public ceremony held at the Court House.

Until the Judge's residence was complete Bevan resided at Government House. A close friendship between the two men began which was ultimately to become a major factor in ruining Bevan's career. As Gilruth became increasingly unpopular, Bevan was seen as lacking in judicial independence. On 18 September 1918 the Town Council passed a series of resolutions accusing him of being partisan and 'the all-round legal hand of the government'. After the Government House riot in 1918 Gilruth returned to Melbourne, the position of Administrator was abolished, and Gilruth's former secretary, H E Carey, was appointed Director. Despite these moves attacks on the administration continued, mainly through the union leader [Harold Nelson](#). On 13 October 1919, at a public meeting called by the Mayor, a resolution was passed calling upon Bevan, Carey and R J Evans, (then Government Secretary), to 'leave the Territory by the next boat.' Following a deputation headed by the Mayor that met with Bevan, Carey and Evans on 14 October, the three men agreed to leave the Territory to avoid violence, and they departed on the SS *Bambra* on 18 October.

On 13 November 1919 the Commonwealth appointed Justice Norman Ewing, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Tasmania, to conduct a Royal Commission into the circumstances of their departure, as well as other associated grievances. Ewing commenced hearings in Darwin on 8 December 1919, his report being presented to Parliament on 16 April 1920. The report was critical of Bevan's conduct as a Judge in a number of respects, the ultimate conclusion being that, although many unfounded accusations had been made, the public were justified in losing confidence in him and that he failed to exercise his powers with 'firmness, common sense, discretion, and justice'. The report was immediately criticized by Bevan (as well as others) as containing conclusions not based on the evidence. Indeed, counsel for Bevan and the others involved went so far as to write to the Prime Minister complaining to like effect. The Commonwealth Attorney General, Sir Robert Garran, personally examined the minutes of evidence and concluded, *inter alia*, that a number of findings against Bevan were not justified. Later scholars including [Justice Kriewaldt](#), Grenfell Price and [F H Bauer](#) considered the report to be shoddy. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the report did not suggest Bevan should be removed from office (and in Evans' case, there were no findings of impropriety or dishonesty), the Commonwealth removed all three men from their positions with effect from 22 September 1920. Each sued the Commonwealth for damages for wrongful dismissal. Carey's action was heard in the High Court and resulted in a small verdict in his favour, and the Commonwealth settled the other two actions. Bevan received a settlement of 2 800 Pounds and costs, (then a considerable sum) which in itself recognised that Bevan had been unjustly removed.

It is difficult to gain an accurate picture of his work as a Judge. Only one of his formal judgments has survived, as it was not his habit to deliver written judgments. There appear to have been very few appeals. The matters of complaint raised against him before the Commission were largely unsubstantiated, or wrongly concluded against him. Contemporaneous reports in the local press varied from being extremely critical to favourable. On one occasion his summing up to a jury in a murder trial was reported in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* as 'a model of lucidity'; on another his summing up was described as 'eloquent' and 'clear'. His main difficulty was the perception of lack of judicial independence generated by the fact that the terms of his appointment required him to provide legal advice to the Administrator—a position which Bevan himself had protested—and his close personal association and friendship with an ever increasingly unpopular and dictatorial Administrator whom he publicly referred to as 'the Chief'. He supported the abolition of trial by jury because of the difficulty in obtaining true verdicts from Darwin juries—particularly in cases involving crimes by whites against Aborigines—and in fact juries were abolished, except in capital and federal offences and except for a brief period between 1930–1933, from 1921 to 1963.

Bevan appears as a man of medium height and build, balding, with piercing eyes, and a wry smile. He inherited his father's sense of humour, but lacked his qualities as a gifted raconteur. He had great affection for the Northern Territory, and particularly admired the 'battlers' who braved the rigours of the outback. He was a man with a social conscience; he recognised the true worth of Chinese and Aboriginal Territorians at a time when the former were generally despised and the latter were considered to be the lowest form of human life. He had an interest in mining ventures, and in fact owned two unsuccessful leases in the Territory during his period as a Judge. He believed in patriotism, devotion to duty, and unswerving obedience to authority, that is the Administrator. Generally unsympathetic to the claims of working men for better wages and conditions and to the constant strikes on Darwin's waterfront, at one time in 1913, he volunteered as a waterside worker to unload a strike-bound ship's essential supplies. He was hardworking, an active horseman, an active tennis player and physically fit. In 1917 he travelled from Pine Creek to Oodnadatta by horse and buggy—a remarkable feat bearing in mind the lack of roads, lack of feed and water, the heat of the summer and the vast deserted areas to be traversed. Despite the rigours of the journey he conducted a judicial inquiry into the alleged misconduct of a police sergeant at Alice Springs immediately upon his arrival there just before Christmas 1917.

After his removal from office, he returned to Upper Beaconsfield, Victoria. He did not practice law again but became an orchardist. On 24 May 1924 he married Doris Louise Reed, a daughter of the Surveyor General and Secretary for Lands for Victoria. They had two children; David John Martin Bevan (born 7 January 1926) and Doreen Louise Bevan (born 15 February 1928). Bevan led an active life in the Upper Beaconsfield community. He was elected to the local Shire Council, and he was the mainstay of the small local Congregational church. A keen Mason, he became Master of the Berwick Lodge, and served on numerous community committees. He died at Upper Beaconsfield on 3 October 1954, and was buried at the Berwick Cemetery in the family grave.

F X Alcorta, *Darwin Rebellion 1911–1919*, 1984; Carey v The Commonwealth (1921–22) 30 *Commonwealth Law Reports*, 132; *Commonwealth Government Gazette*, 13 November 1919; 'Correspondence Relating to Report of Royal Commissioner', Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, no 46 of 1920; P F Donovan, *Alice Springs*, 1988; Mr Justice Ewing, 'Report on Northern Territory Administration', Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, no 28 of 1920; Mrs D Godtschalk, family records; N Gunson, 'L D and L J Bevan', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 7, 1979; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1968; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1911–1920 (various); A Powell, 'Gilruth v Ewing: The Royal Commission on Northern Territory Administration, 1920', *Northern Perspective*, vol 4, no 2, 1981; C J Swanson, 'The Maladministration of the Northern Territory', (unpublished paper).

DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

BILLIAMOOK and **UMBALLA**, Aborigines, two Larakia men, were among the first Aboriginal people to welcome Goyder and his survey team to Port Darwin in 1869. They became well-known identities in the early years of Palmerston. As joking imitations of their real names, Billiamook and Umballa were nicknamed 'Billy Muck' and 'Tom Powell'.

These two became widely travelled and well known in the southern states. D Daniel Daly, **John McKinlay** and John Davis took them to Adelaide in 1870 in the ship *Omeo*, in order to impress them with 'the number and power of the white races' and thus help them convince the local Aboriginal people to desist from hostilities. No one, however, seems to have taken responsibility for them in Adelaide until an Adelaide citizen, Ellis Edwards, wrote to the government, having seen them in Rundle Street, urging their return 'simply on the grounds of humanity'. On their return to Darwin, they caused considerable surprise by disembarking in the uniform of the Adelaide Volunteers.

Billiamook was described by William Wildey as a 'fine-made young man' with 'a muscular walk', proudly bearing the cicatrice scars of full manhood. He became a fluent speaker of English and was one of the first to demonstrate a remarkable ability to adapt to European culture while maintaining his responsibilities as a Larakia. There were those who thought he adapted too well to European culture and vices and he appeared several times before the Darwin court for stealing liquor.

On a number of occasions letters in Pidgin English, signed 'Billy Muck', appeared in the Darwin newspaper but whether dictated by him or even approved by him, it is no longer possible to tell. He continued for many years to be a prominent and colourful, if controversial, person in early Darwin.

W B Wildey, *Australasia and the Oceanic Region*, 1876; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 5 December 1973; *Adelaide Register*, 25 October 1870; SAA 790/100, 104/1870, September & October 1870.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

BIRKETT, ISABELLA J (?-?), nurse, was the matron of the Burra Hospital in South Australia, during the time Matron Jane Meissner was in charge of the Palmerston Hospital in 1838. Mrs Meissner, after nine years at Palmerston, advised that she would give notice to enable her to take leave and the government to find a replacement. She had private accommodation and decided to sell her furniture locally. This posed particular problems for the Government Medical Officer, Dr P M Wood, in Darwin, as both a matron and a nurse were required, and also accommodation. Finally furniture was sent up on the *Catturthun*, as well as Matron Birkett (at 144 Pounds per annum) and Nurse Kate Gaffney (at 120 Pounds per annum), who took up their appointments from 1 December 1888.

The Government Medical Officer 'thanked the Government for erecting a small house for the Matron' (at Packard Street in Palmerston). Some 130 patients per year were the numbers admitted at the time of her appointment. The hospital had its difficulties with no laundry, no operating room and no proper kitchen. The matron had to seek permission to employ a washerwoman in early 1889 from the Government Resident, **J L Parsons**.

The second Territory hospital, at Burrundie, had commenced functioning on 1 August 1888 to cater for the mining area and the railway works to Pine Creek. This event eased the load on the Palmerston Hospital, but Burrundie hospital eventually closed in January 1891. Matron Isabella Johnston assisted Doctors Henry H Bovill and P J W Ternau in 1888-1889 at Burrundie.

The routine hospital nursing supervised by Matron Birkett was to have an added burden when a leper patient was nursed there and became the subject of an inquiry by the Hospital Board, which was apparently not advised by the Government Medical Officer of the possibly contagious nature of the disease. On 16 September 1889 Miss Birkett and Nurse Gaffney gave evidence to an inquiry into this 'Marcus Baker case'.

In this case, Dr Wood had diagnosed the patient's problem as Elephantiasis anaesthetica; the patient eventually died of a cerebral haemorrhage. Wood left Darwin soon after and Dr L S O'Flaherty took over his post.

The particular significance of Matron Birkett's period in Palmerston was that, in relation to the nursing of a leper in the hospital, the medical and nursing professions learned a considerable amount about the diagnosis of the disease and the treatment of the patient. The Leprosy Ordinance in the Northern Territory arose out of this case as well as instructions for the nursing of patients with infectious disease problems. After a six-year stay in Palmerston Matron Freda Reinhardt, who came up from Adelaide on the *Airlie* in February 1892, replaced Miss Birkett.

SAA: 791/469/1888; 471/1888; 482/1888; 791/508/ 1888; A 11304/1888; 1374/376/1889; 1374/886/ 1889.

JACQUELINE M O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

BIRT, GORDON ROBERT (1904-), clerk and policeman, was born at Quorn, South Australia, on 21 February 1904, the son of Robert Gibson Birt, a South Australian policeman who rose to the rank of Superintendent. Gordon was educated at schools in Mount Barker and Port Augusta, where he had his first contact with Aborigines. When he first left school he had several clerical jobs before he joined the South Australian Police Force in the mounted division on 1 July 1927, but his appointment was terminated a little over a year later due to poor eye sight. That problem did not, however, hinder him from joining the Northern Territory Police Force on 3 July 1929. At that time only single men were appointed.

He spent his early policing years in Darwin and in 1931 was commended for his assistance in the suppression of a demonstration by the unemployed. Early in 1932, as a young Constable, he was suspended and charged over alleged improper relationships with a part Aboriginal girl. He was found guilty and was to have been dismissed but an appeal that commenced on 4 May 1932 and lasted three days was sustained in the courts. At that time the Administrator was Commissioner of Police and in the first instance had been prosecutor, judge and jury, a point not overlooked by the bench. Birt's own memoirs leave no doubt that he was guilty as charged.

As a result of this charge the Chief Protector of Aborigines, **Dr C E Cook**, refused to consent to Birt being sworn in as a Protector and this meant that he was unable to be posted to a country station 'in charge'. He had been posted to Timber Creek late in 1932 but he was returned to Darwin on clerical duties. In February 1934 he again saw brief service at Timber Creek but only as a junior officer, as the Chief Protector of Aborigines still refused to appoint him a Protector. During this period he was involved in the recapturing of the famous **Nemarluk**, who had escaped from Fannie Bay Gaol. Birt wrote of his admiration of Nemarluk's dignity, stamina and cheerfulness. He always gave credit to the Aboriginal trackers with whom he worked. Back in Darwin he was on duty when the competitors in the 1934 London to Darwin air race arrived. The end of the year saw him serving another few months at Timber Creek.

In February 1935 he was posted as the junior man to Tennant Creek where for two years, from a tent, he assisted in the policing of the gold mining town, just then being put on the map. Escorting the gold to Alice Springs was only one of many tasks. October 1937 saw him back in Darwin, in plain clothes, at a time when the town was full of men working on defence installations and police duties frequently involved raids on illegal gambling dens. From 1938 to June 1939 he served as headquarters clerk in Darwin.

He was stationed at Borroloola in 1939 and 1940 when severe floods struck the area. During this time Birt shot and killed a white man who was resisting arrest on a number of charges, including arson. The inquest by a magistrate from Darwin found 'justifiable homicide' and the matter proceeded no further. By then Birt had been gazetted Protector of Aborigines as a new Chief Protector had been appointed. The 'outback' policeman of the day was also something of a district 'nanny', and in Borroloola could be called on to act as harbourmaster, doctor, dentist and general factotum.

In August 1940 Birt was returned to Darwin where he was among those involved in the establishment of a Police Association. He was manpowered when he endeavoured to join the Army though he believed that was the

result of his many complaints about police conditions, among which was that the Administrator (in his capacity as Commissioner of Police), [C L A Abbott](#) and his wife, [Hilda Abbott](#), used the younger policemen as chauffeurs.

He was appointed Acting Sergeant Second Class in June 1941 but was then struck down by German measles. He was travelling between Birdum and Pine Creek, returning from sick leave, on 19 February 1942 when Darwin was first bombed. He met the Administrator in Pine Creek and returned with him to Darwin on 23 February where he was appointed officer in charge with the rank of Second Class Sergeant, having relieved [William McKinnon](#). Orders were given that the civilian police could leave Darwin on 5 April and the following day he travelled to Alice Springs (by then the Northern Territory administrative base) and was then posted District Sergeant to Pine Creek, the most northern civilian town at the time. In July 1942 he was sent to Borroloola in charge of the coast watching station for three months, and then to Newcastle Waters but in November collapsed and was sent to Adelaide on sick leave. He returned to Alice Springs in January 1943 but was retired medically unfit on 31 August 1943.

Birt had been reared in the Church of England faith but was a non-attender as an adult. He claimed to be a socialist and a recurring theme in his memoirs was his disgust with the level of racial discrimination that existed in the Northern Territory during his years of residence. During his formative years in South Australia he had frequently mixed with part Aboriginal people with whom he said he got on well. He also wrote about the difficulty he had in adjusting to the differing policies promulgated by South Australia and the Northern Territory on the policing of Aborigines. His writings are spiced with a commentary on his various 'affairs' with girls of all colours, although he did not marry during his service in the Territory. Although he undoubtedly enjoyed police work, in common with many of his contemporaries he was not happy with police conditions, particularly in Darwin. In 1939 he claimed to have arranged for questions to be asked in the Senate concerning the Administrator also holding the rank of Commissioner of Police.

He was a prolific writer and his stories were frequently published in *The Territorian*. It was not uncommon during the 1970s and 1980s to see his name on letters to the Editor in such publications as *The Bulletin* and the *Australian*. He was not apparently a sportsman but in 1931 sailed an 18-foot cutter on Darwin Harbour.

After he left the Territory he was employed in the South Australian Highways Department until his retirement in 1965.

Northern Standard, 6 May 1932; *The Territorian*, 1967, April 1968; R Birt, 'Northern Territory Policeman', unpublished manuscript, Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 850/P1; Birt Papers, Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 270; Northern Territory Police Department Records.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

BLAIN, ADAIR MACALISTER (1894–1983), surveyor and Member of the House of Representatives, was born at Inverell, New South Wales on 21 November 1894, the son of Milton Blain and his wife Katunah Ann. He was educated at Silverspur and at Perth Modern School from which he matriculated into the University of Adelaide, before becoming articled to a surveyor. By 1915 he was working as a chainman in Western Australia.

During the First World War, he joined the army and served in the Australian Imperial Force from 1916 to 1919. He saw action in France, where he became a Corporal and was wounded at Messines and St Quentin.

Upon his return to Australia he completed his surveyor's training in Queensland and in 1924 he became a Member of the Queensland Institute of Surveyors. He spent the years 1925 to 1929 in private practice in the Cloncurry–Burketown region before joining the staff of the North Australia Commission. He served as staff surveyor in Darwin until 1933. While in this position he conducted official surveys in northern and central Australia. It was he who surveyed the Granites goldfield. He also led an expedition, which lasted for six months, to western Arnhem Land in 1933.

Blain's duties provided an excellent opportunity to meet the people of the Northern Territory, especially the widely dispersed rural folk. He turned this to good advantage in the election of 15 September 1934 when he stood as an independent and successfully challenged [Harold Nelson](#) for the Northern Territory's sole seat in the House of Representatives, arguing that Nelson had achieved too little in 12 years in Parliament and pledging that if he could not win the right for the Northern Territory's Member of the House of Representatives to vote in Parliament within six months, he would resign—an election promise he did not keep.

Blain's maiden speech lacked fire; indeed it seemed full of trepidation. However, he was a determined man and in Parliament he campaigned strongly, albeit ineffectively, for greater Territory control of Northern Territory affairs. He coined the phrase 'the Territory for Territorians' and sought not only a greater say in government affairs but also preference for Territorians in the local public service. It was his ambition to see development on the three traditional fronts: pastoral, mining and industrial. Although he did not resign when he was unable to win voting rights in Parliament he kept trying, believing that 'the only way to get things done in parliament is to stand as close to the Department of the Interior as possible and to keep on goading them'.

Blain volunteered for the army again in 1940, stating his year of birth as 1897. His appointment was at the rank of Sergeant. Attached to the 8th Division Engineers, he sailed to Singapore, where the Japanese captured him when that city fell on 15 February 1942. He thus became the only serving Member of the House of Representatives to be a prisoner of war. During his imprisonment the member for Barker in South Australia, A G Cameron, represented Territory interests in Parliament.

Upon his repatriation, Blain received a standing ovation as he re-entered the House, but four years later [Jock Nelson](#), son of Harold, defeated him.

In 1949 he married Margaret Sylvia Nottle. From 1955, he worked as a surveyor for the Western Lands Commission in New South Wales.

Long retired, he died in 1983.

Blain was 175 centimetres (5 feet 9 inches) tall, with brown eyes, a dark complexion and dark brown hair. Born a Methodist, he later became an Anglican. Blain Street in Tennant Creek is named for him.

J Rydon, *A Biographical Register of the Commonwealth Parliament 1901–1972*, 1975; 'Viator', 'A M Blain; Northern Territory Representative', *Cummins and Campbell's Monthly Magazine*, August 1935, Blain papers, Northern Territory University Library.

MURRAY MAYNARD, *Vol 1.*

BLAKE, DAVID VALENTINE JARDINE (1887–1965), army officer, was born on 10 November 1887 at Harris Park in Parramatta, New South Wales, the son of William Blake of Antigua. He was educated at the Marist Brothers College in Parramatta, and in December 1904 joined Saint George's English Rifle Regiment, Citizens Military Forces (CMF), as a Second Lieutenant. He reached the rank of Captain in January 1907, but four years later joined the Permanent Military Forces (PMF) as a Lieutenant on the Administration and Instructional Staff. After attending a course in musketry in 1912, Blake tried his hand at teaching, as an instructor at Albury School, from September 1912 until March the next year. In August 1914 Blake achieved the rank of Temporary Captain with Administration and Instructional Staff, and was appointed Brigade Major, 7th Brigade Area. This position carried through until January 1916. At that point, with the First World War well under way, he joined the Australian Imperial Force and was posted to No 1 Squadron Australian Flying Corps (AFC), as a flight commander. On 16 March 1916, Blake embarked for overseas and, nine months later, took command of the No 3 Squadron of the AFC posted in France. Promoted to Major in December 1916 Blake remained in control of No 3 Squadron until March 1918, when he spent three weeks in the role of temporary commander of 2 Wing, Royal Flying Corps. In September of the same year he spent a further three weeks as temporary commander of 15 Wing of the Royal Air Force.

In late October 1918, after completing his service with No 3 Squadron, Blake took up a position with No 7 Squadron, a training squadron of the AFC. After this position, there came a six-week post as AFC representative at the Repatriation and Demobilisation Depot. He then returned to the instructional field, as a commander at the AFC Training Depot in Wendover. This position was maintained for seven months until July 1919. One month later, Blake's AIF appointment was terminated and he returned to the PMF.

During the 1920s Blake held a variety of staff posts with the rank of Major. In April 1929 he took on a different role, as *aide-de-camp* to the governor of South Australia. In April 1932, during his tenure of this position, he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and continued to serve as a staff officer of 4th Military District. Blake relinquished the post of *aide-de-camp* in July 1933, but maintained his position with 4th Military District until December 1934. Blake then became General Staff Officer, 4th Division, and while serving that position was promoted to Brevet Colonel, Staff Corps. Other Staff posts followed and, from November 1938 to December 1941, a position as *aide-de-camp* to the governor-general.

Promoted to Brigadier in October 1939, Blake was appointed, on 1 September 1941, to command of the 7th Military District with headquarters at Darwin. His predecessor, Brigadier **W A B Steele** had struggled against official apathy in attempting to build an effective defence force in the north. Blake seems at first to have been unconvinced of the Japanese threat; he gave little support to civil defence or emergency evacuation plans and, believing his forces too meagre for defence in depth of the Northern Territory, made little attempt to plan for it. He was, like his predecessor, ill served by his Canberra masters, though they did award him the temporary rank of Major-General on 1 January 1942.

The Administrator, **C L A Abbott**, Blake and the other services commanders all shared with Australian governments of the previous twenty years the blame for the devastating Japanese raids of 19 February 1942 and the disorganisation that followed. Blake, the only man with the power to take full control of post-raid Darwin, hesitated to do so. '[I] have no instructions and little warrant or authority for many of my decisions, other than that of necessity,' he wrote to the Chief of the General Staff on 22 February. Most civilians had departed and Darwin had been thoroughly looted before the army took decisive control of the area a few days later; nor was civilian or military morale improved by the action of 7th Military District staff, who left Larrakeyah Barracks early on 20 February, lurked in the bush all day for fear of air raids and returned 'rather shamefacedly' the same night. Two days later Blake moved his staff to temporary quarters 60 kilometres south of Darwin, leaving the navy, the Royal Australian Air Force base staff and the remaining civilians, as they saw it, in the front line.

Pre-war political prevarication and lack of direction from higher authority had more to do with the dismal post-raid picture than did Blake; yet one of his officers said of him that 'he had no ideas and never visited the troops' which, though unkind, held a germ of truth—Blake had not been an inspiring commander. On 6 April 1942 **Major-General Edmund Herring** superseded him. From that date until 11 October 1942 he commanded the Northern Territory Lines of Communication Area, receiving confirmation of his rank as Major-General in September. Thereafter he never held another active appointment and retired on 11 November 1947. He died on 6 March 1965 in Sydney, survived by his wife Mildred (*nee* Tunks) whom he married in 1913. The couple had no children.

Blake did well in the First World War, winning a (US) Distinguished Service Medal and a Mention in Dispatches. He might have served well, too, during the Second World War in positions other than the 7th Military District command—or even in that post, had he been given adequate political and military support. He was not; and his military career came to a premature end.

BLEESER, FLORENZ (FLO) AUGUST KARL (1871–1942), acting postmaster and naturalist of Darwin, was born on 5 July 1871 at Woodside, South Australia, the youngest child of Florenz Bleeser, shoemaker, and his wife Christine, formerly von Waldeck.

Educated at the local government school, he finished the curriculum when 11 but remained to help the teacher with the younger pupils until he was 12. He had beautiful handwriting and an insatiable appetite for scientific books, reading all he could on geology, botany and mammals.

His great-grandfather (one of Napoleon's bodyguards) fell out in Poland during the retreat from Moscow and became a German citizen when that part was taken over by Germany. It is reputed that his father at 16 accompanied the botanist, Dr Richard M Schomburgk, on his explorations in British Guiana during 1840–44, pressing and storing the botanical collection. His skills and interests profoundly influenced his son's life.

On 1 September 1884 Bleeser entered the Post and Telegraph Department of South Australia (which also administered the Northern Territory) as a messenger-boy in the post office at Woodside, under the name of Florenz Charles August Bleeser, which appears on his service records and other documents relating to him. He always believed this to be his correct name.

With little prospect of advancement, Bleeser tendered his resignation in 1890 but, on 1 May of that year, he gladly accepted an offer from the department for promotion and transfer to Port Darwin as a junior operator on the transcontinental telegraph line. Here he began his life-long work as a naturalist, in his spare time. He made many journeys throughout the Top End of the Northern Territory, collecting botanical, marine and insect specimens. He studied the habits of the Aborigines, collected their artefacts and learned the language of the Larakia people. He spoke it so fluently that it was indistinguishable from theirs. **Nemarluk**, the Aborigine, gave him a message stick for safe passage through other tribal lands and Bleeser never travelled without it.

With his German-born father and his mother a native of Alsace–Lorraine, he grew up speaking English, German and French, and in Darwin learned Japanese and Chinese from his contact with ship mails and Malay from the pearl fishermen.

On 29 July 1903, following a meeting on the voyage from Adelaide to Darwin, he married Annie Maude Bevilaqua, daughter of Franz Bevilaqua, mining manager at Norseman, Western Australia, and his wife Susan, *nee* Gower at Port Darwin, with the Reverend Fred Greenwood, Wesleyan minister, officiating. Born on 25 January 1881 at Beachport, South Australia, where her father was shipping agent at the time, Annie died at her Malvern home on 1 September 1960 at the age of 79. At Darwin she had been involved with church work and coached young people of all denominations on the Methodist church tennis court on Saturday mornings. During the First and Second World Wars she worked hard for the Red Cross and was honoured with life membership for her services.

Bleeser was an operator at Port Darwin from 1896 to 1903, a telegraphist until 1908 and clerical assistant from 1910 to 1912. In 1916 he was promoted clerk and Receiver of Public Moneys, travelling on post office inspection duty as far as Attack Creek, the southern limit of the Northern Territory postal district. Although he was acting postmaster at Darwin, he never sought promotion, as this would have interfered with his personal interests as a naturalist.

Bleeser kept the records and duplicate specimens of his botanical collections housed in zinc-lined boxes in a small cottage next to his waterfront home. He established a bush house for his orchids and a garden filled with unusual fruit trees. He sent some of his first plant collections to the Kew Herbarium, England, and the National Herbarium, Melbourne, but receiving no response he submitted in the mid-1920s specimens to Dr L Diels (a leading authority on Australian eucalypts) of the Berlin Herbarium 'who expressed immediate interest and wrote personally to encourage further collection'. Housed in the Berlin Museum, they became Bleeser's main collection, which unfortunately was destroyed by bombing during the Second World War.

He also sent plant specimens to William F Blakely at the National Herbarium, Sydney. In 1927 Blakely described *Eucalyptus bleeseri* (collected by Bleeser near Darwin in February 1927) dedicating it to 'Mr F A K Bleeser, Assistant Postmaster, Port Darwin, who, for upwards of 38 years has taken a keen interest in the flora and fauna of the Northern Territory'.

At the end of 1928 the National Herbarium, Melbourne, received 102 northern Australian plant specimens from Bleeser, including *Alectryon bleeseri*, Schwarz, and a grass, *Eriachne bleeseri*, Pilger. Other plants bearing his name are another grass, *Eragrostis bleeseri*, Pilger; a palm, *Ptychosperma bleeseri*, Barrett, 'after Florenz A K Bleeser, 19th and 20th Century botanical collector in the Darwin area'; and a rare green ribbon orchid, *Chilochista bleeseri*, described by Dr Diels in 1932.

He gave generously of his knowledge and assistance to visiting scientists who paid tribute to the help and hospitality received from the Bleesers. Among these were Dr H L Clark of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, who visited Darwin in 1929 and 1932 to study the echinoderms in Northern Australia, and also Charles Barrett, who wrote: 'He had been everywhere in the north, from the west coast to Arnhem Land; and to the Aru Islands in a lugger. He was familiar with the plants and animals... He knew the haunts and habits of Aboriginal tribes, having in his younger days made boat voyages around the coast and trips overland through unexplored country.' Bleeser was known as 'Boss' Bleeser and also as the 'Butterfly Man' for his collection of butterflies.

In 1924 he lent 500 Pounds to his daughter Francesca who established, in her own name, a shop in Smith Street to sell oriental goods. In partnership with her mother (known in Darwin as Nance), Francesca managed the business, kept the books and made frequent buying trips to Singapore.

In 1930, when the position of clerk was abolished in the Darwin Post Office, Bleeser was retained as an overpaid postal clerk until he retired the following year.

Following the Japanese raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942, civilians were evacuated south—Annie left by car but Bleeser left in the back of a truck where he suffered much physical distress. The homes of the evacuees were looted (mainly, it is said, by the Provost Corps). Florenz Bleeser's herbarium and bush house of growing orchids were destroyed, his valuable stamp collection rifled and the Aboriginal artefacts and message stick stolen. The loss of his lifetime's labour 'broke his heart'. He died at his home at 91 Cambridge Terrace, Malvern, South Australia, on 1 November 1942, at the age of 71, from encephalitis and acute pneumonia, after suffering endocarditis for 20 years. He was cremated at West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide.

Few specimens now remain of this dedicated naturalist's work. C P Mountford wrote of him in May 1956: 'Although Bleeser was forced by circumstances to live the humdrum life of a civil servant when he would have made his greatest contribution in a science laboratory, he added, more than any other man, to the store of our knowledge of the natural history around Darwin.' Bleeser Street, Darwin, is named after him.

H L Clark, *Echinoderms from Australia*, 1929 & 1932; N Hall, *Botanists of the Eucalypts*, 1978; H S McKee, 'The Bleeser Botanical Collection from Northern Australia', *Contributions from the New South Wales National Herbarium*, 3, 1963; *Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College*, vol LV, 1938; J H Willis, *Bleeser Specimens in the National Herbarium of Victoria*; *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 2 November 1942, 18 May 1956; *Northern Territory Times*, 5 August 1930; Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, South Australia.

JEAN P FIELDING, Vol 1.

BLITNER, GERALD (GERRY) also GIBUNGURRICH (c1920–), 'man of everything', was born along the Roper River in the early 1920s to Sarah, an Anula Aborigine, and Frederick Charles Blitner, a white pioneer who came to the Territory about 1902. He was taken to the Roper Mission by his father and was later moved to the Groote Eylandt Emerald River Church Missionary Society (CMS) Mission that had been established for 'half-caste' children. His schooling years were spent under the strict disciplinary conditions of learning and working at the mission. The mission later changed its policy to concentrate on 'full-blood' Aborigines from Groote Eylandt and by 1935 he was the only part-Aboriginal boy on the island.

During the 1930s he knew and at times worked with well-known trepanners, **Fred Gray** and **Bill Harney** out of Groote Eylandt. In 1935 or 1936 he made the first of many visits to Thursday Island as a cabin boy. When he eventually moved to the island in the 1950s he obtained his skipper's certificate and was master of a number of vessels operating around the Gulf of Carpentaria.

In 1939 he was asked to supervise the construction of an airstrip near Emerald River Mission that was intended as an emergency strip in case of war. With the help of 80 Aboriginal men working mostly with hand tools alone, the strip was completed at the end of 1941. During the Second World War Blitner served on Groote Eylandt as a civilian assistant to the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). Among other duties, he was involved in the deployment of ammunitions and shelters on Groote Eylandt. It was also his job to provide information to Darwin from the Aboriginal 'full-bloods' about Japanese activity around the island.

Along with other serving Territorian Aborigines who had not been previously recognised for war service, he was awarded a service medal during the 50th anniversary commemoration of the bombing of the Top End in 1992.

In the late 1940s he took up work with Fred Gray, by now the honorary Superintendent of Emerald River Mission. Blitner had earlier assisted in building a road from the mission to Umbakumba to give the mission access to the flying boat base. He also assisted in the construction of a dam which had a reticulation system for the mission, and a powerhouse, both using material obtained primarily from the now abandoned base.

He was fortunate in that when his mother was at the Roper Mission she married the man that she was promised to and Blitner learnt a lot about Aboriginal culture from his new Aboriginal father. By 1949 he saw himself as an Aborigine who could not support the imposition of mission and government law over traditional Aboriginal law. Using his education to good effect, he became prominent among his people furthering their cause in mission life. In 1952 he was placed on the mission payroll and prior to leaving Groote Eylandt established a store there.

Intending to move to Darwin in 1957, Blitner initially went to Thursday Island, as there were no direct shipping links from Groote Eylandt to Darwin. Staying longer than expected, he lived on the island for nine years working as a skipper on a pilot launch, as a taxi driver, a builder, a fisherman and a crocodile shooter. By mid-1966 he wanted to leave Thursday Island because he disagreed with the rigid domination that he believed the Director of Aboriginal Affairs in Queensland, Pat Killoran, was imposing over the Torres Strait people.

Later that year, while skippering a vessel on a trip to Groote Eylandt, he was persuaded upon arrival at the island to commence work for the GEMCO manganese mine. Blitner worked at the mine front until 1972 and simultaneously ran a car hire business on the island that lasted for 20 years as well as a school bus service.

During the early 1970s the land rights movement gained momentum in the Northern Territory. In 1974, during the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Land Rights, Justice Woodward held an open hearing at Angurugu on Groote Eylandt. Blitner was present at the hearing and spent a couple of days talking directly with the judge, formulating many of the concepts of what was to become the Aboriginal Land Rights legislation in the Northern Territory.

When the Northern Land Council was formed in 1977 as a result of the implementation of the Land Rights legislation, Blitner was considered to be a contender for the position of Chairman. He was, however, reluctant to stand against front-runner **Silas Roberts**. A young Galarrwuy Yunupingu was the only other to put his name forward against Roberts and it was he who won the vote. Blitner became the first Deputy Chairman.

In 1980 Blitner stood against Yunupingu in the vote for Chairman and won all but Yunupingu's vote. He held the position for three years until the next election in 1983 where he lost to Yunupingu by just three votes and became Deputy Chairman for a further six years.

While progressing the cause of Aboriginal land rights he has been a firm believer that these rights need not hold up development if approached in a practical manner by both parties.

After 1989 Blitner lived in suburban Darwin with his wife, Wendy. He remained an unofficial adviser on Aboriginal issues. He also spent his time hunting, painting and sculpting (he undertook the Brodie Mack Correspondence Art Course in 1935). He had seven children and 12 grandchildren.

Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Collection, NTRS 226—TS 160; P Forrest, 'Territorians', *Darwin Star*, interview, 1991; personal information.

GREG COLEMAN and BARRY GARSIDE, *Vol 3*.

BLOOMFIELD, LEWIS ALEXANDER (1870–1944), pastoralist, was born at Tylden, Victoria, on 8 June 1870. On arrival in Victoria from Derry, Ireland, his father Robert Bloomfield, in search of work, left the Bendigo coach at Kyneton and 'got a job to dig spuds for Widow Brown'. He subsequently married her. Lewis was their fourth child and second son in a family of two Brown and six Bloomfield children. At the age of 14 Lewis ran away from home 'to avoid the tedious job of clearing scrub'. He secured a job at Warrnambool in Scobie's stables where he learned to ride and handle horses. Soon after, he went to South Australia to work for the owners of the Black Bull Hotel, who had an interest in racing. Within two years of leaving home he was on his way to Oodnadatta with his half-brother Bill Brown. They secured work on Todmorden (South Australia) and on Henbury (Northern Territory) stations both of which were owned by the brothers Edmund and William Parke and Charles Walker. Lewis arrived on Henbury in 1887. For the next 21 years he worked on either Henbury or Todmorden.

While working on Todmorden, Lewis was badly gored by a bullock. He was driven by buggy 100 kilometres to Oodnadatta where there was neither hospital nor doctor. Mrs JH Kunoth, known affectionately as 'Granny Kunoth', washed his open intestines with Condy's crystals and sewed up the gaping wound that needed about 200 stitches, using boiled horsehair. Bloomfield recovered.

Around the turn of the century, Tom Norman, Lewis Bloomfield, Harry Frith and Charlie Walker set out with a mob of 260 horses for the Adelaide market. On arrival at Anna Creek Station, having learned the horses were unsaleable in Adelaide, they turned west travelling 'just north' of the Nullarbor to the Coolgardie goldfields, on the route pioneered by **Ernest Giles** on his 1875 traverse of the Victoria Desert. There were a few station wells between Anna Creek and Kingoonya but thereafter Bloomfield and his companions were totally dependent on fortuitous claypans and soaks that only recent good rains could supply. With 260 horses this was an epic droving feat across hazardous terrain. Arriving at Coolgardie, having sold most of the horses and gear, they rode on to Fremantle where they sold the rest, caught a boat back to Adelaide and home. They were away twelve months.

In 1908 Bloomfield entered into negotiations with Albert Wallis for the purchase of his Loves Creek Station (Lease Nos 2179 and 1788). Since Bloomfield had insufficient finance, the purchase was made in partnership with John Barker, a stock and station agent of Adelaide. When Bloomfield purchased the two leases from Wallis, apart from a stone hut used as a kitchen, the only improvements consisted of a few cattle, mostly milking cows. A year later he entered into negotiations with Frank Wallis for his Atnarpa blocks (Nos 1903, 2173 and 2222). These were also purchased in the name of the partnership and operated as a part of Loves Creek Station. Delayed by the transfer of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth, the new titles were not registered until 1912. Soon after, Bloomfield bought out Barker's interests in the station.

In 1911 Lewis Bloomfield married Lillian Myrtle Kunoth, daughter of Justice Henry and 'Granny' Kunoth.

Twenty-five years after setting up his homestead on Ross River, Lewis suffered a serious setback. Because of legal complications over his leases, a large and valuable portion of the station had to be surrendered.

Horses being Bloomfield's love, he developed the station for horse breeding alone. The few cattle purchased with the property were allowed to breed for station meat, any surplus being sent to market with neighbours' cattle. The 1928–29 drought in the district had a devastating effect on the horses. This combined with the rapid decline in the use and market for horses led Bloomfield to purchase his first herd of cattle when the drought broke. Though he did all his own droving and built up his herd with good stud bulls, cattle were merely his livelihood. Horses were his friends. The Loves Creek Brand—The Isle of Man three-legged configuration—distinguished many of the finest horses throughout the Territory.

Bloomfield died in the Alice Springs Hospital on 10 February 1944 aged 74, survived by his widow, son Harry and daughters Margaret (Peg) (Mrs Nelson) and Jean (Mrs Ted Hayes).

The Alice, 1940; Bloomfield family papers, Alice Springs; AA, Darwin.

GRAEME BUCKNALL, *Vol 1*.

BOGLE, ARCHIBALD JAMES (1840–1889), Wesleyan minister, was born in 1840 near Glasgow, Scotland. At 12 years of age, he came with his parents to Victoria. The early death of his father necessitated his providing support for his widowed mother and this was a period of hardship. In 1862 he attended, for the first time, a Methodist

service at Bendigo and later he joined the church. Four years later he commenced preaching in Melbourne First Circuit. In 1869 he was appointed as bush missionary at Mt Gambier and from there in 1870 he was nominated as a candidate for the ministry. In January 1871 he was accepted as a probationer and appointed as junior minister at Pine Street, Adelaide, where his work among the poor and destitute was widely recognised. In November 1873 he was ordained and appointed to Naracoorte. Meantime he had married Miss Hilda Stephenson on 18 November 1872 in the Wesleyan Parsonage, Pine Street Adelaide. The bride was born at Coventry England on 14 September 1835, the daughter of Thomas Stephenson.

His period at Naracoorte was restricted to only five months because he was approached by a special committee set up to consider the establishment of a mission in the newly formed town of Palmerston in the Northern Territory. 'A meeting held in the Pine Street Lecture Hall on 3 July 1873 [decided] to send a Minister immediately. Forthwith in the name of the Lord Jesus went Mr and Mrs Bogle accompanied by the prayers of the Methodist people.' The Bogles arrived in Palmerston, Port Darwin, on board the SS *Taruria* on 17 August 1873. The establishment of the mission and the appointment of Bogle had the encouragement and support of the Methodist Missionary Society in London, which contributed 300 toward establishment costs.

Bogle brought with him material to build a residence but on arrival there was no accommodation available and the young couple spent their first night ashore under a tarpaulin, tormented by mosquitoes and sandflies. He later reported that nearly all the residents were 'down with fever'. He secured the use of an 'old government hut' as a temporary dwelling and on Sunday 14 conducted his first service under a tree on the Esplanade.

On 26 August Bogle set out on a three-week tour of the 'reefs' travelling by steam launch to Southport and then on horseback as far as Pine Creek, where on arrival he was informed that one John White had died the previous day. Bogle conducted the funeral that afternoon, 6 September, his first in the Territory. This trip gave him an idea of the country and its people. He was not impressed by Southport, which he saw as 'surrounded by mangrove scrub shutting out all the breezes'. Other places, however, he saw in a better light but the profane language of many of the men he met disgusted him. This was to be the first of many trips visiting the miners.

Following this first visit to the reefs Bogle decided to make Palmerston the headquarters of the mission and erected his dwelling on land owned by an Adelaide churchman, William Longbottom, on the corner of Knuckey and Mitchell streets. He did most of the building work himself and was very proud, even if it was, as he agreed, 'a bit off the square'. In the early weeks of his ministry Bogle conducted worship in a room at the Residency but during this period he made an important discovery. Earlier the Congregational Church, in response to a submission from some residents of Pine Creek, had been moved to provide a ministry in the Northern Territory. In 1871 the first steps had been taken and Alexander Gore, then the finance secretary of the church, had offered his services with the idea that he could support himself by trading while doing evangelistic work. He had conducted worship at the Residency, but early in his stay contracted malaria, necessitating his return south before the arrival of material for the building of a church. Bogle discovered his material unclaimed on the beach. On his suggestion the Methodist Church bought the material from the Congregationalists for 175 Pounds and Bogle arranged with a Mr Pitman to erect the church for forty. With the additional expenditure of 13 Pounds 7 Shillings 9 Pence for furnishings the chapel was ready for use. It was opened and dedicated on Sunday 2 November 1873 and on the following Wednesday a tea meeting in a marquee outside the new building saw 200 sit down to 'a very sumptuous repast'. In the evening the Honourable **Thomas Reynolds** chaired a public meeting at which he expressed the hope that 'the Wesleyans would be as successful in Palmerston as they were in the south'. This building was the only place of worship in the town for some years. It was finally destroyed in the cyclone of 1897 and replaced on the same site by an all-iron structure that served the community until well into the post-Second World War period when the new Uniting Church in Smith Street replaced it.

Bogle had difficulty finding suitable persons to fill the offices required in a Methodist Circuit. J Bowles of Pine Creek was his first circuit steward and in the absence of another qualified Methodist, A McKay, a Presbyterian, who resided in Palmerston, was appointed junior circuit steward.

Very soon Bogle became interested and involved in a variety of matters of a social nature. A prime concern was that of health. In November 1873 the *Northern Territory Times* complained about the dirt and filth of the town and of the urgent need of a hospital. A public meeting sought the clean up of the town and the establishment of a hospital. The meeting elected a committee of four including Bogle to pursue this aim. By means of entertainment and subscriptions, about 100 Pounds was in hand by early December and the South Australian government had offered 500 Pounds if a similar amount could be raised locally. The committee met in December with Bogle in the chair. At this meeting the resignation of the secretary was received and Alexander McKay elected in his place. This committee succeeded in having a building erected and it commenced operations in June 1874.

Bogle maintained a close interest in the hospital and later, when there was controversy over its control, involving the District Council, the Resident and the Colonial Surgeon, Bogle's leadership helped resolve the matter.

Around the same time as the move for a hospital there were also moves to secure some form of local government. In January 1874 a public meeting held at the Esplanade Hotel discussed 'the advisability of memorialising the Government for the establishment of a corporation or a District Council. Bogle gave active support to this move and the District Council was set up in June 1874 with boundaries to take in the cemetery, a small portion of Fannie Bay and Stokes Hill with a total of 1019 allotments.

Bogle was interested in securing additional population for the Territory and when Chinese coolies were introduced as labourers in 1874 he was willing to observe the success or failure of the scheme. However, when at about the same time Bishop Francois-Louis Bugnion arrived to promote the settlement of up to 40 000 Mennonite Christian migrants in northern Australia, Bogle gave support and encouragement. The South Australian government was willing to enter into an arrangement and Bugnion was told of the area which would be available but, with a

change of government in South Australia, necessary legislation was not passed and the proposal was abandoned by default.

A great setback for Palmerston and also the church was the loss of the SS *Gothenburg* on 24 February 1875. Among the 37 crew and 88 passengers who drowned were several key church people. Alexander McKay, the junior circuit steward, and **Dr Millner**, who had been a great help as a local preacher, were among the victims. Others included Mr Justice Wearing and the Honourable **Thomas Reynolds**. The *Northern Territory Times* reported that 'quite a seventh of our population were passengers on the ship'. A *Gothenburg* relief fund was set up in Palmerston and Bogle was one of the four committee members. They collected 329 Pounds six Shillings, which was sent to Adelaide where a committee was established to provide assistance, and a total of approximately 7 000 Pounds was raised.

Because of the illness of his wife and the medical advice that she must leave the tropics, Bogle asked for a transfer south. The *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* wrote: 'On the eve of his return in January 1877 he was the recipient of an address and a purse of sovereigns presented on behalf of the people by the Government Resident, at public meeting in the courthouse as a token of their respect and esteem.' The *Northern Territory Times* wrote: 'It is to be hoped that some Minister possessing the necessary qualifications for so difficult a post will be ready to follow the noble example set by Mr Bogle.'

In December 1876 he reported church property as, 'The Palmerston Church and mission house with all the furniture thereof, the church of Southport, two horses and a fixed deposit of 30 Pounds for the purchase of a church site.' The total money raised in the Territory was 1548 Pounds 13 Shillings 7 Pence and Bogle commented, 'It is a statement very easily made on paper but which represents a great deal of hard and very disagreeable work, which I am thankful to think will not be required to be done again.'

Bogle had set a pattern of work in Palmerston and patrols to the mining areas that would be a model for many years. He was a pioneer of ecumenical relations, which was to become a feature of the church in future years. His influence and interest in the Territory did not end with his move south. He corresponded regularly with friends in Palmerston, especially **Paul Foelsche** and J G Kelsey who had been major supporters in Palmerston. He wrote several letters to the *Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal* affirming his faith in the future of the Territory and in support of ministers who following him in the mission. In 1885 it was necessary to replace the residence in Palmerston and he campaigned in Adelaide for the funds for this project, with notable success.

He served at Port Wakefield, Glenelg, Kent Town and Mt Gambier circuits and, while he was at the latter place, gold was discovered at Teetulpa, accompanied by a rush of population. Bogle was requested to initiate the Methodist cause in what was expected to prove a permanent goldfield. Bogle received this request on Friday 22 October 1886 and on the same day set out to this new challenge 400 kilometres distant. On Sunday 25 October he preached to a congregation of 200 men in the open air at Teetulpa. His last circuit was Clarendon, to which he was called in 1887, and it was here that he died on Tuesday 17 July 1889, at Kadina where he had preached the previous evening. He died in his sleep but the cause of death was given as 'the effects of a fall from a trap'. He was buried in the West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide.

Bogle had no children but at the time of his death he and his wife were foster parents to two children aged eight and ten years whose parents had died leaving them destitute. Mrs Bogle died on 12 June 1907.

Christian Weekly and Methodist Journal, 1873–1880, 26 July 1889; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1873–1877; information from Rev D A Hunt, Rev M O'Connor.

A W GRANT, Vol 1.

BOHNING, ESTHER (c1879–1952), pastoralist and pioneer, was born, probably at Giny Station, New South Wales, in 1879, the daughter of Thomas Henry Jenkins, a carrier, and his wife. She was married apparently in her late teens to Harry Bennett, by whom she had three sons, two of whom were James (Bull) and Patrick. In 1902, at Rocklands Station near Camooweal in Queensland, she married again to John Bohning, a native of Fraucop, Alterland, Germany, the son of Andreus Bohning, a carpenter, and Eliza Sharp.

John, who engaged in general station contracting, decided to start out on his own. So, loading Esther and her sons and their meagre belongings on to a dray, they set out on a nomadic existence, which took them to the Gulf country, Top End of the Territory, down the Centre to Renner Springs, where they hoped to settle.

Esther thus began a life that was to establish her as a pioneer. Although small in build, she was physically strong, having been a keen athlete in her youth, and later a magnificent horsewoman, the basic qualities to withstand the physical tests in her life ahead.

Esther and John had six children—Jack, Alexander, Florence, Edith, Elsie and William, all born on the track, Edith born in a tent at Anthony's Lagoon, 1908, Elsie at Borroloola, 1912, Bill there also in 1915.

Unable to get a grazing lease at Renner Springs, they turned their eyes to Helen Springs as Esther had decided the children must have a home. Whilst in the Gulf country, John Bohning held a lease in 1910–11, but to augment the family income took a teamster's contract delivering stores on the Barkly. It was here that Esther first learned to take all the responsibility of running a cattle property, whilst rearing a family.

This task assumed proportions on the Helen Springs property. Mr Bohning and the boys were mostly away with cattle work. Esther, living with the children in a shack and lean-to and cooking in the open, started to establish the garden and goatherd.

A two-room house was built and Esther's housekeeping qualities were turned to good use. Both her daughters and the native girls were taught to cook, sew, tend their flourishing vegetable and fruit garden, herd and tend goats,

dye and tan goat and bullock hides for mats to cover the ant bed floors, make jams and preserves from the fruit berries and melons, and make Bovril and soap.

Tyranny of distance and lack of supplies taught Mrs Bohning to become the family boot maker—including soles and heels for the ringers' boots; Esther bought rolls of canvas from which she made waterbags on her hand sewing machine, both small and large vanderah water bags.

Mrs Bohning's daughter Edith stated 'in our spare time, Mum and we girls helped with the cattle mustering droving and yarding'.

Esther's riding did not stop when her shoes wore out. 'She would be seen galloping after cattle, with her feet in the stirrups clad in shoes made from five folds of hessian, sewn with packing needle and thread.' Although having little formal education, Esther imparted what knowledge she had to her children in irregular classes, which were held after all station chores were completed. Esther valued the help and loyalty of her native companions.

As with all pioneer women, loneliness, especially for female company, was one of the heavy crosses to bear and so the annual gathering at the overland telegraph station, Tennant Creek, of all women from surrounding stations was a time for exchanging recipes, gossip and knowledge of medical treatment.

After the famous drove of 1929, when John Bohning lifted a mob of cattle to Alice Springs to be railed south for sale, the first cattle on the newly completed Alice Springs (then Stuart) railway, Esther and daughter Elsie, who had acted as ringers on the drove, travelled to Adelaide with the cattle, much to the consternation of the passengers and crew who dubbed them 'the petticoat drovers'. No cattle were lost on the trip.

The girls married; Edie in 1930, Elsie in 1932. The rigours of station life were taking their toll of Esther's health, and by 1938 the Bohnings were planning the sale of the property. This occurred when Vestey's bought Helen Springs Station in 1943. Mr and Mrs Bohning moved to Tennant Creek for approximately three years, then retired to Alice Springs, where Esther's frail figure could be seen, stepping out smartly. She died and was buried there in 1952.

H Tuxworth, *The Story of Helen Springs*, 1988.

H TUXWORTH, *Vol 1*.

BORELLA, ALBERT (BERT) CHALMERS (1881–1968), farmer and soldier, was born on 7 August 1881 at Borung, Victoria, the only son of Annie, *nee* Chalmers and Louis Borella's three children. His Scottish mother was living at Mt Rowan and his father, born at Hobart Town, was living at Mt Talbot when they married at Ballarat on 11 February 1879. Annie died of scarlet fever in 1885 and Louis had five more children by a second marriage.

Educated at Borung and Wychitella state schools, Albert farmed in this district and at Moama, New South Wales. He joined a local company of the Victorian Rangers for 18 months. On 25 April 1910 he joined the Metropolitan Fire Brigade in Melbourne as fireman and driver of a six-horse team, but resigned on 17 January 1913 when he and his two mates, Ronald Parker and Albert Lewis, applied for Sections 2 and 3, Hundred of Berinka. The Federal Government, on 21 December 1912, had offered perpetual agricultural leases in the newly opened Hundred of Hawkshaw and the proposed Hundred of Berinka, County of Malmesbury, in the Northern Territory, 160 kilometres southwest of Darwin on the Daly River.

Borella and his mates worked on the Daly River demonstration farm for three months before being allotted Section 3, Hundred of Berinka, on 12 April. This section was situated on the west bank of the Daly River, comprising jungle, swamp, and well-grassed land with scattered trees. Subsequently, Albert Lewis left the partnership and became a guard at the Fannie Bay Gaol.

Following surveyors' reports on the flooding of some sections, the Land Classification Board, on 2 May 1913, offered Section 4, Hundred of Berinka, in place of Section 3 to Borella and Parker, who wrote that it was not suitable and applied for part of Sections 3 and 10, Hundred of Hawkshaw, on the opposite side of the river. On 30 May the Board decided that part of Sections 3 and 10 should be subdivided and offered as miscellaneous leases to Borella and Parker and another dissatisfied settler, Davis. This was rescinded on 2 June, and Borella and Parker were then granted a grazing licence of Section 9, Hundred of Hawkshaw, on 14 June 1913. It was further back from the river and contained some jungle, well-grassed open gum forest, and flats scattered with gum and pandanus. Section 9 was to be advertised open for selection as a Class I cultivation farm 'at the earliest possible date', under conditions similar to those applying to the earlier Daly land opening.

On 30 August Section 3, Hundred of Berinka, was revoked and Section 9, Hundred of Hawkshaw, allotted in its stead 'without advertisement' to Borella and Parker who worked on the demonstration farm for a further five months. Ronald Parker withdrew from the lease on 28 November 1913 and, subsequently, a form of Lease 57 was made out to Albert Borella for 566 acres (230 hectares) in Section 9, Hundred of Hawkshaw, giving the date of commencement as 10 April 1913. Apparently, the title of Lease 57 was never issued, although Section 9, under Lease 57, was entered in the Lands Department Register of Miscellaneous and Agricultural Leases as a cultivation farm under the names of Albert Borella and Ronald Parker on 5 July 1913.

In January 1914 Borella advised the Board that the recent floods had submerged his section and asked for a portion of Section 10 to ensure his having cultivatable land. He was granted 50 acres (20 hectares) of higher ground from this section and, helped by Aboriginal boys, he built 'one of the best houses on the Daly', paying for provisions from his savings. He ringbarked the trees, sank and timbered a nine-metre well, cut 2 000 posts and erected three kilometres of fencing. The government had agreed to supply materials, stock and implements, as required, at 4 per cent per annum interest. Borella waited five months before receiving a horse—but no plough.

On 1 May 1914 he signed an unregistered memorandum of mortgage over his leasehold with the Advances to Settlers Board for 125 already lent to him and for 190 in future loans, and secured the advance with a bill of

sale on his personal chattels, which included netting, fencing wire, a chestnut mare and an iron and timber house, 10 x 8.5 metres, with a detached kitchen.

In October 1914, in serious debt and unable to cultivate his block, Borella discussed his position with the administration in Darwin and was advanced 67 Pounds on his improvements. He wished to enlist, but the military authorities were not taking volunteers from the Northern Territory and, when offered a job as cook with a survey party at Tennant Creek, he accepted. They went south from Warlock Ponds by camel. In January 1915 he set out for Darwin to volunteer for active service and, with an Aboriginal boy, 'Charlie', walked 140 kilometres, crossed flooded rivers, borrowed a horse at Powell's Creek and rode to Katherine where he caught the mail coach to the rail-head at Pine Creek.

In Darwin, Borella settled his known debts but the administration demanded a further 20 Pounds 17 Shillings for deterioration to the horse, a cart and the loss of harness during his absence. He borrowed to pay off this sum and was left without his fare south to the recruitment depot. Mr Walter Bell arranged his passage and he left Darwin by SS *Alderham* on 8 March 1915, with the second contingent of five men who were among the first 15 volunteers for active service from the Northern Territory. Borella's Agricultural Lease 57, cancelled due to abandonment of the holding, was included in Agricultural Lease 107 issued to James Felstead on 1 December 1916.

On 15 March 1915 Borella enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force at Townsville, Queensland, and, as Private no 275, was drafted to B Company, 26th Infantry Battalion, 7th Infantry Brigade. Although he is on the nominal roll as having embarked at Brisbane with this unit on HMAT *Ascanius* on 24 May 1915, he is also shown as having embarked at Brisbane with his company on HMAT *Aeneas* on the following 29 June. After training in Egypt, he served at Gallipoli from 12 September to November 1915. He was made a Corporal and, after a period in hospital, rejoined the 26th Battalion, which left Alexandria for Marseilles and the Western Front on 15 March 1916. He was wounded on 29 July in the Battle of Pozieres Heights.

Borella was mentioned in dispatches on 9 April 1917 and, on 11 May 1917, received the Military Medal for conspicuous bravery in the field at Malt Trench near Warlencourt. He attended No 7 Training Battalion in the United Kingdom, was promoted Lieutenant on 28 August and attached to the 7th Brigade Raiding Party in France. He was awarded the Victoria Cross on 16 September 1918 and decorated in October by the King at York Cottage. Borella and his party took the Jaffa Trench 'in error' and 'his cool determination inspired his men to resist heroically, and the enemy were repulsed with heavy losses'. His outstanding qualities were evident in boyhood. Bitten on the finger by a snake during a shooting excursion and unable to scarify the wound after two attempts, he placed the affected part on the muzzle of his gun and blew it off.

Broken in health, he was invalided home on 6 November by the *Marathon*, reaching Melbourne on 1 January 1919. By 1920, Borella was farming on his soldier-settlement block, Fleurbaix, at Hensley Park near Hamilton, Victoria, and, as National Party Candidate for Dundas, was narrowly defeated in the 1924 elections for the Victorian Legislative Assembly. On 16 August 1928 he married Elsie Jane, daughter of Alice and George Frederick Love, grocer, at Wesley Church, Hamilton, using the name of Albert Chalmers-Borella, although he did not change his name to Albert Chalmers-Borella by deed poll until 7 September 1939.

Lieutenant Albert Chalmers-Borella (V81550) enlisted at Broadmeadows on 15 October 1939 and served with the 12th Garrison Battalion, the 2/14th, 2/21st and 6th Training Battalions at Shepparton and Wangaratta, an the 3rd Garrison Brigade, Melbourne, before being posted, as Temporary Captain, to the 24th Garrison Battalion. On 21 October 1941 he was posted to the 51st Australian Garrison Company, Prisoner of War Camp, Myrtleford, promoted Captain on 2 January 1942 and retired on 2 May 1945. He then joined the Commonwealth Department of Supply and Shipping at Albury, New South Wales, as inspector of dangerous cargoes until retiring in 1956.

Borella died on 7 February 1968 and was buried with full military honours in the Presbyterian portion of the Albury Cemetery. His widow and two sons, Maxwell and Rowan, survived him. His other two sons died tragically—Mervyn, on 15 August 1954, after a glider crash at Albury, and Neville who was trapped in reeds and drowned while duck-shooting at Benning Billabong on the Daly River, at Claravale Station, 96 kilometres from Pine Creek, on 4 December 1960. He and his brother Maxwell had gone to work in the Northern Territory in 1959.

Borella's memory is honoured in Jingili, Darwin, with Borella Circuit, named by the Place Names Committee in early 1968, and by a plaque which was unveiled in Borella Park, Jingili, 'in memory of Lt A C Borella, VC, MM, 26th Australian Infantry Battalion, AIF' on 30 September 1980. Street names in Canberra and Albury also help to keep fresh the memory of this 'true gentleman', good-natured, of quiet determination and outstanding courage, his 'Duty Nobly Done'.

C E W Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, vol 6, 1941; K R Cramp, *Australian Winners of the Victoria Cross, 1914–1919*, 1919; H E Elliott, *The Battle of Fleurbaix*, 1930; L Wigmore & B Harding, *They Dared Mightily: Australian Winners of the Victoria Cross*, 1963; C Francis, 'Oldest Australian to win VC. Lieutenant Albert C Borella, VC, MM', *Reveille*, 2 January 1967; G Park, 'Territory Victoria Cross Winner', *Despatch*, vol 11, no 12, January 1976; *Argus*, 17 September 1918, 1 January 1919; *Border Morning Mail*, 16–18 August 1954, 6–8 December 1960, 8–10 February 1968; *Brisbane Courier*, 27 February 1919; *Northern Territory News*, 6 December 1960; *Hamilton Spectator*, 3 June 1924; *The Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 15 & 22 January 1914, 18 & 25 February 1915, 4–18 March 1915; *Pastoral Times*, 30 June 1917, 18 January 1919; *The Times*, 17 September & 8 October 1918; AIF and AMF Lists of Officers; AA: CA1080, Lands Department; CA1085, Advances to Settlers Board; CA1087, Land Classification Board; File A1976/366; NT/1138, CRS A3; NT 14/2189; NT 13/10842; NT 15/2405; A/75/1ANBR17; CRS F 12; Advances to Settlers Board; CRS F 13; Advances to Settlers Board; AWM Manuscripts.

JEAN P FIELDING, Vol 1.

BOTTOMLEY, HORATIO WILLIAM (1860–1933), Company promoter and financial manipulator, was born on 23 March 1860 in London, the second child of William King Bottomley, a tailor's cutter, and his wife Elizabeth. The parents died when Horatio was five and he received his education in an orphanage. He then worked in a variety of jobs, learned shorthand whilst with the City Solicitor's Office and became an official court shorthand writer. He married Elize Norton in 1880, started a political paper and embarked on a long career as company promoter. He became bankrupt in 1892 but defended himself so well that the judge, when acquitting him, advised him to take up the Bar.

Over the next 10 years or so Bottomley floated and reconstructed companies, invariably with considerable benefit to himself but little if any to the shareholders. It is believed that over 25 million Pounds of the public's money passed through his hands in this way. In 1894, following gold fields in Kalgoorlie, he turned his attention to the Northern Territory. Hugh Watt was sent out to the Territory to buy up any promising-looking properties. Shortly afterward, Northern Territory Goldfields of Australia Ltd was floated. Capital was 300 000 Pounds in two Pound shares, most of which were sold to the public at 6 Pounds but of all this, only 75 000 Pounds was available as working capital. The new company owned mines at the Howley, Brock's Creek (Zapopan), Woolwonga, Eveleen, Pine Creek and Union Reefs. Not long after, Zapopan and Howley mines were floated off as separate companies.

Six hundred tonnes of machinery arrived from England, steel-lined shafts were sunk, palatial staff residences built, and then the money ran out. Practically all the expenditure had been on the surface and little or nothing on assessing the extent and development of the ore bodies to generate a cash flow. This did not bother Bottomley who, over the next few years, reconstructed his Northern Territory companies several times. In doing this he issued glowing statements of the extent and richness of the ore-bodies, for example, 'the richest goldfield yet discovered in the world', 'assays of 13 to 85 ounces to the ton'. These statements had no foundation in fact, but were believed by the gullible public. Some additional working capital did find its way to the Territory, mining resumed and the problems involved in treatment of the ores and keeping the mines free of water became severe.

A London director was sent to the Territory to reorganise matters. The floating of the Northern Territory Mining and Smelting Company in 1902 followed this. Furnaces and smelters were erected at Yam Creek and a considerable amount of copper bullion produced. A light railway was built from Yam Creek to Mt Ellison, a distance of about twenty kilometres but Mt Ellison ran out of ore.

Back in England, Bottomley was now a Member of Parliament, owned several racehorses and entertained lavishly. Then in 1908 he was charged with conspiracy to defraud. The charges were dismissed but from then on his credibility was gone. In 1908 all operations in the Territory ceased and the machinery was advertised for sale.

Whether Bottomley ever intended to carry out genuine mining in the Territory is doubtful. If he did, the way his companies went about it increased the chances of failure in a high-risk industry. Insufficient capital was available, given the number and locations of the mines. An excessive part of the capital was spent on costly residences and other appurtenances for managerial staff and the remainder on machinery, pumps and expensive steel-lined shafts before any real attempt was made to prove the size and characteristics of the ore-bodies. Not until after the shafts had been sunk and equipped and the milling machinery set up ready for production was it realised that the pumps could not control heavy inflows of underground water and that much of the ore was refractory, leading to low gold recovery on the battery plates and in some cases no recovery at all by the cyanide process. The copper ore-bodies were too small to justify smelters. Possibly at least some of the mines would have paid with adequate capital and sound management, but when the main problems were realised it was too late. Confidence in Bottomley and his companies had been lost and there was no possibility of raising additional funds.

As mining ventures Bottomley's companies failed totally, but they did attract mining men to the Territory, some of whom remained, and they resulted in some general improvement in conditions. Unfortunately, as far as the investing public was concerned, his operations left a stigma on the Territory that remained for many years.

After 1908, Bottomley returned to horseracing and public fundraising activities of dubious propriety. He was declared bankrupt in 1912 with debts of about 250 000 Pounds. Some years later he arranged for his Northern Territory Syndicate and two other companies under his control to buy the debts at a heavy discount. He was declared free of bankruptcy in 1918. In 1922, however, he again faced charges and was found guilty of offences that the presiding judge characterised as 'a series of heartless frauds on poor people'. The sentence was seven years in prison. As stated by Felstead, Horatio Bottomley died in 1933, 'penniless and practically friendless'.

J Symons, *Horatio Bottomley*, 1955; S T Felstead, *Horatio Bottomley*, 1936; *Australian Mining Standard*, April 1900; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1894–1908; NT Government Resident's Reports, 1894–1908.

T G JONES, Vol 1.

BOWDITCH, JAMES (JIM) (1919–), stockman, miner, labourer, soldier, salesman, journalist and author, was born in London in 1919. He was one of five children and of a working class family. He left school at 14 years of age to help support his family during the Depression. When he was 17 he worked his passage to Australia on *Port Dunedin* in order to fulfil a childhood dream of becoming a farmer.

Bowditch worked at a number of jobs after his arrival in Australia. He first was at the Glen Innes Government Experimental Farm in New South Wales, where he learnt the rudiments of farming but received no payment. He also worked for a time as a stockman on Gammaran sheep station near Cunnamulla in Queensland before he was lured to Wellington, New South Wales, to search for gold. Mining proved unsuccessful, however, and Bowditch was forced to apply for a travelling dole scheme under which the Australian government supplied rations to many unemployed. The scheme required recipients to move from town to town in order to receive their benefits.

Eventually Bowditch escaped from unemployment and found work ring barking, a job he held until he joined the Australian Army at the outbreak of the Second World War.

He served with the Second Ninth Infantry Battalion in North Africa and New Guinea before he volunteered for the special sabotage and spy unit, 'Z' Special Force. His exploits with 'Z' Force won him the Distinguished Conduct Medal (DCM) and a number of citations for bravery.

After the war Bowditch worked for a time as a door-to-door salesman and as the lighthouse keeper on Moreton Island in Queensland. In 1948 he moved to Alice Springs with the intention of taking up land under the federal government's soldiers' resettlement scheme. When the scheme proved unsuccessful he gained work as Paymaster for the Department of Works and Housing in Alice Springs. Whilst a public servant he began writing articles for both the *Centralian Advocate* and the southern press.

His writing so impressed the *Advocate's* Manager that in 1950 he was asked to edit the paper despite his inexperience and inability to type. When he eventually learnt to type it was by means of a unique three-fingered method which over the years became a trademark.

Whilst Editor of the *Advocate* Bowditch fought for recognition of part Aboriginal people as full citizens, a fight he believed later was counter productive in that it alienated the different sectors of Aboriginal society. He also fought matters of police corruption despite threats of personal injury being a possible consequence of his actions.

In 1954 Bowditch and his part Aboriginal wife Betty, whom he met in Alice Springs, moved to Darwin with their young son. In Darwin, Bowditch became Editor of the fledgling *Northern Territory News*. During his period as Editor of the *News* he championed social justice causes and disclosed instances of corruption. His most famous revelation of corruption involved illegal betting shops that operated openly in Darwin in the 1950s.

Bowditch investigated the betting shop system after police raided and closed a new shop set up in opposition to the existing operator on the day that the shop opened. He questioned the officer in charge of the raid, **Sergeant Jim Mannion**, who eventually disclosed corruption that reached into the highest levels of the Territory administration. Mannion's career was damaged by his revelation, an issue of injustice, which Bowditch pursued along with his questioning of the integrity of the Administrator, **Frank Wise**, who was also Commissioner of Police. Though the administration accused Bowditch of sensationalism, he launched a campaign to have gambling legalised to prevent further corruption and in the belief that revenue from gambling taxes would assist the Territory's economic development. Mainly due to Bowditch's campaign, gambling was legalised in the Northern Territory.

The need for constitutional reform in the Territory was an issue that Bowditch often addressed in the *Northern Territory News* editorials. Like many Territorians, he saw the spectacle of the Legislative Council's seven appointed members defeating the proposals of the six elected members as ludicrous. He believed that Territory citizens should be responsible for their own destiny.

Bowditch was a passionate advocate for social justice. In 1959 he became personally involved in white stockman Mick Daly's fight to gain permission to marry Gladys Namagu, an Aboriginal woman with whom he had been living. Besides using the pages of the *Northern Territory News* to reveal the injustice of the case, he and author **Douglas Lockwood** persuaded social welfare officials who attempted to return the woman to her tribal husband in the bush that it was better for Namagu to remain in Darwin until the matter could be resolved. Due largely to Bowditch's advocacy and the fact that tribal marriages were not legally recognised, Daly and Namagu were eventually married.

Similarly, in 1961, Bowditch organised a petition of some 2 500 Darwin citizens in a bid to prevent the deportation of two Malay pearl divers. The White Australia Policy of the time dictated that the divers, who had become redundant with the collapse of the pearling industry in Darwin, had to return home. Bowditch and other prominent Darwin citizens organised a march on Government House and sheltered the Malays until community pressure forced the authorities to reconsider.

Another of Bowditch's involvements in social justice issues occurred after the Gurindji people walked off Wave Hill Station in 1966 in protest against poor pay and living conditions. Bowditch wrote editorials in support of the Gurindji claims for land. He was also instrumental in encouraging author Frank Hardy and journalist Peter Murphy to report on the Gurindji situation.

Despite his commitment to intense crusades, Bowditch was a larrikin at heart. Whilst Editor of the *Centralian Advocate* he and an Alice Springs photographer were responsible for perpetrating a flying saucer hoax which prompted an official Royal Australian Air Force investigation. Added to Bowditch's larrikinism was a tendency towards alcohol which led to a number of court appearances on alcohol related charges. These in turn were partially responsible for his removal as Editor of the *Northern Territory News* in 1973.

Another reason for Bowditch's dismissal, however, was his failure to abide by conservative editorial policy of the *News* after its purchase by Rupert Murdoch in 1964. When Bowditch was fired the paper's editorial staff went on a protest strike that lasted for about two weeks. Bowditch was not reinstated but a deal was negotiated whereby he was offered employment as a special correspondent for Murdoch newspapers in southern states. Besides the negotiated deal, and luckily for Bowditch, he won a Queensland lottery.

In 1974 he stood as a Labor candidate for Fannie Bay in the election for the Territory's legislature. The Labor Party suffered electoral disaster. Neither Bowditch nor any other Labor candidate was elected. Like many others in Darwin, Bowditch lost almost everything he owned in Cyclone Tracy. Nevertheless, he remained in Darwin and was active in the city's massive clean up.

He worked in a number of jobs between 1974 and 1980. These included a position as public relations consultant to a government department. He also wrote feature articles on the Territory for southern magazines. In 1980 he joined the Australian Broadcasting Commission as a reporter for the current affairs program 'Territory Tracks'. He also wrote for the Darwin *Advertiser* and *Star* between 1980 and 1984. During that time he helped

mobilise support for an enquiry into the Lindy Chamberlain conviction. After the closure of the *Advertiser* and *Star*, Bowditch contributed feature articles to the *Northern Territory News* on Territory personalities. He retired from journalism in 1988.

During a journalistic career spanning over 30 years Bowditch's ability as a writer won him two coveted Walkley awards for excellence. However, the awards were an incidental bonus to a legacy of reform to which few editors or journalists could aspire. Bowditch mellowed from the larrikin who once landed in the rose bushes outside the home of Darwin Mayor **John ('Tiger') Lyons** following an altercation over a local garbage workers' strike. He eventually retired and completed a book on the Territory. One of his four children became a successful journalist.

Advertiser, Darwin; *Centralian Advocate*; *Northern Territory News*; *Star*, Darwin; interviews.

RHONDA JOLLY, Vol 2.

BOWIE, SYDNEY JAMES (SYD) (1914–), tailor's assistant, butcher's assistant, soldier and policeman, was born on 21 June 1914, of English parents. His father James Bowie died in Lithgow, New South Wales when his son was about four years old. His mother, May Maud Bowie (*nee* Mason), then aged about 38 years, left her dressmaking/clothing shop in Lithgow, New South Wales, and took young Sydney to Longreach in Queensland, where she had a sister living. The Bowies lived in a room behind another shop in Longreach, until it was razed by fire in about 1921. Mrs Bowie began employment with a department store in the town, where she continued until about 1939.

The young Syd loved sports during his school days, and was reputed to be very good at gymnastics, cricket and football. He left primary school in about 1929 and began working in a tailor shop, then for a butcher, cutting and carting ice around Longreach. His expert horsemanship began at this time, as he helped the butcher round up and yard the cattle for slaughtering. He also excelled in the breaking in of horses during this period, and this became an asset during his years on 'bush stations' in the Territory.

His need for a secure job prompted him to join the militia with the local lads. With the threat of war the group had decided to be on the first contingent overseas, should the need arise. While Syd was in one of the militia camps in Townsville he received a favourable reply to his application to join the Northern Territory police. He made the choice to leave the military and try the life in the Territory.

A good drink of water, (recommended by the doctor), brought the fit, young, wiry youth up to weight and he was accepted into the Northern Territory Police Force. A flying boat brought Syd Bowie to Darwin on 12 September 1939. He did not have any preconceived ideas of what the town would be like; luckily he thought it was terrific. He loved it—and was to stay for over 30 years.

His introduction to the Northern Territory Police Force, (which consisted of about 40 men at that time), was to be handed a pile of legislation, be sworn in, and then sent down to the local Chinese tailor to be measured for a uniform. There was no official training period, 'out with a senior member (anyone who had more service than you)' and it was 'by the seat of the pants training, on the job'.

He married Lucy Ellen Beard in Darwin on 26 July 1940, and they had three children (Colin James, born 20 April 1941, Elaine Ellen born 30 July 1943 and Brian David born 3 April 1947).

Constable Bowie worked around the Darwin station until about February 1941 when he served on relieving duty at the Parap station, on the corner of the Stuart Highway and Parap Road in Darwin, for about three months. In February 1942 when the Japanese bombed Darwin, he was back in the Darwin station and instructed to drive the Administrator's wife, **Mrs Abbott**, with her luggage, down to Alice Springs. He was refused permission to return to Darwin, so stayed in Alice Springs until mid-year and then transferred to Newcastle Waters and later the Rankine River.

It was while Bowie was stationed at Rankine River, in 1943, that he and **Clive Graham**, later to become Commissioner, from Anthony's Lagoon, ventured on what was later named 'the Nicholson Patrol'. This patrol for cattle duffers took about 11 weeks and they covered over a thousand kilometres around the Gulf Country finally taking two prisoners to Alice Springs for trial.

With his thirst for knowledge Syd studied and progressed through the ranks. He was promoted to Sergeant in October 1947, First Class Sergeant in April 1954, Inspector in September 1956 and Inspector (Administrative) in April 1959.

During his Police service he worked hard for better conditions for members of the force. He became involved with other constables in forming a Police Association in 1942, and some 15 years later, in 1967, the Officers Association. He was also partly instrumental in the formation and support of the Police and Citizens Youth Club. His expertise in gymnastics came to the fore with the coaching of the Darwin youngsters.

During the 1950's Bowie drafted Standing Orders and Circulars as guidelines for new (and old) constables. It was about 1959 when the first recruit training courses of about eight weeks commenced. Although he preferred the outdoor work of the Police Force, Bowie became efficient in the paperwork side.

From the time of his promotion to commissioned rank in 1956 he became involved in the planning and installation of the radio network throughout the Territory. It eventually became operative in 1959/1961, connecting Darwin with Katherine, Tennant Creek and Alice Springs. Connections to 'bush stations' followed later. Communications continued to improve and in about 1966 the Territory was connected by telexes throughout the Territory as well as interstate.

In 1962 he became a Chief Inspector when Clive Graham was promoted to Deputy Commissioner from Superintendent. (The Administrator held the rank of Commissioner of Police until 1964 when Clive Graham became

the first Commissioner to come through the ranks of the Northern Territory Police). Bowie had several spells of relieving duties as Superintendent, Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner after 1964, when Clive Graham was absent from the Territory.

In 1966, following the early retirement of Graham, Syd Bowie applied for the top job. Although he was unsuccessful, he was temporarily appointed as Commissioner of the Northern Territory Police on 7 September 1966, until the Commissioner-elect, W J McLaren from Victoria, took over on 21 March 1967.

Bowie reverted back to Superintendent, where he remained until his retirement, on medical grounds, in September 1971.

Sydney James Bowie was awarded the Police Long Service and Good Conduct Medal in October 1965, and in July 1971, just prior to his official retirement, he was appointed a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for public service.

Northern Territory Police records.

GLENYS SIMPSON, Vol 3.

BOWMAN, BRYAN (1902–1993), pastoralist, tourism pioneer, businessman and author, was born on 19 October 1902 at Clare, South Australia, son of Hubert Bowman (1863–1914), pastoralist, and his wife Rose, *nee* Read, who died in 1955. He was a brother of Nigel Hubert (Pete) Bowman (1908–1987). Grandfather Edmund Bowman (1818–1866) was one of nine children who emigrated to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) from the Cumberland regions of England with parents John and Anne in 1829. After 10 years of farming and pastoral pursuits, the hard working and close knit large family prospered.

The South Australian history of the Bowman family began in 1838 when Edmund (aged 20) sailed across to Port Misery (Adelaide) to report on the viability and prospects of the fledgling colony. To quickly and fully cover all aspects and opportunities, Edmund joined a government survey team, thus taking a paid and accurate advantage to report back to the family.

The family being most impressed, decided to move their resources to South Australia. Edmund, with horses, dray, timber and sheep returned in 1839, where he leased land at Islington. Further land was secured at Barton Vale (later part of Enfield). As the inner area of Adelaide expanded, the Bowmans extended their grazing and land holdings to the outer regions of the colony.

The decade of the 1850s saw the family fortunes and extended land holdings well consolidated. The district of Bowman of today bears witness to former properties. Crystal Brook, Yorke Peninsula, Burra Burra, Wakefield and Andamooka regions were all at one time progressively grazed by Bowman stock.

In 1878 work commenced on building a mansion on the Martindale leases. Martindale Hall became a great social centre, with horse racing, polo and the English style hunts being enjoyed. However with some extravagance and some bad seasons, the family lost its main properties and Martindale was sold to William Tennant Mortlock in 1891.

With a run of good seasons, hard work and some of the family Merino sheep the two brothers Charles and Hubert gained a measure of financial security within the next few years. In 1900 they acquired the leases of the Mount Bryan and Hill River stations which they had been managing. By 1908 they had purchased the Mount Bryan property outright. Hubert bought a market garden block in Penwortham in 1911 where he died in 1914 leaving his wife Rose and two sons Bryan and Nigel Hubert (Pete).

Bryan attended the Clare State School while his father was managing the Hill River property but when they moved to the fruit and market garden block in 1911 he attended the closer Sevenhills School. Following his father's death in 1914, his mother carried on the property but sold out after the cessation of the 1914–1918 war and moved to Adelaide. While in Adelaide Bryan attended the Prince Alfred College for two years.

On leaving school, he obtained work on Kudlunga stud property near Mintaro for 12 months. Bryan first came to the Northern Territory in 1921 when **John Lewis** offered him a job with his Newcastle Waters droving plant. Under Boss Drover, E P Tapp, 1400 head of cattle were driven from Newcastle Waters to Oodnadatta by midyear, then entrained to Lewis' southern properties.

After a period of stock work on Dalhousie Springs he worked for **Sir Sidney Kidman** until 1926. Bryan then left stock work for a while and obtained work on a tramp steamer and enjoyed a working holiday around the world.

For a while Bryan tried city life but soon realised that he was not suited and went back to stock work. While on Billeroo station in the north east of South Australia the owner Robert Crawford took over Tempe Downs in the Northern Territory and sent Bryan up to manage it in May 1930. Following Crawford's death his accountant, F A Hince, formed a partnership with Bryan in mid 1933 and they bought Tempe Downs from the family estate.

Bryan's eight years on Tempe proved to be a happy period of his life. He bought a second hand AJS motorcycle with sidecar, which became invaluable in the management of the vast and rugged property. On the extreme western boundary he found the remains of a heavy wagon and its contents, which had been abandoned by the F R George geological expedition of 1906.

With Bryan as the working partner the property started to show a good return. By 1938, he was in a position to make an offer to either buy his partner out or sell his own share. Hince bought Bryan out and with a small loan from Goldsbrough Mort, he bought Glen Helen station from the elderly **Fred Raggatt**.

When Bryan took over Glen Helen in August 1938, the property was in part drought condition and hardly workable. Having only seven stock horses, he bought a small number from Johnson Breadon of Middleton Ponds. With much work and a good general rainfall the year of 1939 proved to be financially rewarding.

In May 1940, he contracted **Abraham Andrew** with son Merv to build a new lime concrete homestead. As the Second World War was in progress, cement and other building materials were very difficult to obtain. Good quality limestone was readily available in the hills close by, and with skill and hard work the local limestone was burned and the homestead erected within a reasonable time. A difficulty arose over the roofing timber, so the Andrews accepted some breeding cows in payment for their services and Bryan was left to complete the roof later. This homestead, in later years, became the nucleus of the present day chalet, somewhat modified after a disastrous fire and being extended. Owing to a dry year and lack of stock feed along the Finke River in 1943, Bryan moved to Raggatts Well, where he set up a semi permanent camp. This later became permanent so the earlier homestead was abandoned. By the mid 1940s he had built his stock numbers up to 3 000 head and had improved the water situation to suit. After buying 1 000 head of breeding cows from Mount Riddock and some stud bulls from south the numbers on the station books soon soared to over 6 000.

It was at this stage that Bryan decided to extend his cattle interests and move some of his stock to another holding. As Tempe Downs had not shown a profit since he had been bought out, Bryan made an offer to buy it. The terms not being satisfactory, he then inspected Coniston station, which at this time was owned by the elderly pioneer Randall Stafford. Being well favoured as a client with the Stock and Station Agency of Goldsbrough Mort, he had no problem with finance and acquired Coniston in August 1946.

Although Glen Helen and Coniston stations were 205 bush track kilometres apart the two properties complemented each other well, in climatic and stock holding capacities. Glen Helen was good fattening country in normal seasons, with Coniston well attuned to being good holding and breeding country.

To ease the stock situation on Glen Helen, Bryan moved 1000 head of cattle to Coniston, and then started to improve the water situation. He engaged a well borer by the name of Jack Shepley who successfully opened up a number of new bores. With these equipped, he then started buying cattle from the Top End of the Northern Territory. The first mixed mob came from Inverway in 1948, followed by others from Humbert River about 1951 and 800 head from Jack McKay's property at Mainoru in 1953. Good seasons followed and Bryan did well for his enterprise.

In mid 1954 Bryan became a silent partner with Max Cartwright and Ray Arbon in Urapunga station on the Roper River. The partnership worked mutually well for the next six years.

In 1954 Bert Gardiner, who was at the time operating Legion radio taxicabs in Alice Springs, approached Bryan about renovating the old abandoned Glen Helen homestead and starting a tourist run to the Gorge. As there was no road to the Gorge in those days, the bush tracks were rather a circuitous journey down the Davenport Creek. Eventually Bryan became involved and financed the renovation of the old homestead. This was the start of his heavy commitment to tourism and later in the 'Central Australian Tourist Association'.

In 1957 Bryan's brother Pete, with wife Sally and daughters Marion and Wendy, came up from Adelaide to manage Glen Helen. Although Pete was a partner with Bryan in Coniston (B and H N Bowman), they preferred 'the Glen'. Unfortunately Pete was not well on arrival and was suffering acute head pains that worsened over the next few months. Medical attention had been sought and it appeared that the cause of the problem might be serious. Christmas was not a good time for air travel in those days, as extra flights were not made. However a seat was made available for Pete on medical grounds, and daughter Marion travelled in the place of Thomas Whelan. As Sally, Wendy and friend Thomas Whelan were unable to fly they drove the family Vanguard car down the primitive south road of the day.

Pete received prompt medical attention on arrival in Adelaide. With treatment the condition improved and was found not to be as serious as first thought. When the rest of the family did not arrive within a reasonable time police aid was sought. About 10 days later the murdered remains of Sally, Wendy and Thomas Whelan were found in the far north of South Australia. The bodies had been brutally bashed and shot, as had the family dogs. This brutal and senseless murder is known as the 'Sundown murders'. It took Bryan a long time to get over this very great personal tragedy.

In 1960 Bryan bought Max Cartwright's share in Urapunga, so became the senior partner with Ray Arbon. Bryan acquired the Sturt Plain grazing licence (near Dunmarra) in 1963 as a holding property for Urapunga cattle and other stock he was to buy from the northern regions, prior to transporting them to Glen Helen or Coniston. This worked well until Urapunga was sold in 1968. Bryan abandoned the grazing licence of Sturt Plains in 1974, when it was no longer viable to buy store cattle in the Top End for fattening in the south.

During Bryan's years on Tempe Downs, Glen Helen and Coniston, the properties were successfully worked by 90 per cent Aboriginal labour. These stockmen were very capable and needed no regular supervision. At branding time, the tallies were faithfully kept by cutting notches on suitable length sticks. These would be handed to Bryan, who would then enter the appropriate numbers into the relevant stock books.

In short, Bryan held his Northern Territory pastoral interests for 54 years before he retired from active participation at age 82 years. He was on Tempe Downs from 1930 to 1938, Glen Helen 1938 to 1984, Coniston 1946 to 1976, Urapunga 1954 to 1968 and Sturt Plain 1963 to 1974.

Bryan was a founding shareholder in the Alice Springs Abattoirs and remained so until it closed down. Bryan also contributed heavily to the founding of the Central Australian Tourist Association and financed the early days of the Glen Helen Chalet and other aspects of Centralian Tourism. Bryan Bowman was an honest and sincere cattleman, who made a great mark in the cattle and tourist industries of Central and Northern Australia. He was progressive in the matter of education for his Aboriginal staff and families on his properties. At Coniston and Urapunga, the earliest of pastoral property schools were established.

Lily, his Aboriginal companion of 12 years, had died about 1945. Not long after this Molly McCormack Nabarula came into his life and became his long life companion. Molly was born about 1920 on Coniston. She was

admitted to the Hetti Perkins Nursing Home on 18 July 1992 where she died on 2 November, predeceasing Bryan by three months. They had been together for 47 years. Over Bryan's 63 years of Central Australian residence he was to assist many small businesses and private enterprises. For a short time he owned the Ti Tree Roadhouse, which he took over when the owner ran into trouble. When Ted McCormack died in 1964, Bryan took over the responsibility of his large family. Ted had come to Central Australia at the time of the Granites gold rush of 1932 and had married Molly's sister Eileen.

In later years Bryan moved the basis of his operations into Alice Springs where he bought part of Taffy Pick's farm block adjacent to the now Casino site. From here he ran an office in Brown Street. When the block was sold to the Casino, he bought a house in Chewings Street and maintained a home there for himself, Molly and the large McCormack clan. The house had been originally built for the late [Bill Harney](#). Eileen McCormack disappeared in about 1988 and was found dead about 1990 on the outer Undoolya road.

Bryan did not accept retirement easily but his interests turned to writing and up to his death at age 90 years on 4 January 1993 he had published four books of great historical importance to Central Australia, the last being released only a few weeks before his passing.

E Warburton, *Martindale Hall*, nd; B Bowman, *The Glen Helen Story*, 1985, *History of Central Australia 1930–1980*, 1989; personal information.

MAX CARTWRIGHT, *Vol 3*.

BOWMAN, SARAH: see [HANG GONG, SARAH](#)

BRADSHAW, FREDERICK MAXWELL (1852–1905), pastoralist, son of Joseph Bradshaw, was born in Victoria. His parents were well-known pastoralists in the Avoca and Bacchus Marsh districts and owned several properties, including Bolwarrah and Glen Mona. Bolwarrah was later to become the name of one of the Bradshaws' vessels. Little is known about the early life of Frederick and his brother [Joseph](#) except that they shared a love of exploration and a mutual interest in remote areas.

Frederick came to Victoria River Station in company with his brother in 1895 and became part owner of the property. He also developed an interest in the charting of the waterways in the vicinity of the Victoria River and is reputed to have been on good terms with the Aborigines. The only record of his departure from the Northern Territory is a visit he made to Melbourne in 1901.

Much of the documentation focuses upon the mystery surrounding his death. Mounted Constable Kelly from Darwin found Frederick's body along with those of three other Europeans near Cape Scott on Christmas Day 1905. Two natives found on board their vessel *Bolwarrah* were captured by the attackers. It is believed that Frederick and the others were murdered by the Aborigines on about 24 November on their return from a boring camp in Darwin when the party landed from the *Bolwarrah* to search for fresh water. Frederick's body bore a spear wound.

In an interview in Melbourne in January 1906, Frederick's brother Joseph expressed his surprise at the attack, despite the reputed ferocity of the Aborigines in that area. He pointed out that he and his brother had frequently landed in the same area over the past 15 years. It is said that Joseph buried the remains of the murdered men on the summit of a flat-topped mountain near the mouth of the Victoria River.

Frederick had never married and his untimely death meant that he was outlived by his mother, who was 87 and living at Mount Albert in Victoria when Frederick died.

M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983; J Makin, *The Big Run*, 1970; *Australasian*, 6 January 1906.

ROBYN MAYNARD, *Vol 1*.

BRADSHAW, JOSEPH (1854–1916), pastoralist, who took the name of his father, was born and educated in Melbourne. Joseph's parents owned stations at Bacchus Marsh and Avoca in Victoria. Little is known of his early childhood and youth but it would seem that he possessed an adventurous spirit from a very early age.

At the age of 22, he sailed his own vessel from Melbourne up the northwestern coast of Australia to Darwin and took up land on the Liverpool River. His sailing master on the voyage was Aeneas Gunn, later to become the Manager of Elsey Station. Ten years later, in 1886, Joseph and his brother [Frederick](#) became owners of land at Victoria River Station, with Aeneas Gunn acting as their manager. The now well-known Bradshaw's Run, which lies between the northern bank of the Victoria River and the mangrove swamps of the Fitzmaurice River is said to have been carved out of a wilderness.

Joseph Bradshaw was known as an intrepid explorer. He navigated and charted a number of rivers in the Victoria River region, notably the Prince Regent River. He owned several vessels that he used in his explorations and settlement and development schemes. He had frequent contact with the Aborigines of the area and it is said that the majority of encounters were not hostile. He also made several journeys to the interior of Australia.

Descriptions depict Joseph Bradshaw as a fearless pioneer and some of his ideas as half a century ahead of their time. He envisaged a transcontinental railway going north to Darwin. Some of his plans, such as Victoria River Downs becoming a horse-breeding station, did not ever come to fruition and attempts at sheep breeding on the Fitzmaurice Run proved to be unsuccessful. The success of Bradshaw's Run is still something of an enigma.

Little is known of his family life except for the working relationship he had with his brother Frederick. He died in Darwin Hospital on 23 July 1916 from injuries sustained during a journey to the interior. Joseph Bradshaw left a wife and son.

M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983; W Linklater & L Tapp, *Gather No Moss*, 1968; J Makin, *The Big Run*, 1970; *Australasian*, 29 July 1916.

ROBYN MAYNARD, Vol 1.

BRAITLING, DOREEN ROSE nee CROOK (1904–1979), pastoralist and pioneer, was born in Colchester, England, in 1904. Her father, Bill Crook, left England in 1906 to seek work in Australia. This he readily found and, having saved enough money, sent for his family. Mrs Crook, with Doreen, Sonny and Kathleen, embarked on the *Oratava* and arrived in Adelaide in September 1907.

In 1909 the family travelled by train to Oodnadatta and then by wagon to Stuart (Alice Springs) and on to Glen Helen cattle station. Doreen's uncle, **Fred Raggatt**, then owned Glen Helen and gave the family work until they moved to Hermannsburg.

Late in 1911 they left Hermannsburg for Alice Springs, partly riding and partly walking. Their means of transport was one camel and a horse, and later another horse borrowed from the Hayes family at Owen Springs. For the next three years the family lived at the telegraph station, and Doreen with her sister and brother walked to school to be taught by **Mrs Ida Standley**, the first schoolteacher in Alice Springs. The schoolhouse was the warder's quarters, which were situated at the south end of the old Stuart Town Gaol.

In 1915 the Hatches Creek and Wauchope wolfram mines were booming, so the family set out to try its luck. In his book, *The Man from Oodnadatta*, the Reverend Bruce Plowman relates how he met the family travelling in a wagon, and the two little girls were wearing sunbonnets. Failing at Wauchope the family moved on, seeking somewhere to work and settle.

At Wycliffe Well, near Wauchope, the family took work watering cattle of the drovers' mobs travelling from the Top End of the Territory to market. This was a very arduous job as the water had to be raised by a whip in 12-gallon (55-litre) buckets and poured into the long trough. Poddy calves left behind by the drovers helped the Crook family establish Singleton Station.

In 1928 Doreen met **Bill Braitling**, who was droving cattle through to Alice Springs, but was held up near Singleton because of a drought. They were married in Adelaide in 1929 and then went droving till 1932, when they shifted to their new pastoral lease, Mount Doreen, some 370 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs. For many years they lived in a bough shed on the banks of the McKenzie Creek adjacent to the soakage dam.

From the first days at Mount Doreen in 1932 till her retirement in 1959 Doreen was deeply involved in the care of the numerous bush Aborigines who drifted into their station. In the pre-Royal Flying Doctor era many owed their lives to her untiring efforts in tending to their physical needs, whilst her understanding of their tribal ways earned her their full respect. Often food and medical supplies were stretched to the limit, and goats' meat and milk were the basic food for both black and white. For many years she, with the help of one or two Aboriginal women and one Aboriginal man, tended to the needs of some two hundred people.

When her husband died in 1959 Doreen retired to Alice Springs. Though by this time a frail woman worn out by hard work and hardship, she soon became involved in community affairs. She was particularly distressed by the demolition of numerous historic buildings in the town she had known for so long. With others she instigated the formation of the National Trust of the Northern Territory Inc. She even took it upon herself to drive to Tennant Creek to confer with **Mrs Hilda Tuxworth**, MBE and to establish a branch of the Trust there in 1972. When the old Stuart Town Gaol was threatened with demolition to make way for the proposed new courthouse she wrote to everyone of influence from the Prime Minister down, protesting against the destruction of the oldest building in the Alice Springs municipality. She was very gratified when it was decided to retain the old building and to restore it. In the latter part of the 1970s she was heavily involved in the formation of the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory) that replaced the former Trust, and she was elected its first President.

Late in life Doreen took a course in writing and wrote several short stories. She was often called upon to broadcast short talks on the history of Central Australia. However, she was at her best when writing poetry and several of her poems were set to music by Ted Egan. In delivering the Doreen Braitling Memorial Lecture for 1980 he said, 'An important part of the Doreen Braiding story to me is her song 'Cattle Going In', written in her seventies when she was obviously contemplating the difference between the old droving days and the present, when huge road trains take cattle to the markets.'

Doreen Braitling was awarded the British Empire Medal (BEM) early in 1979 but unfortunately died before the presentation.

The Braitling School and the suburb of Braitling in Alice Springs are testament to the high regard that the Alice Springs community had for Doreen.

B Plowman, *The Man from Oodnadatta*, 1933; Doreen Braitling Memorial Lecture, 1986, National Trust of Australia (NT); Braitling family recollection and diaries.

T J FLEMING, Vol 1.

BRAITLING, WILLIAM WALTER (1889–1959), grazier, was born at Aturus Downs in the Springsure district of Queensland. William (Bill) was one of ten children of Charles Christian Braiding and Elizabeth, nee Bradley. Charles Braitling had left London to go to sea, but decided to settle in Australia. He arrived in Rockhampton, Queensland, in 1880 and in 1881 met—and married—Elizabeth, an Irish immigrant from Armagh. After working for a time as an overseer Charles managed to settle on his own property near Springsure.

Bill Braiding left school early and when 16 years old left home on horseback to earn better wages in the Northern Territory. He worked his way through the Barkly Tableland to the Victoria River District. He became an

accomplished drover and horse breaker earning one Pound a head for his horses. In 1909 he joined many others in the gold rush to Tanami, but failed in his search for easy fortune.

In 1914 he contracted to Vesteys to drive 500 herd-bulls from Delamere, Queensland, to Wave Hill and Victoria River Downs. This was one of the largest droving trips of its type and took 12 months, travelling a route that took him around the Gulf of Carpentaria. He delivered the bulls in 1915 and then rode back to Queensland to enlist in the Australian Imperial Force.

He served with the 54th Battery (Artillery), and was gassed and wounded in France, earning the Meritorious Service Medal. After his discharge in 1919 he undertook a course in animal husbandry at the Edinburgh University in Scotland.

On returning to the Northern Territory he traded in livestock, and in 1921 took up a grazing licence adjoining Wave Hill and Victoria River Downs, calling the station Paschendaele after the village in Belgium where so many of his mates lost their lives. With the help of a government loan of 625 Pounds he gradually built up his herd to over 3 000 head of cattle. Marketing problems and the impending extension of the railway from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs made Braiding interested in pastoral land in the Alice Springs district.

In 1926 he explored land west of Coniston station. Travelling out from Ti Tree Station he continued through the Tanami Desert to Wave Hill. He was long overdue at Wave Hill and was reported missing, suspected of having been killed by the Aborigines.

A grazing licence for the new area in Central Australia was issued in 1926 and he left the Victoria River District in 1928 with cattle to stock his new property. Dry conditions held him up near Barrow Creek, and he adjusted his cattle on Singleton Station where he met his future wife Doreen Crook.

In order to meet his government loan commitments, and to finalise an existing partnership agreement, he eventually sold these cattle and the Paschendaele property. He married **Doreen Crook** in Adelaide in 1929 and went droving until 1932 when he took his family out to live on the new property that he named Mount Doreen after his wife.

In 1937 he purchased 250 cattle at 27 Shillings 6 Pence per head as his foundation herd. He believed in buying good quality stock and once established paid up to 2 000 Guineas for Poll Hereford bulls. The first cattle sale from Mount Doreen was in 1942 when he drove 260 bullocks, a trainload, to Alice Springs railhead. Using only horses and pack camels the journey took four weeks, with initial stages watering points of eighty kilometres.

During the Second World War Braiting became involved in mining wolfram on Mount Doreen. At one Pound per pound it was quite a lucrative venture. He also served as the Member for Stuart in the Northern Territory Legislative Council from 10 December 1949 to 20 April 1951.

His interest in exploration led him to desert areas near Lake Mackay on the Northern Territory–Western Australian border, where in 1946 he first came into contact with the Pintupi Aborigines.

He lived on Mount Doreen until his death in Alice Springs in 1959.

Family records and diaries.

WALTER BRAITLING, *Vol 1.*

BREMER, (Sir) JAMES JOHN GORDON (1786–1850), founder of British settlement in north Australia, Rear Admiral, Royal Navy (RN), was born on 26 September 1766 the son of Lieutenant James Bremer RN and his wife Ann, daughter of Captain James Norman RN.

Bremer was entered as a First-Class Volunteer on board *Sandwich* guard ship at the Note in 1794. He was then eight years old. This was a common practice at the time to enable candidates to gain seniority. However, in his case his appointment lasted only a few months and he was discharged in June 1795. In October 1797 he became a pupil at the Royal Naval College, Portsmouth. In April 1802 he was appointed to HMS *Endymion* as a Midshipman. He was made Lieutenant on 3 August 1805 and advanced to the rank of Commander on 13 October 1807.

On 11 September 1812, being then in command of HM Brig *Bermuda*, off Boulogne, Bremer captured the French privateer *Le Bon Genie*. He was next appointed to the command of HM Brig *Royalist* on 1 January 1813. In this vessel he assisted at the defence of Castro, on the north coast of Spain, between the 7 and 13 May 1813, captured the American schooner *Ned*, which was sailing under a Letter of Marque, on 6 September, and shared in the capture of the French frigate *Weser* on 20 October of the same year.

Bremer was appointed Post Captain on 7 June 1814. He was nominated Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB) in 1815, and appointed to the command of HMS *Comus* on 30 May 1816. *Comus* was wrecked on a reef off St Shorts, Newfoundland, on 24 October 1816.

On 18 September 1823 Bremer was given command of HMS *Tamar* and in February 1824, following pressure from the East India Trade Committee and lobbying by William Barnes (or Barns), who had traded between Sydney and the islands of the East Indies for some four years, he was sent from England to take possession of the northern coast of New Holland and established a settlement on Melville Island. This enterprise aimed to preserve the north of Australia from occupation by other powers—the French, Dutch and Americans were all believed to be interested—and to develop trade with the inhabitants of the East Indies. To give effect to these aims he formally proclaimed British possession, in the name of His Majesty King George III, of the land between 129 degrees and 135 degrees east longitude with due ceremony at Port Essington, and established Fort Dundas on Melville Island. On 13 November 1824 Bremer sailed for India leaving a garrison of 57 officers and men of the Buffs' and marines, some civilian artisans, and forty-four convict volunteers.

Whilst on the India Station, Bremer took part in the first Burma War. He also saw service on the Arabian coast, where he surveyed the Bay of Aden, and at Burburra on the coast of Africa, where he led an expedition that put

down a riot of some 2 000 natives who set fire to the town. Bremer returned home from the East Indies Station on 28 November 1827.

Following a change of government in London, complaints by New South Wales Governor Darling that the cost of the distant settlements was too high, consistent lobbying by Captain James Stirling RN for a new colony to be established at Swan River and adverse reports from the two garrison commanders, **Major Campbell**, 57th Regiment and Captain Smyth, 39th Regiment, both Fort Dundas and the subsequent establishment, Fort Wellington at Raffles Bay, were abandoned in 1829.

On 25 January 1836 Bremer was made a Knight of Commander of the Hanseatic Order (KCH) and in the following year he was appointed to command HMS *Alligator*.

After consideration of questions regarding the inadvisability of abandoning the north coast of Australia, the desirability of establishing a naval base there, French plans for an expedition to north Australia, and further political change in London, Bremer was once again sent, in 1838, to establish a base and secure north Australia as a British possession. The expedition was a naval exercise, controlled by the Admiralty. Only marines were employed to garrison the settlement, which was named Victoria in honour of the Queen.

The expedition, having called at Adelaide to pick up a detachment of marines, left Sydney on 18 September 1838 and, encountering adverse winds, did not arrive at Port Essington until 27 October. After careful examination of the port a site was selected on 3 November. The place chosen was an ideal defensive position projecting into the western side of the inner harbour and having cliffs, which were described as 'being in excess of 50 feet in height', and from the tops of which a battery commanded access to the inner harbour.

Bremer spent some seven months supervising the establishment of Victoria, meeting the French explorer **D'Urville** and his expedition, and visiting the Portuguese governor at Dili and the Dutch governor at Kupang. Then, being satisfied with the progress of the settlement and finding it necessary to confer with Governor Gipps, he sailed from Victoria on 3 June 1839. In September he took *Alligator* to Norfolk Island where he quelled a mutiny among the troops. On 8 November 1839 Bremer sailed from Sydney in *Alligator*, intending to go to Victoria. The climatic conditions at the time of year caused him to sail by way of Bass Strait. He called at Penang and Madras, and arrived at Trincomalee in March 1840. Due to the death of Sir Frederick Maitland in December 1839 and the short term of office of his successor, Rear Admiral Elliott, who arrived in July 1840 and departed an invalid in November of that year, Bremer was senior naval officer of the India Station for much of the years 1840 and 1841 until he was relieved by Sir William Parker in November 1841. He thus had the naval command of the expedition to China during that time and for this service he received the thanks of Parliament, and was made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath (KCB) on 29 July 1841.

In April 1846 Bremer was appointed Commodore, second-in-command of the squadron that patrolled the English Channel. In this position he flew his broad pennant in HMS *Queen*. This was his last seagoing appointment; in November 1846 he became Commodore Superintendent of the Woolwich Dockyard. He held this post for the next two years. Bremer attained the rank of Rear Admiral on 15 September 1849. He died a few months later, on 14 February 1850.

In 1811 Bremer married Harriett, daughter of Thomas Wheeler and widow of the Reverend George Henry Glasse. They had two sons and four daughters. His elder son, Edward Gordon, served as an officer in the Royal Navy. His eldest daughter married Captain (afterwards Admiral) Sir Leonard Kuper.

The two establishments founded by Bremer in north Australia survived for relatively short periods, four and 11 years respectively. The continued existence of Victoria as an important centre in the proposed Colony of North Australia was prevented by a change of government in London, and it was abandoned in 1849 shortly before Bremer's death. However, we should not underestimate the importance of Bremer's contribution to the security of Australia. Its ultimate development as a nation inhabiting the entire continent owes much to Bremer and the tiny garrisons that he installed on the northern coast at a time when other powers were expanding their interests in the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

ADB, vol 1; *Australian Encyclopedia*, vols 2 & vol 6; *Dictionary of Naval Biography*; Royal Naval Biography Supplement pt III; Addenda to Post Captains of 1814, Maritime Museum Greenwich.

TED STREET, Vol 1.

BRENNAN, ALICE KATHLEEN LORRAINE (LAURIE, BREN or MISS B) (1923–1992), office worker, nurse, nurse administrator, educator and community worker, was born in Sydney on 23 February 1923 to John Patrick Aloysius Brennan and his wife, Alice, *nee* Archer. Her father was a supervising telephone technician and her mother was responsible for running the family home. From all accounts Laurie and her brother John James Patrick were nurtured in a warm and loving family environment.

She grew up in Sydney and attended the West Ryde Public School from 1929 to 1934. During that time she was the recipient of school prizes in 1930–1932 and featured in the April and June 1932 editions of the school magazine. Her secondary education was undertaken at Burwood Domestic Science Intermediate High School and her New South Wales Intermediate Certificate was issued in 1938. She successfully sat the University of Adelaide's Board of Public Examinations English Matriculation Examination in 1967.

In 1938 she was employed for 11 months at the York Printing Company at Petersham. She left to take up the position of Typist and Invoice Clerk with the Sydney office of the Pepsodent Company (Australia) Pty Ltd. She stayed with this company until she resigned to commence her nursing career. She left both positions with very good references.

Miss Brennan undertook her general nursing certificate at the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital in Sydney from 1941 to 1945. She completed her midwifery nursing certificate at the Royal Hobart Hospital, Tasmania in 1946. She then returned to New South Wales and was employed at the Repatriation General Hospital (RGH), Concord. Whilst at this hospital she was employed as a Sister and Senior Sister in the various wards and units.

Jacqueline O'Brien recalled Miss Brennan's contribution to nursing education at RGH. In September 1947 RGH was registered as a training school for nurses.

Sister Terry Williams was delegated to establish the school. Laurie Brennan ably assisted her. Between them they were responsible for converting empty rooms into teaching facilities, developing a four year nursing education curriculum, designing stationery, attendance records and the students' uniforms. The School commenced its first Preliminary Training Course on 1 March 1948. The group consisted of 22 females and five males. Six students graduated: three males and three females.

In 1952 Miss Brennan was awarded special leave without pay from the Repatriation Commission to enable her to gain nursing experience overseas. Whilst overseas she worked for some private nursing agencies. On one assignment she accompanied a family to Switzerland. In Britain she was employed as a Staff Nurse at two hospitals, the Gordon (Westminster Group) Hospital and the Sunderland Royal Infirmary.

On her return to Australia in 1954, she resumed her position as a Senior Sister at the Repatriation General Hospital, Concord. In 1956 she transferred to the Northern Territory Medical Service. Miss Brennan was apparently the first registered nurse to have permanency status in the Northern Territory Medical Service. The Commonwealth ran the Repatriation hospital so she was able to transfer from one Commonwealth Health Service to another. Whilst at Darwin Hospital she occupied the position of Sister and Senior Sister. During this period Miss Brennan worked in the 'native ward'. It was here that she established many lasting friendships with Aboriginal families.

In 1960 she successfully completed the Mothercraft (Infant Health) Nursing Certificate at the Royal Society for the Welfare of Mothers and Babies Home, known as 'Tresillian' at Vaucluse in Sydney. She was now a triple certificated nursing sister. Miss Brennan returned to Darwin Hospital where she was appointed Assistant Matron. A number of sources indicated that it was because of her forthright manner that she was deployed to Alice Springs, where between 1962 and 1964 she occupied the position of Acting Matron (Relief).

Miss Brennan was committed to the advancement of nursing education and she was a leader in further qualifications for registered nurses. In 1964 she undertook the Diploma of Nursing Administration at the College of Nursing Australia in Melbourne. On its completion she returned to her former position at Alice Springs Hospital.

In 1965 Miss Brennan was appointed Matron at the Darwin Hospital. In this position she was also Principal of the School of Nursing. She returned to the College of Nursing Australia, in Melbourne in 1971 to undertake the Diploma of Public Health Nursing. On her return to Darwin she was appointed Nursing Administrator for the Northern Territory. This position was classified as a Matron Grade VI. She occupied this position between 1972 and 1975 and was responsible for all nursing organisational and administrative activities as well as being a member of the Nurses Board of the Northern Territory.

In December 1974 when Cyclone Tracy struck, Miss Brennan, as senior nurse administrator, had her offices in the Department of Health, at that time the MLC building in Smith Street. She resumed duty on Boxing Day 1974. She was responsible for the establishment of a series of emergency health centres; at one time 26 centres were operating 'providing first aid, inoculations to prevent epidemics, advice regarding food contamination etcetera'. Among other difficult tasks was identifying suitable available nursing staff as not all volunteers made valid claims for their qualifications. When nurses and other medical personnel came from interstate most had never been in the tropics nor experienced the after effects of a major catastrophe, and not all were suitable. She was later to receive a commendation from the Health Department for her 'organizational ability, scope of responsibilities and splendid performance of the nursing staff' involved in the post-Tracy cleanup.

To those who knew her it became evident that Miss Brennan was easily frustrated in the role of pen pusher and administrator where there was no contact with patients. It was not long before she was able to persuade the powers that be that she was better suited as Matron of Darwin hospital. This position was also classified as Matron Grade VI. Those who had known Miss Brennan for many years indicated that she stood up for what she believed. Jacqueline O'Brien was to say that during her nursing career this might have been to her own disadvantage but never to the nursing profession.

As Matron of the hospital Miss Brennan undertook a daily ward round which ensured that during a week she visited every ward and specialty area at least once. Many Aboriginal clients knew her as the 'boss lady'. However, familiarity with the boss lady did not assist anyone when they wanted to bend the rules. Gambling was forbidden within the grounds of the Darwin Hospital. Many a time Miss Brennan was seen demanding a pack of playing cards when the players were in the midst of a very serious card game. On one occasion she was seen to grasp the blanket on which the players were placing their bets, a tug on one corner resulted in no-one knowing whose money was whose.

Whilst occupying the positions of Nursing Administrator for the Northern Territory, Matron of the Darwin Hospital and a member of the Nurses Board of the Northern Territory, Miss Brennan initiated and saw the introduction of many nursing standards and education programs which are still in existence in the Northern Territory some two decades later. She represented Northern Territory nursing at interstate conferences. She was also a member of the panel charged with assessing overseas qualifications and was involved in the establishment of an Audit Committee concerned with nursing education.

Marian Grayden worked with Miss Brennan for many years at the Darwin Hospital. She recalls that Miss Brennan was an excellent communicator and a farsighted nurse administrator who was uncompromising about maintaining high professional standards. She was pedantic that English should be written and spoken correctly. The use of

slang was unacceptable. On many occasions Miss Brennan quietly and discreetly supported staff members. This included offers of assistance, including taking people to the airport, a shoulder to cry on and advice on who to see or contact with regard to a problem. If a staff member was admitted to Darwin Hospital, Miss Brennan always made a point of visiting them during their period of hospitalisation. In the event the staff member was hospitalised interstate, time was always found to write a Get Well letter. During the 30 years Marian knew Miss Brennan, she never heard her refer to anyone by his or her given name. Surnames and correct titles were always used. In addition, she recalled that on formal occasions Miss Brennan always wore a hat and gloves. She was often seen sharing joyous and sad events with her staff and multitude of acquaintances. When there were staff shortages or industrial disputes, Miss Brennan would always ensure the clients were not disadvantaged. On such occasions she would be found where she was most needed whether it be in the kitchen, laundry or working on a ward.

Miss Brennan supervised the transfer of the Darwin Hospital to the Casuarina Hospital in 1980. She was the incumbent Matron when the hospital's name was changed to Darwin and later when it was approved by the Queen to be known as the Royal Darwin Hospital. She retired from the nursing profession in 1983.

Early in 1981 she had purchased a newly constructed house in the northern suburb of Tiwi. This was in close proximity to the hospital. She shared this house with Puss-puss, her feline companion. Over the years she spent many a happy hour in her garden tending her favourite plants, which included frangipanis, hibiscus and orchids. She enjoyed scrabble, mah-jong and card games such as bridge and with her friends attended film evenings. She made many of her own clothes and her embroidery and tapestry won prizes at the Darwin Show. Although she never married, for almost the whole of her time in the Northern Territory her friend and confidant was Tom Kilburn. With him she could shed the public face of 'Matron' and relax. They shared many common interests which included camping, fishing and swimming and travelling in the Northern Territory and Asia. They also shared a common interest in diamonds and jade.

She was actively involved in the Northern Territory Chapter of the College of Nursing Australia. Under her stewardship as treasurer it was put on a sound footing. Nursing was not her sole interest. At various times she was involved with the Young Women's Christian Association, Christ Church Cathedral, where she was a regular and active communicant, the St John Ambulance Association Committee and the Handicapped Persons Association Committee. After her retirement she was a home tutor with the Adult Migrant Education Centre and worked with Project Read at the (then) Darwin Institute of Technology.

On 1 January 1971 Alice Kathleen Lorraine Brennan was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in recognition of her contribution to Australia as a nurse. In 1978 the Quota Club of Darwin bestowed on her the title of Woman of the Year. In 1988, Miss Brennan was nominated by the Royal College of Nursing, Australia (Northern Territory Chapter) to attend a Bicentennial function in Canberra. In recognition of her services to nursing the local Chapter established the 'Lorraine Brennan Scholarship' now the most prestigious Northern Territory nursing award available.

She died in Sydney on 14 February 1992. There was standing room only at a service of thanksgiving held at Christ Church Cathedral, Darwin, on 1 March. People from all walks of life took the opportunity to publicly say farewell to a woman who had made an enormous contribution to the Northern Territory and to them personally.

L Brennan's own notes; information from J Brennan, M Clinch, J Docker, M Doherty, E Jones, T Kilburn, Bishop K Mason, M Grayden, J O'Brien, M O'Neill, M Slade.

CECILIA BATTERHAM, Vol 3.

BRENNAN, HAROLD CHARLES (TIGER) (1905–1979), prospector, soldier and politician, was born on 18 June 1905 in Calcutta, India, the son of T H Brennan, who was involved in sisal plantations and mining. He was educated at Saint Joseph's College, Darjeeling, and Saint Edmund's College, Shillong, both in India, before attending Saint Edmund's College at Ware in England. He appears to have travelled around Africa for a few years in the 1920s, developing an interest in prospecting, before migrating to Australia in about 1933.

He first went to Melbourne and then made his way to Central Australia, where 'gold fever' was in the air. By 1935 he had joined the Tennant Creek gold rush and in 1936 worked for a while as an assistant to the Mount Morgan development there. When the company pulled out in November 1936 he went to Wauchope and worked on the wolfram mines.

When the Second World War broke out he enlisted, claiming to be the first to do so from the Northern Territory. He rose to the rank of Major and served with the 23rd Field Company and the Royal Australian Engineers, First Australian Corps. He was later posted to General Headquarters, South West Pacific Area, and was seconded to work with American engineer units that specialised in the camouflage of units moving to the front line. He contributed significantly to these units' successes and at the end of the war was presented with the United States Medal of Freedom, a very high award. On 27 August 1945 Major General Hugh Casey, the United States Army's Chief Engineer, wrote to him, 'You have been most observant in noting deficiencies and suggesting improvements. Your inspection reports have on many occasions furnished the basis for corrective action.' Casey highlighted some attributes that emerged strongly in Brennan's later political career.

On returning to the Territory after the war, Brennan soon established a reputation for tackling the 'blinking bureaucrats' and what he regarded as uncaring public service incompetence in administering the Territory. Immediately after his discharge from the Army he returned to Tennant Creek, where he again took up prospecting but 'went broke' in 1948. He then moved to Maranboy and gouged tin. Next, he prospected in the Bulman area, a lead and zinc deposit in South East Arnhem Land. With no roads and few suitable vehicles about, Brennan came and went into Katherine by packhorse. During these prospecting years, he located many of the mineral deposits on

which the Territory's mining industry was later based. He also became frustrated by government red tape and with Territorians being treated as 'second class citizens', administered by distant bureaucrats. Brennan decided to enter the political arena and thus bring about some changes.

He first stood for the seat of Batchelor in the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1953 when he was opposed by a Labor candidate, the well-known author **Tom Ronan**, who narrowly defeated him. In 1955 Ronan, who was unhappy with members' conditions, resigned and Brennan was elected as an independent with a comfortable majority. He wasted no time in making clear his views, and although he was not the most articulate of members, his blunt speeches inspired other Councillors to take stronger action. In his maiden speech he gave a clear message to Canberra and the public: 'Mr President, the people of the Territory are disgusted with the existence of this undemocratic Council, this farcical institution... if Gilbert and Sullivan were alive today they wouldn't write an operetta called *Madame Butterfly* but one based on the way the NT is governed... Travellers... are amazed to learn that we, a civilised community, can tolerate such a Council. It is the only part of the British Commonwealth in which 95 percent of the electors are literate and in which such a body exists.'

One of the most dramatic examples of Brennan's and the other elected members' determination to achieve self government for the Territory occurred in April 1958 when all elected members of the Council resigned their seats over what they regarded as lack of action on the part of the federal government to address the issue of political reform for the Territory. Public support for their stance was made very clear when in the ensuing election all members were returned unopposed except for **L.H. Purkiss** of Tennant Creek, who was returned with a large majority. Brennan was elected as Member for Elsey in 1961 and during that year was again part of a Territory delegation that went to Canberra to meet the Minister for Territories, **Paul Hasluck**, and the Attorney General, Sir Garfield Barwick, to ask for more self government and greater Territory representation in the federal parliament.

The meeting did not achieve much and in December 1961 Brennan resigned from the Legislative Council to stand unsuccessfully as an independent for the Territory's House of Representatives seat. In the February 1962 Legislative Council election, Brennan regained his former seat of Elsey.

In the April sittings of that year the Long Service Leave Bill, which Brennan had introduced two years earlier, was finally passed, highlighting the fact that most social welfare measures had to be introduced by elected members because the Official Councillors failed to do so. Fred Walker, Clerk of the Council, later commented that Brennan was one of the first elected members to realise that it was preferable to introduce a badly drafted bill than no bill at all.

In 1964 Brennan was again part of a delegation to Canberra seeking constitutional reform but his behaviour on this occasion caused some embarrassment to the other members. Brennan, who was apparently absent for much of the delegation's meeting with Commonwealth ministers, refused to agree to a press release which the ministers and other delegates jointly handed out. To the delight of the press, he produced his own colourful version. Some analysts have argued that Brennan's credibility suffered considerably from this incident and there was some support for the proposition that he was a liability to the elected members in their battle to be accepted as responsible people capable of providing a stable government for the Territory. As Walker has written, 'Brennan exemplified the best and worst aspects of a politician. On the one hand he was attentive to the needs of his electorate and always willing to take up a constituent's fight against the bureaucracy but his overwhelming appetite for publicity, coupled with the capacity of the press to trivialize all things related to the Territory did little to help the elected members. If the people of Australia believed that the members of the Legislative Council were too much given to absurd posturing, much of the blame can be given to Brennan and the journalists who encouraged him.'

Criticism of his sometimes eccentric behaviour, however, did not deter Brennan from his goal of achieving self-government in the Territory. Between August 1964 and September 1965 he moved no less than 11 substantive motions concerned with greater self government and while only three of them were passed (even though the majority of the elected members gave him support on all), the publicity they engendered continued to keep the issue of constitutional advancement in the public forum. The three successful motions called for a separate Ministry for the Territory, censured the Minister for Territories for failing to advance the Territory constitutionally and required the President of the Legislative Council to send extra copies of all resolutions directly to the Minister and not through his department.

One of the major issues for which Brennan fought was the creation of an ombudsman in the Territory, which he saw as particularly important given the lack of self-government. In 1965 he proposed a motion that took the form of a request to the Minister to introduce legislation that would provide for an ombudsman similar to that in New Zealand. In 1966, 1967, 1969 and twice in 1970 he introduced bills attempting to achieve this position and even though the bills were passed, they were refused assent. Brennan eventually sought an alternative way of achieving his objective and moved a resolution creating a committee of the Legislative Council to carry out the functions of the ombudsman that would not be disallowed by the federal government.

Brennan was also persistent in his criticism of the Minister for Territories between 1963 and 1968, Charles Barnes. In the last hours of the final Council meeting for 1966 he forced through a motion of no confidence in Barnes. He took the matter a step further by resigning from his Council seat to contest Barnes's House of Representatives seat of McPherson in Queensland in the same year. Although he lost, he certainly made his point and was later re-elected to the Council. He made a last and again unsuccessful attempt to capture the Territory's House of Representatives seat in 1969, again being re-elected to the Council afterwards. He finally retired from the Council in 1971.

Throughout his parliamentary career he was a prolific speaker even though at times he was 'wide of the mark' in some of his assertions and could also at times be rattled by the interjections of the Official members. One well remembered case was when he called out angrily, in the midst of interjections, that 'my opinion is fact.'

While he devoted much time to the self-government issue, he also pursued constituents' needs and practical matters with vigour and was known to visit his electorate on a regular basis and raise issues of concern. Amongst his achievements were the construction of a road into Moline and another from Katherine to the Western Australian border, both widely known as 'Brennan Highways'. He had an active interest in the establishment of higher education in the Territory and introduced the bill that eventually led to legislation setting up the Darwin Community College.

The end of his parliamentary career did not mean the end of his public life. In 1972, with the urging and backing of several of his former Legislative Council colleagues, he stood for and won the position of Mayor of Darwin. He had a chequered history in this role. He openly admitted to sleeping through Cyclone Tracy in December 1974 and awakening to find the city in ruins. His colourful personality and devotion to the Territory made him a good ambassador for Darwin but his lack of administrative experience caused some difficulties in his daily work and in his dealings with aldermen and Council officials.

Political historian Alistair Heatley later argued that Brennan found it hard to adjust to the Mayor's position. His lack of prior Council experience 'proved a handicap and his attempts to impose a new leadership style, even though fitfully waged, were opposed by aldermen with whom he had some furious exchanges.' Because of his independent actions, for example, in 1973 the City Council withdrew his authority to negotiate on its behalf with government and Council staff. 'While formally a fulltime incumbent', Heatley continued, 'his age and declining health coupled with his experiences with Council and disinterest in routine affairs rendered him still in practice a part time mayor. Yet in his dealings with government both before and after the Cyclone, there were occasions when the Tiger Brennan of old displayed his legendary pugnaciousness.'

At the end of his mayoral term in 1975, an interesting side of his past re-emerged when he received for the second time the United States Medal of Freedom, the original having been misplaced. The American Ambassador to Australia, Marshall Green, presented the medal to Brennan in Canberra after he learned that the original had been lost.

Brennan considered standing for re-election as Mayor but the pressures of the job and particularly the Mayor's role on the Darwin Reconstruction Commission persuaded him to step down. When he retired he claimed that he was going to write a book called 'Bastards I Have Met'. It is probably unfortunate for posterity that he did not because consequently much of what made him such an interesting and somewhat mysterious figure in Territory life was lost when he died in Darwin on New Year's Day in 1979, his personal history left largely unrecorded.

With his death the Territory lost one of its most interesting and colourful characters and one who made an important contribution to its development. In addition to his political roles, Brennan also played a prominent part in the Northern Territory tourist industry, serving as Chairman of the Northern Territory Tourist Board for some years and as a member of the Australian National Travel Association. He was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) for distinguished public service to the people of the Territory.

His funeral at Saint Mary's Catholic Cathedral in Darwin was a large one. The pith helmet he habitually wore was placed on his coffin as a symbol of his very individualistic part in Territory life. Tiger Brennan Drive in Darwin and a Northern Territory Legislative Assembly electorate are named after him.

A Heatley, *A City Grows*, 1986; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Northern Territory Newsletter*, 1979; *Territorian*, vol 3, No 2, 1967; anonymous research notes, 'Tiger Brennan His Story', 5 September 1977.

BARBARA JAMES, *Vol 2*.

BRIDGE, ALAN BRUCE KEITH IAN (1908–1966), barrister, naval officer and Judge was born at Mosman, New South Wales, on 8 August 1908. The youngest of five children, his parents, John and Annie Bridge ran a wool-broking business in Sydney.

Bridge was educated at St Ignatius College, Riverview. After matriculating in 1926, he worked as a jackeroo in 1927 and after 1928 he was in business in Sydney until 1932 when he travelled to Europe. In 1933 he returned to Australia and began his legal studies at the University of Sydney, graduating Bachelor of Laws with Honours in 1937. In 1934 he won the Pitt Corbett Prize for Constitutional Law. After completing his articles of clerkship he was admitted to the New South Wales bar in 1939, and also qualified as an accountant in the same year.

In 1939 Bridge joined the Royal Australian Navy and served in naval intelligence, seeing active service in Timor in 1942. After the Japanese capture of the island in February 1942, he and a group of 29 Royal Australian Air Force personnel and an army signaller, having been left behind following the allied evacuation, escaped to the mountains near Kupang and maintained intelligence communications with Darwin until the survivors were rescued by submarine, the USS *Searaven*, in April 1942. In 1945 he was discharged from the Navy and returned to the Sydney bar where he built up a diverse practice principally in commercial, equity and town planning matters. His practice included frequent appearances in the Supreme Court of New South Wales, and after taking silk in 1955, occasionally in the High Court of Australia. For many years he also lectured at the University of Sydney, where he was Senior Lecturer in Commercial Law and Challis Lecturer in Procedure. Between 1960–61 he served as President of the Australian Institute of Company Directors, and he was active in the Returned Services League and in Legacy.

As a young naval officer he was described as 'a slightly built man of dark complexion and somewhat reserved nature which tended to conceal an astuteness of mind and his solid training in the legal profession'. In later years, he was to become almost bald. He was clean-shaven, had a handsome round face with a kind smile and prominent, but well shaped, teeth. Throughout his life he was a strong supporter of the Catholic Church, and of the Jesuits. He was a keen follower of sport, with particular interest in cricket, rugby, tennis and golf, and was an active and enthusiastic golfer, and fisherman. He also enjoyed camping and family life. He was a keen observer of human

nature. With a highly tuned sense of humour, he could see an amusing side to most things, including gently ridiculing those he thought pompous. He liked people who were individualistic, particularly Italians, and after coming to the Territory, the ‘average’ Northern Territorian.

In 1940 Bridge married Eleanor Dalton with whom he had two children: Heather (born 1941) and Ian James (1944–1994). Eleanor died shortly after Ian’s birth. Ian became a solicitor in Sydney and was employed with the World Bank in Washington DC at the time of his death. On 25 August 1945 Bridge married Margaret Farrell and there were two children of this marriage: Alan Campbell Andrew (born 1951) and Margaret (deceased). Campbell became a barrister at the New South Wales Bar.

Following the death of **Justice Kriewaldt** in 1960, the Commonwealth repealed the Supreme Court Ordinance 1911 that had established the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, and in 1961 reconstituted the Court under a Commonwealth Act. One of the consequences of the new Act was that in addition to there being a resident judge, judges of Federal Courts could be given commissions as ‘additional judges’ of the Court. Between 1961 and 1979 (when the Northern Territory government reconstituted the Court yet again under a Territory Act) some 12 Federal Judges were thus commissioned. The purpose of this provision was to provide a simple and effective means of providing for suitably qualified persons to act as judges of the Court when the resident judge was absent or his office fell vacant. Bridge was the first resident judge under the new scheme, his appointment being announced in September 1961.

Bridge was active in the local community and became a life member of the Northern Territory Trailer Boat Club and Patron of the Northern Territory Basketball Association. When the Bridge family moved into the Judge’s residence at Myilly Point, the Commonwealth built another house on the land to house two Bathurst Islanders, one of whom worked as a gardener, the other as a cleaner, for the Judge. Bridge, in a non-patronising way, encouraged the islanders to look after their earnings responsibly to the extent that they achieved some fame in the commercial community by buying shares in some of Australia’s better public companies.

Bridge was an extremely capable judge, whose judgments, although not often referred to now, were lucid, careful and concise. Appeals at the time lay to the High Court. Of the nine reported appeals from his judgments, only one achieved any measure of success. Hard working and conscientious, he was well regarded throughout the legal profession not only as a capable lawyer and judge, but also as a pleasant likeable man.

On 21 July 1964, Bridge was also granted a temporary commission until December 1964 as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Australian Capital Territory, the first Northern Territory judge to be commissioned in another jurisdiction. A further temporary commission was granted in 1965.

Bridge was the last resident judge to occupy the old Sydney Williams hut in Mitchell Street that had served as the Supreme Court building since 1948. The original Court House built in the 19th century on the Esplanade had been occupied by the Navy during the Second World War, and remained as Naval Headquarters until that building was demolished by Cyclone Tracy in December 1974. Plans to build a new Court House had been considered by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works as early as 1955 when it was recognized that there was an urgent need for a new Court building in Darwin to house both the Supreme Court and the lower courts. A new Court House on the corner of Herbert and Mitchell Street was ultimately officially opened in June 1965. Bridge had little time to enjoy his new surroundings. On 28 July 1966 he died suddenly, whilst at his Sydney home, at the age of 57.

(1961) 35 *Australian Law Journal* 226; (1966) 40 *Australian Law Journal* 108; ACA Bridge, information to author; Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, 1954–1955, vol 2, 577; (1960–1964) 5 *Federal Law Review*, iv; J Flynn, interview with author; C Humphris, *Trapped on Timor*, 1990; *Northern Territory News* 29 July 1960, 3 February 1965, 23 February 1965, 4 June 1965, 17 June 1965.

DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

BRIDGLAND, RAYMOND REECE (1889–1980), Northern Territory policeman, was born on 25 August 1889 at Robe, South Australia, the son of Thomas Bridgland and his wife Mary Ann, *nee* Brown. His father was a publican at Robe. After leaving school Bridgland worked for Colton Palmer and Preston, then in January 1911 joined the South Australian Police and served at Adelaide, Loxton, Mount Gambier and Yunta. In July 1915, aged 26, he joined the Northern Territory Mounted Police as Constable, arriving in Darwin a month later. In November 1915 he was posted to the new police station at Daly River and stayed there until September 1917. He tried to join the armed services but his superiors refused to give their permission. He learned early in his career that policemen stationed at remote places often had to carry out unusual duties; when **Administrator Gilruth** was coming to inspect the demonstration farm at Daly River, Bridgland had to repair all the creek crossings along an eighty-six-kilometre stretch of road.

He was posted to Maranboy tin field until about May 1918, then to Emungalen, Darwin, Pine Creek, Darwin, Borroloola and the Roper River in 1920. At Roper River he was kept busy dealing with cattle-killings and several murders. He said of these postings, many of which were to relieve staff taking leave: ‘I had the disadvantage of being a single man so they pushed you anywhere...’ At the end of 1920 he went south for his first leave since joining the Northern Territory Police and was away six months. On his return, he spent the next two years at Roper River and Katherine.

In 1924 Bridgland was called in from Roper River to join a search party to look for two women who were rumoured to have survived the wreck of the *Douglas Mawson* in the Gulf of Carpentaria and to be wandering in Arnhem Land with Aborigines. The party searched without success but the rumours persisted and Bridgland, Constable McNamara and several Aboriginal trackers were sent out on another search. While they were camped at Caledon Bay, one of the Aboriginal trackers ran away and reported incorrectly that Bridgland had been killed.

The search party, including Bridgland, was picked up after about twenty-six weeks by the survey ship *Geranium*, having found no trace of the women. Rumours and stories about the missing women persisted for many years.

After relieving at Borroloola for five weeks, Bridgland's next postings were at Rankine River from 1925 to 1926, Borroloola in 1927, Anthony's Lagoon and Borroloola again in 1930. In November 1928 he was promoted to the rank of Sergeant at a salary of 432 Pounds per annum and from this time was occasionally called to Darwin to relieve the superintendent. While at Rankine River, one of his longest journeys involved taking a Chinese man and some witnesses from Sudan Station 100 kilometres into Darwin, travelling by horse to Katherine, then by train into Darwin and returning to his station.

'Bridgie' was a superb bushman and first-class horseman and these were useful skills when patrols of over 800 kilometres in isolated outback areas were quite common. He had a phenomenal memory for horses and their individual characteristics and his fellow policemen described him as a shrewd tracker and a great judge of men. He was not only a gifted bush policeman but also a good administrator. As well as the usual policing duties, his work at remote police stations often included being stock inspector, gaoler, Protector of Aborigines, statistician, rainfall recorder and postmaster.

On 17 December 1930 he married widow Mrs Mabel Coralie Hawke, *nee* Brown, daughter of **E V V Brown** at Adelaide Registry Office. While they were travelling back to Darwin in the *Malabar*, the ship was wrecked near Sydney and they lost all their possessions. After a short time in Darwin, Bridgland was posted to Borroloola police station again from 1932 to 1934, and while there went out to the Queensland border and Tanumbirini Station, taking the census. After a holiday in Adelaide in 1934, he was stationed in Darwin until May 1935, then at Anthony's Lagoon from 1935 to 1936, Darwin from 1936 to 1938 and Tennant Creek from 1938 to 1939. In December 1937 he was appointed to the new position of Sergeant First Class.

In January 1940 he went to Alice Springs to relieve as officer in charge for a few months, then returned to Darwin, where one of his duties was registration of aliens. His wife and son left Darwin after the bombing of Pearl Harbour but he stayed on and was in charge of Darwin police station when it was bombed on 19 February 1942. Soon after the bombing, he was ordered by Superintendent Stretton to travel south to Alice Springs, where he remained for the rest of the war. In October 1947 he was appointed Acting Inspector and in 1949 was promoted to the rank of Inspector, as officer-in-charge of southern division, at Alice Springs, holding this post until he retired from the Northern Territory Police that year. He had served 38 years as a policeman, 34 of them in the Northern Territory.

After leaving the Territory, Bridgland and his wife lived at Millswood in Adelaide and he worked for the Housing Trust, Harris Scarfe and Chrysler until about 1956, when he finally retired. His wife died in 1958 and he died on 11 July 1980 at Linden Park, aged 90. A son, stepson and stepdaughter survived him. Bridgland Circuit at Palmerston and the Ray Bridgland Housing Commission Flats in Alice Springs commemorated his name in the Northern Territory.

F D Deans, 'Bridgie', *Citation*, December 1964; S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; *Northern Territory News*, 25 August 1977; J Rich, *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*, 1986; AA, NT, NTRS 226/TS 164 & F 596.

JENNY RICH, *Vol 1*.

BROWN, ALFRED JOSEPH VOULES (1868–1955), customs officer, trepanger and trader, was born on 24 October 1868 at St Mary's, South Australia, third child of **Victor Voules Brown** and his first wife Julia, *nee* Solomon. His father was a farmer and publican, and later agent and auctioneer in Palmerston, Northern Territory. He grew up at St Mary's, Brighton and Palmerston and attended Pulteney Grammar School, Whinham College and Thomas Caterer's College in Adelaide. In 1885 he returned to Palmerston and helped his father at his auctioneer and agency business. In September 1885 he went with his father and uncle **John A V Brown** to Cambridge Gulf, Western Australia, where they landed goods for the **Duracks**, then to Derby, where he joined the Kimberley gold rush.

Brown spent the next 13 years in the north west of Western Australia and in Palmerston. He worked for Harry Hunter and Sid Hadley at Swan Point Station, King Sound, in 1887, then from 1888 to 1891 was a shipping clerk and storeman for his father at Palmerston and held a number of Northern Territory mineral licences. From 1891 to 1899 he lived mainly in the north west of Western Australia and had some difficult times, but few details are known of his activities. He spent some time with pearler William Hewett James, who was notorious for his cruel treatment of Aborigines. Brown is said to have twice fought James because he objected to James' cruelty. He also worked in a butchering business and in hotels at Marble Bar and Bamboo Creek. In October 1899 he returned to Palmerston and his father purchased for him **E O Robinson**'s trepanging business at Bowen Strait on the Cobourg Peninsula.

Brown was appointed Acting Landing Waiter for His Majesty's Customs at Bowen Strait and from 1899 to 1906 collected duties from the visiting Macassan trepangers, issued licences and helped to keep law and order in the area, using his schooner *Essington*. He also gathered trepang and traded on his own account, assisted by Tingha, a Macassan trepanger, and local Aborigines mainly of the Iwaidja tribe. Tim Finnigen (Mamitpa) worked for him for many years. The Aborigines and Macassans referred to him as 'the Commandant' or 'the Commander'. Ernestine Hill quotes him as saying of the Macassans: 'Respectful salaams on all sides when I came on the scene. My little bit of braid and a revolver kept [the Macassans] all in order... Except for a few villains, they were good trustworthy men. They came ashore to my camp or aboard my lugger for their papers, dressed in red turbans interlaced with silver, sleeveless white jacket, gold buttons, a necklace of red agates, gold rings in their ears, short blue pants and bare feet. It was a solemn official pow-wow, me in an old Navy coat and white trousers, topped up with Her Majesty's cap.'

Brown gave evidence to the 1901 **Dashwood** inquiry into the pearling and trepanging industry and in 1903 was appointed Assistant Health Officer, Bowen Strait. He sailed fairly frequently to Palmerston with loads of trepang, buffalo hides, timber, pearl shell, tortoise shell, emu and turtle eggs and sometimes oysters, which were collected by local Aborigines and some of the few white men living on the Cobourg Peninsula, including **R J 'Joe' Cooper** and Jim Campbell (Ernest Clair Muir). In the early 1900s he had several pastoral leases, including land on the Cobourg Peninsula, Croker Island and near Tor Rock, north east of the East Alligator River.

In July 1906 the South Australian government decided to terminate the Macassan trepang industry and Brown's post as customs officer ended. He continued to gather trepang and to trade in the area, using camps at Bowen Strait, Port Essington and Blue Mud Bay near Cape Don. About 1909 he married Mumulaj, an Iwaidja Aborigine, at Port Essington according to the customs of the Iwaidja people and she remained his partner until she died.

His business ventures included breeding goats, selling wild pigs from Croker Island, and selling timber. He inherited his grandfather W V Brown's Thatched House Tavern at Brighton, South Australia, but in 1920 gave up his interest in it in controversial circumstances. As well as his regular trips to Darwin to sell produce and collect stores, he travelled to Adelaide every few years to see his family and friends. His half-brother Jack Roy Brown worked with him in the early 1900s and in 1928 George Sunter was his partner for a short time. In later life he suffered badly from cataracts and had operations at Sydney Eye Hospital, then returned to the Cobourg Peninsula.

Brown was near Cape Don when the Japanese bombed Darwin in February 1942. He and some of his family travelled in a dugout canoe to Cape Don, then were taken to Darwin by ship and evacuated south to Alice Springs. Later in 1942 he left his family in Alice Springs and went to Adelaide, where he lived until his death. He died on 21 July 1955 at Eventide Home, Linden Park and was buried in the Brown family section of St Jude's Cemetery, Brighton. His known children were two daughters, who survived him.

Brown was of medium height, slim, compactly built, always very trim and neat and was nearly blind when he died. He had a kind and paternalistic attitude to Aborigines and was respected by them. He believed white men should keep up their own way of life and standards but was not in favour of the activities of many of the missionaries who came to Arnhem Land. Like many of his fellow white trepangers, he led an unconventional and interesting life, often hundreds of kilometres away from his nearest white neighbour. Many stories have been told and published about him, some of which are exaggerated or untrue. There are photographs of him in the W V Brown family papers and in J Rich's *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*.

W E Hamey, *Brimming Billabongs*, 1947; E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; J Rich, *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*, 1986; G Sunter, *Adventures of a Trepang Fisher*, 1937; 'Out among the people', *Adelaide Advertiser*, 15 October 1942; C J Dashwood, Report on the pearl shelling industry in Port Darwin and the Northern Territory, (CPP 1901NN1902); Research material held by author.

JENNY RICH, *Vol 1*.

BROWN, CAROLINE: see **CLELAND, CAROLINE**

BROWN, EMANUEL (MAN) VICTOR VOULES (1866–1950), station master, agent and auctioneer, was born on 2 September 1866 at St Mary's, South Australia, second child of **Victor Voules Brown** and his first wife Julia, *nee* Solomon. His father was a farmer and publican, and later agent and auctioneer in Palmerston, Northern Territory. He grew up at St Mary's and Brighton and went briefly to Pulteney Grammar School in Adelaide, then in 1879 went to Palmerston with his family. After his mother died in 1881 he and his brothers and sisters were sent to Adelaide to be educated. He attended Thomas Caterer's Norwood Commercial College, then in 1885 returned to the Territory and went to Burrundie, where he became storekeeper, postmaster and licensee of the Pioneer Hotel. In 1889 he became a porter with the Palmerston and Pine Creek Railway and received various promotions until he was appointed Palmerston stationmaster in 1896, holding this post until April 1910.

When Brown's father died in 1910, he took over his father's auctioneer and agency business in Smith Street, usually referred to as 'Brown's Mart', and was appointed agent for Eastern and Australian Steam Ship Company and Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Ltd. He was also appointed Clerk of Palmerston District Council in his father's place. In 1912 he resigned as Clerk and was elected councillor, holding this position until 1915, then again in the 1920s, finally leaving the Council in June 1930. He lived in Brisbane for a few years about 1920, but by 1925 had returned to Darwin, where he lived until 1940. He advertised in 1925 as shipping, mining, land and general commission agent, prepared to undertake stock and station business, reports on mines, land agency, indents and forwarding, rent collection and the buying and selling of mining shares on commission. He later became agent for Willys Cars. In 1940 he bought a house at Glenelg, South Australia, for his retirement. He was in Adelaide when Darwin was bombed in 1942 and never returned to the Territory. The Commonwealth government in 1946 compulsorily acquired Brown's Mart and he received 7 000 Pounds in compensation.

Brown was very optimistic about the future of the Territory, particularly its mineral and pastoral possibilities. He said in 1913: 'Give us people and we will be the greatest centre in Australia. We will be the front door.' He believed mining would be the Territory's salvation, but saw scarcity of labour, capital and reasonable means of transport as the main problems. Some of the mining ventures with which he was involved were Foot Gold Mining Company No Liability, Coronet Hill Syndicate (silver and lead mines), Northern Territory Mining and Smelting Company Ltd and New Zapopan Gold Mining Company. He inherited a share in some land at Rum Jungle on which uranium was found in 1949 and which the Commonwealth compulsorily acquired, but he died before the Commonwealth agreed on compensation to the owners. Another of his main interests was speculating in land and there are 41 sections of land listed in his name at the Northern Territory Land Titles Office, including a

large property at Lake Dean, which his son Alf managed for a while. He was well known in the Territory for his 'wheeling and dealing' and one journalist commented in about 1938: 'Anyone who wants to best Man Brown in any business deal had better get up the week before...'

Brown was active in many local community organisations, including the Parochial Council of the Church of England, the North Australia League and the Northern Territory Progress Association. He spoke out on a number of occasions in favour of building the railway link with the south. He was also concerned about the quality of education at the public school and helped to organise receptions for South Australian officials visiting the Territory.

Brown had a long connection with the Northern Territory Racing Club: he was first elected to the committee in 1888, became a life member in 1905, secretary in 1908, president in 1910 and had his own racehorses. Other sporting clubs with which he was involved included cycling, cricket, athletics and rifle shooting. He had a large collection of clocks, most of which were lost in the looting after Darwin was bombed in 1942.

Brown received private income all his life from the estate of his grandfather Emanuel Solomon. He married Margaret, *nee* Landles, on 30 December 1888 at Palmerston but they eventually lived apart and he had a long association with Darwin dressmaker Mrs Emma Foster. He suffered from high blood pressure and died on 30 July 1950 at Glenelg, South Australia, and was cremated at Centennial Park. He was tall, well built, always well dressed and well groomed. He followed in his father's footsteps in business, local government, mining and community activities, without ever achieving the degree of popularity and respect his parent enjoyed. His generosity did not extend to all his family and business associates. His wife pre-deceased him and two daughters and one son survived him. His name is commemorated in Brown's Mart, Darwin. There are several photographs of him in the W V Brown family papers and in J Rich's book *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*.

J Rich, *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*, 1986, *Adelaide Advertiser*, 10 December 1913; 'Wealth galore, the wonderful north', *Northern Territory Times*, 6 November 1913; W V Brown family papers; Research material held by author.

JENNY RICH, Vol 1.

BROWN, JOE (c1855–1928), was one of the best-known bush men in Central Australia in the early decades of the twentieth century, yet little is known of his background. He was born near Port Augusta in South Australia, and his brother Charlie owned Mt Willoughby Station, west of Oodnadatta, in the 1920s. Brown may have been a partner with his brother.

There is every indication that he had a limited formal education and life-long bush education. He was a tall man, of sturdy build, with wonderful eyesight. There has been confusion surrounding him since his death because another man, J Brown (possibly also Joe Brown), perished near Tanami in 1909, and Aboriginal lore has at times confused him with a famous Western Australian bushman, Sam Hazlett.

Joe Brown was knowledgeable about minerals and exceptional in his handling of horses and camels. He often drove his animals together, although most people thought that they travelled better when separated. Although he was capable of very hard work, he enjoyed the challenge of stealing horses—one that he couldn't resist and it assumed addictive proportions. He preferred horse stealing to cattle duffing because horses could be moved quickly over long distances.

The first record of him is almost certainly of the J Brown who donated money to **Constable Willshire** for his bail money in 1891. He knocked around the most remote parts of inland outback Australia for decades. In the mid-1890s he travelled the Musgrave to Petermann ranges country through to Kalgoorlie to try his luck on the Western Australian goldfields. It was probably during this time that he was invited by the Pitjantjatjara to the second degree of manhood; he was one of three white men in Central Australia to have been 'through the law' by the 1920s period.

The early 1900s found him lifting horses from the Wave Hill country, then in 1915–16 he and two mates took a mob of stolen horses from the Musgrave Ranges through to Kalgoorlie. Walter Smith, one of his mates on the trip, recalled Brown feeding crows salt meat, then following them to water. He also recalled the relish with which Brown dined on dingo pups and any other bush tucker available. His ability to travel at night was uncanny. A glimpse of the stars, particularly the Southern Cross, was more than enough for Brown. Yet on the couple of occasions he attempted to use a compass he became hopelessly lost. He resorted to his bushman's skills to relocate himself.

Brown worked for a very brief time at Kalgoorlie, but subsequently returned to prospecting and horse stealing. By the early 1920s he was stealing horses from the Wave Hill country and other stations in the Western Australian border region and bringing them across the Tanami Desert. Most white people avoided this region, for it was sand-plain and spinifex desert, where many prospectors had perished or been speared. However, Brown followed the Aboriginal pads, noted Aboriginal smokes and the flights of birds and, if it became necessary, fed salt-meat to the crows and took note of the direction in which they flew. In 1921 he discovered Lake Surprise but, with the bush telegraph letting police know that horse stealing was almost epidemic wherever Brown travelled, he drifted away like smoke down to spell with his brother at Wintinna. The police were able to track, but not catch, him. He had travelled back and forth so often that bushmen talked of the 'J B Pad' as a means of crossing the desert.

For a brief time he joined a geological party in the Musgrave Ranges. He was able to check on a mob of stolen horses being cared for by an old Aboriginal. In 1924, with **Walter Smith** and an Aboriginal called Locky as mates, he went dogging out in the Musgrave and Mann ranges. It was a successful trip, and some two hundred dingo scalps were collected before they travelled through the Mount Margaret Range near Peake in northern South Australia. After a little more dogging and prospecting they went to Oodnadatta to collect government scalp money.

By the mid-1920s Brown had become a legend, not so much for his horse stealing, something of a game for him, but for his bushmanship. He knew the deserts west of the Overland Telegraph Line, to the Canning Stock Route in

Western Australia and beyond, as possibly no other white man did. As a result of his travels the Aborigines knew him too, and although he had little to do with them, they had a general respect for him. On the fringe of the cattle country, with Aboriginal cattle-spearers at work, Brown was more appreciative than the station owners; on one occasion he acted the role of one of the cows while the boys practised with their toy spears.

In January 1926 Brown was at Tanami, far to the northwest of Alice Springs, with 19-year-old Ben Nicker as his offsider. They had travelled all day before making camp. After a couple of hours sleep Brown awoke Ben with the intention of getting an early start. Ben demurred so Brown, without any ill feeling, gave Ben a bit of tucker and they parted company. Anyone travelling with Brown had to be ready to start at Joe Brown daylight', so only a handful of people ever travelled with him more than once. In Ben Nicker's case it was fortunate that he was already a superb bushman, for he managed the return journey where others would have perished.

By the mid-1920s age was catching up with Brown. He had a deformed hand for many years, the result of an accident when loading packsaddles, and on cold mornings had a hard time with arthritis. However, he still seemed to be indestructible.

From 1926–1928, he lived some 450 kilometres north-west of Alice Springs, searching for Jimmy Wickham's lost gold reef; Wickham, an old stockman, cattle-duffer and prospector, claimed to have made a rich find in the 1924–25 period. By 1928 he had handed Brown all his notes in the hope that his old bush mate could relocate it. Alex Wilson accompanied Brown and the two men thought that they were very close to the site. Brown became ill and Alex cared for him for a while, and then rode for help. He arrived back in time to hear Brown's last words. He helped him from his camel as he died, then he buried him near Mount Hardy.

Thus did Joe Brown, 'the greatest bushman of this century in the North', die. He was a rogue in hard country, who gave the police a hard time, yet he was respected in the bush. A contemporary wrote, 'No man is more highly spoken of for his bushmanship than Joe Brown.'

G Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 1933; L C E Gee, *General Report on Tanami Gold field and District*, 1911; R G Kimber, *Man from Arltunga*, 1986; M Terry, *Hidden Wealth and Hiding People*, nd; M Terry, *Sand and Sun*, 1937; M Terry, *War of the Warramullas*, 1974; K Willey, *Boss Drover*, 1971; W H Willshire, *The Land of the Dawning*, 1896; R G Kimber, Unpublished Journals.

R G KIMBER, Vol 1.

BROWN, JOHN ALEXANDER VOULES (1852–1945), miner, carter, town clerk, district clerk, publican, merchant and Member of Parliament, was born on 8 January 1852 at Brighton, South Australia, tenth child of William Voules Brown and his wife Harriet, *nee* Perkins. His father was a publican, farmer and cemetery manager at Brighton. His parents arrived in South Australia in the *Coromandel* in 1836. He grew up at Brighton, attended Mr Jemson's local school and was brought up as a low church Anglican. When aged about 10 he ran away from home after an argument with his father. After reconciliation, his father apprenticed him to a watchmaker, but Brown did not like this and went to work on his brothers' farms at Green's Plains and St Mary's.

In 1873 he went to the Northern Territory to try his luck at the goldfields. He worked as a miner, then carted machinery, stores and men to the mines at the Shackle, Pine Creek and Union. He also helped to build bridges. About 1876 he returned to Brighton, carted stone and worked on his father's farm. He married Eleanor, *nee* Johnson, on 23 May 1878 at St Peter's, Glenelg. In 1879 he was appointed Town Clerk of Brighton and held this post until October 1882, when he returned to Palmerston to supervise the building of Fannie Bay Gaol, of which his brother **Victor** was the contractor.

In May 1883 he was appointed District Clerk of Palmerston and held this post until September 1885. He was licensee of the Exchange Hotel 1883–84 and in November 1883 joined the newly formed Northern Territory Reform Association. In September 1885 he went to Derby to establish a branch store for **Adcock** Brothers, merchants, commission and shipping agents, to serve the miners going to the Kimberley goldfields. On the way to Derby, he and his brother Victor delivered stores for the **Duracks** at Cambridge Gulf. William E Adcock treated Brown unfairly so he resigned from Adcock Brothers and returned to Brighton.

In September 1887 he left his family at Brighton, returned to Palmerston and became a partner with his brother Victor and Herbert Adcock in Port Darwin Mercantile and Agency Company, importers, custom house, shipping and general commission agents, using the building now known as 'Brown's Mart'. He was appointed a member of the Local Board of Health and became licensee of the Exchange Hotel again. In December 1887 he led the search party that found his brother Victor and T H Harwood, who were lost for seven days near Bynoe Harbour. He was Palmerston district clerk from 1888 to 1894 and held a number of mineral leases (in the Hundred of Milne, Daly River area, east of Pine Creek, near the Mary River and near the Cosmopolitan Mine). He was a committee member and starter of the Northern Territory Racing Club 1883–94, also an office bearer of the Palmerston Cricket and Athletics Clubs. In 1894 he ended his partnership in Port Darwin Mercantile and Agency Company, resigned as District Clerk and left the Territory.

After spending a few months with his family in Adelaide, he went to the East Murchison goldfields in Western Australia, first at Cue, then at Lawlers where he ran a general store and built the Lawlers Hotel. About 1898 he sold out at Lawlers and went to Wiluna, where he built the Golden Age Hotel and some other buildings, was agent for Cobb and Co and was also involved in some mining ventures. In 1904 he retired to his 16-hectare orchard property at Brighton, South Australia, and was manager of St Jude's Cemetery, Brighton, until 1923.

In 1910 he stood successfully as Independent Liberal candidate for one of the two seats in the South Australian Parliament representing the Northern Territory. He was in favour of the transfer of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth and was strongly in favour of building the railway line from Oodnadatta to Pine Creek. He wanted the building of the railway made a condition of the transfer of administration to the Commonwealth and said that

if the Commonwealth did not take over administration of the Territory, then South Australia should build the railway line itself. He wanted mining legislation improved and miners to be given more encouragement, records relating to Territory administration (particularly mining and land records) to be kept in Darwin, fewer cattle kings, more moderately well to do settlers and smaller pastoral leases. He also wanted legislation dealing with Aborigines and part-Aborigines, government resources put into finding permanent water supplies and better communication by telegraph and telephone with outside places. The Commonwealth Government took over administration of the Northern Territory in January 1911 and Brown thereby ceased to be a Member of the South Australian Parliament.

He became a Justice of the Peace in 1910 and was appointed to the Council of the South Australian School of Mines in 1914, holding this position until 1941, when he was elected Honorary Correspondent, the highest honour the Council had power to bestow. He served on the magistrate's bench at Brighton and was well known for his strict but fair treatment and good advice to offenders. He was a proud member of the Pioneers Association of South Australia and gave the address at several Commemoration Day meetings in the late 1930s. He was strict but kind, softly spoken, well respected and popular, a man of integrity and principle who was fair and honest in all his dealings. He died on 14 March 1945 at Brighton and was buried in the Brown family section of St Jude's Cemetery. His wife pre-deceased him and two sons and three daughters survived him. His daughter Dorothy founded the John Alexander Voules Brown prize at the South Australian School of Mines (now South Australian Institute of Technology) in his memory. There are photographs of him in the W V Brown family papers and in J Rich's *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*.

J Rich, *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*, 1986; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 17 March 1945; W V Brown family papers; H J Burgess, ed, *Cyclopedia of South Australia*, 1909, vol 2; *Northern Territory Times*, 5 October 1894, 18 March 1910, 'Election meeting', 25 November 1910; SA PD 1910, Research material held by author.

JENNY RICH, Vol 1.

BROWN, MAY, 'The Wolfram Queen' (1875–1939), Northern Territory miner, publican and pioneer was born on 24 May 1875 in Sydney, the sixth of seven children, to Charles James and Mary, *nee* Chiodette, Weedon.

May's first visit to the Territory appears to have been in June 1890 when she arrived on *Chingtu* to join her sister Florence, who had married a Territory saddler and publican, Sydney Budgen in 1885 and moved with him to the Top End where they ran hotels for many years. Two of their brothers, Sydney and Percy Weedon, had also come to the Territory to work and remained in the Darwin and Pine Creek areas until after the First World War. May's arrival in Darwin coincided with the building of the Victoria Hotel that, thirty years later, she would lease and manage as perhaps the most colourful of all the hotel's long string of publicans.

May made several visits to the Territory during the next decade but in 1901, when she was 26, she married a former Australian amateur boxing champion, George Scale and settled in Sydney. At the time of their marriage George was the owner of the Sydney Gymnastics Club in Castlereagh Street and one of Sydney's most popular sporting personalities.

In 1902 they had a son, George Scale Jr, May's only child, who later married a Territory girl, Mary Fisher. When George Sr died in 1906, his sporting colleagues held a benefit to raise money for May and young George.

A little more than six months after George's death, in October 1906, May married a Territory wolfram miner, James Burns and returned with him to Pine Creek, the nearest town to his Wolfram Creek and Crest of the Wave mines. When James bought out his other partners, May joined him, along with Chinese tributors, in working the mines.

In February 1909, malaria broke out on the nearby Umbrawarra mining field to which hundreds had flocked when new finds of tin were discovered. May nursed the sick miners, until she herself eventually succumbed to the fever and had to be taken to Pine Creek for treatment. The reputation she gained at this time for compassion and kindness remained with her throughout her life and served to balance some of the more aggressive and at times arrogant aspects of her personality.

In November 1912 James died, and the Wolfram Creek Mine ceased production for a while until the estate was administered. It was eventually transferred to May and her third husband, Charles Albert (Bert) Brown, a pastoralist from Campbell Springs whom she had married in the Methodist parsonage in Darwin in June 1913.

In the following year the *Northern Territory Times* paid tribute to May, who personally ran and managed the mines: 'Many and varied have been the owners of the Crest of the Wave... However, there is one of the partners who has shown unbounded faith in the mine since first becoming interested in it and that one is Mrs Brown of Wolfram fame. Mrs Brown owns, also, that well known wolfram mine at Wolfram Camp... [she] is to be congratulated on being the proud possessor of two such brilliant properties.'

Although May helped work the mines herself, she relied heavily on her Chinese tributors, led for most of the time by the enterprising Mee Wah, whose association with May apparently went back many years. The price of wolfram skyrocketed during the First World War and in 1918 May refused 14 000 Pounds for her Crest of the Wave mine.

May also joined the newly formed but very active Red Cross movement, led in the Territory by the Administrator's wife, Jeanne Gilruth, and helped raise hundreds of pounds through subscriptions and raffles in the Pine Creek area.

When the Armistice was signed, the market for wolfram plummeted and by 1919 mining from Wolfram Hill had virtually ceased, although the Crest of the Wave mine continued to give profitable yields of ore through much of the 1920s. However, it became clear that May needed to diversify her financial activities.

May turned to the hotel trade and was the first to win the lease for Darwin's Victoria Hotel in 1921 after the end of the Gilruth initiated state control of Top End hotels. She soon gained a reputation for using pugilistic skills taught her by her first husband to rid herself of unruly or unwanted hotel patrons.

May's own lifestyle at the time was lavish, her nature generous. Vanda Marshall said in her book *We Helped to Blaze the Track*: 'She spent her money recklessly and gave it away liberally. As a weekend special she sometimes tossed a handful of sovereigns in the air, and scattered bank notes on the wind. Let catch as catch can, as men scuffed and scrambled in the dirt for the gold, and chased bank notes down the windy street.'

When May wasn't giving money away, she was quite frequently gambling it away, be it at the Melbourne Cup or Monte Carlo or at the local Darwin and Pine Creek races.

May's taste in fashion at this time matched her financial extravagance and featured such flamboyant costumes as ostrich feather boas, handmade lace gowns and diamond studded shoes as well as an elaborate jewellery collection. Even her Darwin home, purchased and lavishly fitted out in 1920, was appropriately referred to as 'The Mansion'.

May was also a persistent political lobbyist. Her strongly worded telegrams and letters, often signed 'Mrs Wolfram Brown', were reputed to have influenced political and bureaucratic decision-making more than once.

After her third husband died from malaria while droving cattle on the Birdsville Track in 1926, May bought the Pine Creek hotel and managed it from 1928 to 1930. From 1930 to 1932 she operated a cafe/boarding house in Darwin. By then May had also succumbed to regular drinking bouts and would periodically retreat to the privacy of her home for a 'binge'.

The year 1932 was one of personal tragedy for May. Her mother, her brother Percy, who had returned to Sydney after the First World War, and her adopted son, James Scale, all died during the course of the year. Despite these losses, May continued to show the adventuresome spirit for which she had become renowned and late in 1932 took a party of five to the latest gold rush on the Tanami. She returned with strong warnings about the false stories being spread in the press regarding the potential of the field.

By 1934 May's lifestyle and circumstances began to take their toll and in February she was forced to forfeit both her Wolfram Hill and Crest of the Wave mines, for 'non-payment of rent'.

Although she still continued to take a prominent role in the community, and spoke out whenever she felt injustice had been done, her health began to fail and sometime during the next three years she went to Sydney to seek medical help. There she died, on 23 July 1939, a virtual pauper. She is buried in Rookwood cemetery with her first husband, George Scale.

Whatever force motivated and drove her in life, there can be little doubt that May Brown, the Wolfram Queen, made a significant impact on the financial, social and political life of the Territory.

V Marshall, *We Helped to Blaze the Track*, nd; *Northern Territory Times*, 30 July, 19 November 1909, April 1914; NT land titles and mineral leases (various).

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 1.

BROWN, RONALD AGNEW (RON) (1916–1994), farmer, policeman and Air Force serviceman, was born at Murwillumbah, New South Wales, on 10 May 1916, the youngest of four children of a north coast dairy farming family. Educated at Murwillumbah high school and The Armidale School (TAS), his education was put on hold at the age of 15, as his father wanted him to help on the farm during the Depression. However, he continued his education to matriculation standard by correspondence and studied animal husbandry through Sydney Technical College. Fractionally shy of six feet tall (183 centimetres), he was a keen sportsman having taught boxing and wrestling as well as excelling in running and swimming, and he was an efficient horseman.

Uninterested in farming owing to a lack of prospects at the time because of the Depression, Brown responded to a newspaper advertisement recruiting for the Queensland, Northern Territory and Commonwealth Police Forces. Although he was initially successful with the Commonwealth Police Force, he accepted a later offer from the Northern Territory mainly because the latter involved an aeroplane trip from Brisbane to Darwin and he had never flown before.

Sworn in as a Constable in the Northern Territory Police Force in Darwin on 13 October 1939, he found the town to be a rough and ready place although he soon settled into his new role. After a brawl in the Don Hotel—'the old bloodhouse'—when one of his colleagues was almost strangled with the necktie the police were forced to wear at the time, Brown purchased half a dozen ties and converted them to clip-on neckties by means of a press-stud at the back. These ties were often in demand whenever the police were called to quell a brawl. Being new to the then very small community in Darwin, he was sent undercover to gather evidence in an illegal gambling house and once won 20 Pounds while on active duty. Advised by his Inspector to keep the proceeds, Brown felt ill at ease with what he saw as 'filthy' money so he promptly donated it to charity.

In Darwin during the first Japanese air raids in 1942, Brown tried to enlist for active service on four occasions but was precluded from doing so as the police force fell into the category of reserved occupations. However, later that year following a curtailment in the civil administration of the Northern Territory that enabled the police force to function with a reduction in numbers, Brown was released and joined the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF).

Married on Boxing Day 1942 in Melbourne to Mona (following her proposal), a schoolteacher friend of one of his sisters, he resumed his police duties with the relocated Northern Territory Administration in Alice Springs in August 1943. By this stage the Administration was again short of police officers and had secured his discharge

from the armed forces. Consequently, Brown's immediate request for a transfer to the Australian Capital Territory Police Force was denied.

Following the cessation of hostilities in 1945, Brown transferred to the Finke police district southwest of Alice Springs. He reasoned that his farm experience would be invaluable when dealing with camels that were the main method of patrolling the district. His patrol area was approximately 106 000 square miles (almost 275 000 square kilometres—at the time the largest police district in the world) and stretched from the Queensland to the Western Australian borders as well as from Alice Springs to the South Australian border. The more lengthy western patrols often entailed him being away from Finke for more than three months at a time covering the Ayers Rock (Uluru) district. Brown claimed to have been one of the first seven or eight people to climb the Rock.

Ever prepared to resolve a situation himself without recourse to formally charging an offender, on one occasion Brown apprehended some young men who had been killing sheep on Mt Cavenagh Station. Mindful of the cost to the government, and the inconvenience to witnesses of returning to Alice Springs to instigate formal proceedings, Brown obtained a number of dresses from the station owner, had the culprits wear them, and paraded them in full view of their tribe. The humiliation suffered by the offenders ensured that the sheep killing ceased as sure as if the young men had been incarcerated!

By the late 1940s Brown had been suffering from chronic dermatitis for a number of years and frequently required hospitalisation in Alice Springs though the ailment never affected his sense of humour. During one such stint in hospital, a visiting southern senator concerned at the sight of the police constable lying on his front with raw skin covering virtually the whole of his body, inquired as to the nature of his condition. Brown immediately quipped '...it's just this leprosy...it's getting me down' whereupon the politician made a hasty exit.

The skin complaint reached the stage where Brown became too ill to work. In 1952 he was referred to the Commonwealth Medical Officer, who concluded the condition might improve in a more temperate climate but that Brown would never again be fit to work in the Northern Territory. Early in 1953 Brown was retired from the Northern Territory Police Force on medical grounds whereupon he and his family returned to the farm, by this time a sugar cane farm, in northern New South Wales.

Ronald Agnew Brown, who was predeceased by his wife, died at Kingscliff, New South Wales, on 1 October 1994 and is survived by a son, Sydney Daniel, and a daughter, Annabelle McMillan.

Northern Territory Archives Service, CRS F596, P88; Oral History Interview with R A Brown, 20 October 1987 in Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS 469; personal information.

BARRY GARSIDE, Vol 2.

BROWN, VICTOR VOULES (1841–1910), agent, auctioneer and mining entrepreneur, was born on 29 July 1841 at Alberton, South Australia, the fifth of ten children of William Voules Brown and his wife Harriet, *nee* Perkins. His father was a publican, farmer and cemetery manager at Brighton, South Australia. His parents arrived in South Australia in the *Coromandel* in 1836.

Brown grew up on his parents' farm at Baker's Gully, then at Brighton. He was brought up as a low-church Anglican and went to Charles Taplin's school at Brighton, where he received a good basic education. He left home in his early teens and farmed with his brother William, before going in 1859 to the Indigo goldfields in Victoria where he was badly injured in a mining accident. In 1800 he went to the Otago diggings, then in 1861 worked his way to England and back as an ordinary seaman. He then helped his father at Brighton and was licensee of the Thatched House Tavern from 1863 to 1866.

While living at Brighton he met Julia Solomon, daughter of Jewish merchant Emanuel Solomon and Celia, *nee* Smith. They eloped and were secretly married on 24 January 1864 at St Mary's, South Australia. From 1866 to 1868 he farmed at St Mary's, then helped his father with his farm, hotel and cemetery at Brighton.

In late 1876 he left his family in Adelaide and went to Palmerston to be local manager for M J Solomon and Company, auctioneers, mining, estate and general commission agents, taking over the business from **V L Solomon**. In March 1879 he left for a holiday in Adelaide and when he returned to Palmerston with his family later that year, set up his own business as auctioneer, valuator, land and general commission agent in Mitchell Street. Early in 1880 he was appointed local agent for Eastern and Australian Steam Ship Company and held this agency for the rest of his life. E and A won the contract to carry mail between Adelaide (via Melbourne, Sydney, Queensland ports), Port Darwin and Hong Kong—passengers and cargo were also carried.

Brown's business was not a success and during 1880 he became a junior partner of Herbert and William E Adcock, trading as Adcock Brothers, auctioneers, customs and commission agents at Palmerston and Southport. His wife died at Palmerston in 1881 and soon after her death, he sent his children to Adelaide to be educated and cared for by his sisters.

About 1883 he began his long association with Eliza Sarah Tuckwell, daughter of **Edward (Ned) Tuckwell** and **Eliza**, *nee* Hemming, whom he married on 3 March 1901. During 1885 he travelled to Derby to help establish a branch store for Adcock Brothers, then returned to Palmerston. After leaving Adcock Brothers in 1887, he, his brother **John** and **Herbert Adcock** started their own business, Port Darwin Mercantile and Agency Company, auctioneers, customs, shipping and general commission agents, using Solomon's Mart, the store and premises built for V L Solomon in 1885. Part of the building became a mining exchange, where mining samples were exhibited and mining meetings were held. Brown was salesman and auctioneer for the new business and often travelled to country settlements such as Pine Creek and Brock's Creek to carry out auctions. In 1888 he and Adcock received a public apology from the liquidators of Town and Country Bank, who had wrongly included them in the insolvency adjudication of Adcock Brothers. William E Adcock went to gaol as a result of this insolvency.

Brown was involved in many mining ventures in the Territory from the early 1880s, including John Bull Mining, Extended Union Gold Mining, Leviathan Tin Mining Daly River Copper Mining, NT Mining and Smelting, New Zapopan Gold Mining and Rum Jungle Copper Mine. He devoted a lot of time and energy to trying to persuade the government to give more encouragement to mining and led many deputations to the Government Resident on mining matters. His interest in mining nearly caused his death in 1887, when he was lost for seven days while on an exploratory trip—he and his companion survived on one iguana, five dozen periwinkles, five apples and march flies. His least successful mining venture was New Zapopan Gold Mining Company, in which he lost over 5 000 Pounds.

Business was very difficult during the depression of the 1890s and in 1894 his brother John left the Territory to try his luck elsewhere. Brown and Herbert Adcock continued to run Port Darwin Mercantile Agency Company but the company failed and went into voluntary liquidation early in 1895. They received second-class insolvency certificates and were suspended from business for a few months, but Brown soon bounced back. In February 1896 he started up his own business back at the Mart, trading as V V Brown, shipping, mining, land and general commission agent and auctioneer. His agencies included Eastern and Australian Steam Ship Company Ltd and Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation Ltd. The Mart was badly damaged in the 1897 cyclone but was repaired the next year and continued as his place of business until his death.

In 1899 Brown purchased the business of **E O Robinson** at Bowen Strait for his son Alf. Other business ventures included a timber-cutting business in Darwin, buying and selling goatskins and selling cotton produced at Shoal Bay. In addition to his auctioneer and agency business, he won the contract to build several buildings in Palmerston, including Fannie Bay Gaol in 1882 and Christ Church in 1902.

Brown was very active in the local community. In 1880 he was elected to Palmerston District Council and became Council Chairman. He remained a Councillor until 1887, and then served again 1890–1894. In 1894 he replaced his brother John as District Clerk and Secretary to the Local Board of Health and held these positions until his death. He took an active part in South Australian elections, being local election committee chairman for a number of candidates, but never stood for Parliament himself. He helped to found a number of organisations working for the advancement of the Northern Territory: he was first president of the Northern Territory Reform Association in 1883 and in 1901 became first president of the newly formed North Australian League, holding this position until his death. He helped to found the Northern Territory Agricultural Association (in 1895) and the Northern Territory Racing Club. He was President of the Racing Club for 27 years from its inception in 1882 until his death, and was also its Secretary, treasurer and handicapper at various times. He was an active member and office bearer of the Dramatic Club, Musical Society, Literary and Debating Society, Brass Band, Port Darwin Cricket Club (he was President for many years and was made a life member in 1899), Rifle Club (President), Athletics and Cycling Clubs (President).

He took part in and led deputations to the Government Resident on many matters relevant to the local community, for example, the state of roads, the need for more local courts, the need for a new recreation ground, welfare of lepers and improved mail services. He convened, chaired or attended many meetings on matters of local concern such as rates, the need for a new town hall, criticisms of Northern Territory residents, the South Australian government's management of the Territory and the need for construction of the transcontinental railway south of Pine Creek. He was a member of the management committee of Palmerston Hospital 1879–1889 and a member of the Board of Advice for Palmerston School District 1880–1889. He was concerned that Asian immigrants should not take jobs which local people were able to do, but was not overtly racist and had many Aboriginal and Chinese friends. He was a juror at many local trials, including the trial of Rodney Spencer in 1890 (the first time in the Territory a white man stood trial for wilful, malicious and felonious murder of an Aborigine).

Brown was a short man, usually dressed in immaculate whites and was known affectionately as 'Daddy Brown'. This is not surprising as he had 18 children. He was genial, friendly, hard working, energetic, optimistic and honest and accepted his many reverses with courage and good humour. His activities brought him into contact with many people from all levels of society and he was one of the most popular and well-known residents of Palmerston in the 1890s and early 1900s. He died of acute gastritis syncope on 18 February 1910 at Palmerston, aged 68, and was buried at Two and a Half Mile cemetery. He was survived by his second wife (who was killed in an accident in Darwin on 1 November 1925), three sons and two daughters of his first marriage, including Emanuel Victor Voules and Alfred Joseph Voules, and five daughters and four sons of his second marriage. His name is commemorated in Darwin by Brown Street near Fannie Bay Race Course and Brown's Mart in Smith Street and at Rum jungle by Brown's leases at the former uranium mine. There are several photographs of him amongst the W V Brown family papers and in J Rich's *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*.

Chronicle 26 February 1910; 'A hard worker', *Northern Territory Times*, 12 January 1906, and 25 February 1910; J Rich, *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*, 1986; W V Brown family papers; Research material held by author.

JENNY RICH, Vol 1.

BROWN, WILLIAM STANLEY (STAN) (1892–1986), public servant and pastoralist, was born in Melbourne on 31 January 1892, the son of Alfred Brown, contractor, and his wife, Louisa, *nee* Brimblecombe.

Stan Brown's earliest recollection of a major event was of being thrown in at the deep end of the Charters Towers Municipal Baths at the age of three by his father. This was an experience shared with his five brothers and sister. It was the manner in which they learned to swim.

His father, Alfred Brown, began his Queensland endeavours in partnership with George Brimblecombe, an engineer, contracting for and constructing sections of the overland telegraph (OT) line from New South Wales to Cape York. Brimblecombe was an engineer and Brown an electrician as required by the contract specifications.

Both men came from Ballarat, Victoria, families and Alfred married George's second daughter, Louisa, in Brisbane on 25 November 1886.

Stan's two older brothers were born at places marking the progress northward of the OT line construction: Aubrey at Stanthorpe, Queensland, and Harold at Millchester near Charters Towers. The construction work moving further north made it appropriate for Mrs Louisa Brown to be in Melbourne for her next confinement, which was Stan's birth. His younger siblings were born in Charters Towers where Stan grew up. His father spent the non-construction periods at The Towers (as it was known) as mining broker, electrician, blacksmith, and cyanider.

Stan went to high school, was a member of the Charters Towers Choir and engaged in cricket, football, athletics and boxing, winning a weight championship. He was fair haired and blue eyed with a direct gaze, about 1.7 metres (5 feet 7 inches) in height, with a strong muscular build. Even in his 80s his physique retained the appearance of strength with no muscular wasting.

In 1912 Stan Brown gained the position of Survey Clerk—Stenographer, Survey Department in Darwin in the Northern Territory Commonwealth Administration, Department of External Affairs, at its inception. He arrived on the steamship *Mataram* on 22 October 1912. A contemporary as a personable young man described him. This was the first Commonwealth Survey Office in the Northern Territory and was headed by the Chief Surveyor, Theo Day, recruited from South Australia. Stan's position was to provide the support services. His duties were typing the correspondence, memos, instructions to the surveyors and their reports, assisting in the research of historical survey data and collation of records, and in the preparation of the annual report which had as a last item, a brief to the Administrator on activities from the time of the first settlement. For the Chief Surveyor he organised supplies and transport for the parties in the field. In 1913 he accompanied Theo Day on an inspection of the Murrumbidgee side of Adelaide River via Fred's Pass Road.

In the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* of 5 December 1912 the name 'Brown W S' appears in the column 'Pine Creek Sports—Handicaps'. The subsequent Pine Creek Sports Meeting 27 December listed 'W S Brown' winning the Maiden Race 100 yards (91.44m), the Open Handicap, and with Muggleton, the Siamese Race. This commenced his recorded activities in sports in the Northern Territory and the participation with Muggleton initiated his pastoral interest. His participation and achievements in athletics, boxing, cricket and football continued until his departure from Darwin in 1916. He esteemed highly his 100 yards championship gold medal won on 26 December 1913 at the Pine Creek Sports meeting. The probability of his winning a first or second in the heats or finals was reflected in the frequency of his appearance in the Ladies Nomination. The advent of workers for the Vestey's enterprise increased the competition.

Stan participated in social events and was active in the Northern Territory Public Service Association (NTPSA) that, in 1914, addressed the lack of status of South Australian Government transferees and Northern Territory Public Service Officers, and accommodation for single employees. He was a member of the sub-committee appointed to investigate the site of the Darwin Baths. He gave generously to the Red Cross Fund. In his Government employment he arranged the leases for Vestey Bros to establish the Darwin Meatworks under the support of the Imperial government. From the time of his arrival in Darwin Stan took an active interest in the livestock and agriculture industries telling his nephews 50 years later that J C Lewis, Chief Veterinary Officer, in 1912 identified puffs (anhydrosis or dry coat) and addressed swamp cancer in horses. He referred to the early annual reports and also to veterinary surgeon, J F McEachran. It was at the latter's farewell in July 1915, at a function of the NTPSA, where there were many toasts and tributes that Mr SW Brown, by the arranged programme, proposed the toast to 'The Ladies'. In after hours or weekend veterinary surgery or treatment of livestock Stan was a willing participant.

The revival of the Northern Territory Racing Club occurred with the notice of a meeting in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* of 8 April 1915 signed 'STAN BROWN Hon Sec pro. tem'. He had a number of horses such as Warwick, Morgan and Sleep. He rode his own horses as well as those for others. His friend, Muggleton, shared the riding and appears to have brought the horses from his property, Dorisvale.

In 1913 Stan Brown was granted Grazing Licence (GL) 23 over an area of land on Fred Bradshaw Creek, which he called Dorisvale after his sister. This is shown on Surveyor Arthur Briggs' 1915 plan. At that time there were no Aborigines in the area. In 1916 he applied for a pastoral lease over the property. The Administrator, **Gilruth**, said that he, Brown, 'should be at the War'. Stan responded by saying that he had volunteered for the First Contingent under Captain R J Lewis (who was farewelled on 22 April 1915 and later killed in action in France) but he had failed the medical examination and he tendered the medical certificate. Stan again volunteered and again failed the medical examination. He was finally granted Pastoral Lease (PL) 2265 of 518 square kilometres over the area of GL23. He then proceeded to the Florrie Springs (Waterloo area) via Willeroo and Wave Hill where he met **Joe Brown** (the Desert Rat) from Central Mount Stuart. At Florrie Springs Stan purchased from Mulga Jim Macdonald 600 shorthorn cows, heifers and weaners and returned with them to Dorisvale via Auvergne and Timber Creek and the Bradshaw track.

Muggleton and his two nephews subcontracted on the Pine Creek—Emungalen railway construction in 1917. To draw their earth scoops they used black draught horses. Stan used the mares retired from this work with his thoroughbred stallion (Whiskers) and Timor ponies to produce a quality stockhorse suited to the Top End. The Dorisvale brand was UTN and the majority of Police horses at Pine Creek and Katherine in the 1920s were UTN purchased from Stan Brown. On occasions, as a gift Stan would present one of his horses. A Dorisvale bullock appearing in a neighbouring cattle station's muster was readily recognised due to its stature above the other cattle and its docility.

In the early 1920s the Collah tin field above Fish River was established. He took bullocks there via Emu Creek, Jinduckin and Hungry Knob passing westward over the escarpment dropping down to Coolah where he conducted

a butchering business. The ascent of the eastern face of the scarp near Lillawabba Creek was like a ramp with the passage close to a ring of stones. He realised that they were of tribal significance to the family he employed (they suggested the route). He did not intrude. Fifty years later he did suggest the use of the ring of stones with the rock wallaby and eagle of the locality as the Territory coat-of-arms. At this time he re-located this site with Nipper Jinga of the original family. A number of photographs were taken and these were used in the Upper Daly Land Claim. When a youth, Nipper was known as Emu and while on a visit to Brocks Creek an attack was made on him to remove his kidney fat. Fortuitous intervention averted critical injury and Stan later removed the stick that held together the sides of the wound and closed it with saddler's hemp disinfected with a Condy's crystals wash, then a popular remedy in the outback.

At Dorisvale anyone was welcome and when Stan had to leave for a period to tend his stock or do business in town he would say, 'you know where everything is kept, I shall see you on my return'. One guest was Jack D, who, in a state of depression and being alone, took his own life using Stan's revolver. Jack was lying by the kitchen table minded by two cattle dogs. No one could touch Jack's body until Stan's return. There was Jack's note under the sauce bottle on the table. Stan realised then that he should never have left him on his own.

David Byers, the manager of Bradshaws Run, was returning with his head-stockman, Jim Ford, and their laden packhorses. He was suffering from malaria. Stan gave them early breakfast of bacon and eggs. After the dinner camp (midday stop) the manager told the head stockman to take the plant on to the station and that he, Byers, would catch up after his rest. David Byers did not arrive and no trace could be found, neither of him nor his horse and saddle by the many searchers. Jim Ford was ostracised for leaving a sick man on his own in the bush, and he was compelled to leave the district. It was some years later that Stan realised that one does not serve a fatty meal to one suffering from malaria.

Sue Fan and Brother were the butchers at Pine Creek to whom Stan sold his bullocks. On one occasion he purchased from them about 40 bullocks that came from further north, the condition of which had fallen away. He kept them for a wet season and resold them to Gilbert Sue Fan.

On 20 July 1928 the *Northern Territory Times* reported: 'In the Supreme Court on Wednesday before Mr Justice **Mallam**, Frederick Martin, David May and Jack Gordon, labourers and William Stanley Brown were charged' with cattle stealing. It was reported that there was no case against Jack Gordon and he was discharged. The case was also reported in the Melbourne *Argus*: 'The 12 day trial of the charges of cattle stealing against William Stanley Brown, pastoralist, and Frederick Martin and David May, ended today. All were found guilty; Brown was sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment and ordered to pay 75 Pounds costs. Martin was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and May to nine months'.

When Darrell Lewis, Northern Territory co-author of *Beyond the Big Run*, was asked to research the incident he commented that 'of the papers researched probably the best item is a petition signed by numerous Darwin and Pine Creek residents asking that Stan Brown be given a retrial, this time in front of a jury. I notice that this petition does not mention the others who were convicted along with Brown. It seems to me that the Top End locals must have known that Stan Brown got a raw deal and were therefore motivated to get the petition going. I do not know whether Brown served all of his time, but he certainly served some of it as he was in gaol when this petition was presented. I believe that trial by jury was re-introduced by about 1930; so this petition may have had some benefit, if not for Brown'. Acknowledging receipt of the petition the Acting Secretary of the Attorney General's Department wrote, 'I am in receipt of your minute of 9 October forwarding petition from the residents of North Australia praying for a re-trial before a Judge and Jury of William Stanley Brown who is at present undergoing imprisonment for receiving stolen (unbranded) cattle. It is not within the competence of His Excellency to order a new trial. There is a further difficulty in the Observance of Law Ordinance 1921 which provides that the trial on indictment of any offences against any law of the Northern Territory, other than an offence for which the punishment is death, shall be a Judge without a jury. It does not appear, therefore, that any action can be taken on this petition. I note that it has been suggested by the Crown Law Officer that the petition may be considered as one for remission of sentence. I do not think that is so in view of the very definite nature of the player contained in paragraph 5 of the petition which is that His Excellency will command that a new trial before a Judge and Jury be held'.

Stan had earlier applied for addition on his western boundary (which he formerly held as GL41) to his original PL 2265 (renumbered in 1927 and became PL150N) without success. About the period 1930 to 1934 pastoral lessees in the Territory found it extremely difficult to pay their rents. In 1932 Dorisvale was transferred to George Stevens, butcher and grazier of Pine Creek. Late in 1933 Stevens submitted, among other things, in an appeal against a resumption notice for part of Dorisvale held under Pastoral Lease 150N), that no area under 1 000 square miles (2 590 square kilometres) at least is of any use for breeding cattle in the Northern Territory.

In 1932 Stan had taken cattle to Ti Tree Station for agistment under an arrangement with **Bill Heffernan**, and in 1933 he secured his first Grazing Licence in Central Australia. It was numbered GL 718 and in 1940 together with GL784 was converted to PL 374. He had had great difficulty in obtaining the latter grazing licence and Dalgety and Company made representations on his behalf to Canberra in 1935. At the time the Company stated to the Secretary of the Department of the interior, Canberra, that men of this calibre were worthy of better treatment. In the meantime Stan was sending bullocks to the Adelaide market via the Alice Springs railhead. His address was 'OT Line, Ti Tree Well' or 'OT Line Barrow Creek', then 'William S Brown, Overflow Station via Ti Tree Well, Alice Springs.' Conditions were austere and he cured his beef in finely cut strips dried in the sun, and there was neither tea nor sugar. He was a non-smoker and non-drinker. His early location was on the Hanson Creek flood out at the Mud Hut, near what is Numagalong on the map. Stan gained a third, GL 807 on 9 August 1940.

Stan Brown, as Chairman of the Central Australian Pastoral Lessees Association, in 1939, sent Les Clough, the Alice Springs-based Lands and Survey Branch Field Officer, an article regarding stock carrying capacity (avoidance of overstocking). The response was positive.

The Minister (of the Department of the Interior) approved the transfer of the Stirling pastoral leases from **Sir Sidney Kidman** and W S P Kidman to W S Brown on 8 April 1938. Stan's two older brothers, Aubrey and Harold, joined him on Stirling. That pastoral lease (PL145CA) was split between Stan and Bill Heffernan.

In May 1950 Stan lost the sight of one eye while fencing at Stirling, and he had to go to Adelaide for treatment. In three weeks he was in the Alice Springs Lands Office seeking information on Mount Octy near his southern boundary. While travelling from Elkedra to Annitowa in 1951 the axle of Stan's truck failed and he and others had a 50-kilometre walk to the homestead. Subsequently there appeared in this section of track 200-litre drums of water at 8 kilometre intervals.

In January 1951 Stan checked the bangtail muster at Neutral Junction for the transfer to his stepson, Alan Hayward. Goldsbrough, Mort and Company in 1957 arranged the transfer of Stirling Station pastoral leases from Stan Brown to Sandy Pye for a 'substantial' sum. Stan then directed his resources to Annitowa 600 kilometres northeast of Alice Springs, which he held as Grazing Licence 1403. This was adequately developed and he was successful in securing it when it was advertised as available as a pastoral lease in May 1959.

W S Brown is listed as a life member from the early 1960s of the Alice Springs Show Society. His transporting exhibits the long distance to Alice Springs demonstrated his interest. Stan and his wife Stella attended each Sydney Royal Show from 1948 until after his retirement following the sale of Annitowa in August 1969 to Mortons. Their travels within Australia and overseas continued despite an accident involving the bull wheel of the pump jack at Annitowa 4 November 1962. Sister Joyce Ellis, the aerial medical nurse involved, provided the full story and this is printed in *Health Services in the Northern Territory*. The next day Stan was sitting on the side of his hospital bed, his right leg stump bandaged, giving instructions for Annitowa to Brian Muldoon, the Goldsbrough Mort manager, for the expected period of his enforced absence. In recognition of her assistance Stan gave a substantial gift of money to Joyce Ellis and to the Royal Flying Doctor Service. By 1980 he still had not located Dr Hampton to thank him financially.

Throughout his career in the Alice Springs District, Stan contributed to the work of the Centralian Pastoralists' Association. He maintained a relatively high level of physical fitness in his retirement, camping and travelling in the Daly River/Dorisvale area with his nephews in the 1970s, and visiting them in Darwin each July. Later in 1984 he offered substantial financial resources to two great-nephews to help develop a pastoral-related enterprise. He stated his wish to live beyond 100 and to maintain an overview. On their response the correspondence ceased. In March 1986 two of his nephews called on him at the Alice Springs Old Timers Home. They were shocked to behold the condition of this man whom they had known continually from childhood and knew him as a person who would not be diminished. When asked, he said that Stella was in Adelaide and would return on Thursday. A nurse in attendance, when asked about his physical exercise, said that on occasion he would drive himself, in his wheelchair, vigorously all over the grounds whether the brakes were applied or otherwise. The next day the two nephews saw him in his wheelchair lined up with others. He did not respond to greetings and his head was on his chest. He died in Alice Springs on 4 July 1986 aged 94, raised, lived and buried as an Anglican.

A number of people of diverse interests made about 19 tapes from interviews with him. Some are kept in the oral history section of the Northern Territory Archives Service. Stan's interest in the aspect of sustainability in land use became known from about 1932 and in July 1978, Bill de Vos, a member of the Board of Enquiry into Feral Animals, asked about his well-being.

Stan Brown was a positive contributor, throughout his life, to the Territory. It would appear that Stan's greatest contribution to the Territory was an indirect one in that his case and the subsequent petition by his fellow Territorians were responsible for the re-introduction of trial by jury.

Administrator's annual reports 1912–1915; Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory CRS A1/1 28/7425; Central Australian Show Society Inc, letter dated 21 June 1995 signed by L Kittle; *Argus* (Melbourne), 1 August 1928; E Kettle, *Health Services in the Northern Territory*, 1991; D Lewis, research notes, by permission; Northern Territory Archives, F9 B25 L8, F294, F297, F670, F671 PL150N; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 9 January 1913, 1 January 1914, 18 June 1914, 24 September 1914, 26 November 1914, 7 January 1915, 8 April 1915, 29 April 1915, 20 May 1915, 27 July 1915, 12 August 1915, 15 August 1915, 30 March 1916, 20 July 1928, 31 July 1928 and subsequent issues; Lands Department plan 166 signed by AA Briggs 10 October 1915; personal communication TW Prior.

R W WILSON, Vol 3.

BUCHANAN, NATHANIEL (NAT) (1826–1901), explorer, overlander and cattleman, was born of Scottish stock near Dublin, Ireland. He was the third son of Lieutenant Charles Henry Buchanan, and his wife Annie, *nee* White. He arrived in New South Wales as a child with his family, which subsequently settled at Rimbanda Station in the New England district of New South Wales.

As a young man, Buchanan purchased Bald Blair Station in New England jointly with his brothers Andrew and Frank. In 1850, the three brothers joined the Californian gold rush but, being unsuccessful, worked their way home on a sailing ship. They found Bald Blair had been mismanaged and therefore it was surrendered. The next few years Buchanan spent droving cattle to the goldfields, and between New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria, providing him with valuable overlanding experience.

In June 1859 Queensland became a separate colony from New South Wales, and Buchanan became one of the pioneers of exploration and pastoral development in the new state. He and William Landsborough first explored the tributaries of the Fitzroy and Belyando rivers behind Port Denison (Bowen) looking for country suitable for grazing. This began a move to explore further westward into completely unknown territory, a move that did not

cease for Buchanan until in separate expeditions many years later, he overlanded cattle in the far west of Western Australia. In the meantime, he had been in the vanguard of cattle overlanding to the Northern Territory.

In 1859 the Landsborough and Buchanan exploration to the eastern edge of the west and northwest Queensland plains almost ended in tragedy. They were close to starvation and reduced to eating stew from boiled down greenhide hobble straps, when rescued by a search party. In 1861 Buchanan and Cornish reached the Diamantina and found fresh traces of the Burke and Wills expedition on its way to the Gulf of Carpentaria. Lake Buchanan and the Landsborough River, a tributary of the Thomson River, were named. Exploration with Landsborough included the Gregory, Barcoo and Warrego rivers and the naming of the Barkly Tableland.

Following this period of exploration, Landsborough, Cornish and Buchanan, with Morehead and Young, formed the Landsborough Company to lease land in the area. Bowen Downs Station on the Thomson River near Longreach was taken up, initially as a sheep station, in 1863, with Buchanan as manager. An adjoining area named Mount Cornish became a cattle station. Buchanan continued to explore surrounding country, to travel further west, and north to the Gulf, and to assist other settlers. His reputation was firmly established as a bushman and cattle drover.

In the same year, he married Katherine Gordon, daughter of John Gordon, manager of Ban Ban Station near Maryborough, and took his bride from the port of Bowen back to Bowen Downs Station, by buggy, 500 kilometres through bush country. Many of Buchanan's later expeditions were in association with his bachelor brothers-in-law Hugh and Walter Gordon. His son Gordon Buchanan was born at Ban Ban Station in 1865.

In 1867, due to poor seasons and prices, Buchanan was forced to abandon Bowen Downs Station to the Scottish Australian Company that had been financial backer of the operation. He farmed with his brothers on the Bellingen River and engaged in tin mining at Watson's Creek for some years, before taking up the management of Craven Station near Emerald in Queensland.

A run of good seasons in the 1870s meant a renewal of interest in pastoral development in western Queensland and the Northern Territory. [Ludwig Leichhardt](#) had reached Port Essington via the Gulf of Carpentaria in 1845, [A C Gregory](#) explored the Victoria River in 1856, [John McDouall Stuart](#) crossed the continent from south to north in 1862, Palmerston (Darwin) was established in 1869, [Ralph Milner](#), [John Ross](#) and [Alfred Giles](#) were droving sheep into the Northern Territory from South Australia, and in 1872 the Overland Telegraph Line was completed. There was fierce competition between South Australia and Queensland over the occupation of pastoral lands.

In the mid 1870s, Buchanan explored the Georgina and guided a mob of cattle from Burketown to Rocklands Station on the Queensland/Northern Territory border, near the present town of Camooweal. Such journeys involved up to 12 months on the road. At that time the land between the Rankine and the overland telegraph was unknown. On 10 October 1877 Buchanan set out, with [Sam Croker](#) (Greenhide Sam) and crossed the well-pastured, but waterless, Barkly Tableland to join the Overland Telegraph at Powell's Creek Telegraph Station. Buchanan Creek and Croker's Lagoon were named during this expedition. Subsequently Buchanan used the more northerly Leichhardt Track of 1845, skirting the Gulf of Carpentaria to move cattle from Queensland to the Northern Territory. In 1872 [Darcy Uhr](#) had used this route to overland a small mob of cattle to the Pine Creek goldfields, but no properties were stocked prior to 1877.

At Powell's Creek, Buchanan and Croker telegraphed about their explorations but found that most land had been taken up 'on spec' by southern speculators. Buchanan obtained the lease of one block near the Overland Telegraph Line that he later resold. The country that he had explored now includes Brunette Downs, Alexandria Downs, Alroy and Avon Downs stations. Buchanan and Croker profited very little from this journey, but this circumstance was repeated many times during the following years.

Buchanan's first major droving enterprise into the Northern Territory was in 1878 when, with Hugh and Wattie Gordon he took 1200 cattle from Aramac in Queensland to stock Glencoe Station on the Adelaide River near Darwin for Travers and Gibson. This was the first station established in the Top End of the Northern Territory. The droving party consisted of seven white men (Buchanan, the Gordon Brothers, Travers, Bright, Hume and Brebner), and one or two Aborigines. There were three drays, 60 horses and provisions estimated to last 12 months. The journey was estimated at 2 200 kilometres, mostly through trackless country through which a passage had to be made for the drays and the group averaged eight to 20 kilometres per day. Buchanan played the role of scout, riding out each day alone about 30–40 kilometres in advance of the party and circling back to the camp. His purpose was to find the best route, good pasture and places to water the cattle.

When the party reached the Limmen River, pasture for the cattle was good, but food for the men had run short. Buchanan and Wattie Gordon rode ahead to the overland telegraph and returned with extra rations. The party moved on, but was delayed again by the onset of the Wet in March 1879. This delay had the advantage that the new calves had a chance to grow and travel on with the herd. This trip via McArthur River, Roper River and Katherine was a most successful venture and formed the pattern for a succession of later drives from Queensland to the Northern Territory. Many other overlanding parties followed the route blazed by Buchanan.

In 1881–82 Buchanan followed the same general route with 20 000 cattle for C B Fisher who purchased Glencoe Station after Traver's death. The Gordon, the Farquarson and the Cahill brothers, with Walby, Furnifull, Sayle and Hedley, accompanied him this time. Some of the cattle went on to Victoria River Downs.

Buchanan and the Gordon brothers founded Wave Hill Station in 1883, with the Gordons and Sam Croker droving 500 heifers from Dalgona Station in Queensland. Buchanan in 1883 took 4 000 cattle through the Victoria River district to the Kimberleys to form the Ord River Station.

In 1886 Buchanan pioneered the hazardously dry Murrarji Track linking Newcastle Waters and Top Springs, a shorter route to Wave Hill than through Katherine. The stocking of the Northern Territory leases continued

throughout the 1880s. However, the stations were a long way from markets in populated areas, prices low and pastoralism a financial risk. In 1890 Buchanan even travelled with 300 bullocks from Derby to Singapore where they brought eight Pounds per head at a cost of five Pounds. However further trade was barred. It proved uneconomic to ship cattle to Fremantle, so in 1892 Buchanan pioneered the Buchanan Track through desert country with cattle for the Murchison River goldfields. This succeeded due to Buchanan's usual ingenuity, but the Western Australian government refused to allow further movements. In 1894 Buchanan was forced to surrender Wave Hill Station.

Subsequently Buchanan worked at the Mount Bradley mine in the Kimberleys, managed Wave Hill Station for a year and spent time at the Flora Valley Station taken up by his only son, Gordon, in 1887. In 1896 at the age of 70 he explored more unknown areas with camels and horses and one Aboriginal companion, but no suitable stock routes for southern markets were found.

In 1899, acting on medical advice, he bought 'Kenmuir' a small farm near Tamworth, 'retired' there with his wife and died in 1901.

Buchanan did not profit financially from his pioneering efforts in the pastoral industry, since it appeared that 'fortune was always farther out'. He is remembered for his bushcraft, resourcefulness, ingenuity, self-discipline, geniality and judgement of men. His reputation stands as the greatest of all cattle overlanders. He is a legend in the areas that he opened up and his reputation deserves to be better known nationally.

He was thin, about 173 centimetres in height. In later years he carried a coloured umbrella to shield his sensitive skin from the heat. He was a much-valued neighbour of the **Duracks** and was referred to as 'Old Bluey' because of his grey hair and beard. To the Flora Valley Aborigines he became known as 'Paraway' because of his habit of pointing the umbrella and explaining that he was going 'far away, far away'. This name spread throughout the cattle country. The stories about him are legend. In the words of the second verse of the song *King Paraway* by Ted Egan:

The bush blacks all called him Old Paraway,
You see him tomorrow, he left yesterday.
With thousands of cattle he keeps riding on
To nowhere, from somewhere, he comes, now he's gone,
With a bright green umbrella to shade the fierce sun.
On the Murranyi, on the Murchison, on another new run
Old Paraway's the man of whom desert tribes sing
And everyone knows Nat Buchanan was King.

ADB, vol 3 1851–1890 ANC; G Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 1934; M Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1976; *Overlander's Songbook*, compiled by Ted Egan [with] text by Peter Forrest, 1984.

M A CLINCH, Vol 1.

BUCK, ROBERT HENRY (BOB) (1880–1960), bushman, cattleman, raconteur and the man who found the body of **Harold Lasseter** in 1931, was born on 2 July 1880 at Alberton, South Australia, son of Robert Buck, who was a labourer, and his wife Sarah Ann, *nee* Breaden.

Little is known of Bob's early life, but after minimal schooling, he made a trip to the Northern Territory about 1899. For a while he worked at Wallaroo, before accompanying his uncle, Joseph Breaden, north in 1905. Uncle Joe Breaden owned Todmorden Station, approximately 100 kilometres north of Oodnadatta and Henbury Station, 120 kilometres south of Alice Springs. It is believed that Bob Buck did some carting with a donkey team for a short time before droving 800 head of mixed cattle from Brunette Downs to Henbury in 1907. Both of Bob's uncles, Joe and Allan Breaden, had been resident of the Northern Territory since approximately 1875, and were able to pass on their bush skills to him. Joe had been with the Carr-Boyd prospecting expedition in Western Australia in 1896 and the Carnegie self-financed exploring expedition of 1896–1897, also in Western Australia. Allan had been second in command of the 'Central Australian Exploration Syndicate' expedition of 1898–1899 under Allan A Davidson.

During Bob's early years on Henbury he quickly adapted to all facets of station life; stock work, saddling, and general station management. He also formed a life long affinity with the Aborigines of the area, whom he referred to as 'my tribe'. Bob had a daughter Ettie through a lasting relationship with an Aranda woman named Molly. He was very proud of his daughter and later, when on Middleton Ponds, he stated that she was the best 'Stock Boy' on the place.

In October 1922, the desperately ill **Pastor Carl Strehlow** was borne through Henbury in the old Hermannsburg Mission cart pulled by a horse. He was assisted by his wife, son **Theo (Ted)** and some devoted Aboriginal helpers. Bob Buck was able to assist them; likewise Allan Breaden, who was at this time Manager of Idracowra. After 28 years of dedicated service to Hermannsburg, Pastor Strehlow died at Horseshoe Bend. He was buried there in a coffin made of old whisky cases. As a last mark of his friendship and esteem to his old bush mates, he willed that they were to receive a bottle of whisky each; Bob Buck was one of these 'bush mate' recipients.

When Joe Breaden sold Henbury to Stan Young, Bob continued to manage the property until about 1928. On leaving Henbury Bob and his mate Alf Butler took up the lease of Middleton Ponds, a small cattle property on the Palmer River, between the boundaries of Henbury and Tempe Downs. With only a small herd of cattle, crippling drought conditions existing and the start of the great worldwide economic depression years, times were tough.

Bob then accepted a series of western desert contracts. The first was with the MacKay Aerial Survey Expedition of Central Australia, in May–June 1930 to establish an aircraft landing ground of 650 square metres as near as possible to the Ehrenberg Range. Bob left Alice Springs on 26 April 1930 with five Aborigines and eight camels to

clear the landing ground and establish the camp. He had ‘orders to keep smoke signals going on May 26 and the following days until we arrive’.

On completion of the survey, Bob Buck was hired by the failed Central Australian Gold Exploration Company to find Harold Lasseter ‘dead or alive’. Leaving Hermannsburg Mission with his camel team on 24 February 1931 Bob and his faithful Aboriginal retainers tracked Lasseter’s lone traverse for many weeks. Eventually the remains of Harold Lasseter were found at Winters Glen, on the eastern extreme of the Petermann Ranges. A quote from the Sydney *Mirror* newspaper of 29 April states, ‘Lasseter’s body was found on March 29 by Mr Robert Buck... Beside the body were a broken and empty revolver, a set of false teeth, a broken camera, a tattered groundsheet and some papers. Mr Buck dug a grave, buried Lasseter, and returned to Alice Springs with the items he found’.

Bob had only just returned from finding the remains of Lasseter when an adventurer named Walter Gill hired him for a trip back into the same Petermann country. This camel mounted trip, extended from early May to late June 1931. Walter Gill wrote a book about his trip, which he named *Petermann Journey*. The author considers this book to be a classic pen portrait of Bob Buck, Middleton Ponds of the day and of the tribal Aboriginal people of the Petermann Ranges. The photographs are brilliant, and a record of a piece of history long past but which should be remembered.

From early September to 25 November 1931, Bob was again hired by the Central Australian Gold Exploration Company to lead their final Expedition in search of Lasseter’s lost reef. This expedition faithfully tracked Lasseter’s lone traverse of the Petermann country as far west as the Rawlinson Range in Western Australia. Apart from making a motion film of the country and general prospecting, nothing of value was found to exist.

To further extend his 1930 aerial survey, [Donald MacKay](#) financed a second survey in 1933. Being most impressed with Bob’s reliability, he again contracted him to transport stores, camp gear, wireless equipment and aircraft fuel, as well as to establish a landing ground at the Docker River. This expedition extended from April to mid July.

The Foy expedition of 1936 hired [Kurt Johannsen](#) with his truck as transport and Bob Buck as bushman/guide, for their expedition to the Petermann Range. Mrs Foy and son accompanied her husband on the trip. The route taken followed the track out to Middleton Ponds, from where new motor tracks were blazed to Ayers Rock. This was the second vehicle to be driven to this now great Centralian landmark. (The first vehicle was driven by [Michael Terry](#) in 1930.) A motion film was made of the trip, and no problems were encountered.

Early July 1937 Donald MacKay again hired Bob Buck with his camel team to transport five ton of stores, equipment and fuel, also to establish a base camp and landing ground at Tanami, 750 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs. Bob’s reliability again assisted in making this aerial survey a success and on 15 August the Tanami camp was vacated. ‘Buck Hills’ in Western Australia and ‘Lake Buck’ in the Northern Territory commemorate his name and association with the survey.

In March 1938 a terrible tragedy occurred at Andaloo, which at this time was a neighbouring station to Bob. Maisie Parker (*nee* Andrew/Arbon) was found dead one morning. The Andrew family were battling to build up this property and had a rough camp at ‘Yowa’ water hole. Bob Buck and Ben Nicker came over from Middleton Ponds to assist this family in time of need and consolation. After the burial, Bob took them home to Middleton Ponds to recover from their great sorrow and distress. Such was his compassion for his ‘bush brethren’.

In 1939 Bob and Alf Butler dissolved their partnership and the Middleton Ponds property was sold to Tempe Downs. Alf Butler then lived at Mount Quinn until 1948, when he moved over to Titra Well. Bob relocated to Renners Rock station, which he purchased from Walter Gill in 1939 and sold in 1953. This is the same Walter Gill whom Bob had taken out to the Petermanns in 1931.

After selling the station property, Bob spent his remaining years in Alice Springs telling his own brand of Territory tales to tourists, drinking rum and playing crib. ‘Playing crib and drinking rum are two of the best things in life and you can do ‘em together’, he would say. When not at home Bob could always be found at the Stuart Arms Hotel, which had been his town home in earlier years.

Bob Buck had his own brand of philosophy towards life. He was not argumentative and had no enemies, was generous to all men and feared nothing, not even death. He was renowned for his bush hospitality, was a great conversationalist and notorious as a yarn spinner, all with a foundation of truth. Bob had maintained an extraordinary relationship with Aborigines and they trusted him implicitly. He was a man who left us with many monuments of his long Northern Territory life and achievements.

Bob Buck died in the Alice Springs hospital on Tuesday 2 August 1960 in his 80th year. A large sandstone boulder now marks his final resting place in the Memorial Avenue cemetery in Alice Springs. A simple brass plaque states ‘Robert Buck, Bushman, 1880–1960’. Bob rests in the Catholic section of the cemetery, while Harold Lasseter rests nearby in the Church of England section. They are forever linked by circumstance. Bob was the man who ‘found Lasseter’.

B M Andrew, diary, 1952; D W Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, 1982; M Cartwright, *Ayers Rock To The Petermanns*, 1982; *Centralian Advocate*, 5 August 1960; F Clune, *Last of the Australian Explorers*, 1942; W Gill, *Petermann Journey*, 1968; *Geographical Journal*, December 1934; Sydney *Mirror*, 29 April 1931; T G H Strehlow, *Journey To Horseshoe Bend*, 1978.

MAX CARTWRIGHT, Vol 3.

BUCKNALL, (JOHN) GRAEME (1909–1995), Presbyterian, United and Uniting Church Minister and historian, was born at Portland, Victoria, on 2 May 1909, the son of Chester Clissold Bucknall and his wife Rachel Agnes, *nee* Holmes. He was educated at the Drik Drik state school from 1916 to 1923 and Ballarat College from 1924 to 1925. After employment with a forestry company in Victoria and Tasmania, he decided in 1932 to become a Presbyterian minister, subsequently matriculating and studying theology in Melbourne and Arts at the University

of Melbourne. He graduated from the University as Bachelor of Arts in 1940. In 1947 he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from the Melbourne College of Divinity.

Bucknall came from a pioneering Victorian family. His Bucknall great-grandparents arrived in Melbourne on 14 September 1843. Six months later they and their children set off with a bullock wagon and drays travelling from station to station until they reached the banks of the Tullaroop Creek in central Victoria. There they erected a bark hut and a large tent, where his great-grandmother gave birth to her seventh child. Bucknall himself grew up in what he later remembered as a 'very isolated bush community' on the lower Glenelg River. He rarely saw anyone other than his parents and widowed grandmother. The river and marshland birds, the kangaroos, possums and other birds and animals became embedded into his childhood memory. He could imitate the sounds of animals and birds long before he could use human language. He was over four years old before his district acquired a public telephone service and the nearest doctor was over two days' journey away.

Between 1939 and 1959 he served as a Presbyterian parish minister in various parts of Victoria. He was at Orbost between 1939 and 1942, Clifton Hill from 1943 until 1947 and West Hawthorn from 1948 until 1959. In 1960 he was appointed Director of the Department of Home Missions for the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, a post he held until 1970. He was widely recognised as an inspiring speaker and sound administrator which resulted in him serving as Vice-Convenor of the Board of the Australian Inland Mission between 1962 and 1970 and Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria from 1966 to 1967. He married Jean, daughter of George and Elizabeth Williamson, on 15 January 1938 in the Brunswick Presbyterian Church, Melbourne. Jean proved to be an ideal partner and their marriage was consistently happy. They had five children. It was a close family and even when its members sometimes later lived in very isolated parts of Australia all kept in touch with one another.

In 1970 Graeme and Jean Bucknall moved to Darwin in the Northern Territory when he took up appointment as the first Executive Officer of the United Church in North Australia, a position he occupied until 1974. It was in the Northern Territory that his childhood experience of what he described as 'spatial isolation' proved particularly useful. He was conscious of following in the footsteps of that great Presbyterian leader the **Reverend John Flynn**, the famous 'Flynn of the Inland', and was especially interested in developing further Flynn's concept of a 'mantle of safety' for those people of various races who lived in north Australia's most isolated areas and developing links with some of the Protestant churches in nearby eastern Indonesia. He regretted in 1974, however, that there was a 'culture/language barrier between cattleman and urban man in the Northern Territory. On the rare occasions when the station people are in town they neither feel at home in church nor understand the language'. More positively, he was able to look back on 'the phenomenal development in the relaxed and shared relationships between black and white members of the United Church during the last four years... We are on the exciting journey to a truly indigenous Church.'

Between 1975 and 1979 he was the Uniting Church Patrol Padre for the Centralian Patrol, based in Alice Springs. He frequently visited cattle stations, providing their residents with both spiritual and practical guidance and forming enduring friendships with many of them. Bucknall later reflected that his patrol experience led him, 'as it were, full circle and enabled me to discern the meaning of that strange experience on the evening of [the] first day of January 1932 when I experienced the compulsion to train for the Ministry. Theology is not merely an academic exercise on which the Church builds its structures and disciplines but must relate, without retraction, to living situations in the total life of every community.'

He 'retired' in 1980 but remained in Alice Springs, living at the Uniting Church's Old Timers' Home, for another five years before returning to Melbourne. In this period he continued his extensive outback travels and took many superb photographs of the Central Australian region. He also developed a keen interest in history; undertaking detailed research on various aspects of Central Australia's past, including the story of the Old South Road, a compilation of early pastoral lease information and the lives of some of the region's pioneers. His publications included articles in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography* and booklets on historic buildings, such as the Stuart Town Gaol and Adelaide House in Alice Springs. With sociologist Dr Robert Guthrie he worked on a major study, 'The Conquest of Distance: A Reflection on Centralian Spatial and Social Isolation', which they completed in 1994. With his sister, the historian Dr Lorna McDonald, he compiled *Letters of an Australian Pioneer Family 1827-1880* a collection of letters of their Bucknall ancestors, which was published in 1984. While in Alice Springs he served as Chairman of the McDouall Stuart Branch of the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory) and was also a member of the Trust's Territory Council. He was prominent in the Trust's public education activities and its campaign to save important historic structures. He was also closely involved in the restoration of the Uniting Church building known as Adelaide House in Alice Springs, designed by John Flynn as Central Australia's first hospital. Bucknall's other interests were wide ranging. He studied Indonesian language and culture and kept up with the latest developments in Christian theology. He corresponded with people involved in church activities in many parts of the world. In 1982 he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE).

After returning to Melbourne Bucknall continued his historical writing and research. He also wrote an autobiography. Despite growing ill health, he and Jean regularly revisited the Territory, particularly their son Ruary and his family who lived in Darwin. He died in Melbourne on 6 November 1995, survived by his wife, children and grandchildren.

Graeme Bucknall's career owed much to his pioneering Western District origins. He tried both spiritually and in other ways to help 'pioneers' of his own era. His interest in his family's history widened into more general historical concerns and resulted in some invaluable work.

G Bucknall, 'A Time to Keep', unpublished manuscript, 1994, 'John Flynn', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 8, 1981, *Flynn's Mantle of Safety*, 1984, 'Lewis Alexander Bloomfield', and 'William Hayes' in *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*, vol 1, 1990, 'Edward

Hayes', 'Robert Bruce Plowman' and 'Frederick Alfred and Isabelle Violet Price', in *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*, vol 2, 1992, 'Pastoral Leases in Alice Springs District 1872–1884', unpublished paper, 1993, *The Stuart Town Gaol*, 1981, with R Guthrie, 'The Conquest of Distance', unpublished manuscript, 1994, with L McDonald, *Letters of an Australian Pioneer Family 1827–1880*, 1984, with V T O'Brien, 'Report on the Social and Structural History of Old Hamilton Downs Homestead', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1983; G and R Bucknall, information provided to author in conversations and correspondence since 1981; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1974.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

BUDGEN, FLORENCE ALICE nee WEEDON later DAVIES (1868–1960), Territory pioneer, businesswoman and publican, was born in Glebe, Sydney, New South Wales on 3 September 1868, the fourth child and second daughter of Charles Weedon and his wife Maria nee Chiodetti. Her father was one of Sydney's well-known bandmasters. On 12 February 1885 Florence, aged 16 and with the consent of her father, married Sydney Budgen at the Holy Trinity Church in Glebe. He was a 25-year-old saddler who had been living in the Northern Territory since 1880 when he had gone there from Bowen, Queensland, as part of the gold rush. He had been born in Sydney, New South Wales, in 1854 to William Budgen and Annie, nee Stevens.

According to family information Budgen was acquainted with Florence's father, Charles Weedon, and had visited the family in Sydney when Florence was 14 years old. He was buying saddlery goods for his northern Territory business and told Weedon that he would return when Florence was 16 to see if she would marry him and return to the Territory with him.

Shortly after their marriage Florence and Sydney returned overland to the Territory where they took over the management of the Grove Hill Hotel on the Pine Creek goldfields. In February 1886 Florence had a son, Sidney Charles, claimed to be the first white child born at Grove Hill, then called Port Darwin Camp. In June 1887 Florence went to visit her family in Sydney where she had a daughter, Florence Eveleen. Sydney Budgen joined the family and together they returned to the Territory by ship in July 1888, accompanied by one of Florence's brothers.

By 1889 Florence owned property in Pine Creek and was living at Burrundie until the family moved to Palmerston (now Darwin) in 1890 to renovate and operate the Terminus Hotel, which stood where the Civic Centre was later built. In 1890 Florence was visited for a year by her younger sister, May. She was destined to become one of the Territory's most famous and flamboyant women pioneers, most commonly known by the name of **May Brown**, the surname of her third husband. By this time two of May and Florence's brothers, Sydney and Percy Weedon, were also living in the Territory where they soon became prominent members of the community.

In the 1891 census the Budgen family—consisting of Florence and Sydney and three children, Sidney five, Florence three, and Clarence (born 1891)—was living in Palmerston with Florence listed as age 22 and Sydney, 36. By now Florence was quite active in the racing fraternity and was often mentioned as having horses running in the Ladies bracelet. She also attended fancy dress balls, sometime arriving in 'evening dress' and sometimes in costume, such as the time she dressed as 'cards'.

In 1895, Florence, then 27 and living in Palmerston, became one of the first 82 Territory women who enrolled to vote after Northern Territory and South Australian women became the first in Australia to win the right. In April 1895 Florence gave birth to her fourth child, William Ernest. In 1897, three months after a cyclone had wiped out most of Port Darwin (although the Budgen's Terminus Hotel escaped serious damage), Florence gave birth to a daughter, Gladys, who died 12 days later. In June 1900 she had a son, Roydon.

In addition to her responsibilities as a parent Florence remained active in community charity work, such as raising money at Church of England bazaars; providing refreshment for various public events; collecting money for the Ladies bracelet horse race; and helping to manage the hotel. In 1902 she went to Sydney on a 'health recruiting' trip and to visit her family. She returned in January 1903 with her brother, Percy, and in July she received a visit from her sister, May who had married Sydney's amateur boxing champion, George Seale, and 'Mrs Weedon' who was most likely their mother, Maria Weedon.

In October 1905 Sydney Budgen, who had been active in district council matters and a member of the Masonic Lodge, died in Sydney leaving Florence to raise their daughter and four sons and take over full management of the Terminus Hotel. By 1906, as well as running the hotel, Florence had a mining lease at West Arm and continued to be active in both breeding and racing horses. She was the successful purchaser of the Tattersall's concession from April 1906 to February 1907. In October 1907 Florence's daughter, Florence Eveleen, married Walter Drake of Christchurch, New Zealand.

In 1908 Florence was listed as having the licence of the Pine Creek Hotel for a short time. By this time her two brothers, Sidney and Percy Weedon, and her sister, May, who had recently married Territory miner James Burns, all lived in the Pine Creek region. The Weedon brothers later managed the Playford Hotel and butchery in Pine Creek while May became owner of the Wolfram Creek mine which soon became one of the richest in Australia. Florence continued to manage the Terminus Hotel. In October 1911 she left for an extended trip south, combining business and pleasure. She returned in March 1912, although her home voyage was marred by a return of 'the fever', which apparently plagued her. That year she gave a benefit night for the Borroloola Relief fund for three women who lost their husbands by drowning. Her community activities continued, among which she donated prizes to children's fancy dress balls.

With assistance from her two brothers and her son-in-law Walter Drake, Florence introduced Darwin to its first silent picture theatre in 1913 when she gained permission from the district council 'to erect a dynamo shelter with a view to the proposed inauguration of up to date cinematograph entertainments at the Town Hall twice a week'. In 1914 she took a market garden and poultry lease at the corner of Hood Terrace and Cavenagh Street and as the First World War broke out, she became a founding member of the Territory branch of the Red Cross. During this

time her son, Roy, and her grandson, Walter, visited her friend **Catherine Pett**, pioneer Territory school teacher, in Sandy Creek, South Australia, where she taught after leaving the Territory in 1910.

The next few years brought tragedy to Florence. In 1915 her first-born son, 29-year-old Sidney Charles Darwin, died unexpectedly of colitis. In 1916 her 21 year old son, William, enlisted and sailed for France, where he was killed in April 1917. Then on 16 August 1919 her only daughter, Eveleen Drake, who had recently been widowed, died in Brisbane, apparently in the 'flu pandemic raging at the time.

Florence used her Don Picture Show premises to help raise funds for the war effort. Her brothers, Sidney and Percy Weedon, and her son, Clarence, assisted her in her motion picture enterprise. Her brother, Percy, went on to establish a successful picture theatre in Bowral, New South Wales.

On 12 September 1918, in Adelaide, Florence married Sam Stephen Dranfield Davies, a former Territory railway engineer who worked on the extension from Pine Creek to Emungalen. Davies, who had served his apprenticeship in the Crowe workshops, had served with the Queensland railway service for 19 years and had spent 11 years in the employ of the Indian Government on railway construction work in that country. He had presumably met Florence during the period he worked in the Territory with the Commonwealth railways.

Following their marriage the couple later moved to Queensland where Sam was stationed for some time at Rockhampton. They later moved to Brisbane. Sam died on 18 June 1927, aged 62, survived by Florence who was his second wife, a daughter, two stepsons and a grandson.

In April 1932 Florence's mother, Mary, died in Sydney at the age of nearly 91. Florence died in Brisbane on 19 May 1960, aged 92. Although her final resting place was Brisbane, Florence Budgen's significant contribution to the Territory is commemorated in part by the famous 'tree of knowledge', which was planted outside her Terminus Hotel after the cyclone in 1897 and is still standing in 1996.

B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995, personal research notes; Weedon family information.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

BURLING, GLADYS: see **LITCHFIELD, GLADYS**

BURNETT, BENI CARR GLYN (1889–1955), architect, was born on 16 June 1889 in Paito, Mongolia, the son of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries. He had a private education and spent some time at the China Inland Mission School in Chefoo, which was run on strict Scottish principles, where he received grounding in the classics. At the age of 15 he was articled in 1904 to the architectural firm of Smedley and Denham in Shanghai, China.

Burnett completed his articles in 1908 and worked for several Shanghai architectural firms between 1908 and 1915. A scrapbook he kept between 1910 and 1912, now housed in the Northern Territory Archives, reflects his deep interest in Scottish military units and the sea. It also discloses that he was very involved with the Saint Andrew's Club in Shanghai and with the Shanghai volunteer unit of the Gordon Highlanders. There is no record that he served in a military capacity during the First World War. He married Florence Mary Bentley in Hong Kong in 1914 and in 1915 joined the Shanghai firm of Atkinson and Dallas. He managed its Tientsin branch until 1928 when he returned to Shanghai to start his own architectural practice. His designs included the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the stock exchange building, both in Tientsin. Influences on his style were broadened between 1923 and 1924 when he spent six months travelling in Europe, North America and Japan studying architectural techniques. In 1930, due to political instability in China, he moved to Singapore where he worked for the architectural practice of Swan and McLaren.

In 1934 Burnett and his wife separated and he moved to Australia. His wife and their two sons, John Bain and Angus Glyn, went to Scotland. Burnett, who had a somewhat dry sense of humour, was fond of telling people that he was the happiest of married men as his dear wife lived 12 000 miles away. Burnett spent his early time in Australia working for the firm of Guy Frick and Bruce Furze in Sydney. In July 1937 he was appointed Architect Grade One in the Works and Services Branch, Department of the Interior, and commenced work in its newly established Darwin office.

Upon his arrival in Darwin, Burnett's first task was to design a series of tropical houses for executive public servants and military personnel. He produced several designs around a set of common features. The houses were all, with the exception of the 'K Type' which combined upstairs sleeping with downstairs living areas, elevated, with bedrooms grouped around or to the side of a central living area. All designs incorporated the use of asbestos louvres together with glass casement windows to provide fully screened walls that could be adjusted to allow for maximum air flow, internal three quarter height room partitions, and steeply pitched roofs. The radical Burnett designs, clearly influenced by the traditional and colonial architecture of Southeast Asia, were geared to achieve maximum ventilation and living space. They were highly praised by the Brisbane planner **R A McInnis** when he visited Darwin in 1940 to draw up a town plan. McInnis felt that the Burnett designs were far more suited to tropical housing requirements than the old space consuming ground level houses with wide verandahs. Four of the Burnett designed houses were later preserved on Myilly Point in Darwin, including a 'K Type', named Burnett House, which was the headquarters of the National Trust in the Northern Territory. That his designs were suited to the Darwin climate is evident in the fact that many modern houses there retain the features of elevation and the use of louvres.

Burnett also designed several large-scale buildings for the armed forces, which rapidly expanded their presence in Darwin during the 1930s. The living quarters and the messes he designed were still in use over 50 years later at both the Larrakeyah Army Barracks and the Royal Australian Air Force base.

In February 1942 Darwin suffered the first of many Japanese air raids. Burnett, along with the rest of the civilian population and the Administrator, **C L A Abbott**, was evacuated to Alice Springs. His subsequent designs for the Northern Territory inland, with its extremes of temperatures, are quite different from the tropical designs for coastal Darwin. His Alice Springs houses incorporated a central core, including a fireplace for the colder months, with wide verandahs enclosed with canvas blinds and fly wire for use as comfortable living or sleeping areas during the warmer weather. In Alice Springs examples of his work can be seen in the Hartley Street precinct, later partly preserved as a heritage area, and the Riverside Hotel.

Burnett often took on the roles of Magistrate and Coroner in Alice Springs and his somewhat unconventional approach to the law led to amusing situations. On one occasion he was faced with two youths who had been arrested for fighting. When it became clear that neither knew which one had started the fight, or who had won, due to the fact that the police had intervened, Burnett ordered that the fight recommence under the supervision of a policeman who taught boxing at a local youth club, and adjourned the case until the following day. The youths were then fined five Shillings each, Burnett remarking that they would find it cheaper in the future to confine their fighting to the youth club.

Burnett was an excellent artist and was unusual in that as an architect he drafted all his own work. He was prolific in other art forms such as watercolours and sketches. Many of his fine pen and ink works were used to accompany **Hilda Abbott**'s articles on the Northern Territory in *Walkabout* during the 1940s. His cartoons, some with fairly acid comments, were widely enjoyed. It is said that Lord Gowrie, the Governor General of Australia until 1944, had all Burnett's cartoons forwarded to him.

During the latter part of his life, Burnett spent a great deal of his time in public bars in Alice Springs, where he enjoyed good conversation and sketching the clientele. Despite crippling arthritis, his drawing skills remained excellent. Many remember him as being somewhat eccentric. He always wore knee high woollen socks with tartan tabs, specially sent from Scotland, and on special occasions wore his Gordon Highlander kilt. Although known for his sense of humour, Burnett could be quite rude in response to remarks about his socks, in particular from tourists. There is no record that he ever went to Scotland during his Territory years but he did meet up with his son John who, as a Wing Commander in the Royal Air Force, flew heavy bombers during the Second World War and landed in Alice Springs on one occasion.

In 1925 Burnett was elected Licentiate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and in 1951 was elected a Fellow of that organisation. He died of a stroke in Alice Springs Hospital on 8 March 1955 and was buried in Alice Springs cemetery after a special service of tribute.

Royal Institute of British Architects Journal, August 1955; B C G Burnett Scrapbook, 1127/P1 Accession 90/9, Northern Territory Archives Service; File on Burnett, including research by C Hardwick, National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory).

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

BURRUMARRA, DAVID (c1917–1994), Aboriginal politician, artist and spokesperson, was born about 1917 at Waganggayu on Elcho Island before there were any mission stations in north-east Arnhem Land. He was a member of the Warramiri clan whose country centres on the English Company Islands. His father, Ganimbirngu, worked for and traded with Indonesian seafarers from Macassar. His mother, Wanambiwuy, was one of the last members of the Brarrngu clan of the Wessel Islands, a group devastated by smallpox introduced by these peoples.

Burrumarra educated himself but his interest in the wider world and his desire to learn singled him out from an early age. He was the one chosen by his family to learn about non-Aboriginal ways, and to be a mediator for his people. The Warramiri clan, with all of their Dreamings centred on the sea, have a long tradition of mediating the presence of outsiders on Aboriginal land, and Burrumarra was to carry on that tradition in his lifetime.

A united Australia in which Aborigines and non-Aborigines shared equally in the wealth of the land was the focus of Burrumarra's work. He wanted Aborigines to be a part of the new world but on their own terms. In 1957, along with Badanga and Walalipa, he instigated what has become known throughout the academic world as the 'Adjustment Movement in Arnhem Land', which was an attempt to combine traditional Aboriginal law and Christian values. As part of this action, sacred objects were openly displayed as a public statement of Aboriginal ownership of the traditions and the lands represented by them. All northeast Arnhem Land Aborigines were involved in this revolutionary step.

In 1988, following Prime Minister Hawke's pledge for a Compact or Treaty, Burrumarra put forward a unique plan, which he saw as the culmination of his work towards reconciliation. Aborigines, Australia-wide, would create their own flags depending on what the land and sea meant to them. In the corner of each would be the Union Jack, the symbol not only of the coloniser, but also of the coming of Christianity to Australia. So wherever one travelled, one would know and respect both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal laws of that place.

In his youth, before the Second World War, Burrumarra worked as a deckhand on several Japanese pearling boats, including Tubumaro, and was familiar with the Japanese who were later killed at Caledon Bay in what has been described as the Black Wars of Arnhem Land. In 1934 he travelled with the missionaries from Milingimbi to locate the site of the new station at Yirrkala, near what is now the large bauxite-mining town of Nhulunbuy. There he worked as a 'houseboy' and later on was employed as a trepang diver for the English beachcomber **Fred Gray** at Groote Eylandt. His first wife was Clara, described in some early accounts as 'the lost white woman of Arnhem Land'.

During the war, like his peers, he was involved in postal delivery and coastal surveillance between the mission stations, travelling the hundred or so kilometres between Yirrkala and Milingimbi in a dugout canoe in under a week. He also supervised the Aboriginal workers building Gove airstrip. In 1946, following the war, and at the

request of an associate, Burrumarra moved to Galiwin'ku to help with establishing the new mission. There he married Lawuk of the Galpu clan, and raised a family. He was closely associated with the missionary **Reverend Harold Shepherdson**, and often led the prayers on a Sunday morning.

Burrumarra was the first teacher at both Yirrkala and Galiwin'ku, a health educator, and Chairman of the Galiwin'ku Village Council and Mala (Clan) Leaders Association. He travelled around the country in the 1960s encouraging people to enrol for the vote and was involved in the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies from its inception.

A progressive thinker and self-starter, Burrumarra was the first Aboriginal person in Arnhem Land to own a typewriter. In the 1940s, for a small fee he would type correspondence, a novel event in the early days of the mission.

Burrumarra always followed the wishes of his people. He wanted tourist developments and mining on Aboriginal land, but only if Aborigines were in control. While in the 1950s he had initiated inquiries about bauxite mining in the Wessel Islands and had support for a proposal in which Aborigines would own a 25% share, he protested the opening of the mine at Gove because there was no sense of partnership in the endeavour.

In recognition of his services to Aboriginal people, in 1978 he was awarded Membership of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in a ceremony at Elcho Island, attended by the then Governor General, Sir Zelman Cowan. In line with Burrumarra's philosophy the ceremony was part traditional Aboriginal ceremony, and part state ceremony. Visiting government dignitaries, who included everyone who was anyone in terms of Northern Territory protocol, wore full-length golden kaftans designed by Burrumarra, featuring the sacred whale and lightning symbols of his Warramiri clan.

Some people described Burrumarra as an eccentric genius, while others saw him as quixotic. At times he would dress up in military costume and show off his various medals. Protected from the sun by his pith helmet, he would parade around the community, gazing into crowds with his binoculars, his loud speaker blaring. He had a mission. He was firm in the belief in his own destiny and determined that Aborigines would run their own affairs on their own lands. He believed Aborigines must be lawyers, doctors and teachers. They would then be in a stronger position to maintain the sacred laws and ceremonies of the land. Anything less than this was unacceptable to him.

His life straddled two worlds. Intensive work with anthropologists such as **Ronald Berndt** and **Donald Thomson** was so that the world might know of the richness of Aboriginal culture. To this end, in 1992, he donated a series of Warramiri paintings to the University of New South Wales, so that academics would understand and recognise the depth of experience and emotion contained within each brush stroke. For Burrumarra, knowledge was 'his backbone'. He was a student of the land and the sea. They provided the answers to all of his questions and he wanted to share this knowledge of Australia with others.

Of Burrumarra's life, a prominent Australian prehistorian, Professor John Mulvaney said: 'Burrumarra played a significant part in attempting to reconcile the old traditional culture and beliefs with introduced ways of life following the war, and with Christianity... Burrumarra deserves great credit for his attempts to represent traditional people and to present the case for the retention of traditional culture while yet attempting to adapt to the inevitable changes introduced by white Australians... He has played an important role as a moderate, spiritual man whom future generations will honour. Like **Lazarus Lamilami**, Burrumarra was a professional informant... Many contemporary militants condemn anthropologists for 'ripping off' Aboriginal people. In fact however, such Aboriginal informants and the anthropologists who listened to them have assisted the interpretation and understanding of Aboriginal culture by white Australians and all overseas peoples. It is likely that future generations of Aboriginal people, for whom traditional life has become less familiar, will come to acknowledge their debt to such men'.

David Burrumarra died at Elcho Island in northeast Arnhem Land on 13 October 1994. He was 77 years of age. His funeral was one of the biggest ever held at Elcho Island. Seven children, four sons and three daughters survived Burrumarra. One of his sons is the acclaimed artist Terry Yumbulul, and he was also the adoptive father of Territory politician, Wes Lanhupuy, who died in 1995.

Burrumarra was often referred to as the last great leader of Arnhem Land. A tall stately figure, he was a man of extraordinary talents. He was polite and well mannered to his friends but short and direct with those lower in his estimations. He never touched alcohol in his life and criticised anyone who did. His vast local knowledge and ability to captivate an audience with his wit and charm usually meant that his views would go unchallenged in any debate.

C Barrett, *Coast of Adventure*, 1941; D Burrumarra in I R Yule (ed) *My Mother the Land*, 1980; D Burrumarra, *Dhawal'yuwu Yuwalku, Elcho Island*, 1988; R M Berndt, *An Adjustment Movement in Arnhem Land*, 1962; J Cawte, *The Universe of the Warramirri*, 1993; W S Chaseling, *Yulengor*, 1957; A P Elkin, R M & C H Berndt, *Art in Arnhemland*, 1950; F Hodgkinson, *Kakadu and the Arnhemlanders*, 1987; I S McIntosh, *The Whale and the Cross*, 1994, 'The Bricoleur at Work', Master of Letters in Aboriginal Studies Thesis, University of New England, 1992; D J Mulvaney, letter to author; K Palmer & M Brady, *Aboriginal Rights to Land in the Wessel Archipelago*, 1983; Paul Hamlyn Pty Ltd, *Notable Australians*, 1978; E Shepherdson, *Half a Century in Arnhem Land*, 1981; H Thornell, *A Bridge over Time*, 1986; N Williams, *The Yolngu and Their Land*, 1986.

IAN McINTOSH, Vol 3.

BUTLER, MERCIA nee ROBERTS (1933–1990), Catholic nun and health worker, was born at Roper River Mission on 24 December 1933, the youngest of four children of Barnabas and Norah Roberts. Mrs Buckle delivered her at the mission medical centre; two other babies were also born that day. Although the mission records were destroyed in a flood, Mercia later had a crosscheck for her birthday. Her father Barnabas Roberts was a senior member of the Alawa tribe and her brothers, **Philip**, **Silas** and Jacob all became men of distinction.

Mercia (originally called Mercy) was still a baby when her mother was admitted to the leprosy hospital on Channel Island. Norah was one of a group who left the island after the bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942. She was in poor health and died somewhere near Dorisvale but her family was never able to find her grave. Mercia later recalled happy times on the island when she was a small child; the watermelons that thrived near the beach on the Darwin side of the island and the lovely flowers grown by Matron **Elsie Jones**.

It was a traumatic day early in 1940 when **Dr Bruce Kirkland** and Father Henschke arrived in the Catholic mission boat and removed all the healthy children from the island. They were not told where they were going. Later, at Bathurst Island Mission, Mercia was told that her family at Roper River Mission did not want her. She did not see her mother again. When the new Mission at Garden Point was opened in 1941 Mercia was transferred there. It was a mission for mixed race children but Mercia was a ‘full’ Aborigine. There was hardly time to settle before the war emergency arose and on 18 February 1942 Brother Andrew Smith transported the Sisters and most of the children to Darwin in the mission boat. The bigger boys remained at Garden Point with a priest.

The next morning, the 19th, was fine and the children were playing in the Smith Street schoolyard when they saw aeroplanes ‘dropping eggs’. American soldiers hustled the children under the school and covered them with mattresses; no one was injured. Later that day they were transported in American trucks to the end of the road at Adelaide River. It did not rain during their few days at Adelaide River but Mercia recalled they were hungry and for the first time they ate all their bread crusts. Next came the journey to Larrimah by train, then trucks again on the dusty road to Alice Springs and train again to Adelaide. This group from Garden Point were housed on a farm at Carrieton in South Australia. One child developed leprosy and was brought to Darwin by Army nursing staff travelling north. The rest returned to Garden Point after the war, travelling by train and trucks.

As Mercia grew up she decided to be a Catholic nun, the only role model she knew. In 1956 she was sent to Port Moresby to join an indigenous order, the ‘Handmaids of Our Lord’, and then she undertook a newly developed three-year ‘Maternal and Child Health’ course at Badili, Port Moresby. The next few years were spent at isolated mission centres in the mountains of Papua, delivering babies and teaching mothers how to better feed their infants.

After 12 years in Papua New Guinea Mercia developed a great longing to meet again the family she had never known and visited Darwin in 1968. Her father and brothers all came to Darwin to meet her and the reunion was joyous. A few months later Mercia left the Order and worked for a time at Darwin Hospital; her one desire was to train as a registered nurse but this was not possible. Further, her Maternal and Child Health Certificate was not recognised in Australia.

Some time later Mercia visited her mother’s people at Roper River Mission where she met and married Herbert Butler, a Telecom linesman based at Alice Springs. Herbert Butler’s family were from the Roper River and it was a happy marriage. One son, Richard, was born at Alice Springs.

Mercia still wanted to be a nurse and undertook the Enrolled Nurse (Nurse Aide) course at Alice Springs Hospital in 1976. She continued to work at the hospital for a time then transferred to the Community Health Services to be more involved with the Aboriginal people.

Mercia became acutely ill and was sent to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Adelaide, accompanied by her husband. She died there on 29 September 1990, survived by her husband and son.

E Kettle, *Health Services in the Northern Territory*, 1991, *That They Might Live*, 1979; personal information.

ELLEN KETTLE, Vol 3.

BUTLER, RICHARD (DICK) (1908–1987), sportsman, soldier and gardener, was born in Katherine in 1908 to a Wugularri/Jawoyn Aborigine and a European father, George Butler. He had two brothers, Ta-Digin and Merengbet, and like so many of his era Dick was brought to Darwin as a baby to be raised in Kahlin Compound. He was fortunate enough to secure the position of ‘horse-boy’, grooming and watering the horses used by public servants. He then became houseboy for the Government Secretary, Colonel Charles Barnett-Storey, and he subsequently worked as a bucket-boy on the Katherine–Larrimah extension of the railway line. Like Charlie Talbot, Butler was also a capable boxer and trainer, and an established lightweight champion in his own right, and was particularly renowned for his performance in an illegal bare-fisted ‘grudge’ fight against Timmy Angeles in the Darwin Botanic Gardens in 1929, although they remained good friends for the rest of their lives.

At Christ Church Cathedral on 1 July 1931, Dick married Louisa Fanny Spain, daughter of Anastasio Pedro Spain and his wife Fanny, and a niece of Catalino Spain, who was later an employee of the Commonwealth Railways and was one of 22 civilians killed on the wharf during the first Japanese bombing raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942 when a labourer with number 3 Gang working on MV *Neptuna*. Louisa Butler was killed during Cyclone Tracy, and her name was commemorated on a memorial plaque outside the Darwin City Council offices, which was unveiled by Her Majesty the Queen on 26 March 1977 during her Silver Jubilee tour.

Butler enlisted as a Gunner in the Darwin Mobile Force (DMF) in 1939, serving with a number of others from the Territory of Aboriginal descent including Willy McClennen, Samuel (‘Smiler’) Fejo, Juma (‘Jim’) Fejo, Stewart Kunoth, **Bill Muir** and Victor Williams. The Darwin Mobile Force was raised in Victoria and New South Wales in November 1938 and arrived in Darwin on 28 March the following year, establishing itself in the disused Vestey’s Meatworks. They were artillerymen tasked with providing mobile protection for the Headquarters of the Army in the Northern Territory, (known then as the Seventh Military District), armed with 18-pound guns, three-inch mortars and medium machine-guns, while there was also a rifle group giving the unit a surveillance capability. Under the command of Captain Francis, Dick Butler’s band of Aboriginal coast watchers—based at

Peewee Camp at East Point and responsible for guarding the Naval fuel tanks—called themselves ‘the Australian Black Watch’.

The DMF was reorganised in September 1940 and renamed the Darwin Infantry Battalion, although on 1 November 1941 this was absorbed into the 19th Battalion that was given Australian Imperial Force status. Its members thus became eligible for the Returned From Active Service badge even though many, such as Dick Butler, only served in the Territory. After the war, he applied and was accepted for service in the Permanent Military Forces, and continued to serve with the Seventh Military District in Darwin with the rank of Gunner until 1961. For his service during the war, Butler received the Defence, War and Australian Service Medals while in 1961 he attained the distinction of being the first soldier to earn the Australian Regular Army Long Service and Good Conduct Medal for service completely in the Seventh Military District.

During the war, Louisa and the children were evacuated to Brisbane and returned to Darwin in 1946, living in a Sydney Williams house at Salonika, where Dick Butler ran a boxing camp, training such names as Reggie McClennen, Jimmy Fejo, Fred Bush, Poncie Cubillo and William Clarke, heavyweight champion of the Northern Territory. On taking his discharge from the Army in 1961, Dick Butler was employed by Parks and Gardens, and succeeded Charlie Talbot as Head Gardener at Government House, Darwin. One of his tasks during his early years at Government House, which had been carried out by gardeners for decades, was the ritual watering of the driveways and carriage-loop to keep the dust down. While most of Darwin’s dusty streets had been sealed between 1938 and 1941, the Government House carriage-loop and driveway were not sealed with bitumen until the term of [Administrator Dean](#). After nearly 18 years as Head Gardener at Government House, Dick Butler finally retired in 1978. In recognition of his long service the [Administrator John England](#) and his wife hosted a party to mark his retirement, and he received gifts from both the Administrator and his colleagues from Parks and Gardens. He was later invited back as a guest at the official reception held annually to commemorate the Queen’s Birthday.

Dick Butler died in Darwin on 24 August 1987. He had come to be so well respected while he was Head Gardener that, on the morning of 28 August, his funeral cortege detoured en route to Darwin General Cemetery and the hearse was driven to the gates of Government House. The gardeners, Steve Lambert, Leon Doyle and Anthony Tunks, and those staff who had known Dick, including Adel Friman, Helen Wiffen and Brian Payne, were lined up outside the front gate, and the House Manager, Jim Farrell, placed a wreath on the coffin on behalf of all the staff of Government House. Friends and family were especially pleased at this tribute to a man who had spent so many years, through the terms of five Administrators, maintaining the lush tropical garden in perfect order, which established Government House as a Territory landmark and led to the award of a Civic Commendation on 30 June 1982.

A Territorian in every sense of the word, Butler had grown up in difficult times made harder by his part-Aboriginality. He struggled through life at Kahlin, the Depression and the cyclone: his early life certainly toughened him and made him a notable boxer and football player (with Vestey’s, later the Buffaloes) while the Government Secretary, a retired Army Colonel, had undoubtedly directed Dick towards a military career. He was on duty at the Naval Oil Fuel Installation and narrowly missed death at the time of the first Japanese raid and was witness to all subsequent raids, and suffered personal tragedy at the time of Cyclone Tracy when his wife Louisa was killed. He was a life member of the Northern Territory Football League and Darwin Football Club, and a member of both the Returned Services League and the Royal Australian Artillery Association. He had lived for many years at the old East Point camp and, together with Vic Williams, was one of the earliest founders of the East Point military museum. His 10 children, 24 grandchildren and four great-grandchildren survived him. His family in December 1993 donated a display of his service medals and photographs to Government House, Darwin.

‘G Butler’, *Land Rights News*, January 1994; Butler family photograph album and papers, and family information kindly provided by Miss D Butler (Darwin); Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 26 May 1988; P A Rosenzweig, ‘The Darwin Mobile Force’, *Sabretache*, XXXII, April–June 1991.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

BYRNE, WILLIAM JOSEPH (c1860–1941), grazier, and **BYRNE, ELIZABETH, nee SPRY** (1865–1949), pioneer. Elizabeth was born on 15 October 1865 at Mt Pleasant, South Australia to Asket Spry and Elizabeth, nee Caldwell. Nothing is known of her early life though her father appears to have died when she was a small child. On 22 February 1890 William Joseph and Elizabeth were married in Palmerston (Darwin), he then being a 30-year-old hotelkeeper and she aged 24. The witnesses were William’s brother James P Byrne and a sister, Margaret. Three other Byrne sisters also attended. Elizabeth had arrived from Sydney for her marriage that day and the Byrne relatives had come from Wyndham, Western Australia. William’s father, John, had migrated from Ireland in 1849 along with two brothers to join their father, Joseph, who was deported from Ireland for high treason in 1833 and had been given a ticket of leave. The Byrne men first arrived in north west of Australia with the [Durack](#) family.

There were apparently seven sons born of the marriage but only the names of four are known: Harold James born at Fountainhead in 1892, Montague Charles born in Palmerston in 1895, Roland Oliver born in 1898 and died at Brocks Creek, of fever, in July 1902 and the fourth son, William Stanley, was born in 1900.

During the early part of the 1890s William Byrne was the proprietor of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, which he sold to his brother in law, George Washington Mayhew. William then took up the lease of Byrneside (also called Burnside) station, near Brocks Creek. By 1903 he was active with the Brocks Creek

racing club, in partnership with Tom Smith and in 1906 was appointed a Justice of the Peace there. At Christmas that year Elizabeth and Will gave a Christmas party for residents of Brocks Creek. Another brother-in-law was [Tom Kilfoyle](#), married to Will's sister, Katie, and the two men often operated in partnership. Meat for the miners came from their properties.

By 1910 when Elizabeth and two of her children went south for a holiday the paper referred to her as 'widely known and much esteemed', as the Byrne name is 'synonymous with Brocks Creek'. During the First World War Elizabeth and her mother, Mrs Spry, (who was visiting) raised money for the Red Cross and waited to receive letters from her sons who were serving in France. In June 1917 she received news that her son, Private Montague Charles Byrne, aged 22, had been killed on the Western Front. The newspaper indicated that Monty was a good artist and some of his drawings hung in the office of E T Batchelor, when he was External Affairs Minister in charge of the Northern Territory. The news of Monty's death coincided with Will and Elizabeth moving to Tipperary, their new station. There is a glowing tribute to the family in the same paper, announcing they were taking up Tipperary and saying they battled 'on their own'.

In 1920 a 'social' was given for William and Elizabeth 'in that good old Irish fashion'. William was having problems with his arm and at one stage it was thought that he might lose it. In November 1922 in the first election where Territorians voted after it had been taken over the Commonwealth he stood against [Harold Nelson](#) who won, describing himself as a self made man who with wife and family and business had demonstrated the practicability of the White Australia policy. William died on 5 November 1941 and is buried in the Gardens Cemetery in Darwin.

[Ernestine Hill](#) described Elizabeth as 'dainty as a cameo, white haired and blind' and said she came from Wyndham in a schooner and set up a station with only 'a bridle, a rifle and 1 Pound'. She died at Tipperary on 3 March 1949 survived by three sons, her husband and four sons having predeceased her. She is buried in the Gardens Cemetery in Darwin.

B James, Occupation Citizen, 1995.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

C

CAHILL, PATRICK (PADDY) (1863?–1923), was born at Laidley, near Toowoomba, in Queensland. His birth was not registered. He was the son of Thomas Cahill who was a blacksmith, and his wife Sarah, *nee* Scahill.

Patrick Cahill was a great horseman and, with his brothers Tom and Matt and the Gordon brothers, joined **Nat Buchanan** in 1883 in the overlanding of 20 000 cattle from western Queensland to the Northern Territory.

After arriving in the Northern Territory, Cahill became aware of reports of up to 60 000 wild buffalo on the Alligator River floodplains not far from Darwin. He went into partnership with William Johnston to shoot buffalo for their hides and horns. Groups of Aborigines were employed during the dry season in semi-mobile camps. Cahill was one of the first to shoot buffalo from horseback, and much of his success was attributed to his fast, intelligent horse named St Lawrence. In 1898 Cahill wrote a series of articles for the *Northern Territory Times* about buffalo hunting.

When he visited Darwin as a journalist in 1898, Banjo Paterson listed the main topics of interest in the town at that time as the cyclone of 1897, the Government Resident and Paddy Cahill. Paddy Cahill was probably the most popular man in the Territory at this time. His photographs show him as a man of great confidence. On 18 October 1899 he married Maria Pickford at St Mary's Star of the Sea Catholic Church in Darwin.

At about this time, buffalo shooting was becoming less profitable, and Cahill purchased a pearling lugger called the *Ethel*. In 1899, soon after his wedding, he rode 320 kilometres to bring assistance to his partner Johnston, who had been seriously gored. This was recognised as an outstanding feat of endurance.

In 1906 Cahill and Johnston began the establishment of a farm at Oenpelli on the edge of Arnhem Land. The Kakadu people participated in the farm, which grew fruit, vegetables, sisal, cotton and other products.

Cahill showed an interest in Aboriginal culture, learning languages and using tribal names. He worked to minimise contacts with Europeans, including missionaries. In 1912 he was appointed a Protector of Aborigines, and given authority to manage a reserve around Oenpelli. In the same year Cahill was a major source of information about Aboriginal society for **W B Spencer**. As a result of this association he supplied the National Museum of Victoria with zoological specimens and a most significant collection of bark paintings.

Other visitors to the farm at Oenpelli were **Elsie Masson** and Carl Warburton. Spencer, Masson and Warburton were all impressed by the house and the farm.

In 1915 **J A Gilruth**, Administrator of the Northern Territory, selected Oenpelli as the site of a government experimental dairy. The government provided some cows, and butter was manufactured. Unionists in Darwin boycotted the produce because it was produced by black labour. An attempt was made in 1917 by one of Cahill's trusted Aboriginal workers to poison him and his family.

Cahill was friendly with Gilruth. During the Gilruth uprising he served as a special constable to protect Government House and was said to have antagonised the rioters. He was described by N K Ewing, who was the Royal Commissioner into the events, as a decent man, but sometimes careless. It was also implied that he had gained advantage for his son through his association with Gilruth.

Paddy Cahill was a lover of horses and horseracing. He went south for the Melbourne Cup in 1922 with his wife and son. A previous influenza bout recurred, and he died at the home of his brother Tom in Sydney on 4 February 1923. He is buried in Randwick cemetery.

He is commemorated in the naming of Mount Cahill, Cahill's Landing and Cahill's Crossing in Arnhem Land. Cahill Crescent in the Darwin suburb of Nakara is also named after him.

K Cole, *Oenpelli Pioneer*, 1972; K Cole, *A History of Oenpelli*, 1975; E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; E R Masson, *An Untamed Territory*, 1915; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1979; W B Spencer, *Wanderings in Wild Australia*, 1928; C Warburton & W K Robertson, *Buffaloes*, 1934; Argus, 18 February 1923; *Bulletin*, 31 December 1898; (Sydney) *Daily Telegraph*, 7 February 1923; *Northern Territory Times*, 17 March, 20 October & 10 November 1899; *Sydney Mail*, 27 June 1899; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 February 1923.

M A CLINCH, Vol 1.

CALDER, STEPHEN EDWARD (SAM) (1916–), clerk, aviator, pastoralist, businessman and politician, was born in Toorak, Melbourne, on 10 August 1916, third son of Horace Calder and his wife Dorothy Louise, *nee* Carter. While both his parents were British born, his paternal grandparents were from New Zealand, where at one time his grandfather was a member of the New Zealand parliament. He attended Grimwade House, the prep school for Melbourne Grammar School where he completed his education. Although bright and hard working, he did not matriculate and it was the sports masters whom he considered most influential in his school life. He excelled at most sports; tennis in particular was to become lifelong interest. Between 1932 and 1939 he was a member of the Fourth Brigade of Mounted Artillery, a Citizen Military Forces unit, and reached the rank of Sergeant.

His ambition was to go on the land though he was later to say that 'it was a pretty impossible sort of thing to just walk straight out of the city on to a property. And, looking back at it, I wouldn't agree with it anyhow, because it takes years and years to have reasonable sort of experience to be able to run a property with any degree of success in the areas where I was interested, which was Central Australia'. He was a teenager during the Depression years and though his family was comfortably off he learned the value of money.

His first job, about 1933, was as a 'very junior clerk' for a biscuit factory at Port Melbourne. After a year he joined the English Scottish and Australasian Chartered Bank and remained there for the next three or four years. During this time he met **Eddie Connellan** and Damian Miller, both of whom became very good friends, and

the three were to have great influence on each other's lives. He and Damian Miller learned to fly together at the Australian National Airlines Flying School at Essendon. The training aircraft was a de Havilland Moth and Sam got a commercial licence before going to Alice Springs to join Eddie Connellan's new airline.

When war broke out Sam, along with one of his brothers and Damian Miller, returned to Melbourne to join the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). Their registration papers were in a hall, which burnt down, and the would-be recruits were all but forgotten for some time. Sam felt that if it had not been for this incident he would have been flying Wirraways in New Guinea instead of Typhoons in France. When he was finally called up he was sent to the Initial Training School at Somers near Westernport in Victoria where his artillery training stood him in good stead. Having been selected to train as a pilot he was sent to the Flying Training School at Temora in New South Wales. After completing this course, Sam was sent, for twin-engine training, to the Seven Service Flying Training School in McLeod, Alberta, Canada, the base where Australian and New Zealand pilots were trained under the Empire Air Training Scheme during the war. Sam passed this course on Avro Ansons top of the class.

In December 1941, when he and his classmates were due to join Bomber Command in England Sam had to receive treatment for a hernia which had originally given trouble during his school days. In England in February 1942 he 'managed to talk my way on to training on single engine aircraft'. Sam then learned to fly Hawker Hurricanes, the main Royal Air Force frontline fighter at the time. He learned formation flying, gunnery and target practice and tactics. Next step was the Hawker Typhoon, not at all similar to the Hurricane and with a powerful, unreliable engine. He joined 182 Squadron, which was just being formed, as a Pilot Officer and later was appointed to the 247 Squadron, which was a China-British squadron, having been formed in Shanghai. He flew Typhoons for the next 22 months and during this time he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC). Although hit going into a target he completed his task and returned home. In all he flew more than 100 missions. In August 1944 he was relieved of flying duties, granted leave and posted back to Australia, arriving in December 1944. His appointment with the RAAF was terminated on 19 March 1945 when he joined the Reserve and resumed civilian life.

In 1945 he married Daphne Campbell, whom he had met in Alice Springs while she was starring in the film *The Overlanders*. The couple had four daughters though the marriage was later dissolved.

Sam returned to Connellan Airways and was the senior pilot until 1947. At that time a five day round trip to Wyndham took in such remote localities as Mt Doreen, the Granites, Tanami, Gordon Downs, Nicholson, Turkey Creek, Victoria River Downs, Wave Hill, Katherine, Timber Creek, Auvergne, Newry, Ivanhoe and Argyle. The landing strips were dirt and built to Connellan's specifications. As better aircraft became available so the fleet was upgraded from the original Percival Gull to the de Havilland Hawk and then the DH90 Dragonfly, which could carry about six passengers. Communication was by Morse from the air and by Traegar wireless from the ground. Stations would radio Alice Springs to let them know that the plane had landed safely. The pilots not only flew, they handled all necessary paperwork, manhandled the cargo and maintained the engine. Connellan Airways had the flying doctor contract so an aircraft was on standby at all times for this purpose.

In 1947 Sam gave up flying as he had been asked to manage Singleton Station, near Wauchope on the Stuart Highway. The station homestead was a bough shed at Wycliffe Well; some months later Sam and his family moved to Cock Martin's well some five miles away where there was a good bore. At the end of 1947 they moved to Narwietooma Station, owned by Connellan, but at that time managed by Hughie Van Heythuysen. They spent about 12 months there and, having missed out on obtaining Argadargada on ballot, returned to Orange in New South Wales where Daphne's father had an orchard. Sam then worked for his father-in-law. In 1951 they returned to the Territory to manage Argadargada for Milton Willick and Damian Miller, the successful lessees. Their first homestead was a Sydney Williams hut with no electricity but they did have a radio. Argadargada was also on the Connair service between Alice Springs and Mount Isa. They remained there until 1959 when the property was sold. Sam then became an assistant manager at Brunette Downs, which had just been purchased by King Ranch from the White family who had owned it for many years. Sam quickly fell out with the manager and was sacked though King Ranch realised several years later that the manager was, in Sam's words, 'a bad egg' and he too was dismissed.

With a young family, Sam and Daphne were glad to return to Alice Springs where he worked with the electrical firm Murray Neck as a costing clerk. Sam became a director and shareholder of the Oasis Service Station and he helped John Amadio run this for some years. It was while he was here that Sam was approached to stand for the Commonwealth House of Representatives after a branch of the Country Party was formed in Alice Springs in 1966. Sam was well known in Alice Springs where he was captain of the cricket team, the local tennis champion and involved in many community activities. At the time he had no financial interest in a pastoral property.

The Australian Labor Party had long held the sole Territory House of Representatives seat. For 17 years **Jock Nelson** had held the seat but he retired and in 1966 Sam stood against **Dick Ward**. Despite having little support from the media (the editor of the *Northern Territory News*, **Jim Bowditch** was a Labor supporter), Sam was successful. In those days most campaigning took the form of public addresses by the candidate, often from the back of a truck. Sam travelled throughout the Territory and won the seat by 480 votes though the final result was not known for 10 days as so many results had to come in from missions and settlements and there was a large number of postal votes. He held the seat until 1980 when he did not stand again. Commuting to Canberra was slow and time-consuming and compounded by climatic changes but he tried to get home every fortnight.

During these years he became known as 'Silent Sam' as it was claimed he had little to say in the House though he served on many parliamentary committees. They were, however, years of considerable improvement in the Territory's constitutional status. When Sam was elected the member for the Northern Territory only had the right to vote on topics directly connected with the Territory. He used to attend all divisions as if he was voting and in 1968 he eventually gained a full voice in the House. Senate representation was another battle and in 1974 he crossed the

floor and sat with the Labor Party on the issue of Senate representation in the Territory. There subsequently two Territory Senators and in 1978 the Territory was granted self-government. Sam maintained his interest in defence matters and was a member of the Joint Standing Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs. The large military presence and excellent facilities in the north owed something to his work behind the scenes. He also was a member of the Joint Committee of Aboriginal Affairs and he probably knew more about Aborigines than any other Member of Parliament of his day. He was a member of the Public Works Committee and the Transport Committee when the beef roads were developed and the Tarcoola to Alice Springs railway line upgraded. It was then hoped that the railway line would automatically be extended to Darwin but though a member of the Joint Committee on the Northern Territory no progress was made. Sam's 14 years representing the Northern Territory in Canberra were characterised by his dedication to advancing Territory concerns, overcoming the tyranny of long distance travel, including getting around the Territory to nearly every settlement annually, battling the 'don't care' attitude of many Territorians, the ignorance of many southern Australians, and being ignored by the press.

Although in Adelaide at the time of Cyclone Tracy, Sam managed to get to Alice Springs, where he was given a seat on the same plane as Acting Prime Minister Jim Cairns who was travelling in a RAAF aircraft. They arrived on Boxing Day and though he got a room in a hotel, there were no sewerage, no lights, no meals and no windows. Sam then joined his friend Roger Ryan, who ran Detroit Diesel. They got some generators and refrigerators running. As a public figure Sam was asked to help with the evacuation as it was thought that familiar faces would raise the morale of the town's people. He helped calm the evacuees, carried babies and luggage and showed them some friendship. He remembers an unpleasant incident at what was then the Darwin Community College, where there was a fellow with a .303 rifle and a big heap of gear demanding to be taken to the airport. It was up to Sam to make him see reason. Sam left Darwin at the end of January, having assisted in the evacuation of some 35 000 people.

Sam Calder retired to Darwin and had little further direct involvement in politics. He supported the Territory Nationals for some time when they were a possible alternate non-Labor party. He was President of the Australia–American Association and took an interest in anything to do with defence in Darwin. He played tennis each week and swam and walked daily. His contribution to the Territory were enormous; from his war service to opening up the back-blocks with a regular mail service, helping to develop several pastoral properties, to his mammoth task in looking after Territorians' interests for 14 years in an indifferent Canberra. His service was recognised with the award of Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE).

S Calder, taped interviews and papers.

FIONA DARCY, Vol 3.

CAMPBELL, JOHN (?–?), army officer. No records have been located which give any indication of Campbell's place of birth or boyhood residence. However, the British Army Lists provide details of his distinguished career.

On 9 July 1803 Campbell joined the 57th Regiment of Foot as an ensign and he gained seniority as a lieutenant on 17 March 1804. He was promoted to the rank of Captain on 5 May 1808 and to Major on 27 May 1825. He brought this established military background to his greatest challenge, the establishment of a military outpost at Fort Dundas.

In the Colonial Secretary's letter dated 14 August 1826, Major Campbell was instructed to proceed from Sydney to Melville Island in the colonial vessel *Isobella* and to assume command 'in the room of Captain Barlow'. Remote, primitive and chronically short of supplies, Fort Dundas must have had little appeal to the relieving commandant and his forty men of the 57th Regiment when they arrived in September 1826. Nevertheless, Campbell presents a positive, optimistic portrayal to Colonial Secretary McLeay.

His early dispatches portray a man with an enterprising nature and possessing ideal credentials for the impending task. Even the previous neglect of the livestock and the gardens, and the constant swarms of flies and mosquitoes did not encroach upon his enthusiasm. In a dispatch to headquarters he commented, 'I am not of the temperament to be cast down and on the contrary, I rejoice that I have been placed in so novel and interesting a situation...'

Governor Darling, in his dispatch to Earl Bathurst on 4 December 1826, made reference to the favourable reports from Melville Island. 'The newly appointed Commandant who appears a very intelligent officer may possibly prove that Melville Island is not altogether so unfavourable for the purpose intended as has been represented.' In the dispatch of 18 December, the Governor drew attention to the innovative approach of Campbell in opening a communication with Timor for the purpose of fresh provisions. Mention was also made of the discovery of trepang in Apsley Strait.

Captain James Stirling, who later established the garrison at Fort Wellington, took a more cautious stance. From HMS *Success* in a dispatch on 8 December to the Governor, he expressed doubts about this early enthusiasm for the establishment of a northern port 'fearing the unknown nature' of the country, and by the end of the year 1826 Campbell was forced to agree.

Both the physical and social environment had taken their toll on his energy. Despondency had driven the men to become quarrelsome and insecure and by April of 1827 the small isolated community had suffered disastrous encounters with the local Aborigines. The new residents became prisoners of their own making. Campbell's earlier optimism waned as each agricultural experiment failed in the harsh environment and livestock was reduced in numbers through inappropriate conditions. Ill health, both physical and mental, claimed the lives of many, including the wives of officers and men. Circumstances became critical with the murder by Aborigines of the surgeon John Gold and storekeeper John Green.

The dispatches discussing the salaries of Major Campbell and his officers indicate that some recognition was given by Downing Street to the onerous task that faced these men. Nevertheless there is scant evidence that those who made the decisions affecting the outcome of Fort Dundas had any notion of the daily hardships endured. In

June 1827 Fort Wellington was set up at Raffles Bay on the northern coast, the plan being that Fort Dundas be retained until Fort Wellington was established and operable.

The new outpost fared little better. Relations with the Aborigines were at best strained, and ill health plagued the new garrison from the outset. While on a visit to Raffles Bay soon after its creation, Campbell was compelled to take the most serious of the scurvy patients back with him to Fort Dundas.

By October 1827 Governor Darling had been convinced that the Fort Dundas settlement had little to offer in the way of a permanent establishment. In a dispatch to Downing Street he reported: 'It is evident from this communication [dispatches from Campbell] that motives of policy alone can render it desirable to keep possession of that settlement, there appearing no other inducement whatever to retain it, but on the contrary strong reasons for immediately abandoning it.' Then followed a further dispatch by the Governor, drawing attention to the fact that 'Major Campbell's health appears to have suffered'.

In a letter dated 13 March 1828 from the Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay, Campbell received the news he had been waiting for: 'In consequence of the strong desire which you have expressed to be relieved, His Excellency, the Governor has been pleased to appoint Captain Hartley of the 57th Regiment to succeed you.' Captain Hartley arrived on Melville Island in April 1828, but by the end of the year willingly abandoned the settlement at the Governor's request.

There is every reason to believe that John Campbell made every effort to bring success to Fort Dundas but the odds were against him and he became the victim of uncontrollable circumstances. His optimism carried him through a period of time where perhaps others would have despaired much sooner. This inclination faded bitter memories of Fort Dundas. Time and distance had lent enchantment to the extent that in 1834, at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, he described nearby Port Essington as 'the friendly hand of Australia'.

F H Bauer, *Historical Geography of White Settlement in Part of Northern Australia*, part 2, 1964; C P Conigrave, *North Australia*, 1936; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *Historical Records of Australia*, Series 1, vols xii and xiii, British Army Records, 1804 to 1829.

TED STREET, Vol 1.

CARNOCHAN, ELIZABETH AGNES (BETTY): see [WASHINGTON, ELIZABETH AGNES](#)

CAWOOD, JOHN CHARLES (c1882–?) was born in about 1882 in New South Wales. He was educated in Parramatta and later at a Catholic High School. He spent 16 years in the state public service in various departments, initially with the Government Statistician, the Public Works Department and its Timber and Export Branch for Railway Public Works purposes. Cawood's father lived to a great age at Victoria Barracks at Parramatta and was considered to be the oldest volunteer in the British Empire.

Cawood married in 1903 and continued in the public service in the Lands Department (Forestry Branch) and qualified as a district forester. He spent some years in the commercial field at Bellingen as Superintendent of Northern River Agencies of Allen Taylor and Company Ltd. He left this to start his own business as a saw-miller. He became a council member and President of the Bellingen Shire Council and was also a coroner and magistrate there.

He had been associated with politics and was known to George Gollan, State Member for Parramatta in 1925, who regarded him as a fine public-spirited citizen and a good organiser. Earle Page also knew him and it was he who recommended to the Federal government his appointment to the Northern Territory in late 1926.

The appointment of Cawood as Government Resident of Central Australia was for a three-year period under Section 48 of the *Northern Australia Act*, 1926, as from 15 December 1926. This appointment occurred when the Territory was split into two administrations—the North Australia Commission and the Central Australia Commission—under this Act in 1926. Major [Robert Hunter Weddell](#) was appointed Government Resident of North Australia, residing at Government House in Darwin.

Cawood left Melbourne after consultations with the Department of Home and Territories on 22 February 1927 and was accompanied by V G Carrington, clerk, and his wife, arriving in Alice Springs by 1 March. Police [Sergeant Stott](#) was asked to arrange initial accommodation. It appears that some temporary arrangement was provided for Cawood and Carrington and his wife after their arrival and that the new administration houses (three of them) and office buildings were not completed until November 1928.

Cawood's term in Central Australia commenced on 1 March 1927 and he handed over in November 1929 to Carrington who had worked with him as his deputy. Carrington continued until 1931 when the Territory was rejoined under Administrator Weddell and the North and Central Australia Commissions were abolished. Cawood retired in 1930 to live at Cronulla. The Federal government's initiative in decentralising control in the Northern Territory in 1926 was not a success. Cawood found that he could not get early responses to urgent requests to Canberra for assistance. He was also given administrative charge of the three-member Commission of Inquiry into the 1928 killing of Aborigines at Coniston in Central Australia: A H O'Kelly, chairman, Cawood and Police Inspector P A Giles. The Commission reported to government in 1929.

Later in 1929 his son, [Stan Cawood](#), accompanied [Constable Murray](#) in locating the wreck of the *Kookaburra*, where Anderson and Hitchcock perished in the Tanami Desert. Stan Cawood remained in the Territory in post-war years in his own tourist business. He had, in 1925–26, before his father's appointment as Government Resident, Central Australia, been to Calcutta delivering horses from New South Wales to the remount depot there.

AA, Darwin CRS A 431 46/676; CRS A1 29/8727 & 29/2777; Oral history transcript, Stan Cawood, NTA.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

CAWOOD, STANLEY WALTER (STAN) (1907–), pastoral worker, driver, forester, timber mill manager, transport and shipping officer, cafe and theatre manager, road transport operator and businessman, was born in Bellingen, New South Wales, on 8 March 1907, the son of [John Charles Cawood](#), one time Government Resident of Central Australia. After primary schooling at Bellingen and De La Salle College in Armidale, New South Wales, he went to Saint Joseph's College, Hunters Hill in Sydney, for his secondary education. Upon leaving school he went jackerooing on a sheep station near Moree in New South Wales and then in 1924 worked on the Widden Stud at Muswellbrook, New South Wales, where many well-known racehorses had been bred. In 1925 he travelled to Calcutta, India, to deliver 500 horses that were sold to an Indian Army remount depot.

Cawood was a jackeroo at Lake Nash Station, Northern Territory, for about two years and in 1927 travelled by car with Constable Harry Allen, who was stationed at Lake Nash, to Alice Springs to see his father. Their vehicle was only the second to travel the route via the Sandover Track.

In 1928 and 1929 Cawood drove cars for A G Bond of Bond's Tours, Adelaide, carrying tourists on excursions lasting several days to places such as Arltunga and Palm Valley.

In 1929 he was a member of the party that retrieved the bodies of Keith Anderson and Bob Hitchcock who had died of thirst when their aircraft, the *Kookaburra*, was forced through engine failure to land in wild country between Powell Creek and Wave Hill. They had intended to assist in the search for Charles Kingsford-Smith and Charles Ulm who had gone missing in their aircraft *Southern Cross* on a stage of what was to have been a pioneering flight to Britain. Anderson and Hitchcock were forced down in remote country to the north west of Alice Springs on 10 April and it is thought they died a couple of days later. Their aeroplane was sighted from the air on 21 April and a land party set out from Wave Hill Station on 24 April. It was decided to bury the bodies on the spot. The Prime Minister, S M Bruce, however, announced that the Commonwealth would reclaim them.

A new Thornycroft truck, loaned by Thornycroft Australia at no cost to the Commonwealth government, was sent by rail from Adelaide to Alice Springs to assist in the recovery mission. The party, which left Alice Springs on 31 May, comprised Thornycroft's South Australian manager, Frank Nottle, driver and mechanic Les Miles from Sydney, reporter and photographer William Berg, Mounted Constable [William George Murray](#) and Cawood, who was cook and relief driver. On 13 June the party reached the *Kookaburra*.

The bodies were exhumed and placed in lead lined coffins. A rough strip was cleared so that the aircraft could be flown out at some later date. As it happened, the *Kookaburra* never flew again; it was virtually 'lost' for nearly 50 years. A search party rediscovered its derelict remains in 1978 and they were removed to Alice Springs.

Cawood married Ethel Underdown in 1932. They had six children. Soon after his marriage he moved with Ethel to New South Wales where he obtained a position as a forester with the New South Wales Forestry Commission and later became a timber inspector. He was stationed at Coffs Harbour and Grafton at various times before he moved to Carney's Creek near Clermont in Queensland in 1940 where he was manager of a mill cutting bridge timber for the Army. In 1941 he contracted dengue fever and was sent to Sydney. When he recovered he was appointed to an American army supply division as a transport and shipping officer responsible for the procurement and movement of supplies for United States forces on the mainland and in the South Pacific zone.

In 1942 he returned to Alice Springs with his wife and managed the Capital Cafe and Theatre for his mother-in-law, Daisy Underdown.

After the war Cawood began carting copper by truck from the Home of Bullion Mine to Alice Springs. He later transported ore from Harts Range. He converted his truck into a semi-trailer and carted beer, 60 wooden kegs per load, from Alice Springs to Darwin in the days when Adelaide brewers supplied the Territory's beer requirements.

In 1949 he became a founder of the Territory Transport Association (TTA), which was formed to protect the interests of road transport operators in the Northern Territory. In turn the TTA formed Co-Ord to undertake the coordinated road and rail freight service between Alice Springs and Larrimah under contract to Commonwealth Railways. He was one of the original shareholders in Co-Ord. He was also its Chairman of Directors from 1953 to 1957.

As business grew and the volume of freight increased under road and rail contracts, Cawood purchased bigger vehicles, (Fodens), to haul two and three trailers at a time on road trains from Alice Springs to Larrimah, Mount Isa and, occasionally, Darwin.

He perceived a bright future for tourism in the Territory and began to diversify his interests. His Co-Ord business was operating satisfactorily with his sons Greville and Ian looking after the day-to-day freight handling and driving requirements. So he established a company that he named Alice Springs Tours and acquired Jack Cotterill's small tourist business when the latter intimated that he wished to devote his energies to developing King's Canyon as a tourist attraction in association with an accommodation project he was planning at Wallara, south west of Alice Springs. Cotterill had built up a small fleet of passenger vehicles to carry tourists between Alice Springs and Ayers Rock, where Daisy Underdown had built The Chalet. Eventually Cawood took over The Chalet and combined it with his Alice Springs Tours business.

To compete with the growing Ansett operations in the Territory, the management of Trans Australia Airlines (TAA, later Australian Airlines) approached Cawood and several others interested in tourism with the idea of setting up a local tour organisation that could offer a variety of tours radiating from Alice Springs, as well as accommodation. After 20 years in freight transport he decided to sell his share in Co-Ord and in 1961 helped form the Central Australian Tours Association (CATA) and became its first Chairman. Operators of town tours and district tours as well as four wheel drive excursions, together with hotel and motel owners, were included in the membership of CATA so that fully accommodated tours could be packaged by TAA in competition with Ansett.

After operating the Chalet at Ayers Rock for almost 20 years, Cawood sold it to the Northern Territory government, which in turn acquired other lodgings at Ayers Rock and reorganised the whole accommodation arrangement at Yulara.

In the late 1970s CATA was sold to Australian Associated Tours (AAT), which was jointly owned by TAA and Mayne Nickless. In 1983 when Australian Pacific Tours acquired AAT, CATA became a subsidiary.

In 1976 Cawood retired to live with his wife at Palm Cove, near Cairns in Queensland.

A wing of the Yulara complex at Ayers Rock was named after him in recognition of his contribution to Northern Territory transport and tourism. In 1989 he received a Brolga Award for 'outstanding contribution to the tourist industry in the Northern Territory'.

J Maddock, *A History of Road Trains in the Northern Territory 1934–1988*, 1988; taped interview; correspondence.

JOHN MADDOCK, Vol 2.

CECIL, Lady WILLIAM: see **FREER, MAUD VIOLET**

CHALMERS, CHARLES O (1874–1967), schoolteacher and pioneer pastoralist, was born on 23 January 1874, at Mountain Station, Stanthorpe, in southern Queensland, a son of William Chalmers and Kate McLeod, who had migrated from Scotland and met and married in Ipswich. His father, a contract worker on stations, was killed while breaking-in horses. Chalmers was only seven. At this time they were living in Emmaville, a tiny town in the northern tablelands of New South Wales. He took over the care of their horses, sheep and fifteen milking cows, which he helped milk before and after school. He developed a love of stock and an inherent ability to handle them.

With supervision from the headmaster of the local school, Chalmers completed his training as a pupil teacher and was appointed to Tent Hill to which he walked the five kilometres each day from Emmaville. On graduation he was appointed the first teacher of the new school on the station property Blair Hill, near Glen Innes. It was owned by Andrew Coventry and his wife, Helena, formerly from a neighbouring station, Mount Mitchell. There were seven Coventry children. When one daughter, Cora, fair skinned, blue eyed and golden haired, returned from Queenswood, a private school in Glen Innes, the tall, dark and good-looking Chalmers courted her. Cora, younger than he, was impressed, as was everyone, with his strength and compassion. He fitted into the family circle with his easy friendliness and good manners, and was eager to learn stock work from Andrew Coventry.

Chalmers had several schools in the New England district before being sent to Sydney, then Coolah. At Easter in 1910 Charles Chalmers and Cora Coventry were married at Saint Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Macquarie Street, Sydney. The early years of their married life were years of constant anxiety due to financial stresses. He became a proficient and dedicated teacher, but he felt it could not be his life's work if he was to support a wife and four children. He commenced balloting for land in Queensland. Appointed to Mungindi, New South Wales, on the stock route from Queensland, he talked to drovers coming through from the Northern Territory and decided to apply for a block near Elsey Station at Warlock Ponds.

Disregarding all warnings, Chalmers resigned from the Education Department to prepare to set out for the Territory about the end of February 1921, when the worst heat was over. Three hundred sheep, 13 horses, a small herd of goats, several dogs and five bantams in a cage slung under the wagon completed the livestock to make the journey. Chalmers and the two eldest children, Jean, almost 11, and Mac, aged eight, rode and drove the sheep, while Cora with Don, almost five, and Jessie, aged three, drove the covered wagon.

At Thallon they attended a race meeting where Chalmers won a horse in a raffle. Named Eulalie, he was to win many races. Through Saint George, Barcaldine, Aramac to Winton, the going was easy. In Winton their first mail was waiting with a letter from the Minister for Home and Territories informing them that the block of land they had applied for was not available and to apply again. Chalmers now turned his attention to Central Australia although he had no detailed maps. Once in the Centre he would be in a better position to make a decision. They headed north to Boulia to see the summer out and do the shearing. Chalmers was to learn that he was dealing with a hard country that dictated the terms. Drought set in for all of 1922 and until June 1923 the Chalmers were forced to camp at Boulia.

Eventually they were able to resume their journey, but not along the usual stock route into the Territory. Chalmers decided to take a straight line to Alice Springs through trackless country rarely, if ever, seen by white men and certainly never by a white woman and children. It had never been mapped in detail and he had no way of knowing the whereabouts of waterholes, if any. He had faith in the recent fall of rain. For him the unknown was a situation to be faced and conquered, not to be avoided. From Boulia they turned west to the Georgina, which they followed for 200 kilometres to Roxborough Downs without trouble with feed or water. At Walgra Station, next on the Georgina, the manager, Basil Brett, tried desperately to talk Chalmers out of taking the cross-country route. Camped on this station was Fred Davis, who offered to guide them over the worst stretches.

They entered the Territory on Lake Nash Station and the terrain began to toughen up. At Elditta Waterhole they met Arthur Groom, who told of meeting the 'brave insane family'. 'Didn't they know there was desert beyond the Aghadaghada Waterhole where only camels had gone before? It was madness to drive sheep across, let alone risk the lives of the family.'

Gordon's Creek faded out and on the plains no trees and no water. They had come 40 kilometres and the sheep were desperately thirsty and had to be forced along. It rained that night, but water was always scarce and often they had to dig for it. Then they were in the spinifex country. Davis left when two Aborigines offered to guide them to the Plenty River. The animals were already footsore and becoming weaker through not having sufficient

water, and dingoes were prowling. Five weeks after leaving Boulia they reached the Plenty and the worst of the journey was over. They established a base camp and a yard for the sheep while Chalmers scouted the countryside for a permanent home.

Chalmers chose an area near the junction of the Bundy and Fraser rivers. Before applying for the 500 square kilometre block, a name had to be chosen. They decided on Macdonald Downs, a combination of the names of their two sons. They erected a tent and a large bough shed in which to live, and yards for the sheep.

Their financial position was worrying; as prices of necessities skyrocketed by the time they reached Arltunga, which was a three-day ride each way from Macdonald Downs. Afghans carried the major stores and camel teams.

Education was not neglected. Chalmers read to the children at night, but Cora taught from correspondence school lessons. The Chalmers befriended the Aborigines and had much help from them. The children became proficient in their language.

Sheep had to be herded during the day and yarded at night. Wells and troughing had to be put in for permanent water. However, in one devastating drought the sheep had to be moved from Macdonald Downs. On the drive, water was not found, and the family and animals were on the point of dying when help arrived. Many sheep perished and then the floods came. The Chalmers deepened the wells, erected windmills, and became the first Central Australian pastoralists to purchase a boring plant. After years of hardship in dealing with a harsh country, the Chalmers gradually made good and added to their acreage. In June 1934 they shored 2 506 sheep.

In 1938 Jean Chalmers married Jack Weir, and in 1940 Mac married Rose Agars. Later Jessie married Geoff Holt; Donald also married, firstly to Millicent Viner and later to Pam Davis. After the outbreak of the Second World War, Donald travelled to Adelaide to enlist.

Cora Chalmers had only one trip back to her home in New South Wales. Years of hard living had undermined her health and arthritis set in, so it became necessary for her to be near doctors. She lived in Bath Street in Alice Springs until her death in 1958. An original pioneer, Cora learned to adapt to the environment, to face adversity and uncertainty with courage while always maintaining a sense of humour, grace and kindness. Chalmers often said, 'I married the right wife.' Chalmers continued to live on Macdonald Downs for many years, guarded by the Aborigines he had always befriended, until his retirement to Alice Springs with his daughter Mrs Jean Weir. He died on 7 December 1967.

Chalmers was an optimist. He was farseeing and a man of great vision. He never let his inner worries defeat him. His complete and utter confidence was catching and gave those around him courage to go on. Chalmers' rare combination of uprightness, honesty and virtue highlighted his character.

All who met her, in a region where kindness and resourcefulness were all important, remembers Cora's cheerful hospitality and helpfulness. She was a rare person who had deep inner kindness. She helped people in need and always put others before herself. On her death, a neighbour of hers, Alex Kerr, wrote to Chalmers: 'In my life much of which was unspeakably lonely, I always felt that in Mrs Chalmers was a person in whose home I was always sure of a friendly welcome. Central Australia will not be the same place to me with her gone from it. I admired her common sense, her capacity for adjusting herself to her environment, and her ability to make the best and not the worst of circumstances.'

M Ford, *Beyond the Furthest Fences*, 1966; Family information.

HEATHER GOLDSWORTHY and JENNY SCHOLES, *Vol 1*.

CHAN, HEN FOOK (HARRY) (1918–1969), storekeeper, politician and community worker, was born in Darwin on 14 June 1918, the son of Chan Fon Yuen, who had migrated from the Chinese province of Kwangtung as a young man and established a business in Darwin. His mother, Wong Quee, was also from Kwangtung. Chan Hen Fook attended the Darwin Public School, where he was given the European name of Harry. He was later sent to Hong Kong for four years to study the Chinese language and traditions. When he returned to Australia he studied accountancy by correspondence and qualified as an accountant.

Chan married Lilyan Yuen in Darwin on 18 January 1941. The couple had three sons and a daughter. Lilyan and the eldest son, Calvin, were sent south on the ship *Zealandia* when Darwin civilians were evacuated late in 1941 due to fears of a Japanese invasion. Chan remained in Darwin and narrowly escaped death during a Japanese air raid when a bomb fell close to the trench where he had taken cover, killing the other two occupants. In 1946 he and Lilyan opened a store in an Army style hut which they constructed themselves on the corner of Smith and Knuckey Streets. Chan's unfailingly cheerful personality and beaming smile earned him the title of the 'Happy Grocer'. Fourteen years later he leased the store to Woolworths. In 1959 he decided to contest a by election for the Fannie Bay ward of the Darwin Town Council. With Lilyan as driver, he visited almost every home in Fannie Bay and won by a large margin.

Chan was a conscientious alderman, devoting great energy to working for Fannie Bay. When the ward system was abolished in 1962, he worked equally hard at duties to the Darwin electors as a whole. In 1962 he contested the Fannie Bay electorate for the Legislative Council. He defeated Mrs Lyn Berlowitz and in subsequent elections steadily increased his majority. In 1965 he was elected unopposed as President of the Legislative Council. In 1966 he was elected Mayor of Darwin, defeating the incumbent, Harold Cooper.

Chan's political successes focused media attention on Darwin. That an Australian of Asian ancestry was democratically elected to high offices was given wide publicity in Australia and overseas and did much to counter the unfavourable reputation of Australia being racist.

Apart from his busy political life, Chan was deeply involved in community work. He was President of the Road Safety Council of the Northern Territory, an original member of the Arts Council in the Territory, Vice Patron of the North Australian Eisteddfod Council, President of the Festival Council, a member of the Chung Wah Society and the Darwin High School Committee and active in many other community organisations. It is said that Chan knew almost everyone in Darwin by his or her first name and he was widely respected and liked. He was the first Territorian to become a Fellow of the Australian Society of Accountants. In June 1969 his contribution to the Darwin community was recognised when he was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE)

Shortly after being re-elected as Mayor of Darwin in 1969, Chan lost a long battle with cancer. He died in Darwin Hospital on 5 August 1969, survived by his wife and children. His funeral was the biggest ever seen in the Northern Territory. After a private service in the Anglican Christ Church Cathedral, the funeral cortege proceeded to the Darwin Town Hall, where the Anglican and Catholic Bishops together with a minister of the United Church joined together in conducting a public service. When the cortege left for the McMillans Road Cemetery it stretched for almost two kilometres. The streets it followed were lined with mourners and over 1000 people gathered at the cemetery to pay their final respects. As they left, they were handed sweets and coins, a Chinese tradition to wish good luck to all.

The depth of community feeling at Chan's untimely death was reflected in entries in the Harry Chan memorial book initiated by the Legislative Council and signed by Darwin residents. Chan's name lived on in Darwin. When wards were again introduced in Darwin in 1971, an area covering most of Fannie Bay was named after him. Harry Chan Avenue was the name given to a street that ran alongside the Civic Centre, where, in 1968, Chan unveiled a memorial in the face of the partly erected building. The Chan Private Nursing Home is also named in his memory.

Harry Chan File, State Library of the Northern Territory; family information from Mrs L Chan, Canberra, and Mrs N Fong, Darwin.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

CHAN, NELLIE: see **FONG, NELLIE**

CHANEY, (Sir) FREDERICK CHARLES (FRED) (1914–), teacher, airman, politician and Administrator, was born in Perth, Western Australia, on 12 August 1914, the son of Mr and Mrs F C Chaney. He was educated at Aquinas College and Claremont Teachers' College, both in Perth, subsequently being employed as a teacher. On 1 January 1938 he married Mavis Mary Bond with whom he had four sons and three daughters.

During the Second World War he served as a pilot in the Royal Australian Air Force and was decorated with the Air Force Cross (AFC) He was the first Second World War veteran to become President of the Returned Services League in Western Australia, a position he held from 1952 until 1955.

Between 1955 until his defeat in 1969 he represented the electorate of Perth in the Commonwealth House of Representatives as a Liberal. He was Government Whip from 1961 until 1963 and Minister for the Navy from 1963 until 1966. From 1967 until 1969 he was Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works, which took him to the Northern Territory several times.

In March 1970 he succeeded **Roger Dean** as Administrator of the Northern Territory. Many regarded his appointment, with its jump in salary for him, as 'a job for the boys'. His term both began and ended in substantial controversy, due partly to circumstances but also to the manner in which he approached issues.

Nineteen seventy was a time of substantial growth in the Territory's population and economy, a factor Chaney acknowledged when first interviewed about his appointment. 'I have an awful lot to learn', he said. The Administrator's job, he went on, was 'no sinecure'. The Territory had 'a growth rate equal to any in Australia. As with all new developments there are tremendous problems in its wake as we have seen here'.

Although he took the opportunity to travel extensively throughout the Territory and speak to many people, his blunt, straightforward style was for some unnecessarily confrontationalist and he often found himself the target of media criticism.

In 1971 the Melbourne *Herald* journalist Alan Dearn wrote, 'After a year in office Mr Chaney's hair is noticeably more grey, face deeper lined and his irritability at public occasions more evident. It is no isolated opinion up north that Mr Chaney is understandably feeling the strain of one of the nation's most demanding jobs—northern development.' Dearn went on to reflect on the controversial manner in which Chaney had dealt with some issues. The most notable was in July 1970 when he brought Territory industry 'to a standstill'. He refused, according to Dearn, to hear arguments from the North Australian Workers' Union against his directive to employ Fannie Bay Gaol prisoners, at the rate of nine Cents a day, in competition with normal labour for work at a nursery. The union did not object to prisoners being meaningfully employed as long as they were paid award wages similar to other workers at the nursery. The eight convicts had worked three days when widespread strike action throughout the Territory brought intervention from the Commonwealth Minister, Peter Nixon. Striking workers marched on the Administrator's office with placards proclaiming 'no slave labour here' and 'pull the chain on Chaney'. 'Mr Nixon arrived', wrote Dearn, 'and sent the convicts back to jail, issuing a public statement calling the whole thing a misunderstanding'.

As the Territory began to move towards self-government, the Commonwealth appointed Allan O'Brien, a public servant, to the newly created post of Deputy Administrator in 1971. He carried out a great deal of work that had previously been Chaney's responsibility. Many Territorians responded to his appointment with cynicism, arguing that there was no need for the new position. With O'Brien's arrival, Chaney's functions were increasingly ceremonial.

His role became even more difficult with the election to office of the Whitlam Labor government in 1972. The new Minister for the Northern Territory, Kep Enderby, made reforms to the Territory's administration and proposed the elimination of the Administrator's office. In March 1973, when his three year term came to an end, Chaney agreed to remain as Administrator until the end of the year but in August the government decided to remove him and appoint O'Brien, then Secretary of the Department of the Northern Territory, as Acting Administrator.

When asked his reaction to the move, Chaney said, 'It has been a Government decision. New governments make new decisions. The real tests come in time—and only time can tell about things like this.' He expanded on this theme in an interview for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. 'People', he said, 'seem to feel that the Territory has been downgraded by not having a titular head... But the old order changes—as it must—and an experiment is now being carried out. I would like to see how it works.' He went on that it was natural that the Legislative Council wanted a greater say in running the Territory. 'I don't think', he said, 'there should be a state-type government, but I think they should be given some political responsibility. A fully elected council is the next step.' Chaney also claimed that not enough was done in the Territory for the 'little man' who wanted to develop land. 'There is not much chance for him... The Territory now seems only a place of high capital investment'. He stated he had two wishes, 'To see the Australian Government take control of Highway One around Australia and seal it and to see a railway linking Darwin and Adelaide.'

Chaney's dismissal received a mixed reaction in the Territory. The two elected members of the Administrator's Council, an embryo 'cabinet', Bernie Kilgariff and Joe Fisher, said they felt he had carried out his duties conscientiously. Kilgariff added that his removal was a retrograde step. Minister Enderby, however, said the role of Administrator needed modification in the Territory's constitutional development. The senior Official member of the Legislative Council, Martyn Finger, argued that Chaney 'could not be described as a rubber stamp—he was a man of conviction, knowledge and authority who had given a great deal to the Territory.' Dick Ward, a Labor member of the Council, said that Chaney had shown a particular interest in constitutional reform. 'I believe', he continued, 'he was more sympathetic to this cause than his position allowed him to say'. Ray McHenry, Director of Aboriginal Affairs in the Territory, added that many Aborigines felt they were losing a 'real friend.'

The Chaney's departed for Perth but they left behind physical improvements in Darwin's Government House. At the time of Chaney's appointment, the Administrator's living quarters were 'lean tos' at the back of the residence and it was decided to build new apartments. The southern end of the building was converted to a four room flat, but, as fate would have it, the Chaney's never had the opportunity to live there.

Between 1978 and 1983 Chaney served as Lord Mayor of Perth. He was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1970 and Knight of the same order (KBE) in 1982.

F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Who's Who in Australia*, various editions; newspaper articles on Chaney held in biographical index, National Library of Australia.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

CHASELING, WILBUR SELWYN (1910–1989), Methodist Minister and missionary, was born on 13 October 1910 at Windsor, New South Wales, the eldest son of Walter Henry Gordon Chaseling, orchardist and real estate agent, and Ada Vivian, *nee* Rose. Chaselings (and Roses) had been farming on the Hawkesbury for more than 100 years since Thomas Chaseling (Chaseland) was granted land at Portland Reach. The family were staunch members of the local Methodist community. But Walter Chaseling left two brothers to manage the farm and worked in real estate development for some years, so that Wilbur grew up in suburban Sydney, completing his education at Newington College, where he rowed for the school.

Chaseling was accepted as a candidate for the Methodist ministry in 1930 and completed a three-year course at Leigh College, North Strathfield, before beginning as a probationer in the Kogarah–Carlton Circuit. In February 1934 the Methodist Board of Missions selected him to establish the new mission station that the Board proposed for eastern Arnhem Land in response to the Caledon Bay and Woodah Island killings of 1932 and 1933. He had barely begun his probation but he was a particularly strong young man of middle height, broad-shouldered, active and energetic, with the practical skills that the task demanded.

On 8 April 1934 he married Lilian Ada Kezia Mullins (1905–1980), who had studied architecture and was working as a journalist in Sydney, and a month later they sailed for Darwin in the *Marella*. From there they sailed with **T T Webb** in the mission vessel *Marree* to Milingimbi. Before leaving Sydney the Chaselings had been able to talk to **Professor Elkin** and attend some of his lectures in anthropology at the University of Sydney. Webb was a keen student of the local languages and customs and while they were at Milingimbi he was able to tell them much about the people as well as about the practicalities of mission work. In August and September 1935 **Donald Thomson**, the young anthropologist appointed by the Commonwealth Government to make a study of the Aboriginal people of eastern Arnhem Land was also at Milingimbi, recuperating after two months work in the Blue Mud Bay area and an overland walk to Arnhem Bay.

Chaseling was posted to Goulburn Island mission while the superintendent was on furlough and did not accompany Webb on the three trips he made in June, August and November 1934 searching the area between Arnhem Bay and Caledon Bay for a suitable site for the new mission. But Chaseling accompanied Webb and **Harold Shepherdson** in early September 1935 when the final choice was made. They called at the English Company Islands, Port Bradshaw and Caledon Bay, then returned to Yirrkala, to the west of Cape Arnhem, where they had found a splendid supply of 'fresh water, an elevated building site and clean beaches', and, with the approval of the local inhabitants resolved to establish the mission there, though it had 'an exposed anchorage and poor soil'. They returned to Milingimbi to load more building timber and iron, along with a few horse, calves, goats, pigs and

poultry, and other supplies. By early December when Webb and Shepherdson left, they had built a long corrugated iron store shed, in one end of which the Chaselings were to live for the first two years.

Chaseling established and maintained relations of friendship and mutual respect with the Aboriginal people that came to visit the mission station. Among them was **Wonggu** from the Caledon/Blue Mud Bay area, who came in December and was still at Yirrkala in August 1936 when Donald Thomson brought Wonggu's three sons back from Fannie Bay, where they had served two years of their 20 year sentences for the killing of the Japanese at Caledon Bay. Chaseling made several journeys on foot and by boat to visit groups living away from the mission, sometimes in response to reports of fighting. He declared the mission area to be a 'zone of peace' and did all he could to encourage the men to give up their feuding. As well as preaching the Christian Gospel he worked to teach the people skills of building and gardening, but otherwise the policy was to respect their culture and interfere as little as possible with their traditional way of life. He worked at mastering the local language and made detailed notes of what he saw and heard, which later provided the basis for his booklet *Children of Arnhem Land* (1951) and his account of the life and customs of the people of north-east Arnhem Land, *Yulengor; Nomads of Arnhem Land* (1957).

After two years the Chaselings went on leave and in 1938 Harold Thornell who took over responsibility for the development of the garden and farm work, expanding the cultivated area to more than four hectares, joined them at Yirrkala. Lilian Chaseling began to teach the children at Yirrkala and in 1939 had 76 in school. When called upon, Chaseling did what he could to treat illness and injuries, but he also made a study of traditional treatments. He had his own problems, being taken by air to Darwin with appendicitis in 1939, and a year later suffering burns and nearly drowning after a fire broke out on the motor launch on the way to Cape Arnhem.

The Chaselings left Yirrkala on furlough in September 1941. After war broke out in the Pacific and families were being evacuated from the Arnhem Land missions, Chaseling submitted his resignation from the North Australia District. By then the Chaselings had two young children, both born in Darwin hospital.

Chaseling was posted to Raymond Terrace, New South Wales, but after two years he returned to Darwin as an army chaplain. He was there when the war moved northward and the military bases in Arnhem Land were being abandoned and was instrumental in persuading the authorities to make surplus stores and equipment available to the mission communities at minimal cost.

After the war Chaseling was appointed to the Bankstown Circuit and served there for three years before moving to Queensland as State Secretary for Overseas Missions. He travelled throughout the state, making a yearly visit to each circuit in a successful effort to win increased support for the work of the missions. In 1957 he moved to Sydney to work with **Cecil Gribble** as Secretary for Promotion and Literature and over the next eight years wrote tirelessly for the periodicals *Missionary Review* and *Friends, the Children's Missionary Paper*. In 1963 he was appointed to the Hornsby Circuit and was Financial Secretary of Sydney North District, until posted to Tamworth as Chairman of the Northern Inland District (1965). After two years there, Chaseling returned to Sydney and served at the Eastwood Circuit until he retired in 1970.

The Chaselings then moved to Mooney Mooney on the Hawkesbury, where Wilbur, as energetic as ever, continued to exercise his skills as a carpenter and handyman, and for some years worked as a toll collector on the Pacific Highway. In 1970 he was called upon to give evidence in the Gove Land Rights Case, being (in the words of Mr Justice Blackburn), probably 'the first white man to make a systematic attempt to record the clan linkages with particular land, by direct communication, made on the subject land itself, with aboriginals actually living there' and having still in his possession the notebooks in which he made his field notes. After Lilian died in May 1980, Chaseling moved to the Northaven Retirement complex at Turramurra, where he died suddenly of heart failure on 10 July 1989, survived by his daughter and son.

W Chaseling, *Yulengor*, 1957; H Kirby and I Chaseling, family information; H Thornell, *A Bridge over Time*, 1966; M Mackenzie, *Mission to Arnhem land*, 1976.

JEREMY LONG, Vol 3.

CHEWINGS, CHARLES (1859–1937), geologist and anthropologist, was born on 16 April 1859 at Woorkongoree Station, near Burra, South Australia, third son of John Chewings, pastoralist and his wife Sarah, *nee* Wall. Educated by tutor and at Prince Alfred College, Chewings also received a thorough practical training from his father who had begun life as a teamster in South Australia in 1840 and ultimately owned three sheep stations. His father's death in 1879 left his family well to do.

In 1881 Chewings set out alone from Beltana with two camels to explore the possibility of establishing a cattle-run in the western MacDonnell Ranges. Next year he toured England, Europe and America. In 1883 he travelled from Murat Bay to the Warburton Range to assess the area's pastoral possibilities. Impressed with the efficiency of camels in the interior, in 1884 Chewings sailed to India from where he and his partners shipped nearly 300 of them to Port Augusta to open a camel transport service based on Hergott Springs (Marree), by then the rail-head.

Chewings spent most of 1885 further exploring by camel the western MacDonnell and associated ranges and the tributaries of the Finke River, travelling in all more than 8 000 kilometres and mapping the country he traversed. Accounts of his three inland journeys appeared in the Adelaide *Observer* and that of the third was published in 1886 as a booklet, *The Sources of the Finke River*, with a large map. Among the features that he mapped and named were the Chapple Range and Mount Chapple, after his old headmaster F Chapple, and the Walker River, on which he and his partners established Tempe Downs cattle station in 1885. Convinced of the interior's excellent pastoral prospects, Chewings became a strong advocate for a railway to facilitate settlement. On 8 February 1887

he married Frances Mary Braddock at Port Augusta and they went abroad for a year. On returning he became a stock and station agent, sharebroker and commission agent in Adelaide as well as maintaining the camel transport service, managed at Hergott Springs by Fushar Ackbar.

Chewings was excited by marine fossils discovered on Tempe Downs by the manager F Thornton and in 1891 published 'Geological notes on the Upper Finke basin' in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of South Australia. He listed the fossils and tentatively began an interpretation of the region's succession of rock strata. That year he left with his family to study geology at University College, London, and the University of Heidelberg, Germany. He was elected to fellowships of the Royal Geographical and Geological Societies, London. In his paper 'Central Australia' (1891) in the former society's *Proceedings*, he reviewed the region's history and praised its pastoral possibilities, mineral wealth, and suitability for date growing and ostrich farming.

In 1894 Chewings became a mining consultant at Coolgardie, Western Australia, where he was esteemed for his honest, factual reports during the goldfield's boom years. In 1902 he returned to South Australia and spent almost two decades in Central Australia as a mining consultant and camel carrier of supplies from the railhead, Oodnadatta, to Northern Territory stations and mines. In 1909 he surveyed a stock route from Barrow Creek to Victoria River, and by means of light boring equipment transported on camels, proved the availability of water throughout at shallow depth and sank a number of wells. He described in detail this country, long notorious for its lack of surface waters, in the *Geographical Journal*, October 1930. During the First World War he mined wolfram in the Northern Territory and transported it by camel to Oodnadatta. After retirement Chewings published frequently on Central Australian geology in the Royal Society of South Australia's *Transactions*.

Throughout much of his life Chewings had close contact with Aborigines and he published a popular account of them, *Back in the Stone Age* (1936). In retirement he compiled an Aranda vocabulary including all the words previously recorded by other students and himself. This and the manuscript of his translation of **C F T Strehlow's** 'Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stamma in Zentral Australien' (1915) are in the University of Adelaide library.

Chewings was an earnest, energetic man with the practicality to work successfully in adverse conditions: he accomplished notable pioneer work in geology and the study of Aboriginal culture. Time was to prove him over-optimistic in some of his expectations of mineral discoveries in the Northern Territory. In 1903 he regarded the Winnecke's Reward (Paddy's Goose) goldfield as potentially very rich but little gold was obtained there. In a letter to the *Observer*, 20 December 1913, he wrote, 'Who can say there are not Broken Hill, Kalgoorlie, and Mount Bischoffs in the Northern Territory?' Three quarters of a century later they were still to be discovered.

Survived by his wife, two daughters and two sons, he died on 9 June 1937 at Gloen Osmond and was buried in West Terrace cemetery. His estate was sworn for probate at 1079 Pounds. His name was perpetuated in the Chewings Range, Mount Chewings and a street in Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

W F Morrison, *The Aldine History of South Australia*, 1890; W B Kimberly (ed), *History of West Australia*, 1897; R Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia*, 1925; E G Knox, *Who's Who in Australia*, 1934; B O'Neil, *In Search of Mineral Wealth*, 1982; *Observer*.

HANS MINCHAM, Vol 1.

CHIN, NELLIE: see **FONG, NELLIE**

CHIN LOONG TANG: see **TANG, CHIN LOONG**

CHIN SHUE HONG (QUONG, HENRY) (1900–1946), businessman, was born in Pine Creek in June 1900 to Chin Wah Too and Fong Toy. Both parents had come to the Northern Territory from Canton; his father as an indentured labourer to work on the Palmerston–Pine Creek railway, his mother as a young bride at the age of 16.

Chin Shue Hong grew up in the harsh bush environment of Pine Creek and received little formal education. He spent most of his early years helping his parents in the family shop and vegetable garden.

In 1917 he married Low So Oy, an Australian-born Chinese aged 16. Over the next 29 years she bore him thirteen children, six girls and seven boys. The first child died of influenza at the age of ten and the thirteenth child died very shortly after birth. Another son died after a lung operation, leaving a total of ten surviving children.

By the late 1920s the world depression had reached remote Pine Creek, which until that time had been a bustling mining town including a significant Chinese population. When the mines closed many unmarried Chinese returned to China but most of those who had married local Chinese girls, like the Chins, stayed. The future nevertheless looked very bleak to them. They felt that their business was dying and other opportunities for employment were non-existent. Consequently, Chin Shue Hong moved his whole family, including his aged parents, to Longreach in central Queensland. There he began a small market-garden business to keep his family going.

In 1939, at the outbreak of the Second World War, Chin Shue Hong was drafted into a local unit of the army and was assigned to work as a cook. As a result of his experience working with white Australians in the army he changed his name to Henry Quong. He did this because soldiers had mispronounced his first name 'Hong'. When he was discharged after the war ended he decided to move his family back 'home' to the Northern Territory. His father by this time had died.

In 1945 Darwin was in ruins but many families returned. Henry Quong opened a baker's shop on Smith Street, Darwin's main commercial centre, and his business thrived, it being the first of its kind in the town.

In March 1946 he was suddenly struck with stomach cramp and was taken to Darwin Hospital. He died the following day, of what was believed to be appendicitis. He was buried in the family plot at Darwin cemetery.

Quong's second son, Edward, popularly known as Eddie, had then just turned 21. He took over the running of Quong's bakery and began to shoulder the burden of supporting a large family which still included an ailing grandmother, his newly widowed mother and ten brothers and sisters, all housed under one roof.

Quong had imbued his children with a spirit of self-reliance, diligence and determination. According to Eddie, his father's most frequent advice had been: 'Don't do anybody a bad turn'; 'Fight for what you believe in'; and, most importantly, 'Never be ashamed of your race'. This last piece of advice had its roots in the harsh treatment Chin Shue Hong and other Chinese had experienced at the hands of Europeans in the early days of Northern Territory settlement. At that time the Chinese had not dared to speak out, not from fear of white supremacy, but from a desire to be left alone to carry on with their business. In fact, according to his children, Henry Quong had very few nice things to say about whites. On the other hand, he spoke of the native Aborigines as his 'good mates'. On one occasion he took a full-blood Aborigine named Franky Cheeks to Queensland with him; and when Quong died a group of eight Aborigines turned up at the Quong residence and, without entering the house, staged a corroboree in front of it. They had walked at least 25 kilometres overnight to reach their destination, explaining later to Quong's surprised family that they had sensed that Quong's spirit had left them.

Other tales of Quong's affinity with Aborigines are told. They may have connections to one of his post-war practices.

Once a week he would spend a night at a bush camp set up by Aborigines, with whom he would exchange items like flour, sugar, tea and tinned food for the firewood that he needed in the bakery.

Quong would have been pleased had he lived to see his children, especially Eddie, become accepted, indeed prominent, in Australian society. The legacy of racism still rankled with the Chinese of his generation. Today, his son Eddie Quong sees himself as having succeeded in two worlds. This reality came to him when he and his wife were invited to a dinner hosted by the Queen on board the royal yacht *Britannia*, during a royal visit to Darwin in 1973. This could not have happened in Henry Quong's time. In addition, Eddie was awarded an Order of Australia medal (OAM).

Family information.

MY-VAN TRAN, Vol 1.

CHIN, SUE WAH (1901–), businesswoman and matriarch, was born in a village in Canton, China on 21 July 1901, the only daughter of Chiu Hing Foy and Chiu Wu See of China. Her father was a well-to-do businessman who operated a successful business in Baltimore in the United States of America as well as owning a considerable amount of land in China. She had only one brother, Chiu Goon Pak, who had migrated to Baltimore to study medicine.

As the only daughter of well-to-do parents, fortunate in having the opportunity to attend school, she then went onto the Pui Hull Ladies College in Canton where she trained as a schoolteacher. This was quite a privilege as it was not the custom to allow girls such a high standard of education. On completing her training at the age of nineteen, it was arranged for her to marry Chin Ack Sam, son of a prominent merchant from Australia. Her future father-in-law was **Chin Toy** who himself had travelled to Australia in 1883 a young man of 18, had married there and had a large family. Chin Ack Sam was his second son.

The villages in China of the two families were 9 or 11 kilometres apart and, as was the custom, all the traditional requirements were carried out with much pomp and ceremony. The bride was carried all the way in a bridal chair held by bamboo poles with relatives taking turns. Large pieces of furniture including a sideboard and an array of cakes were part of the procession also. This was an amazing feat as the terrain between the villages was quite mountainous. This procession would not have been complete without musicians and Sue Wah as an only daughter was accompanied all the way by three musicians. Her parents were determined that she would arrive at her marriage in style. It was fortunate that the bride was of very small stature.

The marriage took place in 1920 in her husband's village where Sue Wah was to give birth to her first two children. Eric was born in 1921 and Ray in 1923. The family left China for Australia in 1928 travelling via Singapore where they broke the journey, staying for one month at Raffles Hotel. On their arrival in Darwin they were to live with Chin Toy and the rest of his family behind his store, known as 'Fang Chong Loong' in the top end of Chinatown in Cavenagh Street. Three more children were born there, Darwina, Oswald and Wellington.

In 1933, it was decided that the family would return to China to allow the two elder sons a Chinese education. The family sailed on SS *Taiping*, together with Chin Toy, on 12 September 1933, and they experienced the rough seas of a major typhoon in Hong Kong. The boat carrying their luggage capsized so they lost four pieces out of the 25 pieces of luggage they were carrying. The remaining pieces of luggage that were salvaged were soaked with salt water but it was washed free of charge by the hotel where they were also given free board and lodging.

Sue Wah Chin remained in China from 1933 to 1938. Her two elder sons Eric and Ray were sent to boarding school approximately 160 kilometres away from Canton. The boys were at boarding school when the Japanese invaded China. The family spent some months moving from village to village trying to secure visas to return to Australia. They eventually travelled by train for a full day and then by riverboat overnight to Hong Kong to secure a passage back to Australia via Thursday Island. Ray and Eric stayed three days on Thursday Island and then they travelled to Darwin aboard *Mangola* on deck under canvas. Sue Wah and her younger children had to spend a month there before being able to return to Darwin. On their return they lived in premises in Wood Street. Sue Wah was able to help her father-in-law Chin Toy with tailoring doing piecework. Her daughter Darwina helped by sewing on buttons and making buttonholes. Darwina recalls the cost of shorts was five shillings a pair.

Life for the large extended family entailed the meals being cooked by the women in a community kitchen and these consisted of plain, simple and wholesome food. The men were always served first with the women and children eating last. During this period Sue Wah gave birth to three more children, Johnny, Florrie and Norma. Mrs Tye or a friend, Selina Hassan, delivered the children.

After facing the invasion in China by the Japanese they were to experience the horrors all over when Darwin was bombed on 19 February 1942. The family was evacuated to Adelaide where with other members of their family they opened a restaurant in Rundle Street. They worked seven days a week to be able to support the extended family and they were to remain there until they were able to return to Darwin in 1949. In Adelaide three more children, Gordon, Sylvia and Michael were born. Her son Ray had joined the Royal Australian Air Force and her daughter Darwina recalls her mother continually singing 'Onwards Christian Soldiers' in Chinese.

Together with the well-known Lee brothers and their families, who were also evacuees from Darwin, they purchased a red truck, to travel back together. On their return to Darwin, Sue Wah and her husband Sam together with the family of Albert Fong and Harry Chan opened a Chinese restaurant in the Don Hotel. Sue Wah and her husband worked and cooked in the kitchen. After spending a few years working at the Don they moved to the old 'stonehouses' in Cavenagh Street. Sue Wah purchased the property for 3 800 Pounds, the same price that the previous owner received when it was resumed by the government. This was later known as the Sue Wah Chin building built in the 1880s by another Chinese merchant **Kwong Soo Duk** for his family. It was used as a residence, warehouse and a variety of shops and was built of stone quarried at Larrakeyah using Chinese labour. It was in the 1990s still the original building except the roof, which was destroyed by Cyclone Tracy and replaced with a skillion roof.

It was in 1954 that Sue Wah her husband and her large family returned to the Cavenagh Street premises to operate their own store dealing mainly in men's wear and Chinese goods. This was a thriving business with all lending a hand. With the Darwin Primary School across the road, there was a continuous stream of children buying salty plums, a great favourite with all Darwin children. This store is still being operated today by family as it was many years ago and is a landmark in the central business area.

It was 1956 before Sue Wah Chin was naturalised. Her husband, Sam, died in 1968 leaving her as the matriarch of her large family of 11 children, and numerous grandchildren and great grandchildren. Sue Wah lived in the old stone house from when she first acquired it, working in the store, tending to her garden and caring for her large family. The younger children all attended Darwin schools, with Gordon and Michael attending teachers' college in Adelaide. Michael continued on with language studies and obtained his Law degree also.

Sunday mornings were a special time in her 90s when all gathered for Sunday breakfast and where Sue Wah, still independent, enjoyed cooking special dishes. She observed special Chinese days when special foods were prepared. It was a time for the family to get together and enjoy the goodies. Her time was still spent writing in Chinese to relations overseas, in her beloved garden and enjoying the company of her family.

She celebrated her 94th birthday with her children and many descendants arriving from the southern states.

Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory, CRS A1/1 33/8696; R Chin & D Fong, information to author.

GLENICE YEE, Vol 3.

CHIN TOY (1863–1947), tailor, storekeeper and businessman, was born in 1863, the third son of a family of five sons and one daughter of Chin Toa See of Toi Shan district, China. This district in the Kwangtung area was where the majority of the original travellers from China came from. This was the home of many Sze Yaps, Hakka, and Heungsans who later lived in Darwin. The family spoke the Sze Yap dialect. Chin Toy's mother, Chin Toa See, remained in China and died there in 1929 at 102 years of age.

Although illiterate, Chin Toy left home when he was about 18 to find work in Hong Kong where he spent two years in a tailoring apprenticeship. After befriending a businessman there, he accompanied him to Palmerston (Darwin) in early 1883. On arriving in Australia Chin Toy began work for an uncle who operated the tailoring store of Wing Cheong Sing & Company, which was situated in 'Chinatown' at the corner of Cavenagh Street. On completing two more years of his apprenticeship and qualifying as a cutter, Chin Toy left and opened his first business with his brother Chin Man Yee as his partner. Eventually after some disagreement with his brother, Chin Toy branched out on his own. He had managed to save a little money and with just a pair of scissors, he opened the store of Fang Cheong Loong & Company, which was situated at the end of Cavenagh Street behind Christ Church (now the Anglican Cathedral) where he also resided. This store specialised as merchant tailors, and general outfitters but expanded into grocery, fancy goods and an import and export business.

He was to include his sons in the business and to offer a one fifth partnership to Chin Fon, who was the father of the late **Harry Chan**. As Chin Toy was illiterate, he left the management of the administrative side to Chin Fon. What started as a small business soon prospered and with much hard work ended up as one of the leading retail stores in Darwin. Chin Toy is remembered as a kindly and sociable business person, small in stature, always hovering inside the door of Fang Cheong Loong with a smile on his face, and with a pocketful of cigars always ready to offer one to prospective customers. Chin Toy as a prominent merchant was part of a delegation who called at the Residency to present a letter of protest, and also on another occasion to join the other businessmen such as **Yet Loong**, Wing Cheong Sing, Wing Wah Loong and others to welcome the South Australian Governor, Sir George Le Hunte, to Palmerston in 1905.

The import and export section of Fang Cheong Loong involved the exporting of pearl shell meat and trepang (both considered delicacies to the Chinese) to Hong Kong and Singapore and the importing of other Asian products to Darwin. He was also involved in the financing of the **Reuben Cooper**'s cypress pine timber mill at Milingimbi in the Northern Territory.

The Chinese merchants at this time encountered much discrimination and hostility, with none being accepted into government positions or on the wharf. At the Darwin Hospital they were restricted to a special Asiatic Ward but regardless of how many obstacles that came their way, they continued to work hard and thrive. Despite the

prejudice Chinese merchants gave credit to 80 per cent of the Europeans. Had this credit not been given, the town of Palmerston would not have survived. This was the opinion of many older members of the Chinese community including two of Chin Toy's grandsons, who felt that the credit system was an important issue. Credit was given on clothing, foodstuffs and even cigarettes that were sixpence a packet at the time. Chin Toy maintained a large ledger where all accounts were kept, the majority of which were for government departments; most have never been paid to this day due to the outbreak of war in 1942. Unfortunately this ledger has been destroyed in recent years.

Chin Toy's business prospered over the years and he gradually accumulated about 15 other properties around Darwin that he rented out. One that he purchased was known as the stone houses in Cavenagh Street, which was part of the old Chinatown in the early days. The stonehouses were originally built about 1888 by a merchant named **Kwong Soo Duk** for use as a warehouse and had a chequered history. It was built from local stone using Chinese labour and was separated into five shops each with iron bars on the windows. It remains in near original condition except for the roof, which was blown away by Cyclone Tracy and replaced by a flat roof. The long verandah still exists along Cavenagh Street as it did originally. Stories told by the older Chinese tell of Kwong Soo Duk using four of the shops as residences, and one as a shop. It was believed that he had four wives and 22 children and so the four were housed in four separate shops with the business operating in the fifth. The business did not last long and was soon closed down. The cyclone of 1897 was the major reason that Kwong Soo Duk left Palmerston for Cairns where he became a prominent citizen and businessman. Chin Toy purchased the building for about 500 Pounds in 1921. He did not live there himself but rented it out to a variety of people including Japanese seamen for accommodation, **Murakami**, a Japanese photographer, a Chinese restaurant and many others for about 10 to 15 Shillings rental per week. The stone houses, along with the rest of the land in Darwin, were resumed and affected by the new leasehold regulations made by the government after the war. A claim by Chin Toy to the government was settled for an amount of just over 3 500 Pounds. In 1953 the stone houses were purchased by **Sue Wah Chin**, the daughter-in-law of Chin Toy and were later known as the Sue Wah Chin Building. As in the earlier years it was used as a business premises and accommodation for the family.

It was on 27 October 1884 that Chin Toy, or Ching Toy as his Letter of Naturalization shows, at the age of 20 years and after spending a period of 18 months as a resident of South Australia was granted naturalization. On a trip to Hong Kong via Thursday Island in 1933 Chin Toy lost his naturalization papers. He was returning to Hong Kong together with his daughter-in-law and her children on the SS *Taiping* when there was a threat from a typhoon. The boat carrying the luggage to the hotel was capsized and various pieces of luggage were lost, including one belonging to Chin Toy containing his naturalization certificate. Many anxious months passed before he was able to obtain a copy of the all-important document. After 1885 the South Australian government did not approve any further naturalisations and up till that period only 102 Chinese had been naturalised. Those who were not naturalised and stayed were given an 'Exemption Certificate', which allowed the holder the freedom to leave Australia and return at will. The introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 virtually ended Chinese immigration to Australia.

Chin Toy's first wife, Chin Liew See, was the mother of his four sons, Ack William Gong Chin, Ack Ming Chin, Ack Sam Chin and Ack Nam Chin, and his three daughters, Ack Kim, Ack Yook and Ack Mon Chin, all of whom were born in Darwin. Two of his sons, William Gong Chin and Ack Sam Chin, were to return to Darwin after the war and continue their father's businesses, which they still did in the 1990s. The Chin family continued to be synonymous with trade in the Central Business District of Darwin with many businesses carrying the Chin name. Toy Street in Parap was another reminder and recognition of Chin Toy.

With the continuing growth of his businesses Chin Toy started to invest in China, where he purchased large portions of land and buildings. He was able to travel to and from China and records show he travelled in December 1923 and again in March 1930. On one such visit to China he financed the building of a large Clan Club in his own village. In 1949, under reforms in land ownership in China, all such lands were resumed by the state.

Chin Toy remained in Darwin after the initial bombing on 19 February 1942 for two weeks, then, accompanied by his grandson Ray Chin, left for Katherine. They were still in Katherine on the 22 March 1942 when the Japanese attacked there. The following day he flew to Adelaide in a Guinea Airways Lockheed plane. Chin Toy was nearly 80 years of age at this stage. It was sometime before various members of Chin Toy's family were reunited when they purchased a home in the suburb of Payneham in Adelaide. The family then rented premises at Rundle Street and started a restaurant there. The family was to remain there until they were able to return to Darwin after the war. Chin Toy was able to see three of his grandsons enter the services—Sidney joined the Army, Alfred the Royal Australian Air Force, these were the two eldest sons of Gong Chin, and Ray Chin who was the son of Ack Sam Chin also joined the Royal Australian Air Force. When Chin Toy's sons, William Gong Chin and Ack Sam Chin, and their families returned to Darwin, Chin Toy remained in Adelaide until his death there on 3 December 1947 at the age of 83. His body was flown back on a chartered plane to be buried at the Gardens Cemetery in Darwin.

Where most of the Chinese immigrants arrived to work in the goldfields or the railways, Chin Toy moved into the world of business from the tender age of 18. He and his peers who came from China in those early years proved to be adventurous and courageous young men for which their many descendants have much to be grateful for. Chin Toy left a legacy of hundreds of descendants spread throughout Australia.

Interviews with R Chin, S Chin, E Fong; records of the Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin; T G Jones, *The Chinese in the Northern Territory*, 1990; National Trust files, Darwin; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; C See Kee 'Chinese Contribution to early Darwin', 1987.

GLENICE YEE, Vol 3.

CHINCHEWARRA: see [TJINTJI-WARA](#)

CHINCHI-WARA: see [TJINTJI-WARA](#)

CHINCY-WARRA: see [TJINTJI-WARA](#)

CHINNERY, ERNEST WILLIAM PEARSON (CHIN) (1887–1972), anthropologist and administrator, was born on 5 November 1887 at Waterloo, Victoria, the son of John William Chinnery, a miner and later an employee of the Victorian Railways, and his wife Grace, *nee* Pearson. Young Chinnery worked as a law clerk on leaving school. At Christmas 1908 he won the Royal Humane Society's Bronze Medal for his attempted rescue of a drowning man near Warrnambool. In April 1909 he was appointed to the Papuan Service; Lieutenant Governor Sir Hubert Murray commended his work in exploration and district administration with the magisterial service from 1910. The eminent English anthropologist, A C Haddon, also commended him, for his perceptive descriptions of Papuan initiation ceremonies.

Granted leave in 1917, he joined the Australian Flying Corps, trained as observer in England, and was commissioned Lieutenant. After the Armistice he entered Cambridge University, studied under Haddon and W H R Rivers and was awarded the Diploma of Anthropology in 1919. In 1920 the Royal Geographical Society honoured him with the Cuthbert Peek Award for exploration.

Chinnery returned to Papua in 1920 and joined the New Guinea Copper Mines as controller of labour organisation. He was appointed Government Anthropologist to the Mandated Territory of New Guinea in 1924, and was Acting Commissioner of Native Affairs during 1928. In 1932 he was appointed the first director of the new Department of District Services and Native Affairs, and in 1933 was appointed to the New Guinea Legislative and Executive Councils.

During the 1930s, Chinnery's experience, anthropological publications, and lectures in Europe, the United States and Australia brought him eminence in the field. In 1938 he was invited by the Minister for the Interior, John McEwen, to join his tour of the Northern Territory and report on Aboriginal policy. Chinnery's recommendations were set out in 'Preliminary Notes on Trip to the NT'. As a result of this he was seconded from the New Guinea Service to take up the new post of Director of Native Affairs, Northern Territory, and was appointed Commonwealth Adviser on Native Affairs. The Native Affairs Branch was placed under the jurisdiction of the Administrator, [C L A Abbott](#), and he controlled the financial resources of the Branch.

After thorough investigation of Aboriginal living conditions in the Territory, Chinnery developed proposals which, basically, aimed to discourage Aborigines drifting to the towns by making the reserves more habitable, including the provision of water; to establish government stations to provide welfare, adequate health services and training to enable the Aborigines to develop the resources of the reserves, and secure greater employment opportunities; to increase subsidies to the missions to provide basic and technical education and appropriate industries. Chinnery recommended that magistrates should hold Courts for Native Matters in places where Aborigines congregated and elders could explain tribal customs.

The federal government approved; but the Administrator, though not entirely unsympathetic, was more concerned with the needs of the pastoral industry; and with the coming of the Second World War, funds for Aboriginal Affairs shrank and the increasing military demands took precedence. Much was done: patrol officers were appointed; reserves were extended; mission subsidies were increased; part Aboriginal children already in government institutions were placed in the care of island missionaries; child endowment was obtained for Aborigines, and though endowment for nomadic Aborigines resident on missions was paid direct to the missions (calculated on average weekly numbers of children), this was a great advance on no payment at all.

On 20 December 1941 Chinnery was suddenly ordered to act as welfare officer on an evacuation ship leaving Darwin; then to join a Singapore evacuation ship at Perth. He arrived back in Darwin on 22 February 1942.

Increasingly, as the war progressed, Chinnery and his small staff were forced to react to military needs, by evacuating Aborigines from Darwin, setting up work camps down the Stuart Highway as the Army realised the value of Aboriginal labour, evacuating part-Aboriginal women and children to southern states for the duration.

Staff shortages became desperate. For a time Native Affairs office staff consisted of V J White and one secretary, and patrol officers [Bill Harney](#) and [Gordon Sweeney](#) carried the fieldwork alone. In December 1945 the Branch 'was completely at a standstill for funds'.

Chinnery was absent from the Territory for lengthy periods during 1942–43, establishing the evacuees, liaising with the army on all aspects of their employment of Aborigines, consulting on legal, policy and social services issues affecting Aborigines, and was periodically called upon to satisfy the urgent need of military and intelligence agencies for advice on the New Guinea war zone. Though constantly in communication with his staff, Chinnery's absences, particularly on intelligence work, were a sore point with Administrator Abbott.

Back in the Territory during the last years of the war, Chinnery and his staff struggled on, attempting to upgrade the Aborigines' conditions with available facilities, often in the face of indifference and even hostility. War's end did not bring the staff or finance he needed to carry out McEwen's 'New Deal'. In the Northern Territory context Chinnery was, in many ways, a man ahead of his times, and Commonwealth administrators in Darwin and Canberra were slow to change the thinking of the 1930s.

Chinnery resigned from his post as Director of Native Affairs in November 1946, and his secondment to the Department of the Interior ceased in November 1947. During 1947 and 1948 he attended United Nations Trusteeship Council Meetings and a Visiting Mission in Africa and was Alternate Australian Commissioner of

the South Pacific Commission in 1948. In November 1949 he retired to Melbourne, returning briefly to New Guinea in 1950; and continued lecturing on native cultures, administration and the rights and needs of the people of New Guinea and the Northern Territory.

Chinnery died at Alfred Hospital, Melbourne, December 1972, and was cremated. His wife Sarah Johnston, *nee* Neill, whom he had married in England in 1919, and survived by four daughters, predeceased him.

K Cole, *The Aborigines of Arnhem Land*, 1979; M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; E W P Chinnery, 'Preliminary Notes on Trip to NT', 1939; AA, Canberra; Chinnery papers (Mrs S Waters, Black Pool, Victoria).

SHEILA WATERS, *Vol 1.*

CHISHOLM, DAVID ANTHONY (TONY) (1923–1987), pastoralist and politician, was born in Sydney on 3 October 1923, registered as the son of Roy Mackellar Chisholm and his wife Mollee, *nee* Little. There was, however, a widespread though unverified belief that he was the illegitimate son of his godfather and a friend of his mother and aunt, the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VIII and the Duke of Windsor. In later life he looked very much like the former monarch and his first name, David, was that by which Edward VIII was known among family and friends. Chisholm was also, affectionately, known to many in the Northern Territory as 'that right royal bastard'. He was educated at Scots College in Sydney.

In 1940 Roy Chisholm, then Managing Director of Royallison Pastures, took over management of Bond Springs Station near Alice Springs. The lease was transferred to him in 1945 but he died a year later. I D Sargood, who later married Roy Chisholm's widow, then managed Bond Springs. Tony Chisholm and his brother Bruce became partners in the lease along with Sargood and their mother. In November 1957 all interests were transferred to Bruce Chisholm. During the early 1950s Tony managed nearby Napperby Station on behalf of his family. He was married on 2 November 1951 to Judith (Judy), daughter of G Marsland. They had one son, Roy.

In 1957 Chisholm acquired Anningie Station to the north of Alice Springs and not far from Barrow Creek. He later purchased Napperby, which he retained until his death. At Anningie, which included the historic site Central Mount Stuart, he and his wife created what **Douglas Lockwood** described in 1964 as 'comfort and elegance in a land where such things are little known.' When the Chisholms arrived the station homestead was a converted Army hut but within a few years they transformed it to an impressive white building with 10 large rooms that were beautifully furnished and surrounded by an expansive garden of kikuyu lawns, shrubs, trees and succulents. The homestead was also equipped with a modern kitchen and its living area was fully air-conditioned. Later on the Chisholms established a similar environment at Napperby. In the hotter months they would usually get away to a small cattle-fattening property Chisholm owned near Tumut in New South Wales.

Chisholm also became well known for his forceful public advocacy on behalf of Central Australia's cattle industry. He was President of the Centralian Pastoralists' Association between 1962 and 1971 and represented it on the Australian Wool Growers' and Graziers' Council and the Northern Territory Cattle Producers' Council. In 1966 he was foundation President of the Northern Territory Country Party. On 14 December 1967 he was appointed a Non Official Member of the Territory's Legislative Council. His term, however, turned out to be brief and he contributed little to the Council's debates. He was soundly defeated as a Country Party candidate for the Barkly electorate at the poll held on 26 October 1968.

A keen sportsman, Chisholm listed his principal recreational interests as fly fishing, shooting and surfing. He was a member of the Union Club in Sydney, the Royal Sydney Golf Club and the Memorial Club in Alice Springs.

He died in New South Wales on 23 June 1987. Roger Vale, the Speaker of the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly, stated that 'he left behind many friends in the Territory who came to know Tony as a tough, no-holds-barred supporter of Centralian development.' Other Territorians remembered him and his wife for what Lockwood described in 1964 as a 'soft beauty' they had brought to the 'red and brown harshness that is often mistaken for desert.' Chisholm himself in a 1979 conference paper perhaps provided the best summary of his work. There were in Central Australia, he wrote, 'managers, in many cases descended from the early pioneers, who are prepared to stay on the land, have been there through everything that a hostile environment and fluctuating markets can produce, but who have contributed a great deal to the rural industry of Australia.'

G Crook (ed), *Man in the Centre*, 1983; J Fairfax, *My Regards to Broadway*, 1990; D Jaensch, *The Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1990; D Lockwood, *Up the Track*, 1964; J Orton (ed), *Debrett's Handbook of Australia*, rev ed, 1987; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Who's Who in Australia*, various editions; *Centralian Advocate*, 3 July 1987; H Pearce, 'Homesteads in Central Australia', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1985; V Dixon, oral communication, 1990.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 2.*

CLELAND, CAROLINE *nee* BROWN (1858–1927), pioneer, was born in Victoria on 29 December 1859, one of seven children of Samuel Brown and Emma, *nee* Blake. Family information refers to her birthplace as New Zealand, indicating she probably spent part of her infant and childhood years there. Caroline came to the Territory with the rest of the family in 1874, when her father opened a store and a hotel at Southport, then the supply centre for the goldfields. He soon became a prominent member of the community.

On 30 May 1877, at the age of 17, she married **John Cleland**, a 28-year-old mariner who, two years earlier, had survived the sinking of *Gothenburg*, which had been wrecked off the Queensland coast in February 1875. There were five children of the marriage, Ernest Alfred (1879), Gertrude Caroline (Morris) (1882), Claude (1883), Alice (Kilgour) (1885) and Doris (1894). Caroline and John went to South Australia soon after they were married,

the first three children were born at Port Pirie. Alice was born at Semaphore and Doris in Palmerston (Darwin), her parents having returned to the Territory in 1886.

Two months before Doris was born the women's suffrage legislation was passed in South Australia, enfranchising Caroline. A few days before Caroline enrolled to vote, in April 1895, her father Samuel Brown died, heralded as one of the pioneer identities of the Territory. Another family member who enrolled was Caroline's sister-in-law Harriett, *nee* Wedd, married to her brother, Samuel T Brown.

During her time in Darwin Caroline was very active in the community and took part in church activities, the agricultural show, the rifle club and concerts. The family left the Territory in 1914 and returned to Adelaide. A farewell was given to Caroline, when her many friends presented her with a purse of sovereigns. She was toasted for her 'kindness, sympathy and cheerful readiness to do all in her power to help others'. She was also acknowledged for being a staunch helper and worker in any movement that was for the welfare of the Methodist Church. The press noted that 'both Mr and Mrs Cleland leave the country where they have sojourned so many years with the best wishes of many friends'.

Caroline died in Adelaide on 4 October 1927, aged 68, survived by her husband, one son and two daughters, a son and a daughter having predeceased her. Shortly before she died Caroline and John celebrated their golden wedding anniversary. She is buried in the Cheltenham cemetery, Adelaide.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 17 January 1928.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

CLELAND, JOHN (1848–1936), stockman, mariner, shipping agent, pearler, prospector and mine manager, was born at Port Adelaide on 13 November 1848, second son of Robert Cleland and Eliza, *nee* Reynolds. His father, who was Scottish born, was the principal of the firm of shipping agents, R Cleland and Sons, of Port Adelaide.

Cleland had a very varied and chequered working life. He first came to the Territory in 1865, one of five stockmen under the direction of JV Lloyd, who brought livestock to Escape Cliffs in the barque *Bengal* in 1865. He worked for a time on the construction of the Overland Telegraph line and left the Territory aboard *Gothenburg* in February 1875. The ship foundered in a cyclone off the Queensland coast, Cleland being one of the few survivors. For his bravery he was awarded the sum of 155 Pounds, a gold medal and a gold watch, afterwards owned by his son Claude. The *Adelaide Advertiser* in commenting on the bravery of Cleland and his fellow survivors, Fitzgerald and Brazil, stated that they were 'South Australian youths, of whom the colony may well feel proud'.

Among the *Gothenburg* survivors only John Cleland is known for certain to have returned to the Northern Territory. He had been shipwrecked before and commented that he had 'quite enough of that sort of thing'. He returned to the north in April 1876 and became manager of **Skelton**'s store at Southport. In May 1877 he was again commended for his rescue efforts when SS *Darwin* sank at Southport.

On 30 May 1877 he married **Caroline Brown**, daughter of Samuel Brown of Southport. Caroline was only 17 and John gave his age as 25 though in fact he was 28. There were five children of the marriage. Between 1879 and 1886 the family lived at Port Pirie and Semaphore in South Australia and returned again to the Territory in 1886. In 1888 he was in the Kimberley area, and at the time of the 1891 census was a mining manager resident at the Union. For some months in 1897 he was employed with the railways as a wagon examiner but resigned on 4 September. In 1901 he was a mine manager at Bynoe Harbour and he then mined at Horseshoe Creek near the Mt Todd mine, application number 1778 for a mineral licence being approved on 18 July 1902. At one time early in the century he apparently prospected in the Tanami.

In 1914 he and his family returned to Adelaide, his first visit in 20 years. A reunion was held of some of the surviving members of the Overland Telegraph Line, principal among whom was **R R Knuckey** and J W Wauchope, then over 90 years old. At that time the local press noted that Cleland had been pearling for seven years on the northern coast and mining for 10 years at Horseshoe Creek.

The family settled at Norwood and John and Caroline celebrated their golden wedding in May 1927, shortly before Caroline's death. John died in Adelaide on 23 August 1936, aged 87, and he and his wife shared a joint grave at Cheltenham cemetery. Daughter Doris Kathleen joined them on 22 July 1975.

N Driscoll, Cleland family papers, 1995; B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory records; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 28 September 1906, 22 April 1910, 28 May 1914; H J Wilson, 'The Loss of HMSS *Gothenburg*', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, 1992.

BARBARA JAMES, V T O'BRIEN and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

CLOWES, CYRIL ALBERT (1892–1968), army officer, was born on 11 March 1892 at Warwick in Queensland, the son of Albert Clowes. He attended Toowoomba Grammar School before entering the Royal Military College, Duntroon in 1911. In 1914 he joined the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) as a Lieutenant in the Field Artillery. He accompanied the Gallipoli landings in 1915 as an observer for the naval guns but was wounded and evacuated in May that year.

A year later, Clowes joined the AIF 2nd Division in France as a trench mortar officer. From February to July 1917, he was Brigade Major to 2nd Division Artillery, during which time he won the Military Cross. He then took up the same position with the 12th Division (British) Artillery. He was awarded the Serbian Order of The White Eagle whilst in this position, before returning to his former post with the 2nd Division Artillery in early 1918. His AIF appointment terminated in June 1918. His staff work in that year brought him the Distinguished Service Order.

From 1921 to 1931, Clowes carried out regimental duties, at one time acting as *aide-de-camp* to the Queensland governor (1929). He was married in 1925 to Eva Magennis of Yass, New South Wales, and promoted to Major in the following year.

In 1933 the Lyons Government established a permanent garrison at Darwin, as part of imperial strategy to contain the Japanese. Lieutenant (later Major-General) R R McNicoll led the engineer detachment of this force (later 7th Fortress Company), while Clowes commanded 9th Heavy Battery and had overall command of the garrison. The main task of the garrison was to build fortifications and their own quarters (Larrakeyah Barracks), a task made difficult by torrid climate and lack of modern equipment. The officers became part of Darwin's social elite, a role that Clowes enjoyed: one of the better known tales has him 'rushing from a lady's cabin on SS *Marcus* as the ship pulled away from the Darwin wharf at 2.30 am one morning, making a mighty leap to the wharf and thus barely avoiding being carried on to Brisbane'. McNicoll said that Clowes had 'average intelligence and limited imagination'; more diplomatically, war historian Dudley McCarthy was to assess him as 'learned, cautious and taciturn'. He continued to find favour with his superiors, being in August 1934 the first Royal Military College graduate to attain the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and by the time he was posted out in April 1936 his small force had installed a strong artillery defence against naval attack. It was not their fault that the only anti-aircraft defence allocated to Darwin was one battery of three guns.

In July 1936 Clowes embarked for England and remained there for two years on staff courses. In 1939–40 he commanded the 6th Military District, Tasmania, then went in April 1940 to the Middle East as Brigadier in command of 1 Corps (AIF) Artillery. There he won a Mention in Despatches. In 1942 he and other high-ranking AIF officers were recalled to Australia in the face of the Japanese threat. Promoted to Major-General, Clowes commanded the force that turned back the Japanese advance at Milne Bay in August/September 1942. This was the pinnacle of his military career and won him the award of Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE). His later commands, of 11 Division and Victoria Line of Commonwealth Area, were in Australia.

In 1945 Clowes was appointed a member of the Army Establishment Investigating Committee, and went on to become the Director-General of Army Disposals. In February 1946 he was made Adjutant-General at AIF Headquarters, and one month later was appointed second military member of the Military Board. He retired from the army in 1949.

Clowes was a keen sportsman, and had been captain of the cricket and football team at Duntroon. The *Launceston Examiner* (17 April 1940) described him as 'the most accomplished sportsman the Royal Military College has produced'. He long outlived his 'playboy' reputation in Darwin to earn the approbation of war historian Gavin Long as 'a cool and experienced regular soldier' and a notable place in Australian military history. He died in 1968, aged seventy-six, survived by his daughter.

G Long, *To Benghazi*, 1952; D McCarthy, *South West Pacific Area, First Year, Kokoda to Wau*, 1959; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; *Sabretache*, (Journal of the Military Historical Society of Australia) October/December 1985; AWM card index, 1914–18 war and 1939–45 war personnel; AWM biographical news cuttings; Australian Military Orders.

J HAYDON, *Vol 1*.

CLUNE, FRANCIS PATRICK (FRANK) (1893–1971), worker in many occupations, soldier, accountant and author, was born in Sydney on 27 November 1893. The son of George Clune, an Irish-born labourer, and his wife Theresa Cullen. He was educated at Catholic schools in Sydney. After an adventurous life and service in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War, he qualified as an accountant in the early 1920s and settled in the wealthy Sydney suburb of Vaucluse. In 1916 he married Maud Elizabeth Roy. They were divorced in 1920 and in 1923 he married Thelma Cecily Smith, who survived him with two sons.

In 1934 he embarked on a writing career, which produced over 60 books, several of which dealt with the Northern Territory. These included *Last of the Australian Explorers* (1943), *The Red Heart* (1944), *The Forlorn Hope* (1945), *Overland Telegraph* (1955) and *The Fortune Hunters* (1955). Most were concerned with sensational personalities or historical incidents and took great liberties with evidence. Just about all were, in fact, written for him by P R Stephensen, being based on travel diaries and research notes that Clune provided. In 1940 Clune was second only to **Ion Idriess** as Australia's best selling author. Although much of his income went in fees to Stephensen and he also continued work as an accountant, he received free travel and other concessions, which allowed him to visit the Territory and many other places.

Those for whom long distance travel was impossible eagerly purchased Clune's jaunty narratives, complete with what the historian Craig Munro described as their 'awful puns and continual quips'. They were often very long, 100 000 words or more. His importance in Australian literature was principally as an historical populariser. In this capacity he was able to introduce his readers to aspects of Northern Territory history that had hitherto been little known. In *The Forlorn Hope*, for example, he recounted the demise of the settlement at Escape Cliffs and the voyage of a group of settlers there who sailed a whaleboat over 3 000 kilometres to Chapman Bay in Western Australia. *The Fortune Hunters* partly dealt with the Newcastle Waters area, which made a very favourable impression on him. *Last of the Australian Explorers* is a biography of **Donald Mackay**, who mapped parts of Central Australia.

'Thick-set with close-cropped hair', Munro wrote, 'Clune looked more like a roughneck Texan than a Vaucluse accountant... Boisterous and extroverted, he remained aggressively Australian.' Politically conservative, he was a member of the right wing group The New Guard during the early 1930s and was a very strong anti Communist after the Second World War. But his writing also revealed sympathy for Australian underdogs, particularly those of Irish Catholic background.

Made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1967, he died in Sydney on 11 March 1971.

C Munro, *Wild Man of Letters*, 1984; P Pierce (ed), *The Oxford Literary Guide to Australia*, 1987; W H Wilde, J Hooton & B Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1985.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

COLE, THOMAS EDWARD (TOM) (1906–), labourer, stockman, buffalo hunter, crocodile shooter, coffee grower and author, was born in London in 1906, the eldest son of Ernest Cole, florist and orchardist and Adelaide Arundel. Cole had a disrupted education due to his father's unreliable commercial fortunes and left school at 14 despite showing signs of early aptitude, especially in reading and writing. There was friction between Cole and his father and after a period of employment in the family concern, he did general labouring work in the South Downs. After the First World War he was influenced by the advertisements promoting immigration schemes to the British dominions and decided to go to Australia because of the warm climate.

Cole's ambition, like that of most of the fellow immigrants he met aboard *Ormuz* in 1923 en route to Australia was to make his fortune in the 'land of opportunity' and return to Britain a wealthy man. However, the harsh outdoor life he enjoyed while working in the various jobs organised for him by the Commonwealth government proved seductive and it was to be 25 years before he went back on a visit to Britain. Australia had become his home.

His first employment was in the Blackall Ranges in Queensland where he began to acquire the skills of a general rouseabout/stockman that were to become his stock in trade. From there he found work in the Lake Nash district of the Northern Territory and then went droving down the Birdsville Track, delivering bullocks to Victoria during drought conditions. From a position on one of **Sidney Kidman's** stations near Birdsville he went to Brunette Downs in the Territory, this time as cook, all the while gradually accumulating the necessary skills and equipment to qualify him as a first rate stockman.

In 1928, now known as 'the other Tom Cole' to distinguish him from the 'Wyndham' Tom Coles, father and son, Cole was appointed Head Stockman at Wave Hill Station. He began to get a reputation for horse breaking and found work for a period at Banka Banka Station in this capacity. Before long, in 1930, he was employed as a breaker on the Vestey's properties across the Top End and invested his wages in building up his own plant. Throughout this Depression period he was fortunate never to be out of work and enjoyed the egalitarianism of the simple outback life in the company of other unencumbered battlers. It was here he began what was to become the lifelong habit of keeping a diary. The daily record keeping was essential to his trade: head stockmen needed to have a firm check on the date so that a proper schedule could be maintained for delivering stock on time. Cole made a virtue of necessity and his detailed diaries today provide a useful historical record of everyday doings of Top End bush workers.

In 1932 Cole sampled the excitement of buffalo hunting in the company of Harry Hardy. He sold horses to established shooters like the Gaden brothers and when another shooter, George Hunter, went on holiday, Cole took over the running of his camp. He stayed on as a buffalo hunter until the Second World War broke out in 1939, in the process acquiring Kapalga, a lease on land near the Wildman River and buying two properties near Pine Creek, Goodparla in 1937 and later Esmeralda which he and his partner stocked with cattle. The properties were sold by 1943. In the later 1930s Cole had acted as a coast watcher from his lease on the Wildman, reporting on the movements of Japanese pearling luggers. Rejected on health grounds, he was unable to join the Australian Imperial Force during the war.

After the war Tom visited Britain. After returning to Sydney, which had become his home, he wrote occasional articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald* under the pseudonym Barb Dwyer. Inspired by the high prices reptile skin goods were fetching, he next started a highly profitable business importing crocodile hides from a friend in Darwin for manufacture into bags and shoes. In 1948 Cole married Kathleen Callen and they subsequently had two daughters. Soon, though, the source of Australian crocodile skins started to dry up. Crocodile numbers had seriously declined under the impact of over enthusiastic shooting. On the strength of advice from **Ion Idriess**, Cole went to Papua New Guinea in 1950, where he subsequently organised commercial crocodile hunting on a large scale and later became a coffee planter.

Returning with his family to Sydney in the late 1970s, Cole devoted himself to writing. As well as contributing articles to books and magazines associated with rural life, he authored three books. The first, *Spears and Smoke Signals* (1986) is an entertaining compilation of personal reminiscences spiced with historical fact and local lore from the Top End, and illustrated by Eric Jolliffe, one of Cole's many friends. *Hell West and Crooked* (1988) was commissioned by the Northern Territory Council of the Australian Bicentennial Authority. Based on diaries and letters to his mother, it deals with his career as a stockman and buffalo shooter in the Northern Territory and is a more substantial work of social history, providing insights into the daily life of outback workers, in particular stockmen and buffalo hunters, in the first half of this century. Flavoured throughout by the characteristically Australian brand of laconic humour Cole had made his own, it proved very popular and sold over 40 000 copies. His third book *The Last Paradise* (1990) deals with his time in New Guinea. As well as giving first hand glimpses of frontier life, Cole's books make a useful contribution to Australian social history.

T Cole, *Spears and Smoke Signals*, 1986, *Hell West and Crooked*, 1988, *The Last Paradise*, 1990; F de Groen, 'Tom Cole's Hell West and Crooked', in *Notes and Furphies*, April 1988; D Hancock, 'The Last Hunt', in *The Weekend Australian*, 28–29 October 1989; M Hayes, 'Tom's Territory', in *Australasian Post*, 18 June 1987; D Jopson, 'Tom's True Tales of a Buffalo', in *Bicentenary '88*, June 1987; J Ward, 'Teak Tough Tom', in *People*, 1 November 1988.

FRANCES DE GROEN, Vol 2.

COLLEY, ALFRED EDWARD (ALF) (1919–), ‘bushie’ and crocodile shooter, was born on 6 October 1919 at Mailang, South Australia, the fourth of seven children of Alfred Colley and his wife Gertrude, *nee* Balderstone. Alfred, senior, was a farm labourer and the family moved several times before settling at Balhannah, where young Alf spent his boyhood. His first job after leaving school was cutting wood into one and a half metre lengths to fire the furnace at Chapman’s Bacon factory at Nairne, South Australia. He then tried cleaning runners (intestines) for sausages and cutting up lard for packaging but found he preferred the work outside and went back to wood cutting. Later he had a job at Woodside helping with a dairy and with potato growing before he decided to travel to the Northern Territory where he believed job prospects might be better. When he was 15 he lost the sight in his left eye through an accident.

Alf had two aunts, his father’s sisters, in Darwin; Olive Wickham and Elsie Cox whose husband was a fettler on the railways. There was also another uncle, Arthur Colley, who had a fishing camp at Shoal Bay but he left no descendants. (The Colley name has been in the Territory record since 1875). Alf Colley arrived in the Territory in 1939 having flown on the ‘milk run’ with Guinea Airways. At that time the trip required an overnight stop in Alice Springs.

He obtained work with Gascoyne Brothers who were then building the Darwin hospital. The company also had contracts for the Commonwealth Bank and the Hotel Darwin, then also in the course of erection. Once the Second World War had started life began to get increasingly difficult for the residents of the north, as the military took over more and more. Alf was refused permission to join up as his eye rendered him unfit for service though he later became a ‘superb shot’ and many of his friends did not realise he only had sight in one eye. He refused an offer to return to Salisbury, South Australia, with the company and went cutting wood for Harry Farrer, husband of his cousin, Olive, *nee* Wickham.

Wood was cut into three quarters of a metre lengths for trains, which Alf and his uncle cut at the 10 Mile and took to the railway yards at Salonika. On 19 February 1942 Alf was cutting wood at Holmes’ slaughter yard in the vicinity of Bishop Street. He turned off the engine and became aware of the noise from the wharf area. He observed aircraft strafing the town and heard the boom, which he realised later, was *Neptuna* exploding.

With all civilians being evacuated, he accompanied Harry and Olive Farrer and their children to Ban Ban Station where Harry’s parents, Bob and Phoebe lived. He then assisted with the evacuation of Aboriginal children from Oenpelli to the railway at Pine Creek. He stayed in the north during the war, mustered cattle for the Army in the Adelaide River area and worked for the Byrne Brothers at Tipperary.

At war’s end Alf tried peanut growing on the Daly River but that didn’t turn out well so in 1947 he went crocodile shooting. Often he shared a camp with Harold Knowles who shot buffalo. Alf’s equipment consisted of a .303 rifle and a flat-bottomed tin boat framed up on a water pipe. He had put this together on the Daly, using discarded water pipe and three sheets of flat tin he had found on the Stuart Highway. The boat was three metres long and just over a metre wide and drew 45 centimetres. Originally he soldered the seams, but putting it in and out of his truck cracked the seams so he put melted bitumen in the joints instead. A spotlight was mounted, as he needed to get close enough to shoot the animal and thrust in a bamboo harpoon before it began to roll. As soon as he could he took the spear out and pulled the croc (about three metres long) by the tail into the boat. Alf says ‘when it got to the back leg it was easy to flip over into the boat’. His word has to be taken for that!!

At other times he baited a large barramundi hook with a hunk of meat and tied it with four and half metres of cotton sash cord to a 198 litres drum. When he spotted the drum moving he would wait until the crocodile surfaced and then shoot. The biggest crocodile he got by this method was at Shady Camp and measured over five metres. He then used his truck, a four wheel drive Blitz bought at a disposal sale for 70 Pounds, to pull the crocodile out of the water. The skins were sold to Jolly’s store in Darwin or to [Roy Edwards](#) of Newcastle Waters Station who had an export business.

In the wet season of 1952 Alf went to Grove Hill, staying in one of the rooms of the old hotel. He worked on his truck in a shed at the back. Early in 1953 he applied for a Garden Area Lease at Saunders Creek on which he built a house and developed a garden. On 11 April 1954 he went to town accompanied by Harold Knowles, who had come in from Point Stuart. Alf took in a load of pumpkins and they left Harold’s truck at the block. A flood after 381 millimetres of rain swept away the house, about half a hectare of peanuts, potatoes and pumpkins as well as the truck. After that Alf shifted to a Garden Area Lease at Ban Ban about five kilometres from the Grove Hill Hotel.

The publican was Margaret Lucy, senior. After her husband, Bill, died on 25 February 1956 Alf helped the family as he had promised Bill he would do. Alf took on the job of renovating the hotel to bring it to the standard required by the licensing laws. He also made numerous small items of furniture, handmade metal ashtrays, a can piercing device and a bottle capper, which are illustrative of his ingenuity and dexterity. Mrs Lucy was hospitalised early in 1972 and died on 18 August 1972 shortly after Margaret (known as Gret) was diagnosed with meningitis. This left her severely handicapped and blind. Her brother, Bill, a known alcoholic, took over the pub but things became so bad that the Adelaide River police at Alf’s request closed it. Conscious of his promise to her father, Alf took over the care of Margaret, who was largely wheelchair bound, at Grove Hill. He did the cooking, cleaning and the gardening. There was a good orchard of citrus trees and vegetables were always grown. He also did small repairs for people in the area. They lived on the pensions each received. While in Darwin for a medical check in 1975 soon after Cyclone Tracy it was decided that Margaret should be evacuated to a nursing home in Sydney. Alf visited her later in the year but she became so distressed that he began to pester the authorities, helped by Peter Dermoudy, to have her returned.

She returned to Alf’s care and died at Grove Hill on 13 September 1984. Her brother, Des, inherited the hotel. Alf returned to live on his lease in a caravan at Ban Ban. He lost everything when a gas refrigerator he was trying to

light exploded. He went to stay at a friend's place in Adelaide River where, while chopping wood, a chip flew into his eye. He became totally blind in 1987. He subsequently lived alone in a small flat at Pine Creek, checked on by the Community Health sisters and Red Cross carers. He still cooked cakes and made his tea but got assistance with shopping and letter writing. He enjoyed smoking, deftly rolling a thin cigarette and inserting it into a well-used filter, but was never a drinker. He listened avidly to the radio and was well informed about the world at large. He survived many of his associates and at 76 had an excellent recall and great memories as a participant in a very interesting period of Top End history. Alf devoted nearly 30 years to fulfilling his promise to Bill Lucy and people admired his dedication. Like many bushies he had a great range of talents, which were developed in a period where one did it by experience, endurance and ingenuity. He was a great man of his time.

Personal information.

JAN HILLS, Vol 3.

CONFALONIERI, ANGELO BERNARDO (1813–1848), first Catholic missionary in the Northern Territory, son of Peter Confalonieri and Mary, *nee* Rossi, was born in Riva Del Garda in northern Italy on 22 June 1813. He studied for the priesthood at Trent, which was not far from his birthplace and after serving a few years at Ala he entered the College of Propaganda in Rome, the work of the congregation being to spread the Church throughout the world.

In Rome Confalonieri met Bishop John Brady who had arrived in Europe to recruit missionaries and seek financial assistance for the administration of the first settlement of Perth. The Holy See accepted Brady's suggestions as to how Australia should be divided up to facilitate the work of the apostolate and in May 1845 consecrated him bishop and assigned him the administration of the two vicariates on the south and north coasts of Australia. Confalonieri volunteered to work amongst the Aborigines on the Cobourgh Peninsula and Bishop Brady, being favourably impressed with this young priest's missionary zeal and gift of languages, immediately accepted him. He chose two Irish Catechists, James Fagan and Nicholas Hogan to accompany him and was provided with 1000 Pounds by the Propagation of the Faith Society in Lyons. Before he left for Sydney Bishop Brady conferred upon Confalonieri the full powers of Pro-Vicar Apostolic of Port Victoria.

After a tedious journey of four months from London, the missionary party arrived at Fremantle on the barque *Elizabeth* in the heat of January 1846. There Brady held a council to discuss ways of converting the Aborigines and it was decided to attempt to penetrate the interior. Angelo Confalonieri and his two Irish Catechists then proceeded to their destination via Sydney and Torres Strait, as there was no shipping service up the west coast of Australia. They left Fremantle on 1 March 1846.

On arrival in Sydney they were penniless and sought the help of Father John McEncroe who endorsed a bill of 100 Pounds for them. Archbishop John Bede Polding received them warmly and assisted them in their needs for the northern mission as did Dr Gregory, Vicar General of Sydney, who provided them with a letter of introduction to the military commandant of Port Essington, **Captain John MacArthur** of the Royal Marines.

At that time the schooner *Heroine* arrived in Sydney from the north. Her passengers included **Ludwig Leichhardt** and his party of explorers who had been given up for dead after leaving the Darling Downs in October 1844 on their 3 000-kilometre overland journey to Port Essington. Confalonieri quickly made himself known to the master of *Heroine*, Captain Martin McKenzie and managed to secure a passage for himself, Fagan and Hogan as soon as the vessel had revictualled and taken on stores for Victoria. The schooners *Enchantress* and *Sapphire* were to accompany *Heroine*, through the then little known Torres Strait. McKenzie acted as commodore of this fleet. They sailed on 8 April for Port Essington.

At one o'clock on the morning of 24 July 1846, *Heroine* struck a reef in the Torres Strait and sank in six minutes. Father Confalonieri, Captain McKenzie's Timorese wife and two Malays were thrown overboard and eventually managed to cling to the main topmast head, which protruded three metres out of the water. A great Newfoundland dog, Nelson, the property of Mr Ral, the ship's mate, helped to remove the survivors one by one to a nearby reef. From there *Enchantress* picked them up at daylight.

Captain McKenzie was rescued naked and exhausted after six hours in the sea, his daughter having died on his back. The devastated survivors eventually reached their destination where Captain MacArthur and a sympathetic garrison gave them every assistance.

Confalonieri was accommodated in one of the hospital wards at Victoria. As well as the greatest sorrow of losing Fagan and Hogan, he had lost everything—books, papers, sacred vessels and of course his letter of introduction to the commandant. In addition to this he had lost his glasses, which made him terribly miserable as he was so shortsighted that he could hardly perceive objects until he touched them. Nevertheless, his faith was strong. In a letter to Dr Gregory he told of the disaster and wrote, 'I reckon the sufferings of this time not worthy to be compared with the glory to come'.

As a result of his letter, published by the *Catholic Press* on 6 March 1847 substantial funds were raised. Dr Gregory was first on the list with a donation of three Pounds and amongst others there was a donation of 10 Shillings and six Pence from a friend who could not spare it.

In the meantime Captain MacArthur supplied the priest with rations, and Confalonieri's letters record the warmth of his gratitude.

While recuperating, Confalonieri accepted an invitation by Captain Yule to join his survey ship HMS *Bramble* on a livestock-buying voyage to the Ki Islands. Angelo took an Aboriginal boy, Jim Crow', with him and bargained with the rest, purchasing a sampan which was later stolen from him.

While he was gone McArthur had the marines build him a hut at Black Point just south of Smith Point at the entrance to the harbour where he could easily reach the settlement. Apparently he was quite impractical when it came to domestic matters and did not know how to mix or cook his ration of flour, but his linguistic ability stood him in good stead. He amazed everyone with the ease with which he was quickly able to converse with the Aborigines, though a visitor, John Sweatman, laughed at the native humour, which led the Aborigines to teach Confalonieri obscenities that he unwittingly used in his sermons to them.

Confalonieri was realistic enough to realise that he was making little headway in converting the adult Aborigines and believed that civilising them would only begin when the children were separated from the parents; but the nomadic habits of the Aborigines thwarted his plans. Added to this was the problem of introducing Christian concepts to a culture having totemic beliefs. Confalonieri endured the wet season's torrential rains and insect pests, and during the Dry he ministered to Aborigines at Black Point who had developed a type of influenza that reached epidemic proportions. A later church source claimed that Confalonieri made about 400 converts in two years; but he faced occasional hostility and theft from some of the older Aborigines and at times was depressed about his efforts at conversion, complaining that the Aborigines had no understanding but for their belly.

In other ways his achievements by the end of 1846 were quite significant. He had explored most of the Cobourg Peninsula, preparing maps showing the clan areas of seven Aboriginal groups and had made a small vocabulary of the seven dialects. His translations included the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, a manuscript prayer book and a short Catechism of Christian Doctrine, including the Ten Commandments and part of the New Testament into the Port Essington dialect. These papers were sent to Archbishop Polding in Sydney on his death.

Father Angelo Confalonieri died of fever on 9 June 1848 in the hospital at Victoria where he was brought by the marines after they had missed his regular visits. He was buried two days later according to his own instructions. MacArthur wrote to Archbishop Polding: 'We buried him with all honours. The entire settlement attended his funeral.' His Scapula and a small cross were sent to his sister in fulfilment of his dying wish.

Darwin remembered him in the name of Angelo Street, and commemorative plaques to Father Angelo Confalonieri, James Fagan and Nicholas Hogan are in the crypt of St Mary's Star of the Sea War Memorial Church, Darwin.

Father Confalonieri's grave lies in the loneliness of Victoria, Port Essington, a reminder of Christian devotion.

F Flynn, *Northern Gateway*, 1963; T J Linane, J P O'Loughlin, *From Abel to Zunolavich: Biographies of Priests on the Australian scene up to 1900*, vol 2; J P O'Loughlin, *The History of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory*, 1986; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; P G Spillett, *Forsaken Settlement*, 1972; *St Mary's Star of the Sea, Darwin*, 'War Memorial Cathedral'—Church Centenary edition, Darwin, 1982; R M Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850*, 1981; A Corrie, Family information.

G PRYER, *Vol 1*.

CONNELLAN, EDWARD JOHN (EDDIE or E J) (1912–1983), teacher, aviator, businessman and pastoralist, was born on 24 June 1912, at Donald, western Victoria, the eldest of seven children of Thomas and Lucy Connellan. Connellan's parents owned a farming and grazing property named Araluen, at East Laen near Donald, although when he was still very young they moved to the Riverina district of New South Wales.

Connellan completed his secondary education as a boarder at Xavier College in Melbourne in 1928 and began his working life as a schoolteacher at the Lake Boga State School in 1930 and the Swan Hill High School in 1931. He began a degree by correspondence with the University of Melbourne and completed the first year of study but soon realised that teaching would never enable him to raise the capital necessary to fulfil his ambitions of acquiring a pastoral property in the Northern Territory, so resigned from the Department of Education in July 1933.

Connellan's first business ventures, Rural Radio and London Aero Ads, both failed, but he succeeded in gaining his private pilot's licence on 8 July 1936. This gave him the means to visit Canberra to learn about economic possibilities in the Northern Territory. During the course of his many visits to the national capital, Connellan became firm friends with John McEwen, the Minister responsible for the Northern Territory.

After securing financial support from friends and pastoralists in western Victoria, Connellan embarked on two aerial surveys of the Northern Territory in 1938, to assess the potential role of aviation in the development of the Territory and also to select land for a cattle station for himself, his brother, Vin, and two friends, Fred and Geoff O'Keefe. During the course of this 14-week survey Connellan met McEwen, who was touring parts of the region. They discussed the idea of trying to establish the viability of an air service in the Territory and Connellan agreed to trial such a scheme for three years.

Connellan successfully negotiated a subsidy from the federal government for a mail run between Alice Springs and Wyndham together with a contract with the Flying Doctor Service for a service centred on Alice Springs. His friend Damian Miller arranged a guarantee for the funds necessary to provide two Percival Gull VI aircraft and a 1920s Silver Ghost Rolls Royce to provide ground transport. With these, Connellan arrived in Alice Springs on 4 July 1939 to establish Survey and Inland Transport.

The new aerial service began with Connellan flying the first medical flight with Dr Catalano to the Hermannsburg Mission on 10 July 1939, while the second pilot and only engineer, Jack Kellow, flew the first official mail run on 8 August. Thereafter, the service operated fortnightly, leaving Alice Springs each Tuesday, following the arrival of the Ghan train.

War threw Connellan's plans into disarray. All of his ground staff joined the services and damage to aircraft left him with only one operational aeroplane thus allowing Kellow to leave Alice Springs in October 1940 for a position with the Whyalla Aero Club.

Connellan also volunteered for military service, but the authorities considered his work essential to the war effort. This provided him with the opportunity to consolidate his service and, confident of securing extra routes, he registered the name, Connellan Airways, on 23 July 1943.

Connellan married his long time girl friend, Evelyn Bell, at Alice Springs on 29 August 1940. The couple had three children; Cynthia Mary, born on 25 July 1942, but who died on the following day of a cerebral haemorrhage, Roger was born on 4 October 1944 and Christopher, on 10 July 1948. The Connellans lived for nine years in rented accommodation in Alice Springs but as soon as possible established a home on a property immediately west of the town aerodrome, which they named Araluen. Here Connellan established a citrus orchard to supply fresh fruit to stations throughout the Territory and later a nursery where he grew trees and shrubs to be transplanted to his Narwietooma Station as part of a program to develop high quality feeds for use in time of drought.

Pioneering his air services gave Connellan the opportunity to encourage the Northern Territory development in which he passionately believed. To this end, along with E S Lackman, an Alice Springs storekeeper and Dick Ward, a solicitor, he convened a public meeting in Alice Springs on 13 June 1944 to establish the Northern Territory Development League. Connellan was elected Chairman of a provisional committee charged with writing the constitution but soon quarrelled with other leaders of the League who used it as a means of pursuing a vendetta against the Administrator, **C LA Abbott**. The replacement of Abbott in 1946 defused that contentious issue and later the same year the Chifley government sought its views on the most appropriate form of self-government for the Territory. Otherwise the League simply disappeared.

The war years also gave Connellan the opportunity to establish his pastoral station northwest of Alice Springs. He selected the site on unoccupied crown land in 1938 but it was 1945 before he and Fred O'Keefe could acquire the lease for Narwietooma. The death of the two O'Keefe brothers during the war allowed Connellan to acquire the whole of the lease, but it was 1947 before the lifting of wartime restrictions permitted him to sink the first bore on the station before moving cattle there in 1948.

In 1948 Connellan went into partnership with **Ted Morey**, the famed Northern Territory policeman, to promote shooting safaris in the Top End on Wildman River Station, 115 kilometres east of Darwin. Connellan conceived the safari idea in 1941, although he had to wait until the opening of his second air service to Borroloola on 2 May 1945 before he found the appropriate locality and a suitable partner. The first seasons were quiet affairs. He was unable to complete an airstrip at Wildman River until the end of the first season in 1948 and a great deal of work in providing suitable accommodation needed to be done. Before the start of the 1949 season, however, Morey abandoned the project, forcing Connellan to purchase the lease to protect the 1 500 Pounds which he had already spent developing the business. He took sole control of the operation from 30 June 1949, with Bob Rixon acting as safari guide during the 1950 season. However, soon afterwards he abandoned the venture after a second guide, Paul Becker, was killed in an accident in Darwin.

Wildman River apart, the immediate post-war years saw the consolidation and development of Connellan's many enterprises. He floated the bush air service as a limited company in February 1951 and was gratified that station people and staff acquired many of the shares. Its growth could be measured by the new equipment that was brought into operation to keep pace with the increased demand for the services. In 1947 the operation carried 249 passengers over 83 400 passenger miles, with 12.8 tonnes of freight and 18.1 tonnes of mail. Thirteen years later, Connellan Airways flew 3 268 passengers over 1 102 000 passenger miles with 31.3 tonnes of freight and 50.4 tonnes of mail. Staff members increased from 20 in 1950 to 66 in 1960 and three years later, Connellan Airways officially became a Regular Public Transport Operator with all the added responsibilities for schedules, safety and maintenance that this required.

Connellan left the operation of the Airways in the hands of a manager and devoted more time to Narwietooma in the post war years. He was persuaded to begin living there with his family in 1955 and manage the property himself after a resident manager allowed 1 500 head of stock to perish.

Connellan was a long time member of the Executive of the Centralian Pastoralists' Association and served a term as President in 1950 and 1951. He stepped down from the Executive in 1954 after having been a member for 10 years, yet continued to play an important role in the Central Australian pastoral industry. During the 1960s Connellan finally began to reap the benefits of the great amount of effort and capital invested in Narwietooma, which in 1961 he had consolidated into a single pastoral lease. The 12 years to 1966 were hard years on Narwietooma, but Connellan showed that his pasture protection techniques were successful, through an increase in the numbers of breeders. He wrote about his ideas in a small pamphlet published in March 1965, *Drought Management and Pasture Protection in Central Australia*.

A succession of honours testified to Connellan's contributions to the outback communities of Central Australia. He received the Queen's Coronation Medal in 1953 for his services to aviation and, four years later, in the New Year's Honours List of 1957 was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) 'for services to civil aviation in Northern and Central Australia'. He also received a singular honour from the aviation fraternity when he was awarded the 1965 Oswald Watt Trophy for his 'outstanding contribution to general aviation'.

Narwietooma and air service issues consumed much of his time and attention, but Connellan remained deeply interested in federal and Territory politics, although except for his time with the Northern Territory Development League, he always remained outside the mainstream. He never belonged to a political party for he had decided early in his career that, if he must treat with governments, it was essential that he remain non-partisan. However, Connellan did have his time as a parliamentarian, when in December 1965, the federal government appointed him to the Northern Territory Legislative Council as one of its Non Official nominees. He embarked on the challenge enthusiastically, but quickly became disillusioned once he found himself the target of criticism from opponents of the federal government who suggested that his receipt of a loan from the government and an ongoing subsidy for

his airline meant that he had a conflict of interests. He did not relish the constant criticism. Moreover, pressure of work in his air service assumed a great deal of his attention and he resigned from the Council in November 1967.

Connellan Airways underwent major change during the 1960s and 1970s. Paradoxically, the numbers of stations served by the Airways declined because the newer and larger aircraft were unable to land on the more primitive strips. By 1970 the Airways served 120 stations, towns and mining camps and comprised a fleet of 13 aircraft and 22 pilots. The Royal Flying Doctor Service continued to charter aircraft from the Airways until 1965 when it purchased two aircraft from Connellan for its own use, although Connellan pilots continued to fly them. This arrangement continued until 1973.

The changing nature of the air operation brought increased attention from a government anxious to safeguard its investment. Connellan found this increased government influence to be vexatious. The air service was no longer strictly a family concern but Connellan continued to manage it as if it were by hand picking his fellow directors and expecting them to be guided by his knowledge of the air service. He recognised the shortcomings in this and, in April 1964, appointed George Crowther, from the highly respected Melbourne law firm of Weigall and Crowther and a valued director of several Melbourne based companies, as Deputy Chairman. The arrangement was a happy one until two years later when, in accordance with provisions of the new contract between Connellan Airways and the federal government, Crowther became the government's representative on the board. Thereafter, Connellan found the new arrangement frustrating because his ideas no longer prevailed unchallenged. A measure of his concern, and the fear that he might lose control of the company prompted him to change the name to Connair on 11 July 1970, the 31st anniversary of his first service. He did not lose control, but strengthened his position by having an opponent on the board removed instead. Once Crowther resigned on 22 May 1972 Connellan remained in total control.

Notwithstanding his company traumas, Connellan remained involved in public affairs. In 1974 he was appointed a member of the federal government's Transport Industries Advisory Council (TIAC), regardless of differences of opinion and philosophy with the Labor Minister for Transport, Charlie Jones. He was among the first of the aviation representatives to join the Council in 1974 and continued as a member until 1978.

Connellan's public contribution to aviation and development in the Northern Territory continued to be recognised. In 1978 he was promoted to be a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE), and three years later, in 1981, was appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) for 'services to aviation and the community.'

Though Connellan remained securely in control of his board, a series of tragedies jeopardised the future of his company. On 20 January 1972, a Queenair 80 aircraft crashed soon after takeoff on a charter flight, killing the pilot and six passengers, the first occasion in 33 years of operation that passengers had ever been killed in an accident. The devastation of Darwin by Cyclone Tracy early on Christmas morning of 1974 added to the woes of Connair. The company suffered little damage and all staff responded mightily to the challenge, but the effort severely strained the company's cash flow and caused complications for many months afterwards. Far more devastating to the fortunes of Connair were the effects of a strike by pilots called in September 1976. The consequences for the company were severe. It lost revenue and the major airlines operating jet aircraft took over its plum route from Alice Springs to Mount Isa and Cairns. Because of this, Connellan had to retrench about half the pilots and increase fares.

The other tragedy to take its toll on Connellan and his company was the death of Roger, his eldest son, who was killed when a onetime Connair pilot crashed a stolen aeroplane into the offices of Connair at the Alice Springs airport on 5 January 1977. Connellan had tried strenuously to groom his senior managers, but those with whom he had most success were attracted elsewhere. Roger, alone, shared his father's commitment to the company and over the years had gained experience in all aspects of its operations, rising to Chief Check and Training Captain.

By the late 1970s it was evident that, for all Connellan's determination to maintain the airline, Connair could not survive without new route rights; but these it was unable to acquire despite vigorous lobbying. Other desperate measures were suggested in 1979, even that of splitting the company into two distinct operations, a charter operation in the Top End and a regular public transport operation in the Centre, based on the Alice Springs to Ayers Rock route.

Finally Connellan realised that he would have to negotiate the sale of his airline and, after months of negotiation, concluded an agreement with East West Airlines in December 1979 with the sale to be completed on 14 March 1980. The new Northern Airlines was launched on 23 January 1980, but, despite considerable support from the Northern Territory government, Northern Airlines lost upwards of 1 000 000 Dollars and closed down on 31 December 1980, less than a year after its creation.

By this time Connellan was busy about other matters which were given added urgency by cancer, diagnosed and treated in the mid 1970s but once more malignant. He continued to devote time to Narwietooma but gave his son, Chris, an increasing share of the work and management of the station. He assumed new responsibilities in 1981 as the first Territorian to be appointed a Director of the Stockman's Hall of Fame. But perhaps the cause that attracted most of Connellan's remaining energies was the establishment of the Connellan Airways' Trust, which he hoped would ensure the survival of many policies aimed at developing the outback for which he had striven for so long.

The establishment of the Trust was not a simple affair although at the time of the sale of the airline he was able to convince most of the shareholders to contribute 47% of the receipts of the sale to the Trust. Amendments had to be made to the taxation laws to ensure that contributions were tax deductible and to this end Connellan personally lobbied the Prime Minister and his deputy and provided a 'gift to the nation' of 5 000 Dollars which went towards the purchase of 'a beautiful Australian cedar round table', to be displayed at the reception room of Admiralty

House in Sydney. Doug Anthony, the former Deputy Prime Minister, finally launched the Connellan Airways Trust in the old Connellan Hangar in Alice Springs on 11 February 1983.

Connellan died less than 12 months later on 26 December 1983. Before his death he completed a book and this was published as *Failure of Triumph: The Story of Connellan Airways* during 1992.

E J Connellan, *Failure of Triumph*, 1992; Connellan Papers, in possession of C Connellan.

PETER DONOVAN, Vol 2.

CONWAY, AMY ISABEL nee BENNISON, also FANNON and WHITTAKER (1877–1939), housemaid and boarding house keeper, was born at 1877 at Palmerston, Northern Territory, the daughter of **Leslie Samuel Bennison** and his wife Rose, nee Lane. She lived at home with her parents until her marriage to Michael Joseph Fannon, a seaman, in 1897. In the 1901 census she was shown as a housemaid and having her son with her. Michael Fannon was recorded on the electoral roll as having left the district so it is assumed he was away at sea.

Before many years elapsed Fannon had died and Amy married a Mr Whittaker. Apparently he also died early as she married Francis Joseph Conway, a station owner of Pine Creek, in 1918 and on her marriage certificate she stated she was a widow of Mr Whittaker and was a boarding house keeper. It is believed that she had her widowed mother, Rose Bennison, living with her in Katherine at the time of this marriage and that Rose continued to live with her daughter after the marriage. James and Amy took part in Katherine's public affairs until James died in 1926. After this Amy continued to run the boarding house in Katherine and was a member of several local societies. Her main interest was the Country Women's Association, of which she and her mother were foundation members.

When Amy died on 17 May 1939, she was buried in Katherine and the Katherine Sub Branch of the Country Women's Association erected a headstone in her memory over her grave. Her only son, Frederick Arthur Fannon, survived her.

Of medium height and build, Amy had blue eyes and brown hair.

Family records.

JOY DAVIS, Vol 2.

COOK, CECIL EVELYN AUFRERE (1897–1985), medical practitioner and administrator, was born 23 September 1897 at Bexhill, England, the son of James Whiteford Murray Cook, medical practitioner, and his wife Emily, nee Puckle. He was about two years old when his parents migrated to Australia.

He received his basic schooling at Southport in Queensland and in 1920 graduated in medicine from the University of Sydney. He married Jessie Winifred Miller in 1924 and had two sons and a daughter.

In 1923 Cook took a diploma course in tropical medicine and hygiene in London and this was followed by a Wandsworth Research Fellowship to study the epidemiology of leprosy in Australia. He travelled through much of the Northern Territory by car in 1925. His research was published as a thesis, 'The Epidemiology of Leprosy in Australia', 1927. For this he received a Doctorate of Medicine and later was honoured as Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE).

In 1927, at the age of 29 years, he was appointed to the Northern Territory as Chief Medical Officer and Chief Protector of Aborigines. He set out to achieve a completely government run medical service with no private practitioners, though government doctors were allowed to charge a private fee for obstetrics and surgery. He introduced a medical benefit fund; but voluntary contributions declined during the 1930s depression and the fund was heavily in debt by 1940.

In 1929 he started a training school for nurses at Darwin Hospital, with recognition in Queensland, where the Nurses' Board conducted the examinations. A local Nurses' Board was achieved in 1935 followed by a Medical Board and Dental Officers' Board. Cook was the chairman of all three statutory authorities.

During Cook's time in the Northern Territory, doctors were appointed to Alice Springs (1930) and Tennant Creek (1935) and hospitals were opened at Katherine (January 1935), Tennant Creek (June 1936) and Alice Springs (March 1939).

In his role as Chief Protector of Aborigines, he recommended that the police in the outback be gazetted as Protectors. In this role the police received a medical kit and were responsible for the health of Aborigines, the giving of injections for yaws and the arrest of people with leprosy. This identified the health service with crime and punishment, an image that took many years to overcome later.

Cook was antagonistic to the missions. He failed to implement that part of the 1928 Bleakley Report, which recommended increased financial assistance to church missions. In 1931 he reduced the subsidy to missions by 20 per cent and in 1934 withdrew the subsidy from three of them. He refused all financial help for new missions and stopped the supply of medical kits and the issue of blankets for aged and infirm Aborigines. He demanded building and hygiene standards on the missions that he could not achieve at Kahlin Compound in Darwin.

Cook rigorously fought early attempts by the Flying Doctor Service to move into the Northern Territory. He considered it a gross extravagance and that road transport was all that was needed. But in 1934 when **Dr Clyde Fenton** came to Katherine with his own personal aircraft, Dr Cook gave him every support. Later, in 1939, the Flying Doctor Service established a base at Alice Springs, the compromise being that the Department of Health would provide the doctor and the hospital.

Dr Cook revised much health legislation but the very comprehensive Ordinance for the Protection of Aborigines was not enacted until modifications were made after he had left the Territory.

Although Cook established a hospital for leprosy on Channel Island, the site had the disadvantage of no natural water supply.

The government had long been concerned over the failure to implement the Bleakley report and the anthropologists [Dr Donald Thomson](#) and [Professor A P Elkin](#) were recommending more financial support for the church missions. It was decided to split the two departments of Health and Aboriginal Affairs; when Cook was given the choice of which department he wished to run he replied 'both or neither'. On 6 December 1938 Parliament passed an Act placing the Northern Territory Department of Health under the Commonwealth Department of Health in Canberra. From 1 April 1939 Cook became a lecturer at the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine at Sydney University.

In 1941 Cook joined the army and served two years as a pathologist, then as Assistant Director of Hygiene, the latter being the area in which he had specialised. From 1946 to 1950 he was Commissioner of Public Health in Western Australia, then he rejoined the Commonwealth Department of Health in Canberra until his retirement in 1962. In retirement he resided initially in Sydney then moved to the warmer climate of Burleigh Heads.

Cook died in a Sydney nursing home on 4 July 1985 in his 88th year.

E Kettle, Research notes for history of health in the Northern Territory.

ELLEN KETTLE, *Vol 1.*

COOPER, CATHERINE: see [PETT, CATHERINE](#)

COOPER, REUBEN JOHN (1898–c1942) was born on 6 February 1898 at Wandi, near Pine Creek. The only son and eldest child of [Robert Joel Cooper](#) and his Iwaidja wife Alice Rose, Reuben played as much a part in the development of the Northern Territory as did his well known father, if less spectacularly.

Spending his early years with Joe and Alice in the Pine Creek, Malay Bay and Melville Island areas, he was taken in about 1908 to Adelaide, where he apparently attended a private school. He certainly returned to Melville Island in 1915 a fine young man, almost as tall as the father whose build he inherited. For the next five years, he worked with Cooper senior, primarily as a buffalo shooter, and in 1920 married a Darwin girl of Filipino descent, Bertha McKeddie. From 1922 to 1926, in partnership with [F E Holmes](#) (who in 1923 contracted to supply electric light and cold storage facilities for Darwin), he ran a slaughtering and meat supply business, owning one of the two butcher shops in Cavenagh Street.

Following the failure of his marriage, Reuben met Salamah (Sally) Ah Mat, a Thursday Island girl, whom he later married. The couple started out on Melville Island, then spent most of their lives, until Reuben died in late 1942, timber milling on the Cobourg Peninsula. They had five children, Ruby, Lorna, Ronald Joel, Josephine and Dawn.

Cooper's achievements were remarkable because he made them as his own man—not merely as the son of his legendary father, but perhaps more as the son of the not so well known Alice Rose. At a time when the half-caste was not well accepted by European society, his position was exacerbated by the fact that he was probably better educated than many of those same Europeans and resented for it. An intelligent young man, he went ahead and lived his life in his own way.

He established the Australian Rules football code in the Northern Territory on his return from Adelaide, and was in demand as a player for the Buffaloes and later Vestey's teams, to the extent that a boat was often sent to collect him from his mill to play in a match. It was claimed that it took three opposing players to mark him. He was said to have been selected for the Olympic training squad, but dropped because of his colour. The colour/sport combination saw him instrumental in having the colour bar removed in hotels to enable the football players to have a glass of beer together after the match, although he himself was of fairly temperate habits.

An expert small ship's skipper and according to Glenville Pike he was 'renowned and respected by everyone'. He also built two boats while he was working on Cobourg Peninsula, *Prairie Moon* and *Dawn*, the first of these being skippered by him in rescue work in Darwin Harbour after the Japanese bombing of Darwin in 1942.

The Coopers ran a series of four mills on the Cobourg Peninsula—all of them well constructed and equipped, even though for some years all equipment had to be brought from Darwin by boat and transported to the mills via roads cut by the party themselves. At the first mill, the one truck that was available did double duty hauling the logs, then being jacked up to run the mill. At subsequent camps, a generator was available to run the mill and provide domestic power. The hygienic arrangements were said by his contemporaries to surpass those in Darwin at that time and it was common practice for large numbers of the local garrison to spend leave periods with the Coopers.

Like his father, he treated his staff of full blood and half-caste Aborigines fairly and kindly, educating them in a lifestyle far removed from their more usual bush manner. Although stores and supplies were brought from Darwin, there were often delays during which Reuben and his family were quite happy to live off the land.

Cooper was working for the army at the time of his death at Oenpelli in 1942, returning there from Adelaide River along the Alligator River when he was taken ill. The cause could have been a recurrence of appendicitis, or lead/petrol poisoning from drinking contaminated water. He was taken to Oenpelli where first aid was rendered, but no doctor was available there, nor could one come out from Darwin and he died. Perhaps because of the confusion in the removal of records from Darwin to Alice Springs as a wartime measure, no record is held of a death certificate having been issued. He is buried next to [Paddy Cahill](#) in an unmarked grave, perhaps his only epitaph written by H G Harnett: 'It was presumed he was petrol poisoned.'

Sally and the children were evacuated to South Australia on Christmas Day, 1942, later returning to live in Darwin.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1970; D Lockwood, *The Front Door, Darwin, 1869–1969*, 1974; G Pike, *Frontier Territory*, 1972; G H Sunter, *Adventures of a Trepanng Fisher*; Government Administrator's Reports 1922, 1923, 1925; AA, Canberra A659–39/ 1/5261; AA, Northern Territory, Access File F1–39/4; Letters R J Cooper and P Cahill to W Baldwin Spencer; Spencer Collection, National Museum of Victoria; AIAS, MS 71 Item 4, Paper 13; H G Harnett, 'Goodnight All-about', AA, Canberra, CP 52 M65 (Entry 4); *Northern Territory Star*, 30 August 1979.

ANNE BRIGGS, *Vol 1*.

COOPER, ROBERT JOEL (JOE, JOKUPA) (1860–1936), buffalo hunter, timber-getter and trepanger, was born on 29 February 1860, at Fairview near Riverton, South Australia, to George, a farmer and horse-breaker, and Harriet, *nee* Peverett. He was the third of six children and later was closely associated with his brother George Henry (born in 1861 and known as 'Harry').

No details of their early life are known, but in about 1878 the two brothers overlanded a mob of horses from Adelaide to Darwin and from then until 1894 engaged in various activities in and around Darwin and in timber-getting and buffalo shooting on the Cobourg Peninsula and adjacent areas.

In 1894, accompanied by **E O Robinson** (the pastoral lessee of Melville Island) and brother Harry, Cooper kidnapped four Tiwi from Melville Island and returned with them to the Port Essington area, where reciprocal Tiwi/Iwaidja language training was undertaken. In 1895 Cooper, as Robinson's manager, returned to Melville Island with his four 'hostages', Barney Flynn, and a party of Iwaidja Aborigines and set up a camp to shoot buffalo. In June of that year, Cooper was speared in the shoulder and returned to the hospital in Darwin for treatment. After an absence of three weeks, he returned to the island, where the party continued to shoot buffalo until 1898. No figures are available for the total number of buffalo shot by that time, but with Robinson's estimate of 2 000 in the first six months they were there, it is not surprising that the party was withdrawn to the mainland in 1898 for fear of overshooting.

The next seven years were spent mining at Pine Creek, and timber cutting and buffalo shooting in the Malay Bay area. His wife Alice, an Iwaidja woman from Port Essington whom he had married by Aboriginal custom in about 1890, accompanied him on all his expeditions, and their son **Reuben John** was born in 1898 while they were at Pine Creek. Little is known of Harry's activities during this time, but as Joe is known to have held timber licences for both the mainland and the islands, it is probable that he spent most of the time in the Port Essington area.

For 10 years from 1905 the family (Joe, Alice, Reuben and Harry) lived on Melville Island with a party of about twenty Iwaidja, and it was probably during this time, supported by stories of his first foray, that the legends of 'King Joe' started to grow amongst the white population. He was the first European settler on the island since Fort Dundas had been abandoned in 1828, others having been deterred by the reputedly fierce and aggressive Tiwi. He overcame their aggression by the expedient of learning their language and treating them fairly and with kindness. He considered that he was on good terms with the Aborigines, who knew him as 'Jokupa', but nevertheless, he rarely left his camp unarmed. They shot upwards of 1000 buffalo a year and cut cypress pine, delivering products to Darwin in Cooper's lugger *Buffalo*.

Cooper was a large man, slow and sparing of speech, temperate, intelligent and courageous. Although nominally of the Church of England faith, he had little respect for the missions, feeling that they did less good than harm and managed to divert **Father Gsell's** attention to Bathurst Island for a mission site in 1911. He proved a good neighbour, however, and often visited the mission once it was established. In 1911, too, he was appointed Honorary Sub-Protector of Aborigines on the island, and mainland Aborigines addicted to opium and alcohol were placed in his care. He hosted a visit by Hermann Klaatsch, the German physical anthropologist, in 1906 and visits by various local dignitaries in the years he was there, including Administrator **J A Gilruth** and Professor **W Baldwin Spencer**, who stayed with Cooper while studying the Aborigines in 1911 and 1912. Cooper enjoyed the confidence and friendship of these men to the same extent as he did that of the local people.

In 1914 Cooper resigned as Honorary Sub-Protector and, by late that year, when his son Reuben returned from college in Adelaide, many of the mainland blacks had been removed from the island. Stories abound with reasons for this action by the authorities—from complaints by one Sam Green, a saw-miller on the island, about Cooper's cruelty to the islanders and the overbearing attitude of his band of Iwaidja, through indiscriminate shootings of Tiwi by the Iwaidja, to Cooper's own statement in a letter to Baldwin Spencer in December 1915 to the effect that the authorities were complaining to him about the Tiwi, while the Tiwi were complaining to him about the government in Darwin. Although he was largely exonerated in the subsequent enquiry, the Melville Island lease having changed hands and all the mainland Aborigines having been removed, Cooper and his remaining family left the island in 1916.

Cooper's family at that time comprised Alice, his son Reuben, and his daughter Ethel, who was born in 1915. Another daughter, Josephine, had been born and died while they were on the island, and Harry had died of (possibly) dengue fever in 1907. During the remainder of his lifetime, Joe was associated with several mainland pastoral leases, shot buffalo for various contractors in the Adelaide River and Cobourg Peninsula areas, tried trepanng at Trepanng Bay, and spent some time at Port Bremer. Until his son Reuben married, they worked together, camping at Blue Mud Bay during the wet season.

Despite his many friendships and lauding as a 'living legend', Cooper preferred to play a lone hand, and cannot have been popular with white 'society'. As were but few others, he was faithful to his Aboriginal wife, formally marrying her in Darwin in 1917 and ensured that his son Reuben was well, even extensively, educated by contemporary standards. A modesty apparent in interviews apparently did not extend to physical modesty—on one occasion he was chided by **A J V Brown** for visiting a white man's camp naked, and he obviously took the message to heart. Baldwin Spencer refers to his customary bush attire as being 'a pair of tattered shorts'.

Toward the end of his life and after the death of Alice in their Harvey Street, Darwin, home in 1929, Cooper's hunting activities were curtailed by rheumatism and he spent much of his time visiting Reuben's logging camps on the Cobourg Peninsula. He died in Darwin Hospital on 7 August 1936, and is buried in the Darwin Gardens Cemetery.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1970; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1985; W Baldwin Spencer, *Wanderings in Wild Australia*, 1928; *ADB* vol 8, 1981; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 13 March 1886, 26 June 1886 & 23 June 1911; *South Australian Register*, 26 June 1895 & 27 May 1897; AA, Canberra, CRS A1 12/627; AA, Darwin, F108; F5 A131; SAA, Accession Nos 227/26 June 1895, 132, 318/1 July 1910; Letters RJ Cooper and P Cahill to W Baldwin Spencer; Spencer Collection, AIAS, MS 71, Item 4, Paper 13; Government Residents' Reports 1913, 1914–15 & 1915.

ANNE BRIGGS, *Vol 1.*

CORBOULD, WILLIAM HENRY (1886–1969), miner, commonly called Jimmy', was born at Ballarat on 5 November 1886. His father, William Corbould, was a tailor. His mother was Julia Augusta, *nee* Signell. The young Corbould was educated at Ballarat College and the Ballarat School of Mines.

After graduation, Corbould worked at mines in South Australia and Broken Hill before he began, in 1888, a three-year journey to study ore deposits and metallurgy around the world. Initially he took a job as general 'useful' at the Flora Bell mine, south of Grove Hill and not far from Union Reefs, in the Northern Territory. His main work was assaying but he displayed his unusual talent for assessing ore deposits when he persuaded the manager to sink a new shaft at a spot which looked promising and found rich silver.

Corbould's stay in the Territory was only about a year but in this time he made many friends. He knew the Millar brothers (of railway fame) well, and used to visit other mining identities such as Olaf Jensen at Pine Creek and Francis Drake at the Eveleen. These visits were undertaken on horseback. He also developed a liking and respect for the Chinese. At one stage he wrote notes on the outback for **V L Solomon** and these appeared in the local paper.

Corbould said that he knew the Territory as well as, and probably better than, most and concluded that there was at that time no hope for profitable business for some three hundred kilometres south of Palmerston. He put forward several reasons, including poor soil, three months of heavy rain, and a long dry season. He observed that while the Northern Territory had all the discomforts of the tropics it had none of the comforts or facilities for reasonable living conditions away from the coast. He assessed the mineral areas as being too scattered and small in extent and seemingly of no great depth, although he acknowledged there was a possibility of large areas of payable wolfram and tin.

Corbould subsequently went to the United States and Britain where he studied mines and smelters. He managed a mine at Bathurst, reorganised the teamsters there and sat for and passed an examination to qualify as a mine manager at a few days' notice. He later managed the Mount Elliott mines at Cloncurry and finally established the original Mount Isa Mines Ltd. He spent the last years of his life in Monte Carlo where he died on 16 March 1969.

I Hore-Lacy, *From Broken Hill to Mt Isa*, 1981; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* 1888–91; Government Resident, Annual Reports 1888–91.

T G JONES, *Vol 1.*

COSTELLO, JOHN (1838–1923), explorer, pastoralist and entrepreneur, was born on 31 March 1838 in Yass, New South Wales. He was the fifth child of Michael Costello, storekeeper and grazier, and his wife Mary, *nee* Tully. His parents came from Ireland in 1837. Their four Irish-born children died on the voyage from Tipperary to Sydney. The family settled in Yass where they were the proprietors of the prosperous store, which they sold after 1851 and bought 400 hectares at Grabben Gullen near Goulburn. They became respected members of the Irish-Catholic community and it was during these years that Costello began to develop his knowledge of the bush and his unerring sense of direction. By the age of 16, with little formal education, he was becoming well known as a rider and horse-breaker.

In 1862 his young sister Mary married Patrick Durack who shared Costello's interests in horses and adventures in new lands.

In 1863 Costello set off on his first expedition in an attempt to take up land in South-western Queensland. Shortage of water, poor stock and problems with Aborigines caused him to turn back after four months. Undaunted he tried again, taking his bride **Mary Scanlan**, whom he had married in 1865, and other members of his family, including his parents who had reluctantly agreed to finance the venture.

The family set off with two hundred cattle and fifteen horses to form a depot at Warroo Springs in northern New South Wales. In 1867 the **Duracks** joined them and they took up grazing rights on Mobell Creek, 480 kilometres further north. It was a time of drought, and sickness affected the family; Costello's young son John died of fever. They had an excess of horses and Costello travelled down to Kapunda in South Australia, taking two hundred horses to sell and returning with a profit of 3 000 Pounds on the sale.

In April 1868 the Duracks and Costellos moved northwest to a tributary of Cooper's Creek. The Duracks settled at Thylungra and the Costellos built their homestead 40 kilometres downstream at Kyabra. Although the next few years were lean and prices of stock were low Costello's earlier astuteness paid dividends. In the early 1870s the Duracks and Costellos had taken up large areas of land 'on speculation' and thus in the late 1870s were able to sell off much of the land. Costello not only sold the land to make a profit but also often helped out friends and settlers

who were not in such a strong financial position. All the vast areas of land he had taken up were accurately laid out with the aid of a compass for the purposes of exact description.

In 1875, when two of Durack's children, with a tutor, became lost in the bush, Costello went out with a tracker to find them. He never anticipated danger and had the optimism of good health. He was the first white man apart from Burke and Wills to explore some parts of western Queensland and the neighbouring areas of the Northern Territory. In 1877 Costello sold Kyabra, taking his elderly parents to Rockhampton for comfort. They eventually retired to Goulburn. Costello bought racing studs but, though a lover of horses, he was not interested in the racing. He also ventured into a tobacco plantation and factory but without success.

Interest in pastoralism was beginning in the Northern Territory and Costello bought Lake Nash, a large property, straddling the Queensland/Northern Territory border, which he stocked with cattle and horses. After an expedition in the early 1880s he leased some 4 500 square kilometres, stretching from the McArthur River to the Roper. Costello put a manager in charge of Lake Nash, sold his coastal properties, sent his wife and younger children on a trip to Ireland and with his eldest son set off to establish a homestead on the Limmen River—Valley of Springs. When his wife and children returned from Ireland he hired a boat *Activity* to meet them and bring them through the uncharted waters of the Limmen River to the new primitive homestead. The Costellos lived in that isolated region for six years, learning to cope with cattle disease, drought, malaria, hostile Aborigines and plundering prospectors who were heading for gold in the Kimberleys. Marketing of stock was almost impossible and along with high land rents, caused Costello to lose almost a quarter of a million Pounds. Between 1893 and 1895 Costello abandoned his Gulf property and moved his family to Lake Nash. This station had no adequate water supply and Costello eventually had to sink two sub-artesian bores but unfortunately went bankrupt in the process. He managed to buy his original farm at Grabben Gullen and, after a fire in 1904 that almost destroyed the house but cleared the timber, he sold the farm at a good price and bought Tocobil near Hillston in New South Wales. He bought the adjoining land—36 000 hectares—and the leases were taken up for his children. He remained in New South Wales until his death in 1923.

His enthusiasm did much to help the cause of pastoralism in the Northern Territory, his adventurous seeking of new lands causing him to press forward in the pursuit of a vision—and he never lost his faith in the Northern Territory, telling a parliamentary Commission in 1895: 'It has been an unlucky country... but I have this faith; that a time of glowing prosperity is in store for it, that the future will bring for it a measure of success counter-balancing its many failures.'

M J Costello, *Life of John Costello*, 1930; M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982.

J STEEL, Vol 1.

COSTELLO, MARY *nee* **SCANLAN** (1839–1924), Territory pioneer, was born on 6 January 1839 at Scariff, County Clare, Ireland, daughter of Michael Scanlan and his wife. She arrived in Australia in 1861 and for three years she lived with her brother, Patrick, on his property near Goulburn in New South Wales. Two other brothers were also close by. As a girl she became the acknowledged belle of the district and early showed the spirit of adventure and courage that stood her so well in her later life. She gained a reputation for being a splendid horsewoman, an efficient stock hand and a crack rifle shot, as well as a keen political observer.

On 7 January 1865 she married **John Costello** at Grabben Gullen, New South Wales. Her husband, a close friend of her brothers, was born in Yass, New South Wales, in 1838, son of Michael Costello and Mary, *nee* Tully who had emigrated to Australia in 1837. Costello and Scanlan siblings married into the **Durack** family who pioneered in the Kimberleys.

In February 1868 Mary, now mother of two sons, accompanied her husband, his parents, and a group of employees, to Mobell Creek in a remote area of western Queensland where the younger boy died from lack of water. The family then settled at Kyabra Creek (a tributary of Cooper Creek) where Mary gave birth later that year to her namesake, Mary (Jane Gertrude), said to be the first European child born in the area. The Costellos were also said to have been the first Europeans in the area since Burke and Wills. Mary had four more children while the family were living in Queensland and another was born while she was visiting Goulburn.

In January 1882 John Costello bought Lake Nash station, a very large property which straddled the Northern Territory and Queensland border, and which he had leased since 1879. Two years later he also acquired another property in virgin country on the Limmen River, in the Gulf country. In mid 1884 Mary and the family went to Ireland for a holiday and returned a year later. John met them in Rockhampton. After leaving their four daughters in a convent in Townsville John and Mary, their younger children and a maid chartered a boat to take themselves, their stores and a prefabricated home, and their cattle and horses to their new property named Valley of the Springs. In 1886 Mary wrote to her daughter, Kate, that she had only 'seen two White women since we came here but we see plenty of men. The Blacks are very quiet to us although other people cannot get on so well with them'. She commented about how often and for how long John was away and then continued, 'We have a very nice place here. Plenty of flowers and trees. And you know what an ugly place men by themselves keep and it would be bad... to have father here by himself and what use could we be down the country by ourselves... We have no mail running out our way yet but we hope soon to get a mail. It is time but our Government are very slow people and do not look to our wants.' The closest town was Borrooloola, about 90 miles away.

After six years of this isolation the family returned to the Lake Nash property about 1891, though at the time of the census taken that year seven children were living with Mary and John at Valley of the Springs: Michael 25, Mary Jane Gertrude 21, Kate, 18, Ellen, 15, Annie, 14, John Patrick, 10 and Patrick 8.

Mary had a reputation for being one of the most informed and politically aware women in the outback and she read the newspapers and magazines to which they subscribed from cover to cover whenever she could. She corresponded with numerous friends and relatives and kept a keen ear on the famous 'bush telegraph'. She encouraged political debate in the household and she and John were admired for their close and equal partnership. When Northern Territory and South Australian women became the first Australian women to win the vote in December 1894 she and her daughters, Mary Jane Gertrude and Kathleen (Kate), enrolled to vote at Warnardo, the polling booth established in the Lake Nash region. They were among the first 82 women to vote in the Territory.

Eventually, financial difficulties that followed drought and flood forced the family to return to New South Wales about 1902 or 1903 and they bought Tocobil near Hillston in New South Wales. John died there on 25 February 1923 and Mary followed on 18 December 1924 aged 85. She had been visiting her daughter, Mary Jane, but her body was returned to Hillston where she was buried with her husband of nearly 60 years. She was held in high esteem by all who knew her and particularly by members of her own family. Her grandson, Michael, wrote: 'She was one of the women who make the nation—the silent heroines of our race. Fearless, self denying, facing the relentless dangers of the unexplored wilds, these women of the west not only did and dared, but kept a cheerful optimism through it all... They dared to live where few would go... Patient endurance and hopefulness marked their characters, knowing no dangers, fearless self sacrificing, magnificent exemplars of their sex, the women who rear the invincibles of our race'

Of the two adult daughters who had shared the remote life with her, Mary Jane married David Flannery, then a 60-year-old widower, in Orange, New South Wales, in 1905 when she was a 36-year-old governess. She died in June 1946, childless. Kate married Andrew Lynch, a drover, in January 1902. There were four children of the marriage, two daughters only survived to adulthood. Kate Lynch died on 2 July 1959.

Costello family papers; M Costello, *The Life of John Costello*, 1930; M Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1967; B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

COTTON, ALFRED JOHN (1861–1941), seaman, bush worker, storekeeper, pastoralist and publicist, was born on 21 June 1861 in Saint Hellier, Jersey, the Channel Islands, son of Charles Nelson Cotton and his wife Sarah Mary, *nee* Frost. He was educated privately at Brighton, England, and at the age of 14 was apprenticed to the merchant marine. By 1879 he was a third mate, working mainly between London and East Asia.

He settled in Australia in 1882 and spent some time working as a jackeroo and storekeeper in New South Wales. He took up droving and by 1890 had several men employed moving mobs of cattle between north Queensland and New South Wales. He married Annie Isabel Jane Bode in Bowen, Queensland, on 11 December 1893 and in 1895 took over part of the Bode family property, Bromby Park. Unable to buy the property outright, he turned to exporting hides and tallow, exporting horses to South Africa and China, and to property speculation. His property ventures, and his horse stud in Grandchester, Queensland, were highly successful and in 1912 he retired to Mintoburn in Tasmania.

The following year saw the beginning of Cotton's long involvement with the Northern Territory. In 1913, in partnership with J C and F J White, he acquired the lease of Brunette Downs Station on the Barkly Tableland in the Territory and became involved in the debate on land tenure and development in the north of Australia. Thwarted by the federal government in his plans to divide Brunette Downs into 25 kilometre blocks, which could be sold at considerable profit, Cotton turned from cattle to sheep in an effort to make the property pay. The venture failed, but Cotton to the end of his life refused to accept that sheep were unsuited to the Territory climate.

Cotton had very definite ideas on how the pastoral industry in Australia should be organised, ideas which he outlined in voluminous correspondence with the press. In 1933, the problems of the northern cattle industry, the closure of the Vestey's meat works in Darwin and the failure of the Commonwealth to provide the long awaited north to south transcontinental railway, led Cotton to propose that the entire north of Australia be handed over for private development to a chartered company. His proposal, including a map of the area involved, appeared under the heading 'A New Province' in the *Brisbane Courier* on 9 May 1933. He pointed out that this had been suggested as long ago as 1915. In 1916 the then Administrator of the Northern Territory, [Dr J A Gilruth](#), had approached the Commonwealth regarding the possible sale of the north of Australia to a British chartered company for the sum of 5 000 000 Pounds.

Initial response to the scheme was positive. In 1933 the world was suffering the worst effects of the Great Depression. Many people saw the Cotton scheme as a positive step in bringing much needed capital to Australia. There was also the fear that the vast empty spaces of northern Australia would prove a temptation to the alien races to the north to occupy. Cotton's proposal to populate the north with white European settlers was seen as far preferable to a possible coloured invasion. However, once the initial euphoria had died down, it became clear that there were certain problems standing in the way of the proposed new province. One was that practically all of the land in the Northern Territory was already in the hands of vested interests, such as Bovrils and Vestey's. Another was that the concept of a separate Australian province under the control of a private company would not accord with the Australian constitution. The Australian Workers' Union was bitterly opposed to the proposal of 'giving' away Australian land to 'foreigners', and feared the importation of cheap coloured labour.

The heated debate on how to develop the Northern Territory continued, both in Australia and Britain, throughout 1933 and 1934. Several alternatives to the Cotton scheme were proposed, including a suggestion from the Anglican Dean of Canterbury, Dr Hewlett Johnson, that the British should make a great gesture by 'presenting Japan' with the empty north of Australia. The Northern Territory Survey Bill, read and approved in July 1934, dismissed all of the plans, including that of Cotton, which had been put forward in the previous 18 months. The Bill concentrated

on the necessity of conducting an aerial survey of the Northern Territory to clearly define areas for future contracts and development.

Cotton finally withdrew from his partnership in Brunette Downs, reputedly at considerable loss, and retired, first to Southport and then to South Brisbane, both in Queensland. However, he continued a barrage of letters to the press on matters related to the Northern Territory. In an article in *Country Life* entitled 'If I Were Dictator!' on 28 November 1939, he outlined his vision how Australia could, and should, be. His ego was considerable. 'The world', he wrote, 'would follow me if I could organise Australia for the good of the majority.' In his Australia everyone would enjoy a good standard of living. Wages would be set, and in any strike for higher pay the strikers would be employed elsewhere at lower rates and the agitators punished. While he claimed the Aborigines were useless as workers, some of those from Arnhem Land could be productive as, due to some Macassan blood, they were of the stronger, more intelligent type. Cotton's autobiography, *With the Big Herds in Australia*, published in 1931, and the 100 pages of newspaper clippings he compiled relating to the development of Australia now held in the Northern Territory Archives provide an invaluable insight into the mind of a typical product of the nineteenth century British Empire. To Cotton and many of his contemporaries, the more remote parts of Australia would be improved by the touch of white civilisation.

Cotton died in Saint Martin's Hospital, Brisbane, on 24 April 1941 and was cremated with Anglican rites. Four children survived him.

E Gibson, "Land for Sale", unpublished paper, University College of the Northern Territory, 1988; The Cotton Collection, in Northern Territory Archives Service.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

COWLE, BOB: see [ARRARBI](#)

COWLE, CHARLES ERNEST (1863–1922), policeman, was born in Tasmania on 2 October 1863. His father was manager of the ES & A Bank, Adelaide from 1880 to 1895. His sister married (Sir) Josiah Symon QC, a South Australian Attorney-General and a Senator in the first Commonwealth Parliament. Although his surviving letters indicate that he received a formal education, which would have enabled him to follow his father into banking or industry, Cowle preferred bush life. He enjoyed the sheep lands of northwestern Victoria, and apparently worked in the station country of the Strzelecki Track and Coopers Creek area until 1889. It was then he decided to join the South Australian Police Force. After completing his training, he was posted to Alice Springs where, amongst others, he made friends with [Frank Gillen](#).

In his youth Cowle was clean-shaven but in middle age preferred to remain bearded. He was described by Gillen: 'Looking more like a Greek bandit than a Police Officer, his belt is laden with cartridges revolver and handcuffs and altogether he presents a formidable appearance.' His hard drinking and swearing were acknowledged by both himself and others to the point where one of his acquaintances described him as 'champion cusser'. Yet there is every indication that Cowle fully perceived that these lauded facets, in a land of hard-swearing and hard-drinking men and very few white women, were but part of a legendary image of the outback and not necessarily the substance.

In 1894 he acted as guide to the Horn Scientific Expedition, making a 'flying trip' using horses with a small party, which included [Baldwin Spencer](#), to Reedy Rockhole (near King's Canyon in the Gill Range), Ayers Rock (Uluru) and return. For 14 days they were away from the main expedition party, which continued its travel north, yet met half an hour from the previously agreed time. It was an extraordinary feat of organisation and bushmanship by Cowle, given that the scientists were new chums to desert travel; the timing would be difficult to match today with modern vehicles, helicopters and radio contact! [Charles Winnecke](#), a surveyor-explorer of great experience who was leader of the Horn Expedition, commented: 'Mr Cowle is deserving of the greatest commendation for the able manner in which he has performed this journey. The party under his guidance were compelled to travel from dawn until sundown, covering a distance of between eighty-five miles and ninety miles over continuous porcupine sand-ridges. They were without water—a fact entailing additional anxiety—and Mr Cowle's achievement in arriving at the rendezvous almost to the hour agreed upon cannot be allowed to pass without special record.'

Cowle was duly rewarded by being promoted to Mounted Constable, second class, and being placed in charge of Illamurta police station, 150 kilometres south-west of Alice Springs.

Spencer recognised Cowle's intelligence and talents and from this initial contact there developed a lifelong friendship. Cowle did much work in recording legends and details of Aboriginal life and this was incorporated into Spencer and Gillen's works. He made constructive criticism of their work, and collected faunal specimens of Central Australia for Spencer and his colleagues. He was remarkable for his time in that he acknowledged the strong spiritual attachment of Aborigines to their land.

Despite this sympathy for Aborigines, Cowle was first and foremost a policeman. Illamurta police station had been established in 1890–91 by Mounted Constable [Willshire](#) in an attempt to control cattle-killing activities by the local Matuntarra Aborigines. Cowle continued this work and was undoubtedly hard on offenders. Yet he did not believe in shooting them wholesale, as did officers such as Willshire, Wurmbrandt, Bennett and many of the local station owners and their employees. His job demanded, as he saw it, that Aborigines be 'made to respect the law of the land that has been taken from them'. To this end he was prepared to relentlessly hunt cattle killers. He tracked them on horseback in the plains country and on foot when they took to the ranges. Even in the bitter cold of midwinter he was prepared to travel on foot without food and to camp 'black fellow fashion without blankets and just a little fire on each side'. In this way he could travel faster than Aborigines 'loaded with beef inside and

out', and eventually capture the culprits. However, not all of his patrols were to do with Aboriginal cattle-killers. There were enough horse thieves in the wider outback community to keep him busy. His most famous patrol was undertaken in the summer heat of March 1902, when he rode 900 kilometres in search of two young men who had gone missing from Eringa Station near Oodnadatta in northern South Australia. He and his trackers, travelling in waterless country unknown to them, found that the horses and one of the youths had perished; the other youth was also presumed dead.

Cowle had been engaged to be married for many years but in 1900, the lady broke the engagement and Cowle became more and more a loner. Gillen, Spencer and Byrne at Charlotte Waters, remained good friends, but few other people seemed to suit him. This made life difficult for other constables posted to Illamurta. In 1901 Byrne, another intelligent but solitary man, agreed with Cowle that there were 'not many of us with the real love for the Bush'. Despite all its hardships they liked the life and, as Cowle wrote to Spencer, 'It would be a regular heart wrench to suddenly sever connection with it.' Two years later Cowle felt the 'heart wrench'. He developed severe arthritis, went to Adelaide for treatment and never again returned to his beloved Illamurta bush life. He retired, on medical advice, from the police force in 1903 and, bedridden with rheumatics and arthritis, died on 19 March 1922. It was a sad ending for the bushman-policeman who, in June 1903, had written of Illamurta, 'I willingly would give all I possess to be back there again', even if only to 'peg out, amongst kindred spirits'.

The crumbling ruins at Illamurta Springs, in part built by Cowle and later protected by the Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory, are a bush memorial to this policeman. He is otherwise remembered by a street name in Alice Springs.

F J Gillen, *Gillen's Diary*, 1968; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1985; B Spencer & F J Gillen, *Across Australia*, vol 1, 1912; C Winnecke, *Journal, Etc., of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition to Central Australia*, 1894, vol 2, 1898; *The Register*, 24 March 1902; C E Cowle, Letters to Baldwin Spencer, copies held in AIAS; M C Hartwig, 'The Progress of White Settlement in the Alice Springs District and its Effects upon the Aboriginal Inhabitants, 1860-1894', unpublished PhD Thesis, Adelaide University, 1965.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 1*.

COX, CYRIL JOHN ANGUS (1913-1973) and **COX, ANNIE ESTHER SARAH (ANNE) nee FOGARTY** (1917-), storekeepers. Cyril Cox was born on 22 June 1913 in Pine Creek, Northern Territory, the third child of Colin Neil Cox and his wife Hannah, nee Trenam. Colin was born in Devonport, Tasmania, in 1886 and his wife in Cooktown, Queensland, in the same year. He was a carpenter who came to the Territory with his parents and family of three brothers and a sister and their first years were spent on various minefields. Colin and Hannah were married at the home of his father, Frederick Isaac Cox, at Yam Creek in 1908. Their nine children were all born in the Top End of the Territory between 1908 and 1930.

Annie Fogarty, always called Anne, was born on 9 September 1917 in Cloncurry, Queensland, the eldest child of Clifford Hunter (Ted) Fogarty and his wife **Martha Sarah Elizabeth**, nee Paterson.

Anne accompanied her parents and her brother David when they left Cloncurry for the Northern Territory in May 1921, travelling in the family buggy. Following the government bores, they arrived at 'The Katherine' just before Christmas. Anne's younger sister Margaret was born in Darwin and her brother Edward was born on Delamere Station. Anne's father was a station manager and brumby runner amongst other things and so her childhood was spent living in the bush on cattle stations and in camps, but the family always seemed to return to Katherine.

At various times Anne received her schooling by correspondence and when the family lived in Katherine, if the school was operational, all four Fogarty children attended. Accordingly, Anne had a limited education until her mother sent her to Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Convent in Darwin as a boarder during the years of 1930 and 1931. Although Anne received a good education from the nuns during the two years she boarded, she was very lonely and missed her family very much.

Cyril received his education at the Pine Creek School, where he attended until he left when he was in the seventh grade, and aged 12 years.

Cyril's first job was working for Jessie Schunke in her store at Pine Creek, where she taught him book keeping. When the store was sold in around 1931 the new owners were unable to keep Cyril on in full time employment, so late in that year he moved to Katherine, where he commenced work for R R (Charlie) Rundle in his store, situated in the main street.

The Cox and Fogarty families were old friends and so Anne and Cyril had known each other since they were very small. By the mid 1930s the Fogarty family was in Katherine where, in December 1935 Ted Fogarty drowned in the Katherine River near Springvale.

Cyril and Anne were engaged at that time, but decided to wait for some time after her father's death before they married. Charlie Rundle went to Sydney for medical treatment and died there. The accountant, Norm Watkins, had died in October 1934 and so Cyril was appointed Manager by **E V V Brown**, who was the Executor of the Rundle Estate. For a time he lived in a small room at the back of the store, as that was considered the Manager's quarters.

Father William Henschke married Anne and Cyril according to the rites of the Catholic Church on 5 November 1936 in Katherine. Although Anne came from a family of practising Catholics, Cyril was not religious and he never interfered with her religious beliefs. Their first home was a railway house on the northern bank of the Katherine River.

Personal counter service was given in the store, which had a gallon licence, and part of the work involved the bottling and labelling of methylated spirits, the packaging and weighing of flour into brown paper packets, and

preparation of bush orders which went out every six weeks. The Executor of the Rundle Estate decided to sell the store by tender. Anne and Cyril were successful in their tender and in 1940 they became the new owners of the store and its freehold land, which was Block 16. The new business name of C J A Cox and Company was registered on 20 May 1940.

It was an indication of Cyril's future as a businessman, for he saw a good opportunity and borrowed part of the money required for the purchase.

Around 1939 the Coxs bought the mine manager's iron house from Spring Hill and had it railed to Katherine. There it was re-erected on their freehold Block 23 in First Street, directly behind the store. They took up residence in their new home in 1940 and grew beautiful mango and citrus trees and kept bees.

Cyril and Anne had various community interests. Cyril became a member of the Buffalo Lodge, Katherine Waters, in 1934. Anne joined the Country Women's Association through South Australia in 1935 but when a Sub Branch was established in Katherine in 1937, she became a foundation member. She always maintained her membership, assistance and interest in the Association. Cyril and Anne were members of the Katherine Progress Association for many years and Anne held the position of Honorary Secretary. In later years Cyril joined the Masonic Lodge, as had all the men in his family, and became a member of Port Darwin Lodge Number 41 in 1971.

After the bombing of Darwin in 1942, and as the restrictions of the Second World War came into place, Anne and Cyril were advised that Anne had to be evacuated along with other women and children. Their store was required for use by the Engineer Services for 'military purposes' and they were given 14 days from 13 March 1942 to remove all the contents and vacate the premises.

All the stock was removed to their home. Occupation of their store by the military took place on 1 April 1942 for an indefinite period and compensation was assessed at One Pound and 12 Shillings a week, being four per cent of the capital value, plus an amount to cover rates, taxes and insurance.

Like so many other Territory women, Anne protested vehemently, but late in March 1942 she and the Matron of the hospital were evacuated by Guinea Airways, the last women to leave Katherine. She was evacuated to Adelaide and, like the majority of other women who were sent south at that time, she was lonely for her husband, family and the Territory. Cyril in the meantime lived in their home along with all the stock from the store.

Cyril was appointed Branch Manager of Guinea Airways on 1 April 1942. Anne returned to Katherine on 12 September 1942 by Guinea Airways, to open and run a hostel for civilian airlines employees, which was to operate from the hospital building. Katherine was the main base from which movement orders were issued in the north. Although Guinea Airways organised her movement order in Adelaide, apparently the military in Katherine did not receive the advice.

On 3 October Cyril received a letter from the Brigadier in charge of the Northern Territory Force advising him that it was aware of his wife's return and that 'she must leave immediately for the south'. Anne stayed. Between her return and the recommencement of trading at the store, she and Cyril continued to be employed by Guinea Airways to service its aircrews.

As civilians began returning to Katherine, Cyril was advised in April 1945 that he had been nominated by the military forces to be the accredited storekeeper to distribute supplies in the Katherine area.

The years immediately after the war brought enormous changes to the Cox partnership and the store. The Coxs again needed added finance and experienced staff to expand and so on 10 August 1946 Anne and Cyril took two of his brothers, Roy William and Colin George, into the business.

As the Army held disposal sales, Cyril and his partners purchased two Sidney Williams huts. They were placed side by side behind the store, with Roy and Colin (known as Sonny) undertaking the metal work, inside painting and the laying of the concrete floor, and a massive bulk storage shed was built. Later a further two were purchased and placed on their Block 22 in First Street next to their home. One was used as the mess and the other as a workshop and spare rooms.

All four members of C J A Cox and Company worked long hard hours as they had the agencies for many major companies including Shell, as well as having the contract to refuel the Guinea Airways, Qantas, MacRobertson Miller and Connellan aircraft.

In July 1948 Roy Cox retired from the company and in August 1951 the three remaining partners with Leslie Mervyn Cox, Cyril's youngest brother, purchased the second store in Katherine, which had been in earlier times owned by **Katherine Pearson**.

The purchase of the store gave Cyril and Anne a monopoly on the grocery business in the town and they all worked longer and harder than previously. Cyril had been suffering from arthritis for some time and was not well. He found running both stores a heavy load. On 21 October 1953 he and Anne retired from involvement in the second store and devoted all of their energy to developing the original store.

Several of Anne's brothers-in-law came to work in the store and her father-in-law arrived from Pine Creek to live in the mess after the war. In addition to her domestic and store duties, most of the men received their hair cuts, laundry, cooking and sewing amenities from Anne for she provided stability within the family, as Cyril's mother was ill and had gone south for treatment.

Late in 1956 the original store was rebuilt but before it was fully operational with the new glass frontage, a major flood in March 1957 put water through the new premises.

Although cash registers had been installed, personal service was still given and bush orders were a specialty. Anne had seen her mother experience the difficulties of receiving stores every six or 12 months when they were living on stations and she always went out of her way to assist those living in isolated areas. Orders were always

well wrapped in newspaper and packed in tea chests or boxes. It was in the 1960s that the store became self-service, although bush orders were still done and personal service was given in the hardware section.

Very few holidays were taken for Cyril was a 'workaholic' who devoted his life to his customers and, as they had no children, Anne joined her husband in working long hours at the store. Cyril was known for his very dry sense of humour and his ready supply of jokes. A slim, dark haired man who wore a moustache, he often aroused people's curiosity by always wearing the collar of his shirt up.

One thing not generally known about him was his 'gentlemen's agreements'. Many a young man in Katherine got a start droving, fencing or in the pastoral industry with the assistance of money lent to him, or being staked with stores and equipment, by Cyril. His book keeping system for those loans was a notebook in his pocket and his memory.

There was an 'unwritten rule' for the staff of Cox's store and that was that they assisted the elderly Aborigines to do their shopping on what was referred to as 'Pension Day'. Anne ensured that they had tarpaulins for the Wet and blankets for the Dry and took a dim view of any staff member who did not assist the old people.

Considering that Anne and Cyril both received limited education, they did well in building up a large and thriving business. They also purchased other property in the town, made wise investments and became well off financially. Even so, they lived very simply and rarely entertained.

The store and large bulk storage shed had always had a pathway between them and in 1973 that was changed when extensions took place and the two buildings were joined. Offices, a cold room and a hairdressing salon were built, placing everything in the one complex.

The Katherine district was shocked and saddened to hear that Cyril Cox had passed away on 15 October 1973. Both Cyril and Anne were generous in giving financial aid and extended credit without receiving publicity. After Cyril's death, Anne was often surprised by someone who had arrived to pay the balance of a debt about which she knew nothing, but there were many who never paid her for the generosity shown by her husband.

Anne and Sonny continued to run the store after Cyril's death until 1975 when Anne bought Sonny out and continued to trade as the sole owner. After 37 years of trading under the banner of 'C J A Cox and Co', the store finally left the Cox family when Anne sold out in 1977. In the 1990s it was still common to hear old customers say 'how would we have survived without Cox's'.

The store continued to trade until it was demolished to make way for the new Woolworth's car park in 1987. A mural on the sidewall of the Woolworth's supermarket commemorates Cox's store.

Cox family records held by the author; personal communications from A Cox and various members of the Cox family.

PEARL OGDEN, Vol 2.

COX, MATTHEW DILLON (c1829–1874), pastoralist, was born in England in about 1829 of a family which had extensive interests in Java and New South Wales. In 1871, with a schooner in Batavia, he was planning to take up land in north Queensland but was convinced to come to the Northern Territory. He was, he wrote, 'directing the interests of a large family circle who are to follow in my footsteps from Java and from England.' He had spent 10 years squatting in New South Wales and 10 years importing horses into Java and other Australian colonies. He also had an export business in Java.

Cox first reached the Territory in 1872 having travelled overland with a party, which included **Darcy Uhr**, with cattle for the gold fields and remount horses intended for India. On 27 October 1872 he made application, which was numbered 152, for a pastoral lease over land on what was then called the Douglas Peninsula but which now bears Cox's name. He named the property he established Bowerlee but it was never declared stocked, despite a request for an extension, and no pastoral leases were ever issued. By February 1874 he advertised in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* that he had a quantity of cattle for sale for meat at one Shilling per pound and it was later reported that he had supplied Palmerston with 'good, fat succulent beef'. In 1872 he had also requested permission to kill buffalo but the South Australian government was very wary of issuing licences that might have created a monopoly and so it was refused. Cox was among the first to see the benefit of Asian labour and in April 1874 he paid 10 Pounds for the passages of Abdoola and his wife from Kupang in Timor.

To Cox must go the credit for the development of one of the first Top End cattle properties but it was to be short lived. He was apparently a man of violent temper and this was ultimately to lead to his undoing. After their arrival in the Territory Cox and Uhr fell out and the litigation between them, which included allegations of assault, was to lead to Cox being charged with perjury. In March 1874 he prosecuted an employee, Cameron, for being absent from his service. Cameron was fined two Pounds plus costs but a cross summons for assault was withdrawn.

On 17 April 1874, a nephew then in his employ, Charles Bouchier (also spelled Butcher), was charged with assaulting him at Bowerlee a few days earlier. Evidence was given of a severe, unprovoked assault by, among other witnesses, Richard Wells, then Editor of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*. The matter was heard summarily and Bouchier was fined five Pounds, in default, two months' hard labour, and was bound over to keep the peace for 12 months.

On 4 May 1874 Cox died at his residence in Smith Street, Palmerston, at the age of 45. An inquest before a jury was held the same day and evidence was given that since the assault on 13 April Cox had become increasingly ill. In particular, medical evidence was given that he had suffered from spinal and kidney damage as a result of the beating by his nephew. The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter but as Bouchier had left town on 28 April no further charge of murder could have been sustained. The two death certificates are silent as to the cause of death but medical evidence was given that on examination a 'slit' had been found in one kidney, perhaps consistent with a knife wound. At the assault hearing Cox had claimed that Bouchier had threatened him with a knife.

As with almost all his contemporaries, Cox had looked to the goldfields and had funded a prospecting party under the management of Thomas Erskine but he was incompetent and nothing came of the venture.

His wife, Catherine Mary, *nee* Bathurst, endeavoured to continue with her husband's interests. She managed the property herself until she left Palmerston with three children on 8 July 1875 leaving a manager, Robert Patrick, in charge. In 1878 the remaining cattle were sold to John McGrath. The Cox family had also suffered further tragedy. Dillon Cox's brother, Thomas Winnal Price Cox, with his wife, Mary, and their children had visited Palmerston after his death. All were lost when *Gothenburg* foundered off the Queensland coast *en route* from Palmerston to Adelaide on 25 February 1875.

A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *Advertiser*, 18 March 1873; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 6 February 1874, 27 February 1874, 6 March 1874, 10 April 1874, 24 April 1874, 28 April 1874, 8 May 1874, 6 March 1875, 14 July 1877, 23 October 1880; Australian Archives, Northern Territory, NTAC 1873/13; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 790, A287 & A 829; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1 119/1871, GRS 1 52 1873, GRS 1 315/1874.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

CRAWFORD, LINDSAY (1852–1901), linesman and station manager, was born in 1852 in Adelaide. Lindsay was the son of E J F Crawford, the head of an old and highly respected, South Australian brewing family. His mother was a sister of George Fife Angus's partner, Flaxman, and thus was a member—through close association—of Adelaide's commercial establishment.

On turning 15, Crawford left school and started to train as a telegraph operator, working at this for two years before he had a change of heart and resigned to join his father's brewery, as an apprentice, in October 1869.

As a member of a brewing family, malt practically ran through his veins. Lindsay's father was keen that he should stay within the family business, so to gain experience he encouraged him to visit New Zealand. But, fired with a determination to succeed on his own, he curtailed his New Zealand visit soon after arriving in the country and booked passage on a ship to Darwin, hoping to start his own brewery in the Northern Territory.

His first experiments in beer making were not very encouraging—due to the water and climate being unsuitable—so he gave up and headed south, hoping to make his fortune digging for gold at the Stuart's Creek settlement.

Gold, although found in payable quantities in the Northern Territory through the 1870s, did not lure a great many miners up from the southern colonies. Miners in the south were still making their fortune on the Victorian goldfields, and it took a man of great optimism to leave, say, Ballarat and head for the Northern Territory. The tropical climate, it was often suggested, was just not suitable for whites to live in.

Crawford never felt at ease as a miner, yearning instead to return to telegraphy. This was particularly so because of the new Overland Telegraph Line; the news of wires connecting Adelaide and Melbourne directly to the outside world was on everyone's lips. Furthermore, Lindsay Crawford was one of the few with appropriate qualifications who were living in the Territory at the time, and whose skills were desperately wanted.

On 20 March 1874 Crawford joined the South Australian Telegraph Service as an operator on the Port Darwin line. He was discharged at his own request five months later, but was reappointed on 23 November 1874. He stayed for a further three years as stationmaster at Powell's Creek, but again resigned on 30 June 1877, this time to open a store at Southport, a settlement just south of Port Darwin.

Southport, a 'tent and split timber' township on the South (or Middle) Arm of Darwin Harbour, was the launching point for supplies to both the goldfields and the construction camps of the overland telegraph. Although this little town never grew to any real prominence, it was, prior to the railway to Pine Creek being opened, nevertheless important. Crawford's store, the second in Southport, turned out to be a financial disappointment, largely through his inability to obtain regular supplies for the miners. His hopes for bettering himself were again dashed.

With brewery, mining and his store behind him, Lindsay Crawford, still only 26 years old, rejoined the South Australian Telegraph Department on 24 June 1878. As section supervisor he stayed with the service for another four years, resigning and taking his retirement allowance at the end of April 1882. Sailing from Port Darwin, he travelled to New Zealand to stay with his sister (the wife of John Edward Kelsey), and after holidaying there returned to the Northern Territory to accompany Ernest Favenc on an expedition seeking new pastoral lands for expansion in the north.

From the time of his first arrival in the Northern Territory Crawford had held a strong desire to involve himself in the pastoral industry, but through lack of experience and knowledge he was unable to gain any kind of foothold. It was on his journey to the

MacArthur River with Favenc—whose reputation was established by locating new pastoral areas in Queensland—that Crawford was able to secure employment on Richmond Downs Station. Subsequently he was appointed full-time manager of Victoria River Downs (VRD). At the time (1884) it was owned by **C B Fisher** and J Maurice Lyons and was later taken over by Goldsbrough Mort and Company Ltd.

Crawford settled well into his managership of 'The Big Run', as Victoria River Downs later came to be known. The station, then 41 155 square kilometres in area, was in the process of being stocked by its owners with cattle brought across from the east coast by **Nat Buchanan**, via Glencoe and Marrakai, and was really little more than a designation on a map. It was one of the most isolated cattle stations in Australia, run by a handful of Europeans and subject to frequent attacks by the Aborigines. Malaria was endemic and rations and supplies that Crawford ordered took months to reach VRD. They had to be shipped up the Victoria River in luggers and then brought by bullock or donkey team to the station. Conditions for Crawford and his men were, in short, abominable. Furthermore, there was practically no communication link with the outside world.

During the 1880s, Fisher and Lyons' Northern Territory holdings brought the partnership to the brink of bankruptcy. Only a rescue by Goldsbrough Mort saved Fisher and Lyons from mustering and selling all their VRD stock. Crawford, meanwhile, battled on keeping the blacks at bay, his men working and attempting to maintain the herd within controllable areas.

Apart from establishing the camp on the Wickham (as VRD's head station came to be known) Lindsay Crawford, the down-to-earth stockman, was able to coax an adequate number of good stockhorses out of the new owners, Goldsbrough Mort, and has since been given credit for the policy of running good horses on the station. But stockhorses were not enough for Crawford, and toward the end of 1889 he tendered his resignation. On 5 March 1890 his employees gathered at the head station to 'testify their esteem' for their former boss. An address was presented to Crawford that read:

Sir -

We, the undersigned employees of the Victoria River Downs Cattle station, extremely regret to hear that you have resigned your position as manager. Some of us have been working under your supervision for many years, and consider you a thoroughly practical man, and, moreover, always considerate and obliging to those around you. We cannot show our esteem and regard better this night—it being the eve of your departure—than by asking you to accept the attached purse of sovereigns as a gift and token of our goodwill towards you wherever you may go.

(Signed)

W N Rees, T Nelson, A Lock, John Inman, C E May, C Smith, G H Ligar, Ah Mong, W H Willshire, John Mulligan, L S Benison

Once again, in 1897, Crawford joined the South Australian Posts and Telegraph Department, this time as a member of A Pybus's line party. Three years later, in April 1900, Pybus died and Crawford was placed in charge. But the country, probably some of the toughest in Australia, all too often took its revenge on those who, like Crawford, tried to tame it. On 20 March 1901, within weeks of the celebrations associated with Australia's gaining nationhood, Crawford died at Sturt's Plain, to the north of Newcastle Waters. Although it was said that he had died from dysentery, it is more plausible that lack of food (he only had flour left in his saddle bags), exposure to the wet (he was unable to light a fire) and confusion (he was, the papers said, sensible 'up to within a short time of his death') each, combined, exacted this toll. A colleague, W Holtze, buried the body on the southern edge of the plain, in ground so hard that the burial party had to use tomahawks to dig to a depth of one metre.

Lindsay Crawford was 48 years old at the time of his death. Hard working, respected, a bachelor throughout his life, he was one of the many quiet men who put his life and soul into opening up the Northern Territory.

P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; F Goss, *Never Never Telegraphist*; E Hill, *The Territory*, 1963; Jock Makin, *The Big Run*, 1983; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 22 March 1901; Telecommunications Museum Biographical Notes Relating to L Crawford prepared by M Gooley, Adelaide, 1985.

J MAKIN, Vol 1.

CREAGHE, EMILY CAROLINE: see **[BARNETT, EMILY CAROLINE](#)**

CRESWELL, (Sir) WILLIAM ROOKE (1852–1933), Vice-Admiral, pastoralist and explorer, was born at Gibraltar on 20 July 1852, son of Edmund Creswell. His father was the colony's Deputy Postmaster General. The family came from Hampshire. Creswell was educated at Aitkens Private School at Gibraltar and at the Naval Academy at Southsea, England. He entered the Royal Navy on a training ship *Britannia* in December 1865 and was Midshipman on the HMS *Phoebe* when she visited Australia in 1869. His later postings included China, the Malay Coast and Zanzibar. He took a torpedo course in 1878 but, disappointed at uncertain prospects in the Royal Navy, he retired later that year to try his luck as pastoralist and explorer in the Northern Territory.

This period of his life did not last long. The Acting Government Resident in the Northern Territory, **G R McMinn**, noted that 'in May 1885 Messrs T Holmes and F Traine guided by Lieut Creswell [*sic*] arrived at Jeraminy from Creswell [not named for W R Creswell] or Anthony Lagoon'. McMinn later reported on an application by Creswell for a reward for opening up a route from Tennant Creek to Creswell Downs and MacArthur River; but Creswell's persistent hope of recognition for his Northern Territory explorations was not realised. By January 1886 he had joined the South Australian Defence Forces vessel HMCS *Protector* (950 tonnes) at Largs Bay in Adelaide as First Lieutenant with the rank of lieutenant commander.

On 29 December 1888 he married Adelaide Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr R I Stow, at Port Elliott. Creswell became a persistent advocate for the establishment of an Australian naval force and, in Allahabad in November 1894; he recommended the establishment of an Indian Government Horse Depot in the Northern Territory for the breeding and training of remounts for the Indian army. This proposal was republished in 1899 by the South Australian government; nothing came of it. In May 1900 Creswell was appointed Commandant of the Queensland Naval Forces. He was released to the British government on the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion in China. He commanded his old ship, *Protector* on the China coast from August 1900 to January 1901, earning the commendation of the China Fleet commander.

In 1904 Creswell became Naval Officer Commanding the Commonwealth Naval Forces and, in 1905, a member of the Council of Defence and the Australian Naval Board. He saw advocacy become reality when the Royal Australian Navy was created in 1911.

He became a Rear Admiral and First Naval Member of the Australian Naval Board in 1911, received his Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George (KCMG) in the same year and a Knight of the Order of the

British Empire (KBE) in 1919. In 1922 he was promoted to Vice-Admiral and retired. He went back to the land on a farm at Silvan, near Melbourne. He and his wife had six children; two sons were killed in action during the First World War. He died on 20 April 1933 at Armadale and was buried in the Brighton cemetery.

ADB, vol 8; W R Creswell, *Close to the Wind*, 1965; S D Webster, 'Creswell, Australian navalist', PhD Thesis, 1979; SAA 1374 (A8179, A8405, A8842) N Creswell reward, Macarthur to Tennant Creek route; SAPP 53 of 1899, Indian Remount Service N article by W R Creswell.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

CROKER, SAMUEL BURNS (SAM) (1852–1892), stockman, explorer, drover, adventurer and station manager, was born on 20 June 1852 at Dungowan Station near Tamworth, New South Wales, the son of John Croker, the station overseer, and Martha, *nee* Thompson. John Croker came from Ayrshire, Scotland, arriving in Australia as an unassisted migrant at the age of 17 in 1840. Martha Thompson came from Cork, Ireland, arriving with her family in 1835. They were married on 17 September 1851 at Aberbaldie Station, near Walcha. Shortly after Sam was born his father became manager of the Manning River Company and the family moved to Cundletown, near Taree. In about 1860 John Croker took over management of Dykehead Station a sheep property in the Burnett district of Queensland, and in 1868 he joined the Queensland public service.

Almost nothing is known of Sam's childhood though without doubt he grew up learning all the skills of station life and many of the skills of the Aborigines. Gordon Buchanan, who knew Croker personally, described him as 'a natural backwoodsman, hardy and accustomed to hunt for and live on 'bush tucker' of all kinds, from dingo and snakes to barramundi and wild duck... Though not a good tracker, he had all the other bush-craft of the aborigine'.

By the time his father had joined the public service, Sam was probably working in the pastoral industry. In 1875 he was listed on the electoral roll as residing in the Clermont district and the following year he was, for a time, a member of WO Hodgkinson's North West Exploring Expedition. It was on this expedition that he first met the famous bushman, **Nat 'Bluey' Buchanan**. In spite of a 26-year age difference, the two men became friends and were to be closely associated for the rest of their lives.

In October 1877, Croker, Buchanan and a man named Tetley joined forces on a land seeking expedition into the Northern Territory. Sam was well suited as a companion for such a venture. As well as his ability to find and live on bush foods, 'he was equal to any bush emergency... Fair, of medium height and wiry build... Never enthusiastic, yet never downhearted, he was generally cheerfully imperturbable, with a tendency to romance, and to chaff and banter'. The expeditioners set out from Rocklands Station at the Queensland–Northern Territory border and travelled west onto the Barkly Tableland. From a description of the trip written by Croker, it is clear that they made their attempts after exceptionally good rains. They discovered vast grasslands, creeks and numerous swamps. Croker reported wading for two miles into one of the largest of these 'lakes' in order to obtain an estimate of its size, but could not do so. This is believed to have been Corella Lake, one of the largest waters on the Barkly. When they arrived at the Overland Telegraph Line near Attack Creek, they became the first Europeans to successfully cross the Barkly.

After crossing the tableland Sam appears to have stayed on in the Territory. Buchanan returned to Queensland to pick up 1 200 head of cattle from Aramac Station for delivery at **Fisher** and Lyon's Glencoe Station on the Daly River. The route he took across the Northern Territory was through essentially unknown country, and Buchanan and his drovers encountered many difficulties. On the Limmen River they ran short of supplies, so Buchanan took one man and travelled ahead to Katherine to obtain extra rations. When they rejoined the drovers they discovered one man, Travers, had been murdered by blacks. Croker probably was a member of the punitive party that tracked the culprits and shot at least one man dead. He definitely stayed on to help the drovers make their delivery, which was achieved in May 1879 without further mishap.

After delivering the cattle at Glencoe, Croker and Buchanan set out on another exploration. No contemporary record of this journey exists, but Buchanan's son, Gordon, has left two accounts of where Buchanan and Croker went. In one he claimed that they travelled to the southeast of Daly Waters, possibly to examine land taken up by Buchanan after the 1877 Barkly Tableland crossing. In another he states that they travelled across to the Victoria River district. In 1878 Buchanan had obtained pastoral leases, more or less where Auvergne Station is now situated, so both scenarios are possible. A trip to the Victoria River in 1879 may explain why Buchanan later relinquished these leases and obtained others further to the south.

In July 1880 Sam was with a party that explored country west and southwest of Katherine on behalf of Dr W Browne, owner of Springvale and Newcastle Waters Stations. They discovered good pasture land and Browne took up a 960 square kilometres lease, which became Delamere Station. During their explorations Sam, at least, must have ventured as far as the upper Fitzmaurice River country because in November 1880 he advertised the discovery of a horse, found 'Near FitzMorice (*sic*) River'.

At the beginning of 1882 Croker went to work on Eley Station and was there in July when Aborigines murdered another Eley stockman, Duncan Campbell. When Constable Lucanus arrived to investigate the murder, Sam assisted in locating and burying Campbell's remains, and tracking down and arresting the Aborigine accused of the murder. At the subsequent trial of the alleged killer, a portrait of Croker as an independent and self-sufficient bushman emerged. Sam described how Campbell had been in the habit of going out mustering with several station Aborigines, whereas he was in the habit of going out alone. Sam also stated that for two weeks before a bush native told him of the murder he had been out of rations, but rather than return to the homestead for more supplies he had lived on snakes and lilies.

In 1883 Croker and Hugh and Wattie Gordon took the first mobs of cattle into the Victoria River district to stock leases held by Bluey Buchanan. Sam started from Katherine with 400 heifers on 29 March 1883, but dry conditions held him up for several months. Upon arrival on the upper Victoria River a homestead site was chosen, timber huts were built and a horse paddock erected. The terraced slopes of the limestone range opposite the homestead reminded Sam of waves and this led to the name 'Wave Hill' which was adopted as the name for the new station. When the homestead and yard were finished the Gordons returned to Katherine, leaving Sam as first manager of the station.

Several months after Wave Hill was established, [Lindsay Crawford](#) arrived with the first cattle to stock the new Victoria River Downs run. Sam met Crawford and helped him choose a site for a homestead. As they were riding along the Wickham River the Aborigines threw a shower of spears at them, but both men escaped injury. It is not known whether the blacks were so lucky.

Although in many ways Croker was undoubtedly a good station manager, when it came to dealing with 'bush' blacks he was wanting in judgment. Gordon Buchanan referred to the 'ruthless and often insensate methods' Sam used 'to awe the blacks', and he speculated that these stemmed from the attitudes prevailing on the Queensland frontier and the methods of the Queensland Native Police. Shortly after Wave Hill was established, Aborigines made a raid on the homestead, stealing a bucket and a couple of billies. The station hands gave chase and Sam shot an Aboriginal man dead as he swam the river to escape. Upon examination it was discovered that the victim was a 'half caste' more than 30 years of age, which put his birth date well before European settlement.

This led Sam and others to speculate that the dead man's father might have been a member of either [Ludwig Leichhardt](#)'s lost 1848 expedition or [A C Gregory](#)'s 1855–56 expedition, but no further evidence came to light. The violence of this first encounter and Sam's generally harsh treatment of the Aborigines resulted in open hostilities that persisted for many years.

In 1885 he rescued two survivors from Stockdale's land seeking and prospecting expedition, which had explored the Kimberleys and the Ord River country between September 1884 and January 1885. Early in 1885, while heading eastwards and still 96 kilometres west of the Ord, two of his men decided to remain behind prospecting. Some time later Stockdale and another man travelled ahead of the remainder of the party and on New Year's Day they chanced upon the recently established Victoria River Station. Stockdale met Croker there and asked him if he would look for the men following behind, and also the two who had elected to stay west of the Ord. Sam found two expedition members – Carr, and Pitt, who was insane and suffering from dysentery. Carr reported that M'Ilree, the expedition surveyor, had died of exhaustion. Sam tried to locate the other two men, but he was stopped by floodwaters in the Ord River and no trace of these men was ever found.

In June 1886, Sam followed a large mob of straying cattle southeast from Wave Hill, across unknown desert country. He struck the Overland Telegraph somewhere between Powells Creek and Tennant Creek, located the cattle and gathered together other Wave Hill strays from as far as Anthony's Lagoon. Then he started back for Wave Hill by the conventional route along the telegraph line. Near Powells Creek Sam fell in with his boss, Bluey Buchanan, who had just arrived from Queensland with a mob of 160 horses. Both men were headed for Wave Hill, so they decided to join forces and attempt to find a shortcut by heading westwards from the telegraph line, north of Newcastle Waters. Starting out in late July or early August with local Aboriginal guides, they travelled first to Murrnaji Waterhole, then another 80 kilometres to the Yellow Waterholes. From there it was a relatively short distance to the headwaters of the Victoria River. The route taken by Buchanan and Croker was followed by others, and eventually became famous as the Murrnaji Track.

As soon as they arrived at Wave Hill after the Murrnaji crossing, preparations were made to stock some leases held by Nat Buchanan and his brother on Sturt Creek. In mid-October Sam and Hugh Gordon left Wave Hill with 1800 head. After many weeks exploring the new country Sam established a camp on Sturt Creek, about 25 kilometres above Wallamunga Waterhole. For a period he was left in charge of Sturt Creek, the first manager of the station.

During 1887 and 1888, Sam supplied the miners at Halls Creek with cattle from Sturt Creek and Wave Hill. He was still in Wave Hill in 1889, but in the 1891 Northern Territory census he was listed as residing at Stockyard Creek on Victoria River Downs.

By September 1892 he was acting manager of Auvergne while the permanent manager, John Watson, was away. Shortly after Sam took over Auvergne, a Queensland 'half caste' named Charlie Flannigan (alias McManus) arrived looking for work. Sam had known Flannigan for some time and had previously worked with him on Wave Hill. He gave Flannigan a weeks' work building a yard and in the evenings the two men played cards with Jack McPhee and the Chinese cook, Joe Ah Wah. On the evening of the 19th Flannigan left the card game and returned a few minutes later with a Snider rifle. Accounts vary as to whether there had been an argument between Croker and Flannigan, or whether there was an old enmity between them, but in any case, Flannigan shot Sam dead. The following morning he helped bury Croker in the station cemetery and then fled to Ord River Station where he was talked into giving himself up. Tried in Darwin, Flannigan was convicted of Sam Croker's murder and sentenced to death. His hanging at Fannie Bay Gaol on 15 July 1893 was the first official execution in the Northern Territory.

Croker wrote articles for *The Queenslander*, and possibly for the *North Queensland Herald*, under the pen name of 'Green Hide' or 'Green Hide Sam' a nickname reflecting his skill at working that material. His name is commemorated at Croker's Rockhole and Croker's Yard on Wave Hill, and Croker's Hill (Mt Croker) near Kathleen Falls on the Flora River. A lagoon on the Barkly Tableland discovered on the 1877 trip was named for Croker, but the name does not appear to have survived. A location on Delamere Station called 'Sam's Lookout' may also have been named after him. After his death, the *Northern Territory Times* described Croker as 'a reliable man

amongst stock,... [who] was also one of the best bushmen in the Northern Territory, perfectly fearless, and able to do journeys single-handed that would make some of the latter-day 'explorers' blush.'

Buchanan family records; G Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 1933; R Buchanan, 'Old Bluey', unpublished manuscript; Croker family records; House of Commons Parliamentary Paper, No C6498, 1891 (Kintore report); *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* (various issues); Pastoral claims map, 1878; *Queenslander* (various issues).

DARRELL LEWIS, Vol 3.

CROME, (later DYER) MARY CATHERINE (?–1940), was a pioneer Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary working among the Aborigines of Arnhem Land. She trained as a nursing sister and also had teaching experience that greatly helped in her later work as a missionary. She was accepted by the Church Missionary Association (later CMS) of Victoria for service at the Roper River Mission in June 1913. During her first tour from 1913 until 1916 she was of great assistance to the pioneer missionary Miss **Charlotte Mary Hill** and the medical and educational work of the mission. On her second tour she married **Alfred John Dyer** at the Roper River Mission on 24 February 1917. From that time onward she worked alongside her husband at Roper and also on Groote Eylandt. She and her husband started the CMS Oenpelli Mission in 1925 and worked there with success until near the end of 1934. During the previous few years she had been suffering from cancer from which she eventually died at Guildford, New South Wales on 24 February 1940. The Dyers had no children.

K Cole, *Oenpelli Pioneer*, 1972; K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; K Cole, *A History of Oenpelli*, 1975; CMS Records, Melbourne; Personal papers of the Reverend A J Dyer with parts of a journal of Mary Dyer.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

CROOK, DOREEN ROSE: see **BRAITLING, DOREEN ROSE**

CROSS, LOUISA GLADYS (1884–197?), Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary to the Aborigines in Arnhem Land, was born on 7 October 1884 at North Fitzroy, Victoria, the daughter of William Cross and Louisa Rowe. She was educated at Essendon State School and Blinkbonnie Ladies' College. She spent 1900 at Melbourne University preparing herself for a teaching career. She taught for the next 18 years, although she had trouble with her throat from time to time.

The Victorian CMS accepted Louisa Cross as a missionary for work among the Aborigines in north Australia on 17 March 1919. She travelled to the Roper River Mission with Mrs H E Warren while the latter's husband, **Hubert Warren** travelled to the mission overland by car.

Louisa Cross spent the next 17 years teaching at the Roper River Mission and the Groote Eylandt Emerald River Mission schools. Miss **May Dove** helped her for most of this time. Her pupils were mainly half-caste children who later remembered her with affection. The continuous periods of service of these two missionaries contributed greatly to the stability of the schoolwork. The CMS policy at the Emerald River Mission changed in the early 1930s from the care of the half-caste children to that of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines. Louisa Cross initiated the new programs to cater for these changes.

Cross started a troop of girl guides from among the half-caste girls on Groote Eylandt in 1929. The troop continued for some years, drawing worldwide acclamation in guiding circles for the existence of this unique, far-off group.

In 1935 Cross was allowed to return to Groote Eylandt for only one year's service because of ill health. She left the following year, arriving back in Melbourne on 28 September 1936. On her resignation the CMS recorded 'its sincere appreciation of the valuable services tendered to the Society of both the Roper and Groote Eylandt Stations by Miss L G Cross, extending for a period of seventeen years'. It continued: 'As one of the pioneer missionaries on Groote Eylandt, by her devoted work amongst the Euralian [half-caste] children, young people, and later amongst the Aborigines of the Island, she has helped to establish the work of Christ's Kingdom in a manner that reflects much courageous and self-denying labour on her part...'

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; CMS Victorian Branch records.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

CRUSH, THOMAS GEORGE (TOM) (1865–1913), Territory miner, publican and pioneer Labor politician, was born in 1865 in Plaistow, Essex, England, son of Mr and Mrs William Henry Crush. As a young man he followed the profession of teaching, but in about 1888 decided to come to Australia, most probably arriving in Brisbane. Seized by the gold fever of the time, he soon followed a number of mining rushes, finally arriving at Wandu in the Northern Territory about 1897 or 1898.

On 3 August 1898, at the Palmerston Registry Office, he married the recently widowed **Frances (Fanny) Cody nee Domney**. On their marriage certificate, Tom is described as a 33-year-old bachelor and miner, residing at Wandu. His curly headed wife, who was destined to become one of the Territory's most colourful personalities, was described as a 27-year-old storekeeper and widow. Her first husband, Michael Cody, then a 55-year-old miner, carrier and storekeeper at Wandu, had died of heat apoplexy two days before Christmas in 1897 and Fanny had continued running the store, where she most probably met Crush. Fanny was among the first 82 Territory women who enrolled to vote in the Northern Territory in 1895. Shortly after their marriage Tom and Fanny moved to the evolving mining community of Brocks Creek where they chose a site on the flat in front of the railway station and began to erect a hotel. By December 1899, as the hotel was nearing completion, the *Northern Territory Times*

correspondent reported that now the townsfolk only required ‘a blacksmith shop, a church, and an auctioneer’s mart to complete the town.’

On 16 March 1900, after Crush had obtained a publican and billiards license, the *Times* reported the official opening of the establishment which was appropriately called, reflecting the political climate of the time, the Federation Hotel: ‘Our local hostelry now being finished and the license granted a few residents met at the invitation of host and hostess Crush on Tuesday to celebrate the evening with a social house warming. **Mr W J Byrne** occupied the post of chair. About a dozen were present and a very enjoyable evening was spent, an impromptu program of songs being rendered by the company which broke up and dispersed at 11 pm after success to the venture and the toast of health, wealth and property to the host and hostess had been done justice to in bumpers.’

The hotel quickly became a social meeting centre for the region, as well as being the venue for the ‘settling up’ at Brocks Creek sports days and racing meetings. Crush was active in both racing and cricket events, serving for many years as the honorary secretary of the racing club as well as being ‘mine host’ at his hotel.

By May 1901 Crush was also secretary of the newly formed Brocks Creek branch of the North Australian League, which took up many local issues. Amongst the first was a resolution that ballot boxes at up country polling centres should be opened immediately on closing of poll. Other issues dealt with included the removal of the warden’s office and local court from Burrundie to Brocks Creek; a complaint to the Postmaster General regarding a scurrilous and indecent article which appeared in the *Sydney Truth* headed the ‘Black North’, with a request that the paper be banned from the region; a submission that W J Byrne was a suitable person for the position of Justice of the Peace; and lobbying for a doctor to be appointed to the Brocks Creek area.

In late November 1901 Tom Crush was recorded as taking a key part in what the newspaper described as a small historic ceremony that occurred at Brocks Creek on the King’s Birthday when the first federal flag in the district or perhaps in the Territory was hoisted. Miss Minnie Smith, the maker of the flag, performed the actual took place at the Zapopan mine site. In December of the same year, the *Northern Territory Times* reported on Crush’s overall influence in the community: ‘We understand there are to be sports at both Brocks Creek and Pine Creek during the forthcoming holiday season on a liberal scale. So far as we can learn Mr T Crush is the moving spirit at Brocks Creek’.

He apparently also had a fine voice and was often recorded as providing musical entertainment at functions, such as the Christmas dinner parties hosted by the nearby mine managers, sporting day settling up functions, and dinners for visiting dignitaries. The Brocks Creek branch of the North Australian League hosted one such dinner in February 1902 for the Member of Parliament, **C E Herbert**, ‘to mark their appreciation of his efforts on behalf of the NT in the SA Parliament’. The newspaper reported that ‘Host Crush provided a capital dinner and Brocks Creek turned up practically *en masse* to do justice to it’.

The Brocks Creek races, which Crush had helped organise and the ‘settling ups’ which followed them, were amongst the most popular events in the region, the success of which was often credited to Crush. The report in the 1903 edition of the *Northern Territory Times* was typical: ‘The atmosphere was throbbing with music, instrumental and vocal and the usual toasts were proposed and responded to with that outspoken eloquence which is a characteristic of these convivial gatherings, the predominant note in all the oratory being unstinted praise of the Hon Sec Mr T Crush and his committee for their successful inauguration and management of a really enjoyable race meeting’.

Crush appears to have expanded his business interests during this time. In June 1903 his tender for the purchase of the Adelaide River Police Station was accepted and by September of that year he was also managing the Goldfields Hotel at Yam Creek. For a time it appears sports meetings were held in both the Yam Creek and Brocks Creek settlements but as mining operations slowed down combined meetings were held, the venue being Brocks Creek. Crush, along with Fanny, again received praise in the press from the Brocks Creek correspondent.

By 1905 the population of the region had declined and the Brocks Creek Goldfields racing club was officially declared defunct with the funds presented to the Brocks Creek Sports Club, which continued to host regular racing meets and sports days. Tom and Fanny Crush continued to play key roles in the community functions. In July 1907 they took a trip to England to visit family. They returned to the Territory in February 1908 with Tom destined to pursue a new career in politics.

When the Territory’s representative in the South Australian parliament, **V L Solomon**, died later that year, Tom Crush, who had shown an interest in community and political affairs for some years, decided to stand for the seat in the by-election. He stood for the Labor Party, which had become an active force in South Australia, and was thus the first Territorian to successfully contest the seat for Labor, even though a Pine Creek miner and former Adelaide alderman, James Robertson, had stood for the party in 1905. When Crush won the seat, it brought Labor’s strength in the South Australian Parliament to 20 out of 42 seats.

Crush quickly became a popular member amongst his parliamentary colleagues and received endorsement from his Territory constituents as well. He strongly promoted the Territory’s interests in South Australia. Although he apparently did not give his maiden speech until October 1909, the *Northern Territory Times* reported him ‘as having given... a good sensible speech [dealing] exclusively with the Territory—its needs and its possibilities. Mr Crush expressed himself strongly in favour of the direct Pine Creek to Oodnadatta route for the railway’. He also spoke of the mineral potential of the Territory and the need for better voting facilities. The newspaper reported that ‘Mr Crush is to be congratulated on having survived what must have been a trying ordeal. First the Northern Territory is not an easy or pleasant subject to discourse upon and secondly, with exception of his election campaign, he has had no previous experience as public speaker’.

In the March 1910 election Tom Crush won the seat again, despite some local brawling over who was the ‘official’ Labor Party team in the Territory. Crush’s running partner was Frank James who missed out to well

known Territory businessman **V V Brown**, who was elected along with Crush. During the campaign Crush was challenged to defend his Labor credentials with critics claiming he had not signed the Labor 'pledge.' The *Northern Territory Times* reported that Crush gave a 'good fighting speech from a Labour point of view, lasting considerably over an hour which was marred, however, by a vindictive and totally uncalled for personal attack on the editor of the local paper'. During his speech Crush claimed to be the first representative who had not considered Territory questions from the South Australian point of view but had regarded solely the interests of the Territory when questions affecting the Territory had to be dealt with. He said he was accepted as a member of the Labor party without signing a pledge 'because the party did not ask for pledges from NT representatives'. He said this was largely because it was 'recognised that, apart from the Chinese question, there were no labour problems to be dealt with yet in this country; still he hoped that we would soon have plenty of workers in the country who would reap the benefit of the work which the Labor party were doing'. He added that by voting with the Labor party on industrial questions, he received the support of that party when he was asking the Government for concessions on behalf of the Territory.

When Crush won the seat for Labor and Brown won the other seat, the newspaper claimed that if there had not been the arguments amongst the Labor candidates about who had been officially preselected, Labor would have won both seats. As it was, the two elected members only sat in the House for the remainder of the year. In January 1911 the Territory was transferred from South Australia to the Commonwealth and Territorians were disenfranchised. At a 'farewell' dinner hosted for Crush at Darwin's Club Hotel, he stated that although he had 'ceased to be a member of the SA Parliament he did not consider that his career in politics was finally terminated. It was almost a certainty that within a couple of years the Territory would be granted representation in the federal parliament and in that event, if his services were required he was there to do his utmost for them if returned'.

Crush continued on a theme that was still an issue in 1996. As reported in the *Northern Territory Times* regarding the transfer he said that he 'considered the epoch of today marked a turning point in the history of the Territory and he did not doubt for a moment that when the federal government decided to do things they would start with no half measures... As soon as they were sure of their ground and convinced they were on the right track he expected that the railway would be started without any unnecessary delay'.

Although no longer an elected Member of Parliament, Crush remained active in political affairs and became particularly interested in reform of the treatment of Aboriginal people. He and Fanny continued to live in Brocks Creek, but he was also a supporter of the Workers Club, officially formed in Darwin in May 1912.

Unfortunately, Tom Crush did not have the opportunity to realise some of his ambitions and reforms. He died in Darwin of heart failure on 27 August 1913 at the age of 48. His death was lamented both in the Territory and South Australia. The *Adelaide Advertiser* reported: '[Mr Crush] devoted much attention to public affairs in the Territory and his loss at a comparatively early age is much deplored. A Labor colleague, when informed of the death, said 'it was a very great shock to me to learn of the sudden death of our old comrade, the late Tom Crush. He was a member of the party long enough for every member to appreciate his big heartedness and his ability. Unfortunately the transfer of the Territory to the Commonwealth deprived us of his services. His knowledge of that great country was extensive and his love of it was keen and had he lived I believe he would have rendered possibly great service to Australia by representing the Territory in the federal Parliament when provision to that end is made. He was a thoroughly loyal supporter of the Labor Party'.

Two years after Tom Crush's death, his former South Australian Labor Parliamentary colleagues, and several of his Territory friends, erected a monument to him in the Goyder Road cemetery in Darwin where he is buried. The monument, which still stands as a tribute to his contribution to the political and social development of the Territory, was described as 'an exceedingly handsome one'. It bears the inscription 'In memory of Thomas Crush, beloved husband of Frances Crush of Brocks Creek Northern Territory, born 1865, died August 27th, 1913. He represented the Northern Territory of SA in Parliament for two years in the interests of the Labor Party. The quality of a man's manhood is determined by his conduct. Loveing [*sic*] the truth he hateth wrong. So he lived as he died. His life was shortened so that he only saw the promise of the harvest whose seed he helped so faithfully to sow'. Territory businessman, Mr J C Buscall, who was a close friend of Crush, performed the work of fixing the monument, without charge. It was unveiled by Mr John Burton, president of the Darwin branch of the Australian Workers Union (AWU), the headstone having been previously veiled by the flag of the Australian Commonwealth. The speakers included H E Carey, then Government Secretary, and **Harold Nelson**, then organiser of the Australian Workers Union, later to become the Territory's first Member of Federal Parliament, and several other unionists and personal friends.

Australian Labor Party records, Mortlock Library, Adelaide; *Northern Territory Times*, various editions; personal research notes; South Australian Parliamentary Debates, various editions.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

CUBILLO, DELFIN ANTONIO (1913–1986), messenger boy, rigger, cleaner, soldier, dental technician, musician and sportsman, was born in Darwin on 24 December 1913, the son of Antonio Cubillo and his wife Lilly, *nee* McKeddie. He grew up in the Police Paddock, Stuart Park, where the Asian men lived with their families. The fathers were principally Filipinos or Malays while the mothers were part Aboriginal. His grandfather **George McKeddie** came to Australia from Avoch, Scotland. When in Darwin before the turn of the century his companion was Annie Duwun, an Aboriginal woman from the Larrakia language group, the traditional owners of the Darwin area. They had two children, Lilly and Jack. Lilly married Antonio Cubillo, who came to Darwin from

the Philippine Islands in 1894. He worked as a diver on a pearling lugger that McKeddie owned. Delfin was the eighth of the couple's 10 children.

After education from Catholic nuns, Delfin started work at the age of 15. His first job was as a messenger boy for the Postmaster General's Department. In this capacity he switched the call from Fannie Bay Gaol to the Telegraph Office advising southern Australian cities of Amy Johnson's arrival in Darwin in 1930 on her record breaking solo flight from Britain. He later left the department for a couple of years and worked for Ted (Cowboy) Collins as an assistant rigger, employed on projects around Darwin which included the boom wharf at Fort Hill, the Don Hotel, the Star Theatre, the Qantas Hangar at Parap and numerous other sites. Despite being a very small man, he was an outstanding Australian Rules footballer. He was first selected for an A grade team with Wanderers' Football Club in 1929. He was 16 years old and had to get his mother's permission to play as he still looked like a 10 year old.

Delfin worked with Collins until 1936 when he secured a position as a cleaner in the Darwin surgery of dentist Robert Boody. His interest in Boody's laboratory and his obvious aptitude prompted Boody to appoint him a dental technician, Darwin's first. During his employment with Boody he was under government contract rendering dental services to prisoners at Fannie Bay Gaol, the armed forces and the leprosy patients at Channel Island near Darwin.

On 19 March 1936 Delfin married his childhood sweetheart, Teresa Josephine Clarke, and she shared his life for nearly 50 years. They had three children, Murray (Muriano), Inez and John. On 12 January 1942 Teresa, Murray and Inez were evacuated by aeroplane to Sydney, where they stayed with relations. They did not return until 1945.

Delfin remained in Darwin as a civilian. At the time of the bombing on 19 February 1942 he took charge of two young nieces, Elsa and Rosie, and a nephew, Leo, and led them to safety by heading towards the quarry near Dinah Beach. They had to run down the ramp through thick muddy water, where previously trucks and front-end loaders had driven. Delfin placed the two little girls into a hole in the side of the wall and he and his nephew acted as a human shield. The noise of Japanese aircraft became very close with a spray of machine gun bullets circling the hole where they were hiding. After the bombing raid they returned to the house where they had been living. They saw machine gun holes across the top of the roof. While the three children were cleaned up, Delfin slipped away to the Red Cross to arrange their evacuation. In the meantime George Tye suddenly appeared in the doorway covered in oil and soaking wet. He was very upset and said, 'John's [Delfin's brother, Juan Rocque Cubillo] gone, I yelled to him 'swim to the shore' but he continued to run along the wharf. When I looked back while swimming to the shore, where he was running, there was a direct hit.' Delfin went down to the wharf to look for his brother, who had gone to work at the wharf earlier that morning. But by the time that he arrived the water was littered with bodies and he could not tell if these people were black or white because they were all covered in oil. Delfin helped carry bodies from the water but he never found John.

Enlisting in the Army Medical Corps on 18 March 1942, Delfin served in Alice Springs, Melbourne, Sydney and Cairns. His small size prevented him from seeing overseas service. He was discharged from the Army on 6 February 1948. Returning to Darwin with his family, he worked briefly in a mosquito eradication gang before resuming his career as a dental technician with the Commonwealth Department of Health at the Darwin Dental Clinic. He was later gazetted as the Territory's first Senior Dental Technician in the late 1950s.

In 1969 he resigned from his dental post to commence a new job as Security Traffic Officer with the Department of Civil Aviation, a position he occupied for seven years until 1975. Immediately after Cyclone Tracy in 1974 he worked long hours helping to evacuate people from Darwin. The consequent strain, together with the loss of his house and almost all his personal possessions, left him with a heart problem and he was placed on an invalid pension in early 1975.

A remarkably talented man, he and his brothers were part of a Filipino string band that played at functions in and around Darwin and at Government House. He made lovely pieces of jewellery, pearl rings, bracelets and pearl crosses that he gave to brides on their wedding days and his granddaughters on their first Holy Communion days. He once painted on the skeleton of a catfish. The back section showed the blue robe of the Virgin Mary standing with an arm outstretched and the front showed the crucifixion. In 1980 he covered a table with used match sticks featuring some patterns and depicting the spade, diamond, club and hearts. This took him approximately three months to finish and used some 3 000 matchsticks. It was awarded a grand champion's prize at the Royal Darwin Show.

While employed at the Darwin Dental Clinic, he made artificial eyes for patients. He developed the technique of taking a perfect impression of the eye socket using an instrument that he adapted from unserviceable instruments at the Clinic. He then hand painted the finished acrylic eyeball with water colours using a shaved match stick to match the colour of the other eye. When completed, he covered it with clear acrylic. The youngest person he treated was a nine-month-old baby and the oldest was 72 years of age. At the East Arm Leprosarium he made splints, dentures and artificial eyes for patients. He also assisted noted priest [Dr Frank Flynn](#) in devising techniques to alleviate kerato-conjunctivitis-sicca, a condition generally known as 'dry eyes'. Cubillo built tear chambers into the sidepieces of the frames of eyeglasses to Flynn's specifications. Ophthalmic specialists in Britain and the United States later took up the technique.

A quiet unassuming man, his personal and artistic qualities enabled him to overcome the racial prejudices towards coloured people that were prevalent during part of his lifetime. He was intensely interested in the history and origin of his family and over the years collected many photographs and memorabilia that were an invaluable source for Northern Territory history.

He died in Darwin on 8 March 1986.

CURTEIS, WILLIAM MAURICE (BILL) (1910–1986), teacher and agricultural scientist, was born on 16 August 1910 at Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, son of WS Curteis from Manchester, England. He was educated at Cobar and at Dubbo High Schools in New South Wales. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science (Agriculture) degree from the University of Sydney in 1933 and obtained a Bachelor of Arts (Economics) from the same University in 1939 after part-time study. He married Mary Gregan and there were three children of the marriage, Owen, Peter and Julienne.

Bill Curteis was a teacher with the New South Wales Education Department in 1934–1935. In the following years, except for service with the Australian Imperial Force (January 1942 to February 1946), he was an officer of the New South Wales Department of Agriculture as plant breeder and agricultural instructor on wheat, rice, pastures, vegetables and miscellaneous crops on experimental farms, both irrigated and dry land farming. The years 1952 to 1954 saw him Project Manager with the Colombo Plan, Commonwealth Livestock Farm, West Pakistan. In 1954 and 1955 he worked as a special agronomist (rice) in charge of all research and experimental work with rice and other irrigated crops at Yanco and Leeton Experimental Farms.

In 1955 he became Director of Agriculture, Northern Territory Administration. On taking up this position Curteis inherited a very small section from the Lands Branch. Recognising the need for professional knowledge and experience on a range of disciplines and its application to virtually unknown areas, such as soils, over a period of time he built the Branch into a respected professional unit. Expertise became available in such areas as scientific research, agricultural economics, experimental farms and extension work, soil surveys and pest control. Some years later a Fisheries Section was established in the Branch.

As it was the government's responsibility to supply seed rice to Territory Rice Ltd, Curteis was closely involved in this operation soon after his appointment. Stockpiles of seed from successful crops during the years Territory Rice failed, became such an embarrassment that one farm manager was taken to court for incorrectly disposing of seed from overflowing warehouses. According to **Jack Turnour**, Curteis' agronomist at Humpty Doo, one of the main problems with Territory Rice was that the impractical covenants forced development too rapidly before the company had its large-scale agronomic techniques developed. When the company did collapse Curteis, with Sir William Gunn, endeavoured to establish Territory Rice's better employees on pilot farms with Commonwealth Bank funding but their efforts failed.

Curteis was very conscious of the need to bridge the gap between experiments and commercial production. He quickly expanded the existing Katherine Experimental Farm to a size commensurate with a commercial operation and inaugurated public field days where the viability and techniques of commercial scale farming were demonstrated. At the same time, recognising that the native pastures were very low in nutritional content, he was mainly responsible for the introduction of Townsville Lucerne and Siratro into open savannah country. By any standards this was a major advance.

When Curteis arrived practically no vegetables were commercially grown in the Territory. They came up from the south, usually by air, making them relatively expensive. Over the years, despite cynicism from some of his own officers, Curteis generated enthusiasm for vegetable growing both in the Top End and in Alice Springs. His efforts succeeded and as a result he established the Darwin Public Market. He was sufficiently far-sighted to realise that market size was as important as production but unless the produce was available to sell it would be futile to try and develop a market.

Apart from the foregoing, Curteis had to co-ordinate soil surveys, aerial photography, hydrological investigations, various crop potentials and land settlement, cattle fattening experiments, fodder crop production and rice experiments at Beatrice Hills, the 60-mile and Tortilla Flat.

In 1962, following the Forster Report on the Prospects of Agriculture in the Northern Territory, the Agricultural Development Committee was set up, of which Curteis was a member. For some years the Agriculture Branch had conducted experimental rice growing at locations mentioned above, and as the Forster Report recommended pilot farms at Douglas, Daly and Humpty Doo, Curteis, impatient to get results, was instrumental in getting three pilot farms set up on Marrakai soils near Adelaide River. Success would be dependent on a rice-cattle combination. Unfortunately the farmer with the cropping background drew the grazing block and the other two farmers who drew the rice blocks did not want to grow rice. Nevertheless the experience gained helped when the Douglas/Daly pilot farms were eventually set up.

In the course of my duties as a public service inspector I came to know Curteis well and often visited his field activities. He was 'hail fellow, well met' throughout the Territory. He was an enthusiast and at times so anxious to make progress that the small matter of official approval was overlooked. In one instance he wanted quick action to establish experimental work on cotton on the red Ooloo soils. This was started by his assistant Director (Don Mentz) and another 'borrowing' a Works Department grader and driving a track into the Ooloo experimental site near the junction of the Katherine and Daly Rivers. The official approval arrived some months later.

Curteis also had some unusual ways of securing an approval. Once he asked me to accompany him and the Administrator, **J C Archer**, in a helicopter to do an inspection. Now in a helicopter the rotation of the rotor blades results in the occupants nodding their heads backwards and forwards—at least in the particular type in which we travelled. During the flight I noticed Curteis asking the Administrator some questions and his response above the noise of the aircraft was incomprehensible. However, Curteis took the Administrator's forward nod as signifying approval of whatever he had proposed and proceeded accordingly. I had the impression that I had been included in the party to serve as a witness but fortunately I was not called upon to testify.

Curteis, along with certain other departmental and Branch heads, was an official member of the Legislative Council for the Northern Territory from 1962 to 1964. A later Administrator, **Roger Nott**, who had previously been Minister for Agriculture in the New South Wales government, once told me that he regarded Bill Curteis as the best practical agriculturalist in Australia. He was one of a succession of enthusiasts, beginning with the **Holtzes**, who tried to establish agriculture in the Territory and in 1962 with his colleague J J Saxby he published a short history of the early days of agriculture, *The Holtzes in Early Northern Territory Agriculture*. Unlike some of his predecessors he left behind a substantial legacy of progress. Probably his greatest and most significant contributions to the Territory were the widespread introduction of pasture crops and the establishment of vegetable growing.

In 1966 he left the Territory and spent two years with the Department of National Development in Canberra and from 1969 to 1976 was a Project Officer with the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations. The period included missions to Afghanistan, West Pakistan, Qatar, Oman, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Somalia and Sudan. He retired to Sydney and died there on 27 August 1986.

Personal information.

TIMOTHY G JONES, Vol 3.

D

DAGIER: see [TUCKIAR](#)

DALY, HARRIETT, *nee* **DOUGLAS** (1854–?), author and journalist, was born in 1854, probably in England. She was the eldest daughter of Ellen and [William Bloomfield Douglas](#). Her mother had been the daughter of a yeoman, while her father's family boasted connections that included James Brooke, first Rajah of Sarawak, and Baron Bloomfield. Harriet was probably named for the Baron's wife, Harriet Douglas. These connections appear to have given Douglas some advantages throughout his long and somewhat erratic career as a naval officer and public servant.

After a period that saw service in the East in the navy and under Sir James Brooke, Harriet's father returned to England to serve in the coast guard, marrying Ellen in 1848. He then returned to sea as a merchant marine officer and in 1854, as master of *Bosphorous*, Bloomfield Douglas first visited South Australia, where he decided to stay and settle his family. He subsequently held a series of senior administrative posts in the colony, which led the family to move in high government circles. Harriet speaks of having travelled widely with her family throughout the state during this time.

When in 1870 Bloomfield Douglas was appointed first Government Resident of the Northern Territory, there were seven children in the family, five daughters and two sons. By this time Harriet and her sister Nellie had been mixing in society and Harriet admitted to some regrets at leaving their friends to live in the isolated tropical outpost of Palmerston, only recently surveyed by Goyder and his team.

The record of her family's experiences in the Northern Territory (at Palmerston) comprises more than half of her book *Digging, Squatting and Pioneering Life in the Northern Territory of South Australia*. The latter part of her story deals with the history and progress of the settlement until the time of publication in 1887. Having left the Territory in 1873, Harriet researched this period using newspaper articles and official reports. The *Adelaide Observer* gave a favourable review of Harriet's book noting its 'considerable humour' and 'pleasant style'. While providing an interesting social perspective on their life, the book is disappointingly thin on facts or comments that would provide a valuable insight into prominent characters and events of this early part of Territory history. However, her writing betrays a lively intelligence and more than adequate education.

The family left South Australia in April of 1870 on board a former slaver *Gulnare*. They eventually arrived in Port Darwin in June after a journey that was not without its hazards. Their arrival occurred on the same day as that of *Bengal*, which carried not only the family's furniture but also the man who would become Harriet's husband, Dominick Daniel Daly.

Dan Daly, nephew of the former governor of South Australia, Sir Dominick Daly, had been a member of Goyder's surveying team. His return to Palmerston was as a land selector for southern purchasers. He was very taken by Harriet and Nellie, telling his sister in a letter that they were 'very pretty and accomplished' and he was 'in a fair way to marrying the one if not the other'.

The hardships which life in such a remote and rough settlement certainly entailed Harriet recorded with tolerance and some humour. She and her sister spent somewhat monotonous days on long walks, riding daily with their father and performing household chores. Like all well-bred young ladies of her time Harriet played the piano and indeed the family had brought one to Darwin. When the weather played havoc with the instrument Harriet turned piano tuner, doing a creditable job of restoring pitch and tone.

Social life in the settlement revolved around the Douglas home where the piano was put to good use for musical evenings, to which every eligible resident was invited. Harriet appears prominent in their organisation, scouting for talent among the locals to provide variety in their concerts.

Soon after arriving in Darwin, Harriet played a prominent part in the ceremony that commenced the building of the Overland Telegraph Line, planting its first pole on 5 September 1870. The completion of the Government Residence in 1871 was a cause for great family rejoicing. Harriet derived particular pleasure from the new privacy, a laundry and the extra rooms provided for entertaining. The local tribe of Aborigines also captured her interest and she befriended several, even attending a corroboree, which she accurately describes as a 'species of dramatic presentation'.

In September 1871 Harriet returned to Adelaide to wed Dan Daly. The wedding took place soon after their arrival on 23 October 1871. She and her new husband then lived in Naracoorte, where their interest in horses was maintained and a hectic social life enjoyed. Her strong interest in the Territory was continued through letters sent by Nellie, now married to John Squiers. It was probably the discovery of gold in the Northern Territory which lured the couple back to Palmerston, Dan returning as a member of the Engineer-in-Chief's Department. Their first child, a daughter, was born within a short time of their return in 1873.

Dan's stay was short lived and he soon returned to Adelaide on ship the *Springbok* to buy badly needed mining equipment. Harriet's fortitude was exemplified at this time, when the ship went missing for several months with no news of survivors. On its reappearance the perils endured by all on board were recorded in the *Adelaide Advertiser* of 14 June 1873. Daly featured prominently in the rescue and the article gave a stirring account of his bravery and initiative.

Bloomfield Douglas's administration of the settlement had been marred by incompetence. There is no doubt that, with Daly, he speculated in and encouraged the gold rush and probably delayed the introduction of the 1872 mining regulations in order to protect his own investment. This did not prevent both his and Daly's financial

collapse, which was exacerbated by Dan's long absence on *Springbok*. Harriet records a hasty departure from Palmerston in 1873 not long after Dan had returned from Adelaide.

Harriet's second child, a son, Dominick Douglas, was born in 1874, but it is unclear whether this occurred before or after Daly's appointment as Surveyor for the Native States in Malaya. Likewise, Harriet's father's career also took him to Malaya, where he was appointed Permanent Resident for the Malay State of Selangor in 1876. He appointed Daly Superintendent of Public Works but the two again became involved in shady deals and Daly was dismissed for land robbery in 1882. Douglas was later removed from his post also.

Details of Harriet's life during this difficult period are unclear. It is known that she remained with her husband, who now obtained a position with the British North Borneo Company. Again Bloomfield Douglas joined his daughter and son-in-law until the death of Harriet's mother in 1887. This loss must have been deeply felt by Harriet who dedicated her book, published in the same year, to her mother. Dan Daly died in Malaya in 1889.

Her return to England opened up a new career for Harriet as a London correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. She held the position for many years, calling her column first 'A Lady's Letter from London' and later 'A Woman's Letter from London'. These articles indicate that she mixed in the best social circles, giving fashion and social news to her Australian readers. Earlier articles, which date back at least to 1896, incorporate some topical issues also and are written in a witty, if acid, style. Sir James Reading Fairfax, owner of the *Herald*, records in his diary a luncheon to which he invited her in 1901. In 1906 she wrote, under her title Mrs Dominic Daly, of the death of author John Oliver Hobbes, pseudonym for Mrs Craigie. Harriet indicates some familiarity with literary figures also.

Harriet emerges as a strong and courageous woman who endured the public disgrace of both her husband and father on more than one occasion. A large portion of her life was lived in isolated and difficult areas of the Colonial Empire, where what little is known of her reflects favourably on the character and personality of one of the Northern Territory's first authors.

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BARBARA MURRAY, Vol 1.

DAMASO, BASILIO VICTOR (BABE) (1910–1989), worker in many occupations, sportsman and public servant, was born on 5 April 1910 on his father's boat in the Limmen Bight of the Gulf of Carpentaria, son of Annie Palarlura, a Yanula woman from the Borroloola region and Ceceba Damaso. His father was a Filipino mariner who had been making a living fishing and trepanning in the Gulf for several years and he and Annie already had two daughters, Mary and Andrea. Andrea died shortly afterwards while the family were at Roper River. In 1915 Babe, as he was known, came to Darwin where he lived with Joseph and Dolly Bonson in Stuart Park.

From 1919, following the death of his wife in Darwin, Ceceba ranged across North Australia from Borroloola to Broome; Babe and Mary often accompanied him. Ceceba worked as a trepanner around Vanderlin Island; and as a cook at the hotel in Borroloola, Government House in Darwin, and the Filipino Association in Broome. Babe gained his formal education at the convent schools in Darwin and Broome, and his love and knowledge of the sea from the time spent with his father during these years.

Playing first for the Wanderers Club before moving to the Buffaloes, Babe started a long and proud family connection with the Darwin Football Club. He became in 1929 the Territory's Amateur Bantam Weight Boxing Champion.

Babe's first paid employment was as a messenger/driver with Myles Kelly, a health inspector, before going to Vestey's Meatworks and then doing a stint driving a victory Dodge taxi for **Michael Paspalis**. His next job was working on the roads with the Department of Works. The Depression saw Babe depending on relief work and being involved with a food supply centre established by the unemployed with help from the union.

In 1932 Theresa Clarke on her way to meet **Delfin Cubillo**, whom she later married, decided that her friend Nancy Mary Farrar (born 27 June 1915), a domestic at the Vic Hotel should meet Babe. Nancy (Nan) had been born on Nutwood Downs. Her mother was Ada McLennan and her father John Farrar (lessee of Nutwood Downs). Farrar never acknowledged Nan as his daughter. Ada brought Nan to Darwin when she was four years old and they lived with Bluey Johns in Fanny Bay. The relationship with Babe grew despite strong objections from Bluey Johns that Nan should not marry Babe because she'd finish up having 'snotty nosed black kids'. They began living together in Stuart Park and on the 5 June 1934 John Damaso, the first of their children was born. Nan and Babe, both confirmed Catholics, were wed in St Mary's Church on 29 April 1935.

Babe relied on casual employment and relief work supplemented by duck and geese that he shot and fish he caught. Nan says that the family never went hungry because of Babe's skills as a hunter and fisher. In 1937 he got a job with the Municipal Council as a labourer, then truck driver. Just prior to the bombing of Darwin Babe was made foreman responsible for supervising 50 men. After the first raid Babe supervised the despatch of some government records in two trucks to Alice Springs. In 1942 after joining the Army and being transferred to Adelaide Babe applied on compassionate grounds to leave the Army so as to be with Nan and the children who had

been evacuated to Sydney and at that time were living in a flat with her sister Violet. Each morning Nan had to get up early and take Johnny and Cecil (born 15 February 1941) to a park for the day because Violet was not supposed to have children staying in her flat.

Babe's application was successful and he went to work packing fruit in Mildura and working at Nestles' factory in Warrnambool. After the war Babe did a stint cutting cane in Innisfail but Nan, Johnny, Cecil and Nancy (born 9 July 1943) headed home. Babe had said he wanted the children educated in the South but Nan wanted to be back in the Top End. Soon after returning from the south Babe got a job as a truck driver with the Council where he remained until 1955.

On his return the family were allocated a Sydney Williams hut in Stuart Park, then a house of the Hawksley design in Coronation Drive, before moving to the corner of Worgan and Stretton Streets, Parap, in 1956 where they stayed until 1988.

On Sunday night 4 March 1951 Jack McGuinness called a public meeting in the Parap Hall to protest the enforcement of the Aboriginal Ordinance as it applied to people of partial Aboriginal descent. The meeting formed the Aboriginal Half-caste Progress Association (AHPA) and elected Jack President and Babe Damaso Secretary. 'It was agreed with full citizenship rights the AHPA would be in a better position to work for the rights of the traditional Aboriginals'. On the following day Patrol Officer Ted Evans, who was basically sympathetic and had attended the 300 strong meeting, wrote to **F H Moy**, then Director of Native Affairs, noting that the Acting Secretary of the North Australian Workers Union, Yorky Peel, drew substantial applause when he declared with pride that his wife and children were of Aboriginal descent. Evans wrote, 'He introduced irrelevancies in the form of references to full-bloods... He concluded his oration with the remark 'Don't talk about blacks, don't talk about whites, don't talk about coloured people but call me comrade'.'

Moy, in a briefing to the Administrator three days later, was defensive but generally supportive of the basic aims of the meeting. Yet he could also write 'I think that the core of the whole meeting is contained in the remarks of Messrs Peel and Brown who wished to use the coloured as a means for further proselytizing their doctrine'. The Minister for Territories, **Paul Hasluck**, on 7 July 1952 wrote, 'We need to watch carefully the progress and the activities of the Australian Half-Caste Progress Association and any similar bodies to ensure that they do not become instruments for a new form of exclusiveness and separateness which may prove an obstacle to the success of a policy of assimilation... We do not want half-castes to organise themselves as half-castes except for the purpose of assisting their reception into the general community. We do not want them to build up their own colour consciousness'.

In January 1953 the Legislative Council removed people of partial Aboriginal descent from the provisions of the Aboriginal Ordinance. When Hasluck visited Darwin in February of that year it was Babe Damaso who formally thanked him for 'freeing half castes from provisions of the Aboriginal Ordinance'. Gaining this victory dissipated the energies of the Association; it did not go on to wage the bigger fight to get full citizenship rights for all Aboriginal people. Though at times the Association acted in support of Aboriginal people of total descent there were elements of contradiction, which lingered for many years. Darwin was the colonial capital of the Top End and despite many examples of inter racial harmony, the differences that existed between 'coloured' and Aboriginal Darwinians were exploited by the authorities in a divide and conquer manner not dissimilar to other colonial situations.

Two issues that were to haunt the Aboriginal debate in the Northern Territory from the 1950s to the 1990s were the development of a separate Aboriginal identity, supplementing tribal and regional self-conceptions, and a fear of Communist influence. These manifestations are clearly observable in the official response to the emergence of the AHPA. The methods used to handle them stayed remarkably constant for the next 30 years. Attempts were made to incorporate potential leaders and critics and if that did not work they were distanced. In 1955 Babe became the first Aborigine employed as a welfare officer in the old Welfare Branch in Darwin.

Babe's work in the Branch included going on patrols from Maningrida to Port Keats, checking on conditions of Aboriginal people living on stations, stock camps and tourist enterprises such as Allan Stewart's Nourlangie; as well he provided assistance in the Darwin area. In his last 10 years in the Branch he was its representative at funerals. This role was undervalued by many newly arriving 'professionals' from the south, who failed to understand the importance that Aboriginal people placed on this aspect of Babe's work. It strengthened and extended his contact with Aboriginal people from all over the Top End. He worked there until his retirement in 1975. During the land rights struggle, apart from the direct help he could supply through his job in the Welfare Branch, Babe played a role as elder statesman.

The practice of taking children of partial Aboriginal descent from their Aboriginal family began before the turn of the century and continued well into the 1980s. By the 1960s the techniques had changed, no longer did the local policeman just arrive in a camp and round up all the light coloured kids and take them away: fostering or adoption programs and the Part Aboriginal Education Scheme were the main vehicles used to separate children from their families. Babe, in his role as a welfare officer, worked to keep families together and to link or reunite them after separation. His own family had first hand experience of this destructive practice. Nan's mother had been taken from her mother Minnie (Missy) who was from Roper River when she was young. Nan would have suffered a similar fate but for Ada's relationship with stockman John McLennan. Another way by which children were removed from their Aboriginal community was through the actions of the non-Aboriginal parent. Nan's brother John Farrar had taken Dave to Brisbane and when he became sick Dave was left in a Salvation Army children's home. During the 1950's Babe turned up at their house in Parap with Dave Farrar. Until then Nan had not realised Dave was alive—he died in Darwin in 1961 from cancer.

In 1973 Harold Lane was commissioned to paint a peoples' landscape of those who (in the words of the plaque on the wall of the Jury Muster Room of the former Supreme Court) were 'all seen as contributors to the growth of the Territory'. In the centre front row of the painting is a blindfolded white woman with the scales of justice in one hand and a sword in the other. Next to her on her left is Babe with his hands on the shoulders of a young Chinese girl and a young Aboriginal boy. Immediately behind Babe is Harry Chan, the then Lord Mayor of Darwin. This painting hung from 1974 until 1991 in the foyer of the old Darwin Law Courts.

Perhaps the greatest contribution that Babe made to Aboriginal advancement was the effort he put into showing European public servants, newly arrived from the south, ways to put the Aboriginal situation into a context that did not detract from Aboriginal achievements. He was not always successful. He had extraordinary patience. His approach was never didactic, and he would tolerate racist arrogance to a degree that confounded many of his friends. When he did express his displeasure about anti-Aboriginal statements his measured criticism often escaped an unattuned companion. His wife, Nan, on the other hand, was far more direct. He was known, admired and liked by all levels of Darwin society. 'He was at ease in any company and gave his advice and counsel with generosity and compassion, irrespective of race or colour' notes the obituary published in *Hansard*. In the early 1960s **Harry Giese**, the then Director of Welfare was among those who nominated Babe as the first Aboriginal member of the prestigious Darwin Club—he was accepted unanimously. His daughter Nancy recalls Babe enjoying coming home from the Buffalo Lodge (RAOB) where he had to be addressed by many of his administrative seniors as 'Sir Basil'.

Babe was an enthusiastic Darwin Football Club supporter, loved hunting duck and geese, a fanatical angler, an excellent cook, a great story teller and marvellous company: all of which he combined with alcohol—no Darwin party which he attended was felt to be complete until he had sung 'Manana'. On two occasions he lost his driver's licence. The second occasion typifies his attitude to his fellow humans. He had just driven a relative home and was returning to Stretton Street when he saw blue-flashing lights so he made a detour to what he thought was an accident in order to offer help. It was a breathalyser unit and all that he was required to do was blow into the bag.

He had friends all round Australia and much to Nan's chagrin often lingered in the south longer than he'd promised. On one occasion, following his retirement, he was staying with friends in Canberra. Each morning about 11 o'clock he would hold court at the Contented Soul tavern, and over a period of six weeks hundreds of public servants he'd worked with during their sojourn in Darwin came and paid homage, according to a former colleague. It is uncertain whether it was Nan's threats or a government concerned about the drop in productivity that ultimately caused him to return.

In 1977 Babe was awarded the Queen's Silver Jubilee Medal for his services to Aborigines. He was proud of that recognition. Babe died on 15 August 1989 and is buried in the McMillans Road Cemetery. He had had heart trouble for several years but this had not stopped him attending football or going fishing—finally he just wore out.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS FI 1951/744 'Australian Half-Castes Progressive Association'; S Clarke, 'Leaders in the Fight for Full Citizenship', *Land Rights News*, July, 1989; B Cummings, *Take this Child*, 1990; F Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1971; F Hardy, *The Unlucky Australians*, 1968; T Milliken, transcript of interview with B Damaso, Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS185; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 22 August 1989; F McCue, 'Babe', *Northern Territory News*, 20 August 1989; J McGuiness, *Son of Alyandabu*, 1991; S Stanton, 'The Australian Half-Castes Progressive Association', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, 1993; J Tomlinson, *Is Band Aid Social Work Enough?*, 1977, 'Damaso', *Living North*, December, 1983; J Wienman, personal communication.

JOHN TOMLINSON, Vol 3.

DANAYARRI, HOBBLER (1925–1988), Aborigine, was born near Wave Hill station, Northern Territory, about 1925 in Mudbura country. He was a barramundi before he became a person. His father speared the fish, his mother ate some, and the spirit became the baby who grew into the man known as Hobbles Danayarrri. On his right temple he had a small mark where his father speared the fish. He grew up partly in his own country along Cattle Creek and partly on the station. Hobbles was born into relationships with country, with other species, with other humans, with certain song cycles and ceremony tracks, with certain Dreamings, with certain designs, with foods and waterholes, with certain places of power. This nexus of relationships is often referred to as 'country'. Nothing that was to happen during the course of his life would alter these relationships, but his life would be circumscribed by his status as a ward.

Colonising society had laid a grid of cattle stations over Hobbles' country, and Hobbles was born into a relationship with Wave Hill station. His status as ward was a relationship to the 'crown', which was mediated by the Protector of Aborigines (later the Department of Native Affairs, and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs), by the police, by the station manager, and by station personnel. For much of Hobbles' life the local white people were the active representatives of government. The state impacted on his life through legal restraints that were placed upon him; it impacted on his mind through the necessity of learning to live within these restraints, and also upon his body. The power of the state was manifested in the fists and boots of the stockmen; it was intensely local and inescapable.

Hobbles first became consciously aware of the injustices his people suffered while he was still young enough to be carried on his father's shoulders. His father took him to where Aboriginal men and women, directed by a white overseer, laboured by hand to construct a dam. He watched the backbreaking work, and compared the food, clothing and hierarchical status of whites and blacks.

Throughout the decades of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s he worked for Wave Hill and Victoria River Downs Stations. In his own view, these years afforded him scanty food, clothing and shelter, very little peace of mind,

and a continuous encounter with injustice. His ability to sing the songs, visit the places, and perform the rituals, and thus to sustain the relationships to country into which he had been born, grew as he matured, but remained confined and circumscribed by the requirements of the cattle stations where he worked.

For much of his life Hobbles lived both: his country-based life and his cattle-station life. He experienced both: his growth and fulfilment in his Aboriginal sphere and the restraints and confinement of his status as a ward. During the 1960s he was among the pastoral workers who went on strike demanding land and justice. Following the strike he went with his wife to her country, and was one of the founders of the community of Yarralin.

A slim man with a sensitive and thoughtful demeanour, Hobbles devoted his later years to the analysis of historical and political issues. He was a deep thinker, a storyteller, a man who could pull together isolated facts in order to locate the patterns, and then weave the stories that would give form and moral substance to the patterns. A number of his historical narratives have been published (see below).

While his analysis and his passions went primarily into stories, some of which were equally political exhortation, parable, history, myth, and legend, he occasionally erupted into action. One of his particular arenas of contention was with the Pentecostal missionaries. Hobbles was one of the community leaders who kept requesting them to stay away, and he was the one who became most angered by their persistent returns. On one notable occasion he strode out into the middle of camp with a Bible in one hand and a butcher knife in the other. Shouting 'Strike me dead, God, if this is your book, strike me dead,' he chopped up the Bible. He then turned to the community people who had witnessed his actions and exhorted them to follow their own Law.

Hobbles had no time for regrets, for nostalgia, or for recriminations. Rather, he had a passionate desire to see his people achieve a better future, and he believed that it could only come about through understanding the processes of European power and control, within which he also located the missionaries. What Karl Marx calls the secret of capitalism—that workers contribute to their own exploitation through their own labour—was no secret to Aboriginal people in the Victoria River District. Hobbles' contribution was to expand people's fields of understanding to include not just local events, but also broader processes. The result, he hoped, would be a greater unity among Aboriginal people, leading to a greater power to achieve the lives of their choice.

Hobbles Danayarri died in 1988. His family of adult children included some community leaders; all of them were knowledgeable in the Law, as were many of his grandchildren, and all were active in achieving land under the *Land Rights Act (NT)* 1976. He was never forthcoming about his antecedents. Fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers were all dead from a variety of causes related to the colonisation of the north. His spiritual genealogy indicated the quality of his human genealogy: in the early days a group of Aboriginal people had been fishing somewhere in the Wave Hill area and were shot by whitefellows. One of the men died in the water. His spirit became a barramundi; the barramundi became Hobbles.

No one can yet say what his spirit will next become. Hobbles expected that his life would go the way of the lives of his ancestors: that he would become a shooting star, a set of bones, a spirit that becomes new life, and another spirit that goes home to stay forever in its own country.

Hobbles' vision of Australia's future was both compassionate and demanding. He urged all Australians to a sense of their shared lives and their shared potential in this country. Especially he urged settler Australians to make peace with Aboriginal people: 'This time now, you got to have a feeling for Aboriginal people. Because [early days] people from your mob [are] dead now, and you should stop that thing [making things hard]. We been doing that job for you, and we been making that money for you, and nothing here for Aboriginal people. We're not trying to push you back to London and big England, but what's your feeling? You the one been making lot of mistake, but we can be join in, white, and black, and yellow. This a big country, and we been mix em up [people]. We're on this land now. We can be friendly, join in, be friends, mates, together.'

Two works present Hobbles Danayarri's historical and political analyses in some detail. D Rose, 'The Saga of Captain Cook Morality in Aboriginal and European Law', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 2, 24–39, 1984; D Rose, *Hidden Histories. Black Stories from Victoria River Downs, Humbert River, and Wave Hill stations, North Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, 1991. A brief story is presented by H Middleton, *But Now We Want the Land Back*, New Age Publishers Pty Ltd, Sydney, 1977. Hobbles' published words have entered into dialogue with scholars in a variety of ways, see for example: T Rowse, *After Mabo: Interpreting Indigenous Traditions*, Melbourne University Press, 1993.

Sources used are mentioned in the text above.

DEBORAH BIRD ROSE, *Vol 3.*

DARCY, ELIZABETH, nee WALDEN, formerly HOPKINS, (1895–1944), pioneer of the Gulf Country, was born on 19 February 1895 at Wandi, a small gold-mining township on the Wandi Creek, about 40 kilometres east of Pine Creek, Northern Territory, the second child of Elizabeth and James Walden. Her mother was born in Pine Creek and died in Katherine in 1951. Her father, born at the Crystal Palace, London about 1860, arrived in Australia in 1881 and died in Pine Creek in 1908. They were married in December 1893 at James's house in Pine Creek, with an engineer and a blacksmith as witnesses, when the bride was 17.

James, or Jim as he was known, was a teamster and his horse-drawn wagons worked out of Pine Creek for many years. There is a place at a large lagoon still called Walden's Camp, where he spelled his horses every wet season. The family spent time at Wandi and Eureka mines; there is a tin mine called Walden's Mine, named after the younger Jim, who was born in 1894. He was also a teamster and miner until his early death in Darwin in 1931.

Elizabeth's maternal grandfather, **Charles Edward Gore**, was also a well-known Territory character. He was captain of a 15-tonne vessel, *Venture*, which plied between Darwin and Borroloola for at least 10 years. In the 1930s Elizabeth remembered him well, telling her children about him, especially his deep Devonshire sailor's voice that used to frighten her when she was a child.

Most of Elizabeth's family were born in the Territory, and they lived their lives there, overcoming the hazards of rocky, scrubby country, wet and dry season, snakes, wild bulls, floods, droughts, mineral strikes and bush-fires. Elizabeth was no doubt familiar with all of these.

She was apparently sent to a convent in Darwin for a few years, where she later sent her eldest daughter Alice. This education was of great help in the founding of Mallapunyah Springs cattle station and in the bush correspondence lessons of her own large family of sons and daughters.

In 1912 she married John William Hopkins, an Englishman, who lived and worked as a drover in the Pine Creek—Adelaide River—Darwin area. **Father Gsell**, later Bishop Gsell, at the hospital in Darwin, married them and two nurses were their witnesses. Their first child was born at Adelaide River and was called Adelaide, although always known by her second name, Alice. Later they had another child, William Walter Hopkins, born at Pine Creek.

By 1918 work was hard to find. John Hopkins was 47 and too old to go to war for his native England's defence. The family thus decided to try Queensland. On the way, with their plant of at least 10 horses, John worked at Brunette Downs, mending fences. In September 1918 he died there, at Number Two Bore, probably from the effects of broken ribs received in a bad fall from a horse the previous day.

Elizabeth, now aged 23, with two young children, decided to return home to Pine Creek where her mother was living. The manager of Brunette Downs arranged for her to be escorted as far as Borroloola by **George Darcy**, a strapping young Queenslander of 28, who had a wagon and horses and was carrying stores from Borroloola to the Barkly Tableland stations. After a safe arrival at Borroloola, and the loading of the wagon for his return trip, George became ill with a devastating attack of 'sandy blight', which completely, though temporarily, blinded him. Elizabeth helped him back to Brunette Downs with the wagon—she told him she could harness horses as well as any man—and then they decided to stay together.

The first young Darcy was born in Darwin, but afterward Elizabeth, a tall, wee-built healthy woman, with soft, curling brown hair and a sweet smile, must have decided the travelling was not worth it. She was to have another 12 children, including two sets of twins, in the bush, without benefit of doctors or trained nurses. On Elizabeth's return to Borroloola from Darwin with her new baby, she found George away with the wagon. She settled down to cook in one of the hotels for a few months until he appeared on the bush road again.

They lived at several places before settling at Mallapunyah Springs in 1928. They had spent time at Top Springs, a waterhole on the old road and present stock route, some 15 kilometres west of Mallapunyah, and at the Kilgour, south of the later homestead. In both these places Elizabeth and George added to their family, the remainder being born at Mallapunyah.

Elizabeth was well known for her kindly attitude to the occasional nomadic Aborigines who came past the family home. They would want to exchange sugarbag honey, lily bulbs and fish for flour and tobacco, or fruits from the garden, or perhaps show off their new babies to her, or ask for medical advice.

Locally, she was much admired for her standards—ironed tablecloths on Sunday, stockings when visitors were accepted, and for bringing up a large family, with aspirin and castor oil, and sometimes a spoonful of treacle, for a medicine chest.

Over the first 10 years of their lives at Mallapunyah, George and Elizabeth Darcy, who had earlier been married on the banks of the Kilgour River by a visiting Methodist minister, worked incredibly hard. While her husband was away earning money with the wagon, Elizabeth built the house walls of sandstone blocks carried from the surrounding hills. For mortar her elder children, still under 10, carried the sand by horse and buggy. Elizabeth selected limestone and built a funnel-shaped kiln in the steep banks of the creek, where the limestone was burnt down with snappy gum. When mixed with the sand and water, it made a first-class cement, most of it still in place 50 years later. The house had four bedrooms, with a large central breezeway and a three-metre wide verandah on all four sides. The roof came down low enough to prevent the sweeping monsoon winds, bearing their heavy burdens of water, from wetting children's beds standing against the inner walls. Later a separate kitchen, dining room, bathroom, storehouse, workshop and garages were added. She made beds and tables out of native timber and hide and carved toys for the little ones.

As well as helping her husband with his wagon, Elizabeth broke in draught horses, tended the milking cows, and their increasing flock of goats used for milk, meat and hides. She and her children also grew an impressive garden. The area of deep alluvial soil surrounding the springs was fenced, and channels dug to let the spring water flow gently where it was needed. A great variety of fruit trees and vegetables were planted. These were not only to feed the family but also to sell, and indeed became the main means of support for years.

George bought a motor vehicle, a Chevrolet 4, and converted it into a utility. Loads of mangoes, pawpaws, sweet potatoes, bananas, tomatoes, chillies, shallots, pumpkins, cabbages, cauliflowers, turnips, beans and pineapples were sold to travellers on the road and to stations all over the Barkly Tableland. Tobacco was grown and cured for George, bananas dried and ground for coffee, jams made and fruit preserved. When the children's correspondence lessons came, by monthly packhorse mail from Camooweal, Elizabeth would supervise them all. It was Elizabeth who wrote letters to the Department of Lands to take up various leases that later comprised the 4 077 square kilometres of top grazing property. The first lease was dated 1928. For many long months at a time she would be alone with the children, while George was away working. For many years theirs was the only family in the area

and, with uncertain mails, infrequent visitors and no doctors, the struggle to raise a family in the Depression years was a battle well won.

In October 1944, not long after the first fat bullocks from Mallapunyah had been sold, and some dreams were being realised at last, disaster struck. Elizabeth, then nearly 50, and a young son, Mick, were lost in the bush while looking for lost donkeys. October is always a searing, blazing month, and as days of fruitless search continued, the hearts of the family sank. Men and horses, police with Aboriginal trackers, even a plane searched the hills and creeks for weeks, but could not find a trace of either. Stock camps from several Tablelands stations and MacArthur River came to help, and her husband George rode out daily for six months searching for some answer, some sign. There was none.

Elizabeth Darcy has left behind a monument to her spirit, courage and hard work; a flourishing, family-owned cattle station, still run by five of her sons.

Family information.

FIONA M DARCY, Vol 1.

DARCY, GEORGE JOHN (1890–1971) teamster, pioneer and pastoralist, was born on 12 July 1890 at Hughenden, Queensland, the third child of Edward James Darcy and Alice Klein. His father came from Ireland, and was a carrier who later held a contract for the Burketown to Camooweal run. He is buried where he died, in March 1916, beside the track at Sandy Creek, Lawn Hill Road, in the Gulf Country. George's mother was born in Irish Town, Toowoomba in 1868. Her mother came from Irish farming stock in Cork, and her father George Klein, also a carrier, from rural stock in Germany; so when George was a child, his background was composed of horse teams, teamsters, harness and farmers—horses and the land were in his blood. His parents had eight children, and George remained close to his brothers and sisters all his life. After his father's death, he was a witness at his mother's wedding to Thomas Laffin at Rocklands Station, Camooweal, in 1917.

Family history says that father and son were working together on old Edward's wagon, and accidentally, the shaft fell on Edward's head. When he was roused from unconsciousness, he 'sacked' George in no uncertain terms. After this argument with his father, George followed many different occupations. He shot kangaroos, worked on the railway line extending westward from Hughenden, and carried supplies for the copper mining township of Kuridala, up the Cloncurry River. He did some droving also. His first excursion into the MacArthur River area occurred when he came out in 1917, aged 27, to help drive fat cattle into Queensland.

Either that year, or the next, he arrived at Brunette Downs, on the Barkly Tableland, looking for work. He was in his prime, and though not a tall man, (unlike his sons) he had massively strong arms and chest. Irish blood and temper made for a firm character. His temper was quick to rise, but he never held a grudge, and after a fistfight would happily settle down to share a bottle of rum with the loser. Arriving at Brunette with his two horses, one to carry himself and one his pack, he asked for work, telling the manager he knew horses and wagons. He was made welcome, and was told there was a wagon and plenty of work for it and horses ready to be broken into harness. George arranged to purchase the wagon, to work it for Brunette until he had it paid off, which he did by 1929. He carried stores from Borroloola to Brunette and other Tableland stations such as Alexandria, Creswell and Anthony's Lagoon.

As he was leaving Brunette in 1918 on a trip, the manager asked if he would escort a young woman to Borroloola, as she was on her way home to Pine Creek after being tragically widowed at Brunette. George escorted **Elizabeth Hopkins** and her two young children, and told his Aboriginal offsider, Demon, to get her horses in the mornings. Elizabeth became ill on the way and Demon's wife Jackie-Jackie helped her back to health. After this, she rode on the wagon, instead of shyly staying behind with her packhorses and children. As the wagon approached Borroloola at the usual rate of 16 kilometres a day—it would have taken a month to reach from Brunette—the young couple must have wondered if they would ever see one another again, but fate intervened with a devastating attack of 'sandy blight', which completely, though temporarily, blinded George. Elizabeth told him she was quite competent at harnessing horses, and all George had to do was tell her which animal went in which place, and that he could do that anyway with his eyes shut. As he had helped her, so she helped him back to Brunette Downs with his new load of stores. Thus, the partnership and marriage of George and Elizabeth Darcy was begun.

While George worked his wagon slowly across the Barkly Tablelands, and down the MacArthur River to Borroloola, he must have looked closely at the country through which he travelled. Elizabeth and her two children, and the first two young Darcy children, settled first at Top Springs on the main track, only 14 kilometres west of Mallapunyah homestead today. An old bushman and miner, Mick Fay, made over his copper lease to George, as Mick felt he was dying. George had always been good to him, carrying his supplies from Borroloola on the wagon without charge. This lease was on the Kilgour River, about one and a half kilometres above the gorge where Mick had a small house. George already had at least two mineral licences, taken out in 1920 and 1921, when they moved to Kilgour in 1922 with children, goats, fowls, horses and, very importantly, seeds. Several more children were born to the Darcys there. The garden flourished, the goats and horses multiplied, but then in 1928 disaster struck. The waterhole, so necessary to garden, stock and humans, dried up. With the assistance of an Aboriginal, they located the present site of the family home, Mallapunyah Springs, some 24 kilometres north of the Kilgour mine. They moved there, planting mango trees and a vegetable garden as soon as possible on the deep, rich alluvial soil beside the Mallapunyah Creek, where the several springs bubble out of the ground.

In 1929, probably early in the year when it was too wet to use the wagon, George built dip yards at Anthony's Lagoon, managed to finish paying off the wagon, and had enough money left over to purchase iron for the roof of the house they were building at Mallapunyah. In 1928 George applied for a miscellaneous lease of 40 acres

(16 hectares), and later for 640 acres (260 hectares). Obviously, from the first months there, the family decided it was home and wanted to make it permanent. George used his wagon to carry stores from Borroloola to the Tableland stations until 1931. He also carried loads of copper ore from his mines as back-loading to Borroloola. In 1933 he purchased his first vehicle, a Chevrolet 4, which he converted to a utility. This was used to sell fruit and vegetables to the Tableland—pumpkins, bananas at two Shillings a dozen, sweet potatoes, pawpaws, tomatoes, cabbages.

The family had originally 27 head of cattle purchased from Joe Webb, but until this time had not had much to do with breeding cattle. At this time in their lives—in the 1930s—there was no local market for beef, no abattoir within reasonable distance, and no sale for the cattle if they went elsewhere. However, the Darcys set about maintaining their herd, branding with George's GTD, still in use many years later, and breeding calves. Gradually the numbers built up and the stock improved. Someone kindly gave them a well-bred Aberdeen Angus bull calf. The Second World War proved the catalyst of change for George Darcy and his growing family—Elizabeth had 15 children altogether. Beef and more beef was needed to feed the troops and was the basis of Darcy prosperity. In 1938 George leased more land, and another 1166 square kilometres in 1947. Three years later an additional 1303, making by 1960 a total of 4 000 square kilometres, was leased. George worked this with his growing sons and daughters as stockmen, horse-breeders, saddlers, cooks and gardeners. By 1942 their cattle herd had grown large enough to require mustering and branding on a regular basis and the first Mallapunyah stock camp went out. In 1944 the first bullocks were sold to the butcher from Tennant Creek, who took delivery at Anthony's Lagoon. He gave the m a head. Over the next few years several mobs of cattle were sold alongside Creswell bullocks. From 1954 to 1959 George sent two or three of his sons with the fat bullocks, to Mount Isa, Djarra or Yelvertoft, which entailed 10 weeks on the stock route, watching the cattle every night. Until 1952 the family was large enough to muster the herd, but then men had to be employed as, although George's sons were still working, many of his daughters had left the property to get married and have families of their own.

George was, as pioneers had to be, inventive and resourceful. His first vehicle he converted to a 'ute' to carry more produce. His second he converted to a gas burner, as petrol was scarce during the war. In several places near the homestead one can still see depressions in the ground, where snappy gum was burnt into charcoal for use in the gas burner. The car did not go very fast, but it did go, and there was plenty of fuel for it! Once an axle snapped when George was miles from anywhere. He used a hollow tree as a forge, and welded the axle before continuing on his way. Money was short during the 1930s and many items were in short supply during the war. George grew his own tobacco, pressing it with methylated spirits and treacle. Coffee was made out of dried and ground bananas and many fruits were preserved or dried for all year use. Mallapunyah was as self-sufficient as possible.

In 1964, when George was 74, he retired to Cloncurry, where many of his daughters and their families were living. He turned over the lease of Mallapunyah to his six sons, handing them a first-rate property built up to several thousand head of cattle, every year sending off up to a thousand of the biggest bullocks in the Territory. There were several bores, dams, cattle yards, and a good quantity of machinery. Within 30 years George, Elizabeth and their children had changed wild bush to a prosperous business and the Darcy name had become synonymous with good cattle, straight dealing and some interesting characters. Over the next seven years George welcomed his old friends and family members to his house and table in Cloncurry, sharing many a bottle and old story together. He died from a heart attack in October 1971, aged 82, leaving 60 direct descendants. He was buried in the old cemetery in Cloncurry.

Family letters and photographs.

FIONA M DARCY, *Vol 1.*

DASHWOOD, CHARLES JAMES (1842–1919), farmer, public servant, lawyer, administrator and judicial officer, was born on 17 July 1842 at Parkhurst, his father's rural holding at Dashwood's Gully, near Eyre's Flat (now Kangarilla) 40 kilometres south-east of Adelaide, second son of George Frederick Dashwood, naval officer, farmer, magistrate and public servant, and his wife Sarah Rebecca, *nee* Loine, an orphan and Roman Catholic.

Dashwood attended the Collegiate School of St Peter in Adelaide from 1851 to 1858 when he left to go abroad with his parents and two brothers and two sisters when his father was appointed Emigration Officer of South Australia in London. During 1858 Dashwood and his older brother George attended the Rijksuniversiteit at Ghent in Belgium where the younger man studied civil engineering. Dashwood returned to South Australia spending several years on the land with his younger brother Frank at Guichen Bay in the southeast of South Australia. In May 1865 Dashwood returned to Adelaide when he was first appointed Clerk of Local Court at Woodside and, in September, Fourth Clerk of Local Court in Adelaide where he remained until April 1868. He was articled in May 1868 to an Adelaide solicitor W H Bunday, (Minister Controlling the Northern Territory in 1874) and was admitted to practice in November 1873. In 1884 Dashwood took over the practice when Bunday became a Supreme Court judge. Later he entered into partnership with C G Varley in 1890. Dashwood's legal career was undistinguished, being confined to civil matters such as bankruptcy, paternity suits and salvage. He was elected as the member for Noarlunga in the House of Assembly in 1887, resigning his seat in 1892 to become the Government Resident ('our GR') in Palmerston. While in Parliament, Dashwood acquired a reputation for forceful debate, often taking an unpopular stand on political issues, particularly those concerning the Chinese in the Northern Territory. But Dashwood supported the movement for federation based upon white supremacy; he had sympathy for non-Europeans in Australia uncharacteristic of his time but this prevailed only if they were to remain the labour force and did not become entrepreneurs.

Although Dashwood had the social advantage of being a colonial-born son of an early South Australian settler who had been a nominated member of the Legislative Council, he lacked the necessary capital to take full advantage of his background. Dashwood's father had little success with Parkhurst, leaving to Charles Dashwood the management of the unprofitable estate from 1878, and it fell to Dashwood to support his two unmarried sisters Margaret and Augusta. His social position was clouded by the fact that a certain Kate Dashwood, *nee* Allen, had registered the birth of a boy Robert Dashwood in January 1892. Given his obligation to support his sisters, Parkhurst and the expense of a political career, it is unlikely that Dashwood's legal practice was sufficiently lucrative to allow him to marry.

Dashwood's decision to accept the post in Palmerston on terms that another more successful Adelaide lawyer, P McM Glynn, the government's first choice, considered inadequate (a salary of 1000 Pounds plus 100 Pounds house allowance for the combined appointments of Government Resident and Judge of the Northern Territory) may have been a welcome opportunity to meet his outgoings and escape an undesirable affiliation with his son's mother! Dashwood was appointed Government Resident and Judge of the Northern Territory on 24 February 1892. After lunching at Government House on 13 April 1892 as the guest of Lord Kintore with his former parliamentary colleagues, he left by train with his sisters to SS *Catterhun* in Sydney bound for Port Darwin where the Dashwoods arrived on 27 April 1892. At a brief ceremony held in the Palmerston courthouse Dashwood said he would do his level best to carry out the dual office of Government Resident and Judge.

Issues confronting Dashwood in Palmerston, where he had jurisdiction over all of the Northern Territory north of 21° south, included the welfare and administration of justice to Aborigines, the control of Chinese goldminers, the conduct of the pearling industry, and the promotion of the cattle export trade. Dashwood soon discovered that Aborigines in a practical sense had no equality before the law; no jury would convict a white man proved to have murdered an Aborigine (or, any other non-European) and that the police customarily conducted punitive expeditions into the bush to 'quieten' Aborigines. There was little Dashwood could do about the first matter, but he was able to remove the notorious Constable [Willshire](#) in 1896 who was well known for his brutal dealings with Aborigines and had been groomed by the police superintendent [Paul Foelsche](#) to lead a native police force.

Early in 1893 Dashwood heard three murder cases in three days, pronouncing the death sentence on 10 Aborigines. Dashwood had the power to recommend to the government whether or not sentences should be carried out. Clearly Dashwood had misgivings about the application of the criminal justice system to Aborigines and he reprieved all but two of the condemned men. Those whose sentences were upheld had had long contact with Europeans and, in Dashwood's view, should have understood the consequences of their actions. Later, in 1894, in sentencing two more Aborigines to death for the murder of a Chinese, he commented, 'It is very unsatisfactory, to say the least of it, that we should be here to try at ease against two creatures who stand there utterly ignorant of what is going on.' Dashwood's attempt to reform relations between Aborigines and whites was frustrated when a Select Committee rejected an Aboriginal Protection Bill he had drafted in November 1899, whose members doubted his evidence of the maltreatment of Aborigines in the Northern Territory. [F J Gillen](#) was the witness most influential in disposing of Dashwood's allegations and the consequent need for reform.

Dashwood regarded the Chinese as a malign influence upon Aboriginal women but indispensable on the goldfields. In 1895 he commented to the press in Adelaide: 'I don't know where we would go without the Chinkies; indeed, we live on them, and we might just as well throw up the whole place as get rid of them. It is idle to talk about the white man. Who is providing the gold? Why, the Chinaman.' Dashwood indicated in his last report on the Northern Territory for 1904 that because the Chinese were leaving the country following the enactment of Commonwealth immigration restrictions based on the 'White Australia' policy, gold production was half that of 1894.

In 1893 Dashwood observed that, compared with the strict regulations enforced by the Netherlands East Indies government in the Moluccas, pearl fishing and trepanning off the coast of the Northern Territory were conducted in a very liberal fashion despite the many nationalities engaged in the industry who paid only a nominal licensing fee. Dashwood reported in 1894 that a small fleet of luggers belonging to the English owned Pearling and Trading Company had come to the Northern Territory grounds from the Kei Islands to escape restrictions the Dutch applied there.

Prime Minister Edmund Barton requested in 1902 that Dashwood should conduct an inquiry on behalf of the Commonwealth Government into the pearling industry at Port Darwin and Thursday Island. Dashwood applied himself energetically to the task, taking only a month to hear evidence from a considerable number of witnesses in Port Darwin and Thursday Island. Dashwood concluded that, if the non-European divers were removed in accordance with the 'White Australia' policy, the 100 000 Pounds annual trade, largely in the hands of European owners, would be at risk. On his return to Palmerston from Torres Strait, Dashwood stopped at Merauke, in Dutch New Guinea, ostensibly to find out if this place could become an alternative centre for pearling operations if the non-European pearlery were ousted from Thursday Island. Acting Prime Minister Alfred Deakin, as a confidential matter, wanted Dashwood to find out if the Dutch intended to establish a convict settlement at Merauke as a pretext for strengthening the military presence close to the New Guinea border. Dashwood concluded Merauke would not be a suitable base for pearling and the Dutch indicated that they needed to protect their colony against border crossings.

Dashwood supported the cattle export industry as part of his overall promotion of export from the Northern Territory. There was an annual loss of 70 000 Pounds incurred in maintaining the Northern Territory, thus there was an urgent need for additional revenue by the South Australian government. One solution was to hand over the Territory to the British government; a measure to be avoided if the national pride of the soon-to-be established Australian Federation was not to be diminished. Accordingly, Dashwood's administration would have to pay its

way, and cattle offered the most hopeful prospect for extra revenue. Despite contracts negotiated in 1893 with the Dutch colonial army to supply its forces with meat during the Atjeh campaign in northern Sumatra, the scourge of cattle tick infestation in the Northern Territory effectively destroyed the industry. Dashwood hoped the Singapore market and, later, the United States Army in the Philippines would compensate for the loss of the markets in the Netherlands from the live cattle trade by its owners because of the lack of profit. Invincibly optimistic, Dashwood in 1900 advocated the export of livestock and horses as cavalry remounts long after the effects of drought and capital withdrawal had decimated pastoralism in the Territory.

The departure of SS *Darwin* isolated Palmerston, leaving it without a regular steamer service; the vessel had brought two Chinese carpenters from Singapore, after the disastrous cyclone of January 1897 wrecked the settlement, to repair the Port Darwin cable station. Dashwood had requested the government to allow about 20 Chinese carpenters to come from Singapore to help rebuild essential buildings in Palmerston but this was denied and reconstruction had to wait until European carpenters (whose wages exceeded those of the Chinese) could be brought from Sydney, despite the fact the government offices were almost totally destroyed. Dashwood could not thwart the 'White Australia' policy even to restore the apparatus of government.

Dashwood tendered his resignation as Government Resident on 19 January 1905 to take effect from 31 March 1905. He had left Palmerston on leave of absence on 26 October 1904 and made his last appearance at Port Darwin in May 1905, where he met his successor and the Governor Sir George Le Hunte, *en route* from Hong Kong to Adelaide. Dashwood's successor was C E Herbert, who as the local member in the South Australian House of Assembly had conducted a sustained criticism of Dashwood's administration. Herbert is reported in September 1901 to have said, 'I could pour into the ears of the Government for hours stories of the maladministration of the Territory. The 'GR' is always likely to be a resourceless and ductile representative of an impecunious and policy-wanting Ministry.' S J Way, the Chief Justice of South Australia, said, 'Dashwood had been induced to resign to make room for Herbert, MP, who is the Government Whip, and no doubt this is in payment of the price of his support.' The inducement for Dashwood to leave Palmerston was the position of Crown Solicitor in Adelaide, and appointment which did not receive approbation from the *Honorary Magistrate* of 14 April 1905 which commented: 'Mr Dashwood's appointment has surprised and disappointed the profession. The great considers that he will be a failure.'

Dashwood was not a conspicuous failure as crown solicitor. He was appointed King's Council (KC) in July 1906 and served until his retirement on 31 August 1916 when he was well over the statutory retirement age of 70. During his term as crown solicitor he acquired the nickname of 'Northern Territory Charlie' because of his propensity to relate many legal problems to the way things had been done in the Northern Territory. He married a forty-one-year-old German spinster, Martha Margarethe Johanna Klevesahl, on 5 February 1916. There were no children of this marriage. Dashwood died on 8 July 1919 from heart failure and is buried in Meadows cemetery. He died intestate, a device which would ensure that his ex-nuptial son Robert could claim no more than one-third of the estate, which amounted to 3 867 Pounds 32 Shillings.

Dashwood's career and life mirrored the transition of early South Australian settler society from colonialism to the establishment of the Australian federation. He had come from a tight-knit society of middle-class families whose failure to share in the financial rewards gained from exploitative enterprises like pastoralism left only public service to provide them with a living. His sister Millicent had married C H T Connor who owned land adjacent to the Dashwood's at Dashwood Gully and their son Connor Dashwood of Walderville was invited to Government House in company with Charles Dashwood and his unmarried sisters. This was the social milieu in which Dashwood lived during the early part of his life when he practised law and lived a bachelor life. The elevation of his career to a responsible but isolated post, where his robust outlook allowed him to survive longer than any other Government Resident, also provided Dashwood with opportunity to exercise talents he may never have been able to demonstrate as a solicitor in Adelaide. When Banjo Patterson visited Palmerston in 1898 he remarked that there were only three topics of conversation there—the cyclone, **Paddy Cahill** and the Government Resident. 'A good man as he doesn't care a damn for anybody and starting from the safe position discharges his various duties with a light heart.'

Dashwood was a genial second-rater but his doggedness in pursuing schemes for the betterment of the Territory must make him memorable as a vital link in the continuation of the settlement—particularly, in the years 1900–1905 when almost all enterprises had collapsed—until the Commonwealth could take it.

Dashwood failed in many respects but it is in his recognition of Aborigines having a special place in post-contact Australian society that make him significant. R M and C H Berndt in their book *End of an Era*, remark, 'An awareness of the existence of human and social problems which were amenable to some kink of solution (but perhaps not at that time) was manifested at least in the more liberal approach of Dashwood (1899)..'

ADB, vol 1 & 6; Gizen-No-Teki, *Coloyhobia: An Exposure of the White Australia Policy*; *Adelaide Observer*, 30 July 1891; *The Pictorial Australian*, August 1891; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1892–1905; *Government Resident's Report on NT*, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1904; PP, S14 1888 No 58A 1893, No 64, 158, 1899, No 77, 45; PP, HR, 1901, 2 No A42; Parliamentary Debates 1 House of Assembly (8A) vol 1 1891, vol 1 1893, 2 Commonwealth 1901, 1902; *Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand*, vol 10, no 38, May 1962; *South Australian Government Gazette*, no 3, no 19; South Australian Supreme Court Papers, May 1868; ANL, MS 4653, MS G072; SAA, 790/1892/37, 790/1893/28G, 790/ 1894/3G7, 790/1899/480, 790/1904/309, 1375/ 1141, Research Note no 3, Copies of Birth Registration and Death Certificate; Personal information supplied by D G E Hall, Joyce Gibberd and A M Simon.

PETER ELDER, *Vol 1*.

DAVIES, FLORENCE ALICE: see **BUDGEN, FLORENCE ALICE**

DAVIS, JACK: see [MEDLONE, JACK](#)

DAVOREN, MARIE (?–1904), nurse and matron, graduated as a trainee at the Adelaide Hospital in 1884. One of the other graduates of 1885, Freda Reinhardt, was to precede her as matron of the Palmerston Hospital in February 1892 and served nearly four years there. On her resignation, Marie Davoren was appointed to the matron's position, but because of funding cuts and a downturn of hospital work there she was given the position of acting matron. She left Adelaide on SS *Australian* on 26 August 1896. This ship went aground later at Vashon Head, Port Essington.

Dr Fred Goldsmith, the son of Dr F Goldsmith who first came to Escape Cliffs with the Finmiss Survey Expedition of 1864, was to be appointed government medical officer in Palmerston in May 1897. In May Matron Davoren took two months' leave and asked for an extension, writing from Alberton in Adelaide as she had sought medical advice to ease her suffering from neurathemia. On return to duty at Palmerston by the *Eastern*, she applied in 1902 for an increase in her meagre salary of 96 Pounds per annum; previous occupants had been paid 144 Pounds per annum. Whilst Dr Goldsmith recommended the increase after five years of tropical service there, the Government Resident [C J Dashwood](#) would not recommend an increase in expenditure because of the decreasing work of the hospital.

In 1904 Matron Davoren took sick leave as her health appears to have been deteriorating. She had three weeks' illness in early 1906, before her death on 29 March. Her obituary said that she won the hearts and affection and sincere respect of a large circle of Territorians. Her funeral from the Roman Catholic Chapel took place at Palmerston during the time of Government Resident [C E Herbert](#). It is believed that Matron Davoren was born in Ireland. Davoren Circuit in the Palmerston suburb of Moulden remembers her service to nursing the Darwin community during the years she worked here. Her contribution to nursing was at a difficult time, when salary scales were low and development projects rare, as South Australia considered their handover of the Territory to the Commonwealth.

SAA, 797/1896/121, 791/1899/234, 791/1902/ 68, 797/1904/814, 791/1906/192.

JACQUELINE M O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

DAY, THEODORE ERNEST (1866–1948), surveyor, was born at Forreston, South Australia, on 7 May 1866, son of Edward and Mary Anne Day, who were hotel and storekeepers. He joined firstly the survey party of Stephen King (who was with Stuart) for three years while they traversed the Rudall grazing leases in the Flinders Ranges. In 1887 he joined the E C Playford surveys in the Onkaparinka (Oatbank) areas and was later with the River Murray Irrigation Works at Renmark and Morgan.

Appointed a government surveyor in 1893, he started on a public service career with the Lands Department and surveyed several of the Hundreds on the west coast of South Australia. He took his wife and family on this work. In 1911 he was invited by the Minister for External Affairs to apply for the position of Chief Surveyor and Member of the Land Board of the Northern Territory.

In April 1913 Day brought his wife, Emilie, son and three daughters to Darwin. After one year in the tropics the family returned to Adelaide. He was installed as Worshipful Master of the Masonic Lodge in May 1914 and welcomed the guests at a Masonic Ball held on 15 May.

Day gave evidence to a Royal Commission established in 1913 on the survey aspects of the proposed rail links from the Top End across to the McArthur River. As Chief Surveyor he travelled widely in the Territory, extending existing trigonometrical surveys that opened up considerable amounts of pastoral land.

South Australia claimed his services in 1917 and he returned to Adelaide and his family to work as Superintendent Surveyor of the Irrigation Department. In 1919 he became Chief Surveyor in the South Australian Lands Department.

He was well respected and was appointed executor of the estates of Isaac Daniels in 1920 and [George McKeddie](#) in 1927, both prominent businessmen. He died on 18 February 1948.

Autobiographical notes held by Lands Department, 1960; Records held by the Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 3.

DE HAYER, PETER (1870–1958), builder, was born at Drayton, Queensland, in 1870. After working in Queensland for many years, he arrived at Bathurst Island Catholic Mission in 1934 as a volunteer in charge of all building activities. During the subsequent 34 years he was responsible for an extensive works program, including a water tank, convent, radio hut and presbytery. He also supervised work at Garden Point and Port Keats. In all cases Aboriginal labour was used.

De Hayer is best remembered for his design and construction of the Bathurst Island Mission Church in 1941. Only local timber was used, with Tiwi workers being employed under his supervision. The church was later regarded as an outstanding example of tropical architecture. On wooden stumps and in the shape of a cross, it had louvres on all walls and a buttressed ceiling. The design represented an attempt to combine traditional church architecture with the need to cope with a hot and humid climate. After 1941 the church was a focal point for the Tiwi community.

De Hayer worked until his death on Bathurst Island in 1958. He was buried among the Tiwi people he loved. John Pye, the historian of Bathurst Island, stated that he 'might be classed as Bathurst Island's greatest benefactor'.

DEAN, LILLIAN MAUD (1899–1980), photographer, community worker and politician, was born in 1899 in Western Australia, where she developed an early interest in photography. Her photographic career was begun in 1914 when she started work as a photographer's assistant, retouching and colouring photos. When the photographer took ill one day, Dean had to take his scheduled appointments and from that day until she died, photography was her primary occupation.

From Western Australia she went to Sydney and then to New Guinea for seven years. When the Second World War broke out Dean was evacuated back to Sydney and began working for a city photographer, Norton Travaire. She once estimated that during the next seven years she covered an average of 24 weddings every weekend, sometimes having up to seven brides waiting in different parts of the studio. When the last wedding was finished she usually asked the bridal car to drive her home.

After the war Dean and her colourer, Margaret Dewhurst, decided to try their luck as a travelling photographic team. They first arrived in Darwin in 1947 and soon discovered there was a real need for professional photographers in the town. For two years they drove between Sydney and Darwin, spending several months in Darwin taking photographs, then travelling to Sydney to do all the film processing and then returning to Darwin to deliver the clients' photographs. Finally they decided to open a shop in Darwin and, despite the fact that white ants ruined one of their new cameras before they got it unpacked, they opened on schedule and to a grateful Darwin clientele.

Their first studio was an old hut on Daly Street, which seemed to beckon a continual array of prowlers until the women had some floodlights installed to frighten off potential thieves. At least one was arrested and sent to jail but returned the next day to have his photo taken.

Dean experienced many amusing and interesting incidents in her photographic career, including falling into an empty grave while trying to photograph a funeral. A highlight of her earlier years in the Top End was being asked to photograph Aboriginal artist **Albert Namatjira** on his visit to Darwin when he saw and painted the sea for the first time. Dean also printed most of the photographs for author **Bill Harney**'s books on the Territory and photographed countless weddings. On her retirement she estimated the number at around 4 000. She specialised in portraits and was particularly popular with the Greek community, taking many of their family and individual portraits, some of which were 'touched up' to be sent back to Greece by local Greek men seeking a Greek wife.

Eventually Dean moved her studio to Knuckey Street, where it remained until she left Darwin in 1971.

But Dean's contributions to the Territory were not limited to the photographic and commercial areas. She was the first woman to run for and be elected to the Darwin City Council. She served as an alderman from 1958 until 1961 and between 1966 and 1969, losing an election in 1961. She represented the Fannie Bay area for most of her terms and was considered to be a very parochial and effective councillor for that area, particularly noted for her success in moving that a 25 miles per hour speed limit be enforced over a dangerous section of Gilruth Avenue which previously was the scene of many accidents.

In addition to her interest in and service to local government, Dean was a keen member of the Darwin Turf Club Committee for 10 years and once owned a racehorse called 'Gentleman'. She was a foundation member of the Darwin Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society and the Darwin Bowls Club, helped establish the Automobile Association of the Northern Territory and was an active fundraiser for many charities. Friends described her as outgoing, social, strong willed and determined on issues that mattered to her.

Dean left Darwin in 1971 to retire to Sydney, after spending a few weeks visiting her only child, a daughter, Hazel, in New Guinea. She died in Sydney after a long illness on 7 June 1980, aged 81 years. Her ashes were later scattered over Darwin Harbour during a special boat service attended by many of her Darwin friends.

A Heatley, *A City Grows*, 1986; *Northern Territory News*, 10 July 1971, 8 June 1980; personal interview notes and comments from Darwin residents; interview with P Spillet by A Heatley.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

DEAN, ROGER LEVINGE (1913–), clerk, soldier, politician, Administrator and diplomat, was born in Sydney, New South Wales, on 10 December 1913 to Mr and Mrs C Dean. He was educated at Newcastle Church of England Grammar School and Newcastle Boys' High School. Between 1935 and 1949 he worked on the administrative staff of Rylands Brothers (Australia). He served in the Australian Imperial Force, both in Australia and overseas, throughout the Second World War and was commissioned. In 1949 he was elected to the House of Representatives for the seat of Robertson, based on the New South Wales Central Coast. He held it until his resignation in 1964. In 1950 he married Ann N, daughter of H E Manning. She died in 1982. They had a son and a daughter.

During Dean's parliamentary career he served on numerous committees and delegations. He gained first hand experience of the Northern Territory's Aboriginal issues when he was Chairman of the parliamentary select committee that inquired into the grievances of the Yirrkala Aborigines in 1963. In 1964 he left parliament to accept appointment as Administrator of the Northern Territory, succeeding **Roger Nott**, who had been appointed Administrator of Norfolk Island. Charles Barnes, the Minister for Territories, said Dean's appointment had come at a time when the Commonwealth government was placing considerable emphasis on development programs in northern Australia. He emphasised Dean's 'valuable knowledge of Aboriginal affairs'.

Dean's term was one during which considerable change occurred in the administrative and social affairs of the Territory although many felt that the changes were too slow, too late and too little. Nevertheless, they were

significant on the road to constitutional development. When Dean first arrived, the Administrator was President of the Legislative Council and Commissioner of Police. But after much lobbying by elected members of the Legislative Council, provisions were made for an elected President and when the ninth Council assembled in late 1965, [Harry Chan](#) replaced Dean as the first person other than the Administrator to hold this position. Other legislative changes meant that Dean ceased being Commissioner of Police.

Despite the fact that some of his responsibilities were removed, Dean was publicly positive about the changes, although some saw him as attempting to retain administrative control of Legislative Council operations. An example was when he arranged for the Post Master General's Department to connect a direct line from the Hansard recording unit to his office without seeking Council permission. Dean's position was made more difficult by the apparent reluctance of his Minister, Barnes, to communicate directly with the Council. Instead, he normally relayed messages to the Council through the Administrator.

After five years in office, Dean told a reporter from the *Canberra Times* that the problems of the Administrator's job were those of progress and not stagnation. He mentioned first the program to help Aboriginal people enjoy and exercise the same rights and privileges as all other Australians. He pointed to the recent legislative amendments which would allow the rents from Aboriginal reserve leases and timber and mining royalties to be used in loans and grants to establish Aborigines in productive industries such as logging and milling timber, prawn fishing and market gardening.

When Dean left the Administrator's position in 1970 to accept a posting as Australian Consul General in San Francisco, he was given high praise by the outspoken Editor of the *Northern Territory News*, [Jim Bowditch](#), who wrote that Dean was a 'plain man, kindly, and endowed with an extraordinarily successful talent for communicating with people.' Bowditch argued that he was more successful than any other Administrator over the previous 20 years in achieving direct communication with people in centres outside Darwin. 'The role of the Administrator has become increasingly difficult over the years', Bowditch wrote. He pointed to the growth of deep-seated political unrest, the enormous expansion of the public service and with it the powers of individuals and the development of outlying areas. 'Mr Dean's most significant contribution', Bowditch stated, 'has been his ability to break down the feeling in other places that no real consideration is given to anything outside Darwin city limits. He will always have a special place in the memories of hundreds, perhaps thousands of Aborigines... His frankness and unpretentious manner won friends wherever he went.'

Dean served in San Francisco until 1974. He returned to New South Wales, where he held office in several community organisations. He was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1968. He was also a Knight of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem.

P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Who's Who in Australia*, various editions; newspaper articles in biographical index, National Library of Australia.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

DEEN, FAZAL (1898–1963), hawker, battery operator and restaurateur, was born on 19 June 1898 in Village Mehron, Town of Moga, Ferszpur District, Punjab, India. His parents, father Forth Deen and mother Umri Bebe, were Moslems of the Rajput clan. Fazal was educated at the Mathra Das College in Moga.

At 17 years of age Fazal married Burkitt Bebe and fathered two daughters and four sons. Gotth left for Australia, and Fazal at 24 years left his family in 1922 to join his father in Blackall, Queensland. They operated a hawking business throughout central Queensland. They sold drapery, fancy goods, hosiery, confectionery and jewellery from a specially fitted Bedford truck. The merchandise was stored on shelves and in drawers on either side of the truck body. Fazal had brought gems from India and traded these to the diggers in the Charleville area. Fazal arrived in Tennant Creek in 1933 as a hawker. The Darcy family of Mallapunyah Springs possess a large wooden clock given to the late [George Darcy](#) by Fazal after George helped Fazal's truck out of a bog near Borrooloola.

Fazal was persuaded to set up a general store on a site near the present Tennant Creek airport. He 'grub staked' many miners and in 1934 made arrangements to erect the first gold ore crushing battery on a site south of Mount Samuel and adjacent to the Stuart Highway. The Mount Samuel Battery was a two-stamper, purchased from Todd Williams in Sydney and powered by a Y-type McDonald semi-diesel engine. This was later enlarged to a four-stamper battery with crusher. [L W Stutterd](#), Mines Warden in 1939, describes the plant as a 'four stamps of 1250 pounds of the Nissen type'. Crushing reports for the year 1934–1935 show a total of in excess of 1426 ounces of gold were smelted and/or retorted from an ore tonnage of 1577 tons.

Stutterd later comments upon Deen's practice of encouraging young apprentices to learn engineering skills at the battery. Apparently some of them became discouraged by accepting a great part of their wages in goods from the store and the resignation rate was high. Battery staff over the years included bookkeeper Hugh Beale, engineers Arthur (a German), Jerry Maloney and Jack Zaran and Sultan Mohammed (an Afghan).

Mrs Eunice Deen's mother was also a bookkeeper. Eunice became a housekeeper and later married into the family. Fazal erected a large house with ant bed floors, mulga beams, and tin roof and walls. The large inner room was surrounded by verandahs. The house was supplied with running water and electricity. Carbide lights were used when the battery engine was not operating. Drinking water was purchased from the telegraph station. On washing days the bore water was boiled and caustic soda added. The resultant scum was scraped off before use.

Fazal established himself as a fluent conversationalist, an excellent cook and host, with an interest in and the ability to converse with, people from all walks of life. Invitations to his home were eagerly sought.

Fazal kept wines and spirits in his home for friends and guests, though he was a devout Moslem, neither smoking tobacco nor drinking alcohol; the family commented upon his dignified bearing and good grooming. During dinner parties, the engineer Arthur often found excuse to find trouble with the engine supplying power to

the house. He would then arrive during the dinner party with a diatribe of the latest trouble, accept a drink and then return to restart the engine. Eunice's mother became disenchanted with the frequent breakdowns and on one occasion laced the contents of the whisky bottle with Epsom salts to teach Arthur a lesson. Unfortunately, the next engine failure was genuine and severe and Fazal called upon **Jerry Maloney**, resident engineer, to assist with the engine problem. After repairs Jerry was invited to partake of a drink, which he did, unfortunately from the laced whisky bottle. Eunice's mother could not tell the assembled guests or Jerry about the whisky and many drinks were consumed. Jerry was hospitalised as a result, but apparently accepted the explanation and viewed the event as a good joke.

Fazal acquired water rights to the adjacent government bore and was given permission to charge one Shilling per head of stock from passing drovers. The fee covered the cost of fuel to power the Lister engine needed to pump the water into the tanks and troughs. Fazal supplied the fuel, which was transported to Birdum by sea and rail, then trucked down in 44-gallon (200-litre) drums to Tennant Creek. All perishables came by camel train from Alice Springs. Fazal also held an eight-hectare grazing lease to run five hundred goats, twenty cattle and some horses. Eunice Deen rode her own horse and herded the goats when they strayed. The Aboriginal women were adept at tracking the goats and often assisted in finding the goats and driving them home. Fazal slaughtered his own meat in accordance with his religious beliefs, and his prayer ritual involving body cleansing and body positions was observed five times daily.

Fazal's eldest son Jagir had arrived from Blackall, to work with his father, and in 1936 the three other sons, Wazir, Noor and Nasib (Tom), joined the family in the business. Nasib enrolled in the local school to complete his education. Jagir returned to Pakistan in 1938.

Eunice married Wazir in a private ceremony in the Moslem faith in Tennant Creek. The registrar from Darwin performed the ceremony and **Constable Littlejohn** was a witness.

At the onset of the Second World War the battery was rendered inoperable, with the removal of the battery engine and the Lister bore engine.

Fazal's health was suffering. Dr Jarvis Nye of Brisbane had diagnosed diabetes and Fazal required two insulin injections daily. He left Tennant Creek in 1944. His father Foth Deen had died and was buried in Mt Isa. The three sons worked a wolfram and scheelite claim at Mosquito Creek near Hatches Creek. This was a protected industry and O T Lemprey in Adelaide bought the minerals. The Battery installation and house was placed in a caretaker's hands until it was sold to Harold Williams. Fazal's health stabilised in Brisbane. He regularly attended the Mount Gravatt mosque and had made arrangements at the local abattoir to kill his own meat. Quite often a member of the family killed meat for export to Moslem countries overseas. A special certificate of slaughter accompanied these exports. Fazal owned and managed a number of café businesses in the Brisbane area. He also hosted dinner parties in his inimitable style and entertained many notable guests.

In 1948 Fazal and his youngest son Nasib (Tom) returned to India to celebrate Tom's marriage. The Partition of India and Pakistan took place and the Deen family were placed in immediate danger through being Moslems in a Hindu village. The friendship of an Indian neighbour in their home village of Moga saved them from annihilation. The Deen family hid in a cellar for 30 days until they were smuggled into a refugee camp. After a month's internment they arrived in Pakistan.

In March 1949 the Deen family immigrated to Australia, Fazal's wife Burkitt Bebe accompanied him. The Deen family lost their ancestral land and buildings after Partition, though some monetary compensation was offered by the Pakistan government. In later years Fazal's business acumen extended to the Chelmsford Hotel in Southport and a Holiday Inn on the Gold Coast.

Fazal's interpretative skills were utilised by various government agencies for many years and he was held in high regard and respect by the community as the unofficial representative for Pakistan.

Upon his retirement from business and the death of his wife, Fazal resided at the family home in Wynnum until his death of a heart attack on 29 December 1963.

AANT, F156 Item 77; Crushing reports, Fazal Deen Battery 1935–36; Invoice from Foth Deen and Sons General Store; Letter from L N Stutterd, Warden, to Director of Mines, Darwin, 28 April 1939; NT Oral History Project, transcript of interview, Mrs Eunice Deen interviewed by Cedric Patterson, 11 October 1984; Copy of Moslem prayers; Letters from Mrs Eunice Deen, Mount Gravatt, Qld.

JUDITH CHURCH, *Vol 1.*

DELISSA, BENJAMIN COHEN (1839–1898), policeman, journalist, businessman and farmer, was born in London in 1839, the son of Solomon Aaron Delissa, an optician. After employment in London, he travelled to Mauritius to learn about sugar and thence to Adelaide, South Australia, where he was a police trooper and journalist.

Delissa became involved in a 'sugar manufacturing patent' and an Adelaide syndicate sent him to Brisbane, Queensland, to exploit it. It was, however, a failure. He worked at Louis Hope's sugar mill at Cleveland, near Brisbane, between 1871 and 1874, gaining much useful experience. In 1875 he was in Mackay, Queensland, as a correspondent for an Adelaide newspaper. He reported on the wreck of *Gothenburg* late that year off the coast near Bowen. Over 100 people travelling from Darwin were lost.

In 1876 the South Australian government was prepared to give a bonus of 5 000 Pounds for the first 500 tons of sugar grown and manufactured in the Northern Territory before 30 September 1879. The government, though, was not contemplating establishing plantations and was merely offering a bonus to planters without providing any capital.

Delissa became involved in a sugar company, the Pioneer Company, in 1881 when applications were called for special surveys of Cox Peninsula. At this time he was in Palmerston and he erected a mill and engine at a

settlement on the Cox Peninsula of which he also became Manager. This was later named Delissaville. The Pioneer Company's Chairman of Directors, G T Bean, insisted on Delissa taking a subordinate position in the company. This resulted in Delissa leaving the Northern Territory in 1882. The company secured a 4 000-hectare grant but had successive managers after Delissa's departure. It eventually folded.

Delissa's later career was varied. He grew sugar and was involved in the timber industry in British North Borneo and was involved in pyrotechnics in Adelaide. He was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He ultimately moved to Sydney, where some of his family lived, and he died there at Annandale on 12 December 1898. He was buried in the Hebrew Cemetery in Rookwood, Sydney.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1 280/1876.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

DENMAN, IRENE LOUISA: see **BEATON, IRENE LOUISA**

DOCHERTY, RICHARD (1899–1979) Catholic missionary, was born on 15 May 1899 at Urwin, Geraldton, Western Australia, son of Edward Docherty and Abelina, *nee* Jones, then of Jarloop, Western Australia. He was baptised a Catholic. He started school when six years of age, firstly at a state school at Worsely, and later at New Norcia, (both in Western Australia), until he was 14 years of age. His parents being very poor, he was taken from school and put to work for four years, mainly at sawmills. At the age of 18 he went to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart Apostolic School at Douglas Park, New South Wales. Later he went to Kensington Monastery, New South Wales for a further six years. He was ordained a Priest in St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney on 30 November 1927. After a holiday home, he got his first appointment in 1928. He was to go to Darwin as Curate to Bishop **Francis Xavier Gsell** and Father W Henschke.

His main apostolic work was to Aborigines and non-Aborigines on cattle stations and outlying towns of the Top End of the Northern Territory. He was then also an improviser and fix-it man extraordinary. He could fix anything that needed repairing on his own Model T Ford or any other vehicles and he could also repair sewing machines, violins, typewriters and water pumps. Tuning pianos was his special line. It meant a lot to outback people then. It was also petrol money for him.

In 1935 the government was very concerned about the killings in the Port Keats area, and the disintegration of the Aboriginal people there and on the Moyle Plain. So they asked Bishop Gsell, to start a mission there. As the Aborigines in the area were still tribalised, the Bishop was pleased at the opportunity a new mission would present. He sent Father Docherty to explore for a suitable place to start a mission.

The Mission at Port Keats became Father Docherty's main life's work and he remained there for 23 years. The first site chosen was at Port Keats Bay, close to the beach where in 1933 **Nemarluk** and other Aborigines had killed some Japanese. Four years later the Mission was moved 16 kilometres inland. The area was remote before the war but more so during the war years as he had no outside supplies. When he went there diseases such as leprosy, yaws, hookworm, scabies and malaria were rife. In addition there was a great deal of tribal unrest; the kidney fat of an enemy being prized. There was a great and urgent need for medical aid. **Dr Clyde Fenton**, the Top End's flying doctor, sometimes had to be called in but mostly Father Docherty managed on his own. The main Presbytery room was lined with medical containers of many colours. Some of his cures came after a process of elimination. One of his better-known success stories was saving the life of Maunday a local Murinbata Aborigine, who had the head of a spear made of glass from a bottle in the nape of his neck. In the bush at midnight by the light of a lantern held by the author Father Docherty got the spearhead out after freezing the neck. Next day he put the pieces together to be certain all the glass was out. Maunday lived for 30 more years.

Father Docherty established a sawmill and taught the Murinbata men how to mill. With their help and with a few whites he had an aerodrome built at the inland mission station site, called then as now Wadey Creek. A banana plantation was established and cattle were brought from the Daly River area. He started a primary school, and the first pupils were adults, some married. Sisters from Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Order arrived in 1941 and the education of the children began. When the Sacred Heart sisters withdrew because of the war he and the author took over the school and continued the teaching.

Father Docherty was physically well suited for the task; though only five feet seven and a half inches in height (1.7 metres), he was strongly built and in very good health, an optimist, a fearless, determined man. He was fond of music and could play most musical instruments and his mechanical skills no doubt helped him survive 23 years in a lonely, outback place. He was a man ahead of his times in the ecumenical sense. At Christmas 1942 he invited the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) personnel from the nearby radar station, regardless of denomination, to attend the midnight Mass and to sing their own hymns. Father Docherty stayed at Port Keats during the war. He was an official coast watcher for the Royal Australian Navy and used a transmitter and receiver supplied by them. He was of great help to the nearby RAAF installation. For example he helped them get radar equipment across a deep gully using mainly pulleys.

Father Docherty left Port Keats in 1958 in deteriorating health. A small island near the site of the first mission was named Docherty Island in his honour. After a holiday he was appointed to Alice Springs, was then sent to Thursday Island and then Hammond Island in Torres Strait where he remained from 1959 to 1965. By 1965 he had been nearly 40 years in the ministry and his age was catching up with him. He was recalled to Darwin but was only there a short time when there was a need for his service at Daly River. He was to spend the rest of his working life there. At Daly River he instructed and worked with the Brinken and Mullak Mullak tribes and met again his much-loved Port Keats people.

In 1977 he celebrated 50 years as a priest and in the Australia Day honours in 1978 was made a Member in the General Division of the Order of Australia (AM). His final illness was long and painful brought on by a nasty fall. He died among his family in Western Australia on 1 May 1979 but is buried at Port Keats near the church.

Personal information and Church records.

JOHN PYE, Vol 3.

DODD, MARGARET HEATHER BELL nee McKAY (1900–1987), teacher, was born on 20 September 1900, at Wyndham, New South Wales, one of six children of Angus William McKay and his wife Lillian, nee Smith. She was educated at small schools in the Wallsend area, where her father was a coal miner but was not permitted to attend Newcastle High School along with her more robust brothers and sisters as it was at the top of a hill. As a child she suffered from rheumatic fever, which left her with a weakened heart so that she attended the local domestic high school. Due to the need for teachers during the First World War she was accepted into a one-year teacher-training course. Thereafter she taught in New South Wales schools.

She married James (Jim) Jenkins Dodd, who was a ceramics engineer, in Sydney on 13 October 1928. Margaret continued to teach for a few years when they moved to Queensland. A daughter, Heather, was born in 1941 at Ipswich where Jim managed a brickworks. In 1949 Margaret's mother, Lillian McKay, was very frail so the Dodds accompanied her to Mainoru Station in the Top End of the Northern Territory to visit her sons, Jack and Sandy. In the 1930s Jack McKay took over the property, which had been established by his uncle, Andrew Ray, and Billy Farrer. The visit was only intended to be short but the family settled and Lillian eventually died at Mainoru in 1964.

In 1957 Margaret was approached by the Department of Education in the Territory to start a school for all the children on the property. This school was amongst the first of its kind on a Territory cattle property. The whole family was involved and lessons were given on the verandah of the homestead, which comprised two Sidney Williams huts joined together. The early rolls show 16 girls, 13 boys and five preschoolers were regular attendees.

A departmental inspection report in 1958 commented that the school was well equipped and Heather Dodd's 'enthusiasm and energy' had produced a 'very impressive school.' The report continued that 'clearly also the children enjoy coming to school'. This was later verified in an oral history interview where Margaret recounted that one youngster with an infant had informed Jim Dodd that he was to baby-sit as she had to attend school. A feature of the school, and much commented on at the time, was that several young mothers, some barely teenagers, attended with infants at the breast. The proof of any teaching is in the pudding and it was a feature of the children whom Heather taught that they were known for their good command of English and excellent handwriting. Several of the Aboriginal children at the remote Mainoru School became teachers themselves. Margaret Dodd was always very concerned for the well being of all her charges and later policy changes distressed her as she felt there were instances where white people were trying 'to teach them how to be blackfellas' where they had already broken the tribal bonds.

The school in its early years could hardly be said to be well funded. The station was 'impoverished' and children learned to write on pieces of board with lumps of charcoal and pieces of brown paper. Indeed it was later claimed by the Dodds that the only contribution by the government in the first year of operation was 'half a dozen grade six arithmetic books'. Such was the population explosion in the area that by the middle 1960s there were 53 children on the roll—an awesome charge for just one teacher.

In time the family formally adopted, despite formidable red tape, a part Aboriginal girl, Shenee (Pixie) who was born in 1950. Shenee's mother, who was a member of the clan which traditionally lived in the area, decided that if she was to lose her child to white society, in accordance with the policy at that time, Margaret should become the new mother. Shenee, who had been delivered by Margaret, later recalled a 'wonderful' childhood. Shenee considered herself very 'fortunate' to have had 'the best of two worlds.' Similarly she noted how her own son, Jason, had idolised his grandmother and what an inspiration she had been to him and how much time she had for all children.

Jim Dodd died on 9 February 1961 so Margaret took on the role of nursing sister. Jim, who was incapacitated as a result of injuries received in the First World War, had usually dealt with all the medical work and managed the homestead garden, which he laid out, while Jack McKay managed the property. The school operated each day and teaching was in addition to the usual household routine, which included the monitoring of the radio schedule that began at five each morning.

After her husband's death Margaret was ill for a number of years but her brother **Sandy McKay** kept the school going. In 1966 Jack McKay died, leaving the property to Margaret's daughter, Heather, but by 1968 'death and taxes' had destroyed any possibility that it could be kept as a going concern. It was sold and Margaret moved to Darwin but not to retire. Her acknowledged and widely respected teaching skills kept her in demand.

For some years she taught at a training school for paramedical workers in Aboriginal communities that was then based at the East Arm leprosarium. At one time she was called on to teach part Aboriginal children at the Rapid Creek School when urgent assistance was needed. Her help was frequently sought, both formally and informally, though she never received any official recognition.

She was a small, slight woman and in her younger days was an A grade tennis player. She needed little sleep but always had boundless energy and notwithstanding her heart condition could dance all night and then cheerfully go to work the following morning. She loved the sea and missed it at Mainoru though the homestead was attractively sited on a hill above a river. She was fortunate in having for so many years the company of

her mother, who although very deaf relieved some of the pangs of remote existence which beset other women. Children of course, constantly surrounded her.

Margaret Dodd was injured in Cyclone Tracy. She was evacuated and spent six months away from Darwin. In 1984 she had a hip replacement operation but never fully recovered and, though she was as active as she could be, died on 15 September 1987. Tributes poured in. One young man who had grown up at Mainoru commented on how happy he and other children had been there. Another, who had also spent time on a mission station, remarked that although the missionaries had fed and clothed him, they 'didn't really love us' as Margaret had. Margaret loved the children with whom she came in contact and they loved her in return.

H Clarke, *The Long Arm*, 1974; Northern Territory Archives Service, Dodd Papers, NTRS 291, oral history interview, NTRS 226, TS 192; family information.

HEATHER DODD, SHENEE McFADYEN and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

DOLAN, ANNA ELIZABETH nee McKEOWN (c1857–1903) and **DOLAN, THOMAS JOHN (TOMMY)** (c1855–1908), pioneers of Nightcliff, Northern Territory, were married on 23 July 1878 in Brewarrina, New South Wales, Thomas then describing himself as a station manager. Both were apparently born in Ireland; Thomas John's parents being Michael Dolan, a storekeeper and Mary, nee Lawler. Anna's parents were John McKeown, a miner, and Margaret, nee Darkin.

In 1881 Mary Florence Norton Dolan was born to Thomas and Anna in New South Wales but she died the same year. The following year Dudley Norton Dolan was born, also in New South Wales. Sometime after Dudley's birth the Dolans arrived in the Northern Territory, presumably having travelled overland through New South Wales and Queensland via the Queensland Road. In late October 1886 the Dolans were at Borroloola where Thomas was summonsed to court for being in breach of the *Master and Servants Act* but the case was dismissed. A few days later he was charged with threatening language and fined 20 Pounds.

It is not known how long the Dolans stayed at Borroloola but it is known they lived for a while at Anthony's Lagoon, then the focal point of the central and coastal stock routes between Queensland, the Overland Telegraph Line (and points west) and the coast at Borroloola. The Territory's Sub-Collector of Customs at the time, **Alfred Searcy**, encountered the family at Anthony's Lagoon and described Tommy as a 'little thin fellow with a marvellous memory' who, 'although a bad 'un, was full of pluck' and Anna as being a 'tall, handsome, well-made woman and a splendid equestrienne'. Searcy also reported that a squatter had a 'fire stick put into [the Dolan's] shanty... because they would not shift'.

In September 1888 an incident occurred which exhibited Anna's independent nature and a less than harmonious situation between the Dolans. On 29 September Anna, who was fair with 'full features', was arrested at Matthew and Margaret Hart's Royal Hotel by Mounted Constable Mick Donegan for 'shooting with intent'.

According to Searcy, Anna had demanded that Donegan grant her a divorce as she wanted to join another man who was prepared to pay Tommy handsomely if the divorce came off. Donegan explained that, although he held many offices, the divorce business was not within his jurisdiction. Anna proceeded to shoot at her husband and then lock herself in a room of the hotel before she was finally arrested. On 11 October 1888, at a committal hearing in Borroloola, Anna was charged with 'feloniously, unlawfully and maliciously shooting' at Thomas and committed for trial at Palmerston (Darwin) Circuit court. On 31 October the Dolans and their child arrived in Palmerston and by 1 December Thomas was advertising that he was staying in Palmerston and was going into business to repair saddles and harnesses.

On 22 December Anna's trial began. Among those giving evidence was Matthew Hart, Borroloola publican, who said that Anna had been staying at his hotel for about five days. On the night in question Anna had said she would not go with her husband. He said Anna and her husband had been living on bad terms and that Anna had said to him (Hart), 'if I cannot get protection I will protect myself', and threatened to 'blow the brains out' of the first person who opened the door. Hart reported that she said, 'If I can get no protection from him I will shoot him rather than live with him again'. After the judge had heard all the evidence he found there was insufficient evidence to convict Anna and he then reprimanded Thomas John Dolan for his conduct to his wife and cautioned him that if he misbehaved in future he would certainly have him punished. He advised him to sign the pledge and find a new life.

The following week Thomas Dolan wrote to the *Northern Territory Times*, which had reported the court case and the reprimand, denying the charge *in toto* and complaining that he did not have an opportunity of explaining the matter. He stated that 'Mrs Dolan herself when she heard of the matter wished to appear in court and tell His Honour that he had been misinformed. He claimed that he had uniformly treated his wife with kindness and consideration'. The truth of the case will perhaps never be known but it appears that they remained together, possibly because Anna was pregnant, as on 14 February 1888 Richard Valentine Norton Dolan was born in Palmerston, eight months before the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway line was officially opened. According to information derived from the 1891 census the family was then living at Burrundie where Thomas was employed as a ganger on the railway construction.

By 1893 the family appears to have returned to Palmerston where Thomas began participating in the Palmerston Literary and Debating Society and he soon became known for his ability to recite from memory long passages from publications. On 29 April 1895 Anna enrolled to vote as one of the first women in the Northern Territory entitled to do so after legislation was passed in the South Australian parliament in December 1894. In December 1895 Anna purchased a block of suburban land, section 363 Hundred of Bagot, and applied for an agricultural lease at Nightcliff. In July 1896, two months after she was able to vote in her first election, Anna was granted Agricultural

Lease No 14 at Nightcliff over an area of 400 acres. The annual rent was 10 Pounds and the lease was granted for five years to 1 July 1901. This lease was in an area previously occupied by Jesuit missionaries. The Dolans appear to be the earliest family to have actually resided in the area once the Jesuits had moved to the Daly River.

Thomas Dolan, meanwhile, was making a name for himself in sporting circles, particularly cricket and the new sport of cycling, of which his son, Dudley, was also an enthusiast. During most of the 1890s Thomas worked as a railway ganger. In the January 1897 cyclone which devastated Palmerston, the Dolan family's cottage near the railway yards at the Two Mile (Parap) was totally wrecked. Six months later, in June, Anna was granted a temporary certificate by the Palmerston District Council to carry on business at the railway refreshment rooms at Adelaide River. This she managed for the next two years and she and Thomas, who was apparently living in Adelaide River as well, were particularly praised for their hospitality to the cycling team in April 1898.

On 20 January 1899 Thomas applied for an Agricultural Lease over 26 acres of land, mostly on a high stony ridge, about a kilometre north of the Adelaide River Bridge between the river and the railway line at the 75 Mile. It appears he wanted a garden in connection with the refreshment rooms but the application does not appear to have been pursued. In March 1899 the refreshment rooms at Adelaide River passed from Anna Dolan to Edith Lydia Lauder. From this time on Anna and Thomas seem to have spent long periods of time apart. At the time of the 1901 census Thomas was living at the 88 Mile and Anna and her two sons were living at 'Knight's Cliff'.

A description of the property appears in the *Northern Territory Times* on 12 April 1901. 'Mr T J Dolan's farm at Knight's Cliff presents quite a different appearance just now to that it wore a few months ago. He has now quite a respectable area cleared and a large and promising coconut plantation is springing up. A small area has been reserved for pineapples, which thrive excellently, and several hundred banana trees are now being put in. Altogether, Mr Dolan is to be congratulated for his energy and enterprise and congratulated upon the splendid results achieved in such a short time'. Although the part played by Anna and the children remains unacknowledged in this account it is fair to assume that Thomas' work as a ganger kept him away from home for long periods of time and that the hard work of maintaining the farm was kept up by Anna and her sons. This is reinforced by a report in the paper later in the year, which described the Mission cutter *Evangel* being damaged after striking the edge of the reef at Lee Point and temporary repairs being made 'near the residence of Mr Dolan at Night Cliff'. This sparked an immediate reaction from Anna and caused the newspaper to write, on 13 December 1901: 'In our report of a recent boat accident we inadvertently used the words 'Mr Dolan's residence at Nightcliff'. Mrs Dolan writes directing attention to the fact that she is the registered owner of the property in question and scathingly remarks 'now a paper should be reliable and you had only to look in the Gazette to see that I am the registered owner and reside here'. Alas! and Alas!'

On 15 October 1902 Anna gave birth to a daughter she named Daisy Wedd Norton Dolan. It is interesting to note that in the 1901 census at Rapid Creek, near Nightcliff, there was a Henry Charles Wedd, aged 38, a stockman, but it is not known whether there was any special relationship between Anna and Henry Charles.

Only six months after this event, however, on 14 April 1903, Anna, then 40, died in Palmerston Hospital of peritonitis. Although no notice appeared of her death in the newspaper that year, for some years subsequently Thomas placed an 'In Memoriam' notice in the paper mourning her death.

Thomas took over the Agricultural Lease and managed it, in addition to working for the railway, until his own untimely and horrific death on 20 June 1908 when he was crushed to death on the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway while in a state of intoxication. The report of the inquest in the newspaper was lengthy and very descriptive with magistrate, **W G Stretton**, finding that he 'accidentally and by misfortune was killed by the train passing over him whilst he was asleep on the line'. He was buried in the Palmerston cemetery (Goyder Road).

As far as can be ascertained the Dolan children did not remain in the Territory for more than a few years and they made little or no claims on their father's estate. On 2 April 1913 an auction sale, on behalf of the Public Trustee, was held of the Dolan's land at Nightcliff. It was described as suburban section No 842 comprising a little over 204 acres and sold to **Felix Ernest Holmes**. In July 1940 it was purchased by Chin Pak Cheong, a Darwin storekeeper, and was compulsorily resumed by the government, along with the rest of Darwin, in 1946, with little to mark the pioneering efforts of the Dolans in what was later described as the 'garden' suburb of Nightcliff.

L Barter, 'Biographical Study: The Dolan Family', 1994; B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory records; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, various editions.

LEITH BARTER and BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

DOOLAN, ANN JANE: see **HAYES, ANN JANE**

DOOLAN, ELIZABETH: see **NICKER, ELIZABETH**

DOOLAN, JOHN KEVIN RAPHAEL (JACK) (1927–1995), sailor, cane cutter, patrol officer, truck driver, soldier, Aboriginal welfare officer, politician and consultant, was born on 14 June 1927 in Nudgee (Brisbane), Queensland, the son of Mr and Mrs S R Doolan. He was educated at St Joseph's College in Nudgee and served with the Royal Australian Navy in New Guinea and the Pacific islands between 1945 and 1947. He then worked as a cane cutter in Queensland until taking up appointment as a cadet patrol officer with the Native Affairs Branch in the Northern Territory in January 1949. On 25 November 1950 he married Myrna, daughter of Mr and Mrs W A Pott. Before separating they had three sons and six daughters.

Initially posted to Darwin, he joined a fellow patrol officer, **Syd Kyle-Little**, on the north coast of Arnhem Land developing a scheme to arrest the 'drift' of people from the Aboriginal reserve. From April that year he helped

Kyle-Little in making seaworthy the launch *Amity*, which was lying at the Snake Bay settlement. At the beginning of June they were prepared to set off for the Liverpool River. With them they had a cargo of trade goods and salt for the preparation of the crocodile skins that were to provide their main source of cash to sustain the operation. After a hazardous voyage, the pair reached the mouth of the Liverpool where they built a paperbark shelter for stores and explained their purposes to the local Aborigines. The site of their base camp later became the town of Maningrida. Sailing east to search for likely areas for pearling and crocodile shooting, they were shipwrecked on the Blyth River after *Amity* hit a submerged tree and sank. With help from Aboriginal people, they refloated the vessel and eventually sailed it to Goulburn Island. There they wrote a preliminary 'Report on the Development of Local Industries in the Liverpool River area', which argued that prospects were good for developing a trade in crocodile skins, and trepanning but the prospects for pearl shell gathering needed more investigation. While Kyle-Little sailed *Amity* to Elcho Island for repairs, Doolan walked and swam back to the Liverpool to resume operations. When Kyle-Little returned, they set up trepanning camps, resumed crocodile shooting and collected handicrafts from the local women. Instructed to return to Darwin, Doolan sailed with the skins and other goods for Goulburn Island early in September.

Unhappy with his recall to Darwin, Doolan resigned from the Native Affairs Branch and became a truck driver in the Territory. In 1951 he joined the Australian Regular Army, serving in the Korean War and in Japan until his discharge in 1956. He then worked in the Queensland Aboriginal settlement of Palm Island before returning to the Territory as a patrol officer with the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration in 1965.

Over the next 12 years he worked as a superintendent at Snake Bay and a district welfare officer in the Victoria River District. In late 1971 he made what was to be the last general patrol of the district. A few months later, in April 1972, the Aboriginal workers at Victoria River Downs walked off, first to join the former Wave Hill people at Dagaragu and later to establish a separate camp at Yarralin. Doolan's report on the 'appalling conditions' at the station largely explained why the move took place. The Aboriginal camp there was filthy, Aboriginal pensioners only received a small part of their pensions in cash and white workers used alcohol to obtain Aboriginal women. He recommended that the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service investigate the situation.

In August 1977 Doolan contested the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly's Victoria River electorate as a candidate for the Australian Labor Party. His opponent was the Country Liberal Party's **Dr Goff Letts**, the Majority Leader in the Assembly and the man almost certain to become Chief Minister after the achievement of self-government. In a stunning upset, Letts' party won the general election but Letts lost his own seat. The two-party preferred vote swing against him exceeded 20 per cent. While the Majority Leader spent little time campaigning in Victoria River, Doolan worked hard there and did particularly well in Aboriginal communities, where he was already well known.

He used his maiden speech to attack what he regarded as the racism of his political opponents. 'They have', he said, 'a paranoid [*sic*] hatred of Aboriginal people... They regard them as less than human. They fear them because they are so devoid of compassion they will not even try to understand them. In past years Australians have been noted all over the world for their willingness to give the underdog a go... that spirit is now dead and with its demise democracy in this country has a very short prognosis indeed'.

In 1980 Doolan was appointed to the shadow ministry with responsibility for primary industry and public works. In the election of that year he easily held his seat. His subsequent political career, however, was unimpressive. A heavy drinker, by 1982 he was an alcoholic. On a couple of occasions he attempted to speak in parliament while incoherently drunk. On the second of these all his Labor colleagues walked out of the chamber. The Speaker, Les MacFarlane, adjourned the House to save further embarrassment. Doolan had lost just about all political credibility. Deprived of his Labor endorsement, he contested the December 1983 election as an independent. The poll resulted in further humiliation when he won only 5.9 per cent of the valid votes cast. Victoria River went back to the Country Liberal Party. 'There was', David Nason later commented, 'no room for old-style political mavericks like Jack'.

Doolan spent his final years writing and working as a consultant in the areas of Aboriginal sacred sites and heritage protection. The quality of his reports varied enormously as his drinking often adversely affected him. But he had vast knowledge of the Territory and its Aboriginal people that sometimes proved invaluable to those who employed him.

He died in Darwin on 29 January 1995. A huge crowd attended his funeral at the city's Roman Catholic cathedral. Despite all his faults, he was genuinely and widely mourned. A former Country Liberal Party minister, Roger Steele, gave a eulogy at the funeral. The well-known Darwin journalist Frank Alcorta declared that, 'With him died an era in Northern Territory history that will never return'. One of the most perceptive comments came from another Darwin journalist, David Nason. 'Today', he wrote, 'the thriving community of Maningrida stands as a lasting tribute to Jack Doolan but Jack himself would probably elect the reconciliation process as highest on the list of achievements he was involved in—a sign perhaps that the spirit of democracy had a better prognosis than he once thought'.

The Australian, 10 February 1995; J Doolan, *The Founding of Maningrida*, 1989; D Jaensch & D Wade Marshall, *Point of Order!*, 1994; J Long, *The Go-Betweens*, 1992; *Northern Territory News*, 31 January 1995; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1983.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 3*.

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM BLOOMFIELD (1822–1906), Naval officer and Government Resident in the Northern Territory and at Selangor in the Malay States, was born in Aberystwyth in Wales on 25 September 1822, the son of Richard W C Douglas and his wife Mary, *nee* Johnson.

His uncle, the Reverend Francis Johnson, married the sister of Sir James Brooke, the first Rajah of Sarawak, and his naval career, commencing in 1842, took him into this area fighting pirates at Sarawak. After service in the Indian navy, he married Ellen Atkinson in 1848 in Northumberland. He went back to sea in 1852 and eventually obtained the position of naval officer and harbour master in Adelaide and later Collector of Customs, in 1854, succeeding Captain Lipson. Douglas by 1860 was chairman of the Marine Board, inquiring into lighthouses and eventually became a stipendiary magistrate.

In March 1870, Captain Bloomfield Douglas was appointed the first civilian Government Resident of the Northern Territory. He travelled north on *Bengal* and, having the Sarawak example in mind, tackled the fledgling administration of South Australia's Territory in the same way, but did not have sufficient administrative background to deal efficiently with the many tasks of the new administration. Money was spent unwisely; he quarrelled with officials, mining legislation and regulations were ignored and he became more interested in personal gain on the goldfields. He did, however, promote early explorations by George McLachlan to Katherine in 1870 and others to the Roper in the initial move to commence the erection of the Overland Telegraph Line desired by the government.

Some of his administration did not win support from **Thomas Reynolds**, Commissioner of Crown Lands, who went north to review the position and Douglas was asked to resign in June 1873. His financial position in doubt, the government sent him to Singapore in April 1874 on a mission to recruit Chinese miners for the Territory goldfields. He organised 200 coolies for the goldfields and stayed on in 1875 as acting police magistrate in Singapore.

He became Government Resident in Selangor after Hugh Low's term as Resident at Perak in 1876. Klang declined as a centre as traders went up river to Kuala Lumpur. By 1880 Douglas sought to transfer the administration to that area—a very filthy mining camp. His attempts there were not immediately successful, his son-in-law, Dominic Daly, was dismissed as superintendent of works for land jobbery and he was again asked to resign.

Douglas joined his son-in-law, Daly, who was with the British North Borneo Company. Douglas's wife died in England in 1887 and he later joined the Department of Marine and Fisheries in 1893 in Nova Scotia. He remarried, aged over seventy years, to the daughter of the Collector of Customs at Sydney, Nova Scotia.

His name is remembered in Douglas Street, Fannie Bay, and in Douglas Peninsula, a name that fell into disuse for the earlier name Cox Peninsula, across the harbour from the town of Darwin.

The mariner who made a contribution to naval explorations in various parts was not so successful in the field of government administration. He died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada on 5 March 1906.

E Sadka, *The Protected Malay States: 1874–1895*, 1968; C M Turnbull, *A Short History of Malaysia*, 1980; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 31 May 1879; Ottawa Archives PC40/837/1898, PC443, 452 and 790/1903.

V T O'BRIEN, *Vol 1.*

DOVE, EMILY ISABELLA MAY (1889–1978), Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary, was born in Melbourne on 26 March 1889. Their widowed mother Helen, *nee* Robotham, at Heathcote, Victoria, brought up her and her sister. She had no professional training, but played an important part in the ongoing life of the CMS missions in north Australia.

May Dove was accepted as a CMS missionary for the Roper River Mission on 5 February 1923 and left for the north the following month. She arrived at Roper in May and joined **Louisa Cross** in caring for the half-caste children there. She accompanied the thirty-five half-caste children when they were transferred to Emerald River, Groote Eylandt, in September 1924. For the next six years she worked with Louisa Cross caring for the half-caste children until the mission devoted its full attention to the Groote Eylandt Aborigines.

May Dove was on extended sick leave from July 1932 until December 1933, when **Messrs Warren and Dyer**, while on Groote on a peace expedition to the Aborigines, urgently asked for her return. She went back to Groote immediately and was reappointed a permanent missionary on 13 May 1935. While on leave in 1938 she attended lectures in anthropology under Professor **A P Elkin** at the University of Sydney.

On her return north by flying boat in November 1938 she was appointed to Oenpelli where she worked with great acceptance until the evacuation of missionary and half-caste women and children in 1942. She then helped care for the evacuated half-castes from the north and from the Alice Springs Hostel, at Mulgoa, New South Wales. There were seventy-seven evacuees in all, ranging from tiny tots to adolescent boys and girls and a few young married women. Some of the children did very well at school and afterward stayed on to become teachers in the south. She continued to work at Mulgoa until the remaining small group of half-castes was transferred back to Alice Springs in 1945.

On her retirement in 1946 the CMS recorded its appreciation of May Dove's work by stating: 'It is the privilege of very few missionaries of our Society to have so long a record of service as that given by Miss Dove, and especially is this the case in our Missions to Aborigines. In her service as a whole, she has evinced a spirit of devotion and self-forgetful zeal.' She died in Melbourne in November 1978.

K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Stories*, 1972; K Cole, *A History of Oenpelli*, 1975; CMS Records, Melbourne; Private papers of Miss E I M Dove.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 1.*

DRIVER, ARTHUR ROBERT (MICK) (1909–1981), engineer, soldier, public servant and Administrator, was born on 25 November 1909 at Albany, Western Australia, the youngest of five children of Henry Driver, farmer, and his wife Mary Ann, *nee* Hinkenbotham. He was educated at Hale School, Perth, and graduated in Civil

Engineering at the University of Western Australia. He then worked as a civil engineer in the Western Australian Department of Public Works.

He served in the Australian Imperial Force between 1941 and 1945, rising to the rank of Major. He held a regimental appointment with the Second Fourth Pioneer Battalion with which he went to the Northern Territory in 1941 and was in the convoy that set out from Darwin for Timor but did not reach there. He returned to Darwin before the Japanese bombing of 19 February 1942. He was subsequently in charge of rebuilding the wharf over the vessel *Neptuna* that was sunk in the same raid. He later saw service in New Guinea and was Mentioned in Despatches for bravery. At one stage he was an Acting Colonel.

After returning to the Department of Public Works in Perth, on 6 July 1946 he was appointed, at the age of 36, Administrator of the Northern Territory. He served in this capacity until 1951. During that period he inaugurated the Legislative Council and was its first President. It was a difficult time to be Administrator due to the extensive war damage and the fact that parts of the Territory had been under military control.

There was the huge task of putting the Territory back on its feet after the war years. This included the change from freehold to leasehold land titles and the need to obtain adequate supplies of building materials, foodstuffs and medical necessities. The whole administrative structure was reorganised, as was the police force. Stock routes were developed and pastoral lands were opened up. Suitable areas for agriculture were developed, new mining development was fostered, the School of the Air was opened and education was expanded. Publicity was used to make Australians outside the Territory aware of the region's needs.

Driver attained a reputation for kindness when in 1946 a 12-year-old Indonesian boy, Bas Wie, arrived in Darwin almost dead after a flight from West Timor huddled near the wheel of a DC3 airliner. With little thought but to be well hidden, Wie took up his position when the aeroplane was on the tarmac, not realising the dangers involved. Burned by the friction of the retracting wheels and nearly frozen in flight, he was lucky not to fall to his death. Driver took Wie into Government House in Darwin, where he lived for five years. After schooling, Wie joined the public service and became a draftsman.

Driver resigned as Administrator in June 1951, frustrated that he had not been able to achieve as much as he wished in the Territory. He subsequently held senior positions in Europe with the Commonwealth Department of Immigration. He left the public service in 1960 and settled in Melbourne, where he worked as an engineer and for the Victorian Employers' Federation. He also lectured and spoke to various organisations about northern development and in 1964 took an aeroplane load of businessmen from Melbourne on a comprehensive tour of the north and centre of Australia. He was an office bearer in various community organisations both in Melbourne and in Buderim, Queensland, where he retired in 1970.

He died in Buderim as a result of war wounds and cancer on 18 May 1981. He is buried beneath his 'shady tree' at Buderim Cemetery. He was married twice. A son and daughter from his first marriage and his second wife, Mardi, and their daughter, survived him.

His name was commemorated in the Northern Territory when a suburb in the new 'satellite city' of Palmerston, to the south of Darwin, was named after him.

Family information.

ME DRIVER, Vol 2.

DRYSDALE, ALEXANDER STEWART (1889–1962), businessman, was born in Melbourne on 29 December 1889, the son of **William Drysdale**, a stonemason, and his wife Florence, *nee* Bower.

Drysdale inherited his father's blue eyes, and straight brown hair, though as an adult he stood taller than him. He was a well-built man, which suited his main occupation, as a carrier, very well.

Drysdale arrived in Darwin with his father at the age of four. After attending school in Cavenagh Street, Palmerston (now a car-park), he became apprenticed to the *Northern Territory Times* as a printer, but resigned shortly afterward. He then spent some time wandering the Territory, working from Arafura Station in Arnhem Land to the Tanami goldfields, in Central Australia.

Drysdale then conducted his own carrying business with horse teams and travelled all over the Territory with goods, even as far west as Wyndham to a station nearby owned by a Mr Cole.

After marrying **Bessie Johnson**, and to remain near his family, he was employed for several years as a lighthouse-keeper at Point Charles (at the time a manual light, which had to be manned twenty-four hours a day). Drysdale then returned to Darwin with his family and worked as a carrier in Parap. Later he worked for Vestey's meatworks (now the site of Darwin High School) at Bullocky Point, until its closure.

Drysdale was then employed by the Commonwealth railways as a fireman and later as a driver. He resigned from the railways in 1934, and bought a business, comprising garage, petrol station, funeral services, taxi service and goods carrying. He also held a General Motors Chevrolet agency. This business was conducted for eight years, until the Japanese bombing of Darwin in 1942, in which it was destroyed.

Drysdale travelled to Adelaide with his wife and daughter when they were evacuated, and remained there, as a General Post Office employee, until 1946.

In Adelaide, Drysdale bought two used trucks and, laden with furniture and general food supplies, returned to Darwin to start a general store, to be opened in Smith Street, where the MLC building later stood. He built a shop, and lived with his family in the quarters behind it. In 1960 Drysdale retired at the age of seventy-one.

Drysdale was a Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge for seven years from 1942 to 1949. He was instrumental in re-establishing the Masonic Lodge of Darwin, after it had been in recess for the war years. He was presented with a gold badge in commemoration of his service. He was also a foundation member, and first president of the Darwin Show Society, a member of the original Darwin Golf Club, and of the Darwin Club.

At the time of his death in Melbourne, on 16 July 1962, Drysdale could speak fluent Chinese, spoke and understood the Larakia Aboriginal language and had some knowledge of Malay and Filipino languages.

Family information.

MAY BEARD, *Vol 1.*

DRYSDALE, ALEXANDER STEWART II (1920–1979), soldier, businessman and public servant, was born on 29 June 1920 in Darwin, son of **Alexander Stewart Drysdale** and **Bessie Janet Phillis Johnson**. He was educated at Parap and Darwin schools.

After leaving school he worked in his father's business until enlisting in the Australian Imperial Force (army no. DX881). He was assigned to 6th Divisional Headquarters, and later to 2/17th Battalion, 9th Division. He also served briefly with the Commandos. He saw service with the 2/17th in New Guinea and Borneo, being awarded the 1939–45 Star, Defence Medal, New Guinea Service Medal, and a Mention in Dispatches.

After the war he returned to Darwin and opened a garage/petrol station in Parap (Stuart Highway/Goyder Road junction). After some years he joined the Customs Department, served in Darwin and Sydney, and eventually retired on medical grounds because of poor health caused by his war service.

He was 179 centimetres tall, broad shouldered with blue eyes and brown straight hair. He married Molly Gaynor, and they had one daughter and three sons. He was a Methodist by religion. He was a member of the Darwin Club, the Darwin Golf Club, the Returned Servicemen's League and the Darwin Masonic Lodge.

He died of pneumonia, after a long illness, in Concord Military Hospital on 10 May 1979 and was cremated in Sydney.

Family information.

MAY BEARD, *Vol 1.*

DRYSDALE, BESSIE JANET PHILLIS: see **JOHNSON, BESSIE JANET PHILLIS**

DRYSDALE, DAVID GEORGE WILLIAM (1904–1984) and **DRYSDALE, INGRID AMELIA** *nee FOLLAND* (1904–1982), missionaries and welfare officers.

David George William Drysdale was born in Zeehan, Tasmania on 15 October 1904 to David Drysdale and Mary Ann Drysdale, *nee* Griffiths. David had one brother and four sisters. He grew up to be a man of average build and height with fair hair and a ginger beard. He completed his school education and studied at the Melbourne Bible Institute until 1925 when he was called to serve in mission work on Sunday Island with the United Aborigines Mission.

Ingrid Amelia Folland was born on 23 July 1904 in Cookernup, Western Australia. Ingrid had three sisters and four brothers. She grew up in Katanning, Western Australia where her father Walter was a schoolteacher and a farmer. He and his wife, Emma Hannah Folland, *nee* Berg, attempted farming in South Australia, but after severe drought they moved to a farm in Katanning. Ingrid's parents were Methodist and raised her with a Christian outlook on life. She went to school until age 14 and then worked in an office in Katanning. She also helped her parents around the house and farm until she went into mission service as a 20 year old.

Ingrid served with the South Australian Outback Mission until 1927. She worked in homes for part-Aboriginal children in Oodnadatta, Swan Reach and Quorn in South Australia. In 1925 she had applied for a mission appointment on Sunday Island, but learnt that a young man named David Drysdale had preceded her. He was introduced to Ingrid through the mail and they began corresponding until they met in 1927. On 27 September 1927 they were married at Katanning Baptist Church.

In 1928 Ingrid and David moved to Sunday Island to work with the United Aborigines Mission and the Bardi Aborigines, a tribal group of the Dampier Land Peninsula. They cared for the general welfare of the people whose lifestyle and health had been dramatically changed by the invasion of European settlement in Australia. In Ingrid's book *The End of Dreaming* she recalls that 'the romance, adventure, and challenge of this remote place had appealed to me several years earlier when I had applied for a position on the mission staff'.

In April 1929 David and Ingrid had a son whom they named Owen. Two years later a baby girl was born, named after Ingrid. In 1932, after four years of service on Sunday Island, differences with the head office caused them to resign. In December the same year they had their third child, Frank. Despite their resignation, their love for the Bardi people gave them a desire to remain with them. In 1933 they moved with their three children, three other married couples, two children and two single men to a pearling lugger named Petra beachcombing around the Buccaneer Archipelago. They formed a base at Cockatoo Island and then later Coppermine Creek on the mainland.

Later Ingrid and David left this lifestyle and moved to Perth. In October 1939 they had their fourth child, a boy named Leith. They were in Perth when the war broke out and David went to war in September 1940. After several months he was captured on the island of Crete. David spent four and a half years at various prisoner of war camps in Germany. During this time Ingrid and the children lived with Ingrid's parents in Katanning. In late 1945 David returned to Australia; he later received a Greek war medal given to all the soldiers who were captured on Crete.

In 1947 they moved to the Kimberley Research Station on the Ord River situated at Ivanhoe Station 60 kilometres from Wyndham. The Public Works Department was also in the area and the employees lived on the station. The Drysdales were flexible, attending to whatever needed doing. When the cook from the Public Works left, Ingrid took up that responsibility while her daughter Ingrid took over the job at the research station. Their presence

was company for the workers who often joined with them in card games and darts. In April 1949, daughter Ingrid married and moved to the Katherine Research Station with her husband Lindsay Phillips, known as Flip.

Disaster struck the Ivanhoe homestead when fire burned it to the ground. The manager resigned and David Drysdale was asked to take up the responsibility. He managed the station for a season or two. While at the station they were also concerned for the general wellbeing of the Aborigines, this included providing rations and clothing. There was no local doctor and so Ingrid took on responsibility for any medical situations. If the situation was dire, Ingrid would request a plane to take the patient into hospital in Wyndham. The Drysdales were involved in the daily activities of the Aborigines and often were invited to attend corroborees.

After leaving Ivanhoe David filled in as manager at Rosewood Station. Later they moved to Batchelor where David worked at Chandler's farm growing pineapples. All their children had by then grown up and left home. 'After much prayer and thought Dave and I decided that since all the family had now left us we would offer our services to the Welfare Branch in Darwin for work among the Aborigines'. In 1957 they did so and the Director of Welfare, **Harry Giese**, suggested that they should help start a welfare settlement on the Liverpool River, on the remote coast of Arnhem Land.

Maningrida had been established in 1949 as a trading post in order to keep Arnhem Land Aborigines from gathering in Darwin. The Welfare Branch felt that considerable problems resulted from Aboriginal people drifting into Darwin and other towns. There were many setbacks and the trading post failed. By 1957 the Government had become increasingly concerned especially with the spread of diseases like leprosy, which remained unchecked in the reserve areas. In 1957 Maningrida was officially established as a welfare station.

Giese warned the Drysdales that 'conditions would be primitive and the work by no means easy', but as Ingrid later recorded, 'the prospect of tackling it was like tonic to us'. They arrived in May 1957. They settled in quickly and were received well by the Aborigines. Ingrid wrote that the people were eager for them to like the country and continually asked 'this good country, ey?' They had been encouraged not to tend to medical needs until a doctor could arrive and first assess the situation. Ingrid, however, found that the need for medical attention, especially for those with leprosy, was great. She set up a medical session twice daily for those who desired treatment.

They communicated to the people that they were not there to take away their independence and that a trading post would be established so that they could trade goods for food; unless they were sick they would not be given food for nothing. They stressed that they did not wish to interfere with their customs.

Ingrid diagnosed many of the Aborigines as having leprosy. This disease was known as the 'big sick' and previously if anyone had the 'big sick' they were removed from the community and sent away to a leprosarium where they died. Many Aborigines were scared of being treated for fear of being sent away and not being able to die in their own land. The Drysdales did not want to send them away, yet they realised that some action had to be taken to discourage its spread. David discussed the issue of what to do with a few Aborigines; it was decided that a camp would be set up outside the settlement, but it would be close enough so that the patients could be fed and tended to daily. The leprosy camp was named Alamaise.

The settlement grew in numbers daily as many Aborigines moved in from the bush. Ingrid also aimed to improve the health of the children and pregnant mothers by supplying milk. David chose the site for an airstrip that was first used on 24 April 1958. Soon after the District Welfare Officer, Les Penhall, visited to inspect the progress of Maningrida and was greatly impressed. Progress had been made faster than was expected. In Ingrid's words 'the Aboriginal people had so quickly learned to trust us and to seek our help'.

When food resources were strained the people would return to the bush until the boat came to replenish stock. The town spread extensively with various huts and temporary camps. About eight months after the Drysdales had arrived they were visited by Dr John Hargrave and his two Aboriginal assistants, **Phillip Roberts** and Billy Nabilya. The doctor examined 350 Aborigines in the area during the time he was there. Phillip Roberts was later sent by Dr Hargrave to work at Maningrida. He was known as 'Dr Phillip' and was trusted by the Aborigines. Phillip and Ingrid worked together several hours each day. Ingrid commented that they worked in harmony. Phillip recalls in *I, The Aboriginal* that he shared the duties of the daily clinic with Mrs Ingrid Drysdale.

One day during his stay he was asked by a group of Aboriginal men if he wanted to go on a hunting walkabout with them. Phillip was going to decline because of work at the clinic when one of the Aboriginal men encouraged him that Ingrid would be able to look after the clinic by herself, 'Missus Drysdale,' he said, 'she properly good doctor'. The confidence the people had in Ingrid was evident.

In 1961, after four years in Maningrida, the Drysdales left with the intention of retiring. 'With so many of the good things of life available here it was no longer hard to find staff for Maningrida, so Dave and I decided we could relax and hand the job over to younger and more energetic workers', Ingrid recorded. When they left they were sent off with the words 'Good-bye my friend'. Ingrid wrote that she and David had come to love the people. In 1962 they returned briefly to Maningrida for the opening of the Ingrid Drysdale Hospital. The Aboriginal community had chartered a plane to pick up the couple from Katherine and take them to the opening.

Retirement did not eventuate. After a brief holiday in Perth they accepted a request from the Territory Welfare Branch to go to Hooker Creek. They worked in Hooker Creek for a year and then moved to Katherine where they planned to settle down. They purchased a property that used to be the old telegraph station on the banks of the Katherine River opposite where Ingrid and Flip Phillips lived. David was a hard worker and eagerly began developing the property. In 1964 David had a heart attack and was told that he should no longer do any hard physical labour. As a result they moved in June 1964 to the cooler climate of Perth.

After three years in Perth, with David several times in hospital, he went to Broome to visit his son Owen. While there he met up with members of the Bardi tribe who had been moved from Sunday Island to Derby. David was deeply distressed to hear of their problems and separation from the land they loved. David decided he

would help the people return to their community life as much as was possible, despite his age and heart troubles. David shared the desires of the homesick old people who wanted to die peacefully in their own country. 'Although officially classed as 'totally and permanently incapacitated' he should be able, with God's help, to come to their aid', Ingrid was to write.

David moved with the people to Sunday Island and attempted to set up a fishing co-operative. Ingrid remained in Perth where she looked after two grandchildren while they were at high school. In 1970 she visited David on Sunday Island. She suffered badly from osteo-arthritis, making it difficult to walk, and had to be carried on a bed frame to the old schoolmaster's house where David lived. Ingrid wrote 'my short time there was a happy one, although most of us were aging and disabled in one way or another'. After hip replacement surgery in 1972 Ingrid joined David on Sunday Island.

The settlement faced transport and communication difficulties so in 1972 they moved to One Arm Point, on the mainland opposite. At this time they sold their house to help finance the community and to support themselves. They also sought government and private support. The federal and state governments sent representatives of many departments to investigate problems relating to health, housing, education and economic development.

They gained major support from Mr and Mrs Kwong Wing of Fairseas International Trading. The Wings gave two years of their lives and experience to help put the Bardi people on their feet. Mr Wing aimed to provide the people with a means of livelihood.

At One Arm Point living conditions were primitive and hard. David and Ingrid lived in a tiny caravan on the beach where many of the people lived in humpies. Ingrid found life on One Arm Point too difficult so she retired to Katherine and lived with her daughter Ingrid. Later David joined Ingrid in Katherine where they lived in a caravan on the end of Ingrid and Flip's verandah. David, however, continued to visit One Arm Point. While at Katherine Ingrid did volunteer work at the hospital and helped with elderly people.

In the Queen's Birthday honours in June 1979 Ingrid and David were awarded the Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for their service in the Northern Territory and Western Australia. This award held special significance as it was awarded to a husband and wife who worked so effectively as a team. On Saturday 16 October 1982, at age 78, Ingrid died at Katherine Hospital, and was buried in Katherine. Her death notice read 'Went home to be with her Lord.' Following Ingrid's death, David moved back to One Arm Point. On Australia Day 1984 he remarried to Katie Wigan, a part Aboriginal woman, who had been friends with Ingrid and David for many years. On 29 February 1984 David died in Hollywood, Western Australia. He was cremated and his ashes were placed at One Arm Point.

During their years of work, Ingrid and David learned a lot from their Aboriginal friends. Throughout Ingrid's book she gives accounts of the knowledge she learned from the Aborigines they were with. Faced with medical difficulties the Drysdales were innovative and ready to learn about bush medicines. They assisted in the welfare of the Aborigines as best as they knew how and under the influence of the welfare policies of that time.

The Drysdales were greatly respected by those who came in contact with them. Both Ingrid and David were hard workers who gave their full effort to whatever task they were doing. Ingrid is remembered for her kindness and her willingness to help others. Since childhood Ingrid recalled that what she desired was to devote herself to the welfare of the Aborigines. She may be criticised by some as being matriarchal; however, her approach is remembered as being full of kindness.

J Doolan, *The Founding of Maningrida*, 1989; I Drysdale, *No More Walk About: Stories from Arnhem Land and the West Coast of South Australia*, 1967; I Drysdale & M Durack, *The End of Dreaming*, 1974; L C Drysdale letter to J Davies, c1990, held by Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory; D Lockwood & P Roberts, *I, the Aboriginal*, 1962; *Northern Territory News*, 24 August 1978, 18 June 1979; 17 October 1982; Personal information from O Drysdale, I Phillips (*nee* Drysdale), K Love (*nee* Folland), V Rees and R Weber.

ESTHER KEEF, Vol 3.

DRYSDALE, FREDERICK WILLIAM (FRED) (1923–1969), public servant, businessman and politician, was born in Darwin on 7 February 1923, the son of [Alexander Drysdale](#), businessman, and his wife [Bessie Francis Phillis](#), *nee* Johnson. He was educated at Parap School and Darwin School. He subsequently worked in the Commonwealth Health Laboratory in Darwin, in his father's business and on the North Australian Railway during the Second World War.

After the war he operated a cartage business and was an original member of the Truck Owners' Association in Darwin. He later became a Director of Michelin, a carrying and retreading business. Interested in politics, he was a member of the Australian Labor Party and the Central Progress Association.

Drysdale was elected to represent Darwin in the Legislative Council in October 1951. He was re-elected in March 1955 and, for the Nightcliff electorate, in December 1962. He was an active and well-liked member of the Council who frequently participated in its debates.

He did not contest the 1965 elections as he was appointed to the Commonwealth public service. He worked with the Native Welfare Branch and was Officer in Charge at Warrabri. Missing politics, he resigned and was elected to the Legislative Council for Nightcliff in October 1968, a position he still held when he died of cancer in Mount Isa on 15 December 1969, en route to Sydney for treatment. He was cremated in Brisbane.

Drysdale could claim credit for many achievements. He helped start the Nightcliff Youth Centre and the Nightcliff Sports Oval. A member of various clubs and associations, he was Grand Master of the Masonic Lodge in Darwin. Drysdale Flats, a government housing complex in the Darwin suburb of Rapid Creek, were named after him.

He was married twice: first to Joyce Smith and second to Doreen Bullock, with whom he had a son and daughter. Of medium height, he was slim in build and had fair hair.

Family information.

JEAN HARRIS, Vol 1.

DRYSDALE, Ingrid Amelia: nee FOLLAND

DRYSDALE, WILLIAM (1854–1930), stonemason, was born in Alva, Scotland, on 1 January 1854, the son of Alexander Drysdale, a railway ganger, and Margaret, *nee* Morrison. He arrived in Darwin in 1893, accompanied by his two sons, **William Morrison** and **Alexander Stewart**. He had been commissioned in Victoria to carry out the masonry work on the new Commercial Bank building on the corner of Smith and Bennett Streets. He was also responsible for the building of, among others, the Church of England in Smith Street (constructed of stone quarried from the Nightcliff foreshore), the original foreshore stone foundations of the Darwin wharf (still in existence), the concrete steps from Cavenagh Street to the Darwin wharf (partly destroyed by the 1942 bombing), the AWA Wireless Station in Darwin (also demolished by the bombing), and the stonework on the railway bridges from Darwin to Larrimah.

He left Darwin for Melbourne in 1926, and died there on 29 May 1930, of carcinoma of the liver and general debility. He is buried at Boomdara Cemetery, Kew, Victoria.

He married Florence Bower and fathered five daughters and two sons. He was 170 centimetres tall, of stocky thickset build, with blue eyes and straight brown hair. He was a Protestant.

Members of the sixth generation of the Drysdale family still live in Darwin. Drysdale Street in Parap is named after him.

Family information.

MAY BEARD, Vol 1.

DRYSDALE, WILLIAM MORRISON (BILL) (1884–?), stonemason, blacksmith, carrier, teamster, lighthouse keeper and railway worker, was born on 21 July 1884 at Melbourne, Victoria, the son of **William Drysdale** and his wife Florence, *nee* Bower. He came to Darwin with his father and younger brother **Stewart**. He attended the school run by **Mrs Pett**. As a child, and later as a young man, he participated in several sports, the chief of which were athletics, cricket and bicycle racing, doing quite well in all three.

After leaving school he worked for his father as an apprentice stonemason, but he did not like this occupation, and went to work as a blacksmith. In the 1901 census he was recorded as a blacksmith at Pine Creek.

Later he was in partnership with his brother Stewart and Anders Johnson as carriers and teamsters. The partnership was dissolved in July 1914.

Bill, brother Stewart and their father were lighthouse keepers at Point Charles Lighthouse for a few years. Drysdale also worked on the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway and in 1910 was stationed at Burrundie.

On 6 September 1902 he married Blanche Bennison, the daughter of **Leslie Samuel Bennison** and his wife Rose, *nee* Lane.

In the early 1930s Drysdale left Darwin to seek medical attention in Queensland, sailing on *Changsha*, and died there on an unknown date. His two daughters, Florence and Dorothy, and several grandchildren survived him.

Family records.

JOY DAVIS, Vol 2.

DUGUID, CHARLES (1884–1986), medical practitioner and supporter of Aboriginal rights, was born on 6 April 1884, the first of seven children, to school teacher Charles Duguid and his wife, *nee* Kinnier, in the small fishing town of Saltcoats, Ayrshire, Scotland. The family's comfortable financial circumstances allowed Duguid to attend high school in Glasgow after completing his primary education in the village school. He commenced studies at the University of Glasgow as an Arts student in 1902 but inspired by his maternal grandfather, Robert Kinnier, he took up medicine from which he graduated in 1909 with a distinguished academic record.

After a year assisting in both rural and city practices and having done some teaching at the Glasgow University, Duguid signed on RMS *Omrah* as ship's surgeon for a return voyage to Australia. On the outward voyage he met and became engaged to Irene Isabella Young, who was returning to her home in Melbourne. Duguid resolved to return to settle in Australia, where entry into medical practice was freer and he sailed for Australia in March 1912 on the immigrant ship *Wakool*. For over a year he practiced in country Victoria before he and his wife established themselves in Melbourne some months before the outbreak of the First World War. By 1916 he had enlisted in the Australian Army and was serving in Egypt amidst the carnage of the battle of Gaza. After months of harrowing, non-stop work amongst the severely wounded, Duguid was directed to attend those who had so far survived their injuries on the journey home aboard a transport ship. He did not return to overseas duties but continued his military duty in Adelaide until the close of the war.

In 1919 Duguid travelled to Scotland with his wife and the first of his three children to apply for a Surgical Fellowship, which he was awarded after a year of intense study and practical work. Permanently settled on a property at Magill on the outskirts of Adelaide, he established a noted surgical practice with his principal operating centre at Adelaide's Memorial Hospital. Duguid continued to keep abreast of the latest surgical developments and undertook post-graduate work in Britain in 1927 and again in 1937. Even with a thriving medical practice Duguid found time for numerous charitable works and was prominent in the Returned Services League and Legacy.

It was in the early 1930s that Duguid became involved in the second great passion of his life, Aboriginal rights. He had long been familiar with poverty and injustice, having first witnessed both on the streets of Glasgow as a schoolboy and in the poverty stricken areas of his early medical practice in Scotland. A trip to Broken Hill in 1925 had acquainted him with the Australian outback and paved the way for his journeys into Australia's remote regions in later years. Raised in a vigorous Presbyterian tradition and imbued with a strong sense of social justice and a willingness to assist those less fortunate than himself, Duguid reacted strongly to the plight of Aboriginal Australians when it became known to him. He was supported in his fight for improved Aboriginal welfare by his second wife, Phyllis Lade, whom he had married in 1930 after three years of widowhood. Duguid became a personal friend to many Aboriginal people, an untiring fighter for Aboriginal rights and a constant critic of the Commonwealth government that was responsible for Aboriginal welfare in the Northern Territory. He fought injustice to Aboriginal people at both the institutional and individual level. One hundred and eighty two centimetres tall and with an abundance of red hair, he became a familiar figure to the Aboriginal people of Central Australia to whom he was known as 'Tjilpi'.

Duguid's first personal encounter with Aboriginal people was on an investigative trip north in 1934, which centred on Alice Springs although he had planned to travel further north. He was appalled by much of what he saw: a high rate of tuberculosis amongst the Aborigines at Hermannsburg, gross overcrowding at the 'half-caste' home in Alice Springs, hatred towards Aboriginal people from the local Presbyterian minister and poverty, hunger and ill-health amongst the Aboriginal people of the Centre. In the next few years Duguid became the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in South Australia, President of the Aborigines Protection League, a member of the South Australian Aborigines Protection Board, and later, President of the Aborigines Advancement League and life member of the Association for the Protection of Native Races, positions which he used to fight for improved conditions for Aboriginal people. He was outspoken in making the public aware of the conditions under which Aboriginal people lived and was a persistent critic of the Commonwealth's Government's policy and parsimony. In 1951 he visited the Top End of the Northern Territory and with [Paul Hasluck](#)'s support was given access to many Aboriginal institutions in the area. Duguid's criticism of the policy, which removed Aboriginal children of mixed heritage from their Aboriginal mothers, resulted in its review and modification. He had less influence in the question of a British rocket range at Woomera but his vocal protest helped raise public awareness of the grave disadvantages that the government's action would bring to the Aboriginal people of the central desert area. When the decision was made to proceed with the construction of the rocket range, Duguid resigned from the Aborigines Protection Board in protest. Even though a frequent critic of government policy, he was well respected and his opinions carried weight because of his moderate and considered approach, his great integrity and his obvious intelligence and goodwill. He was also very willing to distinguish between individual effort and government policy and became a great supporter of various hardworking and well-intentioned public servants in the Northern Territory.

Duguid's early experiences in the Northern Territory led him, in 1935, to explore for himself the Musgrave Ranges and neighbouring areas of Central Australia. On this journey Duguid became acquainted with Aboriginal people of the area, many of whom were untouched as yet by white settlement and he determined to provide them with support before they too suffered the adverse effects of European encroachment into their lands. With some difficulty he gained the support of the Presbyterian Church for the establishment, in 1937, of a mission at Ernabella, which was to provide Aboriginal people with medical attention and gradually assist them to move into the white Australian culture and economy. Although essentially an assimilationist, Duguid advocated gradual change well supported by education, training and improved living conditions. He had long admired [Albrecht](#)'s work at Hermannsburg, particularly the persistent efforts by the Lutherans to teach in the vernacular. Duguid, however, advocated a policy of retaining all Pitjantjatjara social, economic and religious organisation and only slowly modifying that which inhibited their assimilation. The extent to which the Ernabella Mission recognised and valued Aboriginal culture and endeavoured to incorporate it into mission life was unusual at the time and set a model for years. Medical work was a main focus at Ernabella and Duguid frequently visited the mission to provide his services as doctor, and he assisted during several epidemics. He provided on-going advice on nutrition and for many years provided a home for Pitjantjatjara people visiting Adelaide.

Duguid's support of Aboriginal people was well recognised and even where the public attention he brought to Aboriginal welfare was an embarrassment to governments, he was nevertheless respected for his generosity, integrity and steadfastness. He is remembered as a great supporter of Aboriginal people and his name continues to be held in high regard in Central Australia.

Following a car accident in 1955, Duguid retired from general surgery but maintained a very active role in the Aborigines Advancement League. As a member of the League he continued to travel extensively for the next 15 years, visiting many reserves and missions in South Australia and the Northern Territory, and making his findings public. He continued to work for an improvement in Aboriginal economic and social conditions through his efforts in public speaking, practical support of Ernabella and political lobbying until his retirement from public life in the early 1970s when he was almost 90 years old. In 1971 he was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE). He died in Adelaide on 4 December 1986 at the age of 102 and was buried at Ernabella Mission Station.

C Duguid, *The Aborigines of Darwin and the Tropic North*, 1951; *MacEwen of Glasgow*, 1957; *No Dying Race*, 1963; *Doctor and the Aborigines*, 1972.

SUZANNE PARRY, Vol 3.

DUMONT d'URVILLE, JULES SEBASTIEN CESAR (1790–1842), French naval officer, hydrographer and explorer, was born at Condre-sur-Noireau, Normandy, on 23 May 1790. He joined the navy at the age of 16 and showed early interest in exploration, science and ethnology. In 1820, while serving in the Mediterranean, he reported the discovery of an ancient Greek statue, which he recommended should be acquired for the Louvre. It later became famous as the Aphrodite of Melos (Venus de Milo). He helped in the formation of the Paris Geographical Society and began plans for a voyage of scientific discovery to the Pacific.

Between 1822 and 1825 he was Lieutenant on *Coquille* during her visit to Australia and the Pacific. Upon his return to France *Coquille* was renamed *Astrolabe* and Dumont d'Urville assumed command for a new expedition to the Pacific. He left France in 1826 and visited King George's Sound, Westernport and Jervis Bay before sailing to New Zealand and many Pacific islands. By November 1827 the expedition was exploring the northwest coast of Australia. In Hobart he heard of an expedition to New Caledonia, which had found evidence of a shipwreck, believed to be that of La Perouse's *Astrolabe*, lost in 1788. He sailed to Vanikoro Island, confirmed that the wreckage was that of his ship's namesake, built a mausoleum, and returned to France with relics in March 1829.

On 7 September 1837 Dumont d'Urville again sailed *Astrolabe* to the Pacific, this time with the corvette *Zelee* in attendance. After sighting pack ice, the expedition surveyed the South Orkneys and South Shetlands. In 1828 Dumont d'Urville was off Tahiti and supported Abel de Petit-Thouars's force, which compelled Queen Pomare to submit to French demands.

In March 1839 Dumont d'Urville visited Raffles Bay and looked for the remains of Fort Wellington, abandoned in 1829. All that remained was a wall, part of the powder magazine, part of a forge and a brackish well. Aborigines had opened the graves of those who died at Fort Wellington in search of iron nails. The French ships were visited by Lieutenant Stewart, from Victoria settlement at nearby Port Essington, who invited them to the new settlement. At Victoria Dumont d'Urville was shown the extent of the settlement. He was impressed especially by the energy and efficiency of **Captain Bremer**. The houses, he thought, were adequate and gardens had been planted, the fort was temporary but sufficient for the time and horticultural experiments were progressing well. Lack of water, partly overcome by the sinking of five wells, and the ravages of insects were assessed by Dumont d'Urville as serious impediments to the long-term success of the venture. His description of the settlement and his assessment of its chance of success, unbiased by emotional attachment or sanguine hope, provide a useful benchmark for objective study of early English attempts to settle the Northern Territory.

Upon leaving northern Australia the expedition visited Hobart before entering Antarctic waters. Aware of the explorations of James Clark Ross and Charles Wilkes, Dumont d'Urville tried again to penetrate the ice. He discovered land, part of Antarctica, which he named Terre Adelie, after his wife, on 20 January 1840. Both ships returned to France in November 1840.

In 1841 Dumont d'Urville was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral and became president of the council of the Paris Geographical Society. He was killed, with his wife and son, in a railway accident near Paris on 8 May 1842. The publication of the journal of his second voyage, *Voyage au Pôe Sud et dans l'Océanie... pendant... 1837–1838–1839–1840 (1841–1855)* was completed posthumously by M Dumoulin, an expedition member. The journal of his first voyage had appeared between 1829 and 1835. D'Urville Island in Cook Strait is named for him.

C C Macknight (ed), *The Farthest Coast*, 1969; Peter Kemp (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea*, 1976; *Australian Encyclopedia*, vol 3.

MURRAY MAYNARD, Vol 1.

DUNK, (Sir) WILLIAM ERNEST (1897–1984), public servant, was born in South Australia on 11 December 1897, the son of Albert Dunk and his wife. He was educated at Kapunda High School and studied accounting, becoming an Associate of the Australian Society of Accountants. In 1922 he married Elma Kathleen Angas-Evans.

Between 1914 and 1928 he served in the Auditor General's office of the South Australian government. He was auditor for the Commonwealth Bank, London between 1934 to 1938, Director of Reciprocal Lend-Lease in the Department of Treasury, 1939–1945, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs 1945–1947, Chairman, Commonwealth Public Service Board 1947–1960 and Commissioner of British Phosphates 1962–1970.

In his role as Chairman of the Commonwealth Public Service Board he developed an abiding interest in the Northern Territory. In his book *They Also Serve* he said, 'I tried spasmodically to get more positive action in the development of the Northern Territory but it was tough going. On the political front it was a long way away and the voting population microscopic. On the practical side the competition from 'the south' for competent staff, materials and equipment was strong. I recall writing to Mr Menzies before the 1959 election urging him to put the establishment of a Northern Territory Development Commission into his policy speech. I received a polite acknowledgment but nothing was done and it was not until the sixties that the Territory began to emerge from under the blanket of political and bureaucratic laissez faire which had enveloped it from the earliest colonial days'. He continued, 'I enjoyed several visits to the Territory and usually managed to get a couple of days with the Administrator or one of his stock inspectors out on the stock routes which branch from the main road between Darwin and Alice Springs. The going was rugged but I found the country and the people intensely interesting'.

Dunk had no direct responsibility for operational matters in the Territory as Chairman of the Public Service Board, nevertheless, he achieved a great deal through influences he was able to exert. As an itinerant Public Service Inspector I wrote reports after each of my visits. Dunk went through them with me, issuing advice and directions on all sorts of things. This contrasted with his successor, Sir Frederick Wheeler, who returned my first report to him endorsed 'seen but not read'.

As a result of Dunk's intervention, following his own visits or my reports, considerable improvements were made to public service conditions. For example he wrote to **Paul Hasluck**, Minister for Territories, asking him to have a number of houses built to facilitate recruitment of competent staff; consequently a virtually new suburb of houses at Fannie Bay was constructed. He arranged for Dr McPherson, an expert on tropical living conditions, to be engaged as a consultant. The outcome was fly wiring of houses and offices and air-conditioning in new office construction. To improve performance at lower and middle levels in the Public Service he set up a Training Unit and had a range of procedure manuals prepared. He also established a small training school for typists and secretaries. Joan Mullins, one of the original trainees, is now a senior officer with the Department of Education, Employment and Training.

For public service he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1954 and was made Knight Bachelor (Kt) in 1957. He was a member of the Melbourne Club. He died in Melbourne on 12 January 1984.

WE Dunk, *They Also Serve*, 1974; personal information; *Who's Who in Australia* 1983, 1983.

TIMOTHY G JONES, Vol 3.

DUNLOP, (LILIAN) DORIS: see **GILES, (LILIAN) DORIS**

DURACK, MICHAEL PATRICK (M P) (1865–1950), pastoralist and politician, was born at Goulburn, New South Wales, on 22 July 1865, the son of Patrick Durack, a pastoralist, and his wife Mary, *nee* Costello. Part of his childhood was spent at Thylungra Station in western Queensland, where he learned how to ride horses and handle stock. He was educated by a tutor and at the Christian Brothers' College in Goulburn. In 1886 he travelled with a brother to the Kimberley region of Western Australia, where they took over management of an enormous holding, Argyle Station, based on the Ord River. It was to be the focus of Durack's activities for many years thereafter and developed in close association with the adjoining Victoria River District in the Northern Territory.

In the early 1890s, together with **Tom Kilfoyle** of Rosewood Station, he opened up a market for Argyle beef at the Pine Creek goldfields. In 1897 he became member of a partnership with the two Irishmen Francis Connor and Dennis Doherty, whose Territory stations, Newry and Auvergne, adjoined Argyle's eastern boundary. Connor, Doherty and Durack, as the partnership was known, employed Durack as Manager of its properties. He organised in that capacity the annual movement of thousands of head of cattle to southern markets in chartered ships. Despite the imposition of a quarantine barrier on the Western Australia and Northern Territory border in 1897, he continued to arrange the purchase of Territory stock. Between 1898 and the First World War he travelled quite extensively in Australia and overseas in pursuit of his company's interests. On 22 September 1909 in Adelaide he married with Catholic rites Bessie, daughter of William Johnstone, a police magistrate in Port Adelaide. They had four sons and two daughters. Between 1917 and 1924 he was a non-Labor member of the Western Australian Legislative Assembly.

The years following the First World War saw a decline in prospects for the northern pastoral industry. In the 1930s Connor, Doherty and Durack fell into serious debt. The Second World War, however, caused a big rise in beef prices and by 1948 the company's debts were gone. In August 1950, 'weary of the burden of the years', and having reserved a Northern Territory block, Kildurk, for his son, **Reginald** (Reg), he sold the remainder of his company's properties to Peel River Estates of New South Wales. He died in Perth, Western Australia, on 3 September 1950 and was buried with Catholic rites. His wife and children survived him. His estate was sworn for probate at 61 195 Pounds.

'An intellectual whose strong sense of family loyalty had bound him to a lifetime as a pastoral entrepreneur', the historian Geoffrey Bolton wrote, 'Durack was a distinguished figure with a trim vandyke beard and the stamina to take part in prospecting expeditions on horseback, even in his 82nd year'. He was also an energetic compiler and hoarder of the written word, who left trunks full of diaries, letters, cables and accounts which are today a most valuable historical resource. These formed the basis for his daughter Mary's book *Sons in the Saddle*, published in 1983, and were also used in her widely acclaimed *Kings in Grass Castles*, which appeared in 1958.

G C Bolton, 'Durack, Michael Patrick', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 8, 1981; M Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1958, 'Michael Patrick Durack', in L Hunt (ed), *Westralian Portraits*, 1979; *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

DURACK, REGINALD WYNHAM (REG) (1911–), stockman, general station hand, pastoralist and scholar of Greek literature, was born in 1911 at Semaphore, South Australia, son of **Michael 'MP' Durack** and Bess, *nee* Johnstone, who were married in Adelaide in August 1909. M P Durack was one of the famous Duracks who pioneered much of the East Kimberley region in the 1880s. He was later a member of the Western Australian Parliament. Bess was the daughter of William Johnstone, a South Australian magistrate.

Reg spent his first years on Ivanhoe and Argyle stations in the East Kimberleys before moving to Perth where he was educated at Claremont State School, and at the Christian Brothers College in Perth. He was Dux of the College in 1928. During his school years his holidays were usually spent on a family stud sheep property, Behn Ord Estate, near Wagin in Western Australia.

At the completion of his formal education at the age of 17, Reg was unsure what vocation he wanted to follow, so he decided to return to the north to experience life in the pastoral industry. He began work in the stock camp at Argyle under the manager, Patsy Durack, one of his father's cousins. Reg credited Patsy with grounding him in many aspects of cattle station work and he always held Patsy's memory in very high regard.

While he was at Argyle Reg heard occasional vague and somewhat menacing stories about a Durack property called Bullita, an area of wild and rough ranges on the headwaters of the East Baines River. Bullita and the sandstone country south and west was still home to some of the last ‘bush’ blacks in the region, and it was only 10 years earlier that a white man had been speared and killed on the station.

In 1929 Bullita was being de-stocked prior to resumption by the government. Towards the end of the year Reg was sent from Argyle to take over the station and oversee the final muster. Accompanied by one Aboriginal stockman and one white jacker, Reg took a plant of Argyle horses and pack mules 200 kilometres across to Bullita and began work. Apart from a quick round trip from Bullita to return the Argyle plant and enjoy Christmas with Patsy Durack and his family, Reg spent the next six months with his men mustering the remaining cattle on Bullita. At the end of six months they delivered 500 stragglers to Newry station and then Reg returned to the Argyle stock camp. When the station was finally resumed, no one was willing to take it on, so it was leased back to Connor, Doherty and Durack.

For the next six years Reg was based in an Argyle stock camp, but he was constantly being called on by his father to do other work, including stints as caretaker-manager of Argyle and Ivanhoe. Reg found this continual disruption to his working routine stressful. In addition, he felt the need to travel to broaden his horizons and work out his philosophy of life. In 1937 Reg hitched a ride to Victoria River Downs (VRD) with the idea of joining a droving plant taking cattle to Queensland. As it turned out he left VRD by plane and made his way to Sydney.

For a period he attended lectures at the University of Sydney, not as a formal student, but, as he describes it, as an ‘academic hobo’. It was in Sydney that Reg discovered the ideas of Marx, which seemed to him to be logical and an ideal system. One of the friends he made was an elderly European radical named Ben Palley, who owned the ‘Advance Bookshop’ in Campbell Street. Reg and Ben held many opinions in common, including Marxist ideals. The infamous Stalinist trials were being held in Russia at the time and both men were appalled at the fate of prominent Russian revolutionaries and intellectuals.

Eventually Reg’s money began to run low and he decided to work his way back to the East Kimberleys. He knew that he would be passing through ‘Durack country’ in Queensland, but the burden of carrying the Durack name—being a member of a widely known and wealthy ‘celebrity family’—weighed heavily on young Reg. To avoid being pre-judged because of his name he decided to change his identity. He arranged to have his mail sent to the Advance Bookshop where Ben Palley would re-address it to ‘Jimmy Gale’, the new name Reg adopted, and forward it on to wherever he happened to be working. Then he took a train to Cairns and from there began hitching rides across western Queensland.

As his money ran out, Reg often found himself camping with ‘hobos’ and sharing their troubles. By the time he reached Cloncurry he was broke, but he was able to borrow enough money from a friend to buy a bike and a good supply of stores, and continue his westward journey. Riding across the treeless plains of western Queensland and the Barkly tableland had unexpected problems. The water from many of the bores along the route caused sudden attacks of diarrhoea. In the absence of trees or fence posts, Reg had to take care of this problem while at the same time holding his bike upright to prevent the waterbag from spilling! From Cloncurry he pedalled over 700 kilometres to Anthony’s Lagoon, where he got a job fencing. He was still working there when he heard that a new manager was required for Auvergne station.

The previous manager of Auvergne, Harry Shadforth, had died in 1937 from blood poisoning after being gored in the leg by a micky bull. The pastoral company, Connor, Doherty and Durack, owned Auvergne so Reg applied for the job, but only on condition that he was treated in the same way that the company treated managers on its other stations. The company agreed and Reg took over management of Auvergne early in 1939. He was to manage the station for the next 11 years.

Soon after he took control of Auvergne, Reg discovered a sickle in the Auvergne dump. Then he found an engineer’s hammer in the station workshop and on a whim, he wired the two together to form the communist hammer and sickle. Reg fixed it above the inside of the door to the station store and then promptly forgot about it. A few years later it caused some consternation when soldiers noticed it camped at Auvergne during the Second World War. Fortunately the local policeman had known Reg for years and was able to reassure the soldiers that he was ‘harmless’, and thus defuse the situation. At the time, the story did the rounds of the cattle stations and caused great mirth, but the first Reg knew of it was when he read the story in a book published more than 50 years later.

During wet season holidays in Perth, Reg met Enid Tulloch, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister who lived with his family in a house next door to the Durack family in Perth. Romance blossomed and in 1944 Reg and Enid were married. Their honeymoon was a 28-day trip from Perth to Auvergne in a new truck Reg had bought for the station—a suitable slow introduction for a city girl to the joys and rigours of an outback wet season.

In 1950 Connor, Doherty and Durack sold most of their pastoral holdings in the Northern Territory and Western Australia, including Auvergne station. Reg held shares in the company, but he was only prepared to surrender them in exchange for a satisfactory area of land to develop as a station. A deal was struck that a section of Auvergne known as the Magdharba Block would be excluded from the sale and title transferred to Reg. The name Magdharba came from a First World War battle in Egypt where Reg’s uncle Neil had fought. Later Neil had a ‘battle’ with some wild bulls on the block and declared that it was ‘worse than Magdharba’. Reg later changed the name of the block to Kildurk, a name derived from parts of the names of M P Durack and **Tom Kilfoyle**, and which these men had applied to the area in the very early days.

In 1950 Kildurk was almost completely undeveloped wild bush country. Reg’s first ‘homestead’ was a stock camp at Stewart’s Yard Billabong, east of the West Baines River on the northeast side of the station. On a stony ridge above the billabong and in the best bush tradition, Reg built a homestead, outbuildings and fences of local stone bound with ant bed mortar. Iron for roofing came from the old Victoria River Depot Store buildings that Reg

had purchased in 1949. Unfortunately, the water supply at Stewart's Yard proved unreliable and after only three years there a new homestead site was chosen at a more central location called Pigeon Point. This is the location of the present day homestead and Aboriginal community at Kildurk (now Amanbidji). Reg and Enid remained on Kildurk for 22 years, gradually building yards, fences, and other improvements, and also raising a family of five children—three boys and two girls.

When Reg and Enid first went to Stewart's Yard they had no Aboriginal employees. However, shortly after they had left Auvergne there was a spearing incident in the station 'black's camp'. The offender was named Bingle and the authorities were considering sending him to Fannie Bay Gaol, but when they discovered Bingle had a wife and family and had worked for Reg since 1939, they decided it would better to send him to Kildurk where Reg could be responsible for him and his family. Other families were to follow and the Kildurk 'blacks' camp' came into being.

After 20 years at Kildurk, Reg placed the property on the market. His reasons for the sale were that his children were all academically inclined and not interested in taking over the station. Also Reg believed that, after spending 28 years with him in the outback, Enid was deserving of an easier life. A consortium of Americans began negotiations to buy the property, but before the deal was finalised the new federal Labor government placed a freeze on foreign investment in Australia. In 1973 the government itself bought Kildurk, on behalf of the Ngarrinman Aboriginal people, and it became one of the first cattle stations in Australia to be returned to Aboriginal ownership; it has since been renamed Amanbidji.

After the sale Reg and Enid retired to Perth. Retirement enabled Reg to follow his lifelong interest in Greek literature and history, and he began to attend courses in modern Greek language. This eventually led to his collaboration with Greek–Australian poet, Vasso Kalamaras, in the translation and publication of a volume of her poems and several of her prose works.

Although based in Perth, Reg and Enid visited the north often. At the Timber Creek Races in 1981 Reg heard that Bullita station was to be auctioned the following day. He attended the auction and was the successful bidder. After an absence of almost 50 years Reg returned to Bullita, this time accompanied by Enid. They stayed on Bullita until 1984 when the station was resumed by the Northern Territory Government to become the nucleus of the new Gregory National Park.

Distressed at losing Bullita, Reg bought Spirit Hills station. He and Enid worked the property from November 1987 to May 1989 and although he regarded it as a good station well improved, Reg's heart was never in it. His children were still not interested in cattle station life, so in 1989 Reg decided to sell out. After then he divided his time between Perth and the East Kimberleys—winters in the north and summers in the south. They had a house in Kununurra and a small bush block not far out of town.

In the context of north Australian cattle station life, Reg was somewhat of an anomaly—a well educated, philosophical and, indeed, intellectual man. There are few descriptions of him from his years as stockman and station manager. One written at Auvergne station in July 1939 by Myra Hilgendorf, the wife of a man who was journeying across the north surveying airstrips, illuminates Reg's intellectual leanings and how these influenced the way he ran his stations. Myra described Reg as 'a shy unassuming man, but dignified, considerate and well-read, seemingly in contrast to the rather ramshackle surroundings... At breakfast, a casual remark of mine about blacks in coloured clothing, led to a short but illuminating discussion on Mr Durack's ideas concerning the blacks, namely that they shouldn't be made clowns of... He takes an interest in training the house lubras in neatness and cleanliness, and provides mirrors and combs... I had about half an hour talking with Reg, when he revealed his intellectual interest and Marxist leanings... He lent me several books,... Tolstoy and Dostoevsky'.

He was later remembered with fondness by Aborigines who once worked for him. 'Old Reg Durack, he was a good old boss'. Although in old age he spent much of his time in Perth, Reg's heart was always in the north.

M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1985, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1986; M Hilgendorf, *Northern Territory Days*, 1995; *Hoofs and Horns*, various issues; interviews with R Durack, G Packsaddle, A Packsaddle and J Ah Won; V Kalamaras & R Durack, *Twenty Two Poems*, 1977; C Schultz & D Lewis, *Beyond the Big Run*, 1994; H Walker (ed), *North of the 26th*, vol 2, 1994.

DARRELL LEWIS, Vol 3.

DWYER, ERIC FRANCIS (FRANK) (1920–1981), public servant and soldier, was born on the family dairy farm at Purrumbete near Camperdown, Victoria, on 20 July 1920. He was the second eldest son of eight children born to John Eric Dwyer and his wife Lillian Margaret, *nee* Johnston.

After completing his schooling at Saint Mary's in Echuca, Victoria, Dwyer joined the Postmaster General's Department (PMG) as a telegraph messenger, serving at Deniliquin, New South Wales, and Echuca, prior to transferring to Melbourne early in 1938. At the outbreak of the Second World War, he enlisted in the Army and later served overseas. Following the war he rose to a senior position with the PMG and completed a Bachelor of Commerce degree at the University of Melbourne.

He was appointed to the position of Northern Territory Assistant Administrator in late 1964, a post he held until 1972. In 1973 he became First Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Northern Territory and in 1974 became Deputy Secretary of that Department.

In his capacity as Assistant Administrator, Dwyer was appointed an Official member of the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1964 and retained that position until 1969. As a senior government administrator, his time in the Council was noted for his frequent clashes with elected members. These were the days when elected Council members were seeking much greater powers so it was hardly surprising that controversy prevailed.

Being responsible for Territory finances, Dwyer was noted as a hard negotiator both with the Commonwealth Treasury and those bidding for funds from the Territory. He was known always to be sympathetic to the Territory's aims towards self-government and played a key role in laying the foundation for Territory development.

After the devastation of Darwin by Cyclone Tracy he played a leading part in the rebuilding of the city through the Darwin Reconstruction Commission. His public work continued until self-government in 1978, when he retired.

His involvement in public affairs was also well known. He was Chairman of the Northern Territory Winston Churchill Memorial Trust and President of the Darwin Branch of Legacy. He also had interests in bowls and golf.

He and his wife Nan retired to Toogoom on the Queensland coast near Maryborough, where he died after a long illness on 21 March 1981. He had three sons and a daughter.

F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1977; *Northern Territory News*, 23 March 1981; personal information from N Dwyer and J Fisher.

GREG COLEMAN, Vol 2.

DYER, ALFRED JOHN (1884–1968), Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary to the Aborigines in Arnhem Land, was born in Melbourne, Victoria, on 17 February 1884. The son of fruiterer and nurseryman Edward Dyer (his mother was Hester Merritt), he became interested in gardening from a very early age, and was keenly aware of the beauties of nature, which he tried to express in painting. After an unspectacular time at school he began working as a salesman at Chandlers Hardware Store, Fitzroy.

Dyer was an unusual person. He was enthusiastic, but erratic; dynamic yet unpredictable; a visionary, yet incoherent in expression. He offered to be a missionary with the CMS, but the Society had doubts about his stability. So as a missionary candidate he had to prove himself working as a stipendiary lay reader in the dioceses of Gippsland and Wangaratta. Finally he was accepted, in March 1915, as a lay missionary for the Roper River Mission in the Northern Territory. He left Sydney for the north on 17 May 1915 together with the Reverend and Mrs **H E Warren**.

On arrival at the mission he commenced his task with enthusiasm. He was intensely loyal to Warren, the superintendent. In 1916 he joined Warren in several journeys of exploration on the east Arnhem Land coast and Groote Eylandt with a view to establishing a chain of missions in the area. In the same year he assisted a police party from the Roper Bar police station by travelling with them as they sought to apprehend the killers of some Borroloola Aborigines.

Dyer married **Mary Catherine Crome** at the Roper River Mission on 24 May 1917. Mary Crome was a nurse who had been working with great acceptance at the mission since August 1913. For the next seventeen years she worked alongside her husband in caring for the Aborigines. She was 10 years older than her husband, and they had no children.

During the next few years the CMS planned to start a mission at Rose River (now Numbulwar) on the east Arnhem Land coast with Dyer as the missionary-in-charge, but nothing came of the proposals. In June 1921 Dyer was a member of Warren's party that founded the CMS mission at Emerald River (Yedigba) on Groote Eylandt. After a short break he and his wife spent the next two years erecting the buildings for the mission, which from 1924 housed the half-caste children brought over from the Roper River Mission.

In 1925 Dyer and his wife founded the CMS Oenpelli Mission in western Arnhem Land. Oenpelli had been the home of **Paddy Cahill**, and later a Commonwealth-sponsored experimental veterinary project. With characteristic enthusiasm and dedication they established the typical pattern of a mission station with school, dispensary, garden, store, in addition to the cattle work. Before long several hundred Gunwinggu-speaking Aborigines began making their home there, where they worked in exchange for rations.

The Reverend A J Dyer was made deacon on 15 May 1927 at Christ Church, Darwin, and ordained to the priesthood in Moore College Chapel, Sydney, on 1 May 1928. During this time he continued his work developing the Oenpelli Mission that was favourably reviewed by J W Bleakley in his report on the Arnhem Land missions.

In 1933 he joined the Reverend H E Warren and D H Fowler as a member of the CMS Peace Expedition which persuaded the killers of five Japanese at Caledon Bay in 1932, and the killers of Constable A S McColl, F Traynor and W Fagan on Woodah Island, to go to Darwin and give themselves up to the authorities to prevent a police punitive expedition. Dyer, together with **Fred Gray**, took the killers to Darwin in *Oituli*, a journey described by him in a booklet called *Unarmed Combat*. At the trials the excitable and overwrought Dyer made several strange outbursts against Aborigines that were quite out of character with his thought and philosophy. Nevertheless he stood by the Aboriginal killers when they were convicted, and by **Tuckiar** when he was given the death penalty for the killing of Constable McColl. When Tuckiar's conviction was quashed and he was freed, he was scheduled to meet Dyer who was to take him back to Arnhem Land. Tuckiar disappeared, however, and was never again seen.

Soon after Dyer's return to Oenpelli, he and his wife were recalled south. He was utterly worn out and she was suffering from cancer. While in Sydney they resigned from the Society, and Dyer was given the position of Rector of Guildford. Mary Dyer died there on 26 February 1940. She was a strict yet loving person who had given herself without reserve to promoting the welfare of Aboriginal people, a deep interest that persisted throughout the long months of her last painful illness. After her death, Dyer continued his ministry there, then at West Wollongong and Austinmer. He retired in 1949 when he remarried.

Dyer died at Austinmer on 6 April 1968 as the result of a motor accident. He had served the Aborigines well during the first part of his ministry and then the southern church during the second. He was an unusual person. As a lifelong friend, the Reverend Ralph Ogden said at his funeral, 'It is a well-nigh impossible task to bring out in

print Alf's strange personality—so dynamic, yet in many ways so erratic, contradictory and elusive. I have always thought of him as a great man—a great leader, a great saint and a great writer—it was somehow all there, though always so strangely shackled and frustrated by his chronic incoherence of expression.'

K Cole, *Oenpelli Pioneer*, 1972; CMS Minutes and Reports, AA records, Canberra and Sydney, especially on the Caledon Bay and Woodah Island killings and the subsequent trials.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

DYER, MARY CATHERINE: see **CROME, MARY CATHERINE**

E

EARL, GEORGE SAMUEL WINDSOR (1813–1865), promoter of the settlement of northern Australia, was born on 10 February 1813 at Hampstead, London, the second son of Percy Earl, an East India Company captain of naval background, and Elisabeth Sharpe, who had inherited a house on the edge of the Heath. Percy died in June 1827 and in November of that year George, then aged fourteen, sailed to India as a Midshipman on the East Indiaman *Lady Holland*. He remained in the company's service until March 1829 and in August of that year indentured himself for seven years in return for a passage to the new Swan River settlement in Western Australia. He arrived at Fremantle on *Egyptian* on 13 February 1830 with capital inherited from his father and some sheep, but the land allocated to him by Governor Stirling at South Perth was unsuitable and by the end of the year he had moved south to the new settlement of Augusta, about 230 kilometres south, where he subsequently gained employment as clerk to the Resident, Captain William Molloy. His brother, Percy William, also arrived in Fremantle some time in 1830 but left for the eastern colonies on 8 January 1831. George was given two allotments of land at Augusta but did not develop them and he seems to have given up the idea of farming. In February 1832, when the settlement was suffering from a serious lack of provisions, he undertook the 320-kilometre voyage to Fremantle in an open boat to obtain assistance from the government.

He does not seem to have returned to Augusta, and on 5 August 1832 he sailed in the brig *Monkey* for Batavia, serving under Captain Walter Pace and with a Javanese and Chinese crew. It was on this voyage that he began to make a serious study of the Malay language, subsequently becoming proficient in a number of dialects including Bajau. From September 1832 he served successively as chief officer of *Mercury* of Batavia, *Reliance* of Singapore and *Catherina Cornelia* of Batavia, and in March 1834 took command of the brig *Stamford* of Singapore on a trading voyage to west Borneo. Landing at Singkawang in spite of the Dutch embargo on trade, he received an excellent price for his cargo of opium, iron and tea and visited the Chinese gold-mining settlements in the Montrado area. On his return he was asked to make another voyage, this time to northern Australia to collect trepang and turtle shell, but declined on the grounds that it would be of little use without the establishment there of a permanent British settlement.

In 1835 he returned to England where he soon got wind of a scheme for such a settlement. Earl became an energetic publicist for the proposal, emphasising the potential for trade with the eastern part of what was then called the Indian Archipelago and the resources of northern Australia itself, which he described glowingly in his pamphlet *Capabilities of the North Coast of New Holland* (1836). His commercial arguments were seized upon by John Barrow of the Admiralty to justify the strategic purpose of establishing a garrison at Port Essington on the Cobourg Peninsula, and in 1837, Earl was appointed linguist and draughtsman with the North Australia Expedition under Captain **Sir Gordon Bremer** who had urged his appointment on Barrow's advice. His skills as a navigator and hydrographer had recommended him and the publication of *Sailing Directions for the Arafura Sea* and a major work, *The Eastern Seas*, in 1837 meant that he was now an established authority on that part of the world. *The Eastern Seas* provided the main inspiration for James (later Rajah) Brooke's *Proposed Exploring Expedition to the Asiatic Archipelago* (1838), which foreshadowed his acquisition of Sarawak in Borneo. On the voyage out to Australia, Earl busied himself in translating the Dutch captain D H Kolff's account of the Moluccas and the southern coast of New Guinea. This came to his notice because of the information it contained about the fate of *Lady Nelson* and *Stedcombe*, which had been despatched from the Melville Island settlement for supplies and failed to return.

The expedition arrived at Port Essington on 27 October 1838 after calling at Adelaide and Sydney. Earl in fact had opposed the choice of the site in a memorandum to the Colonial Office, pointing out that while it was a gathering place for Macassan trepangers after the outward voyage, its shores were shallow and European vessels would not always find it easy to enter or leave the bay. He had recommended Barker's Bay in Bowen's Strait and marshalled good arguments in its support but the Admiralty preferred the advice of **Captain P P King** and **Major J Campbell** who had been commandant at Melville Island.

During the first two years Earl visited the Aru and Serawatti islands, Portuguese Timor and Singapore to secure fresh provisions for the settlement and was responsible for the introduction of bananas and buffalo. In Singapore he had close links with the d'Almeida family of Portuguese merchants and it was probably through his influence that they purchased land at Port Essington with a view to using it as a base for their trading operations in the eastern islands. Earl was also anxious to encourage Macassans and Chinese to settle at Port Essington and while opposing the use of convicts in the north he advocated the importation of labour from the neighbouring islands. He also made efforts to befriend the Aborigines of the area in order to learn of its resources but was unable to learn much of their language because of their insistent use of Macassan pidgin.

According to Earl, his main responsibility was to collect information 'which might prove useful to the colonists in the event of the settlement being thrown open to private enterprise by the sale of Crown Lands' but the British and New South Wales governments were in no hurry to promote the commercial development of Port Essington (and this may well) to explain his absence from the settlement from August 1843 until April 1844, when he visited Sydney and other parts of Australia. During 1843 he supplied the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners with information about Port Essington, some of which was published in its report of that year, and he must have known that it would be abandoned before too long. However, he was also suffering from malaria, which had afflicted the settlement and continued to plague him for the rest of his life. In 1844 he was appointed police

magistrate and Commissioner of Crown Lands at Port Essington but left there in November due to recurring bouts of fever and arrived in London on sick leave in April 1845.

During the next 12 months he completed and published *Enterprise in Tropical Australia* (1846) and read a paper to the Royal Geographical Society 'On the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Coast of Australia'. On 4 May 1846 he married sixteen years old Clara Siborne, daughter of Captain Siborne of the Royal Military Asylum, and toward the end of that year they sailed for Sydney to settle the affairs of his brother and his wife who had been drowned in a shipwreck en route to Port Essington in April. Their first and possibly only child was born in Sydney and in December 1847 they sailed to Hong Kong and thence to Singapore, arriving on 14 February 1848. There Earl collected information about plants of economic importance, particularly cotton, sugar cane and pearl sago, which he thought might be suitable for cultivation in northern Australia, and continued to investigate the possibilities of trade with the eastern islands. Through the columns of J R Logan's *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* he promoted cotton cultivation and steam communication between Singapore and Sydney via Port Essington and Torres Strait as well as collating the ethnographic information on Papuans and other groups, which he had been collecting over the years.

During this time he continued to be paid by the British government for his positions at Port Essington but the official decision in June 1849 to terminate the settlement meant that he was obliged to find other employment. In September of that year he joined Logan's firm to work as a law agent and advocate in the courts of the Straits Settlements and continued to write for Logan's *Journal*. In September 1852 he went to England with his family, once more in poor health, and wrote his major ethnographic work, *The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago: Papuans* (1853). Two years later he sailed for Sydney with his wife, probably with the intention of settling there, and was employed as agent for a quartz-crushing machine used in gold mining. After five months, however, they returned to Singapore where he set up in his own right as law agent and advocate. In June 1857 he was appointed magistrate and in late 1858 became third Assistant Resident Councillor for the colony. In February 1859 he took the place of Thomas Braddell as senior Assistant Resident Councillor in Penang for a year before moving to a similar position in Province Wellesley on the mainland.

In early 1864 he sailed for Australia with his wife and daughter to improve his health and during a visit to Adelaide in February was largely responsible for the South Australian government's decision to make Adam Bay in Van Diemen's Gulf the site of first settlement for its newly acquired Northern Territory. In the previous year Earl had published his *Handbook for Colonists in Tropical Australia* and this, together with a persuasive memorandum to the government and his personal presence, turned the government's attention away from the Victoria River that had hitherto been the focus of interest. It is not clear whether Earl purchased Northern Territory land orders but it would seem likely that he did.

Returning to Penang, he served as acting police magistrate from 1 January 1865 until June, when he resumed his official position in Province Wellesley. On 5 August he was granted permission to visit Europe for medical reasons and died at sea on or about 9 August, two days out of Penang, leaving an estate worth only 5 000 Straits Dollars. It is not clear what happened to Clara Earl but their only surviving child, Elisabeth, had married a wealthy Anglo-Irish merchant, William Alt, in Adelaide in 1804 and lived in Nagasaki, Japan, for seven years before retiring to Woburn Park in Surrey, England.

In addition to his skills as a navigator and hydrographer, Earl was a gifted linguist and a competent ethnographer and journalist. He can almost certainly be credited with originating the terms 'Indonesia' and 'Malaysia' which did not come into common parlance until the second half of this century. He also had a good knowledge of economic botany and techniques for fishing, which he wanted to see introduced in northern Australia. He publicised the significance of steam navigation and the electric telegraph for the archipelago and northern Australia at an early stage and never abandoned the idea that a settlement there could become a 'second Singapore'. An imperialist in the tradition of Alexander Dalrymple and Thomas Stamford Raffles, his experience and imagination linked the Australasian colonies with island South-east Asia in a unique way. At the same time, it has to be said that his inexhaustible enthusiasm may have obscured his judgement in practical matters. His support for Adam Bay was not based on first-hand knowledge and his emphasis on 'salubriousness' (freedom from malaria) as the principal criterion for the selection of a northern capital was partly responsible for the Escape Cliffs fiasco. He also miscalculated the population of eastern Indonesia, the volume of trade that it generated and the influence of the Dutch establishment there.

A descendant, Lord Ferrier, holds a photographic portrait of Earl and there are copies in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the Mitchell Library. A complete list of Earl's published works can be found in Gibson-Hill (1959) but there is as yet no list of his manuscripts, some of which are held by the Royal Geographical Society.

P G Spillett, *Forsaken Settlement*, 1972; C A Gibson-Hill, 'George Samuel Windsor Earl', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol 32, pt 1, 1959; C M Turnbull, Introduction to the OUP reprint of G W Earl, *The Eastern Seas, or Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago, in 1832-33-34*; R Jones, 'Out of the Shadows: George Windsor Earl in Western Australia', unpublished paper; R H W Reece, 'George Windsor Earl and the Indian Archipelago', *The Push from the Bush*, no 12, 1982; D Chaput, 'George Samuel Windsor Earl: Ethnologist as Hawker', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol 70, pt 1, 1984; 'Some Memories of Elisabeth Christiana Fernhill Alt (nee Earl) dictated to one of her daughters. Also six chapters written by herself. Biographical Notes arranged by the same daughter. And notes on the Siborne Family by Lt Col K Henderson, DSO', NLA MS 413; RGS (London) Archives; G W Earl papers, 1830-65, Mitchell Library MS A7129; Earl family papers in the possession of Mr Brian Johnston, London (microfilm copy in Mitchell Library, FM4/1553).

BOB REECE, Vol 1.

EASTON, WILLIAM ROBERT (1893–1987), surveyor and soldier, was born in Hawthorn, Melbourne, on 2 July 1893, the son of Frederick Spencer Easton and his wife Anne Louise, *nee* Pinkerton. His father died in 1895 and the family moved to Western Australia.

Easton attended the Perth Boys' School until the age of 14 in 1907. After qualifying as a surveyor, he worked in Western Australia, the Straits Settlements, East Africa and the Panama Canal. He became a Licensed Surveyor in 1914 and returned to Western Australia to commence an Engineering degree. He served in France during the First World War as a Lieutenant with the First Division, Australian Engineers. In 1919 he joined the Western Australian Lands and Survey Department and worked as a pastoral inspector. He led an expedition to the Kimberleys in 1921 and later carried out extensive inspections of the central and northern portions of the state. He was associated with **Frank Wise**. In 1922 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He also took up a station, Avon Valley, which his brother ran while he continued surveying.

Easton came to the Northern Territory as its first appointed Surveyor General, as distinct from the former Chief Surveyors, in 1926. The task was combined with Chairman of the Pastoral Board and Member of the North Australia Commission. He recognised the needs and requirements of the Territory after extensive inspections and his knowledge of water supply, railways and harbour matters assisted in an all round developmental approach. He was surprised how many features existed unnamed in the few maps then current in the Territory. He included two new names, Pinkerton and Spencer Ranges near Auvergne in the Victoria River District, both hitherto without names, thus remembering his parents in the local nomenclature. He recognised the need for a local mapping series across the Territory and instituted a 800 chain series covering 10 sections of the Territory. First published in 1930, it formed the basis of inherited original named features. With limited staff, the charting of these took years to complete, reaching to the Second World War period after he had left.

He married Gertrude Maude Styles from an old Territory family and the function was held at Government House, Darwin, in 1931. He was an independent candidate for the Northern Territory's House of Representatives seat in the 1931 federal elections, losing by only 13 votes to **Harold Nelson**, the sitting member. He was somewhat disappointed in the Territory and the Commonwealth's ability to plot a course for more rapid growth there.

He retired from his post in 1932 and farmed at Namban North, near Moora in Western Australia until 1968. His wife Gertrude died in 1936 but he lived on until his death at the age of 94 in 1986. Gertrude's surviving sister, **Eileen Fitzer**, continued visiting Easton's sons and daughters in law, Dr Fred Easton and his wife Julie at Nedlands in Perth, and Bill and Marnie Easton at Merrillga, Coomberdale, Western Australia, maintaining the Easton/Styles connection.

In 1956 the Western Australian government renamed the Kwinana Division of the Kimberleys, the Easton Division, in recognition of his major exploration there in 1921. Whilst his period in the Northern Territory was limited to six years, the later Payne Fletcher Commission of 1937 recognised the daunting task he had been set. He had created a framework for local mapping, which provided for important later developments. He had married a Territorian and maintained his Territory connections.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 31 August 1926; Easton family papers, in possession of Dr F Easton, Nedlands, Western Australia; 'Easton Division' of the Kimberleys—advice from Surveyor General of Western Australia on renaming, 4 October 1956.

VT O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

EATON, CHARLES (1895–1979), born in London, England, on 12 December 1895, was of middle class background. He joined the British army in 1914 as an infantryman in the London Regiment. After three years in the army Eaton joined the Royal Flying Corps (later the Royal Air Force) in August 1917, graduating as a Pilot Officer in October the same year and was posted to a bomber unit. Many missions later in 1918 Eaton was shot down over Europe, was captured and escaped after a very short time in captivity, subsequently rejoining his unit. During 1919 Eaton was the personal pilot to the then British Prime Minister Lloyd George and the American Vice-President, during the lead up to and conclusion of the Versailles Peace Treaty enactment.

By the end of 1919 Eaton had left the Royal Air Force and after an interval of six years he joined the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) at No 1 Flying School at Point Cook in August 1925. The next major event that occurred in Eaton's life was the search of the lost aviators Anderson and Hitchcock and the *Kookaburra* in the Central Australian desert. As Flight Lieutenant Eaton he led a flight of five planes and successfully guided a ground party to the wreck. For this effort Eaton was awarded the Air Force Cross (AFC) in 1931. Another eventful year for Eaton was 1938. Now a squadron leader, he accompanied Wing Commander G Jones to Darwin to select a site for a RAAF base. The inspection party, consisting of **C L A Abbott**, the Administrator of the Northern Territory, Jones, Eaton and the district naval officer, selected a site some six kilometres from Darwin. At the time ideal as a base, it was later to become a town planner's nightmare as the town's expansion began to surround it with urban development.

Promoted to Wing Commander in March 1939, Eaton became commanding officer of 12 (General Purpose) Squadron, which had two flights, but only seven planes. It was based on the old civil aerodrome, now Ross Smith Avenue. In March 1940 he led the RAAF contingent of a services work party, which acted as strikebreakers in unloading coal from SS *Montoro* at the Darwin wharf. This episode earned him the approval of the Northern Territory administration and the enduring hostility of the North Australian Workers Union. He was appointed station commander at the new RAAF base in August 1940. He was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) on 1 January 1941. Eaton became acting Group Captain in the same month and held his Darwin post until October 1941 when he was transferred to No 2 SRTS, Wagga. Universally known in Darwin as 'Moth', Eaton was generally liked by his men but was not considered a disciplinarian. Severe friction between Eaton and

Darwin's naval chief **Captain E P Thomas** over naval air co-operation was a probable factor in Eaton's removal from the Darwin command. He moved to Station Headquarters Ascotvale in April 1942. Twelve months later as temporary Group Captain Eaton became commanding officer of 72 Wing, which moved via Townsville to Merauke, New Guinea. A short stint followed as commanding officer of No 2 Bombing and Gunnery School at Port Pirie, then Eaton was back in the Northern Territory as commanding officer of 79 Wing, Batchelor, which consisted of Nos 1, 2, 18 and 31 Squadrons.

During his service in the RAAF Group Captain Eaton had displayed a flair for organisation; hence he spent much time in forming or reorganising units. Much of the successful functioning of 72 and 79 Wings was owed to him but further recognition was denied him except for the award in 1946 of the (Dutch) Order of Oranje Nassau. For a time after the war Eaton farmed at Metung, Victoria, and entered the commercial world as 'a company promoter'. Other significant post-war service included spells as Australian Consul in Dili, Timor and acting Australian Consul-General in Batavia (now Djakarta).

Eaton married Beatrice Godfrey on 11 January 1919 and two sons and a daughter were born to them. He died at Frankston, Victoria, on 12 November 1979.

A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; RAAF records.

J HAYDON, *Vol 1*.

[See also next entry: *EATON, Charles (Moth).*]

EATON, CHARLES (MOTH) (1895–1979), airman and diplomat, was born in London on 21 December 1895. He joined the London Regiment in 1912 and served in France until transferring to the Royal Flying Corps in April 1917. Qualifying as a pilot two months later and duly promoted to Lieutenant, Eaton returned to France where he specialised in long-range reconnaissance missions over the German lines.

Shot down behind enemy lines on 29 June 1918, Eaton and his observer survived the crash in which the aircraft overturned and caught fire and were taken prisoner. He was reported as killed in August 1918. Lieutenant Eaton was far from being dead however. He escaped three times but was recaptured on each occasion. At war's end he remained a prisoner at Holsminden until repatriated to England.

Charles Eaton was back in the air soon after, however, and in January 1919 was the personal pilot to the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd-George, flying him and other delegates to the peace negotiations at Versailles.

Eaton served with Numbers 1 and 2 (Communications) Squadrons before he ceased duty with the Royal Air Force (RAF) in August 1920 and became a civilian pilot until 1921 when he rejoined the RAF and was posted to No 28 Squadron in India where he complete a series of extensive aerial mapping surveys. A year later he again resigned and sailed to Australia where he was employed in the forestry service in the Cape York region until 1924.

On 14 August 1925 Eaton enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) as a Flying Officer, and number 24 on the Air Force List. Eaton served in a number of units including No 1 Flying Training School at Laverton where he amassed 300 hours flying, as Adjutant at No 1 Aircraft Depot and at Headquarters, Melbourne, as a Staff Officer. By 1936 Eaton had attained the rank of Squadron Leader.

It was as a Flight Lieutenant, however, that Charles Eaton's links with the Northern Territory began, when in April 1929 he led a flight of DH9A aircraft in the search for missing aviators Anderson and Hitchcock. He commenced the search from Alice Springs, which had been Anderson and Hitchcock's departure point in their search for Charles Kingsford Smith's *Southern Cross*, believed to have been forced down near Wyndham in Western Australia.

It was after the search was based at Newcastle Waters that the missing aeroplane, the *Kookaburra*, and the bodies of Anderson and Hitchcock were located some 140 kilometres south east of Wave Hill Station on 21 April. It was during the search that Eaton became the first person to land an aeroplane at the site of the present town of Tennant Creek, when his DH9A suffered an engine cooling system failure.

Charles Eaton later led a ground party, the Thornycroft Expedition, to the site and recovered the airmen's bodies for burial in their home states. Later in 1929 Eaton gained a placing in the East West Air Race to Perth flying a DH60 Moth aircraft, and it is said, his nickname, 'Moth' Eaton.

In January 1931 Eaton was again in the Territory as commander of a flight of aircraft sent to search for the aircraft, the *Golden Quest*, of W L Pittendrigh and S J Hamre. The four DH60 Moth aircraft conducted the search from Alice Springs and were successful in locating the missing airmen. A month later Flight Lieutenant Eaton was awarded the Air Force Cross (AFC) in recognition of his leadership in aerial searches in central Australia.

In May 1937 Eaton was again deployed to central Australia when Sir Hubert Gepp's de Havilland Rapide aircraft went missing in the Tanami Desert. Leading a flight of RAAF Hawker Demon aircraft Eaton provided support for the search and the missing aircraft and personnel were located near Lake McKay. Such was his concern for his fellow man that in later years Eaton voiced bitter disappointment that of his three searches, he had failed on the first occasion in not saving the lives of Anderson and Hitchcock.

In 1938 Australia's defence strategy dictated a need for air defence facilities at Darwin along with a series of advanced operational bases linking northwards to Singapore. Squadron Leader Eaton and Wing Commander George (later Sir George) Jones inspected possible northern defence sites under Air Board direction and their recommendations resulted in the selection of Ambon as an Advance Operational Base, the annexation of Cartier Island and Ashmore Reef for an emergency landing site, and the construction of the RAAF Station at Darwin.

Promoted to Wing Commander in February 1939, Eaton assumed command of the newly formed No 12 Squadron, which deployed to Darwin during July and August that year. Eaton was very highly regarded as a leader of

men, particularly by the personnel of No 12 squadron. On one occasion he initiated the unloading, by shovel, of coal from a ship stranded by strike action at Darwin's wharf. His men followed his example while the striking 'wharfies' looked on. By mid-1940 the newly constructed RAAF Station was completed and Eaton was appointed Station Commander at the new Headquarters on 1 June 1940.

In September 1940 the Darwin Defence Co-ordinating Committee was established and Eaton served as the Air Force member until October when he was posted to Wagga Wagga in New South Wales. The committee was not without its problems, particularly in inter-Service rivalries. Tension was particularly high between Eaton and the naval representative, **Captain Thomas**, who, after a number of incidents wrote to Naval Board in August 1941 sheeting home the blame to Eaton and contending that 'his judgment is not invariably well balanced due, at least in part, to a severe Inferiority Complex'. Eaton and the Army representative, Brigadier W Steele, were posted from Darwin a month later. Wing Commander Eaton's leadership in establishing RAAF facilities at Darwin was recognized in the award of Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE).

Group Captain Eaton went on to command RAAF Station Ascot Vale in Victoria from 27 April 1942 to April 1943 when he formed No 72 Wing at Garbutt, Townsville and deployed to Merauke in Dutch New Guinea. Returning to Australia he was posted as Officer Commanding No 2 Bombing and Gunnery School at Port Pirie in South Australia.

By late 1943 the air war in northern Australia had changed to offensive operations by the Allies, which included the United States Army Air Force, the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) Air Force and the RAAF. The Japanese mounted the last raid on Darwin on 12 November 1943, during which two enemy bombers were downed. Group Captain Eaton was posted to Batchelor where he formed No 79 Wing RAAF comprising Nos 1 (Beaufort bombers), 2 (Mitchell bombers), 18 NEI-RAAF (Mitchell bombers) and 31 Squadrons (Beaufighter strike aircraft).

Eaton flew on a number of missions against enemy targets in the Netherlands East Indies and Timor, and he was awarded a Mention in Dispatches by the RAAF and the Cross with Swords of the Order of Orange Nassau by the Dutch Government as a result.

Group Captain Eaton's final posting was as Officer Commanding RAAF Southern Area from 16 January 1945 to his retirement from the RAAF on 31 December that year. His career in the RAAF had spanned over 20 years.

In 1946 Eaton was successful in seeking an appointment to the post of Australian Consul to Portuguese East Timor with the Australian Diplomatic Service in Dili, where he represented Australia until August 1947. It was a colony with which he was very familiar and he served with the respect of local population.

In February 1947 a career diplomat, B C Ballard, was appointed Australia's first Consul-General to the Netherlands East Indies and in August 1947 he was succeeded in Batavia (now Jakarta) by Charles Eaton during a period of increasing conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesian National Independence Movement. In July the Dutch had launched a military operation against the Republic of Indonesia and soon seized over half the Republic's territory in Java and some of the richest areas in Sumatra.

The Australian government was sympathetic to the nationalist cause and in a bid to save the Republic from a desperate situation referred the matter to the United Nations. A ceasefire was ordered and a Consular Commission set up, staffed by Security Council members and charged with observing and reporting on the cease fire. The Australian government's keen interest in seeing a swift end to the Dutch aggression in the region saw Prime Minister Ben Chifley seek a suitable representative in Batavia. Charles Eaton had been that man.

Eaton's opposition to the police action preceding the founding of the Republic of Indonesia saw the Dutch Minister in Australia seek his recall through Australia's External Affairs Minister, Dr H V Evatt, complaining of Eaton's impropriety in Batavia—Evatt dismissed the complaint and defended his representative. Eaton remained at his post and became the first accredited Australian diplomat to an independent Indonesia. Eaton threw himself into his work and travelled extensively. He and the Australian military observers he took with him in September 1947 drafted a comprehensive report on the military situation in Indonesia and the resultant world focus on the dispute contributed substantially to the signing of a truce between the Dutch and the Indonesians in January 1948.

Eaton's bravery was conspicuous during this turbulent period. On one occasion he and the British Consul-General were being escorted by the Dutch through the Malang area in East Java when they came under fire. All took cover but Eaton who strolled behind his car saying 'They are not shooting at me'. Eaton continued to work tirelessly, particularly in resurrecting a trade agreement whereby the Indonesians would benefit. He was well aware that the Indonesian Republic would be slowly suffocated unless the blockade of the coast by the Dutch was broken. He also worked very closely with Australia's representatives on the United Nations committee and they formed close relationships with the Indonesian nationalist leaders. This raised intense hostility among the local Dutch elite.

The Dutch launched a second military action in December 1948 and again Eaton worked toward obtaining a ceasefire and forcing the Dutch to the negotiating table with the Indonesian nationalists. The Americans were also applying pressure along with the United Nations and the Dutch finally bowed to the inevitable and granted independence to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia on 27 December 1949. Eaton was present at the ceremony in Jakarta in which sovereignty was transferred.

Charles Eaton stayed on in Indonesia as Australia's Charges d'Affaires until returning to Australia in 1950 where he took up farming at a property at Metung in Victoria. He also served as a company director until retiring at Frankston near Melbourne.

Charles Eaton completed his life of adventure and achievement when he died on 12 November 1979. In compliance with his wishes, Charles Eaton's cremated remains were released over the Tanami Desert from a RAAF aircraft on 15 April 1981. On 16 August 1995 the medals and awards of the late Charles Eaton were officially dedicated to the Northern Territory of Australia in a ceremony at the new Parliament House as part

of the *Australia Remembers: 1945–1995* commemorative activities. The awards, donated by his family, are on permanent display there.

B Alford, research files; P Davis & D Smith, *Kookaburra*, 1980; personal communication, C Eaton, Jnr, C Fisher; D Gillison, *Royal Australian Air Force*, 1964; J Haslett & B Alford, 'Charles Eaton', nd; D Lee, Speech by representative of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade at dedication of memorial, 16 August 1995; G Odgers, *Air War Against Japan 1943–1945*, 1967; N Parnell & T Boughton, *Flypast*, 1988; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988.

BOB ALFORD, Vol 3.

[See also previous entry: EATON, Charles.]

EDMUNDS, KEITH STACEY (1911–), lawyer, Air Force serviceman, public servant and judge, was born in Adelaide on 30 June 1911, the eldest child of Arthur Melita Strickland Edmunds, and his wife Ada Mabel, nee Stacey. His father was an engineer. Edmunds was educated at the Adelaide High School and the University of Adelaide. He was admitted as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of South Australia in 1936 and practised as such until enlistment in the Royal Australian Air Force in 1940. After service overseas as a navigator and bomb aimer, during which he rose to the rank of Squadron Leader, he was discharged in 1945. He then joined the Commonwealth Crown Solicitor's Office in Adelaide. In 1947 he married Shirley, daughter of J H Kay, in Adelaide. They later had three sons.

Soon after his marriage, while Principal Legal Officer in Adelaide, he went to Darwin to act for five months as Crown Law Officer. The office had just returned to Darwin, after having been transferred in 1942 to Alice Springs. As well as normal Crown Law Office work such as advising departments and doing court work, staff were occupied in settlement of claims arising from the Darwin Acquisition Act under which the Commonwealth acquired all privately owned land in Darwin and the surrounding area. Many and varied were the problems of proving ownership because of the lack of detail. For example, a grant of land in the 1870s had been made to 'John Smith of London, Merchant'.

Edmunds returned to Adelaide in 1948 when the Commonwealth decided to reorganise the Darwin Crown Law Office and created a position of Crown Prosecutor and Crown Solicitor's representative in the Northern Territory. He was invited to accept the position and did so, returning to Darwin later that year. He was allocated a home on Myilly Point, opposite the hospital.

He had enjoyed the work in the five months he had spent in Darwin but he had also been raised on stories about the Northern Territory. His father had been engaged as an engineer on the construction of the first steel jetty built in the Territory early in the century. This jetty functioned until bombed by the Japanese in 1942 and was patched up to operate for many years after that. Keith Edmunds' grandfather, Robert Henry Edmunds, had been in charge of the first survey party of 166 men in 1866 to go to the Territory. The capital was then at Escape Cliffs. Later that year he was second in command and surveyor of John McKinlay's expedition which reached the East Alligator River after six months of travel and then built a raft and sailed and rowed down that river to the sea and eventually Escape Cliffs. His second expedition was as a surveyor on the journey by sea to explore the Daly River. Edmunds Street in Darwin is named after him. He later returned to Adelaide.

When Keith Edmunds returned to Darwin, **Justice Wells** was the Supreme Court Justice. He was appointed before the Second World War and had been a Sydney barrister. He was strict in his demands for Court dress and behaviour. The Court Room was in an iron building, the old stone building having been transferred to the Royal Australian Navy.

All sorts of 'odd bods' had drifted up to the Territory after the war and the Criminal Court lists were lengthy. The Commonwealth seemed to be a party to a lot of the civil trials, which meant appearances by Edmunds in Court.

In addition to normal court work, he also acted as Judge Advocate in Royal Australian Air Force and Army courts martial. A reward for this work was membership of the Royal Australian Air Force and Army Officers' messes and the social occasions in both, sometimes including wives, and also dining in nights. Recreation leave was three months plus travelling time every two years.

Edmunds was on leave early in 1951 when recalled to the office as the Crown Law Officer, Bob Flynn, had become ill and had to leave the Territory. He was appointed to act in the position of Crown Law Officer and also became a member of the Legislative Council. Another appointment was that of Chairman of the State Children's Council. Like so many Northern Territory laws at that time, the old South Australian Acts still applied. The other members of the Council were the Roman Catholic Bishop and the local heads of other denominations. A Salvation Army man who had been a wartime pilot and covered the Territory by aeroplane was also a member. He was a very welcome church representative at every mission and Native Affairs settlement and also a gatherer of information for the State Children's Council.

The majority of neglected children were half-caste and not welcome at many Aboriginal settlements where in many cases the elders described them as 'yella fellas'. There were two homes where children could be placed, at Croker Island, with a Methodist clergyman who had been a classmate with Edmunds in Adelaide, and at Alice Springs, under the care of an Anglican Sister. In later years the practice of taking some part Aboriginal girls from their mothers would be condemned, but the members of the Council all served in an honorary capacity and the case of every child was thoroughly investigated.

Frank Wise was the Administrator of the Northern Territory at that time and was President of the Legislative Council. He was a long time parliamentarian and Premier of Western Australia and under his guidance the Council

worked very well. Edmunds was one of the Official members but they did not rubber stamp government sponsored or introduced legislation. His situation was difficult as he held the position inter alia of legal draftsman and was responsible for the form of legislation but not the intent of it, a position that many found difficulty in understanding. The largest Bill which he had to oversee was one to re-establish local government in the Northern Territory. After he left the Territory in 1954 he remained a member of the Council to enable him to introduce the draft Bill. However, after a delay of six months, his successor as Crown Law Officer ultimately did so.

In 1954 Edmunds was transferred to north Queensland as Deputy Commonwealth Crown Solicitor but did not completely lose contact with the Northern Territory because of problems of people in Queensland close to the Territory border.

In 1958 he was transferred to Perth as Deputy Commonwealth Crown Solicitor for Western Australia and in early 1960 moved to Canberra as Senior Assistant Secretary in the Executive Branch of the Attorney General's Department. The position required close contact with officers in the Northern Territory because of responsibility for the legal administration of the Northern Territory courts and other Attorney General's Department interests like marriage and divorce. He represented the Commonwealth, the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory on the committee responsible for drafting the first Uniform Companies Act and after its introduction was Chairman of the Northern Territory Companies Auditors' Board. He was a member of the Officers' Committee of the Standing Committee of Attorneys General of Australia and had a standing brief to look after Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory interests as well as Commonwealth affairs. These activities necessitated frequent contact with Northern Territory officials.

In 1971 Edmunds left the Attorney General's Department and was appointed to the Commonwealth Employees' Compensation Tribunal. Most public servants in the Northern Territory and members of the defence forces in relation to peacetime activities came within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal. He was required to visit the Northern Territory to hear appeals in relation to compensation for their injuries or illnesses arising out of them or in the course of employment.

In March 1972 under the provisions of the Inquiries Ordinance, the Administrator of the Northern Territory, **F C Chaney**, appointed Edmunds to be Chairman and Dr I R Vanderfeld of Sydney and Dr T P Dearlove of Adelaide, to be members of a Board of Inquiry to report on the medical and hospital services in the Northern Territory generally and on all aspects of medical services provided for the Territory's Aboriginal people.

A series of deaths of Aboriginal children in the Alice Springs area was one of the matters that triggered the inquiry, which was physically quite exhausting. The Board heard evidence at formal sessions from 136 witnesses in 10 centres. Ninety-four written submissions were received, 31 hospitals and health clinics were inspected and 45 settlements and missions were examined. A final report was submitted to the Administrator in July 1972.

Following this Inquiry, Edmunds had little contact with the Northern Territory. During 1973, 1974 and 1975 he was a Judge of the Supreme Court of Papua and New Guinea and following that country's independence became a Judge of its new independent Superior Court. Soon afterwards he returned to Australia and, due to the illness of his friend Justice **Dick Ward** of the Northern Territory Supreme Court, acted as Aboriginal Land Rights Commissioner until September 1976. He resigned from that position, as he was unhappy with the progress of the applications to the Commission. Edmunds' only contact with the Northern Territory for the next few months was through personal friends. In 1977 he was appointed the first Senior Member of the Administrative Appeals Tribunal (AAT) and resumed official visits to the Northern Territory to hear appeals of that Tribunal. Its activities were constantly being widened with more and more legislation providing appeals against administrative decisions being heard by the AAT. He left the AAT in 1981 and the only official appointments he then held were Chairman of the Commonwealth Public Service Disciplinary Appeals Tribunal and the Federal Police Disciplinary Appeals Tribunal. The public service appeals embraced Commonwealth employees in the Northern Territory. He retired from these appointments in 1985 and 1986 and thus terminated his links with the Northern Territory after nearly 40 years.

Subsequently the Australian Capital Territory appointed him to conduct an Inquiry into Gaming Machines. In 1982 Edmunds was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) for public service.

Personal information.

TIMOTHY G JONES, Vol 2.

EDWARDS, HENRY CHARLES (1853–1929), master mariner, pearler and businessman, was born at Barnstaple, Devonshire, England, in 1853. He went to sea as a young man and came to Australia about 1873. He first came to the Northern Territory in 1884 as Chief Officer in *Palmerston* then under the command of Captain Carrington while it conducted a survey of the northern waters for the South Australian government. When this contract was terminated owing to Captain Charrington's illness, Edwards became associated with **H W H Stevens** who, on behalf of Goldsbrough Mort, held the coastal mail contract. In 1889 the steamer in service was *Adelaide*, which called at all coastal, and river ports between Wyndham and the Gulf country. When Stevens organised the meat export trade to nearby Asian countries using SS *Darwin* in 1892, Edwards became her master.

When this trade ceased in 1897, due to the closure of Asian ports to Top End cattle as a result of disease, Edwards became interested in pearling. By 1901 he owned a 'large fleet' of luggers and in 1903 bought a new lugger in Sydney, a topsail schooner named *Gwendoline*. She acted as a mother ship so that the luggers could remain out on the pearling beds, a new innovation for the time. It was, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported, 'the first attempt to carry out pearling on systematic lines in Port Darwin'. By the time the First World War broke out Edwards had a fleet of 20 luggers but with the introduction of plastics the value of the industry

steadily declined. Over the next decade or so several luggers were wrecked in storms and the schooner sold, so that by the time he died Edwards only retained three luggers, *Maggie*, *Ena* and *Runic*.

For many years Edwards was de facto Harbourmaster, the South Australian and Commonwealth governments not deeming it necessary to appoint qualified mariners to that position. He was the nautical assessor in several courts of marine inquiry. In September 1901, for example, he sat with the Harbourmaster as the nautical expert when an inquiry was held into the loss of the steamer *Thomas Andreas*. On 1 June 1912 he was appointed Examiner of Master and Mates.

In addition to his maritime interests Edwards had a brief foray into mining and in 1889 held mineral leases in the McArthur River area. Between 1897 and 1909 he owned Lot 552 in Mitchell Street. In 1912 Edwards's wife, Jessie, purchased Lot 658 on the Esplanade where the family home was built.

He was 'well known and highly respected' in Palmerston though unsuccessful when he stood for the District Council in 1901. He was Vice President of the cricket club in 1899 and was a very keen euchre player, progressive euchre parties being a common social event of the day. In 1905 he offered a prize in the miscellaneous section of the annual agricultural, horticultural and industrial show. In August 1912 he was appointed a Member of the Licensing Bench, on which he sat until hotels were taken over by the government in 1915.

He died at his home on 25 June 1929, survived by his second wife, Jessie Emma, *nee* Turpin, and two sons. His first wife and two children from that marriage predeceased him. He was buried in the General Cemetery, Darwin, after a graveside service conducted jointly by Anglican and Methodist clergymen. His estate, left to his wife, was sworn in at 6 548 Pounds.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 16 February 1889, 7 April 1899, 12 November 1900, 20 January 1901, 21 June 1901, 5 July 1901, 20 September 1901, 5 June 1903, 19 June 1903, 25 March 1904, 24 March 1905, 3 January 1908, 2 August 1912; *North Australian*, 28 January 1889; *Northern Standard*, 28 June 1929; Northern Territory Archives Service, E103/24/29, E96/199.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

EDWARDS, IDA: see **ASHBURNER, IDA**

EDWARDS, ROY MAXWELL (1906–1992), cable operator, aviator and pastoralist, was born in the family home, Iona, in Mitchell Street, Palmerston, on 6 July 1906. He was the son of **Henry Charles Edwards** and his second wife, Jessie Emma, *nee* Turpin.

Edwards attended the public school in Cavenagh Street, Darwin. His teachers were **Victor Lampe** and Joe King. The family lived in a house on the Esplanade. Edwards later remembered visiting Inspector **Paul Foelsche** as a youngster and being cautioned by him when he and other boys went into China Town, a place that was considered out of bounds to them. When Edwards was 12 he and **Jock Nelson** perched in a tree to watch the march on Government House by angry unionists during the 'Darwin Rebellion' in December 1918. The boys were good friends even though their fathers often held widely differing opinions; Jock's father, **Harold Nelson** was a union leader, while Henry Edwards employed indentured labour. Edwards regularly travelled to Fannie Bay Gaol in the back of a buggy with an Aboriginal tracker when his father went out there on business. Edwards and his brother often went to Lamaroo Beach with some of the Aborigines, a couple of whom worked for the Edwards, and paddled a canoe over to Channel Island to camp and catch fish and crabs.

Edwards's first job was with the Eastern Extension Cable Company, which was situated beside the old Post Office on the Esplanade. Val and **Boyne Litchfield** worked with him. Often when they started evening shift a pile of work was waiting to be sent on to Adelaide, Batavia (now Jakarta) or Singapore. Edwards went to Adelaide for three years to train as an operator. He later visited Batavia and Singapore for a year to help the local operators. When the company was taken over by the Cable and Wireless Company Edwards was asked to stay on but finally decided not to.

Edwards learned to fly in Darwin and in 1932 he went to Brisbane to acquire a private pilot's licence. While there he bought an aeroplane for 250 Pounds and flew it back to Darwin. He later returned to Brisbane to obtain his commercial licence. Early in 1940 he made a mercy dash in a Moth aeroplane to Pine Creek through threatening monsoon storms to bring Fred Hardy of Goodparla Station to the Darwin Hospital after he had badly broken his leg.

Edwards formed the company Koolpinyah Cool Stores with Evan and Oscar Herbert and Dennie Connors in 1938. The company supplied the Army in the Top End with beef before and during the Second World War.

Edwards married his first wife, the famous nurse **Ida Ashburner**, in Darwin in 1939 and between that year and 1940 flew an ambulance aeroplane. In 1940 he flew down to assist the settlers on the flooded Roper River. On the way the motor stopped and he crash-landed. He had to swim flooded creeks and walk to the Roper before he reached the safety of Elsey Station. Edwards often flew for **Dr Clyde Fenton** while the latter was away from the Northern Territory. When war threatened Darwin in late 1941, Ida Edwards was evacuated south. After war service Edwards later joined Australian National Airways in Adelaide and flew many of its routes.

Edwards bought the huge Newcastle Waters Station in 1945. He subsequently developed it into one of the best known and most efficiently run cattle properties in the Northern Territory.

An Aborigine, George Mongaloo (Edwards) had been with the Edwards family since he was a boy. He worked on pearling luggers with Henry Edwards and was then at Newcastle Waters with Roy as housekeeper and gardener before moving to Darwin when the station was sold in 1980. When George died in 1986 Edwards flew his body from Darwin to Delissaville for burial.

Ida died in 1961 and Edwards married Marjory Norman, daughter of Zacharia Herbert Jones and his wife Ida Linda, *nee* Hewett, in Adelaide on 4 August 1962. He had no children from either marriage.

Edwards and his brother, Edwin, along with five others helped to develop the Masonic Lodge retirement village in Darwin in 1980. It was dedicated to Henry Edwards and in 1987 Edwards and his wife helped finance the expansion of the Masonic Retirement Village. They had also assisted the Salvation Army in setting up its Old Timers' Village in 1980. He was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) in 1988 in recognition for his services to primary industry and the community.

He died of heart disease in Darwin on 15 June 1992. His funeral took place there at Christ Church Anglican Cathedral.

S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; J Makin, *The Big Run*, 1972; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *Northern Standard*, 9 January 1940; *Northern Territory News*, 17 June 1992; interview with R Edwards, 1990.

JANET DICKINSON, Vol 2.

EEDLE, JAMES HENRY (JIM) (1928–), public servant and educationalist, was born in Liverpool, England, on 15 December 1928, the son of Arthur and Ena Eedle. He went to school at the Liverpool Institute and, after national service in the Royal Air Force between 1947 and 1949, studied at the University of Cambridge, where he graduated Master of Arts, and the University of London, from which he received the degrees of Master of Philosophy and Doctor of Philosophy. He was later elected to Fellowships of the Royal Society of Arts, the Australian College of Education and the Australian Institute of Management. On 27 December 1952 he married Margaret, the daughter of George and Sarah Ann Hooson. They had three sons and a daughter. Between 1953 and 1964 Eedle was with the British Colonial Service in Northern Nigeria. He worked for the British Council in Accra, Ghana, and from 1964 to 1967, the Joint Matriculation Board in Manchester and the Commonwealth Secretariat in London between 1969 and 1975.

In 1975 he moved to Darwin to take up the position of First Assistant Secretary in the Commonwealth Department of Education, responsible for all school education in the Territory during a period of rapid change and growth. Energetic and highly articulate, he laid the foundation for the school system that was taken over by the Northern Territory Government after self-government in 1978. Eedle then became Secretary of the newly formed Department of Education. Until then he and his departmental officers had considerable freedom to experiment, the opportunity for quick action and the benefits of generous funding.

In 1980, however, Eedle became involved in a dispute with the Territory's Minister for Education, Jim Robertson, over the establishment of a Northern Territory Teaching Service (NTTS). Eedle and some of his senior officials were keen that the independence of such a service ought to be limited. Eedle himself believed that teachers should be part of the Northern Territory Public Service. In the end Robertson and his cabinet colleagues decided to go ahead with an independent NTTS that resulted in the total estrangement of Eedle from his minister and his subsequent replacement. Ironically, the existence of the NTTS in the form in which it was created proved short-lived. From late 1984 its functions were progressively transferred to the Northern Territory Department of Education.

Eedle moved to the new Northern Territory University Planning Authority as its Planning Vice-Chancellor, a position he occupied until 1984. He headed a small, initially well funded, organisation that attempted to put in place a framework for a university in Darwin. Its activities were varied. Eminent academics were invited to the Territory to give lectures and provide advice. Eedle travelled extensively, both in Australia and overseas, obtaining information and ideas. The Planning Authority developed a modest academic publishing program and assumed responsibility for the History Unit, which had previously been located in the Department of the Chief Minister. Initially Eedle argued that the university could develop from the Darwin Community College but later decided that an entirely separate institution was necessary. He handled the Planning Vice-Chancellor's job with his customary energy. In the process, though, he alienated some members of the Territory's small academic community, who were inclined to regard him as arrogant and authoritarian.

In early 1985 Hugh Hudson, the Chairman of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, made it plain that no Commonwealth funding for a Territory university was likely until the 1990s. On 10 August that year the Territory government announced that it would fund a university college in Darwin that would commence teaching in 1987. It later emerged that the college would be linked with the University of Queensland. Eedle was not, it seems, consulted and was transferred to the position of head of a 'University Development Unit', where he had a very limited role. He soon fell out with the Warden of the University College of the Northern Territory, **Professor Jim Thomson**, and his position was abolished in 1987.

Disillusioned by what he regarded as his unfair treatment and lack of recognition for the work he had done, Eedle and his wife were active in the new Territory Nationals political party from 1987 onwards. They became strong critics of the Territory government and the Country Liberal Party. Eedle established an educational and management consultancy business and in the early 1990s increasingly worked from Ballarat in Victoria. He ultimately moved there permanently.

Perhaps Eedle's most significant and beneficial work in Darwin was with a variety of community and professional organisations, some of which he was instrumental in establishing. A superb organiser of such groups, he was especially skilful in chairing committees. Foundation Patron of the Northern Territory Institute for Educational Research and Patron of the Northern Territory Schoolboys' and Junior Rugby Union, he was also Foundation President of the Friends of the Darwin Symphony Orchestra, the Northern Territory Branch of the Australia-Britain Society and the Professional Centre of the Northern Territory. He was a founder of the Northern Territory Branch of the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration and the Northern Territory Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. He chaired the Regional Symposium for Educational Administration, the Northern Territory Anti-Cancer Foundation and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award in the Northern Territory.

An excellent and very witty speaker, he often provided well received after dinner addresses. Margaret Eedle was a great support for him in his various community roles.

A man of very wide interests and with a fine mind, Eedle sometimes found it difficult to deal with those he regarded as intellectual inferiors. His critics argued that he and his wife never really came to terms with Australia and had unfortunate 'colonial' attitudes that derived from their many years in Africa. On the other hand, few would disagree that he should claim at least some credit for the establishment of the school system the Territory government inherited in 1979 and preparing Territorians for their university. He deserves particular recognition as one who worked tirelessly to enhance the Territory's cultural life.

D Carment, personal files and correspondence, 1981–1991; D Carment, *The Tuxworth Government*, 1987; A Heatley, *Almost Australians*, 1990; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1994.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

ELKIN, ADOLPHUS PETER (1891–1979), anthropologist, was born on 27 March 1891 at West Maitland, New South Wales, son of Reuben Israel Elkin and Ellen, *nee* Bower. Elkin had one brother John, who died at six weeks of age. The Elkins were of Jewish ancestry. His mother died in 1902 and he went to live with his grandfather in Singleton. He attended East Maitland High School and upon leaving he was employed briefly in a bank. He graduated from the University of Sydney and St Paul's College with a Bachelor of Arts and subsequently a Master of Arts with first-class honours in philosophy. In the same year (1915) Elkin was ordained a Church of England minister and held the position of rector at Wallsend, Wollombi and Morphett between 1918 and 1937. He was Vice-Warden of St John's College in Armidale from 1919 to 1921.

In 1923 Elkin was appointed Tutor in Anthropology at the University of Sydney. From 1925 to 1927 he studied physical and cultural anthropology at the University College in London, where he gained his Doctor of Philosophy degree. In 1927 he was offered the first Australian National Research Council Fellowship for Anthropological Fieldwork. In 1932 he became a member of the Australian National Research Council and in 1933 took up the chair of Anthropology at the University of Sydney. Elkin retained this position until he retired in 1956. He was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) in 1966.

Elkin's main contribution to the Northern Territory was the documentation of his trips to the Territory in the 1940s and the influence they exerted among future anthropologists who were to make subsequent field trips to the Territory. He had carried out earlier research in the Kimberley region and in the northern part of South Australia. Elkin had also carried out research in Papua New Guinea. With his main interest in myth and ritual, Elkin had devised theories that were to have a profound influence over the way European Australians were to perceive the indigenes for several decades. He strove to influence public policy in relation to Aborigines living in the Territory during this period, with his closest informant being the now well-known **Bill Harney**.

As author of ten books and several monographs and as editor of *Oceania* from 1933, he commanded both respect and criticism. Elkin occupied a unique position as both an anthropologist and a minister of religion. He held an ambivalent position in relation to missions and to missionaries because of his concern with the destruction of Aboriginal tradition. It became of utmost importance to him that Aboriginal traditional life be recorded before it was too late.

In the latter part of his life, he showed concern and displeasure at the new theories and research methods being introduced by the new generation of anthropologists. Many he distrusted and Ronald and Catherine **Berndt** were among the few he admired, especially for their work in the Yirrkala and Oenpelli areas.

Elkin died in July 1979 leaving a wife and two sons.

T Wise, *The Self Made Anthropologist*, 1985; *Canberra Times*, 12 July 1979; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 August 1983.

ROBYN MAYNARD, Vol 1.

ELLIOT, ELIZABETH: see **NICKER, ELIZABETH**

ELSEY, JOSEPH RAVENSCROFT (1834–1857), surgeon, explorer and naturalist, was born on 14 March 1834 in London, only son of Joseph Ravenscroft Elsey, Bank of England official. Educated at Mill Hill School, he trained in medicine at Guy's Hospital (MB 1853) and qualified in March 1855 at the Royal College of Surgeons and the College of Chemistry. On the recommendation of Professor Richard Owen, he was appointed surgeon, naturalist and meteorological officer to the North Australian Exploring Expedition (1855–56) led by **AC Gregory**. He ranked fifth in seniority. Long fascinated by birds, Elsey regarded the eminent ornithologist John Gould as his mentor, while the veteran explorer and expedition consultant, Charles Sturt, taught him the principles of meteorology. With James Flood, the expedition's collector, Elsey sailed on 5 April 1855 from Merseyside aboard *Marco Polo*. At Melbourne they joined *Telegraph* and reached Sydney on 29 June. Elsey had with him a microscope, two compasses and three thermometers; the remainder of his carefully selected requisitions were to follow, but the expeditionary party was to depart on 27 July, so Elsey was obliged to procure less satisfactory equipment in Sydney.

Elsey's youthful exuberance and enthusiasm led him to be a loyal and conscientious member of the exploration party. He was also a keen observer. His personal diary, letters to his family, his cousin, Tom Smith, and to Gould provide a colourful and telling account of occurrences not elaborated on in the formal reports of the North Australian Expedition. Elsey treated his first patients when the barque *Monarch* grounded in the Brisbane River. After that delay, he travelled in cramped conditions aboard the supply ship *Tom Tough* up the Queensland coast. In northern

waters he recorded the trading of biscuits and water for tortoise shell with Torres Straits Islanders in outrigger canoes; that Gregory taught him to float near Quail Island; and how he tricked thieving sailors by pouring croton oil into the rum he had taken expressly for biological preservation. With some satisfaction he looked 'knowing' at their subsequent discomfort. When Gregory took men and stock ashore to go overland from Treachery Bay, Elsey stayed with the sea party to enter the Victoria River. He described the next month as one of 'anxiety and misery', mainly due to the dissension and disruption caused by the schooner's argumentative and ill-tempered skipper, David Gourlay. Order was soon restored after Gregory's arrival on 29 October. Fresh water was found and a base camp established at Timber Creek.

Various members of the party were treated for malaria, ophthalmia, conjunctivitis and prickly heat. Elsey kept himself busy during Gregory's absence. He made several short zoological excursions away from the depot camp taking with him two Aborigines, Drand and Deartijelo. His bush surgery consisted of a leafy shack furnished with upturned casks serving as tables and accommodating an extraordinary array of medicine bottles and specimen jars surrounded by 'string, threads, needles... cottonwool, knives and dissecting cases'. He collected insects, beetles, birds and butterflies, kept a diary, a meteorological register and began to study geology. He said that his duties included everything 'that a surgeon and naturalist to the North Australian Exploring Expedition would fancy on leaving England that he might expect to have done for him. But... he *must* do it... or he is sadly in the lurch'.

Jubilant in the knowledge that he was to join Gregory's trek from the Victoria River to Brisbane, Elsey wrote, 'I am going with the next party of exploration. I am free. Hip, hip, hurrah, whack fol the riddle—dol bow wow wow, bah bah.' Beforehand he helped Gregory to update correspondence and official dispatches.

With the Gregory brothers, botanist Ferdinand von Mueller, and three stockmen, Elsey headed east from the Victoria River and travelled 3 900 kilometres to Brisbane. On the way he often rode ahead with Gregory to assess the nature of the land. In the heart of territory to be known as the 'Never Never', Gregory named Elsey Creek to honour the young surgeon. Elsey later described the journey as a steeplechase across the continent 'at 15 miles a day, and performed in 6 months what it had taken **Leichhardt** 15 months to accomplish'. Though he was disappointed that many of his specimens were rubbed and chafed by the 'grinding motion' of the packsaddles and rendered unsuitable for stuffing, they remained useful for determining species. He left Brisbane with Gregory aboard *Yarra Yarra* on Christmas Day 1856. At Sydney Governor-General Sir William Denison received the explorers.

Elsey, who was mentioned by Gregory in an official letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, returned to England in March 1857 on *Alnwick Castle*. He took with him ornithological and zoological specimens collected in northern Australia. Gould was impressed by the variety, including new species the lilac-crowned wren, the buff-sided robin and the golden-shouldered parrot, by bird specimens and the integrity of his field-book. John Gray, zoologist at the British Museum, commended Elsey's collection of tropical insects and exotic butterflies. He gave a new tortoise the generic name *Elseya*. Afflicted by a chronic chest disease, Elsey's health was seriously impaired after the rigorous expedition and he went immediately to recuperate in the Shetland Islands. Toward the end of the year he refused a medical post in the Seychelles Islands in favour of a naturalist's position in the West Indies. But his health continued to deteriorate and he died on 31 December 1857. He was a man of rare talents and dedication who made a valuable contribution to natural history. It was fitting that Mueller should have named a liana *Ripogonum elseyanum* as a tribute to his 'beloved travelling companion'.

W Birman, *Gregory of Rainworth*, 1979; J R Elsey, *Diary 1855–1856*, NLA; J R Elsey, *Letters 1885–1856*, NLA; F von Mueller, Letter to Elsey's father, 20 March 1858, NLA.

WENDY BIRMAN, Vol 1.

ENGLAND, JOHN ARMSTRONG (1911–1985), bank officer, primary producer, soldier, politician and Administrator, was born on 12 October 1911 at Clayfield, Queensland, to Mr and Mrs S W England. He was educated at Murwillumbah, New South Wales, and Brisbane Boys' College. Between 1928 and 1947 he was employed as a bank officer, in the timber industry and as Manager of Wilga, a property near Grenfell in New South Wales, which he ultimately purchased. A keen citizen soldier before the outbreak of war, after 1939 he served with the Army both in Australia and overseas. He attained the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and was Mentioned in Despatches. He was later awarded the Efficiency Decoration (ED). He married Polly W Wheatley on 16 December 1939 and had three sons and one daughter. They lived on Wilga, which England ran until elected to the Commonwealth House of Representatives as the Country Party representative for Calare in 1960. He held the seat until his retirement from politics in 1975. In 1976 he was appointed the Administrator of the Northern Territory.

He was appointed at a time when the Territory was moving quite rapidly towards self-government. Many Territorians had hoped that the new Administrator would be a local resident, following on the precedent set with the previous appointment of **Jock Nelson**. Nevertheless, England had the good will of most of the local politicians, particularly the then Majority Leader, **Dr Goff Letts**, who had voiced considerable irritation over the length of time Canberra had taken in making the appointment.

During the Englands' residence in Government House several alterations and repairs were made to the building, which had been damaged by Cyclone Tracy in 1974.

However, by far the most significant change in which they participated was the granting to the Northern Territory of self-government in 1978. From this time the Administrator's role was much more symbolic than previously. England participated prominently in the self-government ceremonies of July 1978. Behind the scenes he played a significant role in easing tensions and smoothing relations between Darwin and Canberra during the transition period immediately prior to July 1978. As political historian Alistair Heatley wrote, England's 'background in

federal politics and his contacts with Commonwealth ministers and senior public servants were sometimes used to alleviate tension and to smooth relations between Darwin and Canberra. Moreover, his diplomacy, good humour and sense of duty not only preserved the dignity of his office but also parliamentary and administrative propriety in a rapidly evolving political context.⁷

The Englands were a popular couple and when they left the posting in December 1980 they voiced their affection and hope for the Territory. In a farewell press interview England emphasised the Territory's role in Southeast Asia and expressed the view that increased competitiveness was needed, saying he was heartened by progress made since self-government. He also praised the Territory's multicultural aspects. 'Darwin undoubtedly sets an example', he said, 'to the rest of the Commonwealth in the assimilation of ethnic groups.' Polly England admitted that she had taken up the Northern Territory posting with 'some trepidation' but added that it had turned out to be 'one of the best things that ever happened to us.' She and her husband worked on the principle that the office of Administrator was a 'two people job'. 'We have grown', she continued, 'to love this vast country and from the MacDonnell Ranges to Arnhem Land and the Top End wetlands to the Tanami Desert, it is a fascinating experience. And the great asset is the people with horizons as big as the country, who are prepared to have a go.'

England retired to Grenfell and was elected Secretary of the Federal Council of the National Party in 1981. He died in June 1985, leaving his wife and four children to survive him.

P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984; A Heatley, *Almost Australians*, 1990; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1980; various newspaper reports in the biographical index, National Library of Australia.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

ERLANDSON, ELNA ANNIE: see **ANGELES, ELNA ANNIE**

ERLIKILYIKA (variants **ERLICKILYKA** and **ERLIKILIAKIRRA** and **ORKNADINJA**); also known as **JIM KITE** and '**THE SUBDUED**' (c1865–c1930), artist, linguist, interpreter and tracker, was a Southern Aranda man from Charlotte Waters. He was almost certainly born a short time prior to the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line in 1870–71 and, at the time of his young manhood, had contact with the Kaititj Aborigines some 700 kilometres further north. It is probable that he assisted teamsters or Overland Telegraph Line maintenance crews for a time, as he learnt the Kaititj language as well as English, and came to know localities well north of his traditional country.

In 1901–1902 he assisted **Spencer** and **Gillen** in their anthropological expedition from south to north across northernmost South Australia and the Northern Territory. Gillen, who gave him the nickname 'The Subdued', described him as a 'splendid black boy'—a man who was 'good' and 'reliable'. He assisted in the erection of windbreak shelters and bough sheds, location of water, the tracking of horses, mail collection, shooting of game and the recording of ethnographic details. In the latter instance he made sketches, which were 'not without interest', recorded Gillen, who encouraged his artwork. He also assisted with interpretation of various dialects in at least two distinctive languages: Spencer described him as 'first rate' and Gillen noted that he was 'really a great help—especially in ferreting out traditions of a certain character'.

Herbert Basedow, during the course of his ethnographic studies, found Orknadinja—a name used in addition to Erlikilyika—an excellent friend, one of several old men who explained and interpreted Aboriginal culture to him. He also described him as 'an unusually talented person'—a probable reference to his artistic skills.

It appears that Gillen's encouragement to Erlikilyika's sketching had led to further development, for in the 1910–20 period he worked in soft stone and wood. The ornithologist S A White, and another traveller J R B Love, both commented on his work in stone, the latter reporting: 'This blackfellow carves pipe-bowls in imitation of horses' hoofs, claws and whatever takes his fancy. Native birds, insects and animals he has carved with astonishing accuracy, and further completes his work by colouring the creatures with ochre and various pigments he obtains from plants known perhaps to himself alone.'

Although a well known figure himself, little is known about his family: a brother, Jack Kite, was present at Charlotte Waters in 1935, and took part in a 'corroboree send-off for the local police officer (later Inspector) **W McKinnon**.

Erlikilyika retained his traditional knowledge and interests throughout his life. However, he also adapted well to the great changes that eventuated as a result of European occupation of Central Australia. His skills as a linguist, interpreter and tracker were acknowledged by the scientists and other observers whom he assisted, and he was a conscientious worker, but his artistic works were perhaps his greatest achievement. His early skills in sketching were developed and, with encouragement, he became Central Australia's first Australia-wide recognised artist, his sculpting in stone being keenly sought.

Sketches are reproduced in *Gillen's Diary* (1968), and examples of Erlikilyika's sculpting are held in the South Australian Museum. An example of his tone sculpture appeared in the Great Australian Art Exhibition of 1988. A photograph is reproduced in *The Aboriginal Photographs of Baldwin Spencer*, Jim Kite being the man on the right.

H Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, 1935; F J Gillen, *Gillen's Diary*, 1968; W B Spencer, *Wanderings in Wild Australia*, 1928; G Walker (ed), *The Aboriginal Photographs of Baldwin Spencer*, 1982; P Jones, 'Means to a Scientific End', *Age Monthly Review*, February 1998; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1 November 1917; H Pearce, 'South Australian Aboriginal and Historic Relics Administration Remote Sites Documentation Report 1', 1980.

R G KIMBER, Vol 1.

ERLICKILYKA: see [ERLIKILYIKA](#)

ERLIKILIAKIRRA: see [ERLIKILYIKA](#)

EUCHARIA, Sister, also PEARCE, OLIVE MAY (1914–), domestic servant and missionary, was born Olive May Pearce on 14 December 1914, at Glenbrook, New South Wales, second child of Thomas Westaway Pearce and Elise May Isabel Pearce, *nee* Peters. Soon after Sister Eucharia's birth the family moved to Helensburgh and then to another small rural town, Tottenham, where they settled for the next 13 years. By the time they left Tottenham there were six children in the family. While her father ran Tottenham's only bakery and her mother cared for the growing family, Sister Eucharia attended the local, two-teacher school, where the curriculum was extended beyond the normal primary level to accommodate her and her older brother. When the family moved to the Sydney suburb of Enfield in 1928 Sister Eucharia, reluctant to enrol in a new school, and a city school at that, was employed in the cake shop her father had purchased. There, as in the home, she developed the personal skills of working as a member of a team and the occupational skills of cooking that were to contribute greatly to her success in her working life. The shop was sold when her mother's health began to fail, leaving Sister Eucharia to seek another position to supplement the family income. With only a basic education and no formal qualifications, Sister Eucharia was fortunate to find congenial work as an assistant in a boutique where artificial flowers were made and sold. This business could not be sustained during the Depression and, like her younger sister, Sister Eucharia went into service.

While working as a domestic for a family in Liverpool Road, Enfield, she was required to pay daily visits to a young friend of her employers who had been hospitalised with sarcoma and who later died. The girl's death, or more accurately, a dream following her death, was to have a profound effect on Sister Eucharia, then in her late teenage years. Sister Eucharia dreamed that, on being asked what she would do if her life was spared, the girl had replied with great conviction that she would become a nun in the order of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. It was an order, and indeed a vocation, of which Sister Eucharia knew nothing and in which she had no interest. In the days following her dream, however, Sister Eucharia became convinced that she was being called to take the girl's place in the service of the Church.

The Pearce family was not particularly religious. Rural New South Wales offered little in the way of Catholic churches or pastoral care and the extent of Sister Eucharia's early exposure to the church had been limited to Mass held four times a year by an itinerant priest. Although city living had provided greater opportunity to attend church services, the place of religion in the family had not changed. As a 14 year old Sister Eucharia had been inspired by stories of a selfless, heroic Father Damien struggling to ease the suffering of outcast lepers in the Pacific Islands before succumbing to the disease himself, and had decided that she too would one day work with lepers. Such a desire had not been conceived in religious fervour and, now, the conviction that she had been called to join a religious order filled Sister Eucharia with dread; the life of the church was for young women whose grasp of reality was less secure than her own. When prolonged resistance did nothing to free her of the disquieting belief, Sister Eucharia visited the convent of the order of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart at Kensington, sure that she would come away free forever of an idea that was persistently disturbing her peace of mind. On the contrary, she was greatly impressed and returned home to break the news to her parents of her intention to seek entry into the order. There was no family precedent for a career in the church, which left Sister Eucharia with the daunting task of convincing them, but more particularly her mother (her father thought it a sure passport to heaven for his eldest daughter), of the seriousness of her conviction and her suitability for a vocation. Remembering Sister Eucharia's adolescent desire to work with lepers, her mother, only recently converted to Catholicism, sought vainly for a promise that her daughter would never expose herself to the threat of a leprosy infection. It was an incident that Sister Eucharia was to remember many years later, weaving as it did one of the vivid threads of her life. With her parents' support, and braving her brother's threat to never speak to her again if she carried out her plan (he was to become one of her most constant supporters), Sister Eucharia entered the convent on 8 December 1933, a week before her 22nd birthday. Although she was never to live in close proximity to her family again, and her correspondence with them during the early years of her religious life was restricted and governed by rules of the order, Sister Eucharia was able to maintain strong familial links.

The order of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart was the companion order of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) and both were dedicated to missionary work amongst non-Christian peoples. The nuns pursued their goals principally through medical and educational work and the majority of young women entering the order were given training in one of these two fields. For Sister Eucharia, however, this was not to be; not only was she older than most of the novitiates but she already had highly prized skills in cooking and household management. Following just two years of religious training (the more common pattern was four or five years of training), she accompanied a senior nun in the order, Mother Concepta, to Darwin where it was intended that she would work in the convent. Soon after arrival in Darwin Mother Concepta arranged to visit the Catholic mission station on Bathurst Island and made Sister Eucharia her companion for the trip. It was to be five and a half years before Sister Eucharia was to leave the island as she was asked to stay on to assist with caring for the hundred or so children resident in the mission dormitories and to teach the older girls to cook. The support of the nuns was essential to the mission work of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory, their presence allowing the housing of children in dormitories and more extensive education work than the priests were able to provide. After service on Bathurst Island Sister Eucharia was transferred to adjacent Melville Island when, in June 1941, a new home for Aboriginal children of mixed ancestry was established there. Current tourist advertising notwithstanding, the Tiwi islands are no tropical

paradise except perhaps for two idyllic months mid-year. More memorable is the steamy heat of the approaching wet season, which is broken by violent tropical storms, a dry season that is too long and unremittingly dry and to this is added the ceaseless war against insect pests. The very basic facilities available on the mission stations provided no relief but Sister Eucharia had no expectation that the life of a missionary would be easy. She set herself to fulfilling her responsibilities with a commitment to the church and a belief that she was working for the benefit of others. Tempered with good humour, determination and a generous nature they were to become hallmarks of her long life of service.

The war seriously disrupted the newly commenced work on Melville Island when the authorities ordered the evacuation of women and children from Darwin and the north coast as the threat of a Japanese invasion increased. In February 1942 three nuns, 34 girls and seven boys journeyed south, but not before they had spent a hair-raising few days in Darwin as the first of the Japanese bombs fell on the town. The evacuees went first to Melbourne and then to Adelaide where the climate was warmer and drier until, in April 1945, they were given permission to return to their island home. In another event that, despite its drama, seemed of little immediate consequence in the shaping of a lifetime's work, Sister Eucharia was taken ill on the return journey. The heavy work of the previous few months, during which she had almost single-handedly packed the entire possessions of the whole group, had taken their toll. She was taken first to Tennant Creek hospital before being transferred south for major surgery. Following her recuperation at Kensington, and to her deep satisfaction, Sister Eucharia was told that she was no longer needed on Melville Island but that she was to go to the Channel Island Leprosarium.

The Leprosarium, situated in Darwin Harbour, was a government institution that the Catholic Church had willingly staffed during the crisis of the war and where they were to remain following its transfer to East Arm until its closure in 1982. The great majority of the 200 or so patients on the island were Aboriginal, many of them from Melville and Bathurst Islands. Although returning to the Territory in greatly improved health Sister Eucharia was nevertheless troubled by poor circulation in her legs and feet, which led to painful swelling and greatly restricted her mobility. It was a disability that she would endure for life but one that she rarely allowed to interfere with her work. Her difficulties with her health is one thing that both patients and peers vividly recall about Sister Eucharia and always in the context of how much hard work she was able to accomplish despite her restrictions. Sister Eucharia herself believed that her fortitude stemmed from the strength of her commitment to the Church, and through the Church, her commitment to Aboriginal people.

In 1946 Sister Eucharia commenced work as housekeeper to the nuns who provided medical services to the leprosy patients, and on returning to the island in 1952 after spending two years in Darwin she commenced work with the patients themselves. Sometimes cook, sometimes occupational therapist, Sister Eucharia worked with the patients until 1970, first on Channel Island and then in the new leprosarium at East Arm. At times her legs became so swollen and painful in the sweltering heat of the tropics that only the co-operation of the patients, and both their and her good humour, made it possible for her to continue. For many patients being treated under strict isolationist regimes she became a link with the outside world. Making use of her greater freedom she contacted the families of patients to share news and, when in town, carried out modest shopping chores during which she encouraged local shopkeepers to give the patients the very best deal possible. When eventually Sister Eucharia was asked to return to Bathurst Island she was pleased at the opportunity for change and, although then almost 60 years old, having lost none of her energy or her commitment to her life as a missionary, she was ready for a new challenge.

From the time of Sister Eucharia's early days at Bathurst Island and her return over 30 years later government policy on the Aborigines had undergone significant change. The segregation policies of the 1930s had given way to policies of assimilation and, by the 1970s ideas that the Aboriginal people should be given the opportunity decide the future for themselves were beginning to be accepted. To this end the government had made funds available through a grants scheme for training projects, which would provide not only immediate work for Aboriginal people but marketable skills for long-term employment. Sister Eucharia successfully applied for one of these grants and established a small clothing factory. Production commenced using eight treadle machines under the later well-known label of Bima Wear. A further grant enabled them to move to new premises designed for their specific needs and to up-grade their equipment. Sister Eucharia was joined by her sister Bertha, and with the willing help of the Aboriginal staff they created a self-supporting industry over which Aboriginal people finally took control and which still flourishes. For many and complex reasons few ventures conceived by government and mission agencies were successful or long-lived, making the achievement of Bima Wear all the more notable.

Sister Eucharia retired to the Our Lady of the Sacred Heart convent at Katherine in 1987 and two years later moved to the convent at Kensington where she underwent surgery on her legs. Named in the Queen's Honours List in 1981, she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) by the Administrator of the Northern Territory in a ceremony on 13 June on Bathurst Island.

Interviews with Sister Eucharia.

SUZANNE PARRY, Vol 3.

EVANS, ERNEST WYNNE (1905–1933), Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary to the Aborigines on Groote Eylandt, was born at Kew, Victoria, on 4 March 1905. He was the son of Mr and Mrs S E Evans of 108 Barkers Road, Hawthorn. He was a bright student at school and went on to study accountancy. He then spent two years at the Melbourne Bible Institute.

Evans was accepted by the CMS on 3 October 1927 for a short period of service on Groote Eylandt. He spent nine months on the island relieving a staff shortage, returning to Melbourne on 9 September 1928. He spent the

next three years studying for ordination at Ridley College, Melbourne, being ordained deacon on 20 December 1931 and priest on 21 December 1932.

Evans married Gwendoline A S Frewin on 19 January 1933. They were accepted as CMS missionaries and arrived at Groote on 14 September 1933.

On 15 November 1933 Evans was accidentally killed by the shotgun he was carrying while climbing Central Hill, Groote Eylandt, tragically ending the life of a very promising young missionary. A conspicuous cairn marks his grave at the Old Mission cemetery, Emerald River, Groote Eylandt.

Family Information

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

EVERINGHAM, PAUL ANTHONY EDWARD (1943–), lawyer, politician, first Chief Minister of the Northern Territory and businessman, was born in Brisbane, Queensland on 4 February 1943, the son of Otho Lucien Paul Everingham and his wife Mary Winifred, *nee* Young. He was educated in Innisfail and in Brisbane within the Roman Catholic school system. After a short period working in insurance, Everingham became an articled law clerk; he was admitted as a solicitor in August 1966. At that time, he married Denise Rothnie and, between 1967 and 1973, they had four children. The Everinghams divorced soon after Paul's departure from parliamentary politics; he later remarried.

In late 1966, Everingham moved to Alice Springs to work in a legal office. Following his admission to the Territory bar in 1967, he developed successful practices in the Alice and later in Darwin where, in 1973, he set up residence. When his political activities increased dramatically after 1977 he withdrew from legal work. He had also proved himself to be an astute businessman, prospering in real estate dealing and through his participation in the establishment in 1970–1971 of 8HA, the first commercial radio station in Alice Springs. Active in community affairs, Everingham was elected to the inaugural town council on which he served for two years (1971–1973).

Although initially interested in resuscitating a Liberal Party in Darwin, Everingham recognised the need to set up a strong conservative political voice and took part, albeit not as a major player, in the creation of the Country-Liberal Party (CLP) in 1974. He won the seat of Jingili for the CLP by a small majority in the first election for the Legislative Assembly in October 1974. Everingham was appointed Deputy Majority Leader and Executive Member for Finance and Law but he resigned in August 1975. While the task of rebuilding his legal business in the aftermath of Cyclone Tracy was certainly the prime reason for his resignation, it was also partly caused by his dissatisfaction with the leadership of **Goff Letts**. For the remainder of the Assembly sittings, he was not a particularly active member.

In the August 1977 election, Everingham, confronting a general swing away from the CLP on the issue of self-government, retained Jingili after preference distribution. With the defeat of Letts and most of the Executive Members, he took over the position of Majority Leader. The former leader and the surviving senior CLP parliamentarians all considered that Everingham, despite his record in the first Assembly, was the best-qualified and most resourceful person to undertake the role.

As Chief Secretary (and Executive Member for Law) Everingham quickly stamped his authority on the CLP and the Assembly. His energy, his capacity for hard work, his grasp of issues and strategy and his forthright style won him the strong allegiance of the CLP and growing acceptance among Territorians. His major achievements in the early months of his tenure were the changes he negotiated in the form and pace of the self-government arrangements and the financial deal brokered with the Commonwealth. To a large extent, the later success of self-government was based upon Everingham's personal contribution or upon his direction. On 1 July 1978, self-government was proclaimed with Everingham becoming the new polity's first Chief Minister.

Everingham served as Chief Minister (as well as Attorney-General to the end of 1982, Minister for Lands, Industrial Development and Tourism for the following year and as Minister for Industrial Development and Tourism until his resignation) until 16 October 1984. During that period he led the CLP to two victories in general elections—in June 1980 and in December 1983. Despite losing one seat in 1980 the CLP vote rose significantly. In 1983, in a landslide result, the CLP won 19 seats in an expanded Assembly (25 seats). Everingham's share of the vote in Jingili increased in both elections, rising to about 72 percent in 1983. There was no doubt that, particularly in the later period of his incumbency, he enjoyed a very high level of popularity, at least within the urban community. At the political level Everingham dominated the Assembly, the government and his party.

The early period of self-government over which Everingham presided was an exciting and expansive time. Buttressed by the liberal funding arrangements struck with the Commonwealth, the new Territory government was able to embark upon an ambitious and wide-ranging developmentalist program. Its directions inevitably bore the imprint of the Chief Minister; one commentator remarked that Everingham often resembled a 'latter-day Pooh Bah'—the Minister for Everything! Even if he were the prime mover within his Cabinet, he did succeed in welding it into a strongly cohesive and effective force. While there were many criticisms of his approach to the role and activities of public servants, he aggressively asserted the primacy of the political arm over the bureaucratic in Territory policy-making and administration. Not every Everingham action proved successful—there were many examples of policy failure and administrative breakdown—but he held tenaciously to the style of 'break through or bust'; given the generally propitious circumstances prevailing during his period of office, he was more often rewarded than wounded.

In many ways, the Everingham era set an enduring pattern for the self-governing Territory. He laid the foundation for the Territory government's continuing claim for functional equivalence with the states through the removal of constitutional disabilities. His policy initiatives in economic development, such as the orientation

towards Asia, the broadening the economic base through encouragement of tourism, manufacturing and agriculture, and measures to increase and stabilise the population have been continuing features on the Territory's political agenda. So also has been intergovernmental conflict with the Commonwealth which Everingham used not only as a device to enhance the CLP's partisan standing but also as a way of fostering Territory identity. Even with the Coalition in power the Chief Minister fought hard for what he saw as essential Territory interests; his battles with the Commonwealth over uranium development and Aboriginal land rights were notable examples of conflict. From the outset, he firmly established the tactic of 'Canberra-bashing' as a useful political weapon for the CLP. When Labor came to office, the intensity of dispute rose sharply; the early Territory election in 1983 was called, fought and won on Labor's decisions to alter its commitment on funding the transcontinental railway, to restrict uranium mining in the Territory and to accept Aboriginal ownership to the Ayers Rock (Uluru) National Park.

Political opponents not only slated Everingham's 'Canberra-bashing' approach but were also highly critical of his policies on Aboriginal issues and the electoral advantage they afforded the CLP. The Chief Minister's relationships with Aboriginal organisations were seldom smooth and were particularly soured by his long, but unsuccessful, campaign to change parts of the Commonwealth's land rights legislation, which he considered were detrimental to the Territory's economic development.

Everingham's political style was brash, outspoken and populist. Although by instinct and temperament of conservative disposition, he was in practice highly pragmatic with a keen sense of political opportunism. His informality and approachability—'call me Paul' was one of his favourite lines—was a decided asset. So too was his Queensland drawl—sometimes exaggerated for effect—which added to his folksy image and his political appeal. He was often, and usually endearingly, called 'Porky', a nickname that was suggestive of some of his physical characteristics.

In February 1984, Everingham announced his intention to contest the Territory's House of Representatives' seat; he argued that his presence in Canberra would be more effective in defending local interests than continuing as 'king of the kids'. He continued as Chief Minister, amid much criticism, until his resignation in October. By a narrow margin (and reflecting the propensity of some Territorians to switch their partisan votes at different election levels), Everingham defeated the Labor incumbent in December and, fulfilling a long-held ambition, entered the Commonwealth political arena.

The new Territory member (MHR) was immediately appointed to the Opposition front bench where he remained until September 1985 when a change of the Coalition leadership (from Andrew Peacock to John Howard) undermined his position. Despite initially (his own and others) high expectations, Everingham was not a success in Canberra and, shortly after his demotion to the backbench, announced his decision to retire at the next election. He left federal politics in July 1987. While Territory MHR, he remained a force in CLP politics in the Territory, intervening in issues concerning his successors as Chief Minister and on a wide variety of policies, including the question of statehood on which he vigorously argued, against the preferred Territory government line, the case for initial constitutional parity with existing states.

After his retirement, Everingham moved permanently to Queensland where he resumed his legal career. In 1989 he was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (OA) for his public services. There had been considerable speculation, while he was in Canberra, about his intentions to switch to Queensland politics, either as a state or federal representative. He resurfaced, however, in the organisational wing of the Queensland Liberal Party of which he became President for a short and tempestuous time. Everingham's pugnacity, so marked during his Territory political career, was also a feature of his Queensland activities. Business matters, such as his involvement in lottery organisations, retained for Everingham a link with the Territory but, in political terms, he had no continuing significance. Still, his contribution to self-government and the early development of the new Territory polity will remain his lasting legacy.

F Chan, *King of the Kids*, 1992; P Everingham, 'Developing the North', E Harman & B Head (eds), *State, Capital and Resources in the North and West of Australia*, 1982; A Heatley, *Almost Australians*, 1990; D Jaensch & D Wade-Marshall, *Point of Order!*, 1994; P Weller & W Sanders, *The Team at the Top*, 1982.

ALISTAIR HEATLEY, Vol 3.

F

FAIRWEATHER, IAN (1891–1974), soldier and artist, was born at the Bridge of Allan, Scotland, on 29 September 1891, the son of James Fairweather, Surgeon General in the Indian Army. Until he was 10 he lived in Scotland with relatives. He was then in London for a short time with his parents until they moved to Jersey in the Channel Islands in 1902. He attended Victoria College in Jersey and spent a lot of time sketching aspects of the island. In 1914 he became a Second Lieutenant in the British Army. On 24 August 1914 he was captured by the Germans near Dour in France and, despite various escape attempts, spent the period until 1918 as a prisoner of war. While a prisoner, he studied Japanese, illustrated prison magazines and was even allowed to attend the Hague Academy of Art in the Netherlands.

Upon his release, Fairweather resigned from the Army. In 1920 he commenced studies at the Slade School of Art in London but his attendance there and at other European art schools was intermittent. A work completed for an assignment in 1922 is interesting in relation to an event that brought Fairweather later notoriety in Darwin. The painting ‘Rebecca at the Well’ started out to be one thing but ended up another. Fairweather wrote that ‘a little man in a triangular raft with oars had appeared right in the middle of the painting... had no connection with the subject... but fitted so well into the composition that I left him in—come to think of it—that is really strange.’

Fairweather continued his restless and nomadic existence after he left Europe in the late 1920s. He visited various parts of the world and in February 1934 arrived in Australia, where he was exposed in Melbourne to post impressionist art. During the 1930s he was constantly on the move, visiting and living in different places in East and Southeast Asia and also painting in Cairns, Queensland. While in Cairns he painted with oils for the last time. Developing an allergy to lead, he turned to other mediums for his work, mainly gouache. After the outbreak of war in 1939, he rejoined the British Army, serving mainly in India. Following his discharge as a Temporary Captain in June 1943, he returned to Australia in 1945. He lived in Melbourne, where in two years he produced 160 paintings and his only sculpture. In 1949 his first one-man exhibition opened at the Macquarie Galleries.

In 1950 Fairweather hitchhiked to Darwin, where he lived in an abandoned railway truck until rats and possums drove him out. He then moved into *Karu*, the hulk of an old patrol boat in Frances Bay. But a feature of Fairweather’s character was that wherever he happened to be, he imagined that he would be happier somewhere else. He decided that he would travel to Bali via Timor, but being penniless, as usual, he built a raft to make the journey. The raft consisted of an alarming collection of aircraft belly tanks, fragments of parachutes, ropes and fencing wire, triangular in shape like the raft that appeared in the Slade composition ‘Rebecca at the Well’. On 29 April 1952 he put to sea, and headed for Timor. Fairweather was fortunate to survive the voyage. He had no knowledge of navigation and carried only a 30 Shilling compass. Sixteen days after leaving Darwin, and having drifted for days without food and with sharks as constant companions, he landed at Roti on the point of collapse. This escapade brought him to the notice of the Indonesian authorities and made headlines in the world press. He was deported from Indonesia and returned to Britain, where the authorities confiscated his passport until he repaid the fare. He dug ditches to raise the money and then borrowed from his relations to enable him to return to Australia.

Fairweather was back in Australia in 1953. The raft incident, ‘an encounter with madness and death’, seemed to mark a turning point in his career, and an end to his wandering. He spent most of the rest of his life on Bribie Island in Queensland, where he produced his most powerful paintings, experimenting with Cubism, Futurism and Abstract Impressionism. He died on 20 May 1974.

Much has been written about Fairweather and his painting. His works reflect both his European training and the influences gained through his world travels. He was one of the few European artists to ever have successfully assimilated the work of the Australian Aborigines. His works have received international acclaim and recognition. In Darwin several of them are on display in the Northern Territory Museum of Arts and Sciences. There is also a memorial to Fairweather on a lonely outcrop of rock to the seaward side of the Museum.

M Ball, *Ian Fairweather*, 1981; A McCulloch, *Encyclopaedia of Australian Art*, vol 1, 1984.

EVE GIBSON, *Vol 2*.

FALCONBRIDGE, (IRIS) JOYCE SEYMOUR: see **FULLER, (IRIS) JOYCE SEYMOUR**

FANNON, AMY ISABEL: see **CONWAY, AMY ISABEL**

FAWCETT, MYRTLE MAGDALENE *nee* **STYLES** (1905–1975), community worker and publican was born in Brock’s Creek (between Adelaide River and Pine Creek), the youngest girl of the family of Tom Styles, who was connected with mining and the original Zapopan mine. Her mother, Eleanor, was the daughter of **Ned** and **Eliza Tuckwell**, one of the first families to settle in Darwin (then Palmerston) after its founding in 1870. Both her mother and grandmother were on the first electoral roll after women were granted the suffrage in 1895. Myrtle spent her early years as a child at Brock’s Creek with some of the early pioneer families of that area including the Byrne family of Burnside and later Tipperary Station.

Her mother died in 1910 and she and her sisters, Lillian, Gert and Eileen moved to Darwin. In the later years of the First World War she was a member of the Darwin Red Cross and helped with the raising of funds and the

staging of concerts. She was one of the original members of the Country Women's Association in Darwin and a member of the Victoria League.

She married James Edward Fawcett, the youngest son of W Hart Fawcett of Pymble, New South Wales, in the Darwin Methodist Church in August 1925. [Eileen Styles](#) (now Fitzer) was bridesmaid and [Cecil Freer](#) was best man. Jim Fawcett was manager of A E Jolly & Co for about 40 years before the Second World War. Myrtle helped to entertain many prominent visitors to the Northern Territory and during Lord Gowrie's farewell tour in 1941 she travelled to the Kimberley area with the party. During the Second World War the Victoria league took over the Comforts Fund in the Territory and Myrtle participated in the voluntary work, driving ambulances and making hospital visits until Darwin citizens were evacuated in 1942.

With her fine singing voice, Myrtle Fawcett gave many concerts for charitable purposes in pre-war Darwin and she also entertained service personnel before the February 1942 raids, among which was a concert with other service entertainers aboard HMAS *Moresby*. She was evacuated to Perth and worked in a munitions factory and later had charge of an American navy rest home for submarine crew before she returned to the Territory after the raids. Her son, Jim, was serving in the Royal Australian Navy and her daughter, Pam, was at Wilderness College in Adelaide.

In the latter years of the War she and her husband battled to start a hotel business at Adelaide River. After five years in railway premises in 1951 she crossed the River and commenced business on a new site, which was to be her home for the next 20 years. Starting the licence at Adelaide River Refreshment Rooms and the new premises in 1951 Myrtle became the genial and friendly hostess for 28 years there. One early waitress was Josie Flynn, the daughter of Nellie Flynn. In 1950 daughter Pam married Robert Rixon, later of Ooloo Station.

In 1954 at the start of mining at Rum Jungle 100 'wild Irishmen' all armed with English Pound notes invaded the local pub at Adelaide River—they were employed by the Wimpey organisation. Myrtle's own bright personality and her musical ability with her tiny ukulele meant she often entertained visitors with her theme song 'Down on the Daly River O'.

Myrtle's husband, James Edward Fawcett, died and was buried in Adelaide in 1960. She continued to run the hotel with her son, Jim, in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1970 she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for services to the community. She was able to help many Territorians in many walks of life and is particularly noted in the Adelaide River area for assistance to Aboriginal folk with pensions, and so on. She always remembered Attawomba Joe, who helped in saving the life of her sister Eileen, in his later years there.

In November 1973 the hotel was sold. During that year Myrtle and her son were granted life membership of the Adelaide River Show Society. Some of the family including Tom, her youngest son and his wife Patsy are still serving that Society. Retiring to Darwin, she survived the battering of Cyclone Tracy in December 1974 and died at the age of 70 in September 1975.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; V T O'Brien, cuttings 1946–1995; P Rixon, Ooloo Station, correspondence.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 3.

FEELEY, NORA MARY (MOLLY) nee YOUNG (1907–), accounting machinist and public servant, was born on 20 September 1907 at Newlyn, Victoria, the fourth child of William Daniel Young and Hanorah Agnes, nee Prendergast. Her father was a soldier and the family moved to Adelaide where Molly received her schooling at the Convent of Mercy.

After she left school she attended the Burroughs Business School and learned to use the calculating machine. Ira L and A C Berk then owned the school and for some years she worked for them. When the Myer Emporium opened in Adelaide she began working there and for other employers in an increasingly senior capacity until she married.

During the Second World War she met Michael John Feeley, son of Thomas Feeley and his wife Anne, nee Murray, and they married at Saint Francis's Church, Adelaide, on 29 December 1944. In 1946 Michael joined the Commonwealth Department of Works in Darwin but due to a shortage of accommodation Molly was unable to join him there until 1947, when she came as an accounting machinist also for the Department of Works. Still accommodation was a problem. Molly lived at Mareenah House, a hostel for women run by the Department.

After Molly had been in Darwin for about six months she was invited to manage Mareenah House, which accommodated over 40 females, as well as the Town Mess, which had mixed accommodation. In Mareenah House at the time the rules decreed lights out by 11 p.m., no noise, and no entertaining gentlemen in bedrooms. The police regularly ejected the drunken and the amorous. As Matron, Molly was on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week but where possible at the weekend she joined Michael in a Sidney Williams hut erected on a block of land in Barossa Street, Larrakeyah. Not until 1950 was any land made available for purchase in Darwin. The couple then purchased the block in Barossa Street.

For five years Molly acted as Matron but in 1952, with a home of her own, she returned to the office of the Department of Works after receiving additional training on Remington machines. In 1966 she was appointed Accounting Machinist in Charge and she retained this position until she retired at the age of 65 on 20 September 1972. In June 1971 Molly received the British Empire Medal (BEM) for public service. In a departmental newsletter the Director General referred to Molly's 25 years of service in Darwin and noted that she had 'taken particular interest in the welfare and training of female staff.'

Michael died on 11 August 1971, just 12 months before Molly retired. She had no superannuation as constraints against married female public servants still existed and she had not been widowed long enough. She did, however, travel extensively during her long service leave and had returned to Darwin by the time Cyclone Tracy struck in

December 1974. Her home was demolished, she was evacuated and she did not return until 1977. In the meantime, the land on which the house stood had been transferred to the Northern Territory Pensioners' Association at the minimum price the government would allow it to pay. The Apex Club built four units on the property; to be available for pensioners, one of which was Molly's for life.

She was a devout Roman Catholic and worked tirelessly for the Saint Vincent De Paul Society, on whose committee she served. For many years she was Treasurer of the Pensioners' Association and this coincided with the building of Tracy Lodge.

In her youth she played hockey and was a very good tennis player. Bridge was a lifelong hobby. The Darwin Bridge Club was formed in the early 1970s but prior to that she and her husband had regularly played with a group that at times met in the newly erected Spillett House. Until she was into her late 80s she was a highly respected member of the Darwin Bridge Club. Molly was a true Christian, a frequent communicant at the Roman Catholic Cathedral and loved by all who knew her.

Newsletter, no 48, Director General, Commonwealth Department of Works, July 1971; Northern Territory Archives Service, TS 609; personal communication.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

FEENEY, SARAH (SALLY) nee FRITH also JONES (1897–1987), domestic worker, mother and pioneer, was born in Camooweal, Queensland on 28 January 1897. The daughter of Frank and Harriet Frith, Sally was the fourth of six children; Frank, Florrie, Annie, Fred and Forrest. Her mother was a Queenslander, born in Gympie, while her father had been born in Somerset, England.

Frank Frith senior worked as a teamster, but was finding it difficult to make a living carting wool in Queensland. After hearing that work was available in Western Australia he decided to travel west, aiming for Wyndham or Hall's Creek.

In late March 1904, when Sally was seven years old, the family packed up their belongings and left Queensland. They travelled in a big 'table top' wagon and a smaller covered wagon they called the caravan, which was driven by Sally's mother. They travelled with a team of 35 draught and saddle horses, chickens and goats, setting up camp along the way. The family would leave a site very early in the morning and travel anything from half a day to when darkness fell. When they found a good water supply they would camp for two or three days, giving themselves a spell and resting the horses. Sally's mother would bake bread, cakes and pies ready for the days ahead while her father cared for the horses.

The family spent 16 weeks on the road, crossing Alexandria and Brunette Downs stations and onto Stirling Creek. At this point in the journey, Sally's 10-year-old sister Annie became ill with a swollen ankle and fever, so the family decided to travel to Newcastle Waters to find medical help rather than continuing on to the Murrumbidgee, and thence to Western Australia. At this stage in the journey they had a travelling companion, a man called Robertson whom they'd met up with along the route. He continued on towards Western Australia and they later heard he had been murdered, his nine horses killed and his dray burnt, apparently by local Aborigines.

The family reached Pine Creek in early July and while Annie and her mother travelled up to the nearest doctor at Port Darwin, the rest of the family began establishing themselves. Frank Frith senior, managed to find work as a teamster, carting wolfram from the mine outside Pine Creek to the railway line. He also began to establish claims for himself, mining wolfram and copper in the area. Sally's father was also to make money from bird catching, trapping finches and parrots from the bush, then taking them by ship from Darwin to the southern markets.

Sally and the older children enrolled in the Pine Creek School, but had to leave when Frank Frith decided it would be more lucrative to move out to the wolfram mine. The family again moved lock stock and barrel, this time even taking the house with them. Their father employed a teacher, an older man, to teach the children but Sally remembered him having problems disciplining the lively group of children, happier in the bush than sitting inside doing lessons. Once the wolfram petered out the family moved back into Pine Creek and Sally returned to school until her 15th birthday, when her rather patchy education ended.

By this time the family had established a boarding house in Pine Creek and Sally went to work there. The Friths were making an important contribution to the life of Pine Creek, with Sally's mother acting as the unofficial midwife, locally known as 'the rabbit catcher' and the children taking part in local events, tennis parties and race meetings. Tragically, Sally's brother Frank was to die in a freak accident at the Pine Creek races in 1918.

On 1 February 1916 Sally married a local miner, William Matthew Jones, a Welshman about 15 years her senior. He had been living in Pine Creek when the family arrived and worked as the manager of the Cosmopolitan Battery, just outside the town. Sally moved out to the Battery with him, and then on to the Mt Diamond copper mine, which was also owned by Cosmopolitan. William Jones was responsible for the operation of the water pump at the mine and supervising the Chinese labourers. Sally kept house and was soon caring for their children; Nancy who was born in May 1916 and William (Bill) born in April 1919.

When the copper mine closed down the family returned to Pine Creek where William heard that there was work available at Victoria River Downs Station (VRD). He successfully applied for a position as mechanic, and in December 1920 the family again packed up and travelled out to VRD. However, Sally fell pregnant on the journey out and was soon to return to Pine Creek, as no medical help was then available at the station. In September 1921 Sarah Grace was born, and four weeks later Sally travelled back to VRD in the heat of the build-up.

The family had a cottage at VRD and access to fresh food, with plenty of meat and vegetables from the Chinese gardener but there was a continuing problem with malaria, and the property was very isolated from the rest of the Territory. Not long after Sally returned to VRD with her new baby, the Australian Inland Mission began building a hospital on the property. It was called the Wimmera Home and when Sally's fourth child, Gwyneth (Gwenie)

arrived in January 1924 she was able to walk the three quarters of a mile to the Home to have her baby, the first patient at the new hospital. She then stayed on for a fortnight resting and being cared for by the two nursing sisters, Sister King and Sister Grey, despite William visiting every night, asking her to come home to care for the rest of the family.

In the mid-1920s the Jones family left VRD, returning to Pine Creek briefly, before William found work at Katherine. This was a dark period in Sally's life, the family was living under canvas in difficult conditions, William was drinking heavily and not providing for the family, and Sally's youngest child, Gwennie, died, apparently of blood poisoning. In 1930 Sally decided she had enough and left William. Taking the children she travelled firstly to Pine Creek, where she worked in the hotel for 12 months, and then onto Darwin where she found work at the Victoria Hotel, a job she held for the next 10 years. Initially Sally lived in at the hotel with son Bill, while the two girls, Nancy and Grace, boarded at the convent school. By 1932, however, she had managed to rent a small house in Smith Street, near Searcy Street, and was able to have all the children with her again. The two girls continued on as day students at the convent school, while Bill attended Darwin School. Taught by **'Tam' Tambling**, Bill won the Darwin scholarship in his last year at the school.

Sally worked hard during these years, starting work at four in the morning so that she could finish by two o'clock to get her own housework done before the children returned home from school. At the Vic she was responsible for the hotel laundry, boiling the clothes in a copper, using flat irons for the ironing and hand starching the linen. She often found it hard to make ends meet, and appreciated the shops, such as Mook Sangs, which would allow credit for a week or two. However, even the poorest white woman could afford the five shillings a week to have a 'blackfellow' do her own heavy work at home, chopping wood, drawing water and scrubbing floors.

Sally had little time for a life of her own and tended to socialise through her children, going to the football after work on Saturdays to see her beloved 'Buffs' playing, admiring the talent of players such as Don Bonson, the Ah Matt boys and Walter Lew Fat. She would also go with the children on weekend picnics to Rapid Creek or Berry Springs, in a party with Joan Armour or **Boyne Litchfield**.

In about 1941 Sally and Bill, who had returned from studying in Queensland and was now a cadet draftsman, travelled south to visit Sally's sister, Annie. When they returned to Darwin Sally spent a few months working at the new Hotel Darwin before yet again moving to Pine Creek. When the Japanese bombed Darwin in February 1942 Sally was safely in Pine Creek with William (Bill) Feeney, the man she was to marry in 1951. The two of them watched the Japanese planes fly low over the town on their way to Katherine on 22 March 1942. Bill was to ring the authorities to warn them of the coming planes but was not believed. After the first raid the couple soon saw the results of the bombing as floods of refugees passed through the town, travelling by train and motorcar and getting bogged in the muddy wet season conditions. The rumour mill also travelled fast with Sally being told her son Bill had been killed during the bombing of the wharves. This was later proved false and Bill went on to join the forces in Darwin.

In the chaotic times which followed the bombing, Sally was forced to leave Pine Creek, evacuated by train with other women, children and old men at the end of March 1942. She only went as far as Alice Springs, and in December of the same year managed to talk the authorities into giving her a pass to return home—on condition she find her own transport. Sally managed to talk her way onto one of the troop transports going to Birdum, then made her own way to Pine Creek, the only white woman to return to Pine Creek before the end of the war. Bill Feeney's butcher shop had been requisitioned by the army to supply meat to the troops in the Pine Creek area and Sally went to work with him. She also played a role tending to the troops' domestic needs, sewing up the baggy khaki shorts supplied to the local forces. When, later in life, Sally was asked why she hadn't stayed away at this dangerous time she said she 'couldn't see the sense of it... I was used to that sort of life, I'd been in the bush all my life and I knew what to do'.

When the war finally ended Bill Feeney, with no prospect of restarting his butchering business, found work on the railways and was sent to work further up the line at Burrundie. Left at home on her own in Pine Creek, Sally went to work at the Pine Creek Hotel, again doing laundry. After 12 months Bill was moved back to Pine Creek with the railways where he worked until he retired at 65. In the mid 1950s Sally and Bill adopted two of Sally's grandchildren, Christine (Chris) and William (Bill), the children of Sally's youngest surviving daughter, Grace. Sally was to rear the two children until they were adults, as well as another 'foster' child, Margaret Callanan.

Bill Feeney died in 1964, leaving Sally on her own again bringing up school age children. Again she decided Darwin would provide more opportunities and moved with Bill and Chris to a housing commission house in Graham Street, Stuart Park. In 1972 Sally managed to buy the house, which she lived in until the last few months of her life.

On her 90th birthday in January 1987 an article about Sally appeared in the *Northern Territory News*. She was still sprightly and discussing the pleasure she got from playing bingo and reading westerns, but within a few months she had broken her hip and her health rapidly deteriorated. On 4 October 1987 Sally Feeney died in Darwin Hospital and was buried in the Darwin General Cemetery. She was survived by her daughter Nancy, 10 grandchildren including her adopted children Bill and Chris, 31 great-grandchildren and two great great grandchildren. In the Legislative Assembly later that month the then member for Port Darwin, Tom Harris, paid tribute to Sally Feeney and her importance as a Territory pioneer.

Administrator's Report 1933; Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS F1 1943/12D; F & H Frith, diary; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS 202; Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory, index of deaths mentioned in police day books, Pine Creek; Northern Territory electoral roll 1940; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 29 October 1987; *Northern Territory News*, 6 October 1987; 7 October 1987; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 6 July 1918; personal information, B Feeney, junior.

ELIZABETH ROBERTS, Vol 3.

FENTON, CLYDE CORNWALL (1901–1982), ‘flying doctor’, was born on 16 May 1901 at Warnambool, Victoria and educated at St Patrick’s Christian Brothers College, Xavier, and the University of Melbourne (Newman College). He graduated Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery from the University of Melbourne in 1925.

Looking for excitement, he joined the Royal Air Force in England in 1928 but it did not teach him to fly. He returned to Australia and headed for the outback, first to Wyndham in Western Australian and then to Darwin for four months.

Life was too restrictive for this irrepressible personality. He learned to fly but the Royal Flying Doctor Service was cautious and would not employ him. His mother raised the money for a used Gypsy Moth aircraft and in March 1934 he returned to the Northern Territory as the government medical officer at Katherine. On his own initiative he started an aerial ambulance or rescue service, which grew into the Northern Territory Aerial Medical Service. He was paid mileage for the aeroplane at the same rate as mileage for the use of a private car.

Most requests for help came by pedal-radios through the two Royal Flying Doctor Service radio stations at Cloncurry and Wyndham which then sent the messages on by telegram. With great daring and disregard for personal safety, Fenton landed on crude airstrips and saved lives, which might otherwise have been lost. He arranged for flares to light the airstrip near the hospital and advised people in the outback on the use of flares or car lights so he could fly at night. There was scant navigational equipment and no radio communication to guide him but flying back to Katherine he had two reliable markers, the shiny lines of the railway and the Katherine River which flowed beside the hospital. He would ‘buzz’ the hospital, flares would be set out and lit and he would land. The people in the outback loved the drama and daring but the Civil Aviation Department saw only broken rules. Fenton was not blameless as he did aerobatics over Darwin, once buzzed a crowded open-air picture theatre and in 1938 landed a government aircraft on Mindil beach, Darwin, a feat that earned him an official reprimand.

On 30 May 1934 he was to fly a government geologist from the Ord River to Katherine when he received an emergency call to the other side of the Territory. He took off in the moonlight, planning to make Wave Hill that night, but the telegram he sent was not received until the next day. He made a forced landing near Victoria River Downs and wrecked the aircraft. In later years he survived two more crashes, one at Manbulloo, and the third on the golf course near Darwin. In the latter he suffered a broken nose, a scar he carried for life. Dr Fenton’s second aircraft, another Gypsy Moth, VH-VO1, was bought with money borrowed from the government and then deducted from his salary. He gave them his life insurance policy as a guarantee. The people of Darwin, in whose eyes he was a hero, bought the third aircraft through public subscription.

In March 1936 his sister died in China, leaving his elderly mother bereaved. A couple of days later, with extra fuel tanks from his first aircraft, he was on his way to Swatow in China with nothing more than his passport. This trip, which took three months, much initiative and even more audacity, was a feat of some magnitude in a small open aircraft.

Early in 1937 the government decided to purchase a bigger aircraft, but it was not ready by June when the chief medical officer asked Dr Fenton to check on three very isolated cattle stations. As there was an emergency obstetric case to be delivered at Beetaloo he did that first, flew to Newcastle Waters and headed for Tanumbirini on the morning of 21 September. A strong wind off the Barkly Tableland possibly caused drift; he missed OT and could not find Tanumbirini. With his petrol running short he made a forced landing near a lagoon with clear water. He was found five days later by Lieutenant W Hely, Royal Australian Air force (RAAF), having killed for food an emaciated cow bogged in the lagoon. This highlighted the need for a radio in the aircraft but the problem was to find one small enough. After this near tragedy in 1937 he took a holiday and returned with the new government aircraft.

The government aeroplane could carry a stretcher case and a nurse as escort but he used his own aircraft to land on strips too short for the bigger government aircraft. As time permitted, Dr Fenton visited missions and cattle properties to assess the health of the Aborigines. There was a limit to how much one man could do as he was always on call for emergencies. He also provided a medical clinic at Pine Creek each Saturday morning.

Dr Fenton played a considerable role in urging people to clear airstrips for emergencies, advising them on suitable sites and the need for all-weather strips.

For almost four years, Dr Fenton demanded a transceiver based at Katherine for medical calls to supersede the system of telegrams via Adelaide to Darwin from both Wyndham and Cloncurry. This was being installed in May 1940 when he was called up for the RAAF. He also wanted a transceiver for the aircraft so he could make contact when on the ground; contact in the air was more difficult. Radios with batteries weighed about 54 kilograms and he needed a lightweight radio of no more than 6.8 kilograms. While on leave he discussed the need at length with Qantas and Amalgamated Wireless Australia Ltd’s senior personnel. The light radio for the aircraft had become a possibility, but it had not been installed before he joined the RAAF.

The call-up for the RAAF arrived by telegram on 14 May 1940. When he left, the whole service was transferred to Darwin where a local pilot, **Roy Edwards**, was employed to fly the government aircraft. Either a doctor or a nurse could accompany the pilot on emergency flights. Being in Darwin helped overcome the problem of servicing the aircraft. Dr Fenton was not an aircraft mechanic, yet he had done the day-to-day running repairs. The service which he had started continued but with the pilot, doctor and mechanic as separate individuals, a policy which was to continue.

The RAAF used Fenton at Camden in New South Wales as a flying instructor, then sent him back to Darwin in February 1942 to help select sites for dispersal airstrips. He was to service the outlying bases and went to Melbourne on 18 February to select a suitable aircraft. Darwin was bombed the next day. Dr Fenton was then based

at Manbulloo airstrip near Katherine. Other pilots and crew joined him. He made many emergency medical flights while other pilots carried army doctors to emergencies. In August 1942 No 6 Communications Flight was formed with Dr Fenton in command. This unit delivered mail and food supplies to army and RAAF outposts, including a radar station in the Wessell Islands. They transported men back and forth and searched for crashed pilots and other missing personnel.

On 25 February 1943 No. 6 Communications Flight transferred to the Batchelor airstrip, the same day that the enemy bombed the Medical Receiving Station at Coomalie Creek. Fenton continued in command, with the rank of Squadron Leader, when the flight was expanded into 6 Communications Unit in November 1943. This unit used probably the widest range of aircraft ever flown by a RAAF squadron, including Tiger Moths, Dragons, Ansons, Vultee Vengeance dive-bombers, a Hudson and a Beaufort bomber and three Walrus amphibians. 'Doc' Fenton flew with the same dash and disregard for authority as he had in civilian life and drew similar people around him; but 6 Communications Unit never lost a pilot. His men considered him 'a one-man air force' and his Officers' Mess was famed for its conviviality. Fenton was demobilised in December 1945. One of his pilots, [Jack Slade](#), remained in the north to restart the post-war Aerial Medical Service.

Fenton spent the rest of his working years as a quarantine officer with the Commonwealth Department of Health in Melbourne until his retirement on 29 March 1966. He married a widow, Bonny Catalano in 1963. He died on 28 February 1982.

He recorded his pre-war flying exploits in a book, *Flying Doctor*. In spite of a brusque manner he was loved and respected; the people in the outback knew he would be there when needed. A wartime airstrip was named after him and he was remembered by Clyde Fenton Primary School in Katherine.

C Fenton, *Flying Doctor*, facsimile edition, 1982; personal correspondence of C Fenton and Mrs Fenton, and oral history records of P Taylor, R Edwards, J Slade, in possession of author, AA Darwin, CRS P1 39/567; AA Canberra, CRS A1928, 715/40; *Health*, vol 16, no 2, June 1966.

ELLEN KETTLE, *Vol 1*.

FINNIGAN, TIM: see [MAMITPA](#)

FINNISS, BOYLE TRAVERS (1807–1893), surveyor, civil servant and politician, was born at sea on 18 August 1807 off the Cape of Good Hope, eldest son of Captain John Finnis, Paymaster of the 36th and 56th regiments, and Susanna Major. He lived in Madras as a child and was sent to school in Greenwich before his father went to Mauritius as chief commissary of police in 1824. Finnis entered the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, as a highly promising student in 1827 and was appointed ensign in the 88th Regiment in 1825. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1827 and after a brief time with the 56th Regiment was transferred to the 82nd, which he accompanied to Mauritius in 1833. There he was responsible for supervising the construction of a large bridge. His regiment was later sent to Dublin where he married Anne Frances Rogerson of Mullingar, County Westmeath, on 13 August 1835. Shortly afterward he applied in London for a grant of land in New South Wales and when this was refused he involved himself in moves to establish a colony at Gulf St Vincent, selling his commission so that he could apply for the post of Deputy Surveyor-General in South Australia.

Finniss and his wife arrived on *Cygnets* at Kingscote, Kangaroo Island, on 11 September 1836 and their daughter Fanny Lipson was the first white child born in the colony, on 31 December. After some surveying work on Kangaroo Island and the mainland, he worked with Colonel William Light on the survey of Adelaide, strongly supporting his choice of site against bitter criticism from many settlers. When he and Light resigned in July 1838 in protest against instructions brought from the South Australian commissioners, they formed a surveying firm and Finnis was responsible for laying out the town of Gawler. When Light died in October 1839, Finnis acquired a water mill at Burnside to grind flour and saw timber and when this venture failed he returned to government service as Commissioner of Police and Police Magistrate. During the 1840s he formed a volunteer militia known as the 'Adelaide Marksmen', of which he was Captain, and later commanded the volunteer Adelaide Regiment. He succeeded Captain Charles Sturt as Registrar-General and Treasurer in 1847, positions which gave him a seat on the Executive and Legislative Councils, and was nominated to the new Legislative Council in 1851. In 1852 he became Colonial Secretary and was involved in the drafting of the Constitution Bill. He administered the government during the six months interregnum before the arrival of Governor Sir Richard MacDonnell and on 24 October became the first Premier of South Australia under responsible government. After a patchy political career he resigned his seat in October 1862 and lived on his official pension.

His military and surveying background may have recommended him for the appointment of Government Resident in the newly acquired Northern Territory in March 1864 although it is more likely to have been a sinecure for an unemployed politician now aged fifty-seven. F S Dutton had recommended him for the position and this was not opposed by anyone. However, he had little influence over the selection of his officers (apart from his son Fred), who were protégés of ministers and other politicians, or of his men, who had little notion of conditions in the north and the work to be done. Following representations from [George Windsor Earl](#) and others, the Hart government had decided on Adam Bay at the western end of Van Diemen's Gulf as the first location to be considered for settlement, although the earlier focus of interest had been the Victoria River area where [Augustus Charles Gregory](#) had said there were more than three million acres suitable for grazing. Instructions given to Finnis by Chief Secretary Henry Ayers in April stressed that Adam Bay should be judged on its ability to provide a secure, easily navigable and well-located port and a healthy site for a capital, with close proximity to water and timber. If Adam Bay proved unable to meet this criterion, he was then to investigate Port Patterson,

the Victoria River, the other inlets of Van Diemen's Gulf and the western side of the Gulf of Carpentaria—in that order. Once a suitable site (or sites) had been chosen, his task was to survey 250 000 acres of town lots and rural sections as quickly as possible to satisfy the colonial and British investors who had already purchased most of the land orders on sale since 1 March.

Finniss and half the party arrived at Adam Bay on the *Henry Ellis* on 21 June 1864 after a voyage that had been marred by Finniss's attempts to enforce military-style discipline. When water could not be found where they landed at Escape Cliffs, Finniss had the surviving stock and some supplies taken sixty kilometres up the Adelaide River. When he failed to find suitable land in that vicinity and discovered that the river was not easily navigable he returned to Escape Cliffs where water was now found. This, together with its exposure to sea breezes and close access to the sea, persuaded him that it should be the site of the capital. It was a decision that, together with his abrasive style of command, set him at loggerheads with his officers and by 16 September he was already complaining to Ayers about breaches of discipline. In the meantime the remaining stores were unloaded and stores and stock taken up the river were brought back. Brief visits to Port Darwin and Port Patterson with Commander John Hutchison on the survey vessel *Beatrice* only convinced Finniss of the wisdom of the Escape Cliffs choice although he made no investigation of the hinterland in either case.

The work of surveying did not begin until after December, when the remainder of the party arrived on the *South Australian*, but also on board were land agents and a journalist whose outspoken criticisms of Escape Cliffs were to influence the government against Finniss's choice. After strong representations to Governor Sir Dominick Daly by land-order holders led by H B T Strangways, Finniss was instructed to investigate other sites but his reports on Port Darwin, Port Patterson and the Victoria River were negative in the extreme and he continued to argue for Escape Cliffs. In the meantime surveying went on in spite of the fact that much of the land in the vicinity was waterlogged in the wet season. Ayers finally recalled Finniss in a despatch of 21 September 1865, which accused him of delay and inaction and failure to provide adequate information. The senior surveyor with the party, **J T Manton**, was appointed to act in his place and the explorer **John McKinlay** was commissioned to examine the country 'thoroughly' and report on the best places for settlement and the location of the capital.

A three-man official inquiry established under Colonel W L O'Halloran in February 1806 produced a majority report that Finniss had 'prematurely' fixed the site for the capital, but O'Halloran in his dissenting report pointed out that he had done exactly what he had been told in his initial instructions, which had not required a full investigation of the country unless the Adelaide River area proved to be unsuitable. There had also been severe problems with communications, many of the despatches between Adelaide and Adam Bay being routed through Timor. Nevertheless, Finniss's failure to supervise loading of supplies for the expedition, his stubborn temperament and his reliance on disciplinary authority had helped to produce an expensive fiasco.

Finniss was agent for the British Australian Telegraph Company in 1870–71 at Palmerston (later Darwin), the site finally chosen by **Surveyor-General George Goyder** in 1869 on the basis of Manton's recommendations and the earlier reports of **John Lort Stokes**. He also served as member of the Forest Board in 1875 and as Auditor-General in 1876, resigning from public office in 1881. During retirement he wrote *The Constitutional History of South Australia* (1886) and he died at Kensington Park on 24 December 1893. His name is commemorated by the Finniss River south of Darwin and Lake Finniss to the northeast but is more closely associated with Escape Cliffs, on which he staked his reputation.

P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; C C Manhood, 'The Life of Boyle Travers Finniss (1807–1893)', BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1966; R H W Reeve, 'Palmerston (Darwin): Four Expeditions in Search of a Capital', in P Statham (ed), *The Origins of Australia's Capital Cities*, 1988; SAPP; SAPD; Finniss Papers, SAA.

BOB REECE, Vol 1.

FISHER, CHARLES BROWN (1817–1908), pastoralist, was born in England on 25 September 1817, the third child of South Australia's first Resident Commissioner—and subsequently first Mayor of Adelaide—Sir James Hurtle Fisher. He arrived in South Australia with his parents at the age of 19 in the *Buffalo*. The population of the unsurveyed capital, Adelaide, was just seven—most of the colonists living instead near the sea at Glenelg. He recalled: 'On the following morning [29 December 1836] I came on shore with Parer and walked up to that beautiful and, to us, interesting spot where the town of Adelaide was to be erected, where we slept for the first time in our lives with nothing but a piece of canvas to shelter us from the weather.'

Before arriving in the colony Charles had spent two years working on a farm in Northamptonshire, and his fascination for the land stemmed largely from this experience.

Soon after his arrival he commenced, in partnership with his brother James, a career as a merchant and importer. However, it did not take him long to travel north beyond the 'town' boundary to Little Para. Here he 'squatted' with a mob of '646 ewes, 2 wethers and 14 rams', which he had purchased in partnership with a horseracing friend. He wrote: 'The most profitable investment after all is sheep. They are an almost certain return of 80% if managed properly. James and I intend to purchase a flock as soon as it lies in our power, which I trust will not be very long hence, and I shall go and squat in the interior and he will manage the business of merchant in town and as soon as we get a flock of sheep here I shall consider our fortunes made for the increase is so great and the rent for pasturage so trifling that the expenses attendant upon a flock will be not worth naming.'

He added: 'There is nothing in this world that I delight more in that... a pastoral life, which will be far more interesting here in an unexplored country than in England.'

Fisher's Little Para run was sold in 1840, and from there he commenced farming on land earlier granted to his brother James, near the present suburb of Lockleys. By dealing in stock on the Adelaide market, which he soon

came to dominate, and with profits from his other businesses, Fisher was quickly out of debt. By 1844 he was farming along the River Torrens reed beds on quite a substantial scale, planting 123 acres (50 hectares) of crop, and running sheep, cattle, horses and pigs.

From early in life 'CB', as he was affectionately known, showed a great passion for horses and horseracing. He was an excellent horseman, and achieved an early reputation for his long rides. He often argued that horses 'of the early days' had markedly more stamina than those of latter years, and proved their staying power with rides of up to 100 kilometres on horses taken straight off the grass. On one occasion, it was said, he set off from Lockleys for Inman Valley, almost eighty kilometres away, to muster cattle for a friend. He had them in the yards before breakfast, and was back in Adelaide to sell them for slaughter on the following morning.

Fisher's businesses expanded rapidly, the 1840s being the golden age for business expansion in the colonies. He was quick-witted, adventurous, and astute enough to invest his profits in land.

Over the years Fisher went on to purchase a number of important South Australian pastoral properties. These included stations such as Bundaleer, Hill River, Wirrabara, Mount Schank, The Levels, Moorak, Port Gawler, Thurk and Ned's Corner.

One of Fisher's most important properties in South Australia, and clearly the one most closely associated with him, was Hill River, near Clare. This was purchased in 1855 from Robert 'Encounter Bay Bob' Robinson for 44 000 Pounds. The lease, of which 66 000 acres (26 730 hectares) were to be converted into freehold at an additional cost of 90 000 Pounds, ran 40 000 sheep at the time of its purchase. It was to Hill River that 'CB' devoted much of his energy and money. Here he pioneered extensive cereal cropping (one early photograph shows 50 mechanical strippers at work in the one paddock!) and the breeding of large-framed densely covered sheep—known subsequently as the 'Fisher Merino'—and Shorthorn cattle. He was an exceptionally good judge of livestock and thus knew what he was aiming for in his breeding.

It seemed during the 1850s that everything Fisher touched turned to gold. Whatever he did was done on a grand scale. In fact in 1856 he was able to write to his brother James in England telling him that their various undertakings were so prosperous that 'I am thankful we are now in a position to help others'.

'CB' faced the first of a number of financial difficulties during the early 1860s, caused in part by his rapid expansion in land—and from drought—and partly due to problems caused, so it was claimed, by the American Civil War. A pattern thus emerged which tended to repeat itself throughout his life: large enterprises, success, difficulties, financial rearrangement, and then embarking again on further expansion.

Although Fisher acquired substantial property in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland, it was the Territory that not only dwarfed all his other land holdings but also contributed to his later financial collapse.

In the 1880s, in partnership with Maurice Lyons, a Melbourne magistrate and businessman, Fisher acquired vast parcels of land in the Northern Territory. These included approximately 40 000 square miles (103 600 square kilometres) in the Palmerston area, and a further 15 890 square miles (41 155 square kilometres) in the Victoria River district. In area this was equivalent to almost two-thirds of the state of Victoria.

CB Fisher and Maurice Lyons were the first to open up and stock pastoral land in northern Australia on such a large scale. Land was acquired for the purpose of running cattle; not, as was the case in many other instances, for speculation.

It was to their Glencoe run that the partners brought their first breeding cattle from Queensland. This 18 000 square mile (46 629 square kilometre) station, said at the time to include some of the best pastoral country in the Territory, was purchased from Travers and Gibson in 1881. Improvements were quickly undertaken under the direction of H W H Stevens, Fisher's and Lyons' Darwin manager.

'In place of two thatched huts, which were designated by the name of homestead, and a small yard capable of holding only 300 head of cattle, there are now good iron buildings. Large stockyards after a fashion of those on the more modern runs in Queensland are in course of construction; paddocks are being made around the homestead, and others for the reception of stock for weaning. There are now 1900 head of cattle, and 86 horses on the run. The stock are principally store cattle, but they are to be replaced by others en route, the intention being to keep Glencoe as a thoroughly good breeding station.'

As well as Glencoe, the partners acquired 21 000 square miles (54 400 square kilometres) on the eastern bank of the Adelaide River, a further 1 000 square miles (2 590 square kilometres) on the Daly, and land—a mere 21 000 acres (8 500 hectares)—suitable for agriculture, in the Hundred of Bagot, north of Palmerston.

In one of the greatest feats of droving ever undertaken, **Nat Buchanan** was contracted to deliver 20 000 head of Shorthorn cattle to Glencoe—droving them over a distance of 2 800 kilometres of unexplored country. Most came from Fisher's own properties in Queensland.

Due to an outbreak of 'redwater' amongst the cattle on Glencoe, and overstocking those parts of the station previously readied to handle the cattle, Fisher and Lyons were obliged to look elsewhere for country on which to run their herd. As they had recently acquired immense leases in the Victoria River district, it was to there they turned their attention. Thus Victoria River Downs was established with the arrival of the first breeders from Glencoe in mid-1883, under the charge of **Lindsay Crawford**. Numbers quickly built up on what Fisher called 'the largest cattle station in the world'. It was a station so remote and, as was quickly realised by its new owners, so large, that it was to become the 'last straw' for the partners.

During the 1880s, Fisher extended his financial resources beyond their limits. Large mortgages were held over land and stock, particularly on his assets in the Northern Territory (by the Bank of New South Wales), and at one stage included 146 pastoral leases covering 36 166 square miles (93 670 square kilometres) and 20 000 head of cattle. Further mortgages were raised from R Goldsbrough and Company Ltd., this firm being involved in Fisher's Doondi Station in Queensland.

As his financial problems compounded Fisher sought help from various quarters, including the South Australian government. In a letter to the Minister of Education, who had jurisdiction over the Northern Territory, Fisher asked for assistance in developing a horse-breeding program on his Territory leases in order to supply thousands of horses for the Indian Government Remount service. This did not eventuate, as the minister advised that the government was not in the position to grant 'favours' to private individuals.

Fisher, even during his times of hardship, was a visionary. As early as 1884 he was responsible for the first attempt to export beef to Singapore, Hong Kong and Batavia. Later, under Goldsbrough's, and with [H W H Stevens](#) managing the operation, live cattle exports were established—ironically, with a subsidy provided by the South Australian government.

Various attempts were made by Fisher and Lyons to sell their Northern Territory leases. In 1884 the Northern Territory Corporation of South Australia was formed in London, by Goldsbrough, to acquire 'the properties... selected by Messrs Fisher and Lyons [who] being large capitalists were enabled to secure a very considerable portion of the cream of the country'. Further credit was extended to Fisher to avoid 'his absolute financial ruin'. Goldsbrough's general manager, F E Stewart, in a letter to his London board, advised: 'To us here such an event would be of national importance: it would strike a blow at the pastoral interest which would be felt far and wide. Hitherto considered a tower of strength, his stoppage would destroy confidence, and not only would the effects be felt in this and neighbouring colonies, but even in England ... the consequences would be baneful in the extreme.'

After further negotiations, the Northern Australian Territory Company Ltd was floated to acquire Fisher's land (May 1887), payment was effected for his Territory assets and his involvement in the Territory was brought to an end.

Fisher's financial problems were not entirely of his own making. Nor did they result from overcommitting himself in the Northern Territory. Guarantees to friends in difficulty cost 'CB' dearly in the mid-eighties. Further financial pressures resulting from falling wool prices, the demands of tottering banks, the failure of friends to pay for stock: all added to Fisher's difficulties. Thus, in February 1895, with a shortfall of 691 655 Pounds in assets over liabilities, 'the gallant old gentleman, in his eightieth year, had to face the sequestration of his estate'.

Fisher died at Glenelg on 6 May 1908, aged 90. He was regarded with affection throughout his life by a wide circle of friends and nowhere more than in horseracing circles. Throughout much of his life he played an important part in breeding and racing horses, and his memory was maintained by two of the most important events on the turf calendar—the CB Fisher Plate in Melbourne, and the CB Fisher Stakes in Adelaide.

G Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 1933; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; J Makin, *The Big Run*, 1983; G C Morphet, *C B Fisher: Pastoralist, Studmaster and Sportsman*; H J Scott, *South Australia in 1887*, 1887; W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as it is*, 1882; *Adelaide Observer*, 9 May 1908; 'Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia', *Adelaide Stock and Station J*, 1922; Material supplied to the writer re Fisher and Lyons, Bank of NSW Archives, 1965; Goldsbrough Mort and Company Ltd, sundry papers re C B Fisher and Northern Australian Territory Company Ltd 188692, ANU A, 2/876, p 8; NT Papers, Correspondence (Inwards), Office of Minister of Education and the NT, No 731, 1883.

JOCK MAKIN, *Vol 1*.

FITZER, EILEEN MARJORY nee STYLES also GRIBBON (1902–), nursing sister and Territory pioneer, was born in Brock's Creek, Northern Territory, on 29 March 1902, the youngest of five children born to Tom Styles and his wife Eleanor, nee Tuckwell. Eleanor had been born in Palmerston, later Darwin, in 1873 to [Ned](#) and [Eliza Tuckwell](#), who were amongst the Territory's first European settlers, Ned working on [George Goyder](#)'s survey gangs in 1869 and Eliza and family joining him in 1870.

Eileen spent her early years at Brock's Creek, where her father was underground manager for the Zapopan Mine. Eileen and her three sisters, Lillian, Gertrude and [Myrtle](#), and brother Walter spent a great deal of time with the Byrnes children who lived at nearby Burnside Station. The children went to school together and the two families spent many happy hours singing and dancing. Both Tom and Eleanor were very musical and passed on their talents to their daughters. Myrtle in particular became a well-known Territory entertainer in her adult life.

When Eileen was seven she and Myrtle went to Sydney with their mother, who was seeking medical help for cancer. It was, though, too advanced and they returned to Palmerston, where Eleanor died in 1910 at the age of 36. For a while Myrtle and Lillian lived with their grandmother, Eliza Tuckwell, and Eileen and Gertrude were sent to the newly opened Darwin convent school for three years. Their brother Walter went to Queensland to work but when the First World War broke out he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force and was later killed at Gallipoli. His death caused great sorrow amongst Eileen and her sisters, as the family had been extremely close.

Meanwhile Tom Styles had found work again at Brock's Creek, where he took his four daughters. Later the family moved to Pine Creek, where Tom worked as a blacksmith and on the railway and the girls continued their schooling. Eileen helped out for a time at the Pine Creek Hotel, then run by the Weedon Brothers, whose sister, [May Brown](#), was one of the Territory's most flamboyant publicans and wealthy miners.

Towards the end of the First World War, Tom decided to try peanut farming in the Katherine region and the four Styles girls moved to Darwin where, for a short time, they set up a 'bachelor pad' in Smith Street near Brown's Mart, which belonged to their uncle, the well known auctioneer and businessman [V V Brown](#). Eileen worked for a while as a salesgirl at the large European store, Jollys, which was located nearby and which was managed by Jim Fawcett, whom Myrtle Styles later married.

Eileen participated in many of the town's social and political events, including helping to campaign for the Territory's first member of the federal parliament, [Harold Nelson](#). In 1921 Eileen was among the women who cooked meals for Nelson and other men who had voluntarily gone to jail for refusing to pay taxes until they

received representation in parliament. 'We would prepare roast meals and then take them to the jail and have a great sing along and entertain the men who were there; most of them put on weight during their stay because the food was so good', she later recalled in an interview.

In 1928 Gertrude Styles decided Eileen should train for a profession and financed her to do a nursing course in Melbourne. She spent four years getting her double certificate in nursing at the Queen Victoria Hospital and spending much of her spare time with Harold Nelson and his family, who were living in Melbourne during sessions of the federal parliament. But Eileen missed the Territory and as soon as she had sat for her exams she took the train to Alice Springs, where she stayed for a while with her sister Lillian, who had married [John Lovegrove](#), a well-known Territory policeman.

Eileen was soon appointed as nursing sister at the Bungalow, a home for part Aboriginal children. While she was there a severe trachoma epidemic broke out in Alice Springs and she spent several weeks in isolation treating people who had contracted the disease. She and her two teenage assistants saw virtually no other people while they were administering the treatments.

In 1934 the Territory's chief medical officer, [Dr Cecil Cook](#), transferred Eileen to Pine Creek, where she was Sister in charge of the hospital. It was during this period that she met [Dr Clyde Fenton](#), the famed Territory flying doctor, who was stationed at Katherine but visited Pine Creek at least once a week. He was a practical joker as well as a highly skilled doctor and pilot and Eileen, who often flew with him, experienced many of his stunts first hand. She remained friends with him throughout his life, having the highest regard for his medical expertise and devotion to duty and thoroughly enjoying his keen sense of humour and mischievous antidotes.

In 1936 Eileen received the devastating news of the death in Perth of her sister Gertrude, who had married the surveyor [Bill Easton](#). Eileen was deeply distressed and decided she did not want to be on her own any longer. Within weeks she married a long time friend, Harry Gribbon, whom she affectionately referred to as her 'wild Irishman'. They moved to Darwin for a while before trying their luck on the Wauchope wolfram mining fields near Tennant Creek in 1939. For about 18 months Eileen was the only European woman on the fields and was often called on to nurse sick miners.

Following this, Eileen was asked to relieve the nursing sister at the Channel Island Leprosarium for a few months. She looked after about 120 lepers. It was a very fulfilling time for her and was followed by another job as Matron at the new Bagot Aboriginal compound in Darwin. A short time later she and Harry bought the Adelaide River Hotel, and, as the military build up in the Top End increased, they had 'a very busy period'. But Harry soon became very ill and was in Darwin Hospital when the decision was made at the end of 1941 to evacuate all women and children as well as the elderly and infirm.

Eileen and Harry were evacuated from Darwin in December 1941 on USS *President Grant*, along with about 250 Darwin women and children. Once Harry was settled in Sydney, Eileen sought and received permission to return to Adelaide River to settle up their business affairs. She was on her way to Port Pirie when she heard that Darwin had been bombed. She arrived in Alice Springs as the evacuees were just arriving from Darwin. She eventually got a ride in a private truck with a friend from Alice Springs to Adelaide River, where she was allowed to stay at nearby Mount Bundy Station. She was the only civilian woman there at the time although there were several military nurses, some of whom she knew. The Matron in charge, [Edith McQuade White](#), was a particular friend of hers and Eileen handed over anything from the hotel that could be of use in the hospital. During Eileen's four-week stay in the region she heard aeroplanes and sirens almost daily as the Japanese continued their bombing raids on the Top End.

After a few weeks, Eileen returned to Sydney where she remained with her husband until he died in 1943. Shortly after his death, she got a telegram from a close Territory friend whose husband owned Tipperary Station and was being treated in Sydney Hospital for a serious illness. He had been told he could return to Tipperary if he had a trained nurse to accompany him, so Eileen was offered the job, which she accepted without hesitation, being anxious to return to the Territory.

Tipperary was very much in the military zone and often visited by soldiers. It was while she was there that Eileen renewed her friendship with one of the Territory's most famous policemen, [Tas Fitzer](#), then officer in charge of the Daly River Police Station. The station had been taken over by the military and it was Tas's job to look for lost airmen by horse patrol and black trackers and to help train military personnel how to survive in the bush.

The circumstances under which Tas and Eileen renewed their acquaintance were potentially tragic. Tas had been badly injured when a wild colt kicked him and had remained in agony on his verandah for 17 days. As it was the middle of the Wet, Tas knew a flying doctor could not land but also knew he was becoming semi delirious. He scribbled a note that he gave to a faithful black tracker, instructing him to take it to 'Sister Eileen' at Tipperary. The tracker travelled by foot over 48 kilometres to reach her and returned three days later with a note from Eileen explaining that with the help of 14 Aborigines she had penetrated bogs and creeks to get within 18 kilometres of the police station. She sent instructions for the trackers to improvise a stretcher and carry Tas back to her, a feat they eventually accomplished after many gruelling hours. After giving Tas morphine, Eileen organised for him to be treated at a nearby Army hospital.

A romance blossomed and in April 1945 Tas and Eileen were married at Tipperary Station in a 'beautiful ceremony' that lasted for three days. Following the wedding, the couple moved to their home on the Daly River, where Tas was stationed. It was while there in 1946 that Eileen had a close call with death and, with the help and skill of Aboriginal trackers, had to be evacuated through flooded Daly River country to Darwin, where her life was saved and her ordeal made headlines throughout the country. Within a few weeks she was well again and able to resume her life at the Daly, where she soon became known as the 'White Queen of the Daly River'.

The couple next moved to Timber Creek, where they served for many years before Tas retired in 1955. They moved to Avalon in New South Wales because Tas had been given medical advice to leave the tropics. Following his death in 1966, Eileen returned to Darwin, where she was still living in 1992 when she celebrated her 90th birthday with a huge party attended by her family and many friends. Among the guests were the children, grandchildren and great grandchildren of her sisters Myrtle Fawcett and Lillian Lovegrove, some being fifth generation descendants of the pioneering Tuckwell family, of whom Eileen had always been exceptionally proud. She had travelled widely both within Australia and overseas, and had friends throughout the world, but was always anxious to return to the Northern Territory, the only place she called 'home'.

Following her return to the Territory, Eileen was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for her services to nursing and the Territory community.

B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989; Northern Territory Women's Register, 1991; *Star*, Darwin, articles c 1980; Northern Territory Archives Service, transcripts of interviews with R Jamieson and B James; personal interview notes and records.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

FITZER, TASMAN CHARLES VIVIAN (TAS) (1896–1966), policeman, was born in Melbourne, Victoria, on 4 July 1896, the son of William Henry Fitzer and his wife Mary Catherine, *nee* Diamond, who were married in New Zealand in November 1884 and moved to Albert Park, Melbourne. His father, who was born in London, travelled as an importer, but was listed as an accountant in Victoria. Fitzer was educated at Christchurch in New Zealand.

Fitzer first came north to Thursday Island, Queensland, to work for the Army in 1918 and 1919. He met many Territorians going through on the Burns Philp ships, travelling to the eastern states. He joined the Northern Territory Police Force as a Mounted Constable in 1925 and was posted fairly early to outback police stations. Posted to Timber Creek in the Victoria River District in 1927, he was one of a handful of officers who kept law and order in some of the Territory's loneliest regions. All outback police posts like Timber Creek were one-man stations. From them lone policemen with Aboriginal trackers on horseback patrolled large areas in search of cattle duffers, white desperadoes and Aboriginal outlaws. In later years two men stations were the rule, which meant that there was normally a policeman at a station while the other was out on patrol.

Flo Martin, daughter of [Alf Martin](#), the long time Manager of Victoria River Downs Station, remembered Fitzer at Timber Creek as 'a tall athletic man and he was one of the most popular in the Force. He was a friend to bagman, stockman, drover, station folk and all. He had a humane understanding of the problems of the natives.' Only the toughest men were recruited into the Territory Police Force and they usually considered themselves seasoned troopers after they had served a term at the isolated Timber Creek Police Station. The country in that region was known as 'bad blackfellow country', especially north of the Bradshaw Run and across the Fitzmaurice River. Even up to the 1930s the police at Timber Creek were having trouble with the Aborigines. [Nemarluk](#) and his warriors from the Fitzmaurice area were wanted for the murders of three Japanese, a Malay, whites and Aborigines and for cattle spearing on nearby pastoral runs.

Fitzer married Lawrie Jean Osborne in Darwin in 1931 and took a first long leave to New Zealand at this stage. Serving at various stations, including Katherine and Emungalan, during the 1930s, he stayed in the Territory during the Second World War in the Army's North Australia Observer Unit. His role was to train and instruct unit members in the elements of bush craft and living off the land. He was the 'Bush Tucker Man' of the 1940s, teaching groups of young soldiers how to find bush tucker and cook such things as goannas and crocodile eggs.

Fitzer married his second wife, [Eileen Gribbon](#), *nee* Styles, at Tipperary Station in April 1945. After the war they served at Brocks Creek, Daly River and Timber Creek again before Fitzer retired in 1955. In 1952 Fitzer accepted an invitation from his friend Charles Chauvel, the famous filmmaker, to play the role of the Northern Territory mounted policeman in the film *Jedda*. Concerned with the lives of two Aborigines in the Territory, it was shot on various locations in the Top End and Central Australia and is now regarded as a cinema classic.

In retirement, the couple settled at Avalon in New South Wales, following medical advice given to Fitzer to leave the tropics. He died in August 1966. His efforts were later recognised when he was commemorated as an 'unsung hero' in the Australian Stockman's Hall of Fame at Longreach in Queensland. Fitzer Drive in Darwin also perpetuated his memory.

S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 13 October 1931; *Northern Territory News*, 23 August 1966; Birth certificate, Melbourne; Timber Creek Police Journals, in Northern Territory Archives Service; information from Australian Stockman's Hall of Fame, 1990.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

'FLASH POLL': see [MEMORIMBO](#)

FLETCHER, JOHN WILLIAM (1884–1965), meatworks manager, pastoralist and politician, was born on 25 January 1884, son of John Walker Fletcher, school master and later a magistrate, and his wife Ann, *nee* Clark. He was educated at Sydney Grammar School and after employment with G S Yuill and Company in 1910 purchased an interest in a meat preserving works near Hughenden in Queensland. On 25 October 1910 he married Evelyn Barbara de Winton in Brisbane. They had a son and four daughters.

Fletcher subsequently managed a meatworks in Gladstone and acquired several Queensland pastoral properties. He was prominent in the community life of Gladstone and represented the Port Curtis electorate in the Queensland parliament as a Nationalist between 1920 and 1923. Following the death of his first wife, on 4 April 1934 he

married Amy Muriel Cribb in Brisbane. They had no children. He was an office holder in primary producers' organisations and charities.

On the recommendation of W L Payne, Chairman of the Queensland Land Administration Board, on 23 March 1937 Fletcher was appointed by the Commonwealth government with Payne to report on land development policy in the Northern Territory. They travelled 16 000 kilometres and examined 150 witnesses before submitting their very comprehensive report on 10 October. Its recommendations appealed to neither pastoralists nor the government. Even so, it revealed a generally accurate understanding of the Territory's economic difficulties. Because of this it was sometimes regarded as 'the last word... upon the problem of the Northern Territory.' In particular, it urged pastoralists in several areas to change from cattle production to wool growing, suggested two new railway projects to encourage this, recommended that there should be continued taxation relief and a relaxation of tariffs, forcefully criticised the Territory's administration, particularly the lack of coordination between different departments in Darwin and the 'impotence' of the Administrator, and complained of the 'all pervasiveness' of the official protection policy for Aborigines. Fletcher and Payne looked at just about all matters that they believed had an influence on Territory development. Their report is an invaluable document. The Commonwealth government, however, accepted very few of its views, using the threat of war in the late 1930s as an excuse to postpone the implementation of a new set of policies for the Territory.

Fletcher put an enormous effort into the report yet refused any payment. He was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1941 and died in Brisbane on 13 March 1965.

P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984; W L Payne & J W Fletcher, 'Report of the Board of Inquiry Appointed to Inquire into the Land and Land Industries of the Northern Territory of Australia', in *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers*, 4-1937; W C Skelsey, 'Fletcher, John William', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 8, 1981; W W Williams, 'The Payne-Fletcher Report on the Northern Territory', in *The Australian Quarterly*, vol 10, no 1, 1938.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 2.*

FLINDERS, MATTHEW (1774–1814), naval officer and marine surveyor, was born into the safe hands of his father, Matthew Flinders, the local doctor in Donington, Lincolnshire, England. Flinders came from a long line of surgeons, and it was more or less expected by his father and mother, Sussannah, *nee* Ward, that he would fill his father's shoes and serve the next generation of inhabitants of the small English village. This was not to be. At the age of 14 Flinders undertook a year's private study before joining the Royal Navy in 1789.

At age 17 Flinders sailed for Tahiti with Captain William Bligh—his first taste of the South Pacific. During the 1790s he visited the fledgling colony of New South Wales. With him was his younger brother Samuel, who had joined the voyage as a volunteer. Flinders spent four years in the colony, charting the waters of the east coast, before returning to England to publish his findings. This done, he again set out for the colony in June 1801, this time in command of the 330-tonne survey vessel *Investigator*. He left behind a bride of two months, Annette Chappell, who was the stepdaughter of the Reverend William Tyler, rector of Brothertoft near Boston. Although on a journey commissioned for only four years, he was not to see her for 10. On a voyage in which he circumnavigated Australia, Flinders carried out valuable survey work in the waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

His commission was to survey virtually the whole of the then unknown coasts of Australia. The speed required to complete this enormous task, together with the running-survey methods of the time and *Investigator's* deep draught, which kept her well offshore, meant that much was missed; in particular, the mouths of major rivers. Having already missed the Brisbane River on his journey up the east coast, he missed three more on the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, thus concluding that no inland sea was fed from the waters of the Gulf and that the persistent hope of a navigable waterway through the centre of the continent was groundless. This conclusion was in fact correct; but the question was not to be settled until [Wickham](#) and [Stokes](#) in the *Beagle*, put the matter beyond doubt in a series of voyages from 1837 to 1843.

Flinders' direct contribution to Northern Territory history tests in his survey of the western side of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The anthropological aspect of Flinders' voyage was also of some importance. The ship's botanist, Robert Brown, noted there were several distinctions between the Aborigines of the Gulf, and those of the Torres Strait Islands. Among these he noted that the 'ocean craft' of the former were only crude rafts, rather than the sophisticated canoes of the islanders, indicating that these Aborigines relied less on the ocean for transport, food or trading.

In November 1802 Flinders faced a critical situation. The ship, which had been fitted for a journey of at least four years, was found to be rotting after only sixteen months, and the ship's carpenter estimated that she could not last more than six months, even with constant fine weather. With the monsoon setting in, it was unlikely that the precondition would be met. The dangers he and his crew faced if they remained on the expedition were enormous; nevertheless, Flinders decided to remain in the Gulf until it was charted and then 'act as the rising circumstances shall most seem to require'.

On 14 December 1802 Flinders made his first major discovery within the Northern Territory. Upon rounding Cape Vanderlin, (a landmark named by the Dutch), he discovered that it was in fact an island; part of a group of islands which he named the Sir Edward Pellew Group. After charting these islands (one of which now bears the name Vanderlin), Flinders sailed northward along the Arnhem Land coast. Despite having to travel some distance offshore, Flinders discovered a third landmark, Maria Island, which the earlier Dutch explorers had incorrectly charted as a cape of the mainland, the first being Bentick Island (in Queensland). While he corrected Dutch charts of capes and islands, Flinders continued to miss the rivers. The Roper River was passed unnoticed, though there were no islands or landmarks that would have blocked his view. It is possible, however, that Flinders wanted to chart the coast as quickly as possible, becoming more anxious about his rotting ship as the monsoon set in.

The ship reached Groote Eylandt without trouble, and the New Year was seen in at the island's southern reaches. Two days later, however, a crewmember died from drowning, after having successfully guided the ship through a shoal near the island's shore.

On Chasm Inlet, just north of Groote Eylandt, though closer to the mainland, Flinders made another discovery of anthropological significance—several rock paintings in ochre and charcoal of kangaroos, porpoises, turtles and human figures.

Toward the end of January 1803 Flinders' party repelled an Aboriginal attack at Blue Mud Bay, on the coast of Arnhem Land. During the attack a marine died (of sunstroke) and another was speared; although he lived, the Aborigine who speared him did not. Morgan's Isle is so named in memory of the marine; the Aborigine was not commemorated.

By February 1803 *Investigator* had survived the first three months of its six months' life expectancy, had left the Gulf, and was at the northeastern tip of Arnhem Land. Here Flinders had his first encounter with Macassan praus, trepanning off the northern coast. Flinders was very wary of the Macassans—they numbered three times his crew—but the praus and *Investigator* parted on good terms. Flinders named the meeting place Malay Road, and gave the name of the captain with whom he conferred to a nearby island, Pobassoo.

After charting and naming, among others, the English Company's Islands, Arnhem Bay, Cape Wilberforce and Melville Bay, Flinders took his exhausted crew, by now suffering the effects of scurvy, and his rotting ship to Timor. He arrived there on the last day of March and left again within days, anxious to reach Port Jackson with his ship intact. *Investigator* limped down the Western Australian coast and continued across the Great Australian Bight to Kangaroo Island. Flinders remained there for a short time, hoping to chart the island. However several of the crew had died from dysentery and the need to reach Port Jackson quickly was even greater. In June 1803 Flinders sailed into Sydney, completing his circumnavigation of Terra Australis.

On his return voyage to England, the French imprisoned Flinders when he stopped at Mauritius; the French, unbeknown to Flinders, were in the midst of a war with England. After six years, Flinders was allowed to return to England, where he was reunited with his wife. His publication *A Voyage to Terra Australis* details his explorations in Australian waters, and it is in this book he recommended the name 'Australia' for the 'Great South Land'. Flinders died on 19 July 1814 at his home in London, as the first copies of *A Voyage to Terra Australis* were being delivered. He left behind a wife and daughter, as well as a vastly increased knowledge of Australian waters, and the Australian coastline.

Flinders' seamanship and navigation skills enabled him to survey the coastline with far more detail than those before him and so, in more ways than one, Matthew Flinders helped to shape the continent he preferred to call Australia.

J Barker, *My Own Destroyer—A Biography of Matthew Flinders*, 1962; M Colwell, *The Voyages of Matthew Flinders*, 1970; D Mack, *Matthew Flinders*, 1966.

DUNCAN McCONNEL, Vol 1.

FLINT, ERNEST EBENEZER SAMUEL (1854–1887), Overland Telegraph Line employee, was born in 1854. Nothing is known about his background—his parents, other relatives, where he lived, his education. However, some things can be inferred on the basis of his later experiences. He was probably a South Australian and there is little doubt that he received a sound education. It is also probable that he had some association, through his family or family friends; with pastoral interests and that he was a competent horseman. It is further likely that in the late 1860s he joined the post office staff in Adelaide or another major centre.

Nothing is known of his appearance, and yet this 'man of mystery' is representative of many 'white' people who lived in Central Australia in the earliest years of European settlement.

In August–September 1871 Ebenezer Flint, as he was generally known, travelled from Adelaide to Port Augusta, probably on horseback. He was one of a small party of men led by Ray Boucaut, who were joined by yet others at Port Augusta. They were the 'operators who would take charge of the telegraph stations [of the Overland Telegraph Line] as they were built and who would remain as stationmasters after the construction parties withdrew'. At 17 years of age Flint was almost certainly the youngest of a young band of men; they left Port Augusta on 26 September 1871. The initial travel, on horseback, taking turns assisting with the driving of wagonloads of equipment and stores, and on foot was a great adventure for them. They enjoyed meeting the characters of the 'back country'—the pastoral people, the bush workers and the publicans and the young women of the more 'settled' districts. The further north they travelled, though, the fewer became the white women—there were none for at least half of their journey—and the greater the difficulties of travel. They arrived at the Peake, then the major telegraph station depot in the far north of South Australia, on 13 November. Here they found that promised rifles and revolvers were not available and the majority of the men refused to travel further. Boucaut, a good leader, prevailed on the officer-in-charge to let them have one carbine and one revolver and, although this was not really adequate, all of the men agreed to continue the journey.

Upon arrival at Charlotte Waters, virtually at the Northern Territory/South Australia border and in the area of lowest rainfall in Australia, the party split for a time. C W I Kraagen, together with two others, left Boucaut, Flint and the remaining men with the teams and pushed ahead quickly for Alice Springs. However, they were unable to find water and Kraagen, on riding ahead of his two companions in a desperate search, perished. His companions survived and on 20 December 1871 Flint and his mates helped bury Kraagen on present-day Maryvale Station, some 130 kilometres south of Alice Springs. No doubt it was a sobering experience for all of them, and for Flint it was the beginning of a lesson—in the often-arid centre one must work with the country, not challenge it.

Boucalt now held the party together and they travelled at the slower teams' pace: it took eleven more days for the party to reach Alice Springs.

Flint's movements are not known for the next few years. Official records indicate that he was an assistant operator from 11 September 1871 to 31 August 1873, and that he was then appointed an operator for the next five years. It is possible that he travelled north to Barrow Creek early in 1872 and that this was his place of appointment. He was there in August 1872, at which time **Sir Charles Todd** (who had been on overall charge of the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line) visited. As Todd remained at the telegraph station for three weeks, he came to know Flint quite well—as he did the other men also.

Flint was also present at Barrow Creek when on 23 February 1874 the local Aborigines attacked the station. The men were caught unawares when, having completed their evening meal, they were sitting outside listening to Stapleton (one of the officers) playing a violin.

FJ Gillen recorded the outline details as follows: 'The staff seeing the natives approaching fully armed... ran... in the opposite direction, hoping to reach the gateway—which they found guarded by armed blacks. There was no alternative but to make a rush for the gate and this they did while the cruel spears were thrust at them from a distance of a few feet. Frank reached the kitchen door only to fall pierced through the heart by a spear, Stapleton received a spear in the groin and lived a few brief hours knowing that he was mortally wounded; he had a wife and bairns in Adelaide and to me as an operator in the Adelaide office fell the painful duty of conducting a telegraphic conversation between the dying man at the Barrow and his heartbroken wife in Adelaide. Flint the assistant received a severe spear wound in the thigh.'

Flint sent the message of the attack, then Stapleton sent a last message to his wife, dying as he concluded it: all of the able-bodied men prepared themselves for other possible attacks, which never came. In the ruthless reprisals by telegraph line staff and bushmen, Flint took no part because of his severe wound.

On 1 January 1879 Flint was appointed Stationmaster, and his salary jumped from 120 Pounds per annum to 200 Pounds. This was a good salary for the times, and the responsibility of his position automatically meant that he was appointed Justice of the Peace too. Flint, only 20 years of age at the time of the Barrow Creek attack, was evidently capable and efficient to be appointed Stationmaster at 25 years of age; most other men in positions of lesser authority can reasonably be assumed to have been older than him, yet there is no indication that he was other than respected and got the best out of people with whom he associated. This is emphasised by the fact that, within a year of his initial appointment as Stationmaster (possibly at Barrow Creek), he was appointed Stationmaster at Alice Springs. As the station at Alice Springs was the key central station on the Overland Telegraph Line, Flint was service officer with responsibilities for the maintenance of the line and facilities and the general well-being of the staff, for some 400 kilometres north and south. His salary was increased to 270 Pounds per annum, and it seems likely that, if not the youngest, he was certainly one of the youngest officers to be given such a senior position of authority.

For the next 8 years he remained Stationmaster in charge of Alice Springs Overland Telegraph Station, and during this time his interest in stock became apparent. It is possible that he personally led the search for better-watered and well-grassed areas to allow the telegraph station stock a chance of survival during the drought years 1884–85. A large mob of sheep was moved some 40 kilometres north to Painta Springs and it is probable that Flint Spring, 15 kilometres north of the telegraph station, was named after him and was also used at this time.

In 1886, in response to a request from the Government Resident at Palmerston, Flint sent information about the numbers of cattle, horses, goats and sheep in Central Australia. In addition he commented on the non-Aboriginal population, agricultural difficulties, problems caused by uncertain rainfall and potential for a viable horse-breeding industry. The Government Resident commended Flint for having 'cordially responded' to his request, and for having provided a 'valuable and complete report of the stock depastured and the general prospects of pastoral occupations in the southern stations'.

Such activities—the overall running of the southern section of the Overland Telegraph Line and regular reports—were the more mundane aspects of Flint's life. Friends had died but he had survived and learned to work with the country—as his brief comments on rainfall and stock movements suggest. His last great adventure took place in 1882 at the age of 28. In that year he obtained special leave from his overland telegraph station work to lead an exploring party east. Constable Shirley, a relative 'new-chum' to Central Australia, was a member of the party; his experience in travelling the north-western portion of what was to become known as the Simpson Desert sadly did not assist him when, a short time later, he and five others of the party of six perished far to the north of the Alice. Only a map appears to have survived from this expedition. Although **Barclay, Winnecke** and Scarr had all been involved in survey exploration of the general area, Flint led his party more directly east to the general vicinity of the Plenty River before turning back. That he used an Aboriginal guide for part of the journey is known and, on the basis of a limited number of Aboriginal place-names, it appears that he also contacted Aborigines and made use of their knowledge. It was a journey that can reasonably be described as one of minor explorations into an area of which parts were still unknown to Europeans; it is a pity that the journal has not survived.

In 1887, at 33 years of age, newly married and in the respected position of Senior Station Officer at the Alice Springs Overland Telegraph Station, Flint contracted rheumatic fever. He died and was buried at the small telegraph station cemetery one year before the township of Alice Springs (or Stuart Town as it was initially known) was surveyed and building commenced.

Although so few references to him exist, and no photographs of him are known, he epitomises the early dedicated Europeans who did their best to ensure that Central Australia was a region worthy of positive recognition by the rest of Australia.

As previously indicated, Flint Spring is assumed to have been named after him. Mount Ebenezer, south south west of Alice Springs on the road to Ayers Rock (Uluru) was also possibly named after him.

SAPP no 54, 'Half-Yearly Report on Northern Territory to June 30 1886', 1886; Copy of Flint's map, with corrections by Winnecke (original source unknown, possibly AA); D Blackwell & D Lockwood, *Alice on the Line*, 1976; F J Gillen, *Gillen's Diary*, 1968; T G H Strehlow, *Songs Of Central Australia*, 1971; P Taylor, *An End to Silence*, 1980; CCNT, Alice Springs, copies of records of OTS Service by E E S Flint and other minor references; E J Harris, Diary copy held by CCNT, Alice Springs (September–December 1871); J F Mueller, Diary copy held by the CCNT, Alice Springs (September–December); M C Hartwig, 'The Progress of White Settlement in the Alice Springs District and its Effects upon the Aboriginal Inhabitants, 1860–1894', unpublished PhD Thesis, Adelaide University, 1965; R G Kimber, unpublished research material.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 1.*

FLOOD, THOMAS A'BECKETT (TOM or T A B) (1905–1991), farmer, manager and sportsman, was born in Ireland in 1905, and attended Christian Brothers and Xavier Schools in both Ireland and England. Whilst at these schools he played Gaelic football, soccer, rugby union and cricket. In England he was School Captain too and, as he also did well scholastically, his leadership qualities were evident early in life.

He migrated to Australia in 1923, having been preceded by his father who was a successful businessman—'father of the motor body industry in Australia', in Flood's words, and 'foundation President of the VACC'.

Flood went 'on the land' and took to playing Australian Rules football like a duck to water; he was to insist, after also playing rugby league, that of all football codes it was 'the greatest of them all.'

During his time as a farmer he sewed 412 bags of wheat in a day, at a time when 100 bags was a fair day's work, and thereby created a new Victorian record.

After a time he married, his wife being a member of the well known South Australian pastoral family, Bowman. She had gone to Royal Melbourne Hospital for training. Sadly their four children all died in their infancy and, after such tragedy, their home and all their possessions were destroyed by fire. The couple's Christian faith and their strength of character enabled them to cope.

At the outbreak of the Second World War Flood enlisted. He was later to summarise his service thus: 'I saw service in the Middle East and the South West Pacific area, largely as a Staff Officer on 1st Aust. Corp. Headquarters after I zigged when I should have zagged on the assault on Lae.'

After the war he became a key figure in the organisation Commonwealth Hostels. This evidently resulted in him being sent to Alice Springs to take over the company's operations there: modified Army barracks on the corners of Stott Terrace and Todd Street were the initial buildings.

Flood's job was to 'clean up' the hostels, which had a 'wild' reputation. Initially he tackled the task in a combination of Sergeant Major and Major styles (both of which ranks he had once held). The wildest of the young men were given their marching orders, and every worker and every boarder quickly learnt the new rules. Once they had been established on a 'give everyone a fair go' basis, Flood relaxed a bit.

His wife joined him in the Alice, but her health was deteriorating. She was eventually obliged to return to Melbourne for her greater comfort and care, where she died in 1968. Flood was shattered but, as though to compensate for her loss, he threw himself into the constructive and cooperative life of the town.

At the Hostels he established a recreation hall, encouraged formation of table tennis teams, provided an annual 'get together' barbecue and dance at which older town residents who had once lived at the hostels welcomed newly arrived government workers, and generally encouraged friendly social activities. Always a hard worker during the day, he relaxed over a few beers every evening and, although not a heavy gambler, was interested in horse racing. His name 'T A B' obviously enough derived from his initials, but instantly became associated with the betting which had the same initials.

There could not have been any service or social club, any beneficial town organisation, any sporting club (which he perceived as beneficial to the development of the town), any enterprise to do with the well-being of the town that he did not support. He joined many of them and served on advisory committees, worked hard behind the scenes, and generally contributed. Throughout his years in Central Australia he was also a great supporter of movements such as Legacy, and probably the greatest supporter of 'Guide Dogs for the Blind' that Alice Springs has ever known.

Illustrative of his endeavour was his organising of a fifth team in the local Australian Rules football competition. He signed members, formed a supporters' group, organised trainers, held social meetings, created a constitution, cajoled opponents to the concept, gave it the name Melanka, after the hostel in Alice Springs, and led the entire group of players and supporters to the Central Australian Football League's special meeting to consider the matter. The voting was close, but in 1970 the team was accepted into the competition and, by the second game, Flood had organised a set of new team Guernseys. Although prepared to step aside, the players and supporters insisted he be the first President. In this role he not only barracked for Melanka, but also encouraged all other teams to join in social evenings. For his endeavours he was awarded the Northern Territory's major 'Aussie Rules' honour, the Harrison Trophy, and was later to be awarded the first life membership of Melanka. When the latter name was changed to Wests, this life membership was recognised in the constitution of the club. The Flood Medal has, throughout the club's existence, been an annual award in his honour.

Women's basketball, netball and softball teams were all given equivalent support.

After completion of the modernised Melanka Hostel in the early 1970s Flood retired to Mornington in Victoria. However, no sooner had he settled in than Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin at Christmas time, 1974. Two days later Flood was in Darwin, and for three months voluntarily assisted in the organisation and clean up, primarily giving practical help in office work. That was the kind of man he was.

Upon his return to Mornington he involved himself in community work to such an extent that, although now in his 70s, he won a Citizen of the Year Award. For his 12 years in the Territory he may well, had there been such an honour, been given a Citizen of the Territory Award!

He returned to Central Australia on two occasions in the late 1970s, not just to renew acquaintances, but instantly to assist, if at all needed, at service clubs and with ideas he thought might benefit people. One such idea was the establishment of a sanatorium near Mount Gillen and, although it was not taken up as a concept, he was ever a proselytiser to people 'down South' about Central Australia's climate and attractions.

Late in his life he was seriously injured in a traffic accident, and obliged to use a frame. Rather than complain he took the situation as a challenge. He became an enthusiastic artist, painting the Mornington landscapes, and remained independent in his home. He also remained interested in all that happened in the Territory, continued to suggest to all whom he met that they should travel there to enjoy the scenery and hospitality, and was still barracking for 'his' Melanka/Wests football team when he died just before the finals in 1991.

As Chaucer might have said of him, 'he was the best of his kind'.

R G Kimber, 'The Flood Medal', in *Wests Football Club-Bloods*, 1990; correspondence with T Flood; personal communications.

R G KIMBER, Vol 2.

FLYNN, FRANCIS STANISLAUS (FRANK) (1906–), Catholic priest, ophthalmologist and author, was born on 6 December 1906 in Sydney, one of nine children born to Dr John Flynn and Maud May, *nee* Witton. John Flynn had arrived in Australia from Ireland in 1888, where he had been House Surgeon in the Mater Misericordiae Hospital in Dublin. Frank Flynn commenced his education at the Brigidine Convent in Randwick, Sydney. Along with his five brothers the Marist Brothers at Darlinghurst, Sydney, then educated him. They all excelled at studies, and all went into medicine. In 1925 Frank Flynn started his medical studies at the University of Sydney. In 1933 he sailed to England on *Jervis Bay* as ship's surgeon. He studied and worked at the Royal Ophthalmic Hospital (Moorfields) in London, the world's oldest and most famous eye hospital. Not yet 30, he made several important contributions to the study of eye disease, including the introduction of a new drug, which he named Mydricine, and the design and patenting of a machine used in operating on detached retinas.

While still at Moorfields, Flynn wrote to his family informing them of his decision to become a priest. He returned to Australia in 1934, travelling as ship's surgeon on board the liner *Automadon*. He joined the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC) in December 1935. It was while studying Philosophy at Kensington Monastery in New South Wales that Flynn first met Monsignor **Francis Xavier Gsell**, who, appointed as the first resident Catholic Bishop of Darwin in 1938, was to have a profound influence on the way Flynn approached his later ministry amongst the Aboriginal people of the north. Flynn was ordained as a priest in March 1942. In response to the many people who questioned why he gave up medicine for the Church, Flynn later wrote, 'I never did for any lengthy period divorce ophthalmic practice from my priesthood. I have been fortunate, indeed, in that wherever I have gone I have found a union of the two interests, one aimed at healing the body and the other aimed at healing the spirit'.

After ordination Flynn was sent to the Northern Territory where he was attached to the Army as a Major, serving in the dual role of chaplain and ophthalmologist. Military life and discipline was not entirely new to Flynn as he had undergone, compulsory, military training at school as a Junior and Senior Cadet, and was later in the University Regiment. He was attached in succession to Australian General Hospital (AGH) units 113, 109, 117 and 129, and operated at the Darwin Fortress Hospital on Myilly Point and new Army hospitals in Berrimah, Katherine and Alice Springs.

The first medical problem brought to his attention by the Army was with regard to the severe eye discomfort suffered by Army convoy drivers. Flynn's simple solution of the use of goggles by the drivers, rinsing the eyes, painting a green strip along the top of each windscreen and spacing convoy vehicles, proved effective. As Army Chaplain Flynn quickly found a use for St Mary's (then St Joseph's) Convent and school, the Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart having been evacuated to Alice Springs, by turning it into a Soldiers' Club. Between 1943 and 1946 he was able to travel widely throughout the Territory, and provided a lively and fascinating record of outback life at the time in his book *Distant Horizons*, published in 1947. These travels confirmed what Flynn as early as 1942 had identified, and officially reported; that there was an appallingly high level of trachoma amongst the Aboriginal people, a finding contrary to the official medical view that trachoma was not endemic in Australia. This lack of interest was highlighted in 1944 when Flynn, intending to speak to a conference of eye specialists in Sydney on the subject of trachoma in the Aboriginal population, was approached and asked to choose a subject of more interest to members from Melbourne and Sydney.

After the war ended Flynn conducted many studies on trachoma for the Commonwealth Department of Health and in 1957 made a full report on his findings in *The Medical Journal of Australia*. Flynn constantly urged a mass, practical programme, and in 1976 an official Australia-wide survey on trachoma amongst Australian Aboriginals was started under the direction of **Professor Fred Hollows**. Flynn was appointed as advisor to Hollows, and arranged for Hollows to visit Bathurst and Melville Islands to study the level of trachoma there before he started working on the National Trachoma and Eye Health Program. Hollows regarded Flynn as his mentor, and the 'the man behind his fight for sight'. The two men formed a friendship that was to last until Hollows' death in 1993.

Flynn was demobilised in 1946 and took up duties as Administrator or parish priest of St Mary's, Darwin, a parish covering 480 square kilometres. He continued to serve the military as part-time Chaplain and Ophthalmologist to the Royal Australian Air Force, with the rank of Wing Commander. One of Flynn's first tasks as Administrator was to ensure that the nuns were among the first women allowed to return to Darwin. The school was the first to re-open in Darwin after the Second World War, and within a few months was functioning again with 230 pupils.

Flynn also, to engender new bonds of friendship and community in the war-battered town, purchased three Sidney Williams huts from the Army and had them erected around the tennis courts built to form a Catholic Tennis Club in 1928. The building, variously dubbed 'The Palais' or 'Flynn's Folly' quickly became the hub of the community, used and hired by people of all denominations until it was demolished in 1970. A major task facing Flynn and Bishop Gsell after the war was the building of a Catholic Cathedral to replace the old church, which had been erected in the late 1880s by the Jesuits. A public meeting was held on 18 November 1946 to inaugurate a nationwide appeal for the building of the cathedral. St Mary's Star of the Sea War Memorial Cathedral and Shrine of Thanksgiving was opened on Sunday 19 August 1962. Two thousand people of all denominations attended the blessing by [Bishop J P O'Loughlin](#), and Father Flynn celebrated the first Mass. From 1960 to 1965 Flynn was also Regional Superior of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in the Northern Territory.

In 1963 Flynn's second book on the Territory, *Northern Gateway*, was published. He was also a regular contributor to the magazine *Walkabout*. Apart from his priestly and medical duties, Flynn was an indefatigable worker when it came to supporting or forming groups that would enhance or benefit the community, at times attending two committee meetings or functions in an evening. He was a foundation member of the Bougainvillea Festival, the Museums and Art Galleries Board and the Darwin Auxiliary of the Guide Dogs for the Blind, as well as lending his support to the first post-war Darwin Show held in 1961.

In late 1967 Flynn was transferred to Port Moresby as Administrator of the Cathedral and Director of Catholic Health Services in Papua New Guinea. He was faced with the challenge of the construction of another cathedral, celebrating Mass in the old building only three times before it was demolished. On 10 August 1969 the new cathedral was blessed and opened. In 1970 an extraordinary meeting of the Medical Society, of which Flynn was President, was called which resulted in letters being sent to the Australian Prime Minister and other relevant ministers regarding the foundation of a Medical Faculty at the University of Papua New Guinea. Amongst the first to graduate from the Faculty of Medicine was Father Peter Flynn MSC, one of Flynn's nephews. The medical side of Flynn's work was far more time-consuming in New Guinea than it had been in the Territory. By 1972 he had transferred to the Bairiki district, where he had office facilities and assistance. He was also appointed part-time Research Scholar and Fellow in Tropical Medicine by the Director of the Department of Ophthalmology Research and Eye Health at the University of Sydney, an appointment that allowed him to compare eye diseases amongst Papua New Guineans with those of the Australian Aborigines. He also travelled to the Solomon Islands to observe, and report, on findings into eye disease among the indigenous population. During this time he became a Foundation Member of the Australian College of Ophthalmologists, and designed automatic tear-feeding spectacles for sufferers of Sjogrens, or dry-eye syndrome, a condition from which Flynn himself later suffered.

Flynn returned to Australia and Darwin in 1977 and was one of the first residents of the newly erected living quarters for priests, 'The Ranch', on the Nightcliff foreshore. He resumed his missionary duties and in the 1980s became a Founding Member of the International Society of Dakryologists and a member of the Advisory Committee. He also spent time in the United States of America as a visiting lecturer at Texas University. The first of the four-yearly international Dakryology conferences, which in laymen's terms are concerned with world health problems related to lack of tears or 'dry eye' syndrome, was held in Texas in 1982. In 1993 Flynn was co-president at the first session of the 3rd International Dakryology Conference in Madrid.

During Flynn's long life he took several degrees in different fields, and had honours heaped on him. At one stage his full list of titles read: MSC, AC, MB, BS (Syd), DOMS, RCP & S (Eng), Dip Relig Studies (Rome), Dip Anthrop, FACTM. (Townsville), MD (hc) (Syd), DSc (hc) (NTU), which led to a young friend writing, 'Mum is worried about the number of letters after your name'. In the Bicentennial year 1988 Flynn was honoured with an Australian Achievers Award, and included in the Heritage 200 list, *The 200 People Who Made Australia Great*, and the list of *200 Remarkable Territorians*. Unfortunately a book published in that year made an extraordinary mistake in that a photograph placed after Flynn's biography was captioned 'Frank Flynn having a morning shave while on the track with Mrs. Flynn'. The picture was of the other Flynn, Presbyterian minister '[Flynn of the Inland](#)'.

In 1990 Flynn joined a small group of people to be honoured with a Papal Award. On 30 October 1990 in St John's College Chapel in Darwin, the Apostolic Diploma together with the Cross Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice was conferred on Flynn during a Mass celebrated by Bishop E J P Collins, MSC. On Australia Day 1993 Flynn was appointed to the highest rank of the Order of Australia, Companion in the General Division (AC), a promotion from Officer of the Order (AO) bestowed in 1979.

Even when approaching his 90th year, and with failing eyesight, Flynn had the charm, verve and stamina of a man half his age. He continued his medical work in Darwin, and in 1995 worked with Army medical eye service units that travelled to isolated Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory. Flynn was made a Fellow of the Australasian College of Tropical Medicine in 1994. In 1996 he was made an Honorary Life Member of the Royal Australian College of Ophthalmology.

D M Allen, *Frank Flynn MSC*, 1994; J Arnold & D Morris (eds), *Monash Biographical Dictionary of 20th Century Australia*, 1994; *The Australian*, 4 March 1981; F Flynn, 'Trachoma amongst Natives of the Northern Territory of Australia', *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol 2, 24 August, 1957, *Distant Horizons*, 1947, *Northern Gateway*, 1963, *Northern Frontiers*, nd; interviews with F Flynn, 1995; *Northern Territory News*, 14 February 1975; J P O'Loughlin, *The History of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory*, 1986; *The People Who Made Australia Great*, 1988; *St Mary's Star of the Sea, War Memorial Cathedral*, 1982.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

FLYNN, JOHN (1880–1951), Presbyterian minister, Superintendent of the Australian Inland Mission, founder of the Royal Flying Doctor Service, was born at Moliagul, Victoria, on 25 November 1880. He was the third child of Thomas Eugene Flynn and his wife Rosetta Flynn, *nee* Lester. His father's parents, Thomas Flynn and

Cecilia Flynn, *nee* Mitchell were of Scottish-Irish stock. Cecilia Flynn had immigrated to Melbourne at the death of her husband in 1853, with her two small sons John and Thomas Eugene. His mother's parents, Anthony Lester and Rosetta Lester, *nee* Ewart of Belfast had also immigrated to Victoria in 1852, finally making their home at Newbridge. Rosetta was their eldest daughter, born in 1853.

John and his older brother and sister were soon to be robbed of a normal home life because of the death of their mother on 14 May 1883 after a difficult fourth pregnancy. Eugene, aged seven years, remained with the father. Rosetta, aged five, and John, aged two and a half years, were bundled off to relatives. The family were reunited four years later in 1887 when the father was teaching at Snake Valley near Ballarat, moving to Sunshine in 1894 and to Braybrook in 1899, where Thomas Eugene Flynn remained until he retired in 1913. The nearest church to the family home was the Presbyterian church in Footscray and here the family worshipped, young John becoming a keen member of the Young People's Bible Class. When he was 15 years of age he was profoundly affected by the experience of his father and a pharmacist friend who tried, with disastrous results, to establish a meat-extract factory on the Victoria River in the Northern Territory. The 'unknownness' of the far north of Australia started to haunt John Flynn's mind as he was completing his primary education at Braybrook Public School. At 18 years of age he matriculated from the University High School at Carlton but, not being able to finance a full-time university course, he decided first of all to become a public schoolteacher and at the same time to develop life-long hobbies in photography and first aid.

By this time Flynn had shot up to his adult stature of 179 centimetres. He was not athletic, but was of strong frame, and walked with a loping stride. He wore spectacles and dressed neatly, always with coat, waistcoat and necktie. His head of thinnish, well-parted brown hair (even when silvery in old age) never showed any sign of balding. He inherited the studious habits and long hours of his father and in the home spent evenings reading Browning, Tennyson, Burns, Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson, the fruits of which were to be revealed later in his *The Bushman's Companion*. He showed a special aptitude, like his father, for the study of world geography and his mapping and printing skills were almost professional. The death of his brother Eugene from tuberculosis in 1899 was another trauma for the closely-knit family. At this time Flynn shared with his father his growing inclination toward the ministry. There was no blinding light or convulsive happening but a steadily developing conviction in his mind about the 'wonder' of the Christian message. In 1901, on his 21st birthday, he wrote a long revealing letter to his father about the soul searching which was going on within him; and two years later, in 1903, he forthrightly declared that he was going to commence training for the Presbyterian ministry. Working assiduously at the Home Mission centres of Beech Forest and Buchan, he passed his entrance examination for Ormond Theological Hall in 1907, and commenced the regular four-year divinity course. Flynn took his divinity lectures seriously for the first year, but in the next three years his exploring spirit discovered a series of outside tasks and interests, which were of more meaningful importance to him than Hebrew and Greek! He gave 'magic lantern' lectures in all sorts of places, using his own excellent photographs. On two occasions he drove a two-horse buggy around shearing sheds beyond the mallee country. He spent weeks in writing and publishing *The Bushman's Companion*, which was a useful compendium of medical-social-religious information for bush people.

When the final results of the divinity course were published in 1910 it was only his aggregate pass of 57 per cent which allowed the faculty 'to let down the slip-rails' as Flynn himself put it. On 24 January 1911 he was ordained a Presbyterian minister. It had become clearly evident that Flynn had long set his compass toward the outback. In 1911 he accepted a short appointment with the Smith of Dunesk Mission, which was based at Beltana and funded by trust monies from the estate of Mrs Smith of Dunesk in Scotland. It is clear that Flynn looked upon this appointment as a springboard to the Northern Territory. After a year the chance came. Flynn was given the task of going to the Northern Territory to make a report for the Church General Assembly in 1912. He spent seven weeks of July/August 1912 in the Darwin-Daly-Katherine area. The Administrator, **Dr J A Gilruth** gave him special encouragement. Father (later Bishop) **F X Gsell** at Bathurst Island was his main informant about the Aboriginal people. On 24 August he boarded ship on his homeward voyage. Flynn's report entitled 'Northern Territory and Central Australia—A Call to the Church', with a series of photographs and a large map, was a quickly assembled analysis of the needs of the isolated white people. It received a positive response from the Church Assembly and on 26 September Flynn himself was unanimously appointed as field superintendent of the new national organisation, the Australian Inland Mission.

Flynn interviewed **Mrs Jeanie Gunn** (of *We of the Never Never*) before he set off for the north. Her down-to-earth emphasis was that if the church was to be serious in its aims to meet the needs of bush people it would be compelled to institute a combined medical, social and spiritual program of service. Flynn was later to face stern criticism, even from fellow churchmen, for his concentration on practical projects and for his lack of specific attention to the Aboriginal people, but from the beginning he directed his total energies to creating what came to be called a 'Mantle of Safety'. He saw needs as he listened to bush people. He concluded that there must be medical services, nursing homes, boundary-riding padres and travelling libraries. Finally he realised that his dream could not be complete without a communication system enabling the scattered people of the inland to be bonded together in a secure community, and able to call up flying doctors in times of emergency and sickness. Flynn was realistic. He knew that his total program would have to evolve gradually, depending on patient, experimental phases and technological developments. But, having admitted that the supreme thing in his life was to survive failures, he displayed right through his work in the inland a doggedness that surprised even his best friends. With his family background of Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian influences he welcomed co-operation and ecumenical unity. This was well evidenced in his promotion of the United Church in North Australia in 1940 as one of his final visions for the good of the Northern Territory community.

Flynn loved talking about his plans, and enjoyed smoking his familiar pipe long into the night chatting to a friend. He presented an ordinary every-day appearance on a platform, and he spoke in warm tones, never declaiming or shouting. He was a persuader and an encourager. In the cities he stayed at hotels and commercial travellers' clubs, for during his whole lifetime he never owned a home of his own. He carried a substantial canvas swag when he was in the bush and his quart pot was well blackened.

By 1913–15 his camel padres were on the bush tracks through Central Australia and the Pilbara with a packhorse patrol at Pine Creek and a T-Model Ford patrol at Cloncurry. This was the beginning of a so-called 'boundary-riding ministry' to all-comers. At the time of Flynn's death in 1951 there were seven motorised patrols covering the total bush area. In the Northern Territory Flynn founded nursing services at Maranboy (1917), Victoria River Downs (1922), and Alice Springs (1926). Other nursing homes operated by the Australian Inland Mission under Flynn's superintendency were Oodnadatta (1912), Port Hedland (1915), Halls Creek (1918), Beltana (1919), Birdsville (1924), Lake Grace (1926), Innamincka (1928), Esperance (1930), Dunbar (1938) and Fitzroy Crossing (1939).

Three hundred and fifty-four volunteer trained nurses had served during Flynn's lifetime at these bush hospitals. Many of these nursing sisters married men of the outback, fulfilling another of Flynn's visions of 'a brighter bush'.

Complex technological difficulties faced Flynn as he researched his radio and flying doctor dreams. However, when he took **Alfred Traeger** with him to Alice Springs in 1926 his hopes rose. After four years of failures, experiments at Hermannsburg and Arltunga became the first successful steps toward the subsequent invention by Traeger of the pedal wireless. Three years later, Traeger and Flynn had a series of pedal wireless sets working successfully at strategic outposts in the Queensland outback, in daily contact with the Flying Doctor Radio Base VJ1 at Cloncurry. Meantime, Flynn had been in regular contact with the federal government, the British Medical Association, his life-long adviser, Dr George Simpson, **Hudson Fysh** of newly formed Qantas in Longreach, the H V McKay Charitable Trust, and the Australian Inland Mission board in Sydney. After frustrating negotiations the dream took wing when on 17 May 1928 Dr Kenyon St Vincent Welch, with Captain Arthur Affleck at the controls, took off into the Cloncurry sky in a Qantas DH-50 ambulance aircraft on an emergency medical trip to Julia Creek. Thus was born the Flying Doctor Scheme, which from that date became a permanent service, completing Flynn's 'Mantle of Safety'. Flynn from the beginning consistently declined to employ doctors who also wanted to fly the ambulance aircraft. His policy was 'one man, one job', thus guaranteeing a permanent pattern of aerial medical service where doctors could constantly treat patients while the plane was in flight.

Flynn developed quite outstanding abilities as a propagandist, pamphleteer and cartographer. His magazine *The Inlander* (1913–19), illustrated by his own photographs, maps and charts, was his well-planned medium for reaching the ears and purses of the public, the church and the government, and several issues contain articles on Flynn's own research into the social and environmental aspects of development in the Northern Territory.

Flynn faced a period of controversy in 1934–35 when claims by a well-meaning party within the church were made against him for not treating Aboriginal patients in the nursing homes on an equal basis with white patients. The Australian Inland Mission board met the criticism as realistically as possible and at several nursing homes additional wards were built to provide the simple kind of nursing facilities required for Aboriginal people who came from bush camps for treatment. In 1972, well after Flynn's death, the controversy was revived in a book by **Dr Charles Duguid** of Adelaide, and public statements were made which labelled Flynn as a racist; but Flynn was a man of his generation and lived at a time when social philosophies relating to Aboriginal self-determination were not developed. He was sure of the specific task allotted to him and that work among the very deserving Aboriginal people was part of the defined charter of a well-equipped sister department of the Church. Furthermore, the logbooks of the Flying Doctor Service from the earliest days reveal overwhelming evidence of Flynn's practical policy of giving medical care to all people irrespective of colour and creed.

During the years 1935–39 Flynn devoted his major time to the expansion of the Flying Doctor Service. Contrary to the opinion of church leaders he now planned to transfer his successful scheme at Cloncurry to a larger Australian voluntary organisation so that the whole service could be developed on a national basis. He himself worked with legal advisers formulating articles of association for the body known as the Australian Aerial Medical Service, which later came to be called the Flying Doctor Service of Australia, and even later the Royal Flying Doctor Service. This was Flynn's final triumph in the field of flying doctor and pedal radio services, for in the face of considerable opposition he persuaded the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to agree to the transfer of the Australian Inland Mission Flying Doctor Scheme to the new national, non-denominational, non-profit, voluntary organisation, which now operates fourteen highly successful bases throughout the Australian continent.

In 1932 **Ion Idriess** wrote a book titled *Flynn of the Inland*. Flynn was surprised at the title and the story, because Idriess had collected the material for the publication while Flynn was overseas on a much-needed vacation. But the name and some of the myths of the book were to remain and Flynn, reluctantly and with good humour, found himself a legendary figure. At the age of 52, when his friends had come to regard him as a confirmed bachelor, he married his secretary, Miss Jean Baird on 7 May 1932 in the Presbyterian church, Ashfield, Sydney. Quiet, reserved and efficient, Jean Baird was a daughter of John Mair Baird and Catherine Baird, *nee* Blanch both descendants of farming families in the Clarence River district, New South Wales. In June 1933 Flynn was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE). In September 1939 he was elected to the highest office of the Presbyterian Church, Moderator-General, and for three years presented himself on all official occasions in the traditional court dress and breeches, much to the delight of his friends in the bush.

On 9 May 1940 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by the Presbyterian College within McGill University of Toronto, Canada. One of the last dreams of Flynn was to extend his Mantle of Safety

for ageing pioneers of the outback by providing what he called 'A Camp for Old Timers'. In 1949 he designed the first cottage to be built at the Old Timers Settlement in Alice Springs.

Flynn proposed to retire by September 1951, but after a very short illness he died in Royal Prince Alfred Hospital, Sydney, from abdominal cancer on Saturday 5 May 1951. There were thousands of letters and telegrams of tribute. His funeral service was conducted in St Stephen's Church, Sydney, on Wednesday 9 May and his ashes flown to Alice Springs by the Commonwealth Government for interment near Mount Gillen, where a granite boulder from the Devil's Marbles surmounted a plinth built of quartzite from Heavitree Gap.

The John Flynn Memorial Church in Todd Street, Alice Springs, later the place of worship of the Uniting Church, was opened and dedicated five years after Flynn's death on 5 May 1956. The John Flynn Commemorative Cairn at Three Ways on the Stuart Highway near Tennant Creek was erected by the Royal Flying Doctor Service and dedicated in August 1953. At Moliagul and at Cloncurry, local citizens erected memorial obelisks. Flynn College is a residential college within the James Cook University, Townsville. In Canberra Flynn was honoured by Flynn Drive leading to Capital Hill, and in the flourishing suburb beyond Belconnen that bears his name.

J Bilton, *The Royal Flying Doctor Service of Australia*, 1961; E Hill, *Flying Doctor Calling*, 1947; H Hudson, *Flynn's Flying Doctors*, 1956; I Idriess, *Flynn of the Inland*, 1932; M McKenzie, *Flynn's Last Camp*, 1985; W S McPheat, *John Flynn, Apostle to the Inland*, 1963; M Page, *The Flying Doctor Story*, 1977; AIM N UC Frontier Services Papers, NLA; Flynn Papers, NLA; Plowman Papers, NLA; Simpson Papers, NLA.

J FRED McKAY, Vol 2.

FOELSCHE, MARY JANE: see [ANDREWS, MARY JANE](#)

FOELSCHE, PAUL HEINRICH MATTHIAS (1831–1914), police inspector, was born at Moorburg in Hamburg, Germany, on 30 March 1831, the son of Matthias Foelsche, about whom nothing is known, the Hamburg records having been destroyed during the Second World War. Apparently of 'lower middle-class surroundings', Foelsche joined a Hussar regiment at the age of eighteen. In 1854 he sailed for South Australia, arriving in the brig *Reihersteig* on 26 October. He joined the South Australian Police Force in November 1856 as a trooper third-class and was stationed at Strathalbyn, rising steadily through the ranks until promoted Sub-Inspector in December 1869 as officer-in-charge of the first police detachment posted to the Northern Territory.

Foelsche had spent the whole period of his service at Strathalbyn. He had married Charlotte Georgina Smith, daughter of a local man, in 1800 and they had two daughters, Mary and Emma. At Strathalbyn Foelsche had established himself as a capable officer. A well-educated man, he was versed in the law and was said to be 'the best lawyer outside the South Australian Bar'. He was an expert on firearms and one of his hobbies was making rifle sights and gun stocks and colouring the barrels of weapons used by local volunteers. At Strathalbyn also he was said to have 'acquired a considerable reputation as a dentist', possessing many instruments frequently used to 'relieve his neighbours of painful molars', a skill he later practised in Palmerston.

Generally well liked, he had participated in local affairs and had been a member of the Angas lodge of the International Order of Odd fellows for more than 10 years. He became a naturalised British subject on 9 December 1869 and, on the eve of his departure for the Territory, was given a farewell dinner, at which the mayor of Strathalbyn praised him for his 'courtesy, tact, kindness and ability. With six troopers, Foelsche sailed with the first permanent party of government officers for Palmerston in *Koh-i-nor*, arriving at Port Darwin on 21 January 1870.

A portly, unflappable man, noted for his optimistic outlook, Foelsche, however, was sensitive of official dignity. When one of the troopers, [William Stretton](#), gave an old pair of his uniform trousers to a native in November 1870, Foelsche threatened to make all his men suffer in reprisal. Another trooper, Edward Catchlove, thought this threat 'shows a meanness on the Inspector's part which will not be forgotten'. Stretton, however, bore Foelsche no ill will and said many years later that he was highly respected by all who knew him. According to Stretton, Foelsche ruled the police force with a great sense of discipline and any penalty he inflicted upon his subordinates was just but merciful.

Unlike many others at the time, Foelsche adapted well to the tropics and the deprivations of frontier life. He was given a two-roomed tin hut as a residence at first, but late in 1870 he moved to new quarters in Mitchell Street. The house was small, having two or three rooms, probably like the police station, which was composed of poles and plaster and measured six metres by four. Foelsche set about establishing a garden on his small plot of land to help meet the serious lack of vegetables, did all he could to beautify the place, then sent for his wife and daughters. His wife and family helped to make their house 'one of the most cheerful and comfortable homes in the settlement'.

With the discovery of gold and the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line, the number of police officers was increased. By 1873 it was 18—14 troopers, three water police stationed at Port Darwin and Foelsche himself, who was promoted Inspector. Originally he was responsible directly to the Police Commissioner in Adelaide, but the Government Resident was now given control of the police in the Top End. When police were later sent to Central Australia, they remained under the control of the commissioner.

Foelsche never travelled extensively in the Territory, but from the outset he took an interest in the Aborigines. He set out to learn local languages and gathered some ethnological information. His 'Notes on the Aborigines of North Australia' were read to the Royal Society of South Australia in 1881. In the same year he sent material on the Larakia of the Palmerston district and the Unalla of Raffles Bay to E M Curt, who included them in his *The Australian Race*, published in 1887. Foelsche had developed an early enthusiasm for photography and after

1873 was the Territory's chief photographer, taking many publicity shots of Palmerston and the goldfields as well as anthropological studies of Aborigines. Although he became known as the Territory's expert on Aborigines, his interest was quite detached and he never showed sympathy for the position of the Aborigines, whose land was being appropriated by strangers.

When a telegraph official was killed on the Roper River in 1875, Foelsche wrote to **John Lewis**, a pastoralist and mining entrepreneur, that he was sending out a party to bring back the body and to 'have a Picnic with the Natives'. When a teamster was killed in January 1878, Stretton led a party that shot 17 Aborigines who resisted arrest. Foelsche told Lewis that he could not have done better than Stretton during this 'nigger hunt'. He was, he said, satisfied with the outcome 'and so is the public here'. The South Australian government subsequently issued instructions that no firearms were to be used while pursuing Aborigines, except in self-defence, but Foelsche told Lewis 'we'll be able to regulate all that'. In 1881, to dissuade white travellers in the Limmen Bight district, subjected to continuing attacks, from taking matters into their own hands, Foelsche proposed to the government that severe chastisement of whole tribes should be permitted, because the guilty ones could not be identified. His proposal was not adopted, but it reflected the general frustration of local administrators faced with Aboriginal resistance to an invading race.

By 1876 Foelsche was despondent, feeling underpaid and neglected by his superiors in Adelaide and that the then Government Resident, **Edward Price**, wanted to kick him out. For some years he asked Lewis, who had returned to South Australia, to help him improve his position, but without success. He acted as agent for Lewis's Cobourg Cattle Company but by 1879 Foelsche was complaining to Lewis that he objected to being stopped in the street and asked to pay the company's debts. Perhaps with the intention of becoming a pastoralist himself, he attempted to buy land on the Barry River near Lake Dean in 1881 but this fell through. Granted six months' leave from December 1883, Foelsche and his family visited South Australia, and it seems that he visited China in 1897. Otherwise he was trapped in Palmerston, serving without further promotion until he retired, and living there for the rest of his life.

Foelsche continued with his photography. His plates were sent to many private persons in Australia and used by the government in overseas exhibitions to publicise the Territory. Many of his anthropological studies are held by the South Australian Museum. He took some interest in local flora and corresponded with Ferdinand von Mueller in Melbourne, who named a tree, *Euc. Foelscheana*, in his honour. A small river, a mountain and a headland in the Territory all carry his name, as does a street in Darwin. He received a gold medal from the Kaiser for his contributions to natural science and was honoured by King Edward VII with the Imperial Service Medal.

Foelsche retired from the police force in January 1904 after taking one year's leave. He had maintained his connection with Freemasonry during the long years in the Territory and was one of the founders of the Port Darwin lodge, which was named after him. He continued to correspond with Lewis until 1913, remarking in his last letter that he was 'still laid up with my bad foot and am writing this with my leg resting on a chair'. The founder of the Northern Territory Police Force, a sound administrator and resourceful detective, noted for his intelligence, civility and calmness in all situations, Foelsche died in Darwin on 31 January 1914. He was buried in the old Goyder Road cemetery, Darwin. The South Australian Archives (Neg. No. 14588) holds a portrait photograph of him. He is portrayed in A Powell, *Far Country*, p 125.

P Foelsche, 'Notes on the Aborigines of North Australia', *TRSSA*, vol 5, 1881-81; R J Noye, Foelsche article, *ADB*, vol 4, 1979; SAA, Government Resident Series GRS790; SAA, 'Genesis of the Police Force in the Northern Territory', Research Note 456; SAA, John Lewis Papers, PrG247.

GORDON REID, *Vol 1.*

FOGARTY, ANNIE ESTHER SARAH (ANNE): see **COX, ANNIE ESTHER SARAH (ANNE)**

FOGARTY, MARTHA SARAH ELIZABETH: see **SHAW, MARTHA SARAH ELIZABETH**

FOLLAND, INGRID AMELIA: see **DRYSDALE, INGRID AMELIA**

FONG, NELLIE (FONG, SHU ACK CHAN) nee CHAN or CHIN (1916-), Chinese matriarch, was born on 16 August 1916 in 'Chinatown' in Cavenagh Street Darwin. She was named Shu Ack (which is a boy's name) in error by the midwife; her name should have been Sue Ay. Her father, Chin Yepp Gnee (also Chan Fon Yuen), who was born in Hong Kong was then 47; her mother was Queshee, then aged 28 and she was born in Darwin. Nellie's father had a vegetable garden and also worked in the family store. The extended family lived in a traditional manner; the men eating at a dining table in the shop and the women and children ate at a cousin's house. One of her brothers was the well-known and highly respected **Harry Chan**.

Her father died when she was 11 so she left school after only two years of formal education. She went to work in an uncle's shop where she swept the floor, cleaned and ran messages in a 'kind but strict' atmosphere. She was paid 10 Shillings per week. After her mother complained that it was improper for a girl to run messages her work was contained within the shop.

At age 15 she met her future husband, **Thomas (Tom) Fong**. The matchmaker had intended that Tom should marry Selina, Nellie's older sister but Tom wanted her. Tom's mother was his father's third wife and she died when he was 18 months old. When he was three, Tom was taken to China by his father along with his mother's bones so that the bones could be re-buried in the traditional manner. He remained with his step-mother (wife Number Two)

until he was 13 years old. He then returned to Darwin where he attended the Darwin Primary School. At 16 he went to Pine Creek to work with his father in the vegetable garden.

After the betrothal Nellie was sent to China to live with Tom's stepmother and stepsister until the marriage. Her own mother and sister also returned to China and when she was 17 (in 1933) the formal wedding ceremony was held there. Some months later the couple returned to Australia. They went to Pine Creek where they lived for the next 16 years. Their first home there was a 'very old shack with mud floors'.

Nellie's first child, Margaret, was born in October 1934 at the Pine Creek hospital. The baby was carried in a traditional sling made for her by her grandmother but she died of meningitis at the age of two months. Joan was born in 1936 in Darwin and a Chinese midwife, Hung Yuen, attended Nellie. This midwife delivered several of her children. Nellie herself saw them as 'modern deliveries' but some traditional Chinese practices attended the births. The baby was rubbed with camphorated oil after a bath of salt water and 'ginger ash' was sprinkled in the navel. Traditionally the cord was left to dry out itself, not cut and tied, as was the European practice. By the time the younger girls arrived the older girls could watch them during the day so Nellie could work in the garden unhampered by little ones. In this she also followed traditional Chinese practice.

The small house in Pine Creek had limited facilities. There was a cot for each baby in the house but if Nellie went to work in the garden she used a wooden crate with an inverted padded bamboo hat, small pillow and mosquito net as a 'carry basket' for the baby. By the time her fourth daughter, Eleanor, had arrived she could 'leave her at home to sleep with the older girls to look after her'. The family was virtually self sufficient; water came from their own well. They grew their own vegetables and kept chickens and ducks. Tinned meat and rice came in 50 lb bags by train. The journey from Pine Creek to Darwin took a day and by the time of arrival 'you were covered from head to toe in soot'.

In March 1942, with four young daughters and seven months pregnant, she was evacuated from Pine Creek after Darwin had been bombed. They were sent on a truck to Alice Springs and Nellie remembers the train trip to Adelaide as being more unpleasant and crowded than the truck. In Adelaide she at first shared a house with another family but moved (with her daughters) to Fullarton Home as the time for her confinement drew near. Eleanor was born in Adelaide. Nellie and her family then moved into a house which had been bought by the Ah Toy family and which was being used to accommodate 26 Chinese. In 1943 Tom obtained permission to return to the Territory to grow vegetables and the family were permitted to accompany him. She was probably the first Chinese woman to return.

They lived comfortably in Pine Creek and received rations, similar to those supplied to officers, from the Army. The Army also supplied them with blood and bone for the garden and goat manure mixed with ox blood obtained from the butchery was also used as fertiliser. Nellie commented that the smell lingered for some distance but the vegetables were an impressive size. After the war ended the family remained for a time in Pine Creek and Nellie remembers her years there with affection. She particularly remembers that it was cooler than Darwin. The girls attended the small school, although it was a four-mile walk each way. They had an abundance of fruit and vegetables and the birth of son, Tom, in 1948 increased her pleasure.

Education is important to the Chinese so in 1950 when Joan was in grade seven Nellie and her husband and children moved to Darwin. Nellie was then pregnant with her last child, David. She also at that time acquired her first refrigerator. The family first lived at Stuart Park on the corner of Geranium Street and the Stuart Highway (near the later RAOB Club) in a Sidney Williams hut. They grew their own vegetables and Tom found work as a cook's assistant at the 'Belsen camp', quarters for single men close to where the Roman Catholic Cathedral now stands. As soon as land became available in Fannie Bay they purchased a block and the family home, built in 1951, was still Nellie's residence in the early 1990s. The children reached adulthood in this 'good home, a happy home'. In 1963 Tom bought a service station at Nightcliff, at the time reached by a dirt road, which later became the busy Bagot Road. They both worked very hard and repaid their loan within three years. All the daughters, except Barbara, became nurses.

The family suffered property damage like most other Darwin residents in Cyclone Tracy but no-one was hurt and Nellie had two weeks 'rest and recreation' down south. Tom died in 1980 but Nellie maintained her strong ties with members of her family of two sons, five daughters, 18 grandsons, seven granddaughters, four great-grandsons and two great-granddaughters. She attended the functions organised by the Chung Wah Society, also by the 1990s augmented by the more recently arrived Vietnamese and Timorese Chinese. Apart from her garden she also demonstrated skills as a creative florist. As she herself said, 'It's been a good life!'

F Chan, *Cathay of the North*, 1992; N Fong, interview, 10 October 1993; Northern Territory Archives Service, oral history interview by C Patterson, 6 February 1981.

MARY REES, Vol 3.

FONG, SHUACK CHAN: see **FONG, NELLIE**

FONG, THOMAS (SLIT SCHIN FONG) (1914–1980), businessman, was born on 12 June 1914 at Brock's Creek, Northern Territory, to King Gee Fong and his third wife, Ang Gook. His father had already married twice before he left Canton, China. His first wife had died and his second was left behind in China upon his migration to the Northern Territory. Fong's father had first worked as a gardener at Darwin Botanical Gardens but later moved to Brock's Creek to open a little shop. It was here that he met and married Tom's mother.

Fong was only 18 months old when his mother died. He was brought to Darwin to live in the care of Mr and Mrs Hung Yeun Chin, his godparents, to enable his father to work in his shop in Brock's Creek. At the age of three

and a half Fong went to China with his father, who took his wife's bones back for burial. When King Gee Fong returned to Brock's Creek, Tom Fong remained in China with his father's second wife. During this time Fong's father bought a small mixed vegetable garden in Pine Creek.

Fong returned to Darwin from Canton for schooling. He attended Darwin Public School until the age of 16, finishing grade six. He then joined his father at Pine Creek and worked as an apprentice in the market-gardening business.

At seventeen he became engaged to a Chinese girl, named Nellie Chan, born in Darwin on 16 August 1916, whom he married in Canton on 8 March 1933. Their first child, a girl named Margaret, was born in 1934 but died only two months later. Within five years, four more daughters were born and survived (Joan, 1936; Veronica, 1938; Nellie, 1939; and Barbara, 1940).

From 1939 onward Fong had to work very hard on his own account as his father had retired to China, where he died in 1940.

After 19 February 1942 most business in Darwin came to an abrupt halt due to the Japanese bombing and the evacuation of the civilian population to Adelaide. However, Fong's business prospered: in order to continue his market-gardening business he declined to go south but his wife, then expecting their sixth child, and their other children were evacuated by army truck and train to Adelaide. In fact, Fong's business was at its peak during the war years as there was a great demand for his fresh fruit and vegetables from the Australian and American military forces and civilian road builders. He had to work single-handed, hand pumping and manually watering the crops. The established price of threepence per pound for any kind of fresh vegetables and fruit remained unchanged for years.

After the Second World War, Fong supplied his fruit and vegetables wholesale to the Department of Works. When the Department moved its activities south he had to rely on retailers in Darwin to buy his products and his business fell off.

In 1949 he moved his entire family to Darwin, partly for the sake of his daughters' schooling and partly to obtain a different job. He bought an ex-army 'Sidney Williams' hut in Stuart Park for the family to live in. He partitioned the hut into rooms and built the kitchen. Two years later he bought a block of land and house in Fannie Bay. He was then working in a government hostel, Belsen Camp, as an assistant cook and during this time two sons, Tom (1948) and David (1950) were born. In 1954 he left this job to work as a labourer for Water Supply, a job he retained until retiring in 1969. During this period, however, he bought a block of land in Nightcliff and had a service station, a garage and two shops built on it. In 1974 during Cyclone Tracy, Fong lost nearly everything. It took him three years before his house, shops and service station were back in working order.

On 6 October 1980 he died of a heart attack, aged 66, leaving his wife, five daughters, two sons and twenty-three grandchildren.

Tom Fong was typical of many early Chinese settlers. He was extremely hard working and devoted to earning a living—in fact, his first break from work was taken in 1970 when he was 56 years old. He made an overland trip to Brisbane—his first visit to a major Australian city.

Family information.

MY-VAN TRAN, Vol 1.

FORREST, ALEXANDER (1849–1901), explorer and politician, was born on 22 September 1849 at Picton, near Bunbury in Western Australia, fourth of the nine sons of William Forrest, miller and farmer, and his wife Margaret Guthrie, *nee* Hill. After education at Bishop Hale's school, 1863–65, he worked at his father's mill while training as a surveyor. In 1870 he was second-in-command to his brother John Forrest's transcontinental expedition along the edge of the Great Australian Bight. In January 1871 he was appointed government surveyor for the Albany district, but later that year the Survey Department moved to a contract system and Forrest went into independent practice. In 1871 and 1876 he led expeditions to the Hampton Plains east of the present site of Kalgoorlie. He also served as second-in-command to John Forrest's second transcontinental expedition of 1874, the later stages of which traversed the country between the Western Australian border and the overland telegraph line at Peake Hill. In 1879 Alexander Forrest led a six-man expedition which resulted in the discovery and naming of the Kimberley district in the far north of Western Australia. Running short of provisions after leaving the Ord River, the party had to make a dash for the overland telegraph line, arriving safely near Katherine.

News of the Kimberley country provoked a speculative boom in pastoral leases. Forrest, who on 15 January 1880 married Amy Eliza Barnett-Lennard, retired from surveying and set up a Perth office as land agent and specialist adviser to Kimberley investors. His clients included Osmond and Panton, founders of the Ord River Station, as well as several of the major overlanders who traversed the Northern Territory in 1883–85, such as the **Duracks** and the Macdonald brothers. His report helped to draw attention to the Victoria River District and was followed by the taking up of Victoria River Downs and Wave Hill stations; it also attracted Northern Territory prospectors to the Kimberleys and led indirectly to the Halls Creek gold rush of 1880.

In 1887 Forrest entered the Western Australian Legislative Council as first member for Kimberley. When at the coming of responsible government in 1890 the constituency was divided, he chose to sit in the Legislative Assembly as member for West Kimberley and was never seriously challenged. During Sir John Forrest's premiership (1890–1901) he was Government Whip and chief spokesman for the protectionist lobby seeking tariffs on farm and pastoral produce. He was a hospitable if autocratic mayor of Perth for six years (1892–95, 1897–1900) at a time when civic resources were strained to the utmost by the population boom caused by the 1890s gold rush. He speculated in goldmining boldly and with varying fortunes and also held partnerships in several sheep stations.

In 1890 Forrest pioneered the cattle-shipping trade from the Kimberleys to Fremantle, forming in 1894 the firm of Forrest, Emanuel and Company, which monopolised the trade from Derby. Rivalry was encountered from 1894 from the firm of Connor and Doherty (after 1897 Connor, Doherty and Durack) operating from Wyndham, which drew cattle from both sides of the Western Australia/Northern Territory border. When redwater fever caused by cattle tick broke out in the hinterland of Wyndham in 1896–97 the Western Australian government banned the export of live cattle from that district to any point south of the Kimberleys. As this benefited the firm of Forrest, Emanuel and as Alexander Forrest was the Premier's brother, controversy was lively; however the tick barrier was eventually surmounted by the introduction of quarantine, by overlanding cattle across the Territory to meatworks in Queensland and by attempts to develop overseas markets. Forrest, however, had no inhibitions about investing in the Northern Territory, and at the time of his death in 1901 Forrest and Emanuel, in partnership with **Sidney Kidman** were negotiating for the purchase of Victoria River Downs.

Intensely criticised by goldfields radicals because of his extensive business interests and family connections, Alexander Forrest's later years were saddened by his wife's death in 1897, leaving him with four young sons and a daughter. Nominated a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) during the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York in May 1901, he was stricken shortly afterward by his second son's death in action in the South African War. He died of complications arising from kidney trouble at Perth on 20 June 1901. He was interred in Karrakatta cemetery. His statue, by Pietro Porcelli, stands at the corner of St George's Terrace and Barrack Street, Perth. Its inscription lists his feats as explorer and public man, but is best remembered for the epitaph: 'He was the generous friend of many.'

G C Bolton, *Alexander Forrest: his Life and Times*, 1958; C T Stannage, *The People of Perth*, 1979; Alexander Forrest papers in the Battye Library, Perth.

GEOFFREY BOLTON, *Vol 1.*

FORSTER, (Sir) WILLIAM EDWARD STANLEY (1921–), lawyer, Master of the Supreme Court of South Australia, and first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory was born at Sydney, New South Wales on 15 June 1921. His father, Frank Barton Forster, was a chemist for the Colonial Sugar Refinery Ltd and he was born in Goondi, North Queensland. His mother, Daphne Eileen, *nee* Bowden, was born in England. His parents married in the United Kingdom during the First World War.

In 1929, his father was transferred to Glanville, Adelaide, where Forster attended St Peter's College. He left school at the end of 1938 to take up employment as a clerk for the Commonwealth Oil Refineries Ltd (now British Petroleum), intending nevertheless to commence university studies in due course. In 1940 he joined the Royal Australian Air Force. After serving for two years as a flying instructor, he was posted to No 4 Squadron as an army corps pilot, and served the remainder of the war in New Guinea and Borneo. After his discharge with the rank of Flight Lieutenant in February 1946, he commenced his legal studies at the University of Adelaide, graduating Bachelor of Laws in 1949. As a student he was awarded the Stow Prize (1948) and the David Murray Scholarship (1949) for academic achievement. After serving articles and acting as associate to Acting Judge Paine, he was admitted to the Supreme Court of South Australia as a barrister and solicitor in 1950, and joined the firm of Knox and Hargrave, (a firm with connections in Alice Springs) until taking up an appointment as a magistrate in the Adelaide Police Court in 1959.

On 11 February 1950 he married Johanna Beryl Forbes, daughter of Brigadier A M Forbes. There were three children; Antonia Margaret Williams, (later Professor of English Literature at the University of Ohio); William Alexander Barton Forster (a nurse); Katherine (Kate) Johanna Alsopp, (a solicitor).

In 1960 Forster was appointed Deputy Master of the Supreme Court of South Australia, and Master in 1966, a position he held until 1971. Between 1957 and 1971 Forster lectured at the University of Adelaide in criminal law (1957–1958) and in procedure (1967–1971). From 1967 to 1971 he was a member of the Standing Committee of the Senate of the University.

On 28 June 1971 he was appointed Senior Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory to replace Justice Blackburn who had transferred to the Supreme Court of the Australian Capital Territory. At that time, there was only one resident judge in the Northern Territory, although the Commonwealth had appointed a number of federal judges as 'additional' judges of the court to assist with the work load as required. Forster was the ninth person to occupy the position of resident Judge, since the Court's inception in May 1911, and the last person to be the sole resident judge. Between 1974 and 1982 a number of additional appointments were made, resulting in the growth of the Court to six permanent judges.

After Cyclone Tracy on 24 December 1974 had devastated Darwin, Forster resisted efforts to move the seat of the Court to Alice Springs, and by March 1975 the Court was able to continue to function fully in Darwin largely due to his efforts.

On 1 February 1977 he was appointed Chief Judge of the Court and on 1 October 1979, when executive responsibility for law was transferred to the Northern Territory Government following self-government in 1978, he was appointed the Court's first Chief Justice.

After 1977 appeals from the Court lay to the Full Court of the Federal Court of Australia instead of to the High Court of Australia, which had heard all appeals since 1918. It was a requirement of the Federal Court of Australia Act at that time that at least one member of the Full Court sitting on appeals should be a judge of the Supreme Court. For partly this reason Forster and the other judges of the Court (Justices **James Henry Muirhead**, **Richard Charles Ward** and John Leslie Toohey) were appointed Judges of the Federal Court in 1977, as was Justice John Forster Gallop in 1978. Appeals continued to lie to the Federal Court throughout Forster's career,

as he was opposed to the creation of Territory appellate courts, although some of the statutory provisions necessary for their creation had already been passed, but not brought into force. Forster's opposition was purely pragmatic; he considered that until the Court had seven permanent judges it would not be practical for the Territory to constitute its own appellate courts, and as a consequence the Federal Court continued to hear appeals until April 1986.

As a Judge Foster conducted his Court with a combination of incisive efficiency, yet with kindness, politeness and concern for litigants, witnesses and practitioners. In civil matters he was able to hear a list of 20 or so interlocutory applications in an hour, often leaving counsel in his chambers still trying to record his orders whilst the next matter was already in progress. Civil cases were given hearing dates whether ready or not, and solicitors were expected to have their cases ready on the appointed date almost regardless of any perceived difficulties. Another favourite device he used to hurry up proceedings was the self-executing order—threatening to strike out the action (or defence) if things were not done on time. Most of the civil litigation at that time comprised personal injury cases, and his methods were generally accepted by the local legal profession as necessary for the efficient disposition of the court's business. He had a reputation amongst lawyers as being less than generous with damages awards for accident victims, although it is to be observed that insurers rarely felt they had scored a victory.

His judgments were written with brevity, clarity and style, and reflected his love of English literature and language. As an orator, particularly an after-dinner speaker, he had the ability to speak at length and without notes, and to hold his audience's interest with the masterful use of dry humour. As a Judge he developed a close relationship with the practitioners, and was always kindly disposed to even the most inexperienced and bumbling of performers. As Chief Justice he lead rather than ruled, and consulted his brother judges and the profession on all-important matters. Throughout his career he strongly supported the development of the local legal profession. Above all he was a judge of good humour who rarely sentenced prisoners until he had given the sentence considerable thought, and who had a high regard for Aboriginal people and their culture.

Forster served as President of the Northern Territory Division of Red Cross (1973–1985); President of the Aboriginal Theatre Foundation (1972–1975); Chairman of the Northern Territory Museums and Art Galleries Board (1974–1985); Chairman of the Northern Territory Parole Board (1976–1985); Chancellor of the (Anglican) Diocese of the Northern Territory (1976–1985) and held a dormant commission as Acting Administrator of the Northern Territory (1976–1985). He was created a Knight Bachelor (Kt) in 1982 for his services to law, the only person to receive a knighthood for service in the Northern Territory.

He participated in many important cases, including the appeal to the Federal Court in the Lindy Chamberlain case. By far his most important decision was *R v Anunga* (1976) when, with the concurrence of Justices Muirhead and Ward, he established guidelines known as the 'Anunga Rules', for the interrogation by the police of Aboriginal and other non-English speaking suspects, designed to ensure that admissions made by people of non Anglo-Saxon culture and with limited English skills were voluntarily obtained and that these people were not unfairly disadvantaged during the interrogation process. The Anunga Rules were initially resisted by some conservative elements, but soon became generally accepted and influenced police practices in other Australian jurisdictions.

In 1985 Forster retired from the Supreme Court due to medical advice that he should leave the tropics and returned to Adelaide where he continued to work as a judge of the Federal Court until ill health eventually forced his retirement in 1989. Two portraits of Forster were painted by Frank Hodgkinson, one in oils, the other a watercolour. Both are owned by the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory. Forster hated both of them.

11 *Australian Law Review*, 412; *Northern Territory News* 9 February 1985; personal interview 23 April 1994; personal information from P Bracher, H B Bradley, T Coulehan, M Horton, M D A Maurice QC, T Pauling QC, T Riley QC, J B Waters; Transcript of Proceedings, Supreme Court of the Northern Territory 30 June 1971 on presentation of Commission as Judge of the court; Transcript of Ceremonial Sitting to mark retirement of Sir William Forster as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, 8 February 1985; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1994.

DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

FOSTER, HORACE (c1890–1941) resided in Borroloola in the earlier part of the twentieth century. Little is known about his early life, although he claimed to be the son of a lawyer and had one brother in Sydney, who was a newspaper editor. He was a deeply tanned man, who often dressed in only a sarong, and he had a large walrus-like moustache. A man who was willing to try almost anything, he claimed knowledge of trepanning and had spent years working with cattle and horses on stations around the district.

Foster's first notable experience in the Top End occurred in 1918 when he was involved in cattle-duffing, a common practice at the time. Foster was arrested and gaoled, but was acquitted by the Justice of the Peace hearing the case, on an appeal over a legal technicality.

In the 1930s Foster leased a saltpan at Manangoora. With his partners Bill Harney and Jack Keighren, who had been involved in the cattle-duffing episode, he employed Aboriginal labour to collect and bag the salt. The Aborigines were paid in food rations and the salt was collected from Foster by boat.

Foster was married, though the bride's name and the date of the marriage remain a mystery. Their two children Roslyn (Rosie Noble) and Jim lived with Foster and his wife in Borroloola where he tutored them before they were moved to Roper River Mission when Jim was 12 years old. The children did not return to Borroloola—in 1941 they were evacuated to Sydney. Jim later worked in Melbourne, and Roslyn lived in Adelaide, working on behalf of Aboriginal people.

Foster died in 1941, after he accidentally shot himself. Every effort was made by those with him at the time to try to save his life, but the flying doctor aircraft arrived half an hour too late on 2 March 1941. **Mrs Ruth Heathcock**, the constable's wife, was made Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1946 in recognition for her bravery and effort in the attempt.

FREER, PERCY ROBINSON (c1849–1916), ‘man of many parts’; **FREER, MARIA** (c1852–1891), homemaker and amateur performer; **FREER, PERCY** (1872–1952), bank officer; **FREER, CECIL**, miner and buffalo shooter (c1876–1957); **FREER, MAUD VIOLET, later Lady WILLIAM CECIL** (c1878–?), singer and actress, were all born in England.

Percy Robinson Freer first came to the newly established town of Palmerston (now Darwin) on 23 October 1871 aboard the barque-rigged steamer *Omeo* which he and his travelling companion, G Minza, had boarded in Newcastle, New South Wales. They were described as ‘two gentlemen out from England to look at the lands in North Australia’. Freer appears to have set up in business in partnership with Edward Prosser Hopewell as on 12 September 1872 they became the registered owners, and were described as merchants, of lot 643 in Mitchell Street (next to the Hotel Darwin) for which they paid 60 Pounds. Towards the end of 1873 the lot was subdivided into two and sold, the partners receiving a total of 108 Pounds. During his time in Palmerston he was active in community affairs. His horse ‘Palmerston’ won the Palmerston Handicap at the Easter race meeting in 1873.

Freer then returned to England, but in April 1874 he telegraphed the Government Resident that he would be returning via Hong Kong. He was willing to act for the government in securing Chinese labourers for the goldfields, but his offer was not accepted

He did not actually return to Palmerston until 15 March 1884 when he, his wife Maria, and children Percy (born 11 January 1872), Cecil (born c1876) and Maud Violet (born c1878) arrived by SS *Naples* as saloon passengers from ‘southern ports’. It is not known whether the family spent any time in other parts of Australia when they came out from England.

Percy Robinson Freer earned a living in various ways. After becoming Acting Clerk with the Palmerston District Council in September 1885, he was officially made Clerk in April 1886 on the resignation of [J A V Brown](#). Freer as Town Clerk had responsibility for rate collection, cemetery fees, rent of the Town Hall, certain public works, sanitary arrangements, fencing, and dog, slaughtering and quarry licences. His salary was 151 Pounds, 13 Shillings and Four Pence per annum. During their early years in the town the family seems to have lived in Smith Street almost opposite the Town Hall. The Palmerston Institute established a library. Freer became the librarian when the position was established in April 1886 and he retained it at least until 1894 when his salary was 25 Pounds per annum. He ceased to be Town Clerk in 1891. The 1891 census showed his occupation as customs officer, but in October 1894 he opened the Palmerston Exchange and Mart in Bennett Street offering to sell or exchange unwanted items on commission. From January to August 1895 he advertised himself as an accountant and commission agent, available each morning. Finally, in September 1895 he made known his proposed departure on SS *Tsinan* for Adelaide, giving those who owed him money a chance to square their accounts before he left Palmerston.

Little is known about the family’s background in England except that it is claimed that they were ‘substantial yeomen from Sussex’. We do not know PR Freer’s financial position, or why he brought his family to the Northern Territory. We do not know why he stayed so long without even taking a holiday, as many others did, and why he did not, in the end, return to England. He visited mining areas in the Northern Territory, was at one time stranded on the Vernon Islands whilst in a small vessel, accompanied by an Aboriginal man, and was linked to Sergison’s unsuccessful coffee venture on the Adelaide River in the mid 1880s. He did not make his fortune in the Northern Territory, but he kept his reputation.

Maria Freer died unexpectedly on 28 November 1891, aged about 39, much mourned by the whole town, and was buried the same day in the Goyder Road cemetery. Until her death she and Percy contributed to the life of the town by raising a fine family and by organising and joining in social activities, such as picnics, regattas, dances and fancy dress balls. They were leading lights of the amateur music and dramatic performances held mainly in the Town Hall. Their first stage appearances together in Palmerston were in 1885 and at times the local amateurs combined with visiting professionals to entertain the people of Darwin. Percy kept up his stage appearances after Maria’s death until just before his departure from Palmerston. He was very versatile, performed in everything from pantomime to Shakespeare and was noted for Negro minstrel roles. He also sang, wrote poetry and directed.

Percy Robinson Freer died in Melbourne on 19 August 1916. The *Northern Territory Times* obituary described him as ‘a man of many parts’.

Maud Violet Freer, the only daughter of the family, shared her parents’ interest in the stage. After attending a social evening at Government House with her father in August 1892 she left Palmerston, on 23 January 1893, to further her education. In 1894 she attended the school run by the Misses McMinn in Adelaide. With her singing and acting abilities she ‘evidently promises to develop into quite a notable personage’ the local press reported. Violet (as she was known) then returned to London to pursue a stage career. By 1910 her success at charity concerts in London was being noted in Palmerston when she performed at the Court Theatre, ‘where her singing and dancing brought down the house’. In 1924 she married Lord William Cecil. There were no children and she did not return to Australia.

Percy Freer, the eldest son, joined the English Scottish & Australasian Chartered Bank in Darwin in 1888, and in 1897, as teller and ledger keeper transferred ‘South’. He continued to serve the bank and retired as manager of the Moss Vale, New South Wales, branch in September 1930. He married Margaret Anne Finn in Paddington, Sydney in 1908 and they had a son, Maxwell, and two daughters, Beatrice and Joan. Percy Freer died on 29 July 1952. As a young man Percy was interested in sport, and during his stay in Palmerston was a member of the Amateur Athletics Association, and played billiards and cricket.

Cecil Freer was the best-known member of the Freer family. He is said to have trained as a mining engineer and to have worked as a mine manager. He later became known as 'the Buffalo King'. At a very early age he won at the races on his pony *Creamie*. After 1893, when he was about 15, he began to develop a reputation as a jockey, riding race meetings at Katherine, on the goldfields and in Darwin, the latter under the auspices of the Northern Territory Racing Club. He also trained horses and became a successful owner.

He left the Northern Territory in October 1897, but returned the following May. The 1901 census shows him as a 26-year-old miner at Brocks Creek where there was a small active European community. He worked on various mining leases in the general area but travelled to Palmerston for racing and social events. In July 1903 Cecil Freer demonstrated his confidence and sense of public responsibility by capturing and restraining an Aboriginal man wanted by the police for attempted murder. He had initiative and displayed leadership in crisis situations. He was also a great supporter of sport and charity fundraising.

For a while he mixed mining and buffalo pursuits. Late in 1903 Freer and a partner named Orchard commenced a contract for a 320 metre main shaft at the New Zapopan Gold mine, recently financed by local interests. In October 1904 it was reported that the pair had been buffalo shooting for two months and that Orchard had suffered a riding accident.

In 1907, whilst still resident at Brocks Creek, he took out a pastoral permit over part of the East Alligator River plains for the purpose of shooting buffalo for their hides. He took a 'general tour' on SS *Eastern* in 1907 and during 1908 managed the Great Northern Mine whilst a colleague was away. He then returned to the Adelaide River Plains to shoot buffalo. In 1910 he still had a wet season camp at Brocks Creek as access to the plains from Port Darwin could be gained by travelling south along the railway line. Eventually in 1911 Cecil Freer secured a permit for a large area around Point Stuart, which meant that he could use a lugger to carry his provisions and hides. This area became the centre of his buffalo shooting and hide export enterprise.

In the years that followed, up to about 1932, with the co-operation of Aboriginal families who worked with him, Cecil Freer made a good living. They shot approximately 3 000 buffaloes per year and in the camp cleaned and salted the hides, which were later tanned to make very strong leather. During each wet season, when no hunting could be done, he travelled by sea to southern capitals where he relaxed in like-minded company.

In 1930 when over 50 years of age, but still fit and active, Cecil Freer married Noreen Garry, who was much younger, in Sydney. She enjoyed one dry season visit to Darwin and to Point Stuart, where she observed and wrote about the smooth operation of Freer's buffalo enterprise, in apparent harmony with the Aboriginal people. However, as she neither wanted to live in the Territory, nor spend the dry seasons alone in Sydney, they were divorced.

About 1936 he married Dorothy Yeo of Elong Elong Station near Dubbo, New South Wales, and settled in Macleay Street, Potts Point, Sydney. There were no children of this marriage. Cecil Freer, although of a retiring nature, was well known in social circles for his stories of the Northern Territory, and as an advocate for its development. When he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1939 for his services to the Northern Territory, and for his relations with Aboriginal people who were said to refer to him as 'Yarriupi', some commentators stated that he deserved a knighthood. He died on 6 June 1957.

Cecil Freer boosted the Northern Territory economy through the export of buffalo hides at a time when pastoral incomes were depressed. In 1929, the value of the buffalo industry peaked at 12 618 Pounds per year. However, this industry was destined to disappear as the Northern Territory developed. He also improved horse racing by introducing better quality horses. He was an intelligent, capable man, with the gentlemanly disposition of his parental family. He won his income from the Northern Territory, but ultimately he was forced to move away in order to enjoy a social lifestyle that was comfortable for him in his retirement. The family name is remembered in Freer Street which is close the Fannie Bay racecourse in Darwin.

Adelaide Observer, February 1872; MA Clinch, 'On the Edge of the Paperbark Swamp', *Northern Perspective*, vol 13, No 1, 1990; E N Garry, *Her Life*, 1990; D E Kelsey, *The Shackle: A Story of the Far North Australian Bush*, 1975; Land Titles Office records; *Northern Standard*, 3 January 1939; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* 1873–1932; *Pastoral Review*, 16 July 1957; personal correspondence ANZ Archives, Melbourne, H Cecil, UK.

M A CLINCH, Vol 3.

FRITH, SARAH (SALLY): see **FEENEY, SARAH (SALLY)**

FULLER, CHARLES (1904–1991), bushman, drover and worker in various occupations, was born on 25 January 1904 in Burketown, Queensland. His father, James Fuller, was a drover in the Gulf District. When he was still a child, Charles, his older brother, Ted, and a younger sister, left the district with their parents and began the long journey back to the Fuller family holdings near Scone, New South Wales. Charles' mother unfortunately died at Cairns during that journey and her bereaved husband had to rely on his family to care for their young children. The youngest, a daughter, was taken to family at Dry Creek, near Scone, and Charles went to stay with other relatives at Wingen, New South Wales. Ted appears to have remained with his father.

After two years James Fuller reunited his family and took his children to live with him on a dairy farm he had established in the district between Scone and Gundy. Further misfortunes followed, and in the late 1910s during a period of severe drought the family faced financial failure. Charles and Ted's education at St Josephs College in Sydney was terminated. James, accompanied by Ted, returned to droving in northern Australia in the early 1920s. Charles joined them in 1926.

As was usual in the period he travelled up the east coast as far as Cape York, and thence westward to Darwin, via steamship, in this case the SS *Malabar*. James Fuller met his son in Darwin and they went by train to Emungalan, then the rail terminus. From Katherine, across the Katherine River south of Emungalan, they continued their journey on horseback to Victoria River Downs (VRD) Station. The journey of 300 or so kilometres took 10 days because it was the wet season and the country was boggy and the creeks and rivers swollen with monsoon rain.

Charles began a short, three months, apprenticeship learning rough riding and horse breaking, supervised by his older brother, Ted. As the dry approached the men prepared their drover's plant and then began their droving season. Charles worked with his brother, and later Noel Hall, droving cattle from VRD to Wyndham meatworks, throughout the period 1926 to 1940. Mobs of 700 cattle took five weeks to travel the 450, or so, kilometres to Wyndham; the journey back to VRD took 10 days. During the dry season the men would 'spell' for a brief time at VRD, then take another mob to Wyndham. Three mobs a year were the maximum the seasons allowed. Once, in the 1920s, the Fuller drove a mob to the Wyndham wharf for live export to Asia. Occasionally during 'the Wet' they drove cattle to Carlton Station, Western Australia, another but much smaller Bovril Estates pastoral lease.

The droving team usually consisted of the Fullers, some Aboriginal stockmen, and one or two young Aboriginal boys being trained in stock work by the Fullers. The main jobs in the droving camp, horse trailing and cooking, were shared out each drove between the Fullers. In 1937 during a brief 'spell' on VRD, Charles and his current droving partner Noel Hall, met their future wives. The two women, **Joyce Falconbridge** and **Dorothy Allen**, were nursing sisters with the Australian Inland Mission. They had arrived in late May 1937 for a two-year term in charge of the small Australian Inland Mission (AIM) hospital, Wimmera Home, on the banks of the Wickham River close by the VRD Station homestead. Charles' brother Ted, had earlier (in 1935) also met his wife-to-be, Mildred McKenzie, under very similar circumstances. Joyce and Charles were married in Darwin on 20 January 1940. Later in the year Joyce left Darwin to go to Melbourne for medical supervision of her pregnancy and Charles joined her there in time for the birth of their daughter, Patricia.

Having left the Northern Territory Charles found difficulty in obtaining work. Twice he tried to join the army but was rejected on the grounds that he was in a reserved occupation. Similarly he was frustrated in his attempts to return to the Territory, and only achieved his goal after considerable 'string-pulling'. In 1942 he travelled, overland this time, to the Territory where he rejoined his brother Ted who was still droving cattle for VRD. After a short while Charles, now based in Katherine, began work droving for the Army taking bullocks to the meatworks on Manbulloo Station just outside Katherine. He stayed in that job until the end of the war in 1945.

At war's end Charles went to Melbourne to bring Joyce and their daughter back to the Northern Territory. Between late 1945 and 1960 the family lived in the district bounded by Pine Creek and Beswick. Charles worked at a number of jobs using skills he had acquired as a drover and bushman, but because he had no formal training or qualifications it became increasingly more difficult for him to hold jobs for any length of time. In a period of rapid growth in the Northern Territory, the main employer, the Commonwealth of Australia, sought younger and more qualified men for work once done by accomplished bushmen. On one occasion Charles discovered on the Katherine 'grape vine' that the job he was doing, Municipal Inspector, had been gazetted, and his experience in the work would not qualify him for permanent employment.

The Fullers were, however, hard working and prepared to give things a go. Charles and Joyce ran a bakery in Pine Creek (late 1946), managed Ted Fuller's butcher shop in Katherine (1947–1948), and worked on Beswick (Aboriginal training) Station (1951–1954). Charles also worked as a ganger supervising maintenance work on the Stuart Highway, as a farm hand on Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) experimental farms in Katherine, and as a labourer for the Department of Civil Aviation at Katherine airport. At Beswick he was head stockman supervising the training of Aboriginal men in stock work.

Despite their difficulties, including Joyce's long and debilitating illness, the Fullers enjoyed life in the Katherine–Pine Creek area. Charles in particular was involved in community activities and in the late 1950s was President of the Katherine Racing Club. His work was acknowledged when the Club gave him a life-membership. In 1960 Charles and Joyce left the Northern Territory and went to live in South Australia. Charles worked for BHP in Whyalla between 1960 and 1963, and then for the Electricity Trust in Whyalla. He retired from work in 1969. He and Joyce moved to Adelaide in 1977. Charles Fuller died in Adelaide on 10 April 1992, survived by his wife and daughter. Cremation took place at Centennial Park.

Interview with C Fuller, Adelaide, December 1987, Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226, TS498; personal conversations with author.

LYN A RIDDETT, Vol 3.

FULLER, (IRIS) JOYCE SEYMOUR nee FALCONBRIDGE (1910–), nursing sister, was born in the Healesville district of Victoria on 19 February 1910, one of three daughters. In her early twenties Joyce commenced her nursing training at the Queen Victoria Hospital in Melbourne. During the period of her midwifery training Joyce became friendly with another trainee, **Dorothy Allen** (later Hall), and it was as a result of their friendship that Joyce came to the Northern Territory.

Dorothy Allen had been approached by the Australian Inland Mission (AIM) to consider a second two-year term of duty conducting an AIM hospital in northern Australia. The Council of the AIM had recently decided to tighten its policy on employment of its nursing sisters, so that whereas previously they had chosen young women who were Christian, now they insisted the nurses had to be Presbyterian. Joyce Falconbridge not only met all the requirements, she was, as well, Dorothy Allen's friend. She was delighted to accept the offer of a term of duty

with Dorothy. In addition to these factors, Joyce had been advised to move from Melbourne to a warmer climate. Both she and her medical adviser appreciate the irony of her move to the Northern Territory!

Joyce and Dorothy, had been recruited to staff the AIM hostel, Wimmera Home, situated on the banks of the Wickham River close by the Victoria River Downs (VRD) homestead. The Presbyterian Church on land excised from the VRD pastoral lease had built the hostel/hospital in 1922.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the AIM conducted a number of similar establishments in north and central Australia. A common pattern of management was followed in all the hospitals subject to small variations created by special circumstances. Two fully trained nursing sisters with midwifery qualifications, and who professed the Christian faith, were contracted for two-year terms. The sisters had to be self-sufficient and, in addition to providing nursing care for the sick, for pregnant and nursing mothers, and child care, were expected to perform emergency dental care. Health and nursing care were offered as part of an overall medical and social welfare programme to settler families, itinerant workers, travellers and, at Wimmera Home, to Aboriginal people. Joyce and Dorothy were also expected to send and receive telegrams using Morse code, and later Dorothy made sure everyone understood that Joyce was the expert.

The nursing staff worked as a team available 24 hours a day for each day of their term. Generally nurses shared professional and domestic tasks on 'a week and week about' basis—one would nurse, one would maintain the domestic arrangements (cooking, cleaning, etc). If a nurse became ill her partner would necessarily have to do the work of two.

Part of the social welfare programme involved the staff in conducting informal 'church services', and entertaining single white men (drovers, stockmen, contractors) in a Christian environment (parties at Christmas time, bridge parties, discussion evenings). The Presbyterian Church actually specifically stated that it was hoped that the nursing sisters might marry in the north and help establish there a pattern of 'civilisation' based on Christian family life. One joke at the time was that AIM stood for Australian Institute of Marriage. Both Dorothy and Joyce fulfilled the expectation; they married drovers they met while they were nursing at Wimmera House.

Apart from the obvious contribution the AIM sisters made towards the general well-being of northern communities, they have also contributed considerably to our understanding of the conditions experienced by settlers and Aborigines on the pastoral frontier. In letters and reports to AIM headquarters, in diary records, and more recently in oral history interviews, many of these women have created vivid accounts of their life and work. These accounts have helped researchers piece together a clear picture of life in the Northern Territory in the 1920s and 1930s.

Joyce and Dorothy left Melbourne on 1 May 1937 to begin their Northern Territory adventure. They sailed on SS *Marella* via Sydney, Brisbane, Townsville and Thursday Island to Darwin—a 16-day voyage. After a short stay in Darwin they flew to VRD Station via Daly Waters. At Wimmera Home they relieved Sisters Mackenzie and Langham who had just completed their two-year term.

During the period of Dorothy and Joyce's term the AIM decided to close the Wimmera Home, and so they were the last Sisters to conduct the hospital. Controversy surrounded the AIM decision, which was forced on them by an unfortunate set of circumstances including the antagonism of [Dr Cecil Cook](#), Chief Medical Officer in Darwin, and of [Dr Clyde Fenton](#), medical officer in Katherine. Indeed it was left to Joyce to actually close the hospital in late July 1939, as Dorothy Allen had left VRD at the end of her contract in May of that year. Joyce was assisted in her task by her future sister-in-law Mildred Fuller (*nee* Mackenzie), who herself had been an AIM sister at Wimmera Home from 1933 to 1935. Joyce's future husband, [Charles Fuller](#), was brother to Mildred's husband, Ted.

Despite the tension surrounding the closure of Wimmera House, and the first signs of what was to become a long and debilitating illness, Joyce Fuller's diary account, May 1937–May 1938, of her first year in the Territory, bears witness to her commitment to the arduous work, to the people of the district, and to her love of the country. The diary also records some detail of her meeting Charles Fuller (and of Dorothy Allen's meeting her future husband, Noel Hall) and of their courtship. Friendships were made with members of the [Martin family](#) who managed VRD Station and [Charlie Schultz](#) on nearby Humbert River Station.

At the end of her term of duty Joyce travelled home to Melbourne for a brief visit to her family, and then returned to Darwin for her wedding to Charles Fuller in Darwin on 20 January 1940. Later in the same year Joyce went back to Melbourne this time to await the birth of their child. A daughter, Patricia, was born on 7 November 1940. Because civilian women and children were evacuated from the Top End during the Second World War, Joyce and Patricia did not return immediately to the Territory but stayed in Victoria until 1945. Charles Fuller after some difficulty came back to the Northern Territory in 1942 where he worked until the end of the war. He travelled to Melbourne late in 1945 to bring his wife and daughter back 'home' to the Top End.

The next few years were ones of hard work and challenge for Joyce. She and Charles established a bakery in Pine Creek in late 1946, and Joyce took over the task of bread making while Charles worked as a ganger managing roadwork teams. Later, in 1947, the family moved to Katherine where Charles and Joyce managed Ted Fuller's butcher shop. For the three years, 1951 to 1954, the Fullers worked at Beswick Station (an Aboriginal training station) south east of Katherine. At Beswick Joyce once again took up her nursing duties. Joyce Fuller's health once again began to deteriorate in the mid 1950s, and during much of the rest of the time the family remained in the Territory she was bed-ridden. In 1960 Joyce and Charles left for South Australia, finally settling in Adelaide in 1977.

FYSH, (Sir) (WILMOT) HUDSON (1895–1974), jackeroo, soldier, aviator and businessman, was born in Launceston, Tasmania, on 7 January 1895 to Frederick Fysh and his wife Mary, *nee* Reed, one of five children. While still young, his parents separated. Fysh went to live with his father on a farm but remained deeply attached to his imperious and strong willed mother. The break up of the marriage had a traumatic effect on him. He was painfully shy and suffered from severe bouts of asthma. Having run away from his father's farm on several occasions, he was finally allowed to live with his mother near Launceston. At the age of 15 he was sent to Geelong Church of England Grammar School in Victoria as a boarder. Separated from the stress of his family situation, his health improved. He had, however, lost out on too much schooling to catch up with the other students.

After leaving school, he worked as a jackeroo and studied wool classing at Geelong. While there, he saw his first aeroplane, piloted by the French aviator Maurice Guiteaux. For much of his life Fysh had a recurring dream in which he flew from the top of the stairs of his childhood home, down through the house and out into the garden. The sensation was never one of effortless soaring, but always that of striving desperately to stay aloft.

He served in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War, first in the Light Horse in Egypt and Gallipoli and later as an observer and pilot in the Australian Flying Corps. Promoted to Lieutenant, he was also awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC). While in the Flying Corps he flew many missions with the highly decorated Irish–Australian pilot Paul ‘Ginty’ McGinnes.

They kept in contact after the war and when the Australian government offered a purse of 10 000 Pounds for the first Australian air crew to fly from England to Australia before the end of 1919, they decided to go for the prize. Sir Samuel McCaughey agreed to sponsor the venture, and along with Arthur Baird as engineer, preparations were made to make the sea voyage to England to purchase an aircraft. Unfortunately, McCaughey died shortly afterwards, leaving no time to find an alternate sponsor. The Chief of the Australian General Staff, Major General James Legge, who had been given the task of selecting the Australian end of the race's route and landing strips, asked Fysh and McGinnes to undertake the necessary survey. Their journey from Longreach in Queensland to Darwin in the Northern Territory was undertaken in a Model T Ford. It was the first motor vehicle to traverse the Gulf of Carpentaria route. Fysh remained in Darwin for nine months. He had an airstrip cleared at Fannie Bay for a cost of 700 Pounds. On 10 December 1919 a Vickers Vimy aircraft flown by the brothers Ross and Keith Smith landed after their flight from England and won the race prize. The landing strip can still be seen in Darwin. Now a wide tree lined street in a residential area, it is called Ross Smith Avenue. Leading off it is Hudson Fysh Drive.

The dynamic and voluble McGinnes in the meantime had been finding backers for the dream of an air service in the remote north of Australia. In August 1920, with the backing of graziers Fergus McMaster, Alan Campbell and Ainslie Templeton, Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services (QANTAS, later Qantas) was registered. Fysh became its Managing Director in 1923, remaining a regular pilot until 1930. The company set up headquarters in Longreach, Queensland. During the early days finance was always a problem and while the Longreach to Cloncurry route and the air ambulance service were being established, joy flights and ‘barn storming’ were essential to provide a regular income. On 23 December 1924 Fysh married Eleanor (Nell) Elizabeth Dove in Sydney. The couple lived in Longreach and had a son and a daughter.

In April 1931 Fysh flew the Brisbane to Darwin section in an experimental air mail service between Australia and England. In 1934 Qantas Empire Airways (QEA) was formed with Fysh as Managing Director. The first passenger flight connecting Australia with the outside world left Brisbane on 10 December 1934. In 1938 flying boats were introduced on overseas services, as were full catering services and airline stewards. The QEA headquarters moved to Sydney. Darwin remained a major port of call in the new airline's network of routes.

After service in the Royal Australian Air Force during the Second World War, during which QEA equipment was used for military purposes, Fysh returned to the airline as Managing Director, a post he retained after the Commonwealth government purchased the entire company in 1947. He retired as Managing Director in 1955 but stayed on as Chairman until forced to step down in 1966. By then he had been involved with the company for 43 years, seeing it grow from two aircraft in north Australia to a huge corporation which also included hotel and tourism ventures. He had been appointed Knight of the Order of the British Empire (KBE) in 1951.

Much of his retirement was spent in Sydney. He wrote a three-volume history of Qantas, which was published between 1965 and 1970. An earlier work, *Taming the North*, was published in 1933. Sir Hudson Fysh died of cancer on 5 April 1974.

W H Fysh, *Qantas Rising*, 1965; *Qantas at War*, 1968; *Wings to the World*, 1970; T Hall, *Flying High*, 1979.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

G

GABARLA, also known as BARNABAS ROBERTS (c1898–1974), was an Aborigine of the Alawa tribe from Ngukurr (Roper River), the son of Ned Weari-wyingga, well known to the Church Missionary Society missionaries who founded the Roper River Mission in 1908. Gabarla grew up at the mission and then worked as a stockman for a number of years on the surrounding cattle stations. He married Norah and later Judy (widow of Long Tom). He had six children, Phillip, Silas, Jacob, Mercy, Vera and Maisie. Phillip became well known through Douglas Lockwood's book, *I, the Aborigine*. Silas worked for many years at the government settlement of Maningrida.

Gabarla became a convinced Christian as a young man and maintained this stance throughout the rest of his life. He was closely associated with **James Japanma** (Jibanyma), helping him in his work as a lay reader and an evangelist visiting the nearby pastoral properties. Gabarla became the main lay reader on Japanma's death and continued to take services and visit the cattle stations for the rest of his life. He was a great help to Margaret Sharpe in her recording of the Alawa language.

Gabarla died on 27 May 1974. The Ngukurr community mourned his passing. Many spoke of him as a faithful Christian, a man of gentle bearing and gracious manner.

D Lockwood, *I, the Aborigine*, 1962; K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; Records of St Matthew's Church, Ngukurr; CMS Records, Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

GADEN FAMILY: see [SMITH/GADEN FAMILY](#)

GAGAI, KAPIU MASI (c1895–1946), pearling lugger worker, lay mission worker, boat captain, carpenter, bosun and soldier, was born in about 1895 at Badu Island, Queensland, the son of Niwa Gagai and Kubi. He belonged to the Kodal (crocodile) clan, was educated at Badu Island School and received religious instruction from the London Missionary Society and Church of England missionaries. He worked on pearling luggers and in about 1915 married Laina Getawan, also of Badu Island.

In June 1921 Methodist Minister Reverend James Watson visited Badu and recruited Gagai and Sam Doy to join the staff of Goulburn Island Methodist Mission. Gagai captained the mission boats (a job he shared with another Baduan, Yoram) and helped with other mission work, both at Goulburn Island and Milingimbi. His wife Laina and their three daughters, Alice, Lena and Mugur, went with him. Laina died at Milingimbi in about 1925.

In 1929 he married Mujerambi Brown, daughter of **Alf Brown** and an Iwaidja speaking Aborigine, at the Methodist Mission and they had nine children: Alfred Massi, George, Kaidai, Maiquik (Michael), Gaiba, Martha, Thomson, Lacy and Polly Anne (Pauline). Mujerambi helped at the Methodist Mission too.

In April 1932 Gagai left the mission and took his family back to Badu, where he worked as a carpenter, then on pearling luggers. In May 1935 he was recruited by anthropologist **Donald Thomson** to take charge of the auxiliary ketch *St Nicholas* during Thomson's two years of work in Arnhem Land. During this time Thomson named 'Kapiu Point' near the entrance to the Koolatong River in Gagai's honour but this has not been officially recognised.

In 1937 Gagai returned to carpentry and pearling lugger work at Badu until October 1941, when he enlisted with the Citizen Military Forces and became Q 85142 in the Torres Strait Infantry Battalion. Donald Thomson arranged his transfer to the Army's Northern Territory Special Reconnaissance Unit, which operated under Thomson's command in Arnhem Land until May 1943. Gagai initially held the rank of Private but was promoted to Acting Sergeant, then full Sergeant, serving for 19 months without a break. He was bosun of the armed vessel *Aroetta*, which patrolled the Arnhem Land coast, and he was twice placed in charge of an outpost at Caledon Bay. Thomson recommended that he be decorated but this did not eventuate. Thomson said of him, 'He was not only a fine seaman, experienced in sail, but knew the waters of the Arnhem Land coast well. He was also on good terms with the natives of Arnhem Land, knew their language and became an expert Vickers gunner... Of his fine service, his sense of responsibility and his great devotion to duty I cannot speak too highly.' When the unit disbanded in 1943, Gagai returned to the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion at Thursday Island. Torres Strait Islander soldiers were unable to be Sergeants in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion so Gagai served as a Corporal.

In October 1943 Thomson again arranged for Gagai to join him, this time on a long and hazardous Army patrol behind Japanese lines in Dutch New Guinea, from Merauke to the Eilanden estuary. Gagai, Thomson and another soldier were badly wounded when natives loyal to the Japanese attacked them. Thomson later said: 'I will remember the quiet steadfast courage of Sergeant Kapiu... who had been with me in Arnhem Land for years and was a first-class waterman. He was strong and he had no nerves. He could work and when the tension was over he could sleep like a log. He did not fret and worry and waste nervous energy... He proved himself throughout a loyal and faithful companion and a fine soldier.'

After recovering in hospital from a deep cut to his neck, Gagai returned to the Water Transport Section of the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion, from which he was discharged in March 1946. He died of pneumonia and a bacterial infection at Thursday Island Hospital on 21 August 1946 and was buried at Badu Island.

There have been few men who knew the coast from Townsville to Darwin as well as Gagai. He spoke Western Island Language (Torres Strait), some Arnhem Land languages and English. Like other Torres Strait soldiers, he never received the same rate of pay as white soldiers of the same rank. The unfairness of this was recognised

some 40 years later, when the Army paid compensation to his family. There are several photographs of Gagai in the Donald Thomson Papers in the Museum of Victoria.

R Hall, *The Black Diggers*, 1989; L Lamilami, *Lamilami Speaks: An Autobiography*, 1974; M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; E Shepherdson, *Half a Century in Arnhem Land*, 1981; D Thomson, *Donald Thomson in Arnhem Land*, 1983, 'Arnhem Land', in *Geographical Journal*, vol 112, 1948, vol 113, 1949 and vol 114, 1949, 'War-Time Exploration in Dutch New Guinea', in *Geographical Journal*, vol 119, 1953; Australian Military Forces Certificate of Discharge, in Australian War Memorial; files AWM 54 628/1/1, 54 628/4/5 & 54 741/5/9; D Thomson Papers, Museum of Victoria and Mrs D Thomson; other research material held by J Rich.

JENNY RICH, Vol 2.

GAJIYUMA ('KING BOB') (?–1909), pilot, a man of the Mara people who owned the lower Roper River region, Gajiyuma was a prominent Aboriginal person during the early era of white activity in his lands. He was one of the first Aborigines to associate himself with the Overland Telegraph construction team when a depot was established on the Roper River in 1871. To circumvent the impassable wet-season terrain, supplies were brought to the depot by ship. Gajiyuma's knowledge of the river was put to advantage and he was employed as a pilot, joining vessels such as *Omeo* and *Young Australian* at the mouth of the river and guiding their passage upstream to the bar. Gajiyuma was then nicknamed 'Bob'.

After the departure of the Overland Telegraph teams in 1873, the need for Gajiyuma's services declined but did not disappear. Ships still brought supplies for the store and police station at Roper Bar and for cattle stations in the region as well as occasionally shipping out ore from as far away as Pine Creek. Gajiyuma and his family camped at the mouth of the river awaiting ships requiring a pilot. By the early 1900s, he was known as 'Old Bob', some piloting being undertaken by his son 'Bob'. Gajiyuma closely monitored happenings in his region. It was possibly his knowledge of Europeans which saved him from death along with the hundreds of his kinfolk massacred early this century by the hunting gangs of the Eastern and African Cold Storage Company in their attempt to exterminate all who stood in the way of their projected cattle empire. Gajiyuma sought out the explorer, **Alfred Giles**, who was in the region in 1906, emphatically stating his ownership of the land.

When Bishop White in *Francis Pritt* sought a site for a Church of England mission in 1906, he met Gajiyuma at the mouth of the Roper and together they selected a site 110 kilometres upstream. Gajiyuma welcomed the missionaries in 1908 and became known as 'King Bob'. He spent the last few months of his life scouring the region to locate the hunted and scattered remnants of his people and lead them to safety at the mission. He died in February 1909 at the mission.

G White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia*, 1918; K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; A Giles, 'Report of Tour of Inspection of Roper River', MS 1906; Oral traditions at Ngukurr (Roper River).

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

GALLACHER, JAMES DOUGLAS (JIM) (1923–1990), soldier, teacher and public servant, was born on 12 September 1923 at Warrnambool, Victoria, the eldest child of Walter McLean Gallacher and Helena Elizabeth Gallacher, *nee* Quinn. Jim Gallacher's great-grandfather and his brother emigrated from Scotland in 1838. They obtained farming property in the Western District of Victoria which his grandfather, an engineer, subsequently sold. Jim's grandfather later assisted his son to purchase a grocery store in Jamieson Street, Warrnambool, and the home in which Jim, his sister Jean and brother Ronald, grew up was attached to the rear of the family store.

Except for an absence in Canberra between 1960 and 1961, the Northern Territory was Jim Gallacher's home from 1951 until his death. The first Aboriginal schools run by the Commonwealth Office of Education (COE) were established in the Territory in 1950. As a young, inexperienced school teacher, accompanied by his wife of just two days, Jim arrived in Alice Springs on 19 March 1951 *en route* to the central Australian Aboriginal community of Areyonga, where he had been appointed the community's first teacher. Forty years later, a long-standing colleague, Les Penhall, spoke of Jim as 'the best school teacher ever to come to the Territory' and as 'completely dedicated'. His contribution to education was officially recognized in 1976, when he became the first Fellow of the Northern Territory Chapter of the Australian College of Education, and in 1978, when he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE).

Jim Gallacher unfailingly demonstrated his belief that education and training held the key to the future well being and self-sufficiency of Aboriginal peoples. However, his varied interests and many achievements extended well beyond his pioneering work in education to distinguish him as a man whose great enthusiasm for Territory life, and the welfare of its people, never waned.

Jim was educated in Warrnambool. After completing his Leaving Certificate at Warrnambool High School his plans to join a local accounting firm were cut short by the Second World War. As an 18-year-old of less than his full height of five feet eight inches, he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) on 26 August 1942. He saw action, mainly in New Guinea, until discharged with the rank of Sergeant in July 1946. His army enlistment records describe him as five feet five and one-half inches tall and weighing 140 pounds, with fair hair, fair complexion and blue eyes. He had a strong, cheerful countenance and striking blue eyes, which never lost their depth or clarity.

Although Jim spoke little of his wartime experiences to his family, he became a member of the Darwin Branch of the Returned Services League (RSL), and died just hours after formally completing his term as President of Darwin Legacy. And in organizing the contributions of wartime mates to the traditional Anzac Day two-up school, Jim combined an ethos of 'mateship' with his love of a wager. For some years he was a member and Steward of the Darwin Turf Club and, as the architect of racing tips for 'Pegasus', a segment in the Australian

Broadcasting Commission's weekly sporting program, his knowledge of horse racing assisted many a punter to pick the winner.

After his discharge from the Army, Jim completed his matriculation at Warrnambool High School. In 1947 he enrolled in an Arts degree at Melbourne University, but could not afford the boarding fees. Instead, he undertook a two-year course at Melbourne Teachers' College. In 1950 he was posted to the small Victorian school of Nypo in the Mallee. There he met his future wife, Mary June Byrne, whose family owned a wheat property in the district. Keen to marry, but with no possibility of obtaining married accommodation, the idea of teaching Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory, where housing was provided, became an attractive option. Concern for the 'underdog', as Jim described it, was not new to the Gallacher family, and was also a factor in his decision. His father had worked hard for a better deal for Aboriginal people from the Framlingham Aboriginal Reserve near Warrnambool. A two-month induction course into Aboriginal culture at the University of Sydney was Jim's only preparation for teaching in the outback.

Located 90 kilometres west of Hermannsburg in the shadow of the Krichauff Ranges, Areyonga's great beauty has been captured in the paintings of [Albert Namatjira](#). Of more immediate concern when the Gallachers arrived there was the crude house, which was to be their first home. Initially it had no refrigerator, bathroom or washing facilities; nor was the promised new government school visible—it was still on the 'drawing board'. Areyonga was an outpost of the Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission and school was conducted in the Mission's small corrugated iron 'church'. The new school was not completed until the day the Gallachers departed for Alice Springs in December 1953, by which time Areyonga had a school population of 80 children, and the Northern Territory had acquired a teacher with a self-avowed dedication to the task of bringing education to as many Aboriginals as possible.

Jim considered community involvement integral to the advancement of Aboriginal youth and throughout his career he fostered their participation in social, cultural and sporting activities. After his appointment as Head Teacher in 1953, he initiated the first Centralian Native Schools Sports held at the Bungalow—the original Alice Springs Telegraph Station and then ration depot and reserve on the outskirts of Alice Springs—and encouraged the involvement of the Bungalow children in the Alice Springs Youth Club. He sustained the same attitude to community involvement in his personal life. Jim said he 'acted as a citizen of Alice Springs and watched the town grow'. He was a committee member of the Memorial Club, and instrumental in its move from Anzac Hill to its present site. A talented all-round sportsman, he played football, cricket, basketball and tennis. He was, by all accounts, a snooker player of consummate skill and, in later years, an enthusiastic bowler who, at the time of his death, was Secretary of the Northern Territory Bowls Association. He was also a long-standing member and past-President of Darwin Rotary Club.

Politics was important to Jim. He came from a Labor family and in Alice Springs joined the local branch of the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Always a visionary, a paper he wrote on how he believed politics in the Northern Territory should operate was presented at the 1954 ALP Convention. He stood as Labor candidate for the seat of Port Darwin in the 1974 Legislative Assembly elections, which proved so disastrous for Labor when all its candidates were defeated at the polls. Only between 1972 and 1975, when the Whitlam Government was in power federally, did Jim work under a Labor government. It was a measure of his professionalism as a public servant, and indicative of the regard with which he was held, that throughout his career he could work so constructively under conservative governments.

Changes in social policy and the administration of Aboriginal education were influential in Jim's rapid move from teacher to administrator. In 1956, when Aboriginal education was transferred from the COE to the Northern Territory Administration (NTA), he was appointed District Education Officer with the Welfare Branch, a position he held until 1959. Darwin became the Gallachers' permanent home in 1962. As Inspector of Schools until 1965 he gained an intimate knowledge of educational problems confronting Aboriginal communities. In 1966 he became Assistant Director and then Director of Aboriginal Education and, with the merger of Aboriginal education and community schools under the Northern Territory Department of Education in 1973, Assistant Director of Education (Special Services). Jim's meticulous attention to planning and programming contributed decisively to an impressive expansion in Aboriginal Education: from 16 schools with 1 600 students in 1956 to 70 schools with 6 500 students in 1973.

With [Harry Giese](#) its first Director, the Welfare Branch had been established to implement the Federal Government's new Aboriginal policy of assimilation, assented to in the 1953 Welfare Ordinance but not made operable until 1957. Under the former restrictive policy of protectionism, Aboriginal people had been subjected to a curfew, and 'part-Aboriginal' people to carrying 'dog tickets'—cards which they were required to produce to demonstrate their eligibility for the same rights as white people, especially the right to enter hotels. Under assimilation policy, Aborigines were to be encouraged to live as members of a single Australian community, with the same rights, privileges and responsibilities as other Australians but with special measures implemented to enable 'transition... favourable to their social economic and political advancement'. In 1962 Aborigines were given voluntary franchise and, with the removal of all restrictions on Aborigines specifically as a race of people in the 1964 Social Welfare Ordinance, integration replaced assimilation.

Despite the criticism it later received, Jim considered the policy of assimilation to be a tremendous breakthrough for Aboriginal people at the time. The Welfare Branch (later Division) was staffed by a close-knit team committed to advancing the position of Aboriginal people through the implementation of government policy. Jim, Martin Ford and Creed Lovegrove belonged to this influential group whose enthusiasm for their work often extended into leisure hours. They frequented the Darwin Club and Creed Lovegrove recalls them 'talking shop' late into the night—having more arguments about work at the Club than they did at work! Jim initiated many innovative programmes. He unofficially established pre-schools in the 1950s, long before the government recognized the

value in pre-school education for Aboriginal children; he pioneered work in teaching English as a second language and promoted bilingual education; he was instrumental in the provision of demountable community schools, and 'mobile schools' on pastoral properties where government regulations precluded the erection of permanent buildings.

Jim's efforts to upgrade Aboriginal education led to his joint appointment with Dr (later Professor) Betty Watts of the University of Queensland to compile a report on curriculum and teaching methods in Territory Aboriginal schools. The 'Watts/Gallacher Report', published in 1964, became the definitive document on Aboriginal education. In 1990, Graham Benjamin described this report as 'a land mark document... still used as a benchmark, identifying for many Aboriginal educators and their communities, long held concerns and needs in educational policy'.

The Report recommended the establishment of residential colleges to provide bridging programmes to smooth the transition of Aboriginal students from community primary school to high school. In 1966 Jim was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to study education programmes for indigenous people in Canada and the United States. He returned with a strengthened resolve to have transitional colleges established. Kormilda was established in 1967, Dhupuma in 1972 and Yirara in 1973. Kormilda extended its brief to include some vocational training programmes, and Aboriginal teaching courses later provided at Batchelor College. Although the concept of Aboriginal residential colleges subsequently proved controversial, and Kormilda now operates as a mainstream secondary college, Jim's work has been commemorated in the 'Gallacher Gardens'—a grove of native trees from which bush tucker is obtained—which grace Kormilda's grounds.

Responding to a worldwide movement among indigenous peoples, the Whitlam Labor Government implemented a policy of 'self-determination' for Aboriginal people in 1973, which entailed greater autonomy for Aboriginal Councils and the withdrawal of Welfare Division staff from Aboriginal communities. Jim found some consequences of this policy troublesome. He considered an education system sensitive to Aboriginal culture, incorporating Aboriginal history, and involving the Aboriginal community, should not be subordinated to the political aspirations of a small proportion of Aboriginal people who rejected dialogue with Europeans and denied their children opportunities to benefit from what education could offer. He did not, however, lose his optimism in the ability of Aboriginal people themselves to find solutions to the problems confronting them.

Immediately after Cyclone Tracy, which devastated Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974, Jim acted as Director of Northern Territory Education for 10 months. Forced to live apart from his family on the MV *Patris*, he drew on his considerable administrative skills to rapidly re-establish a viable education system. It is said that his total commitment to protecting the welfare of children, teachers and programmes, his ability to delegate authority, and his compassion and concern for the whole community generated remarkable co-operation. When **Dr James Eedle** was appointed Director in October 1975, public and private accolades flowed in, in recognition of Jim's remarkable achievements, with some expressing chagrin that he had not been appointed Director. Surely he was also disappointed: his achievements belie his stated belief that he was a really a good 'second-in-command'. His only formal academic qualification, however, was a Teacher's Certificate, and, as the Territory then saw itself as 'growing up', concern for academic qualifications appears to have over-ridden consideration of proven administrative abilities.

Jim remained Assistant Director of Education until self-government in 1978, when the Chief Minister, **Paul Everingham**, appointed him to head the government's newly formed 'Aboriginal Liaison Unit'. He continued in this position until his retirement in 1983, after which he maintained his community involvement in Aboriginal education and training. Formerly a Darwin Community College Councillor and member of the Carpentaria College Council, he became a member of the Northern Territory Grants Commission and long-serving first Chairman of Batchelor College Council. Shortly after his death the Batchelor College Library and the Alice Springs College Campus were dedicated to his memory. Plaques placed at both campuses are permanent reminders of the exceptional contribution he made to Aboriginal education.

Jim's wife and their adult children, Jamie, Robyn and Helena, continued to make Darwin their home. Despite the initial hardships of Territory life, Jim's commitment to his work, and the long absences from home this entailed, June Gallacher recalled her husband as a kind and understanding man who deserved and gained the respect and love of his family.

Jim's death was sudden. He died from a heart attack on 22 July 1990 at the age of 66. At his funeral, his friend the Administrator of the Northern Territory, **James Muirhead**, spoke of Jim as a man 'ambitious for the advancement of Aboriginal people' who never lost his belief that 'Aboriginals will eventually achieve full justice, opportunity and recognition as an integral and valued component of the Australian nation'. It is thus fitting that in a speech to the Northern Territory Parliament, Wesley Lanhupuy, Member for Arnhem and former Kormilda College student, should record his regret at Jim's death with the words (*inter alia*) 'had it not been for Jim, I would not be where I am'.

G Benjamin, 'Vale Jim Gallacher', *Northern Territory Institute of Senior Education Officers Newsletter* 3/90, September 1990; M J Gallacher, M Ford, C Lovegrove, L Penhall (taped interviews); J Gallacher Papers, Northern Territory University Archives; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 15 August 1990; T C Lovegrove 'The Law and the Aboriginal', *Special Schools Bulletin*, June 1970; Oral history Interview, Northern Territory Archives Services, NTRS 226, TS 50; B H Watts & J D Gallacher, 'Report on an Investigation into the Curriculum and Teaching Methods used in Aboriginal Schools in the Northern Territory', 1964.

WENDY MACDONALD, Vol 3.

GARRISON, WILLIAM JAMES (COWBOY BILL) (1928–), stockman, sailor, bush worker and raconteur, was born in Lock, South Australia, on 12 October 1928. An only child, Garrison's parents died when he was young. He was passed from relative to relative, much of his time being spent with a spinster aunt. Garrison was educated

at the Marist Brothers' Sacred Heart College in Adelaide. He was expelled, along with two others, for drinking red wine under the chapel. Just turned 14, he left home and headed for the outback where he got a job as a stockman on Todmorden Station near Oodnadatta. Over the next few years he worked on many stations in Central Australia, including Alcoota, Bond Springs and Eridunda stations, before moving on to Broken Hill.

In 1949 Garrison joined the Royal Australian Navy. He served as a stoker-mechanic on HMAS *Australia*, HMAS *Quadrant* and HMAS *Warramunga*, which, according to Garrison, was known as the 'Wandering Mongrel'. His navy time took him to the Philippines and to New Guinea. After leaving the navy in 1955, Garrison worked at a variety of jobs in Victoria.

In 1958 he met up with an old Alice Springs mate, 'Rajah' Holmes, in the London Club Bar in Melbourne and decided to head back to Central Australia. His first stop was Helen Springs Station. Over the next few years Garrison travelled the Territory, working on stations such as Inverway, Nicholson, Eva Valley and Alexandria Downs. He did all sorts of jobs: stockman, fencing, driving or droving. In the bush, *The Bulletin*, with its Red Page containing Australian stories and poems by writers such as Lawson and Patterson, was popular material around the campfires at night. An avid reader with a good memory and a powerful speaking voice, Garrison added poems, particularly those that told a good story such as Patterson's 'Clancy of the Overflow' and 'The Man From Snowy River' to his repertoire of bush yarns. It was at the Daly Waters pub that another dimension was added to his stock of ballads, when Bill 'Little Bear' Petrie of Nutwood Downs Station gave Garrison a copy of *Songs of a Sourdough* by the Canadian writer Robert Service. The bawdy ballads of the wild gold-rush days in the Yukon in Alaska such as 'The Shooting of Dan McGraw' and 'The Ballad of Eskimo Nell' were tailor-made for Garrison's gravelly voice.

Garrison roved the Northern Territory outback for years, bull-catching on St Vidgeon Station, working for the five Whitely brothers on Goodparla, on Gimbat Station near Coronation Hill, for Jack Kitto at Rumbalara and Max Bright at Stapleton. He also worked at Mallapunyah and drove trucks for Ian Worth's 'Circus' at the Eveleen Mine near Pine Creek. Every station, and every name has a story. Travelling from place to place also provided Garrison with material for yarns, such as the time he fell out of a boat on the Stuart Highway, and the trials and tribulations he faced in attempting to get a lift to Threeways miles from anywhere and carrying a pair of oars! Although he often made large sums of money, Garrison never became rich. One of his favourite stories is about a one-eyed saddler at Camooweal who promised him 'stick with me, boy, and you'll be fetlock deep in sovereigns'.

In the late 1960s Garrison started spending more time in Darwin. He still went off to follow whatever station work was going, but always returned to Darwin. 'Cowboy Bill's' tall figure with its Texan ten-gallon cowboy hat soon became a familiar sight around the town. The hat, apart from giving him his nickname, also served as Garrison's bank stuffed, when he was in the money from a job, with bank notes. When the money ran out, there were always the police cells, 'You could get a good night's sleep and the breakfast was always first class'. The police soon got wise to this trick, and Garrison is on record as being the only Territorian ever banned from Territory police stations. In the 1960s Garrison was a regular entrant in the Yarn Spinning competitions held at the Hotel Darwin. The event, revived and enlarged in the 1990s, was the World Yarn Spinning Championship and featured such renowned yarn-spinners as author [Frank Hardy](#) and radio identity Mike 'Prickle Farm' Hayes. Garrison always made the finals, but the night, with the bright lights, large audiences and intense media coverage did not really suit his laconic, laid-back style of delivery, or temperament. He was at his best with just a few people, and a few drinks, in a local watering hole.

Garrison lived permanently in Darwin in the early 1990s and could often be found in one of his favourite old haunts, the Hotel Darwin, entertaining friends and visitors with his stories and memories of over 50 years of living and working in the outback, a style of life which had just about vanished. Although he turned down several radio and recording offers, he finally allowed a Darwin friend to tape his anecdotes for the purpose of a book on his life. The title was taken from the quote by the old one-eyed saddler at Camooweal: *Fetlock Deep in Sovereigns: The Life and Times of 'Cowboy Bill' Garrison*.

Interviews with W J Garrison, 1995; *Northern Territory News* archives, files on 'Cowboy Bill' Garrison and 'Great Yarn Spinning Competition'; S Williams, 'Fetlock Deep in Sovereigns', unpublished, 1995.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 3.

GEORGE, (ALEXANDER) JOHN (1944–), Army officer and first Commanding Officer of the North West Mobile Force, an integrated Army Reserve unit in the Northern Territory and Kimberley, raised by George in 1981 to provide a widely-based strategic reconnaissance and surveillance capacity on the approaches to northern Australia.

Born in Sydney on 24 September 1944 and educated at Coffs Harbour High School, John George entered the Army as an apprentice in 1960. He subsequently transferred to the Infantry Corps in 1962 and served in the airborne platoon of the 1st Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment (RAR). He graduated from the Officer Cadet School (OCS), Portsea in December 1964 and was posted to 2RAR at Enoggera, with which battalion he saw active service in Vietnam from May 1967 to June 1968, particularly in the Phuoc Tuy and Bien Hoa provinces. On return to Australia from Nui Dat, and on promotion to Captain, he commenced duty with the Special Air Service Regiment (SASR) at Swanbourne as Intelligence Officer. He then served with the 5th Army Recruiting Unit after which he held a series of staff appointments in Western Command. He returned to the Army Apprentices School as Adjutant, and from January 1973 was the Officer Commanding A Company of 3RAR at Woodside in South Australia while, in January 1976, he entered the Australian Staff College at Queenscliff.

As a substantive Major, he held appointments including Training Officer at OCS Portsea and was S02 (Staff Officer Grade 2) Projects at Headquarters Field Force Command in November 1980 when he submitted a Minute on the 'Operational Concept for NORFORCE' to the General Officer Commanding Field Force Command, Major General Ron Grey. He identified that the emphasis would be on patrolling, with patrols operating out of Darwin or from squadron bases; it would be a 'special conditions' unit, in the sense of having patrols deployed almost continually throughout the year.

At 2400 hours on 30 June 1981, the 7th Independent Rifle Company (see [Pike](#)) was deleted from the Order of Battle, its members and equipment being absorbed into a new unit titled North West Mobile Force (NORFORCE), which was raised in its place on 1 July 1981. John George was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and appointed the unit's first Commanding Officer (1 July 1981 to 24 July 1983). The regiment has specific responsibility for surveillance of the north Australian coastline from the Northern Territory to Broome, providing early warning of any incursions, including the location, strength and probable intentions of the force, and the collection of topographic intelligence and local infrastructure knowledge, information which would be vital in assisting higher commanders to commit the appropriate forces to the right location in a timely manner. It is a concept that requires exceptional skills to operate successfully in an austere environment that is harsh on troops and equipment, and demands an innovative approach to soldiering. Always emphasising the value of fitness to his soldiers, George was most commonly recalled as a zealot for physical fitness, and any original member of the regiment can still hear the shrill tones of his whistle as they pounded the roads of Larrakeyah Barracks.

George was careful to ensure the appropriate insignia was selected to give the young unit a sense of heritage. The similarity of NORFORCE's role to that of the wartime North Australia Observer Unit (NAOU) over largely the same territory (see [Stanner](#) and [White](#)), led to the adoption of the NAOU's distinctive colour patch from the Second World War, making NORFORCE the only unit in the Australian Army (at that time) authorised to wear such a distinguishing colour patch. The officially sanctioned unit patch, approved by the Army Dress Committee on 28 November 1983, was a double-diamond patch of orange and green, green to the front, on a 'sand' background (in lieu of the grey which had been used for Australian Imperial Force units); the sand colour was chosen to reflect the common earth colour of the vast area of operations in the north of Australia, and had a secondary link to the sand-coloured beret of the SASR. One veteran wrote to George, 'Humbly, albeit proudly, we wish to acknowledge your gracious act in adopting our Colour Patch so that the double-diamond shall continue to be symbolic of fine soldiers, past and present, who volunteer to defend their country'.

George led his regiment in accepting the Freedom of Entry of two major centres during his term, Darwin on 3 July 1982 and Derby on 9 July 1983. He was created an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in the Military Division in the New Year's Honours List in 1983, for 'service to the Australian Army, particularly in raising the North West Mobile Force'. He noted, 'The Regiment shared in my OBE; it was a team effort'.

George's intensity and professionalism whilst Commanding Officer was marred somewhat by the circumstances of his departure from Darwin, which have become shrouded by the re-telling and mis-telling of the story. The incident involved John George striking a particular Captain from the Headquarters 7th Military District staff who, he recalls, 'had in fact uttered some caustic remarks about the Regiment and I certainly took offence on this occasion'. The incident did not occur in the Mess, and there were no witnesses, and George was not 'sacked' as has often been stated. He related that he had in fact offered his resignation, having announced to his Regular Army staff that 'I had breached my own standards' and that I had always believed in the principle 'live by the sword, die by the sword'. General Kelly rejected his resignation and George went to his originally planned appointment at Army Office; he subsequently tendered his resignation for the second time, which was accepted. He returned to Western Australia as the chief administrator of a shire council near Perth, and later became the Queensland State Manager for MSS Security Services in Brisbane. Another SASR veteran, Lieutenant Colonel Doug Gibbons, succeeded him as Commanding Officer NORFORCE.

The Army List of Officers of the Australian Military Forces, vol 1, 31 July 1970; Lieutenant Colonel A J George OBE: CV and press clippings (NORFORCE Museum); personal correspondence and conversations with Lieutenant Colonel A J George OBE and former unit members; personal correspondence with NAOU veterans, 1993–94; *NORFORCE Newsletter*, various editions 1981–83.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

GEVERS, MINNA MARIA M: see [ALBRECHT, MINNA MARIA MARGARETHA](#)

GIBUNGURRICH: see [BLITNER, GERALD](#)

GIESE, HARRY CHRISTIAN (1913–), teacher, soldier, public servant and community worker, was born on 9 December 1913 in the small town of Greenbushes, about 250 kilometres south of Perth, Western Australia. He was the eldest of four children, one of whom died of diphtheria at the age of five.

Harry's father (also Harry Christian) was the son of German immigrants who had settled in Clare, South Australia, in the 1870s, then moved to the Victorian Wimmera, before shifting yet again, following successive droughts, to south-western Australia just before the turn of the century. Here, in Greenbushes, Harry senior met and married Lilian May Montgomery, the daughter of a Scottish crofting family.

Harry attended the local primary school. In 1926 he began boarding in the town of Bunbury, 74 kilometres away, in order to attend Bunbury High School. One year later, Harry's father died as a result of a tree-felling accident, leaving Lilian with three young children to support and educate. The family moved to Perth, where Lilian purchased a corner store with live-in accommodation in Victoria Park. Harry stayed on at Bunbury High School until 1931, when he matriculated and won a Hackett Bursary at the University of Western Australia.

In 1932 he entered the University, intending to become a teacher. Between then and 1938, he completed both a Bachelor of Arts degree and a Diploma of Education, managing to combine part-time studying, secondary school teaching, active involvement in sporting activities, and a high level of involvement in student affairs. In 1937 he was President of the University Sports Council, and in the following year President of the Guild of Undergraduates. In March 1939, as the prospects of war loomed, he enlisted in the first motorised 'Light Horse' unit in Western Australia—the 25th Light Horse Machine Gun Regiment. The following year he won a scholarship to attend the first Physical Education course in the Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne. Subsequently, following his move to Melbourne, he joined the Melbourne University Rifles Reserve and in August 1941 volunteered for the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF).

In Melbourne he completed a Master's degree in education as well as a Diploma in Physical Education. The latter course had been recently established by Dr Fritz Duras, a refugee from Nazi Germany, and was linked to a broader policy objective, being pursued under the Commonwealth Director General of Health, Dr J H L Cumpston, of fostering national fitness.

For the remainder of the war years, Harry Giese moved between the worlds of war service and national fitness administration. In February 1942 he was seconded to an Army training school in Victoria for two months, to develop a physical education curriculum. At the end of this period, he was transferred back to Perth, and in April was posted to Port Hedland. However, in September of the same year he was selected for a three month Administrative and Special Duties course for the RAAF, to be conducted at the University of Melbourne. Then, in the middle of *that* course, he was released at Cumpston's request in order to take up the new post of Director of National Fitness in Western Australia.

In 1944 he moved once more, to take up a position as inaugural director of Physical Education in the Queensland Department of Public Instruction. He arrived to find neither staff nor facilities, but an atmosphere of optimism and energy. He began by appointing all nine new graduates from the University of Queensland's recently established Department of Physical Education as a 'flying squad', who traversed the state, instructing primary school teachers in how to teach physical education, and in the inter-connections between physical education and health.

In 1946, Harry married one of his 'flying squad' members—Nancy Wilson or, as she was better known, Nan. In the following year Harry, now accompanied by Nan and their infant daughter Diana, moved once again, this time to Canberra to take up a position as a National Fitness Officer in the Commonwealth Department of Health. Faced with a housing shortage, the family spent two years in one hotel room. While in this position, he took part in a major epidemiological study of postural defects among 35 000 Australian schoolchildren. He also published in the *Medical Journal of Australia* the results of an investigation of student health services in universities in Germany, Scandinavia, the United States and England, with a view to making recommendations that might overcome the high levels of mental breakdown and TB among Australian students.

In 1952, he transferred to a position as Assistant Principal Training Officer with the Public Service Board, also in Canberra. Two years later, he was appointed to the position in which he was to exercise his most lasting and pervasive influence in the Northern Territory—as Director of a newly created Welfare Branch in the Northern Territory (NT) Administration.

Following his appointment, Giese drove to Darwin, arriving on 23 October 1954, to find that he and his family had been allocated a house on the outskirts of Myilly Point. The kitchen had no flywire, and none of the bedrooms had overhead fans. By now the Gieses had two young children, who arrived in Darwin with Nan in February 1955.

From the outset, the new Director's position was contentious. The Welfare Branch replaced the Native Affairs Branch, which, as its name implies, had been the vehicle for Commonwealth Aboriginal policy in the NT until that time. Behind the name change lay a shift in policy, brought about by the Commonwealth Minister for Territories, **Paul Hasluck**, from 'protection' to 'assimilation'. The new policy did not, at least in the short term, involve abandoning all discriminatory measures. However, restrictive measures were no longer to be justified on the grounds of race, but rather on the basis of special 'needs'. For legislative purposes, individuals deemed to be in need of discriminatory measures were to be defined as wards.

In the Northern Territory, the shift was embodied in two new Ordinances: the Wards Welfare Ordinance, which replaced the Aboriginals Ordinance, and the Wards Employment Ordinance. Both bills had been introduced into the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1953, and both had been passed, but not without vigorous opposition, not only from elected members of the Council, but also from some of the government's own appointed members.

In the debates surrounding the Ordinances, it soon became apparent that, for all the semantic changes, the status of 'ward' was intended to apply to most if not all full-blood Aborigines, and to some part-Aboriginal people. However, in order for the new laws to take effect, a comprehensive census of all persons designated as wards had to be compiled. Because of the unstated intentions behind the legislation, this required in effect a full census of the Aboriginal population of the Northern Territory.

The Register of Wards took four years to prepare. As a result, the Welfare Ordinance was not implemented until 1957. Even longer delays beset the Wards Employment Ordinance, which did not come into effect until 1959.

Despite the legislative setbacks, the 1950s witnessed significant increases in government expenditure on social welfare in the Northern Territory, even when other spheres of expenditure were being cut back, and an expanding role for the Welfare Branch. The term 'welfare' in the Branch's title had much broader connotations than it normally carried later. In the case of Aboriginal policy, it implied responsibility for fields such as education, health and the creation of economic infrastructures. Under Giese's administration responsibility for Aboriginal education was transferred from the Commonwealth Office of Education to the Welfare Branch. The Welfare Branch already had

control over health services in Aboriginal communities, although its authority came under strong challenge from the Commonwealth Department of Health in the 1960s. A housing program for part-Aboriginal families living in urban areas was also established.

Even with respect to the wider community, Giese did not see the Branch's role as limited to providing a residual support service for the poor and needy, but rather as being a vehicle for social development. Giese believed that, while the government was not the appropriate body to provide social and recreational services, it had an obligation to facilitate the growth of a strong non-government community sector by offering incentives to bodies such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) to set up branches in the Northern Territory. A pre-school centre program was also put in place.

Throughout the 1950s, Giese enjoyed considerable authority. He had the support of an energetic, interventionist minister in Hasluck, who in turn articulated a coherent policy. Although many of the assumptions upon which the policy rested subsequently came under attack, and the policy itself was later abandoned, it undoubtedly provided at the time a framework conducive to the development of educational, economic and other institutions. Giese's dominance, however, helped to create countervailing currents. By the early 1960s, he was being criticised as an empire builder, both by locally elected members—who saw him as a principal representative of Canberra's social agenda for the Northern Territory—and by some of his colleagues in the NT Administration, who resented his influence over what they considered to be their own specialist domains. By this time, too, the assimilation policy was coming under increasing criticism. Ironically, Giese was caught between those critics who claimed that his Branch was allocating too many resources to Aboriginal development, and others who believed the policies of the Branch offered too few opportunities for Aboriginal advancement.

In 1962, the NT Administrator's Council, a body made up of the Administrator and two elected members, refused to approve a supplementary list of wards submitted by the Welfare Branch. In the same year, locally elected members of the Legislative Council attempted to introduce a new Child Welfare Bill, under which responsibility for non-Aboriginal child welfare would have been hived off from the Welfare Branch, leaving the latter, in effect, in charge solely of Aboriginal welfare. The move failed, but it signalled a desire on the part of some local members both to curtail Giese's power, and to promote an alternative social agenda for the Northern Territory. An even bolder attempt was mounted in 1964. In February of that year Giese, representing the Commonwealth, formally introduced into the Legislative Council three bills that incorporated radical changes in social welfare, the removal of restrictions on Aboriginal access to alcohol, and changes in Aboriginal employment conditions. Disgruntled local members responded by setting up a Select Committee, from which Giese was pointedly excluded.

Once again, the attempt by local members to wrest control over social policy away from Canberra failed. The Select Committee accepted the broad direction of the new bills, which together constituted a dismantling of most of the remaining restrictions on Aboriginal people. A new Social Welfare Ordinance was passed in May 1964 and took effect in September of the same year.

Giese retained the position of Director. In 1965, he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in recognition of his public service, and in the following year won a Churchill Fellowship, which he used to visit indigenous communities in Canada and the United States.

In retrospect, the awards came at a fitting time, for his position in the NT Administration was soon to become increasingly contested. By now, Hasluck was no longer Minister for Territories, having been replaced in 1963 by CE Barnes, who displayed little interest in the ambitious reform programs associated with Hasluck and Giese. In 1967, following a referendum that conferred expanded powers on the Commonwealth with respect to Aboriginal Australians, the Commonwealth Government established two new bodies in Canberra: a Council for Aboriginal Affairs to provide policy advice, and an Office of Aboriginal Affairs, set up within the Prime Minister's Department, to service the Council. Together, these bodies represented a new locus of influence over Aboriginal policy. The Council comprised three people: HC Coombs (Chairman), Barrie Dexter, and the anthropologist **W E H Stanner**. Dexter headed the Office of Aboriginal Affairs.

At around the same time, administrative responsibility for the NT was shifted from the Department of Territories to the Department of the Interior.

These institutional changes were accompanied by a policy shift, away from the assimilationist emphasis on preparing indigenous people for citizenship within mainstream Australian society, towards greater stress on indigenous people's own cultural roots, and on their right to determine their own places within a multicultural Australian society.

In 1970, Giese was effectively sidelined in a restructuring of the Northern Territory Administration, which resulted in the creation of a Deputy Administrator under whom sat three Assistant Administrators. Giese became an Assistant Administrator, in charge of four branch heads, one of whom—Ray McHenry—became the new Director of Welfare.

Even more traumatic changes were to follow. Following the election of the Whitlam Labor Government in December 1972, Giese was summarily removed from his position as Assistant Administrator. The former Welfare Branch was incorporated into a newly created Department of Aboriginal Affairs (DAA), with Dexter as Secretary. Giese became an 'unattached' member of the new department, and was advised informally that he was unlikely to be considered for any position involving Aboriginal policy in the Northern Territory. The Secretary of DAA even took the extraordinary step of officially banning the former Director of Welfare from visiting Aboriginal settlements in the Northern Territory.

On 3 April 1973, Giese's status as a nominated member of the Northern Territory Legislative Council was terminated. Giese later claimed that at no time was he formally notified of the termination, nor was his contribution as the longest serving nominated member of the Council ever acknowledged.

Giese's political enemies apparently expected him to quietly pack up and leave the Northern Territory. He doggedly declined to do so, and between 1973 and his retirement in 1978, managed to survive in the fast-flowing political currents of the day. An offer of appointment as ministerial adviser to the then Aboriginal Affairs Minister Gordon Bryant, made in August 1974, came to nothing when Bryant was himself replaced in the portfolio a few weeks later. Later in the same year, Giese—who was still formally an officer of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs—was directed to move to Canberra for three months, at the end of which he was given an advisory brief to visit and report back on settlements and missions—other than those in the Northern Territory itself, from which he remained officially banned!

Even before his retirement, and especially following his eclipse as a senior public servant, Giese had been involved in numerous community activities. These included a central role in setting up a spastic centre in Darwin (since named after him), a Marriage Guidance Council in the NT, a telephone counselling service—Crisis Line—a local branch of the Institute of Public Administration, the Aboriginal Cultural Foundation, the Historical Society of the NT, and the NT Council for the Ageing. In the aftermath of Cyclone Tracy, which struck Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974, he was elected chairman of the Darwin Disaster Welfare Council, a body set up to co-ordinate the activities of local community groups, and to provide a local voice in decision-making *vis à vis* the various Canberra-centred Commonwealth authorities involved in the reconstruction of Darwin. From 1976 to 1977 he served as an adviser to the Majority Leader in the NT Legislative Council, **Goff Letts**.

Early in 1978, six months before reaching the statutory retirement age of 65, he was appointed by newly elected NT Chief Minister **Paul Everingham** as the NT's first Ombudsman. In those six months he established the Ombudsman's office.

After retiring, he remained in Darwin and, like his wife Nan, continued to be involved in a wide range of activities. From 1979 until 1985 he was Chairman of the NT Committee of the Sir Robert Menzies Foundation and a member of the Foundation's National Executive. In this position he was able to play a pivotal role in helping to establish the Menzies School of Health Research in Darwin to conduct research into tropical and Aboriginal health. He was a member of the Board of Governors of the Menzies School from its commencement in 1985 until 1995, and Deputy Chairman of the Board from 1987 to 1995. He was long involved in historical activities, and from 1980 to 1982 was Chairman of the Northern Territory Oral History Unit.

Some sense of the diversity of his energies and interests could be gleaned from the list of clubs and societies of which he was a member—often a life or honorary member. These include the NT Rugby Union (Foundation President), NT Spastics Association (Life Member), Royal Life Saving Society (Life Member), Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration (Life Member), Marriage Guidance Council (Life Member), Darwin Probus Club and Darwin Show Society. In 1991 he was made a 'Time Honoured Pioneer (Physical Education)' of the University of Melbourne, and in the following year, an Honorary Fellow of the University of Sydney.

In 1996 Harry and Nan Giese lived in a National Trust house in Myilly Point in Darwin. Their son Richard was a general practitioner in Darwin; their daughter Diana a freelance writer based in Sydney.

Northern Territory Archives, Oral History Unit, Interview transcript NTRS 226, TS755.

PETER D'ABBS, Vol 3.

GILES, ALFRED (1846–1931), pastoralist, was born near London, and came to South Australia with his family in 1849. He was educated at a private academy in Adelaide but as soon as he left school he went straight to the colony's furthest edge of pastoral settlement to gain the experience that was to equip him for a lifetime of leadership and responsibility in the outback.

In 1870 Giles was engaged as second-in-command of **John Ross**'s expedition to fix the course of the overland telegraph line. Giles reached the Roper River in May 1871, and then for several months he carried out minor survey and exploration work for the parties constructing the northern sections of the line. In the course of this work Giles traced the Katherine River down from its Arnhem Land headwaters, and almost certainly became the first white man to see Katherine Gorge.

In 1872 Giles overlanded ration animals north into the Territory to supply various telegraph stations. Giles made four more transcontinental trips before December 1877, when he agreed to join an overlanding expedition that was being sent north to establish several pastoral stations in the Territory for Dr W J Browne. Giles took charge of driving 12 000 sheep to the Katherine River, as part of a venture under the overall control of Alfred Woods. Fifteen months later, after many vicissitudes, which included a 160 kilometre dry stage for the sheep, the party reached the place which Woods and Giles called Springvale. There a station was to be established.

Giles agreed to stay at Springvale as its first manager and from there to supervise the development of Dr Browne's intended pastoral empire. The homestead, which today survives as a tourist attraction, was built on the banks of the Katherine River in the second half of 1879. When it was approaching completion Giles returned south to marry Mary Augusta Sprigg. The couple returned to Springvale in June 1880 and over the next few years the visitor's book at Springvale became a roll of northern pioneers. Overlanders, miners, government officials, travellers of all kinds found a welcome at Springvale and from its garden gained some fortification against the scurvy which was then commonplace.

Dr Browne's intention was to use Springvale as a head station and base for a vast northern pastoral empire. At first all went well and the ever-sanguine Giles was able to report that the wilderness was swiftly succumbing to white enterprise and that the livestock were thriving. Sheep and cattle were sent from Springvale to establish Delamere in 1881 and in 1883 Giles engaged **Darcy Uhr** to bring cattle from Queensland to stock Newcastle Waters.

These stations cost Browne a sum variously reported as being between 80 000 and 250 000 Pounds to establish, but there was to be little or no return on the investment. Browne was typical of the pioneers who had rushed into the grasslands of the Top End and had spent lavishly in the expectation that markets on the expanding goldfields and in Asia would take all the cattle that could be produced on the pastures of the seemingly wet and fertile north. Furthermore, the pioneers reasoned that revenue from cattle would be but a fraction of the eventual return from wool once the cattle had knocked down the tall grasses and thereby made the pastures suitable for sheep.

The dreams of men like Browne became nightmares as it became starkly clear that the gold fields would always be small and that Asian demand for beef was even smaller. Redwater afflicted cattle herds and brought down embargoes against stock movement. In any case the only markets, in the south, were thousands of kilometres away, at the other end of hazardous stock routes. Grass seeds worked into the flesh of the sheep and dingoes and Aborigines feasted on the few merinos that managed to survive.

The inevitable crash was due to the impetuosity of Browne and his colleagues, but it must be said that the losses which they endured would have been less disastrous had Giles and other men of practical experience been more cautious in their assessment and praise of the Top End's capacities.

By 1887 Browne had abandoned his Territory empire. Newcastle Waters was sold for a pittance, but there was no interest in either Delamere or Springvale. Browne's failure was symptomatic of the costly collapse of the first wave of pastoral expansion into the Top End. Giles simply remained in possession of Springvale, although no formal transfer to him was ever registered. He ran the property on a small scale, letting paddocks for spelling and selling mutton to passers by. Like many of those who battled on after the large-scale investors had retreated, Giles made do with the stock and improvements that his predecessor had left behind. He, and men like him, gained a modest return from the land only because they did not have to service a big initial capital investment.

In 1894 Alfred Giles with his wife Mary and children Felix (born 1886), Leslie (1888), **Harold** (1890) and May (1893) moved to Bonrook, near Pine Creek. During the two miserable Territory decades, which bracketed the turn of the century, the Giles family at Bonrook eked out a meagre living from a butchering business, a mail run, and spasmodic mining ventures. Alfred Giles was too old to take advantage of briefly improved conditions after 1911 and by that time his children had gone their own ways.

Like many pioneers who had been defeated by the Territory, Giles settled down to a resigned acceptance of his situation. At Bonrook he wrote much and acted as general guide and consultant on all Northern Territory matters. He accompanied several official and parliamentary parties on Territory fact-finding tours, and infected them with the same incautious enthusiasm for the Territory that had lured Browne and others to their ruin. He sought election to the South Australian Parliament on two occasions, but his prescriptions for northern development impressed his fellow Territorians much less than they did visitors and southern newspapers.

In his writings Giles tended to project himself into the centre of all important events, and although this was often justified it was not always so. However, the value of his written legacy cannot be over-estimated. His journals, letters and articles published in newspapers probably reveal more of the lives, times and opinions of the Territory's white pioneers than do any other source.

In 1924 Giles retired to Adelaide, leaving behind in the Territory a record of determined but unsuccessful endeavour. Alfred Giles died in 1931 and his wife survived him until 1940.

Of the couple's children, Felix left the Territory to become a professional soldier, rising to the rank of Colonel before gaining important positions in the South Australian government service. Leslie became one of the Territory's longest serving and most effective public servants, reaching the position of government secretary and frequently acting as Administrator. Harold joined the Northern Territory Mounted Police, then supervised the Kahlin Compound before managing Elsey Station for almost forty years. May married a Vestey's manager, Sir Alexander Cockburn-Campbell, but died during childbirth while still a young woman.

Alfred Giles was probably the most outstanding example of a species not yet extinct in the Northern Territory. He exemplified the enthusiast who never loses faith despite the Territory's failure to live up to what is seen as its promise. To Giles there was always an excuse for failure. He was ever ready to argue that future success would result from just a little more money, or luck, or determination, or more or less government intervention. What set Giles apart and gave him special authority and influence was the duration and tenacity of his personal pioneering effort. The lesson to be drawn from his career is that blind faith in the bounty of the Territory environment is no substitute for the disciplined appraisal of its geographic realities.

A Giles, *Exploring in the Seventies and the Construction of the Overland Telegraph Line*, 1926; P Forrest, *Springvale's Story and the Early Years at The Katherine*, 1985; A Giles, 'The First Pastoral Settlement in the Northern Territory', SAA; A Giles *et al*, Springvale Station diary for the years 1879–1894 (incomplete), SAA; A Giles, diary 8 July 1870 to 16 July 1871—the Overland Telegraph Exploring Expedition, SAA.

PETER FORREST, *Vol 1*.

GILES, ERNEST (1835–1897), explorer, was born on 20 July 1835 at Bristol, England, son of William Giles, merchant, and his wife Jane Elizabeth, *nee* Powell. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, the famous school in London known as the 'Blue Coats' because of the uniform its pupils wore. William Giles with his wife, younger son and five daughters decided in 1848 to immigrate to the colony of South Australia, and Ernest, having completed his education, followed his parents to Adelaide in 1850. In 1852 he moved to Victoria, tried his luck at the gold fields without success and became a clerk in the post office in Melbourne. This apparently did not suit his restless nature for in 1861 he was in western New South Wales working as a jackeroo on various stations on the Darling River. From his job as a stockman Giles moved on to another; that of investigating new areas of land to assess their suitability for pasture. In 1861 he met a party under Alfred Hewitt that was going out to look

for Burke and Wills. In 1863 he explored areas of land west of the Darling, and in 1865 he was accompanied by [William Henry Tietkens](#) who was to be his second-in-command on two of his journeys of exploration.

Whilst in Melbourne he had got to know Baron Ferdinand von Mueller who chose Giles to lead a privately financed party, which would try to reach the Murchison River in Western Australia from the overland telegraph line in Central Australia. The small party consisted of Ernest Giles, Samuel Carmichael and Alexander Robinson. The cost of the venture was borne by von Mueller and Giles's brother-in-law, George Gill.

The party arrived at the Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station on 4 August 1872. After a week there they proceeded north to the Finke River, which they followed, and on 2 September reached a beautiful gorge which Giles named the Glen of Palms. He named the range of hills in which it is situated the Krichauff Range. Having cleared the hills and crossed the plains beyond, he was prevented from penetrating the MacDonnell Ranges because the river was in flood at Glen Helen Gap.

Giles turned westward following Rudall's Creek, which he named, and the party continued northwestward, reaching Mt Udor on 21 September 1872. After he had travelled 75 kilometres beyond it and had found no water, he was forced to retreat. Instead of retracing his steps he turned toward the southeast and after three days hard travelling came to a small oasis, which he named Glen Edith after his niece. He also referred to it as the 'Tarn of Auber'. Robinson was left there whilst the two leaders searched the hills to the south-west. They eventually found water in a creek surrounded by good grass and so impressed was Giles with the scenery he called it 'The Vale of Tempe'. On 15 October the camp was shifted there from Glen Edith.

Once again Giles and Carmichael set off to look for a suitable base while Robinson stayed behind. Going southwestward they could see a high mountain some distance to the south. Giles named it Mt Mueller, but von Mueller later changed the name to Mt Olga after Queen Olga of Wuttemberg. Convinced there would be water at the base of the mountain, Giles was determined to reach it, but was frustrated by an enormous salt lake in which his horses were twice bogged. This was later named by von Mueller Lake Amadeus after the King of Spain.

The two men were forced to retreat through lack of water and would have perished if they had not been able to dig frantically for water at Glen Thirsty in Worrall's Pass. On the way Giles suggested to Carmichael that, as their supplies were limited, they should send Robinson back to the telegraph line accompanying him part of the way and then turning south to get around Lake Amadeus. At first Carmichael agreed, then informed Giles he was withdrawing from the expedition.

On the return journey some quite good country was discovered along the George Gill Range, named by Giles for his brother-in-law. On the journey east there was an abundance of water in Kings Creek, Petermann Creek and the Palmer River, all of which were named by Giles. Despite his disappointment in not being able to continue in the field, Giles determined to mount a second expedition which, with the help of his patron and money from the South Australian government, he was able to do in 1873. He was further spurred on by the knowledge that [William Christie Gosse](#) and [Colonel Peter Egerton Warburton](#) were about to attempt the crossing to the west.

On 4 August 1873 Giles, with his friend William Henry Tietkens, Alfred Gibson and a 15-year-old boy, Jimmy Andrews, with 24 horses set out from the junction of the Alberga and Stevenson creeks, which lies 150 kilometres south of Charlotte Waters. They followed the Alberga for three days then northwestward until they reached the Hamilton Creek. They traced it to its source in some hills, which Giles named the Anthony Range. Seeing a tangle of ranges to the west the party made for them and for two weeks passed through beautiful country. On 4 September he discovered a river and a glen both of which he named Ferdinand after his patron.

When he reached the end of the range he called in von Mueller Range, unaware that Gosse had already named it Musgrave Ranges. Here he saw again Mt Olga, and at once made for it thinking the road to the west was now open to him. When he reached the foot of Mt Olga on 14 September he was dismayed to find the tracks of horses, camels and drays. His first impulse was to terminate the expedition, but he rallied and decided to follow Gosse and pass him. Gosse's tracks led him to the Mann Range past Stevenson's Peak. He turned west through well-watered country at the foot of some bare rugged hills he named the Tomkinson Range.

Giles was elated when on 6 October he crossed Gosse's tracks heading east. He pressed on with determination staying at a place he was later to call Fort Mueller. Continuing west into more arid country he was fortunate enough to find some native wells that he called Shoeing Camp, for the horses needed to be shod. Beyond that there was no water, so the party retreated to Fort Mueller. Though attacked by natives he pressed on but without success. In the New Year they at last left Fort Mueller and finally reached the Rawlinson Range, named by Giles for the President of the Royal Geographical Society. At the foot of a waterfall he called the Alice Falls was a good creek, which was named Sladen Water where today, close by, is the Giles meteorological station.

Along the range at a waterhole he called Fort McKellar Giles established a depot. The country westward was arid so Giles decided to head for a high mountain to the northeast. There was no water, four of the horses died from heat and thirst, and the men were exhausted. Justifiably he named the mountain Mt Destruction. On 8 April the camp was shifted from Sladen Water to Fort McKellar, and plans were made to attempt to cross the desert. Taking Gibson, ample smoked horseflesh and water, Giles set out. Next day the horses were given water and the two men set off. The day following, they departed at daybreak, heading for hills they called the Alfred and Marie Ranges. On the way Gibson's horse dropped dead, thereby demanding that the two men attempt to return at once to the depot. Taking turns to ride Giles' horse, 'Fair Maid of Perth', they made slow progress. Realising they would both perish if they continued, Giles instructed Gibson to return to Fort McKellar and bring help). Giles continued on foot carrying a keg of water, and was appalled to find after 25 kilometres Gibson had turned from the outgoing track. He staggered on, and on the sixth day drank the last of his water whilst still thirty kilometres from the Circus Waterhole. At dawn he reached water, rested a few hours then dragged himself up to walk to Fort McKellar. Only a man with an iron will could have completed the arduous journey. Tietkens was amazed to be awakened by his

leader. The next day they sought Gibson but to no avail and Giles named the desert after him. Giles had to admit defeat; so on 21 May they departed from Fort McKellar and on 13 July reached Charlotte Waters.

Although forestalled by P E Warburton and John Forrest, Giles finally achieved his ambition to make an east west crossing of the continent in 1875. Supplied with camels by Thomas Elder, he departed from Beltana via Port Augusta, whence he proceeded northwest and then west along a string of waterholes, Wynbring, Ooldea, Ooldabinna and Boundary Dam to the Western Australian border. His party then tackled the 500-kilometre journey across the Great Victoria Desert, and were lucky to get through. Only fortuitous discovery of the Queen Victoria Springs saved them. From there Giles was able to complete the journey to Perth in comparatively easy stages. The triumphant entry into that city must have been some compensation for his years of effort.

Not content with the single crossing, he, with Ross and Nicholls, Saleh and Tommy Oldham, went north to the Rawlinson and Ashburton Rivers in 1876, and finally crossed Gibson's desert that had defeated him two years earlier.

Although Giles found little good country his journeys added greatly to knowledge of Central Australia. He published *Geographic Travels in Central Australia from 1872–1874*, (1975), *The Journal of a Forgotten Expedition* (1880), and *Australia Twice Traversed* (1889). For his explorations he was made a Knight of the Crown of Italy, Honorary Member of several continental societies, and in 1880 Fellow and Gold Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society, London. The South Australian government granted him 250 Pounds for each of the expeditions in 1872 and 1874, and the lease of some 5000 square kilometres of grazing country at the foot of the George Gill Range. However, he was unable to take up the lease, as he had no money to stock the lease and pay the rent.

Giles took the job of land classifier in the western district of Victoria in 1877–1879. He paid a brief visit to the Musgrave Ranges in 1882, represented a prospecting company he had formed in the Kimberleys in 1890 and soon afterward joined his nephew Gordon Gill in the gold rush to Coolgardie. There he obtained the position of clerk in the Warden's Office and died of pneumonia on 13 November 1897.

He had made no major discoveries, but Giles is among the more interesting of Australian explorers because of his journals, which display a rare descriptive ability. His culture and imagination were as great as his courage, endurance, vision and determination.

R Erickson, *West of Centre*, 1972; R Erickson, *Ernest Giles*, 1978; *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889; SAAP, 21, 1872 and 215, 1873–1874.

JR FLEMING, *Vol 1*.

GILES, HAROLD STANAGE (1890–1960), bookkeeper, policeman, soldier and pastoralist, was born on 7 March 1890, at Springvale Station, Northern Territory, the third of four children of Alfred Giles and Mary Augusta, *nee* Sprigg. His elder brothers were Felix Gordon Giles (1885–1950) (later to attain the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and win the Distinguished Service Order (DSO)), Leslie Henry Alfred Giles (1888–1949) and his younger sister Maud Lorenzo Frances Giles, later Lady Cockburn-Campbell (1893–1926). **Alfred Giles** had been second in charge of **John Ross**' exploration party formed in 1870 to establish a suitable route from Adelaide to Darwin.

Harold Giles' mother, Mary, was the daughter of Henry L Sprigg, Naracoorte, South Australia, the manager of a sheep station 'San Lorenzo' owned by Philip Levi. Mary's eldest brother, Charley W Sprigg was a surveyor. With A T Woods and Alfred Giles' brother Christopher Giles, he accompanied the Goyder Survey Expedition of 1869. Alfred Giles married Mary Augusta Sprigg at the bride's home in South Australia in 1880. The newly married Mrs Giles and her maid Lydia travelled to Springvale Station (built 1879 on the Katherine River) which was managed by Alfred Giles for Dr W J Browne, a South Australian pastoralist, livestock speculator, philanthropist and public figure.

Harold and his brothers and sister were all born at Springvale Station. It was not a financial success and was unsuccessfully offered for sale in 1887. Giles and his family remained in occupation until 1894 and finally moved to a homestead at Bonrook, four miles from Pine Creek. Harold Giles recalled that a Chinese nurse boy named Ay Yook cared for the Giles children. Harold was a big baby and nicknamed Mt Kosciusko or Kiko for many years. Mrs Giles taught her children at home until a government school opened at Pine Creek with a South Australian teacher, Miss Bell. The children rode ponies four miles to the school. The Giles home at Springvale and later Bonrook had the Ronisch piano brought by Mary Augusta and also complete sets of the works of Scott, Dickens, Kingsley and Longfellow; the family knew these works well.

In 1900 Felix went to boarding school in Adelaide. By the time Leslie and Harold went to St Peter's College they were skilled horsemen, familiar with firearms and good bush men. Harold Giles was a meticulous writer and described the health problems, including malaria, of the area where he had grown up. His mother cared for the sick people at Springvale and later Bonrook. He describes that Dr Collins at Brocks Creek (48 miles from Bonrook) was paid 1 Shilling and 6 Pence per week to attend but with only a weekly train from Brocks Creek to Pine Creek the medical attention was not good. Mrs Giles used quinine for malaria, a remedy recommended by Dr W J Browne many years before.

In 1907 Harold Giles returned from boarding school and obtained his first position as a bookkeeper at Wave Hill. When 21 years of age (March 1911) he came to Darwin and was sworn in by the Government Resident, **Justice S J Mitchell**, as a member of the Northern Territory Mounted Police Force. His first assignment was to travel as Police Officer with a scientific party led by Professors **JA Gilruth** and **Baldwin Spencer** to go down the Roper River. Alfred Giles supplied the horses and buggies for this trip. Harold Giles remained at Borroloola as police constable. One duty from that station was to travel to Wologorang on Settlement Creek, 352 kilometres from Borroloola near the Queensland border, and apprehend a murderer called 'murdering Tommy'. Giles had

recently read the diary of [Leichhardt](#) who had travelled this country. Giles in his memoirs describes crossing the many crocodile-infested rivers of that area—the Fletcher, Wearyan, Foelsche, Robinson and Calvert. The job of using black trackers to find Aboriginal ‘murderers’ required great courage, tact and understanding. Giles had all these attributes. Having captured his men, Giles walked them to Wollongorang, Borroloola and Pine Creek to meet the head of the railway for transport to Darwin. That particular case was heard and dismissed for lack of evidence and the party returned overland to Wollongorang.

During this year of 1912 Giles assisted the Administrator, Dr Gilruth, by transporting cases of benzine from Borroloola to Dungaminnie Springs for his 15 horsepower Napier car. In the same year he had the duty of preparing for the visit of the Governor-General, Lord Denham and Lady Denham, through the Anthony’s Lagoon and Borroloola areas in their journey from Darwin to Camooweal. Harold Giles then served some years as policeman at Borroloola, Anthony’s Lagoon, Newcastle Waters and Horse Shoe Creek (a tin mining town). Those years in isolated places, travelling huge distances by horse and on rivers undertaking police duties, show Harold Giles as a remarkable bushman.

In 1915 Giles resigned from the Police Force and accompanied his father down the Edith and Fergusson Rivers mustering cleanskin and branded cattle. They butchered cattle and supplied meat to the men working on the construction of the railway. Giles enlisted in the First World War and spent four months in the Light Horse at Rifle Range Camp, Brisbane. He was discharged medically unfit—unable to stand the cold weather in France. His two brothers were in France at the time. Giles rejoined the Northern Territory Police Force. He went by sea to Borroloola and continued on horseback to Wollongorang to try and recapture ‘Murdering Tommy’. Many months later this was accomplished as well as other investigations of cattle killings.

In 1922 Giles returned to Darwin and was posted to Maranboy, 40 miles from Katherine. At this time two young nurses from Brisbane had been put in charge of the Maranboy Inland Mission Hospital. Giles was very shy with women but some years later he married one of these nurses, [Doris Dunlop](#), on 25 March 1924. Before his marriage Giles was transferred to Pine Creek Police Station. He lived at his father’s property, Bonrook, mustering cattle as well as his other duties. He acted as Clerk of Court at Pine Creek during sittings. After his marriage he was transferred out of the Police Force to take charge of the Kahlin Native Compound in Darwin. At times there were about 600 Aborigines in the Compound and about 70 girls of mixed descent living in a hostel.

In 1928, while on leave with his wife and two children, Giles was offered the position as manager of the Elsey Station on the Roper River, 26 miles south of Springvale Station. The Thonemann family owned it and it had been made famous by [Mrs Aeneas Gunn](#)’s books *We of the Never Never* and *The Little Black Princess*; the Gunns lived in the first homestead. Giles took charge in March 1928 and several months later Doris Giles arrived with their children Peter and Margaret to the second homestead. The Elsey with its outstation was an enormous property of 8 000 square kilometres in area with 20 000 head of cattle. Giles improved the property: permanent drafting yards were built in several strategic parts to act as bases, fences were constructed and the third and present homestead built. Giles was away from the homestead mustering cattle a great deal; new cattle were branded with the Elsey ‘HTT’ twice a year. The homestead was improved with running water from a pump installed to lift the Roper River water high up into a 4 500-litre tank and a kerosene refrigerator and a two-way radio with rechargeable batteries made life more pleasant. Giles introduced a baby bonus to stop the Aboriginal practice of smothering unwanted babies. Mrs Giles had a sick parade at 9.00 am each day, young infants were given goats’ milk and the sick and injured given medicines. Thus the group of about 100 Aborigines living on the property were basically a healthy community.

When Darwin was bombed in February 1942, ‘The Elsey’ had many callers, one who stayed some years had been the cook at Government House and the meals were well known for their excellence. There were large Royal Australian Air Force and Australian Imperial Force workshops near Mataranka as well as a large army hospital. The Giles’ had thousands of servicemen call at The Elsey until the war was over. A visitors’ book was commenced and includes many famous names such as Howard Florey, co-discoverer of penicillin, Lady Gowrie, and the High Commissioner for Canada. After the war the Governor General and his wife, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, visited the station.

The three Giles children—Peter (1925–1986), Margaret Dorothy (Voller) (born 1926) and Alan Bruce (born 1929)—went to boarding schools in Brisbane; the eldest, Peter, enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force during the war. They all settled in Queensland. When the health of Harold Giles could no longer stand the strain of managing the property, he and Mrs Giles moved to Brisbane to retirement in 1954. He died on 23 June 1960.

Family information; P Forrest, *Springvale’s Story and the Early Years at The Katherine*, 1985; H S Giles, memoirs, Northern Territory Archives.

VALERIE ASCHE, Vol 3.

GILES, (LILIAN) DORIS nee DUNLOP (1895–1979), nurse and homemaker, was born on 3 January 1895 in Brisbane, the eldest of six daughters and two sons born to George Lyon Dunlop and his wife, nee Brown. Her father owned land at Corinda, a suburb of Brisbane and Dunlop Park was named for him. Doris did her general nursing training at Brisbane General Hospital and made a friend of Jean Herd who was recruited with her by [Reverend John Flynn](#) to work at Penola Home, the Australian Inland Mission Hospital at Maranboy from 1922 to 1924. Both these women were staunch churchgoers; Jean Herd was a member of the Ithaca Presbyterian Church and Doris Dunlop attended St Paul’s Anglican Church, Brisbane. The Inland Mission Stations cared for the health of people from Longreach to Marble Bar and from Wyndham to Oodnadatta. The Maranboy assignment was particularly hard as the hospital was isolated, 64 kilometres from the railhead at Katherine. The women had to

travel long distances on horseback or in a buckboard (the mail coach). The hospital was built on the top of a hill, it was enclosed by gauze and looked like a meat safe, but when the Battery was working they had electric light and water pumped from a spring. During their two years at Maranboy there was not a doctor who visited at any time so all serious accidents were attended to and illnesses such as malaria treated. The hospital was the social centre of the area and had a gramophone and a well-stocked library. Among the young men who visited the hospital was **Harold Giles**, a shy policeman stationed in the area.

Early in 1924, Doris Dunlop went to Melbourne for some midwifery training. She then travelled to Darwin to marry Harold Giles on 25 March 1924 at the Anglican Christ Church. The Giles commenced married life at the Kahlin Compound for Aborigines in Darwin, where Harold Giles was the supervisor. Their first two children were born during this period—Peter (26 February 1925 to 11 May 1986) and Margaret Dorothy (24 October 1926). A third child, Alan Bruce, was born on 12 March 1929.

Whilst on furlough in Adelaide in 1928, Harold Giles resigned from the Police Force and took up the managership of the Elsey Station near Mataranka. ‘The Elsey’ was called after the Elsey River, named by **A C Gregory** for **Dr Elsey**, the surgeon in his expedition to explore the area. Doris and the two children followed Harold Giles later, and travelled by ship to Darwin, by train to Katherine and then by car to ‘The Elsey’. They travelled the same route taken by Aeneas and **Jeannie Gunn** in 1902. The area was famous because of Mrs Gunn’s book *We of the Never Never*; Doris Giles corresponded with Mrs Gunn and stayed with her in Melbourne in 1933. Mrs Gunn’s last letter of eight pages was in 1945 saying many of the soldiers stationed in the Northern Territory wrote to her giving news of ‘The Elsey’ and its characters in her books. Jeannie Gunn arrived in 1902 to find her homestead destroyed by a cyclone and reconstruction in progress. Doris Giles lived in the second homestead built in 1906 at McMinn’s Bar; this had slab walls and a floor paved with water-polished stones from the riverbed. This homestead was white ant eaten and not safe to live in so a new homestead was constructed with a cement floor and fibro for the walls and ceiling. In 1940 Doris Giles relates that the paint was hardly dry, her husband had gone to muster cattle and left one stockman and the cook at the homestead, when the biggest flood of 508 millimetres of rain in five days occurred. Part of the homestead was washed away; Doris escaped on a raft built by the stockman and the natives. Four days later they returned to the homestead to find great destruction of furniture and house. Doris relates that it took months to clean and repair the homestead.

After the Japanese commenced bombing the Northern Territory in 1942, Doris and her two younger children were evacuated to Brisbane. Some months later Doris returned to ‘The Elsey’ to look after the numerous visitors who called at the homestead. She recalls the happy years when the nursing sisters from the nearby military hospitals stayed with her. The soldiers came in truckloads each day and at times she had two sittings for meals. A weekend camp was formed at the Elsey Falls, five miles from the homestead and soldiers came from their camps to fish and swim. The beauty of the homestead was appreciated by Lady Gowrie (wife of the Governor General) with the Roper River flowing past below the high banks, the garden with its rockery and huge trees and the lawns maintained with fresh water from the Roper.

In 1941 the Giles bought a house on the Brisbane River at Indooroopilly. Doris lived there part of each year so that the children at boarding school in Brisbane could live at home. They sold this house in 1955 and moved to Sandgate where Harold Giles died in 1960. Doris often travelled to Melbourne to visit her son Peter, to Kingaroy to see her daughter and meet many friends from the Territory. She died on 26 July 1979.

Family information; D Giles, memoirs, Northern Territory Archives.

VALERIE ASCHE, Vol 3.

GILLEN, FRANCIS JAMES (1855–1912), post and telegraph station master and ethnologist, was born on 28 October 1855 at Little Para, South Australia, eldest son of Thomas Gillen, agricultural labourer, and his wife Bridget, *nee* McCan. His Irish parents migrated to Australia from Cavan in the year of his birth. They later settled at Clare, where the family became shopkeepers. Gillen’s brother Thomas became mayor of Clare, and another brother, Peter Paul Gillen (1858–1896), was elected to the South Australian Legislative Assembly in 1889, becoming Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Gillen joined the public service in 1867 as a postal messenger at Clare, having survived a near-drowning accident. He was transferred to Adelaide in 1871, combining duties as a telegraph operator with evening study at the South Australian School of Mines and Industries. He was on duty in 1874 when news of the fatal Aboriginal attack upon the Barrow Creek Telegraph Station was tapped down the line. Gillen received the dying stationmaster’s last message and transmitted one from that man’s wife. Despite this adverse introduction to frontier life, Gillen was interested in Aboriginal society from the time of his appointment to the overland telegraph in 1875 until his transfer south in 1899. He served continuously between Charlotte Waters and Tennant Creek. With his appointment in 1892 as Post and Telegraph Stationmaster at Alice Springs, a magistrate and Sub-Protector of Aborigines, Gillen became the senior official in Central Australia.

On 5 August 1891 he had married Amelia Maude Besley at Mount Gambier, they had six children. Besley family connections under Gillen’s supervision were extensive. Amelia Gillen’s brother, Jack Besley, served on Gillen’s staff and supported the family when Gillen was on ethnological fieldwork. Her stepbrother, Patrick Byrne, lived at the Charlotte Waters station and her cousin, J F Field (1864–1926), was in charge at Tennant Creek. Gillen’s relatives shared his interest in gathering ethnographic and biological specimens, particularly following 1894 when stimulated by visiting Horn Scientific Expedition member **(Sir) Baldwin Spencer**. Some of their collections later enriched the National Museum of Victoria, which Spencer directed and assisted him in defining the fauna of that region.

Even before Gillen's friendship with Spencer gave his ethnological enthusiasms direction, he stamped his compassionate individualism on society in the Centre. His humanitarian efforts to provide paternalistic justice for Aborigines, amongst whom he moved unarmed, culminated in the celebrated Willshire trial. Gillen charged Mounted Constable [W H Willshire](#) with murdering Aborigines. Although ample proof existed, a Port Augusta jury cleared Willshire, but he never returned to Alice Springs. Gillen hosted South Australia's governor, the Earl of Kintore, during his 1891 transcontinental journey. When the Earl left Australia, Gillen telegraphed farewell with the unconventional hope that Kintore's Australian experience had converted him to the Home Rule cause. Gillen always remained a boisterous and genial Irishman, the butt of many jokes in the bush and the source of some disapproval from his superior, [Sir Charles Todd](#).

Gillen was an inveterate gambler, on horses and in mining stock. Doubtless telegraph operators became mesmerised by the financial news transmitted along their wire to London from Western Australian goldfields. Gillen strove also to produce golden messages from the Arltunga field, east of Alice Springs. As the 'local correspondent' he boosted mining prospects in an Adelaide newspaper; he officiated at the opening of its ten-head stamping mill in 1898; and he promoted a syndicate to tap its wealth. Both his *Wheal Fortune* and *Star of the North* reefs proved virtually worthless and his venture lost heavily. Spencer assisted Gillen in his financial plight by purchasing his ethnographic collection for his museum in 1899.

The Spencer and Gillen partnership developed in 1894, during the three weeks Spencer lived in Gillen's home after the departure of other Horn Scientific Expedition members. As editor of the Horn volumes, Spencer encouraged Gillen to contribute material; later he urged further independent publication of ethnological data. Spencer soon realised that the stream of letters that Gillen sent him contained unique material that required greater synthesis. Spencer returned to Alice Springs during the summer of 1896–97, where Gillen's influence with tribal elders sufficed to promote various sacred rituals, which were conducted adjacent to the telegraph station.

While Gillen provided the cast and the venue, Spencer's notebooks and synthesis provided the text. Their classic study *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* was published in 1899, attracting international acclaim. (Sir) James Frazer, celebrated author of *The Golden Bough*, acted as their literary agent in London with their publisher Macmillan. This collaboration continued with later books. It was also Frazer who presented a prestigiously signed petition to the governments of Victoria and South Australia. It resulted in paid leave being granted to both men in 1901. They crossed the continent from Oodnadatta to Borrooloola, in an important but exhausting expedition, which probably overtaxed Gillen's health. Under conditions of extreme heat and dust they made movie films and wax-cylinder sound recordings of Aboriginal ceremonies, a landmark in the history of anthropological fieldwork. During his career in the Centre, Gillen also took many still photographs. His important collection of glass negatives is in the South Australian Museum.

Spencer and Gillen undertook a brief excursion northwest of Lake Eyre in 1903, which was their last joint fieldwork. *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), and a popular version, *Across Australia* (1912), completed their fieldwork record, although Spencer published *The Arunta* (1927) under their joint authorship.

Gillen had written over 150 letters to Spencer by 1903, some of them 40 pages in length. Spencer's replies have not survived, but Gillen's letters were deposited in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford; copies exist at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. While this correspondence supplemented and clarified Spencer's own material, the text of their books and the theories that structured them were Spencer's.

Family considerations forced Gillen's reluctant transfer as postmaster to Moonta in 1899 and to Port Pirie in 1908. (Spencer Gillen was born while Spencer and Gillen were on their 1901 expedition and a sixth child was born in 1903). Although Gillen hankered after a return to the Centre, he was able to re-create the scene only during public talks, illustrated with his lanternslides. His greatest honour came in 1900, when he delivered the presidential address to the ethnology and anthropology section of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science Congress in Melbourne.

Frazer proposed to fund a Spencer and Gillen expedition to the Kimberleys, but it never eventuated. Gillen's health was never robust and it gradually deteriorated after 1901. During his last year he was confined to an invalid chair. At this time, he was shocked by the death of his eldest son in a shooting accident. Gillen died at Woodville, near Adelaide, on 5 June 1912, from a neurological disorder. A Catholic, Gillen was buried in Sevenhill College cemetery near Clare. *Across Australia* was published a month after his death.

D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1985; W B Spencer & F J Gillen, *Across Australia*, 1912; W F Morrison, *The Aldine History of South Australia*, 1890; Gillen's diary; the camp jottings... , 1968; *Adelaide Advertiser* and *Adelaide Register*, 6 June 1912; F J Gillen, 1875 diary, SA Museum.

D J MULVANEY, Vol 1.

GILRUTH, JOHN ANDERSON (1871–1937), veterinary scientist and Administrator, was born on 17 February 1871 at Auchmithie, near Arbroath, Scotland, second child of Andrew Gilruth and his wife Ann, *nee* Anderson. The boy attended high school at Arbroath and, briefly, Dundee. Holiday association with a perceptive shepherd, Jamie MacDonald, led him to an interest in veterinary science, but family pressure forced him to spend two years as a law clerk before his father relented and allowed him to go to Glasgow Veterinary College in 1887. A brilliant student, he graduated in 1892 and, in the following year, went to New Zealand as a government veterinary surgeon. A pioneer of his profession in that country, he became Chief Veterinarian and Government Bacteriologist in 1897. Though popular with his colleagues and farmers' organisations, his blunt, forthright manner caused tensions with government. When the University of Melbourne offered him the newly created Chair of Veterinary Pathology in

1908 he accepted and built up his department with characteristic energy. The university awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1909.

In 1911 Prime Minister Andrew Fisher invited him to join a scientific mission to investigate the potential of the Northern Territory. The mission leader, Professor **(Sir) Baldwin Spencer** was his colleague and friend and, as first Commonwealth appointed Protector of Aborigines, later his adviser. Fired with enthusiasm for the potential of Territory mining, agriculture and pastoralism, he quietly lobbied for the post of Administrator of the Northern Territory and, in February 1912, received it. Two months later he arrived in Darwin to an enthusiastic welcome from a heterogeneous population which hoped that the Commonwealth was about to put an end to the economic stagnation induced by 47 years of South Australian rule.

It did not happen. Commonwealth interest in the Northern Territory diminished rapidly after the First World War broke out in August 1914 and Gilruth's development plans received little support from a succession of ministers and advisers with little knowledge of Territory conditions. He also had to contend with the rising power of the Darwin branch of the Australian Workers Union (AWU), under its able organiser (later secretary), **Harold Nelson**. Gilruth's imperious nature led him to impose new hours of work on government employees in arbitrary fashion and to crush without trace of concession an AWU members' strike in May 1913. Nelson skilfully used the resultant legacy of antagonism to rebuild union power, with himself at the head of it; and when Gilruth clashed with his own officers over industrial matters and with Darwin employers over his attitude to town lands and the abolition of the Palmerston Council, his isolation was virtually complete—except for the Territory's pastoralists.

His interest in the cattle industry and marathon travels in his Talbot car to visit the stations brought him a measure of acceptance there. So did his personal nature, shown in individual acts of kindness and consideration to women and children—but the power struggle in Darwin over-shadowed all else. The focal point became the Darwin meatworks erected by the giant English meat firm, Vesteys. Begun in 1914, this project was badly sited, far from cattle country. It also suffered consistent industrial unrest and cost inflation, was not finished until 1917 and closed in 1920.

Two years before this, on 17 December 1918, union-orchestrated discontent reached a peak when a mob of two or three hundred marched on Government House (Darwin) and demanded Gilruth's resignation. He faced them with courage; but in February 1919 the Commonwealth government recalled him 'for consultation' and eight months later some of the Darwin citizenry forced the departure of three of his closest associates, H E Carey, Director of the Northern Territory, **D J D Bevan**, Judge of the Supreme Court and R J Evans, Government Secretary. These events, known as the 'Darwin Rebellion', have joined the Eureka Stockade in labour mythology, but in fact did nothing to help the people of Darwin who exchanged one autocrat (Gilruth) for another (Nelson) and whose economy collapsed soon after with Vesteys' closure. Nelson used union power as a springboard to Federal Parliament; Gilruth found himself the main target of an inquiry headed by Mr Justice N K Ewing who promptly hired Nelson to assist him as 'representative of the citizens of the Northern Territory'. Ewing's report, completed in April 1920, accused Gilruth of allowing irregular practices in the courts and Aborigines' Department and of personal impropriety in land and mining deals. A later judge of the Northern Territory Supreme Court, **Mr Justice Kriewaldt**, described the report as 'a shoddy piece of work', with justification, since the evidence does not support any of these findings; and the Commonwealth Solicitor-General, Sir Robert Garran confirmed it.

Gilruth battled through the 1920s as a private consultant until he joined the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) as a consultant in 1929. He became acting head of the division of animal health in 1930 and chief of that division in 1933. In 1934 he reported to the CSIR on beef cattle and general economic possibilities in northern Australia, drawing fire from patriotic Territorians for his pessimism. He retired in 1935, regretted by his senior colleagues. In 1933 he was elected to the presidency and in 1936 to honorary membership of the Australian Veterinary Association. He published voluminously on veterinary research in the professional journals.

Gilruth died of a respiratory infection on 4 March 1937 at his home in South Yarra, Melbourne, and was cremated. His wife, Jeannie, *nee* McLay, whom he married on 20 March 1899 at Dunedin, New Zealand, a son and two daughters survived him. His name was commemorated in Gilruth Plains research station (Queensland) and by the Gilruth prize of the Australian Veterinary Association. Darwin remembered him in the name of an avenue. His portrait by John Longstaff hangs in the Animal Health Laboratory, Parkville, Melbourne.

F X Alcorta, *Darwin Rebellion 1911–1919*, 1994; A Powell, 'Gilruth vs Ewing: The Royal Commission on Northern Territory Administration, 1920', *Northern Perspective*, vol 4, no 2, 1981; *Australian Veterinary Journal*, June 1937; CSIR Reports, 1930–35; Gilruth Papers, Basset Library, Canberra.

ALAN POWELL, *Vol 1.*

GOLDER, HAZEL CLARENCE (1894–1984), housekeeper/companion, manager and boarding house proprietor, was born at Clarendon, South Australia, on 29 March 1894 the eldest of 11 children. Her mother, Rhoda, *nee* Jacobs, was born at Cherry Gardens, South Australia and her father was thought to have been born at Kangarilla. It is believed they were married at Cherry Gardens.

Hazel had very little schooling. Living on her parents' farm at Mount Bold she had to travel almost 10 kilometres to school in Kangarilla and although she did not enjoy it she attended school from the age of nine until she was 14 and managed to pass in every class. She then went to work for a short time with a family at Unley as housekeeper/companion to an old lady and her two daughters. Soon after, Hazel and her sister Vera went to Innamincka to join their brother Claude to help him in the hotel there. From Innamincka Hazel went with Claude to a similar operation at Oodnadatta, taking with her a Bismarck lamp that she carried for the rest of her life and treasured right up until she died.

Hazel was then asked to go to Bloods Creek to manage a little store and post office. She found it a dirty place but quickly settled into her new home—a brush shed with ‘a bit of tin over the stove so it wouldn’t catch alight’. It featured a dirt floor, which she had to keep watered to lay the dust. She was the only white woman at Bloods Creek for the two years she was there and as well as running the post office and little store she provided meals for men working on the construction of the rail line to Alice Springs. Sam Irvine, mailman at the time between Oodnadatta and the Territory, brought in her supplies every week or two from Oodnadatta. Vegetables delivered by Ly Underdown and his brother from their station, Winton, supplemented these. Sam Irvine also brought water, in a billy, for Hazel to wash her hair. Bore water at Bloods Creek was so hard she had to boil it in two coppers before it was at all usable.

In 1929 just before the arrival of the first Ghan train, Hazel arrived in Alice Springs by car, a Buick driven by Ly Underdown, accompanied by two other men. Having trouble with the car en route from Rumbalara they had to camp out for two nights, the men making a type of coconut mat for Hazel to sleep on. Not expecting the journey to take so long, they had very little food and had to exist on potatoes boiled in their jackets and butter.

In Alice Springs Hazel stayed with Mrs Annie Meyer and for a short time worked for her in her boarding house situated alongside the Todd River in the street later named Leichhardt Terrace. But when men working on the railway needed a housekeeper and meals provided for them, Hazel was persuaded to move into a Commonwealth Railway cottage and look after them.

However, this lasted only as long as the railway line was being built and shortly afterwards, Hazel moved into a small adobe/ant bed house owned by the **Nicker** family in Leichhardt Terrace and went into business on her own, providing meals which she cooked on the back verandah. Railway authorities loaned her the necessary crockery and cutlery to begin with, then **George Wilkinson**, owner of Wallis Fogarty Store, provided her with what she needed, allowing her to pay whenever she could. Within three months she had paid every penny she owed and nine months later pastoralist Jim Turner built her a boarding house in Todd Street (on the later site of the Big Crow Supermarket in Alice Plaza) that she named ‘The Bushman’s Friend’.

Hazel Golder’s ‘Bushman’s Friend’ remained in existence for about 22 years, providing a home for workers and station people when they were in town, a place with good food and an easy acceptance of their way of living but where a certain strict standard of behaviour was insisted upon. She became a friend of many and a number of people claim Miss Golder aided their beginnings in Central Australia.

A wiry little woman with wispy grey hair plaited and coiled into a bun at the back of her neck, Hazel Golder was an inaugural member of the Country Women’s Association in Central Australia and patron of the Senior Citizens Club. Although believed to be Jewish, Miss Golder was very active in the Anglican Church. During the building of the first Anglican Church of Ascension in 1935 Hazel provided tea and biscuits for the workmen and later for gatherings after services in the church. Always willing to help wherever she could, she became famous for her coffee making for large social events in the town and it is thought she would have been offended if she had not been asked to do it. It was a special coffee made with whole milk and took about two days to make. With no such thing as instant coffee in those days the coffee would be boiled and strained, the milk heated and then added to it. It was all made up before the big event.

Hazel Golder retired from her boarding house in 1952 and moved into a house built for her further down Todd Street on the site now occupied by the Village Square. In 1971 she moved to a new home in McKinlay Street on the east side where she remained until her death on 23 April 1984.

Centralian Advocate, 15 June 1984; Information from Mrs S Hewitt and Mrs G Turner; Northern Territory Archives Service: oral history interview by H Tuxworth, 20 September 1980; oral history interview by J Petrick, 14 May 1981.

SHIRLEY BROWN, Vol 3.

GONG CHIN, WILLIAM (1891–1982), businessman, who was more commonly known to Territorians as Chin Gong, was born in Darwin to **Chin Toy** and his wife. He was the eldest son of a family of seven, which consisted of four sons—Chin Gong, Chin Ack Ming, Chin Ack Sam, and Chin Ack Nam—and three sisters—Chin Ack Kim, Chin Ack Yook, and Chin Ack Mon. His father migrated from How Shan district in Canton in 1880 to become an apprentice tailor in his uncle’s store—Wing Cheong Sing and Company. This was a thriving family business. In 1886 Chin Toy started his own tailor shop—Fang Cheong Loong and Company. This was to be one of the largest tailoring, drapery and import/export businesses in Darwin before the Second World War.

Chin Toy’s son Chin Gong entered the family business as an apprentice tailor at the age of seventeen, after an education at Darwin Public School. In 1912 Chin Gong was promoted to manager of the store, and he held this position until 1942.

In 1911 Chin Gong visited Canton where he married his first wife Kim Que Chin. There were eight children by this marriage. She died in 1930. He remarried later, his second wife, Sun Ying Chin, being also from Canton. There were four more children from this marriage.

In 1940 Chin Gong established a new tailoring and import/export business, as well as a Chinese gift store at the corner of Cavenagh and Knuckey streets, called Sun Cheong Loong and Company. His sons, Sidney and Alfred, with Chin Gong as the managing director, managed the business. It was established at a time when Darwin’s economy was beginning to prosper due to the burgeoning strategic importance of Darwin to the defence of Australia in the late thirties and early forties. In 1942, however, business came to an abrupt halt due to the evacuation of the civilian population of Darwin to Adelaide as a result of the threat of Japanese air attacks.

Once in Adelaide Chin Gong did not stop his business activities. He opened a coffee shop in Rundle Street known as the Oriental Cafe. This was a family business and helped to support the Chin family financially until

the end of the war. Unlike many Darwin Chinese families which split up after the war with family members going to live in other capital cities, the Chins returned to Darwin to re-establish the family business. Despite the devastation of Darwin due to the Japanese air raids and Australian military activity in the town, Sun Cheong Loong and Company had suffered minimal damage. Consequently Chin Gong was able to resume business at his former premises.

In 1947 Chin Gong extended his business by establishing a new store in Smith Street—W G Chin and Sons. With business expanding at such a rate in the boom years after the war, Chin Gong decided to form a company with his family, to be known as W G Chin Holdings Pty Ltd. This Company was expanded even further in later years with the building of Chin Building (1956), Chin's Arcade (1959) and Chin House (1963). Chin Gong lived long, dying in 1982. His sons were still active in the family business in the early 1990s.

Family information.

S HUTCHINGS, Vol 1.

GOODHART, ANNA MARIA WOIDE: see [WATERS, ANNA MARIA WOIDE](#)

GORDON, CHRISTINA nee WALLACE (1863–1952), pioneer bush woman, miner, publican and business-woman, was born Christina Wallace on Christmas Day 1863, possibly in Bristol, England. She came to Australia as a child and by about 1887 had met and married Duncan Gordon, a Queensland teamster and prospector.

Duncan and his twin John were born on 28 October 1858 at Castle Douglas, Scotland, and came to Australia with their parents, James Gordon and his wife Elisabeth, nee Wallet. Their father James was a brother of John Gordon, after whom the town of Gordonvale in Queensland was named. It is not known when or why Christina's family came to Australia, or where Christina lived as a young girl, but the Gordon brothers were quite well known teamsters in the early days of Cooktown and later at Gympie and Port Douglas and it is presumed that she met and married Duncan during this time. According to press and oral history reports, Duncan's brother John accompanied Christina and Duncan throughout their married life. The family spent many years travelling overland across northern Australia.

Like many women of her time, Christina had her share of sorrow and hardship during her childbearing years. Her first child, Duncan, was born in Queensland in 1890 or 1891; a second son, John, was born in Queensland in 1894; and a third son, Wallace, believed to have had a twin brother who died, was born on the Western Australian goldfields near Broad Arrow in 1897. John also died as a young boy. It seems that the family stayed in the Biloela area of Central Queensland for some time.

The family made at least two, and probably more, overland trips to Western Australia in the 1890s and the early 1900s, which almost certainly took them through parts of the Territory. Christina was reported in the press at the time to be 'as good a miner as any man handling pick and cradle with the best of them.' An article in the Perth *Sun Times* in July 1910 referred to her as a 'plucky woman', adding that, 'There is only one white woman on the field and that is Mrs Gordon who pioneered at Hannans before it was Kalgoorlie and has overlanded with hubby to this back of beyond.' In later life she had many tales to tell of Paddy Hannan and the other early Western Australian mining identities and once described her early lifestyle, which helped establish her pioneering reputation in the Northern Territory later on: 'For the first few years of my married life I had no home and not a stick of furniture. Our home was wherever we pitched camp. We lived in tents and if we had a camp bed to lie in at night we counted ourselves lucky. We travelled in drays, with bullocks and donkeys, but no matter where we were there was not a night that went by without fresh bread being baked. And when we got on, I was never without a crate of hens to give us eggs, or a side of bacon to sweeten a kangaroo's tail or a cooked galah. Our next step in homemaking was a bough hut and a more comfortable place to live in you couldn't find. We still didn't have any furniture; what was the use of it when we were shifting camp so often. And we were comfortable enough and as happy as the day was long.'

As well as prospecting, the family reportedly went to northwest Australia for a while where Christina and Duncan helped to build about 58 kilometres of a dingo and rabbit proof fence. When the Tanami gold rush occurred in about 1908 to 1910, the family took its horse, buggies and belongings and headed off via Halls Creek for the fields. It reportedly made a substantial profit working the alluvial although family members suffered hardships of inadequate water and fever. At one time, during a seven-day stay without water, Christina and the family survived on the milk of one of their camels who was nursing a young calf.

A *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* article later detailed the story and paid tribute to Christina's part in it: 'The dawn of the Tanami Goldfields and the extraordinary exploit of Mrs Gordon, the only white woman to visit the place. When the discovery was announced, Mr Gordon and his brother, John, with the former's wife and two children, were at the Fitzroy Crossing in West Australia where ordinary bush work occupied their attention. As soon as the news of the gold filtered through they determined to take on the big adventure and succeeded in crossing the long stretch of poorly watered country without mishap. The Aboriginals they met had contact for the first time with whites but helped the party to find water and assisted them in other ways. The same natives subsequently became hostile and caused serious trouble to other travellers. On reaching the field the Gordons whose arrival was subsequently succeeded by three or four hundred bush battlers set to work in the quest for gold, and averaged up to 283 grams a day for some time. Other pioneers were not so fortunate and the population dwindled until the place was deserted except for the brothers Lawrie who have plugged along there for the past 15 years. Mrs Gordon stood by... during the whole of their stay there and helped to make history for the brave women of Australia.'

Christina's period on the Tanami earned her a respect that stayed with her all her life and the title of 'Mother of the Tanami'.

It is not exactly clear where the family went directly after the Tanami but evidence suggests its members lived in the Katherine and Adelaide River areas for a while. It is believed they ran a store in Adelaide River during the First World War before eventually moving to Pine Creek and Darwin. By 1920–1921, Duncan Junior, also known as Cookie, and Wallace, usually called Wallie, owned a block of land in Darwin where Wallie advertised his carrier business in Cavenagh Street claiming that all classes of work would be executed and he could deliver stone, sand, timber and firewood to any part of Darwin. He was also listed in the newspaper several times as donating to the fighting fund for the men who went to jail over the ‘no taxation without representation’ issue in 1921. Meanwhile Christina sought and got the licence for the Pine Creek Hotel, where she appears to have quickly gained a reputation as one of the Top End’s most capable and popular hostesses. Despite several bouts of apparently serious illness, Christina continued to draw praise as she attempted to expand her business enterprises and in February 1924 the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported that, ‘Mrs Tanami Gordon of the Pine Creek Hotel, who is a signal success as a hostess, intends applying for a public house licence on the left bank of the [Katherine] river and Mrs Catherine O’Shea is seeking the same privilege at Emungalan.’

It would appear as if Christina abandoned the Katherine plans in favour of Darwin and Pine Creek. In 1926 she applied for the purchase of the freehold of both the Pine Creek Hotel and the Victoria Hotel in Darwin. However, although the federal government initially directed that Mrs Gordon’s tenders for both be accepted (500 Pounds for Pine Creek and 7 000 Pounds for the Victoria), the Commercial Bank, while stating that she was of high integrity, questioned whether she could run both hotels.

Eventually Christina ended up relinquishing control of the Pine Creek Hotel to another colourful woman publican, **May Brown** and Christina took control of the Victoria Hotel, which May had been running for the past five years. Christina’s marketing skills were highlighted in the advertisements she ran thanking ‘every one who has visited her and given her generous support over the past five years’ and stating that in taking over the ‘Vic’ Hotel she would offer them ‘a home from home’ in her new ‘large and excellently appointed hotel, which affords every comfort and convenience to the travelling public [and had] electric light service throughout [with] only one table—the Best.’

This appears to have been the case and she quickly became involved in other aspects of the Darwin way of life, including being elected in October 1926 as the only female Vice-President of the Rovers Football Club. She also began a tradition in the hotel which was to earn her another endearing title, the ‘Aviator’s Mother’. As each early aviator passed through Darwin, often guests at the Victoria Hotel, she would have them sign their names on what later became known as the ‘aviators’ wall’. Among the first and most cherished signatures were those of Charles Kingsford-Smith, Charles Ulm and Bert Hinkler. A portion of the wall still existed in the 1990s inside the Victoria Hotel complex in Darwin’s Smith Street mall. Christina was also the recipient of many gifts from these record breakers, including a cap worn by Kingsford-Smith and still in the Gordon family’s possession. Appropriately, Christina and her son Duncan were later the first civilian passengers to be flown from Darwin southwards when Qantas first began its flights and, according to the press of the day, they received a hearty ovation both when leaving Darwin and returning by air a few weeks later.

In early 1928 Christina and other Territory publicans became embroiled in battle with the unions over the employment of Aboriginal labour, which the unions opposed by threatening the hotels with bans. Christina eventually agreed to dispense with all but one Aboriginal woman who had been with her for years, since the family’s time in Western Australia. The issue became controversial with the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* taking a stand in favour of Christina being allowed to employ the woman and the union owned *Northern Standard* claiming that this would be ‘the thin end of the wedge’ and could not be allowed. It was happy, however, for her to house the Aboriginal woman in the next yard and ‘dress her in silks and satins and seat her in the first class dining room if she so desires.’

Eventually Christina agreed to remove the woman from the premises and the unions lifted their boycott of the Victoria, suggesting that all union trade should now go there.

A few months later the Gordon family lost one of its main members, Jack, Duncan’s unmarried brother, who died of pleurisy and pneumonia in September 1928 after a lifetime in the company of his twin brother. A year later, in August 1929, Christina’s husband, Duncan, suddenly died of much the same illness, leaving an estate valued at 2 865 Pounds.

Although deeply saddened by Jack’s and Duncan’s deaths, Christina, with the help of her sons, went ahead with her involvement in a new partnership that built the Star Cinema in Darwin’s Smith Street. When it opened in September 1929, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported, ‘A big house greeted the opening night of the Star Pictures on Saturday last... The comfort of the theatre and its splendid appearance generally occasioned much favourable comment.’

By October 1930, Christina and her sons purchased the Star, for a reported price of 5 000 Pounds for the land and buildings and 1 700 Pounds for the motion picture business and the good will. Christina put one of Darwin’s most enterprising entertainment pioneers in charge as Manager, Tom Harris Senior, and the cinema became a resounding success.

During the 1930s Christina and her sons continued to buy property in the central business district, including land adjoining the Victoria Hotel and land on Bennett Street on which they built Gordons Don Hotel. Christina also bought a block on the corner of Smith and Daly Streets where her son, Duncan, lived after leasing the Victoria and Don Hotels to the Ferguson family in 1937. When they moved, Christina took with her a large collection of birds that she had collected during her many years of occupying the Victoria, where the birds had become a much admired feature by the hotel patrons and travelling public.

In 1938 Christina was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) along with [Matron Elsie Jones](#), another Territory pioneer. In announcing her award, the *Northern Standard* described Christina as the ‘hostess of the Territory’, adding that ‘her hospitality while proprietress of the Vic is known not only throughout Australia but is highly spoken of by travellers from all over the world who have visited Darwin.’

The Administrator of the Northern Territory, [C L A Abbott](#), added some insight into Christina’s character when he described her in his book *Australia’s Frontier Province* as ‘ruling the Victoria Hotel with a rod of iron and insisted that ‘gentlemen must wear coats’ in the dining room. No coat no dinner. Amongst other buildings, Mrs Gordon owned the picture theatre that stood opposite her hotel. When she leased the theatre she insisted upon a clause in the lease that the lessee must have an interval extending from 9.45 to 9.54 p.m. The hotel bar closed at 10 p.m. Mrs Gordon is a most charitable and public spirited woman and in 1938 to the delight of everyone, including herself, was awarded the Order of the British Empire.’

In common with all other civilians, Christina was compulsorily evacuated from Darwin during the Second World War, an evacuation to which she strongly objected. She flew out from Darwin on 14 January 1942. As soon as civilians were permitted to return, Christina was back in Darwin, and again took over the Victoria Hotel. But various factors, including shortages of staff, materials and labour forced her to dispose of the business. Severe illness compelled her to return to Queensland, where the remainder of her life was spent. She always gladly welcomed visitors from Darwin and was always glad of an opportunity to talk over old days and old ways with her old friends.

Christina Gordon died at Crump Street, Holland Park, Brisbane, in October 1952, aged 89.

When author [Ernestine Hill](#) paid her tribute in *The Territory* she highlighted the fact that Christina, like so many Territory pioneers, would have died without her full story ever properly recorded: ‘Of thousands who have known and loved Mrs Christina Gordon in her many years as proprietress of the Victoria Hotel in Darwin—and many famous names were written in her visitors’ book—few heard the stories she might tell of a heroine’s life on Australia’s trails of gold. Regal, gentle and kind, as she listened to all the adventure stories from air, land and sea, she never told her own. She crossed the continent more than once in a buggy, with her young sons on her knee. Through later life she was the friend of all Darwin, and, after the war, returned to the ruined seaport with the first of its faithful, ready to begin again at the age of eighty years. We shall ever remember her Mona Lisa smile.’

C L A Abbott, *Australia’s Frontier Province*, 1950; E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; B James, *No Man’s Land*, 1989; *Darwin’s Hotel Victoria*, 1991.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

GORE, ALFRED DEWHIRST (c1845–1901), storekeeper and journalist, was born in England about 1845, eldest son of Alfred Gore. He came to Adelaide with his parents in 1863. He was educated at the Adelaide Educational Institute, later worked at the Bank of South Australia and was posted to Crawler. He then went to Wentworth in the Riverina district, working for Mr Gunn, one of whose daughters he later married.

In 1872 gold was discovered in the Northern Territory. Alfred Gore (Sr) went into partnership with the Honourable Thomas Reynolds, a member of the South Australian Parliament. They opened a store in Palmerston. Alfred Gore (Jr) sailed for the Northern Territory, arriving at the Roper River in the cutter *Lucy* in March or April 1872, with the first portion of the new company’s stock. He soon continued to Port Darwin, followed by his father in the schooner *Linn Fern*, bringing the bulk of the stock, as well as a ‘wooden church’. He apparently established the Congregational Church in Port Darwin, which was for some years the only church in the town. Alfred Sr spent four years in the Northern Territory. The company did a flourishing business for a time, but ‘fever’ was rampant, all the firm’s employees became prostrated with it and no one was in a condition to conduct the business. The Gores and the Reynolds then apparently had a disagreement, the business was closed, and father and son left for Adelaide.

Gore later returned to the Northern Territory, trying his hand at many things including journalism. He wrote letters and articles for the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* and was obviously an energetic and enterprising writer. He travelled over the Northern Territory finding material for his stories, visiting Borroloola and the McArthur River, and the Barkly Tableland at least. His powers of description were fresh and dramatic, and showed instances of humour and poetry. As well as describing events, he gave detailed particulars of places and natural features. He suggested means and ways of improving mail and steamship services, but gave credit where it was due—for instance: ‘There is a very good vegetable garden cultivated by a Chinaman, who supplies the town and district with a variety of vegetables and fruit’. Also: ‘There is a good accommodation at Campbell’s Hotel, and Mr and Mrs Campbell do all they can to make their patrons and friends comfortable’. On the other hand he was not afraid of criticism where it was needed: ‘Government authorities being endowed with less energy than would serve to remove a molehill...’

Gore described the Barkly Tableland and its lack of water. He commented on the ‘half hearted attempt at artesian well boring’ and predicted that the area would not be used to its fullest extent until water was pumped. He mentioned troubles with the ‘alligators’ in the McArthur River, and attempts to bait them. Gore had mineral leases on Barney Creek, near the deposits presently being leased by Mount Isa Mines on the McArthur River. Gore mentions his brother, [Charles Edward Gore](#), who captained a small lugger from Darwin to Borroloola at this time in some of his articles. It is probable that the journalist travelled on his brother’s boat to the McArthur River, even at his brother’s suggestion.

Gore was said to be ‘gifted by Nature somewhat beyond the average, both mentally and physically.’ He was a noted athlete, at one time being one of the ‘fastest sprinters in Australia’. He could be a ‘most pleasant and amusing companion—having a vast store of varied information and anecdote, which a fine memory, a fluent tongue, and a

fair share of humour enabled him to retail to the best advantage'. He had always been a 'warm advocate of the vast resource of the Territory, and a firm believer in its future'.

For the last 12 months of his life Gore and his wife lived at Brock's Creek. He died on 19 April 1901, in the Palmerston Hospital, of an 'epidemic which has proved so fatal in Palmerston' no doubt complicated by an 'unfortunate and unconquerable weakness' which had caused an abscess on the liver. He is buried in the Palmerston cemetery.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 1872–1901.

FIONA M DARCY, Vol 1.

GORE, CHARLES EDWARD (c1850–1917), mariner, was born in England in about 1850, probably in Devonshire. He arrived in South Australia in 1863 with his parents, brothers and sisters. His father, Alfred Gore (1822–1892) and his mother, Mary Sophie, *nee* Dewhirst, were first cousins. He subsequently moved to Pine Creek and his daughter Elizabeth was born there in 1876. Gore and Elizabeth's mother 'Polly' apparently were not married, but their daughter carried her father's surname, and his name was on her marriage certificate under 'name and surname of father' so it seems the family was together for quite a while. Most of Charles Edward Gore's life was involved with the sea and ships, perhaps a love engendered by the long sea voyage from England when he was only about thirteen. He was captain of a lugger or ketch sailing between Darwin and Borroloola, and at the end of his life was a 'hulk-keeper' in Darwin harbour; he even died on the sea.

It is known that Charles was in Pine Creek in 1875, as his name was on a list of Pine Creek residents who contributed to the fund for the survivors of the steamship *Gothenburg*, wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef, after the ship had left Darwin for Adelaide. She had many prominent people on board, including the Honourable and Mrs Thomas Reynolds, who had been the Gore family's business partners.

G R McMinn, surveyor and first Resident magistrate at Borroloola (from September 1886 to May 1888), married Anna, sister of Charles and **Alfred Dewhirst Gore**, in Darwin in 1874. The couple had three children. Anna died of dysentery on Christmas Day 1880, aged 27. At this time McMinn was Acting Government Resident. The *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* noted that 'the majority of our townspeople wended their way to the cemetery to pay their tribute of respect' to this 'kindly and unassuming' woman.

Charles was in Borroloola in 1890. In that year he rented part of the courthouse there as a store for his cargoes; but his daughter's marriage certificate, on 13 December 1893, says the marriage took place in the house of the bridegroom (who was James Walden, a teamster from Pine Creek), so it may be reasonable to assume the bride's father was not then resident at Borroloola.

On 15 June 1891 a petition requesting a mail service from Borroloola to Powell's Creek was circulated. Signatories included 'Charles Gore, Mariner, Borroloola'. Nine years later, in December 1899, his brother, the journalist Alfred Dewhirst Gore, wrote articles for the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* from Borroloola, describing many places and events, but complaining about the mail service, and suggesting ways of improving it—so obviously the first petition had not been fully successful. A D Gore also wrote of his brother captaining a sailing boat, possibly the fourteen-tonne ketch *Venture*. He also mentioned the numbers and sizes (both large) of the crocodiles in the McArthur River, and the attempts of the hotel-keeper, Mr Campbell, to poison them with strychnine baits, with the result that 'numbers of huge dead bodies of alligators [*sic*], some over twenty feet are to be seen floating up and down as the tidal course of the river ebbs and flows!' Charles Gore may have thought this was a great waste of a resource; in any event he corresponded with a 'prominent tanning firm in Bristol, England' to find out whether it would be worthwhile to send a shipment of 'alligator hides', but he discovered that overheads—shipping facilities, rates of freight and such—were too high.

Gore was again in Borroloola in 1902; whether as resident or frequent visitor is not known. He once more visited Borroloola, or lived there, in 1902. He seemed to have always been in charge of a sailing vessel, so the picture emerges of Gore, aged between 40 and 52, sailing along the northern coast of Arnhem Land, and around the island-strewn waters of Cape Wessel, southward past Groote Eylandt, past the Roper River, and up the McArthur toward Borroloola. He probably had a well-worn copy of Matthew Flinders' charts of the area, and would eventually have known the coastline as well as anyone and would have regarded any voyage without storms or cyclones, or equipment malfunction, as rather routine. In January 1902 Aborigines attacked his lugger. Gore was wounded but he and other crewmembers repulsed the intruders.

It was probably after this episode that Gore went back to Darwin to stay. In July 1917 he was described as a 'hulk-keeper' on *Warrego*. He had been in Darwin Hospital a few weeks previously with a heart condition, and while on *Warrego* had had a severe attack of heart pain. While being rowed ashore a few minutes later, he collapsed and died before reaching the jetty. He was a 'seaman by profession and was a man of simple and kindly nature', according to the local newspaper. He was 67 years of age. His granddaughter, **Elizabeth Darcy** of Mallapunyah Springs, remembered him well in the 1930s and told her children of his deep Devonshire sailor's voice, which had frightened her when she was a child in Pine Creek.

Gore is buried in the old Palmerston cemetery, with his brother Alfred Dewhirst Gore, who died in 1901, his sister Anna McMinn and her infant son.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 1875–1917; Darcy family information.

FIONA M DARCY, Vol 1.

GOSSE, WILLIAM CHRISTIE (1842–1881), explorer and surveyor, was born on 11 December 1842 in Hoddesdon, England, the second son of William Gosse and his wife Agnes, *nee* Grant. His father, a medical practitioner, migrated to Adelaide in 1850 with his wife, four sons and two daughters. It was hoped the change of Climate would cure the doctor's bronchitis. Dr Gosse became a prominent citizen of Adelaide and was responsible for founding the Home for Incurables, the second Branch of the British Medical Association outside England, and was appointed the first warden of the Senate of the University of Adelaide. He sent his son William to be educated at J L Young's Educational Institution.

After leaving school, William joined the Surveyor-General's Department in 1859, and was sent on a trigonometrical survey of the far north of South Australia. By 1868 he was surveying in the southeastern district, when he married Gertrude Richie of Melbourne. Unfortunately she died a year later.

In 1872 the Government of South Australia completed the Overland Telegraph Line from Adelaide to Darwin. Most of Australia had been partially explored but, apart from **Ernest Giles**'s expedition, western Central Australia was still unknown. The government decided to mount an expedition to find a route from the telegraph line to Perth. William Gosse was invited to lead the expedition. **Egerton Warburton**, the retired Police Commissioner, had hoped to be appointed but was regarded as being too old at 58. This angered Thomas Elder who promptly fitted out another expedition with Warburton as leader. This created many problems for Gosse as he was ordered to avoid the other party at all costs.

In September 1872 Gosse started his journey with Edwin Berry as second-in-command, Henry Gosse as collector, Henry Winner and Patrick Nile, three Afghans, Kaman, Jemmy Kahn, and Allan, and also an Aboriginal boy, Moses. In December 1872 Gosse was at the Overland Telegraph station in Alice Springs trying to get his party ready to march westward. He was instructed to explore the country around Alice Springs and in February 1873 despatched his report to Adelaide.

Having been instructed not to traverse the tracks of Giles or Warburton, he suggested to Goyder, the Surveyor-General, that the starting point should be south of Lilly Creek or north of the MacDonnell Ranges. He was finally instructed to take a route north of the MacDonnell Ranges. On 23 April the party set out for the Reynolds Range, which was reached on 3 May. Keeping north of the range they travelled slowly westward, crossed the Lander, and Gosse named a high point in the ranges Mt Gardiner. Further on a range was named after Giles and a large creek after Warburton. Whilst scouting for water, which was very difficult to find, Cockatoo Creek was named, as was Rock Hill further to the west and adjacent to where Yuendumu now stands.

Having found very little water to the west of Warburton Creek, Gosse and his men turned south-westward to the Stuart Bluff Range and crossed Warburton's track near Central Mount Wedge. They continued to the foot of Giles' Mt Liebig and, finding no water beyond Mt Udor, turned south to Glen Edith and finally to King's Creek, determined to cross Lake Amadeus and head west from there. A depot was established at King's Creek and on Wednesday 16 July Gosse took Kamran and two camels and headed south. The eastern end of Lake Amadeus was crossed and the two men set off with all speed for Mt Olga. Mt Connor was sighted and named for M L Connor. Sighting a hill to the west Gosse rose early on 19 July and set his course for it. In his report he wrote, 'The hill, as I approached, presented a most peculiar appearance, the upper portion being covered with holes or caves. When I got clear of the sandhills, and was only two miles distant, and the hill, for the first time, coming fairly into view, what was my astonishment to find it was one immense rock rising abruptly from the plain... I have named this Ayers Rock, after Sir Henry Ayers [Premier of South Australia].' Maggie's Spring was found and named and the two men climbed the Rock. From the top they could see high ranges to the south, which were named the Musgrave Ranges for Governor Musgrave, and Mt Woodruffe for the surveyor-general.

Returning to the King's Creek Depot they cleared out a native well, which was named Kamran's Well. This well ensured the horses could be watered on the journey to the Rock. A depot was established there and Gosse, taking Allanah, went south to a hill he named Allanah's Hill, looking for water. None was found so upon his return the party started for Mt Olga as soon as five days of rain had cleared. On the south side of the mount a spring was discovered and named Felix Springs. The party left the Olgas on 12 August, heading for a peak Gosse had named Stevenson's Peak after the Honourable **George Stevenson**. The next camp was at the foot of the Mann Range, named after Mr Charles Mann. Five days later the party had made 'Boundary Camp' on the border between South and Western Australia. Here, on Moses Creek, the Aborigines attacked and the adjacent hill was named Skirmish Hill. Quandong trees were in abundance and the fruit was boiled for jam. From this camp, on 4 September, Gosse sighted and named the Cavenagh Range; and on 7 September he named Mt Squires. On 12 September he established Depot 14 at Mt Cooper. From Mt Cavenagh he gazed eagerly to the west trying to determine what sort of country lay ahead. As early as 4 September he had noted in his journal, at the camp at Moses Creek, that he did 'not like the look of the country to the west'.

Leaving Depot 14 at Mt Cooper on 15 September, taking with him his brother Henry and Moses, he struck out to the west. The next day they were at Mt Squires, looking unsuccessfully for water. From Mt Squires he saw, to the southwest, a range that he named the Townsend Range. It was very hot and the horses, being two days without water, looked wretched when on 17 September the Townsend Range was reached. Beyond this there was no change in the sand hills and spinifex. They looked for water at Mt Whitby but found only sufficient to give the horses a token drink. Gosse was still 450 kilometres from John Forrest's 1871 track and he had neither journal nor map of that expedition. He reluctantly wrote in his journal, 'I'm afraid it is useless to get out further into this dry country so late in the season. My furthest point west, latitude 26° 21' south, longitude 126° 59' east... I have pushed out as far as it is safe in the hope of finding some permanent water without success... The safety of my party obliges me to give up all hope of advancing further.'

Depot 14 was reached on 19 September, and three days were spent preparing to retreat. He had been unfortunate in striking a particularly dry season. On the way back the old problem of avoiding the other expeditions re-occurred. In the Musgrave Ranges he came across the outward track of Giles on 21 October and presumed he had come out from the Neales, the route he had decided to follow. It was therefore necessary for him to travel north of the Musgraves. The journey was slow due to the everlasting search for water. Harry's Reservoir and Marryat yielded good supplies, but very little was found until Tuesday 18 November when a creek was reached which Gosse named the Alberga. However, even the water here failed as they continued eastward so it was decided to try to make for the Carpamoongana waterhole on Hamilton Creek. After several misadventures this was reached on 12 December. Having refreshed themselves they followed the creek down to the telegraph line and on 19 December reached the Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station where they were well received by Mr C Giles, stationmaster. William was able to supply information on some 150 000 square kilometres of country hitherto unknown to Europeans even though he had failed in his objective of reaching Perth. When he received a telegram at Charlotte Waters asking if he were prepared to continue in the field, he replied that it was impossible to obtain stores and furthermore the horses and non-European members of the party were completely worn out.

Upon returning to Adelaide he was made Deputy Surveyor-General, but was not rewarded with the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society as Giles, Warburton and Forrest were. However, at the reception to John Forrest, after his successful crossing from west to east, Forrest paid tribute to his careful marking of permanent water. Forrest said, 'One place he marked Springs and if he had been mistaken there we would have lost our lives'.

In 1874 Gosse married Agnes Hay, settled down in Dequettville Terrace, Adelaide and raised a family of two sons and a daughter. In 1888 he became ill, was granted twelve months leave of absence, and died from a sudden haemorrhage one month after, on 12 August 1881, at the age of 38.

He was a professional surveyor and lacked the zeal for exploration that drove [Stuart](#), Giles, and Warburton, but his discovery of Ayers Rock will perpetuate his memory.

F Gosse, *The Gosses*, 1981; G Rawson, *Desert Journeys*, 1948, *Report and Diary of Mr W C Gosse's Central and Western Exploring Expedition*, 1873, V & P (SA), 1874, 2 (48).

J R and T J FLEMING, Vol 1.

GOY, CHRISTOPHER THOMAS FROW (1897–1982), Presbyterian minister, was born on 21 December 1897 in Sydney, New South Wales, one of five children of Thomas Goy and his wife Ellen Anne, *nee* Frow. Thomas Goy's family had originally migrated from Lincolnshire and he worked as a missionary with the Harrington Street Mission (Sydney) and later with the Home Mission Department of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales. His vigorous style of preaching and organising ability was passed on to his son Chris, as he was generally known.

Chris attended the primary school at Fort Street and developed into a tall well-built man with an engaging personality and great self-confidence. His ability as a raconteur became legendary and some of the stories he told about his own experiences became entangled with those of others so that at times he did not attempt to separate one from the other. As a young man he assisted his parents on their poultry farm but in 1915 with Bob Hodgkisson, a close friend who was to become his brother-in-law, he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force. This act took place while his parents were temporarily absent and Chris advanced his age to make sure that he would be accepted. He was trained as a wireless operator and served in Mesopotamia with the 1st Australian Wireless Squadron, with a major responsibility being the care of the horses used by his unit.

After the war Goy was occupied with some commercial ventures but in 1924 he realised his mother's dearest hopes when he offered for training as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. He studied under the Home Mission training scheme that required extra-mural studies while serving as a missionary in a country parish. He was sent to Tullibigeal in New South Wales to pioneer a parish that included Ungarie and Lake Cargelligo. Here he had to improvise in regard to places of worship and to organise the building of a manse. He had been married in Coffs Harbour on 16 September 1920 to Irene Dagmar Petersen and on 19 September 1921 their first child Dorothy was born, so the provision of a home was important. It was in Tullibigeal that he was provided with his first motorcar, a model 'T' Ford. He quickly learned to do roadside repairs in an area where distances were great and garages few. It was in Tullibigeal also that he first became a member of the Masonic Order in which he was to rise to the office of Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge in Victoria. He also became involved in various community affairs arising from the drought problem of 1924–25.

At the beginning of 1928, having completed the studies required to enter the Theological College, he and his family moved to Sydney where he was appointed to assist the Reverend A M Olgilvie, minister of the Beecroft-Thornleigh parish. He completed his theological studies at St Andrew's College in 1930, winning the prize for Greek studies. He was called to the Parish of Cootamundra and was ordained in that parish. The Cootamundra parish was well established but it still provided Goy with a challenge. The town needed a new church and he discovered that at Wallendbeen there was a stone house built by Alexander MacKay, known as 'Granite House'. The building was then jointly owned by Major General Alexander MacKay and [Donald MacKay](#), sons of the original owner, and was being used as a barn. Goy successfully negotiated with the owners for the building to be taken apart stone by stone and erected as a church in Cootamundra. When the building was opened and dedicated on 16 December 1936 it included a bell, which was the first church bell brought to Australia and had been originally in the Scots Church, Sydney, a building demolished to make way for the approaches to the Harbour Bridge. To mark this historic link the church was named Scots Church and has been referred to as 'a poem in granite'.

While he was in Cootamundra Goy had visits from Reverend [Dr John Flynn](#) and [Reverend K F Partridge](#), veteran patrol padre from the Northern Territory. Partridge records that he stopped at Cootamundra on his way back to the Territory in May 1936 and discussed the possibility of Goy joining the staff of the Australian Inland Mission (AIM). Goy accepted the challenge and on 17 December 1936 he left Cootamundra to join the staff of the AIM. By now the family had grown to three children, Dorothy having been joined by brothers Ian, born 19 November 1923, and Alan, born 14 January 1927. Dorothy was already a boarder at the Presbyterian Ladies College, Goulburn, where she remained, and the boys were enrolled as boarders at Knox College, Sydney.

In April 1937, with a new vehicle and other equipment Goy and his wife set off for his ministry in the north. They met the Reverend Kingsley Partridge at Inverell in New South Wales with the idea of this experienced inlander introducing them to 'life on the track', and to key people in towns like Charleville and Cloncurry, headquarters of the Flying Doctor Service (then known as the Aerial Medical Service and still part of the AIM), to meet Maurie Anderson, radio engineer and Dr G W F Alberry, the flying doctor. While they were in Cloncurry [Dr C E A Cook](#), the medical superintendent of the Northern Territory medical service, arrived on a visit, giving opportunity for discussions regarding conditions under which the flying doctor could service that part of the Northern Territory reasonably within Cloncurry's operational range.

Partridge escorted the Goys across the Barkly Tableland, visiting most of the stations en route to Tennant Creek. From there, in June 1937, Goy continued north, visiting the stations and establishing his ministry in the area north of Attack Creek in the Northern Territory and extending into the Kimberley area of Western Australia.

As part of his patrol he paid visits to Darwin, where for 65 years the Methodist Church had functioned without a break. There had been an agreement that the Presbyterian Church would not compete in the town as it was considered that the Methodist Church was pastorally caring for Presbyterian residents, but now conditions were undergoing a change. In 1938, with rising international tension, there had been a build up of members of the armed services and others who had come to work on various defence projects in the immediate area. In his visits to Darwin in 1937–38, Goy became concerned for the welfare of the added population and considered that the church should provide recreational facilities to counter boredom and provide an alternative to the hotels and other 'attractions' then available. He persuaded the Presbyterian Church to buy land on the corner of Smith and Peel streets with this in view. In June 1939, following press reports in southern newspapers that the AIM was about to commence work in Darwin, the Methodist Church expressed concern at this prospect. There were conferences in Sydney involving officials of both churches and an assurance was given that the Presbyterians had 'no intention of commencing opposition services in Darwin'. However it was revealed that the Presbyterian Church had bought land in the town and was contemplating building a recreation club to which purpose some money had been donated. The Reverend John Flynn (Presbyterian) and the Reverend John Burton (Methodist) visited Darwin and conferred with local church people with the result that co-operative work was agreed on. On 26 August 1939, Lieutenant Colonel [H C H Robertson](#), commandant of 7th Military Division, probably at Goy's suggestion, wrote to the Reverend John Burton emphasising the need for the club. In September of that year representatives of the two churches met in Melbourne and agreed on a comprehensive plan for co-operative work in Darwin. One further recommendation was that a chaplain to the forces be appointed to relieve pressure on Goy and the Methodist minister, the Reverend Clyde Toft. On November 16 1939 the Presbyterian Church reported that Goy had commenced work in Darwin, that building work was well in progress and, while Goy's name does not appear in the reports of the conferences mentioned above, there is little doubt that he was exerting his influence both in southern boardrooms and within the Darwin community.

Goy remembered that while he was in Broome in September 1939 Flynn summoned him to Melbourne to attend meetings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. While he was in Melbourne the war broke out and John Flynn, then the Moderator-General of the church, and the chaplain-general (Presbyterian) asked him to accept appointment as an army chaplain to be stationed in Darwin. Goy accepted this challenge and returned to Darwin with his commission and the task of seeing to the building of the Inter-church Club. At about the same time the Reverend Clyde Toft was also commissioned as chaplain and the two men worked in close harmony, each serving in the army on a part-time basis.

There was a great deal to do in a short time and there is no doubt that Goy's drive and persuasive powers contributed in no small measure to the speedy completion of the club building. The club was opened with an impressive show of pomp on 26 June 1940, the Reverend Dr John Flynn, Moderator-General of the Presbyterian Church and the Reverend Professor Albiston, President-General of the Methodist Church, with most local church and civic dignitaries being present. The club consisted of the building provided by the church plus additional 'huts' and outdoor recreational facilities made possible by government involvement. It proved to be popular and well patronised.

It was at this time that the Goys had a happy surprise. Mrs Goy told her husband that she was expecting another baby, 14 years after the birth of their younger son. On 29 October 1941 baby daughter Marian was born in the Darwin hospital to the delight of parents, family and Northern Territory friends. Before the Japanese air raids in February 1942 Mrs Goy, daughter Dorothy, who was in Darwin, and Marian were evacuated by flying boat to Sydney. Later the new daughter was baptised in Sydney by John Flynn.

In June 1940 Goy was appointed to a Civil Defence Committee and became its secretary. He set up its headquarters on the ground floor of his manse in Peel Street. The committee was frustrated by the apathy of the Administrator and some departmental heads, with the result that many of the members resigned. When the Japanese bombed the town on 19 February 1942 the work of the committee was largely uncoordinated and the failure of the organisation was a sad and bitter experience for Goy. During the raids on that fateful day Goy and

Constable E McNab brought the first casualties to the hospital and later Goy and Chaplain Jack Cosgrove (Roman Catholic) buried many unknown casualties in joint services for the burial of the dead.

With the air attacks came the complete evacuation of civilian personnel from Darwin and this included the staff of the Inter-church Club. Goy negotiated for the continued conduct of the club by the YMCA for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Now a full-time chaplain, he had himself appointed as the officer commanding Entertainments. He carried out this task with considerable flair and tremendous success. One of his major successes was the introduction of several mobile cinema units and arrangements for regular screening of movies in the camps. This kind of posting was not one that would normally be given to a chaplain and so later in 1942, when Major General **Edmund Herring** assumed command in the north, Goy was transferred out of the Territory. He was very upset at this, knowing that because of his age he had little chance of a posting outside Australia. When this was confirmed after his arrival in Melbourne, he offered his resignation to the Chaplain-General and soon after accepted a call to the Ewing Memorial Church in East Malvern, Victoria. John Flynn was disappointed at this development and commented at the time, 'Chris appears to have forgotten his responsibility to the AIM'.

He had a most successful ministry at East Malvern, serving on many church committees and continuing to give leadership. He was elected to the high office of Moderator of the Victorian General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1956, an office he filled with dignity. During his term in office as Moderator he attended the opening and dedication of the John Flynn Memorial Church in Alice Springs. He maintained his interest and service to the Northern Territory by serving as a valued member of the AIM Board.

In 1963 he was honoured by Her Majesty the Queen with the award of Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for his services to the Territory. He retired from East Malvern in 1967 but later, despite his age of 70 years, accepted a call to Scots Church in Sydney and remained there for three years, retiring again only to provide pastoral and preaching services at the Ashburton Presbyterian Church for about another six years. It was while still serving in Ashburton that he died while mowing his lawn on 28 August 1982. His wife Irene had died earlier, on 14 August 1979. Four children survived him.

C T F Goy, *A Man Is His Friends*, 1979; Minutes of Darwin Inter-church Committee, Mitchell Library, Sydney; Journal of the Reverend K F Partridge, in possession of author.

A W GRANT, Vol 1.

GOYDER, GEORGE WOODRUFFE (1826–1898), surveyor, was born on 24 June 1826 in Liverpool, England, eldest son of David George Goyder, physician and Swedenborgian minister, and his wife, the former Sarah Etherington, of Westminster. The boy attended Glasgow High School, showing a bent towards engineering. He joined an engineering firm in Glasgow and trained in surveying. He later moved to another engineering firm, with branches in Liverpool and Warrington. However, it was probably his inclination to fieldwork that prompted him to migrate to New South Wales in 1848, where his sister Sarah and her husband were living. In Sydney, he spent three years with the auctioneering firm of John Bientham Neales. He moved to Adelaide and on 10 June 1851 was appointed a draftsman in the South Australian government's Engineering Department. On 10 December he married Frances Mary Smith at Christchurch, North Adelaide.

On 17 January 1853, Goyder joined the Department of Lands and Survey as chief clerk with the starting salary of 200 Pounds a year. On 14 September 1854 he was promoted to Acting Deputy Surveyor-General. In April 1857, having been appointed Assistant Surveyor-General under Colonel Freeling, Goyder led a party north with the objective of making a survey of the Flinders Ranges before pastoralists took up occupation. He reported the existence of an 'inland sea' of fresh water at Lake Torrens, instead of the 'hopeless desert and pitiless brine springs' E J Eyre had found in 1839. Freeling and his party returned to the area in September, only to find that the floodwaters had by now dissipated. The criticism that followed this news, both from Freeling and prospective pastoralists, did not diminish Goyder's enthusiasm for further exploration, as he still considered the Lake Eyre and Lake Torrens district a 'stockholders' paradise' at the right time of year. In 1859 he led a survey party into drought-ridden country to look for water and triangulate the land north of Mount Serle. On Freeling's retirement, Goyder was appointed Surveyor-General on 19 January 1861, at a salary of 700 Pounds a year.

Goyder also had to operate in the capacity of inspector of mines and land valuer. In answer to the increasing demands of pastoralists for the modification of their leases, he went north to evaluate rents, grazing leases and rights of renewal. He visited 83 stations over a period of 20 months, travelling some 48 000 kilometres on horseback. Throughout this remarkably arduous survey Goyder made sure to communicate with his office by correspondence every night. On consideration of his reports on the lush grass and herbage of the area, the government placed an annual fee on every animal grazed. His valuations resulted in bitter complaints from the outback lessees, demands for reassessment and condemnation of concessions to graziers. In 1865, when three commissioners were sent north to reassess the problem, drought had struck. It became necessary to define the limits within which agricultural settlement should be encouraged and the task of fixing this line of demarcation was entrusted to Goyder. His famous line, based on estimates of rainfall, is still regarded as defining the northern boundary of South Australia's wheat-growing area. Growers venturing beyond Goyder's line were immediately in trouble and many were ruined. Goyder's imaginary line influenced urban land reformers in the general election in April 1868. Under the leadership of H B T Strangways, 'Agricultural Areas' measuring up to 320 acres (130 hectares) were demarcated. These were available on credit through auction, thus encouraging competition between petty farmers and their wealthier counterparts. By the introduction of the new Act in January 1861, Goyder had selected areas with easy coastal accessibility.

Lean and wiry and of small stature, Goyder was a man of immense industry and capability. Nicknamed 'Little Energy', he was something of a hero to his young surveyors. He was a practising Anglican with a strong spiritual streak in his character, having been raised in a household where religion was an integral part of life. He had no patience with undisciplined workers. His own life was strictly disciplined. He consumed alcohol in moderation on occasion, but detested swearing, especially blasphemy.

In 1869 Goyder was sent to the Northern Territory, after the recall of **B T Finniss**, to complete a land survey and select a site for the capital. With a handpicked party of 150 men, he travelled to the Northern Territory. Arriving on 5 February, he selected Palmerston as the capital site and by August 1869, within a period of six months, accomplished the survey of 665 886 acres (269 683 hectares). The surveys comprised portions of lands belonging to four Aboriginal groups, known to Goyder as: the 'Woolner', 'Wooner-Larakeeyah', 'Larakeyah' and 'Warnunger'. Being a man of his time, Goyder adopted a wary attitude toward 'these miserable specimens of humanity', but did have a more perceptive view of them than most of his contemporaries, writing in justification of his refusal to retaliate for the spearing of draughtsman J W O Bennett: 'We were on what to them appeared unauthorised and unwarrantable occupation of their country... It is scarcely to be wondered at if, when opportunity is allowed them, they should resent such acts by violence upon its perpetrators.' He also reported over a million acres (400 000 hectares) of average-quality land suited to the growth of tropical or semi-tropical products, to the south of the Finniss River and extending in the direction of the rivers Daly and Victoria. On 28 September he sailed for Adelaide aboard *Gulnare*.

In February 1870 Goyder went to Victoria to investigate land regulations. As a result of this venture, the Strangways Act was amended. The 1870s witnessed a land boom. This was largely the result of the extended availability of credit to farmers and good rainfall. The bleak times of drought forgotten and spurred on by the desire to obtain land for growing wheat, settlers gradually approached Goyder's line, reaching it in 1874. Ignoring Goyder's warnings, the government swiftly altered the land laws, allowing land to be obtained on credit as far north as the border of the Northern Territory. Farmers surged north and the new townships of Hammond, Carrieton, Cradock and Amyton, appeared on the map. However, in 1880 farmers experienced their first poor harvest. The situation worsened in 1881 and in 1882 there was no yield. Farmers had to be moved south of the line at great expense. Goyder's worst critics now had to concede defeat.

Other works undertaken by Goyder involved afforestation, railways, bores and water conservation. He was extremely concerned with the shortage of timber facing the colony and with conservation and planting of trees. In 1873 he recommended that forest reserves be used and between 1875 and 1883, acted as chairman of the Forest Board, with J E Brown acting as chief conservator. He was also concerned with water conservation and inspected the wells and dams that lay on the northern stock route. Following his suggestion in 1867, the government spent 300 000 Pounds on drainage in the southeast. While in Britain and America in 1871 he had studied and observed irrigation systems and pumping machinery and was well equipped to supervise boring for artesian water. Goyder often advised pastoralists on water problems. In 1883 he produced a paper on water conservation, which clearly demonstrated his expansive knowledge in this field.

In his career with the Lands Department, Goyder helped to amend over 60 Land Acts, survived thirty-four changes of ministry and served under 24 different commissioners. Departmental expenditure rose from 15 000 Pounds in 1861 to 165 000 Pounds in 1883.

Goyder was responsible for the colony's revenue from land sales and leases being quadrupled. However, he was not without his critics and had been described by a South Australian satirist as 'a parched lizard in a pan', as well as being accused of partiality by contemporary miners and pastoralists, a charge which was never proved. Goyder's reputation for honour and integrity and his scrupulous valuation of rents and properties made his decisions noteworthy. Goyder had a flair for fieldwork, which materially assisted many an early settler to make his fortune.

Goyder finally resigned on 30 June 1894, after three previous attempts in 1862, 1873 and 1878. On these occasions, he had been persuaded to stay on with an increase in salary. A formal farewell was held in **Sir Charles Todd's** office. Todd said that 'the successful carrying out of the Overland Telegraph line was largely due to Mr Goyder'. In October, he was presented by leading citizens with a purse of a thousand Sovereigns. In 1889, he was appointed Companion of the order of St Michael and St George (CMG).

The rigours of a life dedicated to surveying Australia's harsh terrain, had taken their toll on Goyder. From the days of his earliest surveys, he had suffered from scurvy. His difficult Northern Territory survey had resulted in a nervous and muscular debility. After the death of his wife on 8 April 1870 at Bristol, Goyder returned to England in 1871 on nine months leave. He visited America as well, leaving his nine children in the care of his wife's sister, Ellen Priscilla Smith. He later married her on 20 November and they had twin daughters and a son. After his retirement he lived at Warrakilla near Echunga, where he had an orchard and a valuable estate. Captain Samuel Sweet extensively photographed his survey of the Northern Territory. He died on 2 November 1898 at his home, leaving an estate of 4 000 Pounds.

F Clune, *Overland Telegraph*, 1955; P F Donovan, *Land of Promise*, vol 1, 1976; M J Kerr, *The Surveyors: The Story of the Founding of Darwin*, 1971; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; J J Pascoe, *History of Adelaide and Vicinity*, 1901; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982.

SHARON WATSON, *Vol 1*.

GRAHAM, CLIVE WILLIAM (1908–1983), electrical worker, hawker and policeman, was born in Sydney on 14 April 1908, one of a family of seven. He was educated in various country schools, mainly in the remote areas of New South Wales, and finally at East Maitland High School. He served an apprenticeship in electrical engineering at BHP Steel Works, Newcastle from 1925 to 1930. In 1931 and 1932 during the Depression, he worked

spasmodically for BHP and other electrical firms, and at one stage was self-employed hawking household goods around the Sydney suburbs.

He applied for an advertised vacancy for the Northern Territory Police, as did many others, and was appointed as a Mounted Constable in Darwin, at the age of 24 years, on 7 November 1932. After serving in Darwin, Groote Eylandt, Alice Springs and Tennant Creek, he opened the Police Station at Hatches Creek about 300 kilometres north east of Alice Springs. He took his new bride (Jane Hayes from Undoolya Station) to their new home at Hatches Creek, in July 1938. It was a canvas and bough mansion!

Mounted Constable Graham went to Groote Eylandt with Mounted Constables **Ted Morey**, **Jack Mahony** and **Vic Hall** and Trackers following the spearing of Mounted Constable Albert McColl in August 1933. This group of dedicated police stayed until April 1934, and returned McColl's remains to Darwin. An Aborigine, **Tuckiar**, was arrested and tried for the murder but was acquitted.

Later in 1938 the Grahams transferred to Barrow Creek; in 1939 to Finke near the South Australian border, Rankine River, near the Queensland border in 1940, and then north to Anthony's Lagoon, two years later. Whilst he was a Sergeant at Anthony's Lagoon, he led a horse patrol of well over a thousand miles in the Nicholson River area, near the Queensland border, investigating cattle stealing offences and other matters. He was accompanied by Constable **Syd Bowie** of the Northern Territory Police and Constable Chapman from the Queensland Police. They caught one cattle-duffer red handed, and he became quite talkative about his thieving exploits, as he knew he was on the Queensland side of the border and knew that the Territory Police could not touch him. He was introduced to Constable Chapman and duly arrested.

After the Second World War and following a short stint in Alice Springs, Graham and his wife and two daughters remained stationed in Darwin. Margaret Ann Graham had been born while her father was serving at Rankine River in February 1941, Eleanor Jean whilst he was in Darwin in October 1944. Pamela Jane was born in Darwin in March 1949.

Ten years after joining the Northern Territory Police, in 1942, Clive Graham was promoted to Sergeant, and in 1949 he became a Senior Sergeant. He was promoted Inspector in 1952, Superintendent in 1956, Deputy Commissioner in 1960 and then finally in 1964, the top job, Commissioner of Police. Prior to 1964, the rank of Commissioner was held by the Administrator or his predecessor, the Government Resident, except between the years 1924–1927, when the Territory was under the control of the North Australia Commission, Major G C V Dudley was appointed Commissioner. On his departure the old system resumed.

On 1 July 1964 Clive Graham became the first serving member from the ranks to become Commissioner in the 94-year history of the Northern Territory Police Force. He served at this rank until his retirement on 7 September 1966. During his police service he was awarded the Police Long Service and Good Conduct Medal in December 1959 and the Imperial Service Order (ISO) in the 1967 New Years Honours list.

The month of July seemed to be very significant for Clive Graham; most of his promotions were effected in this month, his transfers the same. He was also married in July and met his untimely death in Adelaide on 11 July 1983.

Northern Territory Police records.

GLENYS SIMPSON, Vol 3.

GRAHAM, DONALD JUPURRULA (c1920–1989), stockman, elder, community leader, teacher of and collaborator with researchers on language and culture, was born 'in the bush', possibly in the Powell Creek area. He was the son of 'Pencil' or 'Spencer' Jakamarra (from Newcastle Waters, born c1880, of Ngarrka ('Man') Dreaming) and Beanie Napurrula (born c1900, of Kanturrpa country and Milwayi 'Quiet Snake' Dreaming).

Donald lived most of his life around cattle stations north of Tennant Creek. He grew up on Helen Springs, as a contemporary of Bill Bohning, a son of the lessees (before Vesteys). He was made a man possibly in 1936 at Nyiwarlurlu, in the bush west of Banka Banka, not far south of where there is now an outstation, at Kalumpurlpa, where he spent his last years. Donald had no schooling, and said he had tried to accept some fellow stockmen's literacy training, from which he mastered just the alphabet, which he related to stock brands. He gained ample evidence for his view that literate people wrote something down and forgot it, whereas he did not forget. At Helen Springs he later occupied the head-stockman's hut on the north-west of the homestead area overlooking the massive rock engravings site Nyanya, for which he became senior *kurtungurlu*.

During the Second World War he and his wife Norah Napanangka worked for Ron Lobelly and family at Jangkarti (Old Burke) on the west of Helen Springs Pastoral Lease, where in a drought they were put to rolling 200 litre drums of water up from the rock hole (work even Donald bailed up at). He guided Lobelly on a trip out west of the station country, when they 'did a perish' and lost several horses. Also during the war Donald told of helping Gerry Whitlock find the route in the Attack Creek area for the new Stuart Highway, and recalled when Whitlock made a fire-plough track west from Three Ways ('used to be Four Ways') and another west from Muckaty.

Like many of his contemporaries Donald worked as stockman and butcher at various stations: for **Fred Ulyatt** and then the Hagans at Muckaty, and for many years at Banka Banka under the benign regime of **Mary Ward** and after. He was also at McLaren Creek, Rockhampton Downs and Tennant Creek stations in the late 1960s. Around this time he was a labourer for Fred Kittle, handling drums at a Tennant Creek fuel depot.

Donald assisted Prith Chakravarti on a few days in his 1966 study of Warumungu, and from 1979 Jane Simpson with the same language. Kenneth Hale recorded two packed hours with Donald on an afternoon in December 1966 at the back of Tennant Creek Police Station where Donald was then employed as a Tracker. Hale spoke in

Warlpiri and Warumungu, and Donald ('Donald Spencer') translated into Warlmanpa (the first tape-recording of that language). As Donald would comment later, he hadn't told Hale that he also knew Mudburra, which explained why no one came to learn that language from him.

He was one of few men whose knowledge of sign language, and botany, matched that of senior women. Apart from English and the four Australian languages he knew well, he also knew Nyininy, and Alyawarre (but not well enough to take on teaching them), and had a smattering of Tiwi, and some words of 'Afghan' (from cameleers). More than polyglot, his orderly mind loved comparing and contrasting expressions within or across languages. He was an expert, for instance, on the 'patrilect' affiliations of Dreamings and associated patrilineages.

His mastery of language was just a part of his extraordinary abilities. He was ambidextrous. He knew more of motor mechanics than most people of his vintage in the area. For instance, he was proud of having owned and maintained a Willy's Jeep for a while in the 1960s. He was expert in knowledge of songs and ceremony, and was involved in ceremony from Harts Range to Borroloola. His knowledge of country combined the best of the stockman and the 'memory man'. He was the senior authority on site clearances between Tennant Creek and Elliott for the railway corridor and gas pipeline (and enjoyed the trips in 'my riding horse' helicopter).

Donald's travel outside his home region began with various cattle droving jobs, including as far as Dajarra, and Alice Springs. As a Banka Banka employee he once travelled to the Wards' property Fermoy between Winton and Longreach. In the late 1960s he worked in the Darwin area: he was employed as a butcher at Bagot Reserve for some years before 1972, at Snake Bay and Garden Point on Bathurst Island and at HMAS *Coonawarra*. He returned to Banka Banka in about 1973. The new opportunities of the Whitlam era meant for Donald the beginning of the Kalumpurlpa outstation and cattle project. He guided a 1975 trip with Jeffery Stead to a range west of Banka Banka, on which his tenacity was typified by the way he stuffed a flat tyre with grass to enable them to limp back home. This trip began the paper trail for the incorporation of the Kalumbulba Aboriginal Association, and associated outstation and cattle project, for which Donald 'battled' for the rest of his life (along with his mother's relatives Harry Bennett and Peter Toprail and their families). The outstation emerged in the 1980s; the first in the area of what is now the Karlantijpa Land Trusts, the result of land claim hearings in 1980 and 1981 in which he was a key witness. (He was also a witness in the Warumungu and McLaren Creek land claim hearings, as kurtungurlu for Kanturpa country.) But he also supported the continuing existence of non-Aboriginal cattle stations, in an appearance on Australian Broadcasting Corporation television in 1984.

In November 1975, his 19-year-old son died at Wauchope, from injuries received in a fight. Another son died of heart attack, aged 36, about 1987.

His first trip to the south was in 1981 and 1982 when he and his wife, Norah, drove with the writer through western Queensland to Canberra and Sydney, taking a great interest in everything. They visited the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS), where Donald was pleased to note that recordings of languages, including his, were archived. At the Australian Museum Donald immediately identified a displayed stone knife as being from Renner Springs, where indeed [Spencer](#) and [Gillen](#) had collected it in 1901.

Donald attended a great number of the many meetings that characterised Aboriginal-government relations in his last two decades. He was a member of the Central Land Council for many years, the Northern Territory Aboriginal Education Advisory Committee, and on the committee of the Jurnkurakurr Outstation Resource Centre from its inception (October 1983). In August 1983 Donald and Norah both were on the bus to the High Court hearing of an appeal in the Warumungu/Alyawarra land claim, and then to the 26 January 1988 gathering in Sydney. They drove themselves and family in the Kalumbulba Association truck to the June 1988 Barunga festival and meetings.

All travel with Donald was a delight, but the best was excursions to 'look around country' west of the cattle areas. These trips stepped up as part of land claim activities about the time he renounced alcohol. Site protection trips for the proposed railway, and then the gas pipeline took place at times in the period 1981–1985, primarily under Donald's guidance between Tennant Creek and Newcastle Waters, especially west of Banka Banka and Muckaty. In later years, without the pressure of land claim or site protection consultations, he guided his family and the writer several times for many days around uninhabited areas west of Muckaty.

He was the only Aborigine in the Barkly region who effectively used a hearing aid to overcome the deafness of his last few years. He suddenly collapsed and died during a ceremony being held at Mangarlawurru outstation (west of Warrego, north-west of Tennant Creek) on the night of Friday 13 January 1989, and was buried on country of his Dreaming at Marlinja (Newcastle Waters) on Saturday 4 March. He was around 70 years of age, survived by his wife, and several children and their families.

Banka Banka journals, Fryer Library, University of Queensland; H Tuxworth Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland; J Dymock, 'Sacred Sites Protection and Traditional Information Concerning the Land Affected by the Pipeline Route between Muckaty and a Point South in the Vicinity of No. 1 Bore', 1985; T Hosie, 'Lilaki Country', VHS video recordings, AAPA (Darwin), 1986; D Nash, 'Donald Jupurrula Graham', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 1, 1989; G Negus interview, 'This Land is My Land', ABC Television, broadcast August 1984; J J Stead, 'A Report on Visit to Banka Banka re Land Claims', Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Tennant Creek, (File 75/30/1) 1975; T G H Strehlow, 'Report on Trip to Daly Waters', 10 December 1938, Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS F126 Item 59; Transcripts of the hearings of traditional land claims Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Mudburra and Warumungu 1980, Kaytej Warlpiri 1981, Warumungu Alyawarra 1985, and McLaren Creek 1988.

DAVID NASH, Vol 3.

GRANT, ARCHIBALD WESLEY (ARCH) (1911–), motor industry worker, projectionist and Presbyterian, United and Uniting Church Minister, was born on 5 February 1911 at Timaru in New Zealand, the son of Wesley Livesy Grant, biograph operator and draper, and his wife Eliza Margaret Grant, *nee* Penhall, clerk. He was educated at schools in New Zealand and then at Gosford Intermediate High School in New South Wales, Australia After

working in the motor industry and as a cinema projectionist, he was accepted as a candidate for the Presbyterian ministry in 1934. He studied under the Home Mission Scheme while stationed at Brighton-le Sands, Portland and Mascot and from 1937 to 1939 attended St Andrew's Theological College in Sydney. In October 1939 he was licensed in the Presbytery of Sydney. On 9 September 1939 at the Presbyterian Church, Homebush, he married Erla Bullock, the daughter of Samuel and Mary Bullock. There were two sons and two daughters of the marriage.

Ordained as a Minister on 22 November 1939, Grant was called to work for the Australian Inland Mission (AIM) at Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory. He and his wife departed Sydney on 1 December by train. While in Adelaide, he bought essential furnishings and tools. At Alice Springs the Grants were met by the **Reverend Kingsley Partridge**, who drove them to Tennant Creek. They arrived there on 10 December. 'Here', he later recalled, 'we were in a real frontier town' with minimal facilities and intense summer heat. During the following days Grant built an additional room at the AIM welfare hut where he and his wife could live and concreted floors of the club building. His main task was to provide for the spiritual needs and general welfare of local miners and their families, which was made easier once he was sent a vehicle to give him the necessary mobility. In June 1940 he attended the opening of the Inter-Church Club in Darwin.

In September 1940 the Commonwealth government decided on the construction of a road to link the railhead at Alice Springs with Birdum. The major construction was between Tennant Creek and Birdum. Grant enlisted as a part-time Army chaplain and ministered to the workers involved. He was then associated with members of the Country Women's Association in Tennant Creek, who provided refreshments to troops who moved in large convoys along the new road. As a result he was made an Honorary Member of the Association. In 1941 he ministered to the men building the new road from Tennant Creek to Mount Isa in Queensland.

With the entry of Japan into the war, Grant was called to full time chaplaincy, being appointed to Darwin. In September 1941 his wife and young daughter had gone south for health reasons. At the beginning of February 1942 he was appointed Area Chaplain at Adelaide River, with responsibility for troops between Manton Dam and Katherine. Following the bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942, he helped with the care and welfare of evacuees from Darwin and the many seamen whose ships were sunk. Often these people were without any personal belongings. He selected the site of the Adelaide River War Cemetery, later the largest war cemetery in Australia. This was needed as casualties were sustained. Grant conducted several early burials there. He also helped transfer a cinema plant from Darwin to Adelaide River, where a large open-air theatre was established which he ran for a while by himself. There were two double feature shows a week with huge audiences. Involved with the relocation of 119 Army General Hospital from Darwin to Adelaide River, he ministered to its Australian and American sick and wounded. Between 1943 and 1945 he served in other parts of Australia and overseas but returned to the Territory, stationed in Darwin, in 1945. He took his discharge from the Army in 1946.

With his wife and children he was back in Darwin in April 1946 as Presbyterian Minister. Living conditions there were very rough as food supplies were short and there was no skilled labour to rebuild their house, which had been virtually destroyed by termites. With the Reverend C D Alcorn, the Methodist Minister in Darwin, and the Reverend **Dr John Flynn**, he formed the United Church of North Australia, which involved the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. While only a missionary arrangement, it had active local support and later became a model for the Uniting Church in Australia.

After serving as Minister of Bankstown, New South Wales, from 1950 to 1955, between 1955 and 1959 Grant was Minister at the John Flynn Memorial Church in Alice Springs. In this appointment he ministered to residents at the 'Old Timers Settlement' near the town and patrolled a vast area in Central Australia. He assisted in organising health surveys of Aboriginal people and with the polio immunisation of children, visited the remote Giles weather station during and immediately after its construction, ministered to the gang building the Gunbarrel Highway and performed essential maintenance work at the hospital in Oodnadatta, South Australia.

From 1960 until his retirement in 1977 he was Minister at Fairfield and Haberfield, both in Sydney. In 1965 to 1966 he was New South Wales President of the Australian Council of Churches and in 1965 was President of the National Aborigines Day Observance Committee in Sydney. Prominent in the formation of the Uniting Church, he was the first defendant in a court case where people opposed to the formation decided to contest the matter. The opponents were unsuccessful but Grant found the legal proceedings very traumatic. In 1978 he was awarded the British Empire Medal (BEM). He and his wife retired to Dee Why and later, in 1994, to Belrose.

Grant maintained a very active interest in the Northern Territory, which he quite frequently revisited. His historical work on Methodists and Presbyterians in the Territory was of particular value. Among his publications are *Camel Train and Aeroplane: The Story of Skipper Partridge* (1981), *Palmerston to Darwin: 75 Years Service on the Frontier* (1990) and *Australia's Frontline Matron: Edith McQuade White* (1992). He also published several articles in the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography* and the *Journal of Northern Territory History*. Some of these publications are illustrated with his own excellent photographs. In February 1992 he made a special trip to participate in some commemorative activities in Darwin to mark the 50th anniversary of the first Japanese air attack. A special concern was the fate of the former Methodist church in Darwin, built in 1897 and the oldest surviving church in the city. Disappointed that the Uniting Church wanted to demolish the building, he worked tirelessly within the Church and with organisations such as the National Trust to try to have the building preserved. In 1995 the Northern Territory Government registered the building as a Heritage Place.

A man of great dedication and energy, Grant served the Northern Territory tirelessly and effectively in various capacities. He combined a keen intellect with practical skills and was held in high regard among the many Territorians with whom he worked. Throughout his long career his wife Erla provided him with invaluable support.

GRAY, FREDERICK HAROLD (FRED) (1899–), Air Force serviceman, farmer, bodyguard, pearler, retailer, trepanger, settlement superintendent and kennels manager, was born at Kidderminster, England, on 28 December 1899. He was the third son of Frederick Gray and his wife Emily Mary Gertrude, *nee* Guest. His father was the Chief Constable at Kidderminster.

Gray was educated at Kidderminster Grammar School but was not an outstanding scholar. After a short period of service in the Royal Air Force, he was apprenticed to a Cannock farmer. After several years he saw no future in farming in England, so decided to try his luck in Australia.

Gray set out for Australia on 5 January 1924. He had several jobs in Western Australia, enabling him to buy a small block of land at Dowak, just south of Norseman. When his crop failed he was forced to take a position as bodyguard to T B Ellies, the Sinhalese pearler from Broome. This led to Gray becoming a pearler in Broome from 1928 until 1930. The Depression forced him to leave pearling in 1931, so he went to Darwin to help Ellies's son commence a jeweller's shop there. After a year he decided to commence trepanging on the Arnhem Land coast.

He was trepanging at Caledon Bay when the provoked Aborigines killed five Japanese on 17 September 1932. Gray buried their bodies and returned to Darwin where he reported the incident to the police. He then continued trepanging until early 1934 when his boat was wrecked at Caledon Bay.

In the meantime Aborigines on Woodah Island had killed Constable A S McColl, one of the police sent to apprehend the killers of the Japanese, and two beachcombers, F Traynor and W Fagan. Many white people in the Northern Territory feared a general uprising and demanded police action in the form of a punitive expedition to the Aborigines of eastern Arnhem Land.

About this time the Commonwealth Government accepted the offer of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) to send **Warren** and **Dyer**, two experienced missionaries, and D H Fowler on a 'peace expedition' to try to persuade the Aborigines involved in the killings to go to Darwin to prevent the impending massacre. The CMS Peace Expedition contacted the killers and persuaded them to be taken to Darwin.

Warren of the Peace Expedition was also able to bring Gray to Groote Eylandt where he bought *Oituli*. Gray and Dyer then took the Aboriginal killers to Darwin. Gray gave evidence at the trial of the Japanese killings but was unable to prevent the three Aborigines from receiving sentences of 20 years' hard labour.

After this Gray continued trepanging on the eastern coast of Arnhem Land down to Groote Eylandt. He often visited the CMS mission at the Emerald River and became very friendly with the missionaries there.

When the Department of Civil Aviation started a flying boat base at Groote Eylandt in 1938 the CMS asked Gray to camp at Umbakumba opposite the proposed base to protect the interests of the Aborigines there. Gray agreed and soon set up a small settlement there. He provided Aboriginal labour, food and artefacts for workers at the base. At the conclusion of the construction phase, Taylor, the CMS Superintendent at the mission, told Gray that he could now leave and that the Aborigines at Umbakumba could return to the mission. Gray refused, saying that the Aborigines would not leave Umbakumba, and that he would not leave until the CMS provided a missionary. The CMS did not do so, so Gray remained superintendent in an honorary capacity.

Gray continued to provide food and artefacts for the base while it was used by Qantas and later by the Royal Australian Air Force during the Second World War. He established very good relationships with the personnel there, especially with Frederick Rose, the meteorologist, who made a specialised study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines and their social organisation. At the same time he developed the Umbakumba Settlement, building a school, dormitories and other ancillary buildings, including a staff house. Over 200 Aborigines had now settled there.

On 26 November 1946 he married Marjorie Southwick. He had known her in England over 20 years earlier, and had to wait until the war had finished before she could come out to Australia. She was a trained schoolteacher and was a tremendous help to Gray in his work at Umbakumba. They hosted and greatly assisted the American and Australian Expedition to Arnhem Land, which used Umbakumba as its base from early April until mid July 1948. The *National Geographic Magazine*, a sponsor of the expedition, featured the Umbakumba settlement and the work of the Grays there at that time.

The 1950s saw the implementation of the new official policy of assimilation. Missions and settlements now became focal points of the medical, educational, social and training programs for Aborigines in order that they might be absorbed into the wider white Australian society. The outworking of this policy eventually meant the end of the Grays' work at Umbakumba. Gray found great difficulty in recruiting and holding the much larger staff required for the implementation of assimilation policies. Also he was neither mission nor government, which caused great difficulties for the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration.

Despite these difficulties, Gray continued to superintend the settlement. He strongly opposed the Aboriginal practice of Groote Eylandt whereby a few old men had cornered all the young girls. This led to endless feuding, fighting and killing. He was also able to get child endowment payments for the children at the settlement, which enabled him to provide daily meals for them and the old people. He was also very keen on the dormitory system. Edward Herbert, a part Aborigine, was of very great help to him in the work.

The axe fell in 1956 and Gray had to leave Umbakumba. During the protracted negotiations with the Welfare Branch which followed, he moved over to the air base, refusing to leave until 1958 when the government provided

what he considered was approaching a fair compensation for the settlement and for the work he had done there in an honorary capacity.

The Grays settled at Berrimah just south of Darwin. In 1967 Marjorie decided to return permanently to England to care for her aged father. Though separated, they still remained good friends. In 1974, after the government resumed the Berrimah property, Gray moved to the Nineteen Mile and set up house and kennels there. He discontinued the care of animals but continued to live in the area at Howard Springs.

Fred Gray was one of the great personalities of the Top End. Quietly spoken, he maintained his English accent throughout the whole of his life. He was an adventurer but a gentleman. He was very paternalistic in his dealings with the Umbakumba Aborigines but they loved him. His homes on Groote Eylandt and near Darwin were open to them. They came and went as they wished, provided they did not have alcohol. His secret lay in his openness and friendliness and the fact that he could be trusted. His 20 years' caring service to the first Australians of Umbakumba will be recalled with affection for generations to come.

K Cole, *Fred Gray of Umbakumba*, 1985; K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; *National Geographic Magazine*, vol CIII; personal papers, documents and photographs of F H Gray; CMS records, Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, Vol 2.

GRAY, ISABELLA (ELLA): see **SHEPHERDSON, ISABELLA (ELLA)**

GRAY, WILLIAM HENRY (1808–1896), investor, builder, developer and speculator, was born in Bermondsey, London, in 1808. One of his boyhood memories was of ‘being lifted upon the servant’s shoulders at the gate of his home in the Old Kent Road, London, to see the Duke of Wellington returning from Waterloo’.

As a young man he was involved in the tanning industry, but in 1835 he purchased three South Australian preliminary land orders, and in October the following year he set out for the new colony in *John Renwick*. He arrived in South Australia in February 1837, less than two months after the colony was proclaimed, with his household goods, and his Land Orders, and with some extra capital to invest.

He liked to remember taking part as a volunteer in the survey of Adelaide, helping the founder, Colonel Light, ‘burn the kangaroo grass which was growing upon the ground where Rundle Street now is’. And he built with his own hands, in 1838, a row of four cottages, among the first to be erected in the city. Eventually he owned and developed a number of Town Acres in Adelaide, 10 of them in the northwest section of the city, where Gray Street is named after him. He also purchased and farmed an estate which included what is now the Adelaide Airport, the nearby extensive West Beach Reserve, and parts of adjacent suburbs. In a region, which was then largely agricultural, he was Chairman of the West Torrens District Council for 12 years.

At the age of 53, he married the 20-year-old Rosetta Bagshaw, daughter of John Stokes Bagshaw, a pioneer manufacturer of agricultural implements. (The firm of Horwood Bagshaw is still active.) There were nine children of the marriage.

Having been so successful in Adelaide he was quick to take advantage of the possibilities of the Northern Territory when the South Australian government offered speculators the chance to purchase land orders which would allow a holder to select one half acre town lot and a 160 acre rural lot for every land order held. The first sales were held in 1863 and Gray bought a number at a cost of 60 Pounds each. By the time Goyder’s survey of Palmerston and Southport was complete six years later, many investors had become disillusioned with their investment and in order to keep their support the amount of country land allowed for each purchase order had been doubled. When selections were possible, and they had to be made personally or through an agent, Gray determined to see the country for himself so he left Adelaide for Port Darwin, in May 1870, in *Bengal*. A fellow-passenger was the explorer **John McKinlay** who had made known his intention to re-visit the Territory to act as guide for land-selectors. *Bengal* made a faster passage than did *Gulnare*, on which was the Government Resident, Captain **Bloomfield Douglas**, and the two ships arrived in Darwin (then called Palmerston) on the same day. McKinlay and the land-selectors examined Palmerston from the plans and on the actual site, then sailed in the Government steamer *Midge* to the site of Southport. From there they walked to Tumbling Waters, where they took a refreshing bathe. On the way the giant anthills impressed them.

Back in Palmerston, then a settlement of bush timber and tents, they attended the selection of town lands before setting off on another exploring trip to choose the country land. The party of nine had with them a dozen horses, and a dray, and two Aboriginal men of the Larrakia tribe accompanied them. After camping the first night at Knuckey’s Lagoon, they made their way, in leisurely stages, to Fred’s Pass and the Adelaide River plains. Then they travelled westward to Southport, examining the country round the Manton, Berry and Darwin Rivers on the way. A third excursion, out from Southport, took them along the Annie, Charlotte and Blackmore Rivers, and along the Finnis towards what would later be called the Rum Jungle country. As the time for the selection of country lands was drawing near, they ‘reluctantly returned to Southport, where the boat met them and bore them away, fair wind and tide, to Fort Point, 48 kilometres, in four hours’.

Gray returned to Adelaide in *Omeo*, with McKinlay again as fellow-passenger. During his time in Palmerston, and later, he selected a great number of town allotments both in Palmerston and Southport, and many sections in the country area that he had walked over with the explorer.

In 1884, at the age of 76, Gray, accompanied by his 16-year-old third son Herbert, paid a second visit to the Territory, reaching Palmerston on 12 August, in the steamer *Menmuir*. They visited the De Lissaville Sugar Plantation and in the steam launch *Maggie*, on board which were also the Government Resident, **J Langdon Parsons**, and the Duke of Manchester, sailed some way up the Adelaide River. Then, again on *Maggie*, Gray took a party to

the Daly River. They steamed upstream to view the abandoned plantation hopefully set up by Owston and soon to be taken over, with no greater success, by the Daly River Plantation Company, in which Gray was the chief shareholder. The neglected plantation was sad enough, but only a short distance away (unknown to those aboard *Maggie*), some copper miners had been fatally attacked by some Aborigines, a tragedy compounded by the actions of punitive expeditions.

Back in Palmerston, Gray and his son, before returning to Adelaide, attended a public meeting, at which the Aboriginal question, the problems of sugar growing, and the conduct of Judge Pater were discussed, all in vigorous manner. Herbert Gray noted in his diary: 'It was really funny to hear them slandering one another, almost as good as a play'.

Gray was by far the largest absentee owner of town land. Initially he selected 39 lots in Palmerston and nine in Southport. In 1887 and again in 1892 he was permitted to select further lots, at the original price, along with the accompanying rural acreage. At various times Gray also acquired other lots in Palmerston, frequently from bankrupt or deceased estates. In 1896 the Palmerston District Council issued rate notices to Gray for 100 lots in the town of Palmerston. The rates were always paid by him and later by his trustees, unlike many other early speculators whose land was eventually sold for non-payment of rates. No rates were levied on the Southport lots, which saw little, if any, development. After his death his executors purchased further lots in the town. Many of the Palmerston blocks were for a long time remote from the main centres of activity, some had disappeared when adjustments were made to Goyder's plan, others were wholly or partially resumed when the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway was constructed between 1886 and 1889.

Gray's first agent, the ill-fated ex-Premier **Thomas Reynolds**, who was drowned in the wreck of *Gothenburg*, arranged a number of early leases, and the Darwin allotments were progressively sold through the years. Twenty-one lots, for example, were in Cavenagh Street and Chinese who had long been lessees eventually bought many of these. The town lots unsold were compulsorily acquired after the Second World War. The many thousands of acres of country lands he selected were also either privately sold or acquired by the Government. Apart from town lots in Southport, they included areas of Rum Jungle, Humpty Doo and much of the land in the new town of Palmerston.

William Henry Gray died on 6 September 1896 but in his will he directed that his estate was not to be distributed until the death of his last surviving child. This did not occur until 1964 so for about 60 years the fate of his Northern Territory lands was in the hands of his trustees; the last country land was not sold until his estate was being wound up. Even though it took nearly 70 years, Gray and his descendants did profit from his investment in the town that became Darwin. When his blocks were sold they generally brought what were, for the times, good prices.

Gray's name and that of his wife are commemorated in the new town of Palmerston, in the suburb named after him and in the street names Rosetta and Bagshaw.

E Hasenohr, *W H Gray*, 1977; family information.

E HASENOHR, Vol 3.

GREATOREX, ANTHONY GEORGE WORSLEY (TONY) (1905–1981), pastoralist, soldier, public servant, politician and businessman, was born on 4 February 1905 in London, the son of Canon T Greatorex and his wife. The family travelled to Western Australia in 1907. Greatorex attended the Pinjarrah State School and gained a scholarship in 1917 to Guildford Church of England Grammar School, which he attended from 1918 to 1922 and where he attained his Junior Certificate in 1920 and matriculated in 1922. He was a prefect from 1921 to 1922 and captain of his school in 1922. He was active in sports, including cricket and football.

In March 1924 he went to Woodstock Station, near Port Hedland, as a jackeroo to R W Parker. The station was switching from cattle to sheep and Greatorex received good experience with both kinds of stock, and assisted with horse breaking. He also did fencing, well sinking, mill and tank erecting, cement plastering of tanks as well as stock work and yard building. In 1926 Parker sold his interest and Greatorex went to a farm in the Dardan district, which he and his brother had acquired in 1923. In 1927 Parker purchased a station in the Nullagine district and Greatorex returned to him as Overseer, working with almost virgin country and building improvements and a considerable flock of sheep. He remained there until 1930 when he went as Overseer to Bonney Downs. He took over as Manager and stayed until 1937.

On 2 November 1933 he married Mona Suraski and they had one son and one daughter. From Bonney Downs Greatorex moved with his family to the farm he owned in the Dardan district, taking over from his brother who was ill. Eventually he was running up to 2 000 sheep but when the war broke out he leased the farm and enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force as a Private in April 1941.

He went to the Middle East in November as a reinforcement to the 2/11th Battalion. He was transferred to the 2/24th Infantry Battalion in June 1942 and served with it until 1945, seeing active service in the Middle East, New Guinea and Borneo. He was commissioned and won the Military Cross (MC) for gallantry in action at the Battle of El Alamein. He was discharged in March 1946 with the rank of Captain. During his war service he had been platoon and company commander and an acting quartermaster. A bullet wound in the neck affected nerves down a side of his body, causing him to walk with a slight limp.

In September 1946 he went to Darwin, where, after a month's holiday, he obtained a position with the Department of Works and Housing in the Works Expenditure Control Section, which accounted for all monies spent on works by the department. He was in charge of the section from late 1947. In July 1948 he received a temporary appointment as Field Officer with the Lands and Survey Branch of the Northern Territory Administration, then part of the Department of the Interior. He was appointed a permanent officer on 22 September 1948 and was

stationed in Darwin until 1951 when he was transferred to Alice Springs. From 1953 until 1956 he was Manager of Palm Valley Station near Alice Springs, where he next established himself in business as a stock and station agent. Meanwhile Mona Greatorex became a driving force in the Alice Springs Theatre Group and did much to enhance the artistic and cultural heritage of the Centre. In particular, she was a key organiser of the annual Festival of Drama that began in the 1950s.

In 1965 Greatorex was one of five candidates who stood for the Northern Territory Legislative Council on behalf of the newly formed North Australia Party, based in Alice Springs. In a bitterly fought battle, he was the only one to win a seat when he was elected for Stuart. He was subsequently elected unopposed as Chairman of Committees in the Council. He transferred his allegiance to the Country Party when it was formed in 1966 and in 1968 the party won four seats with Greatorex, Les McFarlane, Bernie Kilgariff and Rupert Kentish. In May 1968 Greatorex introduced the Validation of Ministerial Determinants Bill dealing with public service incompetence and notable for its blistering indictment of successive ministers in its preamble. In his second reading speech Greatorex said the Bill was necessary to 'correct what might be called the scandalous inefficiency and deliberate refusal of the appropriate Administration officers to comply with the laws of the Northern Territory.' The Bill lapsed at the end of the ninth Council after which the Administration introduced a similar bill without the preamble.

In 1969 Greatorex was elected President of the Legislative Council, replacing [Harry Chan](#). He held the position for the next five years. In 1972 Kim Lockwood, then a Darwin journalist, assessed his performance. Greatorex was, Lockwood contended, 'similar in several ways to Chan and is certainly equally conscious of the duties and responsibilities of his position, which he takes very seriously. He was a member of the deputation to Canberra and of the joint committee working on the reform problem. As President he makes little contribution to debate but when an issue stirs him he leaves the chair and speaks from the floor and occasionally even introduces a bill. The acknowledged leader of the four Country Party members, Greatorex usually speaks on pastoral matters not well, but reasonably competently.'

In 1973 Greatorex was part of a delegation of elected Council members, along with Ron Withnall, [Dick Ward](#) and [Goff Letts](#), who met with the then federal Minister, Kep Enderby, to discuss constitutional reform and prepare a submission for government consideration. Although the government did not accede to many of the committee's requests, it did eventually agree to a fully elected Legislative Assembly. This occurred at the next election in 1974 when the Country Liberal Party and independents won all seats.

Greatorex did not seek re-election. His public career, however, was not over as in 1976 he was elected Mayor of Alice Springs in a by election held when lawyer Brian Martin resigned from the position. He remained Mayor until the next election in 1977, when he chose not to stand. He was also active in other community pursuits, serving as Chairman of the Northern Territory Bushfires Council and the Territory's Road Safety Council. He was Secretary of the Centralian Pastoralists Association and was a keen follower of cricket and bowls. He was also a member of the Alice Springs Memorial Club and the Returned Services League, was involved with Legacy and a youth centre and was awarded Honorary Life Membership of the Country Liberal Party for his contribution to constitutional development in the Northern Territory. He was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1971 and was later made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM).

Greatorex retired to South Australia, where he spent most of his time in a hotel enterprise with his daughter and son in law, Pam and Bob Hutchins. He died, while on holiday in the Northern Territory, on 27 January 1981.

Among those who paid tribute to him was the then Chief Minister of the Northern Territory, [Paul Everingham](#), who was also a pallbearer at his funeral. 'Tony Greatorex', Everingham stated, 'led a vigorous life and each and every Territorian of today has benefited by it in some way. Tony Greatorex was one of those rare people about whom no one had a harsh word to say... He was a proper gentleman.'

He was given a state type funeral at the John Flynn Uniting Church in Alice Springs, where he was buried next to his wife who died in 1969. A Northern Territory Legislative Assembly electorate in Alice Springs was named after him.

M Harris & G Dutton (eds), *Sir Henry, Bjelke, Don Baby and Friends*, 1972; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1968; *Centralian Advocate*, January 1981; *Northern Territory News*, January 1981; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 24 February 1981; Lands Branch records; Greatorex family papers.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

GREGORY, (Sir) AUGUSTUS CHARLES (1819–1905), surveyor and explorer, was born on 1 August 1819 at Farnsfield, Nottinghamshire. He was the fourth child and third son of Captain Joshua Gregory (78th Highlanders), and his wife Frances, *nee* Churchman. The Gregory family arrived at Fremantle on 6 October 1829. In 1833 Joshua Gregory took a permanent allotment of 810 hectares, Rainworth, on the Middle Swan, where the family led a tough pioneering life. In England Augustus had been privately tutored, but in Australia his mother, who had a keen intellect and was ambitious for her sons, taught him. He was a diligent pupil with an aptitude for mathematics and natural sciences. From necessity, on the farm, he soon mastered the skills of a carpenter, blacksmith and builder. By virtue of an extra job with a chemist, he acquired knowledge and a continuing interest in pharmacy. Both innovative and inventive, Gregory was adept with his hands, a good shot and an excellent horseman. Of medium height and sturdy build, he had dark hair, a neatly trimmed beard, alert blue eyes and a friendly smile. He was personally well organised and capable of prolonged physical endurance. He learned, from youthful contact with Darling Range Aborigines, something of their customs, dialects and bush survival skills. In maturity, he was self-reliant, conscientious, ambitious, yet of modest demeanour, and had early conformed to Anglican tenets.

When his father died in 1838 Gregory was already working as a contract surveyor in partnership with his older brother, Joshua William. He was appointed assistant surveyor in the Western Australian Survey Department in 1842. His brother Frank (Francis Thomas) was his chainman. The pair worked long hours and hard. Gregory's field books record surveys of the Perth lakes, Peel and Murray estuaries, Bunbury, Kojonup and Geraldton, and tracings of the Blackwood and Gordon rivers. His first exploration was in response to a pressing need to extend Western Australian pasture runs. Aged 25, together with his brothers Frank and Henry, Gregory left Perth in September 1846 on a seven-week expedition. They rode northeast from Perth to the upper reaches of the Irwin River that they followed west to the coast. They found good pasture land and Henry discovered coal in the riverbed. Commended for his 'zeal, energy and enterprising spirit', Gregory was invited by local pastoralists and graziers in 1848 to lead an expedition to the Murchison and Gascoyne rivers. The Settlers Expedition comprised nine men, including Charles Gregory, and the journey of 2 400 kilometres took 10 weeks. The explorers reached the Murchison but were rebuffed by drought in their attempt for the Gascoyne. They were compensated by finding lead and copper traces at the mouth of the Murchison, which soon led to the formation of the Geraldine Mine. Next December, while on a tour of inspection and escorted by Gregory, Aborigines speared Governor Fitzgerald in the vicinity of the mine. Gregory removed the barb from the Governor's leg. Subsequently Gregory returned to survey the Champion Bay district before settlement and, in 1850, he took the first settlers to the area and opened a stock route. He then returned to survey duties in the south; he had been named superintendent of roads in 1849.

In December 1854 Gregory accepted a prestigious invitation from the British government to lead a scientific exploration (the North Australian Expedition 1855–56). The expedition had been arranged in London after prolonged negotiations between the Royal Geographical Society's Council and the Colonial Office and in consultation with veteran explorers Eyre, [Stokes](#) and Sturt, and scientists Murchison, Hooker and de la Beche. Gregory was briefed to explore the north and northwest of Australia with particular regard to pasture land. He was to examine navigable rivers, possible town sites, the potential for agricultural settlement, and to gain knowledge about the interior of the continent and Aboriginal customs and habits. The expeditionary party consisted of eighteen men, including five scientists. They were H C Gregory, assistant commander; J S Wilson, geologist; [T Baines](#), artist and storekeeper; [J R Elsey](#), surgeon and naturalist; F von Mueller, botanist; J Flood, collector and preserver; G Phibbs, overseer; J Melville, farrier; W Dawson, harness maker; H Richards, carpenter, C Humphries, R Bowman, C Dean, F Shewell, W Selby and S MacDonald, stockmen.

After eight months' procrastination (not of Gregory's making), the expedition left Brisbane on 12 August 1855. The explorers travelled up the Queensland coast in the support schooner *Tom Tough* and the supply barque *Monarch*. They carried 250 horses. The *Monarch* struck a reef off Quail Island, causing much distress to the stock and ten days delay for the explorers. Gregory swam the horses ashore on 18 September at Treachery Bay and transhipped sheep and stores to the *Tom Tough*. He suffered stock losses in the process. *Monarch* sailed on the 24th for Singapore and *Tom Tough* passed through Queen's Channel into the Victoria River. Gregory, accompanied by Henry Gregory, Mueller and six men, took the horses overland across the Macadam Range. *En route* they survived a nocturnal attack by crocodiles from the Fitzmaurice River, a potentially dangerous grass fire in the Vambarrah Range and a challenging descent down a steep sandstone cliff face to the Victoria River, 15 kilometres from Kangaroo Point. Gregory failed to find an expected message at the point. Three days later, much fatigued, out of provisions and low in ammunition, the explorers were relieved to sight Elsey's welcoming camp. 'They all ate heartily, too much, and were consequently sick', but recovered when Gregory produced some brandy.

Because of adverse tides Gregory, travelling in a longboat, did not reach the depot camp until 22 October. Earlier *Tom Tough* had foundered at Mosquito Flats. However, he thought the campsite 'most advantageous'. It was located on a ridge beside deep water; protected by the Steep Head promontory from the Whirlwind Plains beyond and sheltered by river gums, box trees and acacia. Gregory dispatched working parties to assemble timber and other material to construct the base camp. Later the cluster of buildings with its garden, sheep pens and surrounding moat-like ditch, was said to look like 'an English farm yard'. Two great boab trees named *Andansonia gregorii* by Mueller, to honour his leader, stood in the centre of the site.

Having made several preliminary reconnaissances, Gregory, with a party of nine men, 36 horses and provisions for five months, was ready to leave on 1 January 1856 for the western arm of his exploration. Concentrated food and ammunition were stowed in the packsaddles that he had designed. At the point of departure, a farewell cannonade from the schooner startled the horses, which stampeded leaving a trail of equipment in their wake. The reassembled party left on 4 January for Beagle Valley. A mare foaled east of Jasper Range where Gregory marked a gum tree 'NAE 11 Jan 1856'. He rode over grass plains to the Wickham River. At Depot Creek (16° 47' 58"), he split the party and left Baines in charge. With Henry Gregory, Mueller, Dean and 11 horses carrying basic rations, he struck west.

Soon the rains ceased and creeks dried out. Distant Aborigines watched the explorers, but they were not threatened. By February, vegetation and wildlife was sparse and water in the occasional holes was as 'thick as cream'. Gregory entered Western Australia (129th parallel) on 20 February and travelled 480 kilometres in the vain hope of finding inland water. In mid March, he made a quick retreat from the Great Australian Desert to reach Depot Creek on 7 April. He named many land features including Sturt Creek, Jasper Range, Baines River, Roe Downs, Hooker Creek, Mounts Wittenoom, Mueller and Wilson, Denison Plains and the Great Australian Desert. Subsequently his furthestmost point was to be known as the Gregory Salt Sea. He discovered vast pastures, entered strange caves and saw wondrous paintings and he helped Mueller gather rare botanical specimens, for example, the seed of the water lily *Nymphaea gigantea*. At Depot Creek he drew up maps and made another

excursion to Roe Downs before arriving back at the Victoria River depot on 10 May. He had travelled 2 400 kilometres.

Gregory began immediately to plan his second major exploration. In the meantime he was obliged to settle domestic friction by suspending the geologist, Wilson, and disciplining the collector, Flood. With instructions to rendezvous with the land party at the Albert River, *Tom Tough* was dispatched to Kupang for victuals. Accompanied by Henry Gregory, Elsey, Mueller and three men, Gregory finally left the Victoria River on 20 June 1856. They crossed the Daly and Roper rivers, and Gregory named Elsey Creek for the surgeon. He did not await *Tom Tough* at the Albert River; instead he left memoranda buried in a powder canister beneath a tree marked on 30 August. On 4 September in his journal Gregory described a meeting with Aborigines on the Plains of Promise near the river that he named after Ludwig Leichhardt. Parrot, kangaroo and dried horsemeat supplemented the explorers' rations. They travelled south at about 22 kilometres a day, crossing the Flinders, Burdekin and Sutton rivers and Peak Range on the way. Gregory's party reached Brisbane on 16 December 1856.

Governor-General Sir William Denison attributed the success of the Northern Australian Expedition to Gregory's prudence and courage. Characteristically modest, Gregory under-rated his own achievements. He declared the expedition to have been of moderate danger and convenience and its discoveries of a rather negative order. In fact, he had fulfilled the terms of his brief; his decisions avoided potential disaster for his companions; he left a standing camp on the Victoria River and explored routes west and east of that point. The value of the scientific yield from the North Australian Expedition is difficult to determine. A mass of data, helpful to cartographers, geographers, botanists, geologists, meteorologists, artists and ornithologists was sent to England. The beneficiaries included the Royal Geographical Society, the herbarium at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, and the Murchison Institute. Pastoral settlement eventually followed. In recent years, some of the expedition's pictorial records have been acquired by Australian national collections. The Royal Geographical Society awarded Gregory the Founder's Gold Medal. Jointly with F T Gregory, he published his journals in 1884.

His last major expedition was a search for **Leichhardt** commissioned in 1858 by the New South Wales government. He became foundation Surveyor-General of Queensland in 1859 and assumed responsibility for the complex administration of the combined departments of Public Land and Surveys. His task was formidable and his career both notable and controversial. Politically conservative, he was appointed to the Queensland Legislative Council in 1882 and aligned himself with reactionary squattocracy. First admitted to the Samaritan Lodge in 1855, he was much respected as grand master of the English Chapter of the Queensland Freemasons, 1862–1905. He was created Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George (KCMG) in 1903. He never married. Gregory died at his residence Rainworth, at Toowong, on 25 June 1905, exactly 41 years since the day he followed the shallow creek from the Victoria River that now bears his name. He was widely mourned as one of the last representatives of Australian pioneers and one who ranked amongst the 'Nestor Trio' of her explorers.

He was buried in the Toowong cemetery. Ugo Catini painted his full-length portrait and there is a bust by Oscar Fristram. Gregory Court in Brisbane is named in his honour, as is Gregory Street, Darwin and a national park in the Victoria River District.

W Birman, *Gregory of Rainworth*, 1979.

WENDY BIRMAN, Vol 1.

GRIBBLE, CECIL FRANK (1903–1995), Methodist Minister, educator and administrator, was born at Ballarat, Victoria, on 12 June 1903, the seventh son of William James Gribble and his wife, Alice Eliza Stoney, a teacher. His grandfather, John Gribble, had come to the goldfields from Cornwall, returning there to marry before settling and raising a large family in Ballarat and Stawell. W J Gribble had established a successful tailoring and mercery business and the family of eight boys grew up in a comfortable home in Mair Street, Ballarat.

Gribble was educated at the Pleasant Street State School, Ballarat High School and Ballarat College (Presbyterian), before serving a five-year apprenticeship to a pharmaceutical chemist. Four of his brothers went to the First World War and one was killed in France; in 1923 their father died, aged 57, and six months later their mother succumbed to pneumonia. Gribble completed his apprenticeship but was then accepted as a candidate for the Methodist ministry from the Lydiard Street church and in 1924 went to Queen's College, University of Melbourne, graduating Master of Arts with Honours in History and Political Science.

Gribble's baritone singing voice had won him prizes at the Ballarat eisteddfod and at the end of 1929 he was sent to the Northern Territory as a singing evangelist, with Jack Williams, a contemporary at Queen's College. They set off in a new 'A' model Ford utility from Adelaide to Oodnadatta and Alice Springs, equipped with a portable organ and banjo, and travelled to cattle stations in the Centre until their vehicle was burnt out north of Barrow Creek. After returning to Alice Springs to re-equip they drove north again to Katherine to stay with Athol McGregor of the Methodist Inland Mission and thence to Darwin. Returning south by way of Mount Isa, Cloncurry and Charters Towers, Gribble prepared for and took the church's probationary examination en route, before travelling by sea from Cairns to Sydney.

He joined the Home Mission Department of the Methodist church and served in Cobram and Shepparton, and then in Hobart and Launceston. On 3 April 1933 he married Isabel, daughter of the Reverend H A Overend, 'a saintly member of the Victorian Conference'. In 1936 he was appointed clerical secretary for the Home and Overseas Missions in Tasmania.

In 1939 Gribble returned to Melbourne University to study for a Diploma in Education before taking up an appointment in September with the Overseas Mission Service as Principal of Tupou College, the Wesleyan

secondary school in Tonga. His success in this post led directly to his secondment as Director of Education for Tonga (1943–1946). He established the first teacher training college in Tonga (1944).

After the war Gribble was appointed Assistant General Secretary of the Mission Board and Principal of George Brown College in Sydney (later All Saints College of the Uniting Church) to direct the training of mission workers for service in Australia and overseas, with Mrs Gribble serving as matron. He was also appointed Editor of the *Missionary Review* and served for 27 years. Gribble became General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Missions in 1949, a post he held for 23 years.

Gribble's appointment coincided with post-war Commonwealth Government initiatives to provide more generous funding to the missions in the Territory, primarily to improve educational and health services, a development signalled by the convening of a conference with the missions in August 1948 in Darwin. As General Secretary Gribble made regular visits to the Methodist missions in Arnhem Land and attended the annual Missions-Administration conferences in Darwin at which policies in Aboriginal affairs, and in particular on the funding of mission work, were discussed. His training and his experience as an educator in Tonga equipped him well to manage the mission organisation in the years of rapid expansion of staff and services in the Arnhem Land communities. When Gribble started work the Board received an annual grant of just 750 Pounds to support the work at Goulburn Island, Milingimbi, Elcho Island and Yirrkala: when he retired in 1972 the Government was providing \$3 million each year.

New arrangements were made for the recruitment and training of field staff, with an Appointments and Training Committee which carefully selected applicants for mission work. Six months' training at the college at Haberfield, Sydney, included courses provided at the University of Sydney in linguistics and anthropology and in tropical medicine. Gribble was quick to encourage interested field staff, notably **Beulah Lowe** at Milingimbi and Heather Hinch at Goulburn Island, to make a systematic study of the local languages and to teach in the vernacular in the early years of schooling, as well as teaching English. He also supported local initiatives to encourage the development of outstations or 'homeland centres' in eastern Arnhem Land, served from 1951 by the Reverend **Harold Shepherdson**.

Gribble was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1958 in recognition of his work for the church and the missions. In the 1960s he took on additional responsibilities; he served as chairman of the Division of Missions of the Australian Council of Churches (1965–1968); as chairman of the Board of the United Church of North Australia and the Territories (1963–1966), and as Secretary General (1965–1969) and President General of the Methodist Conference of Australasia (1966–69), all tasks that entailed more travel overseas and in Australia.

In the 1960s Gribble had to weather the public controversy and political strife that followed Commonwealth Government decisions to permit the mining of the Gove bauxite deposits near Yirrkala and to excise a substantial area from the Arnhem Land reserve for that purpose. These decisions led to a parliamentary inquiry and eventually to the hearing of the Gove land rights claim in the Northern Territory Supreme Court. Later he took part in the negotiations that led to the successful joint establishment of Nungalinga College, Darwin, by the Uniting Church and the Church Missionary Society (1970).

When Gribble retired at 70 he could look back with some satisfaction on the progress made in the Arnhem Land communities in preparing the people there to 'make their own moral and spiritual judgments' about the problems they face, though not without misgivings about the effects of contact and acculturation. He regarded the establishment of the United Church of North Australia and the Territories many years before the Uniting Church in Australia was formed, as 'perhaps the most successful ecumenical experiment in the history of the church in Australia'.

The death of their five-year-old son, Robert, in Tonga in May 1941 had deepened the attachment the Gribbles felt for Tonga and its people. In 1964 they took long service leave there and Gribble was invited to assist at the coronation in July 1967 of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, who had earlier been Minister for Education. After Isabel Gribble died suddenly on 23 July 1985, Tongan friends gave generously so that her ashes could be buried there next to her son. Her husband, a son Geoffrey and daughter Katherine, survived her. Gribble was again invited to Tonga for the 1992 silver jubilee of the King's coronation and in 1994 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the teacher training college. He died suddenly on 29 September 1995 in Taiwan, while visiting his son, who took his ashes back to Tonga.

National Library of Australia, Oral History TRC2731; 'Profile of the President-General', *Missionary Review* 74, 12, June 1966; *Who's Who in Australia* 1965, 1980.

JEREMY LONG, Vol 3.

GRIBBON, EILEEN MARJORY: see **FITZER, EILEEN MARJORY**

GRIFFITH, STUART DE BURGH (STURT) (1905–1976), Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) officer, patent attorney and motoring writer, was born on 15 August 1905 at Manly, New South Wales, the son of Irish-born Arthur Hall Griffith, teacher, politician and patent attorney. His interest in services life began when he joined the Senior Cadets (Army) in 1920, progressing to the rank of Corporal with the Citizen Military Forces (CMF), 1923–25. He gained his Bachelor of Engineering (Mechanical and Electrical) at the University of Sydney and joined the RAAF as an air cadet on 14 December 1925. Griffith gained a 'distinguished pass' in his flying training at Point Cook and from 1926 to 1933 was active in No 3 Squadron, Citizen Air Force. He went to the reserve list

in 1934 but, with the outbreak of the Second World War, returned to the active list for the duration of war. From November 1940 to 23 September 1941 he commanded No 22 Squadron, then the RAAF station, Canberra, with the rank of Squadron Leader. On 1 October 1941 he was promoted to Wing Commander and four months later, on 30 January 1942, received command of station headquarters at the Darwin RAAF base. Nineteen days later came the first, devastating, Japanese air raids on Darwin. The second raid hit the RAAF base. Six men died, nine aircraft were lost on the ground and five P40 fighters as they tried to take off, the station's two hangars and main store were burnt out and other buildings severely damaged. The raid was over in twenty minutes. Griffith then gave the order for base staff to assemble 'half a mile down the Batchelor road and half a mile into the bush' to be fed. In the words of investigator Mr Justice Lowe: 'What happened as a result was that the order was completely distorted and by repetition ultimately reached the men in various forms. Some men stated that they were ordered to go 3 miles, others 7 miles and others 11 miles. Many of the men simply took to the bush'.

Four days later 278 men were still missing. Griffith has received a considerable share of the blame for this debacle—unfairly, since, with the imminent prospect of more air raids, the order he gave was sensible. The result stemmed from the RAAF staff's poor state of training—and this was due mainly to rapid wartime expansion. With less than three weeks in the command, Griffith could do little to remedy the situation; and he was badly hampered by the labyrinthine RAAF command structure. At the top was the Darwin Defence Committee (DDC). Then came Northwest Area Command, Area Combined Headquarters, a partly dormant Combined Defence Headquarters—and, lastly, Griffith's RAAF station command. All except the DDC were located on the RAAF base, a situation that caused Griffith to complain bitterly that he had no authority in his own command. A second charge against Griffith has more point. Some fifteen to twenty minutes before the first raid, he received a coast watcher's warning of an 'unusually large' air fleet approaching Darwin—and took no action. Neither did anyone else; but Griffith took much of the apparent official displeasure, being sent first to command the dispersal area at Daly Waters and then in April 1942 to preside over the training base at Bairnsdale, Victoria. He never held another active service command, serving in staff and depot posts in southern Australia for the duration of the war; but he was awarded the Air Force Cross (AFC) in 1942 and was promoted to Group Captain in December 1943. On 2 October 1945 he transferred to the reserve, a posting terminated in November 1948 for health reasons. In retirement he practised as a patent and trademark attorney and in 1951 became motoring correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a post he held until his death from cancer on 13 December 1976. His wife Wynnfired Morris, whom he married in 1937, survived Griffith.

Griffith published a book, *Philosophy of a Fine Car*, on the history of Daimler Benz, in 1974.

D Gillison, *Royal Australian Air Force 1939–42*, 1962; D Lockwood, *Australia's Pearl Harbour*, 1966, A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; Lowe Commission, Report and Minutes of Evidence, 1942; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 December 1976; ADB records, Canberra; Air Office, Officers' Records, Canberra; AWM card index, personnel of 1939–45 war.

J HAYDON, Vol 1.

GRIFFITHS, HENRY (HARRY or GRIFF) (1895–1980), labourer, surgical orderly and Methodist missionary and Minister, was born in Pelaw, County Durham, United Kingdom, on 24 May 1895, the eldest son of a miner's family. As a child he knew love and kindness although money and material comforts were always scarce. His greatest influence was his parents whose Christian faith was expressed with sincerity, warmth and a concern for others. When he was 14, his father, Thomas Griffiths was injured at work and left permanently crippled. Harry left school and began working to support the family. His little leisure time was spent in the then new Scouting movement where he learnt elementary lessons of observation, first aid, improvisation and scout craft—all of which were to be invaluable to him later in life.

At age 19, he enlisted in the Royal Army Medical Corps and served as a surgical orderly in France during the First World War. It was in the mud of Flanders that Harry Griffiths was introduced to Australians and Australian humour. The experience he gained there also proved invaluable for his future work in Central Australia.

He was invalided home in August 1918 and on 30 July 1921 he married Dorothy Knight in the Anglican Church at Hewarth. Dorothy was born at Bellshill, Scotland on 28 April 1897.

On doctor's advice Harry decided to migrate to Australia, arriving in Melbourne in March 1925. He found work on a dairy farm at Glen Forbes in Gippsland. He was described as 'short of stature, spare of figure, probably not more than nine stone (60 kilograms); he had the energy and determination of a man of more than double his size'.

The Methodist Home Mission Office in Melbourne heard that he was a popular lay preacher and offered him an appointment as a Home Missionary. Dorothy was able to join him in Australia and they set up home at Strathbogie. After a probationer appointment to Mooralla in 1930, Harry Griffiths began work with the Methodist inland Mission at Katherine in 1931. Throughout the Inland he was known simply as 'Griff'. It was an honourable name that echoed the warm-hearted affection that people felt towards him. From their base at Katherine, Griff and Dorothy visited and ministered to people living in an area that covered more than a million square kilometres (400 000 square miles). It took four years for every settlement within that area to be visited but the Griffiths loved the people of the bush and identified with their life. While patrol padres of other denominations spent the winter months in the inland and the summer months 'down south' the Griffiths remained in the Territory the whole year.

When Griff began patrol work there was one garage in Alice Springs and another in Darwin, a thousand miles (1 600 kilometres) away. Fellow Protestant ministers and doctors were equally scarce. There were no telephones, and no wireless. If he broke down on patrol the nearest help might be 200 miles (320 kilometres) away. It was

a case of 'fix it or you're fixed', POP—Persevere or Perish. Griff's amazing versatility and his ability to come forward with a solution to almost every problem were invaluable characteristics.

He was a splendid bushman, combining observation and commonsense. While walking through scrub he would periodically break a twig on a bush or leave some other mark to show his course. A clump of trees would indicate a watercourse and the greener tree would assure Harry of the presence of water. These bushcraft skills enabled Griff to come to the rescue on many occasions of people who had found themselves in difficulties in the harsh and unforgiving country.

While working and ministering Griff was also studying theology and associated subjects to enable him to complete the requirements for ordination. He was ordained as a Methodist minister in Adelaide in 1932. He continued with his patrol work but with Alice Springs as his home base. From there Griff's patrol extended 1 000 miles (1 600 kilometres) north to Darwin, 400 miles (640 kilometres) south to Oodnadatta, 450 miles (720 kilometres) east to the Queensland border and an equal distance west to the Western Australian border.

Griff was able to turn his hand to almost anything and his skills as a mechanic, dentist, medico, horseman, carpenter and coroner's assistant were valued by the people he served. When Dorothy and Griff arrived in Alice Springs the only Protestant church building in the Northern Territory was in Darwin. Griff set about changing that, enclosing a verandah around the single room and dividing it up into bedroom, study, kitchen, and later a bathroom. He procured a small pump engine and was able to use it to provide water for showers. This same pump was also used to generate electricity for the manse.

However not all the time was spent coping with practical challenges. Griff was first and foremost a Christian minister and meeting people's spiritual needs was important to him. He was asked to conduct baptisms, funerals and weddings in some strange places and unexpected ways. Griff also knew the value of conversations around a campfire at night or while travelling long distances in a vehicle when great truths and deep feelings would be expressed.

The role played by Dorothy in Griff's work in the Territory must not be overlooked. She accompanied him on many of his patrols coping with all conditions. Although having no children of her own, Dorothy felt a particular concern for the children of the outback. She always had books and stories for them and took a special interest in their education. The service given to women and children by Dorothy Griffiths was an epic of courage as she battled alongside them with heat, flies, mosquitoes, malaria, dysentery—and all without complaint.

Affectionate concern for Aborigines was characteristic of Griff's ministry. Through friendships with them he gained an insight into Aboriginal lore and he used his medical knowledge to treat their wounds and illnesses. He once spent six weeks confined in a barbed wire compound at Alice Springs treating Aborigines who had contracted gonorrhoea in the eye, a distressing disease and a heritage from the Europeans.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Harry Griffiths re-enlisted and served as chaplain with the Australian Imperial Force in the Middle East.

In 1941 the Federal Methodist Inland Mission recognised the need for suitable accommodation for single young men and women employed in Alice Springs. A residential hostel was built and named Griffiths House as a tribute to the outstanding work of Harry and Dorothy Griffiths 'for their efforts to establish our church in Central Australia. Their long ministry deserves a worthy memorial'.

The outbreak of the Second World War changed The Alice dramatically. It became an important staging post for convoys of men and vehicles moving between Adelaide and Darwin. In June 1941 Griffiths House opened as a soldiers' and servicemen's club. After the bombing of Darwin by the Japanese the Northern Territory Administration was evacuated to Alice Springs and took the top floor for offices. The lower floor provided accommodation for visiting wives and girlfriends. Griffiths House continued to be a popular venue for social and recreational activities.

In 1945 Griffiths House became a hostel for outback children who came to Alice Springs for education. In time this service was amalgamated into the present day St Phillip's College.

After his war service Harry served as parish minister at Newport in Victoria. In 1946 he was appointed Director of the Federal Methodist Inland Mission and returned to live in Alice Springs. Previous directors had lived in the south but Harry insisted that as Director he needed to reside in the Territory. He undertook this task with characteristic enthusiasm and dedication and served until 1951. He and Dorothy were tireless travellers, visiting padres and other workers who were serving the Church in the Inland.

This superb bushman was never at home in a committee or board meeting and did not take easily to the techniques and presentation of routine business. He was quoted as saying 'I'd sooner cross Simpson's Desert without a waterbag'.

In 1951 the General Conference of the Methodist Church reverted to its original system of an Honorary Director, and Harry and Dorothy Griffiths concluded their monumental work for inland Australia. They spent the next 10 years ministering at Murray Bridge and Prospect in South Australia before retiring in 1963.

A lifelong interest for Harry was Freemasonry and he was initiated into its mysteries and obligations while living in Victoria in 1929. He held many positions in lodges in Victoria, Northern Territory and South Australia, serving always with enthusiasm and energy.

Often Harry's inspiration for preaching and the poetry he wrote was his love of the Australian outback and its people. He could tell wonderful stories with humour drawing on the experiences and the people he had known and loved in the Territory.

Dorothy Griffiths died on 25 May 1980. Harry survived her for seven years and died on 10 February 1987. They were both cremated at Centennial Park in Adelaide. Their ashes were interred under a step on the western

side of the 20-foot (6.5 m) high obelisk on Anzac Hill, Alice Springs—a monument that Harry had designed and dedicated as a memorial to the men who had enlisted in the First World War.

Griffiths' publications include, *Reflections from an Inland Diary* (c.1964); *Centralia's Gateways*, and *An Australian Adventure*, 1975. All are out of print.

H Griffiths, *An Australian Adventure*, 1975; Rev F Mackay, tribute at funeral, 12 February 1987; *Methodist Inland Link*, September 1941, June 1945, December 1947, May 1969, November 1975; E R Sexton, *Griff*, 1969; Personal records and Minutes of the Methodist Conference (South Australia) held by the Uniting Church, Melbourne.

JUDITH AMEY, Vol 3.

GRIFFITHS, WALTER (GRIF) (1867–1900), miner, businessman and Member of Parliament, was born at North Terrace, Kent Town, Adelaide on 4 July 1867, son of Frederick Kempster Griffiths, an ironmonger and his wife Helen, *nee* Giles. He was a grandson of Charles Giles who was a brother of **Ernest Giles** the well-known explorer. He was educated at St Aloysius College, Sevenhills, and at St Peter's College, Adelaide.

When he was 16 years of age he went to the Northern Territory to join his uncle, Walter Kempster Griffiths, in mining and storekeeping ventures on the goldfields. Griffiths senior had been the purser for the Palmerston Gold Mining Company when the Cosmo deposit near Pine Creek was first pegged out. During the gold rush to the Kimberley the young Griffiths spent some time in that area, being among the first on the field. Subsequently he became a partner with the entrepreneurial **V L Solomon** in mining and importing ventures and they were associated in the 1880s with the running of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* after the death of **Joseph Skelton** in 1884.

Griffiths travelled widely in the Territory and 'took a keen and practical interest in the development of the mining industry', working leases in almost every district. He also had interests in New South Wales (without doubt at Broken Hill) and Western Australia and visited Japan and China. Twice he crossed the continent, on the last occasion as a press report noted, 'for the purpose of making the acquaintance of the electors and personally studying the requirements of the country'.

In May 1893 at the age of 26 (for several years he was the youngest in the House) he was elected, the junior of two members, to represent the Territory in the South Australian parliament. The other member was his erstwhile partner, V L Solomon, the Leader of the Opposition. Griffiths made his mark quickly and was Opposition Whip for several sessions. In November 1893 he had tried to introduce a bill for the establishment of a Land Titles Office in Darwin but was told by the government that it was 'undesirable', an administrative nightmare so far as Territorians were concerned not rectified until after the Second World War. During 1894 he fought unsuccessfully against the bill designed to give South Australian women the vote. In the same year he raised in parliament the need for a medical practitioner to serve rural residents in the Territory.

Griffiths was one of the principal movers of the separation movement when Federation was being planned and he represented the Separation League in London early in 1900. Only when it became apparent that Western Australia would become one of the original states did he 'relinquish his efforts'. During that time in London he corresponded with the War Office regarding the advisability of fortifying Port Darwin and raised the prospects of the Territory for horse breeding purposes.

Walter Griffiths died on 4 September 1900 at the age of 33, having been stricken by typhoid fever. He was serving for a third term and had been returned at the previous election with a 'handsome majority' though he was censured by the local press for failing to go 'up country as promised' when he visited the Territory.

When the news reached Parliament, which was then sitting, it adjourned as a mark of respect. Solomon, then a close and valued friend who noted the loss of a 'brilliant and promising member of the House, and one who could ill be spared', led the tributes. As another parliamentarian put it, Walter Griffiths was 'the most popular member of either branch of the Legislature... always so courteous and a real good fellow at heart—ever ready to put his hand in his pocket to help a good cause, and always in any fun that was going on'. The chairman of the Country Party quaintly commented, 'It is very hard to realize that we have been robbed of so promising a member. The Great Archer must indeed have been shooting at random when his shafts struck out death friend'.

Members of the Palmerston (Darwin) District Council, on behalf of the townspeople sent their 'deepest sympathy' to his relatives 'to assure them that his memory will be ever green in the minds of all old Territorians'. The local press in an editorial described him as a 'strikingly useful legislator' and continued 'this settlement has lost the services of a clever, shrewd and painstaking representative—whatever may have been his faults or weaknesses—always fairly and squarely did his best to carry out the duties he had undertaken to perform in his capacity as one of the members for the Northern Territory'. All the local flags were flown at half-mast.

Griffiths never married. He was a Freemason and a member of the Lodge of Friendship in Adelaide and is buried in the North Road cemetery in Adelaide.

Adelaide Observer, 8 September 1900; *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament 1857–1957*; B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; HC May diary, 1872–1873; *Northern Territory Times*, 17 April 1896, 7 September 1900; South Australian Parliamentary Debates, 5 September 1900.

HELEN J WILSON and BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

GRIMSTER, WILLIAM FREDERICK (BILL) (1913–), clerk, bush worker, Air Force serviceman, forester and Aboriginal settlement superintendent, and **GRIMSTER, INA VERA, nee McCOY** (1917–), community worker. Bill was born in Bristol, England, on 16 July 1913. His parents were William James Grimster, a hotelkeeper, and Gwendoline Kate Brigly. Bill showed early promise as a student, but his schooling came to an end following

the deaths of his father and mother. At the age of 14 he and his sister and stepbrothers were put in an orphanage until they could be placed with relatives. Bill went to live with an aunt and uncle in York.

Bill obtained a position as a junior clerk. On his way to work one day he saw an immigration poster advertising 'Sunny Queensland'. This stirred his imagination and he persuaded his relatives to let him emigrate. He left England with two Shillings and six Pence in his pocket, and had his 15th birthday aboard *Demosthenes* en route to Australia. Bill worked for a number of years on cattle stations in western Queensland, and then went fencing. It was through this work that he met his future wife Ina.

Ina Vera McCoy was born at Cobar, New South Wales, on 3 August 1917. Her parents were Adam McCoy and Ina Vida Gibson. Ina's father was a fencing contractor.

Bill and Ina had a family of four children by the time he enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force in 1942. He first came to the Northern Territory in 1945 with 201 Flight when he was involved with the servicing of Liberator bombers. Following his discharge from the Air Force after the Second World War, Bill worked in forestry camps in Queensland.

Early in 1948 Bill was appointed to the Department of Native Affairs in the Northern Territory as a Superintendent. His first posting was to the Catfish Settlement (Hooker Creek), on the edge of the Tanami Desert.

When the family flew from Brisbane to Darwin on a DC3 aircraft a few months later to join Bill, the journey took all day. They lived for a while in a Sidney Williams hut at Winnellie while they waited for the Wet Season to end.

When the roads were dry enough to travel Bill set out with his young son, also called Bill, and some Aborigines from the area. After reaching Katherine they followed the 'Dry River' track through Montejinnie Station, on to Wave Hill Station and finally reached the isolated outpost of Catfish late at night. The place looked desolate. The only building was a Sidney Williams hut with a dirt floor, which had been used as a store. It had been ransacked.

With the help of the Aborigines Bill set about cleaning up the camp area and providing accommodation for his family. The bore was not working, so 200 litre (44 gallon) drums had to be rolled into the 'Catfish Waterhole' and rolled out again. In order to make the water drinkable, a number of things were tried. These included the use of ashes and finally cement powder. While the latter cleared the water, it did not improve the taste. Fortunately the bore was made operational before too much damage was done to the community's digestive systems.

Tall and of lean build, Bill possessed great physical strength developed during his years as a fencing contractor, when no mechanical aids were available. He was also a skilled carpenter with a bushman's flair for improvisation.

Bill put all of these skills to good use, and many buildings were constructed while he was at Catfish. Work was commenced on the airstrip (which is still in use to this day). He was surprised at the size of some of the stumps which had to be removed, an indication that very large trees had once grown there.

The first Wet Season brought home the real feeling of isolation. After a week of rain the family woke one morning to find itself with floodwater on three sides and with snakes, lizards and other wild life all trying to reach the higher ground. This seemed incredible in what was usually such a dry place.

Towards the end of 1950, Bill was transferred to Beswick Station, just out of Katherine. A settlement had been attempted at nearby Tadangal, and another on the western bank of the Waterhouse River adjoining Beswick Station. During the 1950-1951 Wet Season the area became waterlogged, and an influenza epidemic broke out. The site was condemned as unhealthy, and a new site was chosen on Beswick Creek, about 13 kilometres from Maranboy Police Station. This is now the Barunga Community.

Lack of funds and suitable equipment was always a problem, but despite all of this, building continued. Sometimes structures had to be dismantled at one site before being erected at another. A garden provided produce to vary the diet, and a goatherd supplied milk.

During one particularly trying Wet Season, roads were impassable, and supplies had to be transported by pack mules. One of the mules bolted, and went crashing through the trees. The contents of the packsaddles were damaged. As a result of this, for weeks after, all the bread tasted of naphthalene as the flour had been contaminated.

Ina taught the Aboriginal women to sew and cook and also basic child care. At all of the settlements she was involved with the day-to-day medical care. She supervised the cooking of meals for the elderly, nursing mothers and children. She also had to attend to the needs of her own six children.

The Grimsters moved to Snake Bay settlement on Melville Island at the beginning of 1954. Here the story was much the same, old equipment needing maintenance and little money available for building. A sawmill, which had fallen into disrepair, was made functional again. The problem of getting the timber to the mill was solved by having the Aboriginal men cut down the cypress pine trees then float them down the arms of the rivers. Some of the timber was used at the settlement and the rest was sent by barge to Darwin.

The water supply for the settlement came from a spring on the beach. This had a rock wall built around it. On high tides the seawater would flow in and the water would be brackish for days. Bill increased the size of the rock wall and this ensured the water was always fresh. He also erected a 113 750 litre (25 000 gallon) tank, which provided improved water storage.

Bill gave on the job training to the Aboriginal men to equip them with the necessary building and maintenance skills. His role at the settlements was to try to make them as self sufficient as possible, and they were all well on the way to achieving this when he left. He was a tireless worker, used to working seven days a week.

The educational needs and employment prospects of his growing family necessitated Bill's transfer to Brisbane in 1955. Bill and Ina also lived there in retirement. They had two sons and six daughters.

The elder son and his family returned to Darwin in 1968, so the descendants of the couple continued to make a contribution to Northern Territory life.

Records from Australian Archives, Northern Territory; family information.

LORETTA GRIMSTER, Vol 2.

GSELL, FRANCIS XAVIER (1872–1960), priest, was born at Strasburg in Alsace–Lorraine in 1872, shortly after Alsace had become German territory as a result of the Franco–Prussian War. He was baptised into the Catholic faith on 30 October of that year in the village of Benfeld, Bas Rhin. When the boy was nine his family moved to the neighbouring town of Sainte-Croix-aux-Mines, which he came to regard as home. Although the family assumed the outward trappings of German culture and adopted the Alsatian dialect, his mother strove to preserve the French way of life in the home. Her influence on Francis Xavier was strong and he mentions her with affection in his memoirs. It was she who first nourished him in his faith. Like other boys in his village, he left school at an early age to work as an apprentice at a cotton-spinning factory.

When Gsell was 15 years old he met a visiting missionary priest of the Society of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC). The priest was captivated by Francis Xavier's engaging personality, his deep faith and the strength of his dream to become a missionary. It was duly arranged for the lad to travel to Issoudum, where at the age of seventeen he entered Le Petit O'Euivre, the novitiate attached to the headquarters of the MSCs. Years later **Father Frank Flynn**, writing about Bishop Gsell as the founding father of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory, was able to point to similarities between the two men—tenacious perseverance, innate practicality and an unwavering faith. In 1892, 'in the full flush of his twentieth year', Francis Xavier Gsell pronounced his vows, formally entering the MSCs in France. As a gifted student, he was sent to Rome to further his studies in theology and philosophy at Saint Apollinane University. Here he was a fellow student of the brilliant Eugene Pacelli, later to become Pope Pius XII. Four years later, on 22 June 1896, he was ordained a priest in Rome.

At this time the MSC Order was directing its energies toward Oceania, intent on spreading Christianity to the tribes of Papua and the Gilbert Islands. Father Gsell, as a newly trained priest, was assured of a place amongst a strong contingent of missionaries bound for Papua. Arriving in Sydney in October 1897, the young priest experienced the first great disappointment of his long career. He was detained in Sydney to teach theology at his order's newly formed house of theological study at Kensington, New South Wales. He spent three years in Sydney during which time he became fluent in the English language and learned as much as he could about the Australian character and way of life. He reported how 'suddenly and peremptorily' his superiors 'pitchforked' him to the post of assistant to the bursar of missions. His practicality and sense of humour emerged as he mastered the duties of 'the Quarter-Master General' of the Lord's army. He later acknowledged this period as providing invaluable experience for his work at Yule Island in Papua (1900–1906), followed by over forty years in the Northern Territory (1906–1948).

While Father Gsell's missionary career was blossoming in Papua, the Jesuit Fathers, after 20 years in the north, left first Daly River and then Darwin. By 1902 the whole of the Northern Territory, at that time known as the Diocese of Palmerston and Victoria, was without a priest. The problem was so serious that it was raised at the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome in 1904. Strong, stable church administration was needed in Darwin, as was the establishment of a mission to prevent abuse of and care for the Aboriginal tribes of the north. Responsibility was finally handed to Father Treand, superior-general of the MSCs in Australia, who decided to recall Father Gsell, who had already been recommended from Rome. At the Australian synod of Catholic bishops in 1905, he was appointed as Apostolic Administrator of the Northern Territory, a diocese of over a million square kilometres. Father Gsell received news of his new appointment with some trepidation and reluctantly said goodbye to his beloved Papuans. He set forth for Sydney and his fears grew as, upon arrival, he was greeted with nothing but bad news about the climate, the land and the inhabitants, both black and white, of the Northern Territory; but characteristically, he noted in his memoirs: 'I landed at Port Darwin on 15 August, 1906 ... the feast of the Assumption... There were three Catholics to greet me on the wharf.' He added, 'it took some courage to sit down and remain there.'

Two brothers and a priest, Father John O'Connell, later joined him. During 1907–08 they resurrected the little church that had been constructed by the Jesuits. They built a presbytery, a convent and a school and began teaching a small number of pupils. In 1908, five sisters of the Order of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, who took over the school, joined them. This enabled Father Gsell to explore his huge diocese from Alice Springs in the south to Wyndham in the north. It took him five years to firmly establish the parish of Darwin. He then turned his attention to the task dearest to his heart, that of establishing a mission for the Aboriginal people.

Several years of living in the environment of Darwin, coupled with the previous experiences of the Jesuits had convinced Father Gsell of the need to establish his mission away from the centre of the white population. He turned his eyes north to Bathurst and Melville islands which the Tiwi tribes populated. In 1909 Monsignor Gsell, (as he is referred to from this time) opened negotiations with **Joe Cooper**, a buffalo shooter who had resided at Paru on Melville Island from 1900. When it became clear there would be a conflict of interests, Gsell withdrew and decided on a settlement on Bathurst Island. Having made up his mind, he moved quickly to have his work protected and legalised by both Church and State. In September 1910 his administrative skills were rewarded when the then South Australian Minister for the Northern Territory, Mr W J Denny, proclaimed Bathurst Island a native reserve. He granted Gsell 10 000 acres (4 050 hectares) on the southeastern tip of the island. By 1911 Gsell had also gained the approval of Dr Gilruth, first Administrator of the Northern Territory, to pursue his missionary plans. After a preliminary inspection tour in April, Gsell set forth in June 1911 for Bathurst Island. With a voluntary crew of four

Filipinos, the only labour he could muster in Darwin, he landed at Nguiu on Bathurst Island. He had chosen a spot opposite Joe Cooper's camp.

It was a prudent as well as picturesque choice, for Nguiu on 'No Man's Land' was neutral territory and Father Gsell knew enough about Aboriginal law to count this as a bonus. At the time Joe Cooper's Iwaidja buffalo shooters were threatening the Bathurst Islanders. Joe had hired them to shoot buffalo but they were also after local women. Christopher (Foxy) Tipungwuti reported that Father Gsell was initially regarded as a potential protector, which explains why the Tiwi allowed him to land and build a hut, whilst making no immediate contact. The priest made quite an impressive figure with his short yet powerful build, clear grey eyes, broad forehead, heavily moulded features and fine, long beard. The watching tribesmen nicknamed him 'Tirminia' or 'Whiskers', and observed him perform a new kind of corroboree as he celebrated his first mass at his camp on 8 June 1911. Father Gsell later noted that the day coincided with the Feast Day of the Sacred Heart.

Gsell was to remain on Bathurst Island for 27 years and regarded the history of the mission as falling into two distinct categories. The first period (1911–1921) was one of establishment. Toward the end of this period he made a brief return visit to his homeland, France. The second period (1922–1938) was one of growth and consolidation. He was ultimately ordained the Northern Territory's first bishop and returned to the mainland. Father Gsell's memoirs, afterwards published as *The Bishop with 150 Wives*, provide the sole source of historical information for the early years of the mission. He admits to being lonely and rather frightened, before Father Kegis Courbon, another Frenchman, arrived in 1912. Tall and handsome, quick to learn the native tongue and an expert fisherman, Father Courbon was greatly admired and was soon offered a wife. The Tiwi were very puzzled when he refused but thought the problem solved when the Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart arrived about 1913. They were surely the wives of the priests, although it was a mystery why they chose to live apart from them. The sisters were highly regarded by the islanders, who then allowed their own children to attend the mission. Father Gsell described them as 'the pillars of the station'. Father Henschke, the first Australian-born missionary to come to the islands, replaced Father Courbon in 1915. He too was a tall impressive figure, who helped Father Gsell establish a saw mill and later, when the mission acquired a boat, *St Francis*, to conduct a cypress pine industry between Bathurst and the mainland. Together the two priests survived the war years and the cyclone of 1919 until Father Henschke, like Father Courbon before him, was forced to leave the mission because of ill health. He left in 1922.

Despite his praise for his colleagues, there is no doubt that Father Gsell was the mainstay of the mission during that first testing 10-year period. Christian penetration was slow, but this missionary had endless patience and perseverance. He readily acknowledged the deeply spiritual nature of the Tiwi people and the complexity of their tribal customs. However, the rigid laws regarding the status of Tiwi women had created problems for Christianity from the outset, most notably the system of arranged marriages. A young girl, Martina, who was educated at the mission, ran away when her elderly tribal husband Merapanui came for her. She appealed to the mission for protection and, a few days later, Father Gsell found himself confronted by Merapanui and his tribe. Gsell negotiated an overnight stay and next morning greeted his guests with a long table of tempting goods. Father Gsell proceeded to solve the mission's most serious problem by what Father Flynn described as 'a neat piece of supersalesmanship'. He 'bought' Martina who was at once regarded by the Tiwi as his legitimate wife.

Father Gsell's policy of buying young native girls for the mission, hence the title 'the Bishop with 150 wives', had profound effects on his missionary activities on Bathurst Island between 1922 and 1938. Old customs were maintained but the women generally enjoyed greater freedom. It also tended to change the lives of the young men, particularly those baptised as Catholics. For the first time Tiwi men could wed single women of their own choice and generation. In his own day Bishop Gsell became a controversial figure but when asked to 'please explain' by church and state, he emerged with flying colours. Recently he has at times been condemned for his lack of understanding and sympathy for the Tiwi culture. It is true he often referred to the Tiwi as 'simple souls', 'primitive men' even 'savages' with 'bestial customs'. However, in the context of his time, his tone was one of care and concern, certainly not derision.

From 1922–27, Father Gsell was alone on Bathurst Island except for three sisters and Alphonso, captain of the mission boat, *St Francis*. He emphasised the good care the Tiwi took of him: 'the behaviour of my flock was exemplary...' His agricultural policy was working efficiently and the crops from the gardens produced well above local needs. Likewise the timber industry flourished. Friesian cattle were also introduced and a dairy started. From 1927 to 1937 were years of continued material progress, with more houses being constructed as the mission village grew. The mission gained a reservoir, an aerodrome, a new church, school and hospital. Father Gsell praised the work of two lay missionaries, Pat Richie and **Peter de Heyer**.

On the spiritual side, conversion to Catholicism remained slow. Hope obviously lay with the young people and future generations. Father Gsell constantly praised the loyalty and integrity of the young Christian converts. There is a tone of wry affection in his comments about some of the older people. He accepted the futility of trying to convert them, offering instead companionship and comfort in times of illness.

In 1936 Bathurst Island Mission celebrated its Silver Jubilee and Father Gsell was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for his work with the Tiwi people. As he approached his 66th birthday, his career as an ordinary missionary came to an end. In 1938 he was nominated by the Holy See as Bishop for the Northern Territory, still known as the Diocese of Victoria and Palmerston. Humble in his acceptance, Francis Xavier Gsell asked to be created Bishop of Darwin. His request was granted and on 5 June 1938 he was consecrated at Randwick, Sydney. With a touch of French whimsy, he recalled that at the reception that followed the guest he was most pleased to encounter was a Mr Pickford, one of the three gentlemen who had greeted him when he arrived in Port Darwin in 1906.

The first Bishop of Darwin commenced his duties on the eve of the Second World War. Things were fairly quiet until Pearl Harbour and Singapore fell, then, on 19 February 1942, Darwin was severely bombed and a wave of raids followed. Bishop Gsell praised the courage of Father McGrath, who had stayed at his post at the Bathurst Mission and issued a radio warning that Japanese aircraft were approaching Darwin: his warning went unheeded. In 1942 Bishop Gsell was evacuated to Alice Springs with most of the civilian population. He stayed until 1945, taking a keen interest in the growth of the church in the town. He supervised the establishment of missions at Arltunga, at Port Keats with **Father Docherty** and a community for part-Aboriginal children at Garden Point under Father Connors. He somehow also found the energy to respond to an SOS from the government to re-establish the leper station at Channel Island, which had disintegrated during the war years.

On his return to Darwin after the war the Bishop won the regard of all Territorians regardless of creed or colour when he defied the Darwin Lands Acquisition Act of 1946. Under its terms all church land was to be surrendered to the government and payment accepted at the department's valuation. Bishop Gsell wrote to the prime minister and categorically refused to participate in the scheme. When he literally 'held his ground' the land was leased back to the church in perpetuity at a nominal rent.

Before he retired the bishop made a last visit to his beloved Bathurst Island Mission and received a tumultuous welcome. Then in 1947 he sailed on a French liner for Rome to visit his old friend of student days, Pope Pius XII. He returned for a last visit to his homeland, calling on the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart at Marseilles and visiting his native village in Alsace. As **Bishop O'Loughlin**, who succeeded him in 1949, stated: 'Francis Xavier Gsell was more French than the French themselves.' It was eminently fitting that finally in 1952 his own country recognised his work in the far-flung missionary fields of Papua and Australia's Northern Territory. In his 80th year, Bishop Gsell received the Cross of the Legion d'Honneur, his most treasured award.

The old Bishop spent his retirement at Randwick in Sydney, but his thoughts remained with his mission. 'My black children are continuously in my thought, and I should like to use my last strength for them.' And so he set to work to compile his memoirs. In the end he put down his pen and dictated them in French to a colleague. The story of 'the bishop with 150 wives' was presented for posterity. It was published years later—first in French, then in English. At the age of 88 Gsell died at the Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Hospital at Randwick in Sydney on 12 July 1960.

'At his consecration, Bishop Gsell devised as his coat of arms the image of the Sacred Heart above crossed spears and a boomerang.' Darwin's first Catholic bishop was remembered in its northern suburbs where the streets of Gsell and Martina lay parallel, close to the Holy Spirit Church, and in the city itself, in the crypt of St Mary's War Memorial Cathedral, where Bishop Gsell's remains lay at rest.

F Flynn, *Distant Horizons*, nd; F Flynn, *Northern Gateway*, 1963; F X Gsell, *The Bishop with 150 Wives*, 1956; J P O'Loughlin, *The History of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory*, 1986; John Pye, *The Tiwi Islands*, 1977; P Read (ed), *A Social History of the Northern Territory*, vol 8, The Mission Stations, 1978; *St Mary's Star of the Sea, War Memorial Cathedral—Darwin*, Church Centenary Edition Booklet with a foreword by J P O'Loughlin, 1982.

ROBIN HEMPEL, Vol 1.

GUNN, JEANNIE nee TAYLOR (1870–1961), author, teacher and charity worker, was born on 5 June 1870 in Melbourne, Victoria. She was the second youngest of six children, two of whom were boys. Her father, Thomas Taylor, had migrated from Scotland in 1857 with his father who was a Baptist minister. Thomas worked as a writer for most of the Melbourne newspapers. Jeannie's mother Anna, nee Lush, arrived in the colony in 1841 with her parents.

Jeannie's mother must have been well educated because she supervised her four daughters' lessons at home. Jeannie passed her matriculation exam at the age of 17. She and two of her sisters opened a school for young ladies in the Melbourne suburb of Hawthorn, which operated successfully from 1889 to 1896. They named the school 'Rolyat', the reverse of their own name, Taylor. After the school closed Jeannie visited other schools, teaching elocution and gymnastics.

Jeannie was an accomplished horsewoman and one day, while attempting to alight from a buggy to pacify the restless horses, she literally fell into the arms of the man she was destined to marry. Aeneas Gunn had seen the problem and had hastened forward to help.

Aeneas was also of Scottish ancestry. His father was the first Gaelic preacher in Melbourne and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. Aeneas had spent five years in the Northern Territory, having first gone there in 1890 in the schooner *Gemini* with his cousin, **Captain Joseph Bradshaw**. He helped establish what became known as 'Bradshaw's Run' and later managed it himself. He made several trips to Darwin while there. Aeneas wrote many articles for the Royal Geographical Society as well as countless letters to newspapers telling of his adventures and describing the nature of the country.

Aeneas contracted malaria and returned to Melbourne to recuperate. He took a job as librarian in the suburb of Prahran, but his love for the Northern Territory made him restless to return. One of his relatives had an interest in Eley Station on the Roper River and he pressured his aunt to speak on his behalf for a job there. He was finally engaged as manager.

A friendship developed between Jeannie and Aeneas as they had many interests in common, particularly literature. Jeannie and Aeneas were married on 31 December 1901. Jeannie was 31 and Aeneas 39. Two days later they boarded SS *Guthrie* and sailed via Queensland for the Northern Territory. Well-meaning friends had suggested that Jeannie stay in Melbourne while Aeneas prepared a place for her but she would have none of that. A knowledge of the isolation and lack of female companionship in the north, as well as Jeannie's eagerness to accompany him, persuaded Aeneas to take her with him. He knew that, despite her size—barely five feet

tall—her spirit of adventure and personality would see her through. It took courage on Jeannie's part to leave the comforts of the city to venture into unknown land, although her husband would certainly have told her much about it.

They arrived in Palmerston in mid January 1902—the middle of the wet season. When the men at Elsey Station heard that the new manager was bringing a woman with him they tried everything they knew to stop her but Jeannie would not be deterred. Her size seemed to have been in her favour and eventually she found her way into their hearts. The trip from Palmerston to the Elsey took several weeks by train and buggy with many flooded rivers to cross and she was being educated along the way. Not far from the homestead the head stockman suggested that Jeannie should learn how to find water in case she should get lost in the bush. She replied that she would be all right—she would just catch a cow and milk it—much to the delight of the listening men, who could visualise the little woman trying to catch the wild cattle.

The men admired Jeannie's courage and humour and her amazing lack of complaint won their approval. Her training in gymnastics and horse-riding would have made her fit and hardy and her experiences as a teacher of 'young ladies' would have aided her in managing the homestead with the help of the Aborigines whom she learned to know and love. Jeannie took Bett-Bett, an abandoned little part-Aboriginal girl, into her home and later immortalised her in a book, *The Little Black Princess*. Bett-Bett, later known as Dolly Bonson, eventually moved to Darwin where she married and raised a family.

Professor **Baldwin Spencer**, speaking of the Aboriginal characters in Jeannie's books, said that she had understanding of the Aborigines to be able to write as she had, 'with insight ; she certainly showed more interest in them than did most white women of the time.

Jeannie settled very well into the station life at the Elsey and often accompanied Aeneas to the cattle camps. Their companionship was shattered when, just after their first wedding anniversary, Aeneas died of malarial dysentery. He was buried on the station. The men, who had tried so hard to stop Jeannie from coming into their lives and had learned to love her, came to her assistance in her hour of need.

Jeannie was ill herself when she made the return trip to Palmerston, where her sister was waiting to accompany her back to Hawthorn in Victoria. After she recovered Jeannie would entertain the children of her relatives with stories about the Aborigines and people of the Elsey, and she was encouraged to write them down. She produced two books, *The Little Black Princess* in 1905 and *We of the Never Never* in 1908. The contents came from letters she had written to friends in the south, letters Aeneas had written to the newspapers and Jeannie's wonderful memory. In the freshness of marriage and without children to distract her she was able to notice and record minute detail of Elsey Station life—the good, the bad, the happy, the sad—and the special magic that she saw in the Territory. She attempted to show these things to the insulated populace of the southern states. Jeannie's only other literary production was a magazine article to celebrate Victoria's centenary year. She did do some research for two more books, one about an old Aboriginal man, John Terrick of Coranderk Aboriginal Station, and the other a story set in Monbulk, Victoria, but in both cases the work did not come to fruition.

Jeannie only spent one short year in the Northern Territory and after leaving it she would not return to visit, although she did leave Victoria for three years shortly after her father's death in 1909 to tour Europe. She preferred to remember the Territory as it had been. In her books she tended to portray her characters as a little larger than life. In the freshness of marriage perhaps things took on a rosy glow. In any case, Jeannie corresponded with her friends in the north, and when any of them visited Victoria, she welcomed them into her home.

In later years Jeannie became involved with the Returned Services League (RSL) and helped in fund-raising for disabled soldiers and their dependents. She was awarded certificates of Appreciation and Honour from the RSL and the TB Soldiers and Soldiers Association of Victoria (1937 and 1938) as well as having been awarded the King's Coronation Medal in 1937. Then in 1939, at the age of 69, she was made an officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in recognition of her services to Australian Literature and to the disabled soldiers and their dependants of two world wars.

Jeannie died in her sleep in 1961 at the grand old age of 91. She was buried in the Melbourne General Cemetery on 14 June 1961. She never remarried and had no children to survive her. Jeannie's photographs are held in the South Australian Archives.

J Gunn, *We of the Never Never*, 1983; J Gunn, *Selections From the Little Black Princess*, 1976; H T Linklater, *Echoes of the Elsey Saga*, 1981; I Nesdale, *The Little Missus*, 1977; J L Rossiter, *Notes on We of the Never Never, and The Little Black Princess*, 1922; M Towie, 'Little Black Princess Lives', *Midweek Territorian*, 9 April 1986.

JANET DICKINSON, Vol 1.

GUNTHER, AMELIA ALBERTINA: see **KILIAN, AMELIA ALBERTINA**

GURD, CHARLES HENRY (1920–), medical practitioner, medical administrator and community organiser, was born on 3 March 1920 at Bristol in the United Kingdom, the son of C H Gurd, merchant seaman, and his wife Violet Susan, *nee* Coles.

His childhood was spent in Bristol during the Great Depression where poverty, disease and poor health in the community influenced his desire to work in the health field. He was educated at Cotham Boys School in Bristol. He qualified as a medical practitioner from the University of Bristol in 1943 with distinction in Pathology. He was also awarded the Barrett Roue prize in Ophthalmology and the Hewer and Sanders prizes in Pathology.

Gurd's war service consisted of over two years as the doctor on a troop ship, which visited such places as Normandy, Russia, India, Africa and Singapore. In 1946 he joined the British Colonial Medical Service. He was to remain in the Service until 1971. In 1949 he went to Africa where he remained until 1953, serving in public

health on the island of St Helena off the west coast, and later in Nyasaland (now Malawi) in Central Africa where he experienced and learned much of tropical and exotic diseases.

In 1952 Gurd was given sabbatical leave to study medicine in the United Kingdom where he studied at the London School of Tropical Medicine, receiving the Diploma in Tropical Medicine and Health. He also carried out full-time training at the London Heart Hospital for a time and later completed an advanced course in Medicine at the Edinburgh College of Physicians where he passed the examinations enabling him to become a Member of the Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh (MRCPE).

In 1953 he went to Fiji with the British Colonial Medical Service where he took up residence as the only specialist physician in the country. There he also lectured in medicine at the Fiji Medical School. He carried out research work into rheumatic heart disease in Fiji and was awarded a Doctorate of Medicine (MD) from University of Bristol in 1954 for this work. While returning to Fiji from England in 1954 he first came to Australia to visit Adelaide, where his father was then living.

Gurd was elected to the Fellowship of the Edinburgh College in 1962 when he also became Director of Medical Services in Fiji, a position that he held until 1970. In 1962 he also became the Inspector-General of South Pacific Health Services, a position that he held until 1971. In this role he was official medical advisor to the other English-speaking island territories in the South-West Pacific including Samoa, Tonga, New Hebrides, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Nauru and the Cook Islands. He was also a Member of the Legislative Council of Fiji from 1962 until 1970.

After Fiji became independent, Dr Gurd sought a position in Australia and came to Darwin in 1972 to join the Commonwealth Department of Health. For the first 14 months he was Superintendent of the Darwin Hospital and then became Director of the Department of Health in the Northern Territory in 1974. He was also appointed to the Northern Territory Legislative Council in 1974, a position that he held for less than a year as legislative changes saw the nominated Council abolished at the end of 1974, just prior to Cyclone Tracy.

Upon arrival in Darwin, he had been surprised to learn that Darwin was prone to the occasional cyclone, so he set about upgrading hospital buildings and preparing an emergency plan with the co-operation of his senior surgeon, Mr Alan Bromwich. As Director of Health, he played a significant role in the success of the emergency plan at the Darwin Hospital after Cyclone Tracy and he played an important role in post Cyclone Tracy administration and in the rehabilitation of Darwin. He was noted on Christmas morning, immediately after the Cyclone, as having mobilised his fellow administrators in the community to commence emergency assistance, and he was the first official to advocate the subsequent large-scale evacuation of Darwin.

Gurd remained in the position of Director of Health until Territory self-government in 1978. He was appointed Secretary of the Northern Territory Department of Health in 1979 and remained in that position until he retired from the Department in 1981. However, he was recalled that year to the Northern Territory Public Service to take up the position of Secretary of the Department of Primary Production. He remained in that position until 1983.

Gurd had strong community interests, and in 1981 he became an alderman of the Darwin City Council. He served as Deputy Lord Mayor from 1983 until his retirement from Council in 1988. He had also served as President of the Northern Territory Local Government Association from 1986 until 1988.

He was the founder of the Darwin Bougainvillea Festival, one of the objects of which was the beautification of the city. He was also founder and first president of the Northern Territory Palm and Cycad Society. He was Honorary Member and Paul Harris Fellow of the Rotary Club in Darwin. He was instrumental in bringing about the construction of the artificial lake at East Point in Darwin, which was named posthumously after his friend and colleague, Lord Mayor Alec Fong Lim. He regards his lobbying for the introduction of the law banning the drinking of alcohol in public places within two kilometres of a licensed establishment as one of his major contributions to the Territory community.

He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Australian College of Medical Administrators in 1974. He was a leading figure in the St John Ambulance both locally and at the national level. He was Registrar and member of the Chancellors Executive, St Johns Ambulance Australia for several years and served prominently in its re-organisation. He was awarded the Knighthood of St John (KStJ).

In 1960 Dr Gurd was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) and in 1969 was made a Commander of the same Order (CBE). These awards were both for services to health in Fiji. In 1981 he was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) for services to health, particularly Aboriginal health, in Australia.

Dr Gurd married Betty Jane Kearsley on 12 November 1955. They had one child. He also had three children by a previous marriage. His wife, Betty, died in 1994. Dr Gurd retired in Darwin, where he enjoyed reading history and observing birds and nature. In 1996 he moved to Sydney, where he joined members of his family.

Family information; C H Gurd, 'Reflections on a Life of Medical Practice', Menzies School of Health Research, 1987 Oration; Oral History Interview Transcript NTRS 226—TS 678, Northern Territory Archives Service; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1991.

GREG COLEMAN, Vol 3.

H

HALL, DOROTHY *nee* **ALLEN** (1905–1989), nursing sister, was born in May 1905 at Castlemaine, Victoria, one of five children, four daughters and one son, of first generation Australian parents. Her grandfather migrated to Victoria in 1852, as a boy of thirteen, to work for two brothers who kept a butcher's shop on the Forest Creek goldfields. His son, Dorothy's father, later ran a butchery in Castlemaine, and the family lived close by on the outskirts of the town. The five Allen children were educated at the South Castlemaine Primary School. After completing her schooling Dorothy worked in her father's business doing the bookwork until 1928 when she left the district to train in nursing at Prince Henry's Hospital Melbourne (known at the time as the Homeopathic Hospital). Dorothy returned to Castlemaine in 1931 after she had completed her basic nursing training and stayed for 12 months helping to care for her family. In May 1932 Dorothy returned to Melbourne, to the Queen Victoria Hospital, where she completed a six-month course in midwifery. Towards the end of that period Dorothy was approached by the Australian Inland Mission (AIM) to see if she would take a position at the Halls Creek Hospital in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. Accompanied by a colleague, with whom she had trained, Dorothy went to Halls Creek in November 1932 for a two-year posting.

The experience in Halls Creek appears to have whetted her appetite for pioneering in frontier northern Australia and in May 1937 Dorothy set forth from Melbourne once more, this time in the company of **Joyce Falconbridge** (later Fuller), and spent another period as an AIM nursing sister in the north. It was then that Dorothy first came to the Northern Territory where she eventually settled. Dorothy and Joyce had been recruited to staff the AIM hostel, Wimmera Home, situated on the banks of the Wickham River close by the Victoria River Downs (VRD) homestead. The Presbyterian Church on land excised from the VRD pastoral lease had built the hostel/hospital in 1922.

During the 1920 and 1930s, the AIM conducted a number of similar establishments in north and central Australia. A common pattern of management was followed in all the hospitals—subject to small variations created by special circumstances. Two fully trained nursing sisters, with midwifery qualifications, and who professed the Christian faith, were contracted for two-year terms. The sisters had to be self-sufficient and, in addition to providing nursing care for the sick, for pregnant and nursing mothers, and child care, were expected to perform emergency dental care. Health and nursing care were offered as part of an overall medical and social welfare programme to settler families, itinerant workers, travellers and, at Wimmera Home, to Aboriginal people. Dorothy and Joyce were also expected to send and receive telegrams using Morse code.

The nursing staff worked as a team available 24 hours a day for each day of their term. Generally nurses shared professional and domestic tasks on 'a week and week about' basis—one would nurse, one would maintain the domestic arrangements (cooking, cleaning, etc). If a nurse became ill her partner would necessarily have to do the work of two. Part of the social welfare programme involved the staff in conducting informal 'church services' and entertaining single white men (drovers, stockmen, contractors) in a Christian environment (parties at Christmas time, bridge parties, discussion evenings). The Presbyterian Church actually specifically stated that it was hoped that the nursing sisters might marry in the north and help establish there a pattern of 'civilization' based on Christian family life. One joke at the time was that AIM stood for Australian Institute of Marriage. Both Dorothy and Joyce fulfilled the expectation; they married drovers they met while they were nursing at Wimmera House.

Apart from the obvious contribution the AIM sisters made towards the general well-being of northern communities, they have also contributed considerably to our understanding of the conditions experienced by settlers and Aborigines on the pastoral frontier. In letters and reports to AIM headquarters, in diary records, and in oral history interviews, many of these women have created vivid accounts of their life and work. These accounts have helped researchers piece together a clear picture of life in the Northern Territory in the 1920s and 1930s.

Dorothy and Joyce left Melbourne on 1 May 1937 to begin their Northern Territory adventure. They sailed on SS *Marella* via Sydney, Brisbane, Townsville and Thursday Island to Darwin—a 16-day voyage. After a short stay in Darwin they flew to VRD Station via Daly Waters. At Wimmera Home they relieved sisters Mackenzie and Langham who had just completed a two-year term. During the period of Dorothy and Joyce's term the AIM decided to close the Wimmera Home, and so they were the last sisters to conduct the hospital. Controversy surrounded the AIM decision that was forced on them by an unfortunate set of circumstances including the antagonism of **Dr Cecil Cook**, Chief Medical Officer in Darwin, and of **Dr Clyde Fenton**, medical officer in Katherine.

Some of her time at Wimmera Home was, however, very happy for Dorothy who met Noel Hall, her future husband, while she was there. They were married in Katherine on 1 May 1939 and shortly after they settled on a small block on the Edith River. In 1940 they moved to the South Alligator River area where Noel Hall had a contract to shoot buffaloes. They went back to the Katherine district at the end of 1940 where they once again set about building a house.

Life in Katherine was disrupted when the town was bombed during Japanese air raids in 1942, and, along with other civilian women and their children, Dorothy was evacuated. Dorothy acted as nurse and welfare officer on the convoy of evacuees from Katherine to Alice Springs. From there Dorothy travelled to her family in Victoria and spent the rest of the war nursing at the Berry Street Babies Home.

Dorothy and Noel were reunited at the end of the war and they lived on Bonrook Station, near Pine Creek, from 1945 until approximately 1950. Their daughter, Diane, was born at Katherine Hospital on 27 October 1946. During 1950 Dorothy spent six months at the Aboriginal settlement Yuendumu, in Central Australia—recalled to nursing

duties at a time of shortages of qualified staff. When Dorothy returned to Bonrook Station in 1951 she and her husband were involved in a number of business ventures centred on the Pine Creek area until 1960 when Noel's ill health forced them to sell Bonrook. They moved into Pine Creek and until 1967 Dorothy worked as a community nurse, on a very low allowance, providing a service throughout the district. In 1966 Dorothy was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for her nursing services to the community.

Dorothy Hall died in Darwin in October 1989.

Australian Inland Mission Correspondence, National Library of Australia, MS 5574, Box 108; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS interview with D Hall; personal conversations and correspondence with author; L A Riddett, *Kine, Kin and Country*, 1990.

LYN A RIDDETT, Vol 3.

HALL, VICTOR CHARLES (VIC) (1894–1972) soldier, worker in various occupations, policeman, artist and author, was born in London, England, on 10 March 1894, the son of Richard Charles Hall and his wife Laurette, *nee* Davis. He was an art student when he joined the British Army in 1914. He saw service in France until the end of the war, by which time he had been wounded on five occasions and awarded the Military Medal (MM). He arrived in Western Australia in 1920 and worked at various jobs, as diverse as jackeroo and pearling lugger hand, before joining the Northern Territory Police on 5 November 1924.

Hall was to learn early in his career what policing in the remote areas was to mean. In 1925 he was sent to the Methodist mission at Milingimbi to apprehend an Aborigine who had allegedly murdered his wife. Accompanied by James Robertson, a young lay missionary, and two of the mission Aborigines, they headed for the mainland and dropped anchor deep in some mangroves. The Aborigines led them deeper and deeper into swampy ground and suddenly disappeared. According to Maisie McKenzie, only Hall's 'bushmanship' saved them as they retraced their steps guided only by a star Hall had noted as they plunged along. Only later did they discover that their guides were kinsmen of the Aborigines they were seeking.

Hall was one of a party sent to Caledon Bay in 1932 to seek out the murderers of the Japanese trepangers. After the spearing of Constable McColl the party spent some months 'guarding' the Anglican mission on Groote Eylandt, to the chagrin of the staff, whose members did not believe they needed any such protection.

During the 1930s he saw service in several other 'remote' stations, including Tennant Creek when it was still only a telegraph repeater station before the gold rush. He also spent a number of years at Maranboy when that area was the centre of extensive tin mining and was also at Pine Creek.

He was stationed in Darwin and among the injured when Darwin was first bombed on 19 February 1942. There was much dissatisfaction among the members of the force who remained in Darwin after the bombing as they felt their superiors had abandoned them and this may have led to his resignation in 1943. Thereafter Hall served with the Army in the Territory until 1945.

After the war he settled in Katherine and when his sight failed in 1954, as a result of the injury he received in the bombing of Darwin, he moved to Adelaide, his blindness cutting short a promising career as an artist. Several of his paintings, owned by the Northern Territory Museum of Arts and Sciences, now hang in the Northern Territory Police Headquarters at Berrimah as does his last painting, 'Police Patrol', which was bought in 1961 by the police for 324 Pounds, two Shillings and nine Pence. This was reproduced on the cover of the police journal *Citation* in June 1966.

In the meantime Hall had turned to writing and published several books, which drew on his experience in the Northern Territory. His first work, *Bad Medicine*, was published in 1947 and is largely autobiographical. *Dreamtime Justice*, published in 1962, is an account of the story of the spearing of Constable McColl and the Japanese trepangers at Caledon Bay. In both books he reveals the affection with which he and his contemporaries, stationed in remote areas, regarded their Aboriginal aides. Policemen, perhaps more than any other Europeans in the remoter areas, were acutely aware of the debt of gratitude they owed to the men of the 'Black Watch' and indeed the dedication in *Dreamtime Justice* is couched in such terms. He was also a contributor to the first issue of *Citation* in 1964.

Hall was well respected by his colleagues and their families. Nancy Mannion, widow of the well-known policeman **Jim Mannion** commented on his unfailing politeness and good manners.

Hall married twice. His first wife died and on 30 November 1966 he married his widowed housekeeper, Dorothy Annie Headland Benveniste, *nee* Kelly. She died on 18 November 1971 and Hall followed only a few months later on 11 February 1972. He had no children.

H Clarke, *The Long Arm*, 1974; V C Hall, *Bad Medicine*, 1947, 'Murder Outback', in *Australian Journal*, 11 February 1958, *Dreamtime Justice*, 1962; M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; *Advertiser*, 18 July 1958; *Northern Standard*, 10 July 1934; South Australian Births, Deaths and Marriages Records; N Mannion, personal communication.

GLENYS SIMPSON and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

HAMILTON, HAROLD (c1905–1968), seaman, was born about 1905 at Anthony's Lagoon, near Borroloola in the Northern Territory. He had a European father and an Aboriginal mother. Following Government regulations, he was brought to the Church Mission Society (CMS) Roper River Mission when a young lad, where he was cared for and educated. As a young man he was taught by the **Reverend H E Warren** and E C H Lousada to handle the mission lugger *Holly*. When he was 24 years old he was placed in charge of *Holly*. He was by now living at the CMS Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt. He made frequent journeys to and from Thursday Island and the CMS Roper River Mission across the dangerous waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria, displaying outstanding skill in

seamanship. When *Holly* was lost in the 1940 flood at the Roper River Mission, he was placed in charge of *Iorana*, the replacement vessel.

Hamilton married Marjorie McLoud. Her father Alec was a European who owned a store and library at Borrooloola. Her mother was an Aboriginal named Minnie, later called Leah after she had been baptised. On government orders, the Reverend H E Warren brought Minnie and Marjorie McLoud to the CMS Roper River Mission when the latter was three or four year of age. Her mother later married **James Japanma**, an Aboriginal teacher at Roper River. When Marjorie was about nine or 10 years of age she was taken with other part-Aboriginal children to the CMS Mission at the Emerald River on Groote Eylandt where she was cared for. In 1930 the Reverend H E Warren married her and Harold Hamilton.

In 1943 Harold Hamilton joined his wife who had been evacuated south with the other white and half-caste women and children during the previous year because of the war. For the next 18 years he had a responsible position in Sydney with the Shell Oil Company, whose executive officers had known him when they had a fuel base at the CMS Emerald Mission airstrip. He then worked with the Maritime Services Board in Sydney until his death on 6 May 1968. He and his family lived for a number of years at Berowra, an outer suburb of Sydney.

K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Stories*, 1971; CMS Records, Melbourne and Sydney; AA.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 1*.

HAMPTON, TIMOTHY (c1902–?), missionary, was educated at the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Roper River Mission. Toward the end of 1922 he was confirmed, together with four other part-Aborigines and an Aboriginal woman, Elizabeth. He was an outstanding young man, being trained by the **Reverend H E Warren** and the other missionaries to be a teacher. In 1922 he accompanied Warren to Melbourne, where he was well received as a deputationist. In 1923 he was accepted as an official mission worker and was paid accordingly. Later in the year he accompanied the **Reverend R D Joynt**, his foster-father, on furlough south, and again made an impression on the people he met.

On 15 January 1924 Hampton married Sarah Johnson, another part-Aborigine living at the CMS Roper River Mission. The Reverend R D Joynt conducted the service. The **Reverend A J Dyer** gave the bride away.

When the part-Aboriginal children were taken to the CMS Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt in September 1924, the Reverend R D Joynt and Timothy and Sarah Hampton were left in charge of the mission at Roper River. Joynt and the Hamptons continued their exacting mission responsibilities until 1928, when they resigned through over-work. Joynt withdrew his resignation several months later and Hampton the following year.

In June 1929 Hampton finally resigned and left the mission with his wife. Joynt resigned in 1930 and went to England to live. In 1930 Sarah Hampton returned to Roper River Mission where she stayed for a number of years. She died at Alice Springs. Timothy Hampton moved to Sydney where it is thought that he died.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; CMS Records, Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 1*.

HANG GONG, JANE ELIZABETH: see **TYE, JANE ELIZABETH**

HANG GONG, LEE also LEE HANG GONG (c1836–1892), merchant, builder and Chinese patriarch, was born in Sung Ding, Canton, China in about 1836. Family records indicate that he arrived in Victoria on 22 February 1854 on board *Jupiter*, although official records show that ship arriving in Victoria from Batavia on 23 July 1853 carrying goods but no passengers. It is possible he was a crewmember on board this vessel and decided to stay in Australia.

He spent much of his early years on the Victorian goldfields, mainly in the Creswick and Ballarat region, where he became a successful merchant and possibly engaged in some prospecting. He formed a permanent relationship with **Sarah Bowman**, an English born woman with whom he appears to have had at least six children between 1864 and 1878. It is not clear whether Sarah and Lee Hang Gong ever formally married but they clearly lived together as husband and wife. Hang Gong is named as the father of all but one of the children born to Sarah but it is likely that her first child, Thomas, was also a result of that union.

Hang Gong was naturalised in 1871 when he was listed as a storekeeper in Creswick, aged 35. It is not known exactly when the family first arrived in the Northern Territory but its members are first mentioned there in records and in newspapers in 1881. By September of that year Hang Gong had a storekeeper's licence for Southport as well as operating a successful storekeeper's business in Palmerston. Although he seems to have been a successful and respected businessman, he was sometimes the target of complaints. For instance, in November of 1881 someone complained to the newspaper about the stench arising from the vacant block of land 'between Mrs Parker's butchering business and Mr Hang Gong's house', although the bulk of the complaint appears to have been directed at the butcher's shop.

Hang Gong took an active part in the community and in December of 1882 joined a group of 13 Chinese merchants in petitioning the South Australian Minister over the fact that there was not a legal practitioner in the Territory who could assist the Chinese in court cases. They pointed out that most of the Chinese did not speak English and did not understand the European legal system and that the magistrate had often allowed a layman, **V L Solomon**, to conduct the defence in cases involving Chinese. The Minister was unsympathetic to their pleas and replied that it was the discretion of the magistrate as to whether he allowed laymen to conduct the defence

and said the government was not inclined to interfere. However, in May 1884 one of Hang Gong's sons, Arthur, became the first Territory inhabitant of Chinese descent to be appointed to the police force as a Constable and an interpreter and for the next several years often appeared in court to assist Chinese members of the community when they were called to give evidence.

Prior to this Hang Gong himself had to rely on his wife to help him when in February 1883 a Palmerston resident, Walter Harrison, took him to court, claiming that Hang Gong owed him 50 Pounds for removing a house from a Cavenagh Street allotment which Harrison was leasing. After lengthy evidence given by Sarah Hang Gong, who successfully asked to give evidence on her husband's behalf as he could speak no English, Hang Gong was fined 35 Pounds.

The following month Hang Gong was one of a number of prominent Chinese businessmen who presented the departing Government Resident, **Edward Price**, with a large crimson silk flag, imported from China, and a banner with the names of the Chinese merchants embroidered on it. The *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* wrote that the Chinese deputation 'gave him a large crimson flag of silk with gold and silver thread and ornamented with mirror discs in a silver setting having on it Chinese characters in black lettering and a sentence which translated means 'During all the time you have been in the colony you have always been good to our people.'

During 1883 Hang Gong also began a lobbying campaign to **Alfred Searcy**, the Collector of Customs, regarding the duty on opium and raising the possibility of importing the raw material and refining it in Palmerston under Customs supervision. Timothy Jones in his *The Chinese in the Northern Territory* notes the fine handwriting of Hang Gong, but this is likely to be the writing of his wife who did her own lobbying to the government.

Hang Gong, along with his business partner Yam Yan, was also involved in the building trade, and in July 1883 the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported that Hang Gong had 'left a most creditable sample of bricks at our office a few days ago. They are well made and well burnt and will bear comparison with those made in South Australia.'

By 1886 Hang Gong and Yam Yan had storekeepers' licences for businesses in Cavenagh Street and by 1887 they had purchased additional land on Lot 403 in Cavenagh Street from another Palmerston resident, Richard Beresford. They later successfully appealed against the assessment of this allotment and managed to get the rates reduced.

Although their business acumen was astute and publicly recognised, they occasionally found themselves in trouble with the Health Board as in October of 1887 when they were formally charged with owning and occupying five huts contrary to an order of the Board of Health.

This did not deter them from pursuing further business interests, however, particularly their push for establishing an opium industry in the Territory. In 1888 the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported that 'Hang Gong and Yam Yan hope that if they can obtain the right to manufacture opium here, to be able to secure a proportion of the Australian opium trade, they intend to try the experiment of growing the opium poppy and producing crude opium in the Territory.' It would appear as if this dream was never realised although Hang Gong became involved in importing the drug.

While Hang Gong and Yam Yan often won tenders for building contracts, they did not escape some clearly racially based criticism of their success in this area. For instance, when they won a tender for the erection of the Warden's quarters at Burrundie on 28 March 1890 at a price of 397 Pounds, the newspaper reported that it was 'Another injustice to Australia.'

Nevertheless, the *Times* did give cautionary praise to the efforts of Hang Gong and other Chinese merchants in planting street trees: 'In the course of twenty or thirty years we might find Sun Mow Loong or Hang Gong or some other representative of the Celestial people obliged to climb into the front of their shop through the branches of a banyan. Where the banyan can spread and, in time grow as nature intended it, there is no tree that should be more encouraged, but trimmed and kept under as it would have to be for street uses.'

In 1891 Hang Gong was one of 20 Chinese merchants to give a banquet in honour of the visiting Governor of South Australia, the Earl of Kintore, during an official visit to the Territory. They had invited several European residents, including the Government Resident and the Police Inspector, to attend the banquet at which Kintore said he would convey the generosity of their gestures towards him to the Queen, as a sign of their loyalty to her. He said that he particularly appreciated their efforts given they were living in a financially depressed time and were undergoing hardship due to laws restricting Chinese immigration, the agitation for which had come from the Territory.

However, in spite of any inherent anti Asian feelings in the community at the time, when Hang Gong died on 8 January 1892, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* recorded the contribution he had made to the community: 'There died in China Town on Wednesday morning one of the oldest resident Chinese storekeepers in the Northern Territory... The name of Hang Gong is well known to all who have been here any length of time and no Chinaman was better respected than the senior holder of that name, whose death we have now to record. Mr Hang Gong was amongst the first batches of Chinese to come to the Territory, and for upwards of ten years to the writer's knowledge he has been prominently associated with the Chinese interests of this settlement, his business being now apparently one of the best in China Town. He leaves a considerable family; one of the sons being Arthur Hang Gong who, in earlier days, was a member of the local police force and a useful interpreter, but latterly has devoted himself to the mercantile and mining interests of his father's firm. The deceased had attained the age of 56 years and previous to this last attack he had been very much troubled on and off with severe rheumatic bouts.'

Arthur, in addition to his pioneering work in the police courts as an interpreter, took over the family's storekeeping businesses after his father's death, continuing to expand and acquire more property. He also engaged in sly grog trade, for which he frequently appeared in court, and seems to have carried on with his father's interest in opium. A few months after Hang Gong's death, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported a 'daring

robbery' from the Customs bond store of several cases of opium, much of which belonged to the Hang Gong business. Arthur, who was a prominent sportsman and cricketer, was also the probable discoverer and certainly the owner of the successful and profitable Wheel of Fortune tin mine at West Arm. When he died of throat cancer in Hong Kong on 21 August 1907, the *Times* wrote that he 'was a prominent merchant in Port Darwin some years ago but suffered financial reverses. The discovery of the rich Wheel of Fortune tin mine at West Arm, however, two or three years ago, gave him a considerable lift up the ladder.'

One of Arthur's sons, Willie, married Yam Yan's daughter, who went on to become a prominent woman leader in the Darwin Chinese community before she died tragically in 1930. One of Hang Gong's two daughters, [Jane Elizabeth Tye](#), established a very impressive reputation in the community as a skilled and dedicated midwife. Several of Hang Gong's descendants, some of whom took the name Lee, are still Territory citizens, proud of their early connections with the Top End's Chinese community.

T G Jones, *The Chinese in the Northern Territory*, 1990; personal research notes; genealogical records; family records held by A O'Neil and the Hassan and Tye families.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

HANG GONG, SARAH nee BOWMAN (1844–1911), interpreter, midwife and matriarchal pioneer, was born in London, England, in April or May 1844 to Thomas and Sarah Bowman. She arrived in Australia in about 1861, probably with at least one sister, Elizabeth. Family information suggests that Thomas was a brewer and the family lived in the Creswick area of Victoria.

It is not clear how or exactly when Sarah became involved with the Chinese merchant with whom she spent most of her life, but it was probably shortly after the family arrived in Victoria. At the age of 20, on 30 November 1864, Sarah had a son, Thomas, followed in January 1867 by another son, Arthur Edward, whose father was registered as **Hang Gong**, a 29-year-old Chinese businessman and miner in the Creswick and Ballarat regions of Victoria. Although it is uncertain from family records whether Sarah and Lee Hang Gong ever formally married, it is clear that they lived as man and wife from at least 1867 and it is likely that Hang Gong was also the father of Sarah's first son, Thomas.

In 1873 Sarah's sister Elizabeth, then 18, married a 40-year-old Chinese merchant (butcher), Lee Long Hearn, who had been born in Sung Ding, the same province in China in which Lee Hang Gong was born. In July 1869 Sarah had a daughter, [Jane Elizabeth](#), followed by Cissy a few years later. A son, Herbert Doral, was born in about 1876 and another son, Ernest Howard Lee, in about 1878. All appear to have been born in the Creswick-Ballarat region, where Hang Gong apparently became a successful merchant and Sarah very likely practised nursing and midwifery.

Probably lured by mining discoveries, the family moved to the Territory by 1881 where Hang Gong established himself in business in Southport and in Palmerston's Cavenagh Street and soon became partner with another Chinese merchant, Yam Yan.

Sarah was first mentioned in Territory records in February 1881 as the midwife/nurse who registered the birth of a son, Arthur, to a Southport stonemason, Alfred Spurgin and his wife Emma Jane.

She next emerges as a lobbyist to the Government Resident, [Edward Price](#), to whom she wrote in August 1881 asking that two of her sons be given work as court interpreters. She put her case in a letter which was written in a neat and articulate style, stating 'Having two sons who can both read and write Chinese well, I beg to ask as a great favour if you could give them employment as interpreters or any other situation where their services might be useful if their ages are 15 and 18 respectively.' This does not appear to have happened immediately but by May of 1884 Arthur had joined the police force and was often mentioned in court cases as the interpreter for Chinese brought before the courts.

On 18 March 1882 Sarah placed an advertisement in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* saying she was 'open to an engagement as stewardess for steamer or to attend on any lady going south who would require service as a lady's maid.' It is not clear whether she received a reply to this advertisement but shipping records show her back in the Territory in June of the same year, indicating that she did take a trip south. A month later her daughter, Selina, about whom not a great deal is known, was listed as leaving for southern ports.

On 22 April 1882 the Palmerston District Council resolved to accept the offer being made to it by [V V Brown](#), representing the owner of Allotment 523, Smith Street, which Sarah was then occupying. A Palmerston resident, Walter Harrison, took Hang Gong to court, claiming he owed him 50 Pounds for removing a house that Harrison claimed to be leasing. Sarah successfully sought the court's permission to appear for her husband, whom she said could not speak English. She told the court she had purchased the house from a Mr Robinson with the intention of removing it and had partly done so when she received the notice from Mr Harrison claiming she owed him money for the parts removed. She claimed she had not removed any timber and that the white ants had eaten most of it anyway. The court found in favour of Harrison and ordered Sarah and Hang Gong to pay him 35 Pounds.

In March of 1883 Sarah and one of her daughters, probably Jane Elizabeth, left south by ship. It is not known when Sarah returned but she is recorded as again leaving by ship on 20 August 1884. It seems likely that she spent some time over the next few years in New South Wales with her daughter Jane Elizabeth, who had married a Chinese man, George Tye, in the mid 1880s and was busy raising a family. It is also likely that Sarah passed on her nursing and midwifery training to her daughter, who was to become one of the Territory's most well known midwives.

When Lee Hang Gong died in Palmerston in 1892, Sarah continued her midwifery and nursing work as evidenced by the fact that her name appears in several Territory birth registers as the nurse in attendance, including

the birth of Lena Pak Foon, daughter of Hang Gong's partner, Yam Yan, who later married Sarah's grandson, Willie.

Sarah was clearly a strong and assertive woman. When her first-born son Thomas died in Palmerston in January 1902 and the *Northern Territory Times* referred to the death of a well-known Chinese resident, Sarah immediately corrected the comment. In the following issue the paper apologised: 'In referring last week to the death of Thomas George Hang Gong we inadvertently described the deceased as being Chinese. His mother, Mrs Hang Gong, has pointed out to us that her late son was a native of the colony of Victoria and a British subject and that in describing him as Chinese an error has been committed which has caused his relatives pain. This is a matter for regret.'

Sarah also took an interest in politics and was listed in the newspaper in 1902 as one of the supporters of Charles Herbert, who was running for the Territory seat in the South Australian parliament at the time.

Sarah received a particular mention in an article published in December 1904 in the North *Queensland Register* when Alex Dowker, who had just visited the Territory, gave an interview to the paper about the Hang Gong family's fortunes. After describing other members of the family, he said 'Mrs Hang Gong is also much in evidence; she is stout, hale and hearty and converses celestially as readily as in her mother tongue... the Dalar [*sic*] Lama [*is*] not in it... compared with Mrs Hang Gong in Palmerston.' Sarah apparently lived in a small house behind the family store in Cavenagh Street from which she had practised her midwifery until she became partially paralysed in later years and had to be cared for by her children. One of her granddaughters recalled having to help look after her by staying home from school to fan her, and by cleaning out the clay pipe that Sarah smoked.

When Sarah died of acute alcoholism and associated illnesses on 6 April 1911, her daughter Jane Elizabeth Tye, placed the following 'In Memoriam' in the newspaper on behalf of all Sarah's children: 'In memory of my dear mother, Sarah Lee Hang Gong, who died on April 6th 1911 after great suffering. Released from sorrow, sin and pain and free from every care; By angels hands to heaven conveyed to rest for ever there.'

Most of Sarah's children had long associations with the Northern Territory. Many of her descendants were still resident there in 1992.

Various newspaper articles and genealogical records; family records held by A O'Neil and the Tye and Hassan families; personal research records.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

HARDY, FRANCIS JOSEPH (FRANK) (1917–1994), worker in many occupations, soldier, journalist and author, was born on 21 March 1917, in Southern Cross, Victoria, into a large Catholic family. Brought up in Bacchus Marsh, Victoria, he left school at the age of 13 and subsequently worked as a casual labourer and in various other, mainly unskilled, jobs. A member of the Communist Party from 1939, he served in the Army between 1942 and 1946.

Posted to Mataranka in the Northern Territory in 1942, he established a camp newspaper there, the *Tropo Tribune*, providing the illustrations and most of the written material himself. 'I thought', he commented, 'of what I might write while in the North... I was vaguely aware that the land might offer me some straw to grasp at, some interest outside myself to quiet the inner turmoil'. He later contributed stories and cartoons to the armed services journal, *Salt*. Following the war he was employed as a journalist and worked on his best known and perhaps most controversial book, the semi-fictional *Power Without Glory*, which appeared in 1950. He later wrote other books, many of which revealed his radical political views, and became well known because of his radio and television appearances.

During the 1960s he turned his attention to the plight of the Australian Aborigines. He visited the Northern Territory and wrote an account of the Wave Hill 'walk-off' and the efforts of the Gurindji to establish a settlement at Wattie Creek in *Unlucky Australians* (1968). For some, he immortalised the struggle as a watershed in the movement towards Aboriginal land rights, but for others, he belittled the role of other Aboriginal industrial action that took place in north Australia from the late 1940s. The historian Ann McGrath has criticised *Unlucky Australians* for its failure to effectively discuss the role of white men's unfair sexual monopolisation of Aboriginal women as a key reason for the Wave Hill walk-off.

Hardy also wrote more popular accounts of the Northern Territory lifestyle in his capacity as a 'yarn spinner' in books such as *The Great Australian Lover and Other Stories* (1967) and *The Loser Now Will Be Later to Win* (1985). During the last years of his life he visited Darwin to participate in yarn spinning competitions at the Hotel Darwin and was several times a champion.

He died sitting at his writing desk at his home in North Carlton, Melbourne, on 28 January 1994, reportedly with a racing guide in his hand.

J Arnold & D Morris (eds), *Monash Biographical Dictionary of 20th Century Australia*, 1994; M Dewar, 'In Search of the 'Never Never'', PhD Thesis, Northern Territory University, 1993; F Hardy, *The Unlucky Australians*, 1968; A McGrath & K Saunders with J Huggins (eds), *Aboriginal Workers*, 1995; W H Wilde, J Hooton & B Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1985.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

HARITOS (traditionally CHARITOS), EUSTRATIOS GEORGE (STRATOS) (1888–1974), salt worker and storekeeper, was a son of George Haritos and Despina, *nee* Samios. He was born on 5 January 1888 at Mitilini, Lesbos, an area long settled by Greeks but very close to the Turkish mainland. As a young man he spent a number of years working the salt pans on the Turkish coast. His family believed that he fought with the Greek Army during one of the Balkan Wars, mainly around Bulgaria, and was badly wounded in 1912. At a Russian hospital in Piraeus

where he spent several months he had a plate inserted in his head. After his recovery he made his way to Port Said where he worked as a powder monkey.

He arrived in Darwin in November 1915 having learnt from a fellow compatriot, Margaritis, that railway extensions were being planned and employment possibilities were promising. It was a time when a number of Greeks, especially those from the islands closest to the Turkish mainland, sought refuge elsewhere. He seems first to have gone to the Maranboy tin fields, being registered as an alien there in November 1916. When the railway extension from Pine Creek to Katherine was begun the following year Haritos being a 'useful sort of carpenter' worked on the Fergusson River Bridge. When this was completed he worked on the wharf in Darwin lumping coal, in a restaurant and various other odd jobs.

In September 1917 he married Eleni Hermanis (now spelled Harmanis) in a double wedding performed by the district registrar. A Greek priest, at that time unlicensed, was one of the witnesses. A traditional ceremony followed. The licence for Reverend Chrisandos Konstandinidis to perform marriages was gazetted on 28 March 1919. He had been licensed in Western Australia and applied to be licensed in the Territory on 23 August 1917. The Commonwealth authorities required a certificate from 20 householders that the applicant had been their minister for six months preceding the application. This was provided and Administrator recommended the licence be issued though too late for the first Greek marriages in Darwin. There were eight children of the marriage.

After a period in Darwin's 'Greektown', the young couple early in 1919 set up home at Racecourse (Ludmilla) Creek where Haritos, in a partnership which included John Sphakanakis and Dick Colivas, began to develop salt pans to supply the newly built Vesteys meat works. In this the manager, Conacher, encouraged them, as the abattoirs required a great deal of salt. When Vesteys closed after only three years of operation the partners found markets on cattle stations and butchers' shops, refrigeration then being far from universal; buffalo shooters also required lots of salt. Constant analysis of the various stages of sedimentation was needed for success. The first analysis was taken on 29 March 1919. By June 1932 the import of salt into Darwin had ceased and 150 tons of salt valued at 1 200 Pounds was produced for the year from four acres.

At Racecourse Creek the growing family had a herd of several hundred goats and fresh milk every day. Fowls were another source of food; at one time Eleni Haritos had a contract to supply eggs to the hospital. They grew peanuts and watermelons, which were sold by the children from their home in McMinn Street, to which the family moved in 1925 so the children could be nearer the school. This house was typical of its day. It was constructed mostly of corrugated iron with wooden slats above sill level; there was a big central room with verandahs all round and a kitchen with a dirt floor at the rear separated from the house by a covered walkway. A well in the yard provided water.

The family prospered and by the time Darwin was bombed in 1942 Haritos owned four blocks of land in the town, including lot 334 (corner Daly and Cavenagh Streets) on which he had erected a two storey fibro shop and residence which was completed on 15 October 1940. He then opened a grocery store, which was to become something of a Darwin institution until his son, Michael, finally closed it in 1979.

When the evacuation of Darwin was ordered in December 1941 Haritos was 53 years old. He stayed until after the bombing and then joined his family at Mullumbimby, New South Wales, where he ran a banana plantation during the war years.

During the war the Army had occupied the store. Haritos returned to re-open it in January 1946, for the first few months, supplied by the Army. By then all the land in the town had been resumed, as it was the government's intention to replan and re-site the central business district, with tenure being on a leasehold basis only. For war damage and depreciation to two houses in McMinn Street in addition to the store in Daly Street, and as compensation for the acquisition of all his properties including the salt works, Haritos received a total of 6 100 Pounds. When the new town plan was abandoned in 1951 he was able, as a former owner, to repurchase his improvements and he obtained leases on one of the McMinn Street house properties as well as the Daly Street store. A new family home was completed in Bayview Street, Fannie Bay by March 1951. Over the next 20 years he developed a small market garden adjacent to the house.

All E G Haritos' sons have in their own way played prominent parts in the town's more recent history. **George** became a shipmaster, Jack (Kyriacou) became the family accountant, Nicholas was involved in fishing and Michael ran the store.

Stratos Haritos was naturalised on 7 March 1924 and he never went back to Greece. During the First World War he lost all his family except a sister. Not until his old age did his thoughts return to the land of his birth. He was to tell his children constantly how much he appreciated the security of his new country. He learned conversational English very quickly and eventually learned to read and write it though he also had a library of Greek books, which he often reread. Despite an uncertain temper at times a legacy, his family believes, of the plate in his head, he was always highly respected and was an important representative of the early Greek community which was to grow to significant numbers in Darwin.

He died in September 1974, not quite 87, having been predeceased by his wife who died on 8 July 1966. His eight children and numerous grandchildren and great grandchildren survived him and he was buried according to the rites of the Orthodox Church in the Greek section of the McMillans Road cemetery.

Administrator's annual reports, 1932, 1933; Australian Archives, Darwin, CRS F46, CRS F1 1946/159 Pt 2, CRS F1 1954/419; Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS A1/1 10053, CRS A3 19/1248, CRS A3/1 NT 21/4037; family information; Northern Territory Archives, interview with J Haritos, NTRS 226 TS 233 and TS 578; *Northern Territory News*, 27 September 1974.

HELEN J WILSON and JACK HARITOS, Vol 3.

HARITOS, GEORGE (NUNDY) (1920–1992), carpenter, fisherman, crocodile shooter, pearler and shipmaster was born at ‘Greek Town’ (the Doctor’s Gully end of the Esplanade) in Darwin on 14 April 1920. He was the eldest son of eight children born to Greek immigrants **Eustratios George Haritos** and his wife Eleni, *nee* Harmanis. Eustratios had immigrated to the Northern Territory in 1915, to work on the Pine Creek–Katherine railway extension. Eleni and her family had come to the Territory about the same time. His parents were married in Darwin on 5 September 1917. George spent the first years of his life in ‘Greek Town’ along with other Greek immigrants who built camps there of any materials they could find, mostly the structure was of saplings and kerosene tins flattened out to make walls.

When George was very young, Eustratios moved his family out to the salt works he had established on Ludmilla (Racecourse) Creek. When he was six the family moved from Ludmilla Creek to a house in McMinn Street so he could attend school at St Joseph’s School run by Our Lady of the Sacred Heart nuns. George could not speak English when he started school and so had to pick up the language quickly, but he did not recall having any difficulties. During his school years St Joseph’s School was a very multicultural and mostly tolerant environment of some 200 students of white Australian, part Aboriginal, Filipino, Chinese and Greek backgrounds.

Out of school hours George spent playing with his neighbours, the Aboriginal children of **Joel Cooper**, a well-known buffalo shooter and his wife, a Port Essington Aboriginal woman. George spent a lot of time with the children hunting, food gathering, learning bush lore and skills that would make him adept with the spear, harpoon and a source of local knowledge. They hunted goannas, turtles, bandicoots and possums. ‘Nundy’ was the nickname given to him by these children. It was thought that it was an Aboriginal word, but in fact was given to him for the Greek word he shouted when he found someone in the game of hide and seek, ‘Nundy, nundy’, he would shout, meaning, ‘Here they are! Here they are!’

As a teenager George was a member of the local boxing club, held at the old Star Theatre, along with his younger brother Nicholas and uncles George and Steve Harmanis. He had a reputation as a fighter in and out of the ring.

Salt flowed through George’s veins from an early age and he was 15 years old when he became the proud owner of his first boat made of karri hardwood built by his uncle Louis Harmanis. George named the five-metre boat *Wingah* that is Tiwi for ‘salt water’ and ‘spirits’ like rum and whisky. George was 14 when he left school and he worked at odd jobs around Darwin and out of town places like Maranboy tin-field at Rogue Hill. There was a building boom in Darwin in the 1930s and George was apprenticed to builder George Kafcaloudes. In Darwin they worked on Marrenah House on the Esplanade and on houses at Myilly Point. Around 1936 George helped build the police station at Timber Creek. The builders drove from Darwin in May in a Chevrolet truck and *Maroubra* took materials up the Victoria River. In the 1930s Timber Creek was a depot, a ‘sort of a pub where a lot of drovers used to put in their wet seasons’. Characters like Bert Drew, who had a 70 odd donkey wagon team, would sit and drink at the depot and write poetry during the wet. In the late 1930s George worked with his uncle, Louis Harmanis, building the police Station at the Roper Bar where in 1940 the river flooded and swamped the police station and all that could be seen of the building was the ventilator on the top of the roof. The Katherine River also flooded that year and Louis and George did some work on the Katherine aerodrome drainage. They had also built a school in Katherine in 1939.

In 1941 after several earlier attempts George enlisted in the Army. He was at West Point (Mandorah) attached as a carpenter building gun emplacements when the first bombing raids occurred on Darwin. From his position on the beach George saw three ships get hit: *Peary*, *British Motorist*, and some time later he witnessed the mighty explosion of ammunition on *Neptuna*. George recalled the debris of steel plates ‘up in the air like magic carpets’. George was still on the beach when searchlights from a Zero aircraft came along the beach and he dived for cover under a hibiscus tree. He went weak at the knees at the thought of his father and brother and the possible danger to them across the harbour in Darwin. Sometime later George’s unit moved to Katherine, then in April 1943 he was shifted to the Royal Australian Engineers unit at Kapooka in New South Wales. From Kapooka George went to New Guinea where he served for 14 months until late 1944. Then he went further north to Morotai near the Philippines. He was there until the end of the war.

During recreational leave in Brisbane, George met his wife to be Joan Monica Algie, who was from Chinchilla and in the Land Army based at Home Hill. They began 12 months of weekly correspondence from Morotai until they were married in Gympie, Queensland, on 12 October 1946. There were two children of the marriage: a son George (deceased) and a daughter Helen. The family returned to Darwin after the end of the Second World War. Joan shared George’s love of the sea and she became a shell collector of some note. She reportedly had one of the largest collection of shells in the southern hemisphere during the 1960s and 1970s. They shared a common love and interest in the bush and fishing in Kakadu. She supported him in anything he did over the 46 years they were together.

George had done some commercial fishing during 1938 and 1939. At disposals sales after the Second World War with two partners, Leo Hickey and Jim Edwards, he bought two 48-metre ketches *Australia* and *Derna*. With these the partners carted buffalo hides, fished and went crocodile shooting. They carted buffalo hides from Sampan Creek, the Point Stuart outlet then owned by Bill Black, from the Wildman River for the **Gadens** and from Kapalga on the South Alligator, Cannon Hill on the East Alligator for Smeaton and Doyle. They noticed lots of barramundi in Sampan Creek so got a net and an icebox for *Australia*. Their first attempts at fishing were not very successful as Italian hemp nets were soon cut by crocodiles, sharks and fish.

In April 1951 George and his partner Jim Edwards left Darwin in *Australia* for a crocodile-shooting trip to Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Whilst sailing up the Walker River a tree trunk staved in a plank.

It didn't take long for the boat to sink but fortunately it settled on a rock bar at low tide. There was a 25-metre dory, which they used to run nets and shoot crocs out of. George climbed into it and started throwing in what was needed. Eric Worrell was with them on the trip collecting sea snakes for his aquariums in New South Wales. He had a few venomous snakes that got loose in the melee of the sinking boat. Sugarbag and Sam, Aboriginal crew members, watched from the safety of the dory and gave a commentary to George about the event: 'watch out it's going to sink, it's going to sink', but then exclaimed, 'Tobacco, tobacco—get the tobacco!' Once George got the tobacco they were no longer interested, until they started yelling 'snake, snake, snake, get out quick!' It took George and Jim, who was a shipwright, a week to cut the damaged plank out and replace it with a new plank and to caulk it while George pulled the motor apart cleaned it and got it back together again and working. They were 960 kilometres from Darwin without any radio contact. This trip yielded 150 crocodile hides.

With the drought of 1951–1952, barramundi became scarce and the partnership of Haritos and Edwards broke up. George and his brothers, Ningle, Michael and Jack bought *Victory* and two other pearling tuggers, *Torbul* and *Fram* and went pearling. *Victory* was renamed *Despina* and it had Greeks from Kalymnos as divers, but they were not used to the pearling systems and the strong currents. So Japanese Okinawan divers who were very systematic workers and good seamen and proved the best pearl divers replaced them. The market was for mother-of-pearl shell and the pearls were a bonus. Shortly after the Haritos' brothers had started pearling, the bottom fell suddenly out of the market with the introduction of plastic buttons. The Okinawans had to be repatriated which was an expensive business. George went fishing in *Torbul* and the barramundi and the sale of the pearling shore base helped pay the pearling debts.

The fishing industry was in its infancy and George would sometimes fill up in one day with over 2 000 kilograms of barramundi. The fishing did pay well with interstate markets. It really kicked off with the use of nylon nets of about 18 centimetre mesh and interstate markets. Interstate markets for whole fish airfreighted to Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane were established by Ningle (Nicholas), George's brother, who did a tour of the capital cities promoting barramundi and setting up contacts for supply. About 27 000 kilograms of barramundi were exported in a season.

In 1955 George and his brothers were asked to take the Duke of Edinburgh and his *aide-de-camp*, Michael Parker, out crocodile shooting. Despite a storm warning the Duke shot a two metre crocodile with spotlight and was noted to be a very good shot. For decades George had a crocodile he called 'Albert' in his back yard.

In 1963 George with his uncle, Louis Harmanis, bought the ketch *Betty Joan*. She was 105 feet long, with 121 metric ton capacity and had been used for carrying wheat. George sailed her up the east coast from Port Adelaide to Darwin. From 1964 to 1970 George had contracts for oil surveys, and had a trip to Timor for sandalwood. He then obtained a contract to supply the settlements as they were called then: Bathurst Island, Garden Point Snake Bay, Goulburn Island, Croker Island Maningrida, Milingimbi, Elcho Island and Gove (Nhulunbuy). In 1971 he put a huge freezer into *Betty Joan* and went fishing in the Roper River; he was doing very well until 1974 when Cyclone Tracy claimed her in Frances Bay.

Barge Express offered George a job as Master of one of their barges and he worked for them for two years initially from 1975 to 1977. During those years he was Master on the barges *Alana Faye* and *Glenda Lee*. In late November 1975 George was master of *Alana Faye* on the return trip from Dili (Timor) when he and the crew found a Timorese refugee swimming in rough seas several miles from the Timor coast. He had been in the water for at least 12 hours and was very lucky to have been found as the currents were not in his favour George said. His name was George Remedios (Rocha) and he was brought back to Darwin where he was re-united with his sister who was living and working in Darwin and granted a seven-day visa. He was later re-united with his wife, two children and mother who were living in Perth. He and his family live in Darwin to this day.

George had to formalise his knowledge and experiences and go back to school (in Queensland) to sit for his Master's ticket, which he obtained in 1976. In 1977 he started to work for Perkins Shipping as First Mate and eventually Master on the coastal barges *Warrender* and *Fourcroy*. Barge Express and Perkins barge operations had taken over from George's owner/operator local coastal communities supply run. He worked for Perkins for approximately six years before returning to Barge Express to be Master of *Trisha Kate* until his retirement on 29 July 1989.

In the Australia Day honours in 1987, George was awarded the Order of Australia Medal (OAM). The citation said, in part, 'his speciality was the regular and reliable lifeline between Darwin and the islands, isolated Aboriginal communities, off-shore oil rigs and coastal settlements' from Western Australia to the Gulf of Carpentaria. George made a considerable contribution by adding to the knowledge of poorly charted waters and he took part in sea rescues.

He died on 8 June 1992, aged 72, survived by his wife and daughter. He was a stubborn man, totally committed to his ideals of fairness and sharing, and always searching for knowledge. It was said of him that he took everything that his remarkable life had to offer in his stride.

C Chandler, 'Sea Hasn't Seen Last of George', *Northern Territory News*, 29 July 1989; G Haritos, oral history interview, Murdoch University project 'The History of The Australian Fishing Industries', 19 May 1990, oral history interview, Northern Territory Archives, February 1991; A Manicaros, 'The Legend of George Haritos', *Sunday Territorian*, 14 June 1992; *Northern Territory News*, 28 November 1975, 9 June 1992; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 18 August 1992; G Reremedios, interview.

HELEN MARIA HARITOS, *Vol 3*.

HARNETT, HILDA GERTRUDE: see **ABBOTT, HILDA GERTRUDE**

HARNEY, WILLIAM EDWARD (BILL) (1895–1962), bush and ‘odd jobs’ worker, soldier, pastoralist, fisherman, trepanger, patrol officer, ranger and author, was born at Charters Towers, Queensland, in 1895, the son of William Harney, miner, and his wife Beatrice Annie, *nee* Griffin, both English born.

Living on the bread line, Harney’s parents were almost forever on the move. By the age of 10, with only three years’ formal education at the Charters Towers Boys’ School, the young Harney had worked at Longton, southwest of Charters Towers ‘bringing up the horses’ on a mail run. Between 10 and 12, he worked as a printer’s devil on the Charters Towers *Morning Post* while his mother worked as a cook at a boarding house and his father sought work at the tin and copper fields out west. Another move brought the family together again at the Mount Molloy copper mine and young Harney worked at a succession of odd jobs. In 1907, the Harneys moved back to Charters Towers, where his father worked the gold mine mullock heaps, while for some months young Bill assisted him.

At the age of 12, Harney left home as a horse tailer for a drover taking cattle from Normanton to the Gulf Country. His wages were 15 Shillings a week and keep. He stayed with cattle work for the next seven years, his last droving trip being in 1912. During the next two years he moved among cattle stations seeking jobs and at one stage worked on the 112-kilometre dry stage north of Kalidjewarra, a stretch of the rabbit proof fence designed to keep rabbits out of Queensland. He spent six weeks working in the mines near Cloncurry, but, detesting the tunnel work, went back to the lower wages but better life of the cattle stations.

He was on Wurung cattle station between Burketown and Cloncurry when the First World War broke out. With his mate Andy Anderson he enlisted in the Ninth Infantry Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force. Between 1914 and 1918 he served overseas in Egypt and France as a signaller and was twice mentioned in despatches. Forty years later he told of his experiences in that period and of his philosophy of war in an Australian Broadcasting Commission interview with producer John Thompson. ‘Harney’s War’ became a radio classic.

He returned to Australia in June 1919 and travelled straight to Queensland and Charters Towers, then to Carandotta. In September he arrived at Borroloola in the Northern Territory.

From 1919 until 1921 he worked with cattle once more. In 1921, with a partner, he took up a block of virgin land east of Borroloola on Seven Emus Lagoon. The period that followed was one of struggle, buying a few cattle from a cattleman and mustering herds of wild cattle, the offspring of others left behind by the overlanders. Early in 1923, he and his partner were accused of having cattle with ‘foreign’ brands on their run. Arrested and taken to Borroloola to await their trial in Darwin, they were incarcerated in the cell at the Borroloola Police Station. It was here, at the age of 28, he received an extensive education in the classics through reading books in the ‘Carnegie’ library, to which he had access. Later that year, with the trial in Darwin proving a fiasco, he cashed in the remainder of his war gratuity and bought a 10-ton ketch, *Iolanthe*. He then made the perilous journey along the north coast of Australia from Darwin to the Gulf of Carpentaria, the McArthur River and Borroloola. He abandoned Seven Emus to his partner and for the next seven years lived on board *Iolanthe*, making a living fishing and trepanging in the Gulf with his partner **Horace Mole Foster**.

Groote Eylandt was a frequent landfall and on 5 April 1927 he married Linda Beattie, an Aboriginal ‘mission girl’ from the Church Missionary Society mission established there.

In 1928 their daughter was born aboard *Iolanthe* and the family continued ‘working’ the Gulf and the Roper River for the Chinese trade. In 1931, Linda’s ill health forced them to sell *Iolanthe* to a mission station on the east coast of Arnhem Land and journey to Darwin, where their son was born on 30 October.

The years of the Great Depression not only proved hard for Harney and his family, whose very existence depended on outback station work, but also held tragedy. Between October 1930 and the last months of 1932, the family travelled by truck more than 6 000 kilometres through the south, west and centre of the Northern Territory seeking work. Linda’s health deteriorated and she died towards the end of 1932 from tuberculosis. In 1934 after two years in straitened circumstances on the dole in Katherine, Harney’s daughter died with a ‘TB spine’. He put his four-year old son in the care of Catholic priests in Darwin and set out to find work.

The next five years were spent in the Northern Territory on roadwork, fencing and contracting for government departments.

In 1940 Harney was appointed a Protector of Aborigines with the Native Affairs Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. He travelled far and wide throughout the Territory, seldom sleeping in one place for more than a night, carrying out wartime and post war patrols for Aboriginal welfare. It was during this period in 1945 that his 15-year-old son, visiting him in Alice Springs during school holidays, was drowned. Harney was now alone.

In 1948 he retired from the Native Affairs Branch and settled on the western shore of Darwin Harbour to continue his book writing started in 1943. Using his home, Darramunkamani, as a base, he was active in various ventures and was sought after as an adviser by many. He was a speaker at several writers’ groups and festivals in southern capital cities; he was an adviser on two National Geographic Society expeditions to Melville Island and Arnhem Land; he contributed prose and verse to a diverse range of magazines; he did radio broadcasts for the Australian Broadcasting Commission, and, during a visit to the United Kingdom to seek out his ancestral roots, he did several broadcasts on British radio. He also appeared on television there. In 1953 he represented Australia in the Commonwealth radio round up for the British Broadcasting Corporation Christmas broadcast. Throughout this period he continued to write books.

In 1957 he was appointed the first Ranger for Ayers Rock and Mount Olga National Park and Keeper of Ayers Rock. For five years he patrolled the area, attended to tourists’ needs and passed on Aboriginal myths concerning the rock.

In June 1962 he retired and made his home in Mooloolaba, Queensland. He died there on 31 December of the same year.

His published books were many and won wide acclaim as well as attracting a large readership. They included *Taboo* (1943), *North of 23°* (1946), *Brimming Billabongs* (1947), *Songs of the Songmen* (with **Professor A P Elkin**) (1949), which presents the beliefs, myths and customs of the Aborigines in verse form, *Life among the Aborigines* (1957), *Content to Lie in the Sun* (1958), *Tales from the Aborigines* (1959), *Bill Harney's Cook Book* (with Patricia Thomson) (1960), *Grief, Gaiety and Aborigines* (1961), an autobiographical account of hard times in the Australian outback during the Great Depression, *To Ayers Rock and Beyond* (1963) and *The Shady Tree* (with **Douglas Lockwood**, 1963), part written at the time of his death. *Bill Harney's War* (1983), introduced by Professor Manning Clark, is adapted from the radio program. *A Bushman's Life* (1990), a selection of his autobiographical writings, was compiled by Douglas and Ruth Lockwood. His monographs were *Ritual and Behaviour at Ayers Rock* (1960), *The Story of Ayers Rock* (1960) and *The Significance of Ayers Rock to the Aborigines* (1960). His contributions to prose and poetry magazines from 1941 included pieces in *The Bulletin*, *Walkabout* and *Overland*.

Known to all as Bill Harney and to his Aboriginal friends as Bilarni, Harney was an amiable and gentle man. Physically he was nuggetty in stature, had an open face and 'X ray' blue eyes. Although his formal education was scant, he became a learned man. He had a vast and exceptional knowledge with an intellect that few men possess. His conversation and liberality of thought were such that many came from other parts of the world to draw on his knowledge. They included professors, jurists, men and women of letters, linguists and historians. He communicated easily with Aborigines and his knowledge of their lore, customs, rites, languages and tribal laws was enormous. He made a valuable contribution to western knowledge of them. A beachcomber at heart, which implied solitude, he was paradoxically gregarious and a lover of people. His poetry was in the bush ballad style, but much dealt with the inner meaning of life and his philosophy of life. His memory has been perpetuated not only in the hearts of those who knew him but also in the Northern Territory with building names and plaques.

W Harney, *A Bushman's Life*, 1990; personal information.

RUTH LOCKWOOD, Vol 2.

HARRIS, GEORGE RICHMOND (DICK) (1901–1985), farmer, missionary and Anglican minister, was born at Petersham, Sydney, on 8 June 1901, the second son of George Harris and his wife Florence, *nee* Rippingdale. His father was a farmer and he spent the first 27 years of his life on the land, mostly at Wee Waa in northwestern New South Wales.

Harris had only a primary school education. The constant demands on the children to help the parents eke out a precarious living on the land meant that he could not be spared to go to a secondary school. In his 20s he became a committed Christian and felt called to be a missionary. He spent 1928 and 1929 at the Missionary and Bible College, Croydon, Sydney, studying for this purpose. On graduation he was accepted by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of the Church of England for missionary work among the Aborigines of north Australia.

Harris worked at Oenpelli in the Northern Territory during his first term of service from 1929 until 1932. His farming experience was invaluable in developing the agricultural and pastoral side of the mission. While south on his first furlough he married Ellen Tansley, whom he had known at Wee Waa. Ellen was born at Sydenham, Sydney, on 15 April 1904. She was an outstanding student and went on to the Sydney Teachers' College from which she graduated as a primary school teacher. A deeply committed Christian and a gifted teacher, she was a wonderful help to her husband in his work among Aboriginal people. They had three sons, David, Jim and Wilfred, and a daughter, Barbara.

Harris and his wife returned to Oenpelli in May 1933 where they quickly become engrossed in their missionary duties. He became Superintendent of the Mission when **Dyer** and his wife left in October 1934. This marked the commencement of the 'Dick Harris regime' at Oenpelli, which lasted until the end of 1941. During this time he and his wife, together with the other missionaries and their Aboriginal helpers, made the Mission into one of the best in the Territory. All aspects of the work prospered including the medical, educational, buffalo, cattle and agricultural under Harris's energetic leadership. In addition to teaching, his wife began making a study of the Gunwinggu (Kunwinkju) language with the help of Dr A Capell of the University of Sydney.

Harris returned to the north in May 1942 alone as all white and part Aboriginal women and children had been evacuated because of the possible Japanese invasion. He was asked to go to the Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt, but shortly afterwards was transferred to the Roper River Mission where he was able to put the station back into much better shape after a year there. He returned to Groote Eylandt in October 1943 in order to supervise the changeover from the Emerald River to Angurugu. He chose the new site and started the building work. He then stayed on at Angurugu for the next six years, playing an important part in firmly establishing the work. His wife also was able to return during this period and resume her excellent teaching program.

Harris entered the polygamy controversy during this tour. A few old Aboriginal men had married all the available women and had had all the girls promised to them, causing unrest, elopements, killings and feudings. Both **Gray** at Umbakumba and Harris at Angurugu were able to negotiate the release of some of these women and arrange for their marriage with the younger men without wives, thus easing the situation.

Harris and his wife were transferred to the Roper River Mission in 1949 in order to re-establish the work there. After 18 months' successful operations they returned south for their leave.

His next tour during 1951 and 1952 was spent alone as his wife remained behind to look after the children and their education. He spent a short time at Roper and then moved across to Oenpelli. In August 1952 he was sent to Numbulwar (Rose River) to advise on the establishment of the new CMS mission there. After several months there he returned south on leave.

Harris spent the next six years in New South Wales studying for the Anglican ministry and serving a curacy at Pitt Town. He was ordained priest on 5 June 1954. He later became a Canon.

In March 1958 Harris and his wife returned to the north, starting his ministry there as adviser at Umbakumba, which the CMS had just taken over from Gray. After a few months there he was transferred to Angurugu for a short time and then on to Oenpelli. In December 1958 the CMS appointed him Senior Missionary and CMS representative in the Northern Territory. In effect he was now superintendent of the Society's five missions in Arnhem Land. In September 1959 he was transferred to Angurugu to iron out the problems that had arisen there. He returned to Oenpelli about a year later where he and his wife continued to work with great acceptance until October 1963.

Harris and his wife spent their last tour of service from early 1964 until the end of 1965 at Oenpelli, where he was Chaplain. They then returned south, so ending 31 years' outstanding service to the CMS. In 1966 he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) 'in recognition of his valuable service to Aborigines.'

Harris was a tough Christian character, occasionally resorting to physical violence to achieve his ends. Yet he was also a gentle person, caring for the sick, the aged and little children. He was fiercely jealous of his family and a person with simple childlike faith. He was an extremely hard worker. He is ranked as one of the most outstanding among the CMS missionaries to have worked among the Aborigines of Arnhem Land.

Harris died on 24 April 1985.

K Cole, *Dick Harris*, 1980, *A History of Oenpelli*, 1975, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; Church Missionary Society Records, Melbourne and Sydney.

KEITH COLE, Vol 2.

HARRIS, NORMA CATHERINE: see **PITCHENEDER, NORMA CATHERINE (BILLIE)**

HARVEY, OLIVE: see **O'KEEFFE, OLIVE**

HASLUCK, (Sir) PAUL MEERNA CAEDWALLA (1905–), journalist, historian, public servant, politician and Governor General, was born on 1 April 1905 at Fremantle, Western Australia, son of E'thel M C Hasluck, a Salvation Army officer, and his wife Patience Eliza, *nee* Wooler. He was educated at the Perth Modern School and the University of Western Australia, where he graduated Master of Arts in History. Until the Second World War he worked as a journalist in Western Australia and developed a special interest in the plight of the state's Aborigines which was reflected his books *Our Southern Half-Castes* (1938) and the widely acclaimed *Black Australians* (1942). In 1941 he joined the Commonwealth Department of External Affairs, serving in senior positions both in Australia and overseas. Resigning in 1947, in 1948 he became Reader in History at the University of Western Australia and started work on two volumes of the Australian Official War History, *The Government and the People 1939–1945* (1951 and 1970). On 14 April 1932 he married Alexandra Margaret Martin, daughter of J Darker of Ipswich, Queensland. They had two sons.

In the 1949 federal elections Hasluck was elected Liberal Member of the House of Representatives for the Perth seat of Curtin, which he held until his retirement from politics in 1969. On 11 May 1951 the Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, appointed him Minister for Territories. He retained the portfolio until 18 December 1963, being in charge of the administration of the Northern Territory for the entire period. He thus became the longest serving minister responsible for the Territory.

Despite his later observation that the portfolio was 'not highly esteemed', he took his duties seriously. He fought hard for increased Commonwealth funding and visited the Territory regularly, travelling to its most remote areas. It was at least partly as a consequence of his efforts that the Territory's economy developed quite markedly and its population grew. He tried to make the Territory a place where 'ordinary' Australians wanted to live and was critical of those, such as the author **Douglas Lockwood**, who perpetuated what he saw as the outmoded notion of the region as a 'last frontier'.

Hasluck's ministerial style was highly interventionist. He ensured that the Administrator should communicate with him directly and that the original submissions of his Northern Territory government officers on any matter at all go before him. He insisted that he should be accessible to those Territorians who had matters of importance they wished to raise with him. Even so, members of the Territory's Legislative Council continued to complain that the Canberra bureaucracy was too dominant. Hasluck also attracted criticism on the grounds that he was overly conservative. Some felt that while he was intelligent and conscientious, he should recognise forces of change and anticipate their consequences.

One example of such caution was his attitude to the functions of the Territory's Legislative Council. He directed 'official' Council members to support government policies and opposed the wishes of those elected Councillors who wanted greater financial and political powers. His attitude to Northern Territory self-government was straightforward. The Territory population, he felt, was too small to justify greater political autonomy and was unable to raise sufficient revenue to meet the costs of necessary public services. In 1959, however, the federal government allowed the Territory Member on the House of Representatives to have the right to vote on all Territory matters and established an Administrator's Council. He also approved an increase in the size of the Legislative Council, which gave elected members a stronger role. But the ultimate acceptance or rejection of ordinances remained with the government. Elected Councillors continued their battle with Hasluck for the remainder of his period as minister.

Another area where he attracted criticism was Aboriginal affairs. He strongly supported the policy of assimilation, believing it was the best way of securing real Aboriginal advancement. He insisted that budgets for Aboriginal

welfare be increased and that Aborigines should have the same opportunities as other Australians. The *Northern Territory Welfare Ordinance* of 1953 set the direction of Aboriginal administration for the next 20 years. Under it Aborigines were committed to the State's care solely on the grounds that, as individuals and not because of their race, they were in need of special assistance. A Welfare Branch under a Director of Welfare replaced the Native Affairs Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. Not all observers, though, agreed with Hasluck that the new ordinance represented a positive advance. **Professor A P Elkin**, the noted anthropologist, claimed that its changes were essentially semantic. Others, particularly by the 1960s, argued that the whole assimilation ideology embodied in the ordinance was designed to destroy a separate Aboriginal culture.

Even so, Hasluck was totally sincere in his determination to promote Aboriginal welfare. Under the direction of his protégé **Harry Giese** the Welfare Branch grew rapidly. In 1964 it had 504 staff members. Both Hasluck and Giese were keen to attract graduates to the Branch and also made provision for officers to attend special training courses at the Australian School of Pacific Administration in Sydney. The Branch accumulated many achievements. Health, housing and education of Aborigines were upgraded. New settlements were established. Less success, though, took place on pastoral stations as many pastoralists were unhappy to have a separate organisation represented on their properties.

Hasluck's career after he left the Department of Territories was distinguished. He was Minister for Defence and Minister for External Affairs before serving as Governor General of Australia between 1969 and 1974. After retiring to Perth, he wrote several important books, including a powerful defence of his Aboriginal policies, *Shades of Darkness*, published in 1988. In 1991 he returned to Darwin to deliver the Eric Johnston Lecture, later published as *Pioneers of Postwar Recovery* (1992), in which he reviewed some aspects of his experiences in the Territory. He received many high honours: Privy Councillor (PC) in 1966, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (GCMG) in 1969, Knight Grand Cross of the Victorian Order (GCVO) in 1970 and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (KG) in 1979.

Hasluck was, in his own words, virtually 'Premier and the whole of State Cabinet' in the Northern Territory during a particularly critical era in its history. Though he was later accused of being a 'one man show', his achievements were, as Peter Donovan later wrote, 'real and abiding'.

PF Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984; P Hasluck, *Mucking About*, 1977, *Shades of Darkness*, 1988, *Pioneers of Postwar Recovery*, 1992; A Heatley, *Almost Australians*, 1990; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1992.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

HAULTAIN, CHARLES THEODORE GRAHAM (THEO) (1896–1976), master mariner, naval officer, public servant and author, was born in Calcutta, India, on 17 May 1896, the son of Henry Graham Haultain and his wife Helen Caroline, *nee* Hill. After attending kindergarten in India, Haultain continued his schooling in England and joined the merchant navy as a cadet. He joined the British India Company and saw service on its ships during the First World War. In August 1917 he entered the Royal Navy as a Sub Lieutenant. For the remainder of the war he served on minesweepers. After demobilisation he moved to New Zealand, where he joined the Union Steamship Company. While serving as a Third Mate on the passenger ship *Niagara* on the Australia to Canada run he met his future wife, Ruby Olive (Pat) Cust. They married in Vancouver, Canada, on 26 July 1926. In 1928 Haultain, who had by this stage gained his Master (Foreign Going) Certificate, left the sea due to severe bronchitis. He held a variety of jobs until in 1935 he was appointed to the Northern Territory Patrol Service of the Customs Department in Darwin.

Haultain took command of the 45 foot Scott Paine designed craft *Larrakia*, which was nearing completion in England. Although *Larrakia* was initially intended as a sea air rescue craft to stand by on the coast when Qantas aircraft were making the Darwin to Singapore run, she was, due to concerns voiced by the pearling industry and church groups, to serve a dual purpose. The Darwin based pearling industry was under increasing pressure from Japanese pearlmen, and income from pearling had fallen sharply during the 1930s. In 1936 the 29 Darwin based pearling luggers were faced with competition from between 60 and 70 Japanese luggers, serviced by a mother ship, operating in local waters. The concern of the church groups was that there was no control over the Japanese luggers or Darwin based luggers with Japanese crews and that crewmen were landing on the north coast and causing problems by interfering with Aboriginal women. This situation had led to bloodshed on several occasions. The murder of five Japanese crewmembers from a Darwin based lugger by Aborigines at Caledon Bay in September 1932 highlighted the problems. Amendments to the *Aboriginal Ordinance* were finalised in 1937 that introduced high penalties for luggers entering the territorial limits of Aboriginal Reserve waters.

Larrakia, Haultain and the four crew members he had selected were transported to Darwin on *Mangola*, arriving on 18 May 1936. His family and sister in law later joined him. There were four children, Theodore, known as Graham, Veronica, Philippa and Robin. The family lived in several locations before settling at Myilly Point.

The establishment of the Northern Territory Patrol Service was not without its difficulties. *Larrakia* had not been designed for tropical conditions and her engines were unreliable. When Haultain made his first arrest in June 1937 under the new Aboriginal Ordinance, he was deeply embarrassed by the fact that his 'captive' had to tow him part of the way back to Darwin. Two Japanese luggers were arrested in August and the boats confiscated. When there were more arrests in September, the Japanese owners took the matter to the Supreme Court. When the case was heard in June 1938, the judge, **T A Wells**, much to Haultain's disgust, ordered the luggers returned to the owners and awarded 2 000 Pounds damages. To add insult to injury, Haultain was ordered shortly afterwards to clear the Darwin Harbour entrance of three Japanese luggers, which had refused to move to allow HMAS *Moresby*

to enter port. By 1938 he had left *Larrakia* and taken command of a new Customs vessel, *Vigilant*. The patrol service gained an extra vessel, *Kuru*, in September 1938. However the service was undermined by the reluctance of the authorities to take strong action against Japanese vessels due to the tense international situation. In December 1941 the Royal Australian Navy for defence purposes commandeered *Larrakia*, *Kuru* and *Vigilant*.

After war service in both the Royal Australian Air Force and the Royal Australian Navy, Haultain rejoined the Customs Department and in 1947 moved to the Australian Shipping Board as Chief Officer. He did not return to Darwin. He retired on 16 May 1961 and settled with his family at Ingleburn, New South Wales. Haultain spent much of his early retirement writing *Watch Over Arnhem Land*, which was published in 1971. Apart from providing a valuable record of the infant patrol service, the book outlined how such a service should be run and suggested it should be a coast guard modelled on the American system and free of naval influence.

Haultain died on 31 July 1976. His wife predeceased him by about eight weeks. Graham Haultain, despite his father's opposition, also became a master mariner.

C T G Haultain, *Watch Over Arnhem Land*, 1971; family information from Captain T G Haultain, West Ryde, New South Wales.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

HAVEY, CHARLES (CHARLEY) (1871–1950), grazier, horse breeder, drover, trader and storekeeper, was born on 9 August 1871 at Kapunda, South Australia, son of Irish Catholics Peter Heavey (*sic*) and his wife Elizabeth, *nee* Power. The third youngest of eight children, Havey was five when his father, a railway carrier, drowned. Nothing is known of his early years except that his older brother Frank left home at 12 to help support the family, two years before their father died, so Charles probably left home at a young age also.

Havey, a tall, well-built man, was working on cattle stations in South Australia's far north in the early 1890s and owned some very fine horses which he entered at annual bush race meetings throughout the north. He formed a successful partnership with his horse trainer mate, Ike Reid, who later became a leading trainer in Adelaide. At the Innamincka races in 1892, held over two days, Havey entered at least five horses, winning prize money of 66 Pounds 10 Shillings from four wins and five minor placings.

When the great drought devastated South Australia's far northeast at the turn of the century Havey was managing Kanowana cattle station on Cooper Creek, owned by Thomas Elder's Beltana Pastoral Company. By 1903 cattle numbers on the station had fallen from 20 000 to only 1 600. Havey decided to leave the Cooper country and its unreliable seasons.

In 1905, following his mother's death in August, Havey took up droving and worked his way north into Queensland and then to Borroloola in the Northern Territory. At that time the white population of this dying Gulf town was six middle-aged men. Gone were the wild days of the big cattle drives of the 1880s when his brother Peter worked as a stockman on John Costello's Valley of Springs station on the Limmen Bight River. Although he continued to visit relatives in Adelaide periodically, the Borroloola district was to become Havey's home and the centre of his varied business interests for the rest of his life.

In 1911 Havey and Clifford Lynott, one of the town residents, were granted Pastoral Permit 301 over a 200 square mile block near the Wearyan River, which they named Wearing Station (the river's correct spelling). Havey bought out Lynott and went on to own a number of other small pastoral holdings north and west of the town, including Bing Bong station, all of which were the subject of annual Grazing Licences. According to the district Stock Report for 1919, 'Mr Charles Havey breeds some very fine cattle and horses'. It seems that Havey also had a small store at Wearing, taking advantage of its position on the Old Coast Track beside Warby Lagoon.

Following a patrol to Wollongorang on the Queensland border in 1913 to investigate complaints of cattle spearing, Senior Constable Dempsey noted that Havey's station was the only one between Borroloola and the border, and that 'between (Borroloola) and the Calvert River there are perhaps 400 natives'.

Havey took out a Mining Lease in 1911 (no. 10) and in 1917 obtained a Timber Licence allowing the removal of sandalwood from near the coast. This was renewed the following year when he shipped three tons to Thursday Island.

In July 1916 Havey was appointed a Justice of the Peace, a position he held until his death in 1950. Two such Justices could sit as a court of Summary Jurisdiction, so Havey was in a position to administer justice in remote Borroloola and not all of the cases he heard were for minor offences. It is thought that he was one of those who heard the much-publicised 1923 case involving charges of cattle rustling against three well-known residents of the district, who were found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. The Darwin Supreme Court on a legal technicality later overturned the convictions on appeal. Stories abound of Havey's sometimes unorthodox treatment of those who appeared before him, such as the time he is alleged to have fined an offender a bottle of rum and then adjourned to the Tattersalls Hotel where all concerned consumed the fine.

Havey moved to the edge of town in 1917, taking up four and a half hectares for gardening near the junction of Rocky Creek and the McArthur River, adjacent to the famous Chinese Gardens of Borroloola, owned at that time by Chin Kahan. In 1920 Havey acquired a further 16 hectares of adjacent land for gardening and grazing. When Kahan died in 1926, Havey, who was executor, bought the four one and a half hectare gardens from the estate for 80 Pounds, with the consent of the Darwin Supreme Court.

He built a very large store next to his garden area, selling goods to surrounding stations and bartering with the locals. Salt gathered from the salt pans near Manangoora was taken to Borroloola where Havey would trade it for flour, tea and other goods, then sell it to stations on the tablelands. He paid 3 Pounds per ton on the riverbank at Manangoora or 6 Pounds per ton on the bank at Borroloola. Havey was also the local shipping agent, butcher,

Postmaster, coroner (by virtue of being a Justice of the Peace) and President of the McArthur River Institute, which operated the famous Carnegie Library.

He was also, of course, the judge at the annual Borroloola races. According to author **Bill Harney**, ‘the front verandah of the hotel was the grandstand, and a line from the bar door to a verandah post was the time-honoured sight for the finishing post. Each race was always judged by ‘The Lawyer’ who conveniently stood at the bar to judge the races’. In a number of Harney’s books, Havey is referred to as ‘The Lawyer’.

In 1919 he bought the cutter *Avis* from Captain McLennan of Thursday Island for 120 Pounds. He used it for delivering freight, transporting gear to his various businesses and hiring out to others, until it was stolen from the wharf in Darwin by two fugitives who wrecked it on the coast of Bathurst Island.

A close association with Aboriginal people was a major feature of Havey’s years in the outback. Back at Cooper Creek there were a number of important Aboriginal sites on Kanowana and a permanent camp of about 40 Dieri people, some of whom worked for him. Havey’s extensive business interests in the Borroloola district, however, relied heavily on the many Aboriginal people who worked for him and with whom he developed a close relationship. Tim Rakuwurlma, a Yanyuwa from Vanderlin Island, worked on and off for Havey for some 40 years assisting him in various ways, including making him a dugout canoe and catching and salting dugong. Another long time employee was Old Pluto, Havey’s head stockman, who also supervised the unloading of the supply boat from Darwin, for which Havey was the agent. Although never legally married, Havey lived for many years with Yama, a Yanyuwa woman, and was considered by her family to be a relative. They had no children.

Havey in turn was able to assist local Aboriginal people. A number of them remember Havey fondly for his kindness. And as a Justice of the Peace he would have been in a position to assist Aboriginal people in legal matters, both formally and otherwise. If someone fell foul of the law, the first advice from friends would be ‘see Charley Havey’, who might have a quiet word with the local policeman.

Despite living so far from Adelaide, Havey occasionally travelled there to visit relatives and attend the races. He went down in 1923 to see his brother Frank who was dying of cancer, and stayed for the funeral. His visits, however, were not welcomed by all of his Adelaide relatives. On one occasion when it was learnt that Charley was travelling by train from Alice Springs with his swag, the wife of one of his nephews complained that Charley would no doubt take her husband out on the town and bring him home the worse for wear.

Havey disposed of the last of his grazing interests in 1943 due to ill health. In the late 1940s he eventually accepted a long-standing offer from Albert Morcom, licensee of the Newcastle Waters hotel, to buy his store. A young soldier stationed at Borroloola in 1942 later recalled being fascinated by the collection of old items in Havey’s store. He remembers Havey as ‘a quiet, good-mannered man’.

Early in 1950 Havey became seriously ill. He was taken across the McArthur River to the town in a dugout canoe by a large number of his Aboriginal friends, for evacuation to Tennant Creek hospital by the mail plane. The farewell by the Aborigines was an emotional one and Havey too was visibly upset. He knew he would never return to the people he had lived with for almost 50 years. Some, however, travelled by truck to Tennant Creek, a distance of 700 kilometres by rough track, to be with him at the end. He died in Tennant Creek hospital a week later, on 12 February, and was buried in the Tennant Creek cemetery in an unmarked grave.

The obituary in the *Northern Standard* observed that ‘he was known by all hands from the Administrator down and was liked and respected by all who knew him’. In a letter to relatives in Adelaide, the Acting Superintendent of Police in Darwin described him as ‘a very highly respected man’, who ‘lived a hard, lonely life at Borroloola—but was content with his lot’.

When news of his death reached Borroloola the Aborigines marked it with ‘sorry business’—wailing and the cutting of heads. The old timers declared they had never known the Aborigines to wail for a white man before.

RM Baker, ‘Land is Life’, PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1989; Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory, CRS E332; Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS F275 vols 3 & 4; WE Harney, *Content to Lie In The Sun*, 1958; *Northern Standard*, 17 February 1950; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 21 July 1923, 28 July 1923, 5 September 1924; South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 77/1899; State Records of South Australia, GRG 384/1887; H M Tolcher, *Drought or Deluge: Man in the Cooper Creek Region*, 1986; personal communication M Harvey, S Johnston, E W Morey, J R Twyford.

TONY ROBERTS, Vol 3.

HAWKS, CEDRIC JAMES (SID) (1907–), seafarer, storekeeper and adventurer, was born at Belfast, Ireland, on 13 April 1907, the first of three sons to Norwegian/Irish James Thomas Hawks and his English wife Amy, *nee* Durden. Prior to his marriage, Hawks’ father had been with the Gloucestershire regiment and then *aide-de-camp* to a governor in China. His father returned to England in 1906 to be married and commence duties with the diplomatic service. Hawks’ childhood was mostly spent in Malta and China before returning to England in 1915.

Hawks commenced training as a cadet at the Portsmouth Naval College but was ‘sent-down’. At age 15 he was apprenticed for six years to Harland & Wolff, Shipbuilders and Engineers, Queen’s Island, Belfast. Although his uncle was in charge of the draughting office, Hawks’ preference for marine engineering was accommodated. Hawks found that in that environment ‘with the name Cedric you got yourself into a bit of trouble’ and on his uncle’s advice switched his name to Sid.

At age 22 he signed on as a ship’s engineer with the Aberdeen and Commonwealth Line, which had passenger and cargo vessels calling at Australian ports. Hawks became ‘a bit enamoured with a girl in Sydney’ in late 1938. He left the Line and obtained employment with Tulloch’s Steelworks as a leading hand/turner. The love affair did not last but an alternative commenced as Hawks’ weekly pay of nine Pounds 10 Shillings was sufficient to commence twice-weekly flying lessons at the Kingsford Flying School, Mascot. With the outbreak of war,

Hawks was one of the first to volunteer but the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) favoured his engineering rather than his flying skills.

Hawks' main RAAF postings were as a hydraulics specialist with Lockheed Hudson, Fairy Battles, Spitfires, and Catalina aircraft at Laverton, Evans Heads, Port Pirie, Townsville and Archerfield. During the war he married Melbourne born Thelma Cecelia Anderson, an Adagio dancer and skilled acrobat of Spanish descent. When Hawks was posted from Port Pirie to Queensland, Thelma started a small clothing factory in Brisbane with about 15 employees specialising in satin stitching. Later, when discharged, Hawks did a three-month rehabilitation course in Sydney learning to repair sewing machines.

Demand for their products expanded after the war and they purchased additional specialist machines and had 30 employees. But Hawks was uncomfortable in that work environment 'among all those women and often not much to do' and he went back to sea for nine months as an engineer of a 27-metre cargo vessel plying New Guinea waters. Within a few years the factory faced increased competition from Hungarian refugees and the Hawks decided to sell the business and move to the Northern Territory.

With the encouragement of Colonel Rose, and on advice that a railway spur-line was being surveyed from Newcastle Waters to Top Springs, the Hawks built a store at Top Springs in 1949–1950. Local timber was milled with equipment they brought with them from Brisbane. Used roofing iron was obtained from the East Arm Catalina base. Top Springs was an excellent watering hole on the stock route and in the following years up to 80 standard mobs (1 500 cattle and a dozen hands) passed through each year. For the next decade Hawks was involved in developing a fuel agency (Vacuum Oil, nowadays Mobil Oil) and trucking business (freight and cattle) throughout the area servicing the pastoral industry from Katherine west and south; with occasional runs to Burketown and Nourlangie. The store was also an agency for the Post Office and Commonwealth Bank. An airstrip was cleared, mainly by hand, enabling weekly flights by **Connellan** to commence in 1954/1955. During this time Hawks held a small and slightly profitable grazing licence at nearby Yellow Water but was denied another at Cattle Creek as 'unsuitable for pastoral purposes' but which was soon after granted to Vestey. Hawks claims that the senior government official concerned later received a year of free travel with the Vestey Blue Star shipping line!

With each cattle droving season generating 2 000 Pounds to 3 000 Pounds trade, the change from overlanding to trucking 'finished Top Springs as a good business'. In its heyday, Top Springs store was reported as one of the largest rural retailers of hats, boots, shirts and trousers. Most wet seasons Hawks would travel to Melbourne to either rebuild or purchase trucks and return with clothing supplies for the following dry season. While Hawks concentrated on the trucking business, his wife ran the store and managed the finances. By the late 1950s Hawks became aware of some of his wife's unconventional accounting practices. They had for several years disagreed over profit margins and her pursuit of outstanding accounts, but he was unaware of the transfer of funds from the trucking business to the store account, additional bank accounts in her name, sizeable amounts of cash that she was hoarding and/or sending to her brother Paul (The Mighty Apollo) to support his gymnasium, and the active passbook accounts of dead drovers. Hawks and his wife parted company in 1960; he moved to Darwin and kept trucking for 18 months while she remained at Top Springs until her death, aged 68, of asthma on 10 May 1981. Thelma's death later created headlines when a police officer sent to investigate her death was charged with stealing a considerable sum of cash from the store.

After selling his trucking business to Eddie Quan Sing, Hawks assisted a friend in shipping ventures throughout the Pacific prior to returning to Darwin. He purchased the wooden hulled MV *Larrpan* from the Methodist Church in 1962 and operated a local coastal shipping service for the next seven years. During these years Hawks and **Bruce Perkins** briefly formed a partnership; but this soon ended when they disagreed over finance for a barge and the negotiation of a contract with Nabalco. Hawks sold *Larrpan* to Johnny Chattarton in August 1968. Following a three month venture in Tonga and the New Hebrides, Hawks again returned to Darwin and purchased the 17-metre steel hulled *Arandel* which he used for coastal shipping but mainly on contract for local and Indonesian marine surveys.

In September 1972, Hawks was part of a syndicate that located the wreck of a large Japanese submarine sunk by the HMAS *Deloraine* 40 miles north of Darwin on 23 January 1942. The *I-124* had remained in good condition but a salvage operation was beyond their resources and the group was expanded. Sporadic diving followed but most of the action took place ashore and in the media with accusations and counter claims between the associates, and various agencies, which culminated in the site being declared a war grave after one of the associates, Harry Baxter, threatened to blow up the submarine.

While the owner of *Larrpan* Hawks met and commenced courting Thien Messakh, daughter of a high ranking family from Roti, Indonesia. On 9 June 1972 they were married at Marauke, West Irian, while *Arandel* was involved in a survey for Continental Oil. Hawks and his wife then lived aboard *Arandel* until it was sold in 1974.

Hawks sold *Arandel* in mid-1974 and moved into a Stuart Park flat. Thien was pregnant at the time and they considered it better to be ashore with access to friends and medical support. It was in this flat that they and five Indonesian girls sheltered during Cyclone Tracy, December 1974. On the eve of the cyclone Hawks had advised several skippers to take their vessels up Sadgroves Creek where he had previously sheltered; however, the wreck of one of these vessels was later found at Mandorah and two people were listed as missing presumed drowned—though Hawks had seen five others aboard at the time of his advice. After the cyclone Hawks, his wife and the five girls moved to the rear section of Smith/Bennett Street Commercial Bank which had been previously leased by the Indonesian Consulate, and where Thien was employed. The next day Thien was evacuated to Victoria and on 7 January gave birth to their son James. In the weeks that followed Hawks had some trouble with looters trying to break into the bank's safe and with a group of men accosting the Indonesian girls thinking they were from the 'cat house' operating in the adjacent arcade.

The 26-metre Japanese trawler *Konpira Maru 15* was beached on Bathurst Island during cyclone Tracy. On Chattarton's initiative he and Hawks, using the *Larrpan*, successfully salvaged the abandoned vessel and withstood the subsequent legal challenges by an Aboriginal group from Bathurst Island and then by the former owners. After two months repairs, mainly to the electrical system and engine room, the *Konpira* was ready for sea. On the 26 August 1975 it was chartered by Kerry Packer to take him and a TCN9 television crew to Dili. Despite also having a medical team and supplies on board, the Portuguese would not issue an entry permit and Australian customs had only cleared the *Konpira* to Bali. Two weeks earlier the Timor Democratic Union (UDT) had staged a coup ahead of the Portuguese withdrawal from East Timor which was scheduled for the following October. Strong fighting between the pro-Portuguese UDT and the more radical independence group Fretilin had resulted in many refugees fleeing to Indonesia and Australia. Hawks found the fighting in Dili 'haphazard and very disorganised' with several mortars narrowly missing the *Konpira* but sinking a Perkins barge nearby. Hawks took Packer and a group of evacuees several days later 20 miles offshore to the Portuguese controlled Atauro Island where some aircraft were still operating, then returned to Dili. Neither Hawks nor Chattarton were directly involved in any of the fighting between the UDT and Fretilin, and were able to move around and meet with various organisations before departing Dili. The *Konpira* returned to Darwin on 4 September with 176 (mainly Chinese) evacuees; one had died and a baby had been born during the voyage. Brian Peters, who had shared Hawks' cabin on the journey to Dili, returned to East Timor on 12 October and was one of the five news crew shot at Balibo on 17 October.

In 1975, while Hawks was in Singapore arranging Panamanian registration for the *Konpira*, Chattarton had gone to the assistance of a crippled yacht the *Brigadoon* and towed it from Macassar to New Zealand. Hawks decided to leave the partnership with Chattarton, and Martin Johnstone, another of the latter's partners, purchased Hawks' 49% share of the *Konpira*.

After then Hawks, Thien and James lived a relatively quiet lifestyle at Ludmilla, Darwin. Thien was a member of the Indonesian Consulate staff, James studied at the Northern Territory University and Hawks was involved with the East Point Artillery Museum and conducted a small picture framing business.

P Barry, *The Rise And Rise Of Kerry Packer*, 1993; R Hall, *Greed*, 1981; *Northern Territory News*, August–September 1975; Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Collection, S Hawks, 1988; Royal Australian Navy File 1932/3/51.

RUARY BUCKNALL, Vol 3.

HAYDON, LAURENCE JOHN (JACK) (1918–), Citizen Military Force officer and insurance consultant, was born on 18 February 1918 in Launceston, Tasmania, a descendant of John Haydon who died on 9 March 1587 and whose tomb is found in the Church of St Mary at Ottery in the County of Devon, England. John Haydon was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and builder of Cadhay, a fine Tudor mansion. In 1545, John Haydon was made one of the first four Governors of the Church of St Mary at Ottery.

After completing his schooling at Wellington Square Practising School, Haydon joined the 12th Battalion (the Launceston Regiment) as a Cadet on his 15th birthday, and then enlisted in the Militia two years later on his 17th birthday, 18 February 1935.

He served with the 12th Battalion during the period of voluntary enlistment, whilst employed as a grocer, as a member of the Horse Transport Section in Headquarters Wing, and in his first year of service won the King's Trophy marksmanship award of the National Rifle Association. The battalion was reconstituted as the 12th/50th Battalion with effect from 1 December 1936, and was mobilised for war service in 1939. Haydon attained the rank of Sergeant, and was then commissioned on 7 January 1940 with the rank of Lieutenant. Upon the outbreak of the Second World War, he served on full-time duty with the Australian Imperial Force (AIF), with the 12th/50th Battalion in Launceston, the 10th/48th Battalion AIF in Darwin, and the 2/6th Cavalry Regiment AIF in the Northern Territory. He was present in Darwin during the first and several of the subsequent Japanese air raids and served a total of two years in the Northern Territory. He transferred to the Reserve of Officers in 1945, but maintained his military connections as a member of the 12th Battalion Rifle Club.

From 1945 to 1957 he worked in the field of automotive engineering, while from 1957 to 1963 he worked with Ajax Insurance Company in Launceston as an engineer; he was appointed Justice of the Peace for Tasmania in 1958. Upon the raising of a Citizens' Military Force (CMF) by voluntary enlistment in 1948, he joined the 6th Anti-Tank Regiment, Royal Regiment of Australian Artillery and served as a Lieutenant and Captain. The unit was redesignated 6th Field Regiment in 1950 and re-equipped with 25 pounders, and Haydon continued to serve until 1959. He was Officer Commanding A Troop, P Battery, and fired the Royal Salute for the visit of Her Majesty the Queen to Tasmania in 1954, and was then Officer Commanding R Battery, at full strength with National Service trainees. In 1959 he was nominated to become Commanding Officer of the 6th Field Regiment, but was instead transferred to the Infantry Corps, promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and appointed Commanding Officer of the 12th Battalion (the Launceston Regiment). He retained his link with artillery, however, as parade commander on 7 May 1960 during the 100th anniversary celebration of the Launceston Volunteer Artillery.

He presided over the 12th Battalion's celebration of 100 years of volunteer service in Tasmania at this time, and successfully applied for the award of the Battle Honour 'Goodenough Island 1942' to the 2/12th Battalion AIF, for an action there (as Drake Force) on 22–26 October 1942. He was the Battalion's 24th and last Commanding Officer, and was responsible for laying-up the Colours of the 12th Battalion in the Launceston Town Hall on 7 May 1960, prior to the battalion's incorporation into the Royal Tasmanian Regiment. From 1 July 1960, under the Pentropic organisation, Army Reserve units were grouped geographically within State-based regiments. Haydon thus became Officer Commanding, Launceston Company of the 1st Battalion, Royal Tasmanian Regiment (1RTR), between

1960 and 1963. In 1962–1963 he was concurrently Commanding Officer for the Launceston Area of the Command and Staff Training Unit (Tasmania Command).

He transferred to Darwin in 1963, where he was founding manager of Ajax Insurance Ltd until 1974; he was appointed Justice of the Peace for the Northern Territory in 1965. Maintaining his CMF involvement, he was appointed Commanding Officer of the Command and Staff Training Unit (CSTU) (Northern Territory Command) on 6 August 1963. This unit had been raised in Darwin in 1960, commanded by Lieutenant Ron McLean, an employee of the Northern Territory Electricity Commission. In conjunction with the Commander NT Command, Lieutenant Colonel Bob Miller, Haydon recast the role of the CSTU to achieve a series of objectives: the build-up of the officer component of NT Command, the training of officers and non-commissioned officers up to the rank of Sergeant, the selection of officers for CMF appointments, and the revision of the NT Command General Service Directory. The lattermost of these objectives required CSTU to maintain, under the supervision of the General Staff Officer grade 2 (GSO-2) on Headquarters NT Command, a directory of significant features in the Northern Territory. This involved compiling all general information that could be of subsequent use to the military, such as the location of all the bores used by the Army during the Second World War. It is interesting to note that this role of infrastructure gathering was revived by NORFORCE after it was raised by [Lieutenant Colonel A J George](#) in 1981.

The Indonesian confrontation with the Dutch over Western New Guinea in 1961 was followed by another confrontation with the newly created Federation of Malaysia commencing in September 1963. In response to these activities to the north of Australia, and so close to Darwin in particular, in June 1964 Haydon proposed to Headquarters NT Command the formation of an Army Reserve independent company capable of conducting infantry operations at a low level ‘with the maximum amount of mobility support from vehicles (all weather type) and helicopters’. This concept was approved by the Chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General John Wilton, during a visit to the Northern Territory in the latter half of 1964, and Haydon’s CSTU accordingly began upgrading the infantry training of officers in Darwin in readiness for staffing this new company. Because of the escalation of Confrontation, the 121st Light Anti-Aircraft Battery was raised instead, to defend the Royal Australian Air Force Radar at Lee Point. Haydon was offered the command but declined due to his civil commitments, the job instead going to a Regular Army officer, [Major Lachlan \(Lachie\) Thomson](#). Thomson recalled that he received great support from his CMF officers despite the change of Corps, and particularly from Jack Haydon: ‘He was not of course a member of the battery, but he regarded us as a very special part of his parish as the senior reservist in the Command. Given the lack of urgency from the entrenched ARA command element, I was most grateful to have a senior officer prepared to lend a friendly ear to my worries and I have a feeling that he probably had a few short, sharp conversations with the ‘powers that be’ concerning support for the battery’. Haydon’s proposal for a rifle company saw fruition a decade later, however, with the raising of the 7th Independent Rifle Company in Darwin under the command of [Major Pike](#).

The CSTU conducted training on the Pentropic Division and supporting arms, and on the phases of war, and conducted regular range practices at Winnellie and on the old range at Larrakeyah Barracks, while field exercises and annual camps were conducted at Shoal Bay. Other early members of the unit were Lieutenants Peter Polley (Department of Lands), Kevin Lethlean (Manager of Caterpillar), John Johnson (Commonwealth Bank), Terry Irvine (Manager of Darwin Pharmacy), and Maurie Moore (an accountant, subsequently Official Secretary to the Administrator). Bob Franklin was a Lance-Corporal, and Major Alan Bromwich (Senior Specialist in Surgery, Royal Darwin Hospital) was attached for duty as Medical Officer. Haydon instituted the Potential Officer’s Training Course, conducted from October 1966 to December 1967, to formally train locally recruited CMF officers: among the graduates of this first course, still living in Darwin at the time of publication, were Neil Benton and John Chin. Colonel Haydon retired from the CMF in 1967 after 34 years’ service and was succeeded as Commander of CSTU by Captain Maurie Moore. The Unit was disbanded in 1975 following Cyclone Tracy, but re-raised in 1980 as Training Company, HQ 7th Military District, the precursor of the current 7th Training Group which was formed on 1 August 1989.

From February to August 1975 Haydon served with the Darwin Reconstruction Committee, while from August to December 1975 he was Managing Director of Haydon’s Insurance Consultants and Engineers. He formed the Northern Territory Branch of the Insurance Council of Australia and later became the Regional Representative for the Northern Territory, and was later Regional Chairman. From 1979 until his retirement in 1992 he was Regional Director, Insurance Emergency Service and consultant to the Insurance Council of Australia.

He maintained his military connection as a lecturer in military history for 7th Military District from 1966 to 1981. He also maintained an active interest in history, having various associations with the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory (notably arranging expeditions and commemorative plaques at Victoria settlement, Port Essington, Fort Dundas and Fort Wellington), was a member of the Military Historical Society of Australia, and was a contributor to the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*. Later, he was a vigorous campaigner to have veterans of active service in north Australia awarded the 1939–45 Star: as he said, ‘you are either being shot at or you aren’t, whether you were in North Africa or the Northern Territory’.

From his arrival in Darwin, and particularly after his retirement from the Army Reserve (formerly the CMF), he was President, Vice-President, Secretary or council member of more than 20 charitable and community organisations. Notably, he convened a meeting of former gunners on 5 July 1967 at which meeting the Royal Australian Artillery Association (Northern Territory) was created, with Haydon elected as Founding President, a position he held until 1982. During the 1970s he was patron of the Rats of Tobruk Association (Northern Territory) for the five years it existed. He was Chairman for 12 years of the East Point Reserve Board of Trustees; President and Fellow of the Royal Commonwealth Society (Northern Territory) since 1977; Member and Vice-President

of the Automobile Association of the Northern Territory 1976–1982; Chairman, Australian Fire Protection Association Inc (Northern Territory); Director, Australian Fire Protection Association Council (Victoria); Inaugural Vice-Chairman and then Chairman of the Insurance Institute of South Australia (Northern Territory Division); Council Member, Boy Scouts Association (Northern Territory), 1978 to 1981; and Commandant of the Darwin Cadet Squadron, St Andrew's Ambulance Corps, from 1984.

In 1976, he raised the Legion of Frontiersmen in the Northern Territory, and commanded it until 1988, being succeeded by Frank Simmonds. For his service with the Legion he received the Medal of Merit, as well as the Legion of Frontiersmen Commemorative Medal 1906–1983, Meritorious Service Medal (Canadian Division) and Medal of Merit (British Division). In 1988 he was the Sponsor for the raising of the 70th Regional Cadet Unit in Darwin, based at Larrakeyah Barracks.

He was appointed a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in the Civil Division of the 1983 New Years Honours List, 'for services to the community'—one of the last Territory recipients of an Imperial honour. He had risen from the rank of Cadet in the 12th Battalion to become its Commanding Officer, had revitalised a fledgling officer training establishment in Darwin, and was considered so highly that he (as a CMF officer) was offered command of an anti-aircraft battery in Darwin at the height of confrontation. For his war service he had received the Defence Medal, War Medal and Australian Service Medal 1939–45. For long service in the CMF he was awarded the Efficiency Medal in 1946 and the Efficiency Decoration (ED) and Bar.

Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, S273, 31 December 1982; The Corps List, 1967; *Express* (Launceston), 19 February 1959, 7 May 1960; L J Haydon, personal papers and interviews, 1990–1996; Lieutenant Colonel L J Haydon, 'Formation of Independent Company RAI', submission to HQ NT Command, 23 June 1964; *Northern Territory News* 4 February 1992; Lieutenant Colonel G Pound (ret'd), pers comm, 19 September 1994; P A Rosenzweig, The Training Group Year Book 1990–1991; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 January 1992; Colonel L A Thomson (ret'd), pers comm 24 & 26 November 1994, Address to the Royal Australian Artillery Association (NT), Darwin, 26 November 1994.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

HAYES, ANN JANE nee DOOLAN (1893–1968), pioneer, was born in Blackall, Queensland, in 1893, the daughter of Pat Doolan and his wife, who later married **Sam Nicker**. Sam was typical of casual workers in that era; steeplechase jockey, butcher, shearer and a union representative. He decided to leave Queensland after the shearers' strike in 1900. Sam was a great raconteur, and was noted far and wide for his yarns. He also was a mate of some people in his wanderings who became famous in later years, such as Billy Hughes, who eventually became Prime Minister of Australia, Harry ('the Breaker') Morant and Jackie Howe, the champion shearer. Morant, while waiting in a South African gaol before facing a firing squad, wrote a poem mentioning Sam as his mate.

The Nicker family, including Jane, left Queensland in 1903 heading for the Northern Territory and the goldfields of Arltunga. They left Jundah in western Queensland and travelled down the notorious Strzelecki track, with a buggy and only two buggy horses.

After arriving at Farina, in northern South Australia, Sam heard from gold seekers returning from Arltunga that the goldfields were not as rich as first believed, so the Nicker family continued south and eventually arrived at Port

Pirie, where Sam got a job in the smelter that was treating the ore from Broken Hill.

Sam worked there for a year, then decided to head north, shearing when available and, when there was no shearing, he trapped rabbits, eventually arriving in Alice Springs in 1905 and going on to Arltunga with the same pair of buggy horses that had brought his family from Queensland.

The Nickers worked around Arltunga and set up a market garden and dairy on the Hale River which became known as 'the Garden', the same locality where the later station of that name. While they were living in that area they had two sons, (Claude being born previously in Quorn), Eugene and Ben. In 1909, after the main works closed and most of the miners left, the family shifted into Alice Springs.

In that year Sam, being a shearer, was able to go to Mount Burrell and shear the sheep for the Hayes family. It was there that **Edward Hayes** met Jane Doolan. The Hayes family had purchased these sheep several years before while they were away from Mount Burrell in the bad drought of 1900. Mary Hayes, Jane's mother-in-law, and her daughters Mary and Lizzie drove them all the way back to Mount Burrell from Kalamurina on the Diamantina River where they had shifted most of their stock.

Jane had a younger sister Leah, who stayed in Queensland with an aunt. She was several years younger than Jane—too young to make the long journey, on account of the isolation that existed at that time. She did not join the family until many years later and did not stay long. She died in Queensland several years before Jane.

Jane's family returned to Alice Springs, purchased a covered buggy and pair of horses and set off in their hawker's van heading for Newcastle Waters to sell goods to the drovers passing through with their mobs of cattle, heading across the stock routes for Queensland markets.

Newcastle Waters was the junction of both the Murrnaji and the northern stock routes. From there the stock route ran across the Barkly Tableland to Camooweal and beyond. After the droving season of 1909 the Nickers returned to Alice Springs, as Jane's mother was expecting her youngest child, Margaret, born shortly afterward. Jane drove the family buggy and Sam the hawker's van for the 800-kilometre round trip.

In 1910 Jane Doolan married **Edward Hayes** in Alice Springs. Police sergeant Graham Dow officiated and this wedding seems to have been the first performed in the town, since previous marriages had taken place at Hermannsburg where Lutheran pastors resided.

Thereafter, Jane Hayes lived with her husband on Mount Burrell, Maryvale and Undoolya stations in turn. The couple had five children.

In 1916 on a visit to her parents at Ryan's Well, Jane met with an accident, when the horses bolted with the buggy and threw her out with her six-month-old baby Strat in her arms.

The baby was unharmed but Jane was injured, including a broken collarbone. A telegram was sent to Maryvale via Alice Well telling of the accident. On hearing the news Edward Hayes then rode to Alice Well, a distance of about forty kilometres to ring Ryan's Well. He then rode back to Maryvale, changed his horse and started the long ride north.

He rode all night, arriving in Alice Springs in the early hours of the morning. He arrived at Ryan's Well that evening, a distance, including the ride to Alice Well and back, of 300 kilometres, all the distance between Maryvale and Ryan's Well on one horse. A horse called Hector then drove the buggy back to Alice Springs the next day.

Jane Hayes became known for her interest in worthy causes. After the death in 1933 of [George Henry Wilkinson](#), the highly respected owner and manager of Wallace and Company's store and agency in Alice Springs and Oodnadatta, she became main organiser of and contributor to his memorial, which she unveiled in 1934. She also helped generously to finance the first RSL memorial club in Alice Springs and although not a Catholic donated substantially toward the building of the existing Catholic Church in the town.

Soon after the Second World War, Ted and Jane Hayes retired to a house they had bought in Bath Street, Alice Springs, in 1940. Here Jane carried on the tradition of bush hospitality; the house was always a place for family and friends.

Jane Hayes died on 17 December 1968. She is buried with her husband in the Alice Springs cemetery.

Family information.

E HAYES, Vol 1.

HAYES, EDWARD (TED) (1884–1960), pastoralist and pioneer, the youngest son of [William](#) and Mary Hayes, was born at Farina in South Australia.

William Hayes had arrived in South Australia from Wales in the early 1850s and eventually purchased several bullock and horse teams, carting for the copper mines in the mid-north of South Australia. One of his major feats was the conveyance of five tonnes of copper ore in one lump from Yudanamutana mine to Port Augusta.

Mary Hayes was a Miss Stratford of Goodwood. Her parents met on the voyage from England. Mary's mother and friend had been engaged in England to come to South Australia as dairymaids. Stratford was a member of the crew. They married on arrival.

In 1884 the Hayes family; William, Mary, two daughters and three sons, with Ted the youngest by eight years, left South Australia for Alice Springs with a load of fencing material and steel telephone poles. After arriving in the Alice Springs district, they carried out contracts for fencing and dam sinking on Owen Springs and Mount Burrell stations for Sir Thomas Elder.

In the early 1890s the Hayes family took up the lease of Deep Well and started their pastoral pursuits. Edward Hayes and his sisters looked after the stock while the other male members of the family carried out contract work.

Ted drove two bullocks pulling water from a depth of sixty-five metres at Deep Well for many years, to water their stock and also travelling stock for a penny a head.

In the mid 1890s the first camel teams began to arrive. If a cow camel calved on the road, it would be taken to Deep Well and left under Ted Hayes's care until the owner passed that way again, when Ted would be rewarded.

During this period Mary Hayes reared a considerable number of Aboriginal children whose parents were not able to provide for them. There was always plenty of goat's milk, vegetables and meat available at the station. Ted Hayes, being brought up with these native children, learned to speak the Aranda language very fluently. He could also use sign language like a native; he could communicate with Aboriginal stockmen long before they were in speaking distance of each other.

In about 1897 the family purchased the homestead block of Mount Burrell from W Coultard. The Coultards had purchased it from Sir Thomas Elder the year before, Elder having sent most of his stock back to South Australia. The Hayes family then shifted over with their stock and carried on as pastoralists there until the eldest son Jim died in Adelaide after an operation. They then moved, establishing Maryvale, which was situated 18 kilometres east of Mount Burrell and on the overland telegraph line. Ted Hayes then carried on as a stockman with the rest of the family until a bad drought in 1900–02. He and his brother Bill took two mobs of cattle from Maryvale to a property on the Diamantina, which they had purchased as a means of saving as many cattle as possible. They travelled down the southern stock route as far as Macumba Station and then down the Macumba Creek north of Lake Eyre and on to Kalamurina, the property they had purchased. This route was recognised as the most treacherous in the country on account of the long dry stages between water and the danger of cattle getting bogged in salt lakes and waterholes in their very thirsty condition. It is believed that this route was not used again for droving until 1945.

After the drought broke in the early 1900s, they had to restock Mount Burrell. Ted and Bill Hayes set off to Banka Banka to purchase cattle. Banka Banka at that time was owned and managed by [Tom Nugent](#), a member of the notorious 'ragged thirteen'. Banka Banka then had no bores; the cattle, scattered around the creeks, were hard to find and Ted was caught by the Wet while mustering. Consequently, the whole trip took twelve months. Bill Hayes took another mob across the Barkly Tableland, down the Georgina and eventually the Diamantina to Kalamurna and then on to the Adelaide market. He was on his trip long enough for some of the cows to have calved twice.

[Bill Benstead](#), a long-term resident of the Alice Springs district who managed Undoolya for Tennant and Love from 1877 to 1882 later visited Argentina and gave such a good account of the pastoral industry and country

that Ted decided in 1909 to settle there. The family of his fiancée, **Jane Doolan**, intended at that time to move to Western Australia. The young couple hoped to marry there and go on to Argentina; but in the end none of the family moved and the wedding took place in Alice Springs in 1910. Ted decided to stay and manage Mount Burrell for the family.

In 1914 their young son William met with an accident. His parents hurried him to Oodnadatta by buggy and then on to Adelaide by train but he died shortly after arriving there.

Soon after, the Hayes family shifted to Maryvale as Jane Hayes was unable to bear the sorrow and loneliness on her own, her husband being often away mustering for weeks at a time. There were usually only Aborigines for company. Several years later Ted's parents and sisters retired to live in Mount Barker, South Australia.

In 1907 W Hayes and Sons purchased Undoolya and Owen Springs from Norman Richardson. John Hayes managed it up until 1919 when he became ill and went south, only to die soon after. Only Ted and Bill were left of the original family in Central Australia. For years Bill did most of the droving from both Maryvale and Undoolya, taking both horses and cattle to Oodnadatta, to be trucked to the southern markets.

In 1922 Ted Hayes became general manager of the Hayes' properties and shifted with his family from Maryvale to Undoolya with two wagons and a buggy. He had a Dodge car at this time, purchased in 1920 and the first station motorcar in the district. Unfortunately when only a few hundred metres from the Maryvale homestead it broke an axle. The family all had to transfer to the buggy—mother, father and five children plus a governess.

They arrived at Undoolya on 12 March 1922 and settled in to a new life close to Alice Springs, which at the time had about twenty-five white people, excluding the telegraph station staff. Hayes and his wife became involved in most town activities, including the race meetings and other sporting events; picnics were very popular also.

Good seasons lasted until about 1924; then conditions began to deteriorate, leading to the disastrous drought of the late 1920s. Cattle losses were heavy. There were also severe losses of horses that were bred on most properties at that time to supply the Indian army and the southern market. This drought broke in 1929, the year the railway from the south reached Alice Springs. A few months later, pastoralists were able to rail their cattle south and have them arrive at the market in top condition.

During this drought, toward the end of 1927, Ted Hayes was surprised to see some very fat cattle on one of the waterholes of the Finke. He tracked them east towards the Simpson Desert and discovered there had been a storm earlier that year, Parakelia was growing well and there were hundreds of cattle living out there in prime condition.

After getting the horse plant organised Hayes and his men mustered under very hot conditions. The cattle were scattered over a large area of country. Often the stockmen would be away from their camp mustering from early morning until late at night, without water the whole day, and when they did arrive back they had to take their turns on the night watch to hold the cattle; there being no yard available. Sometimes Gus Elliott's camels, bringing water, would be late and both horses and men would have a very thirsty time while they waited. However the cattle, about 800 head, were eventually mustered and taken to Horseshoe Bend, thence Oodnadatta, to be railed to the Adelaide market. Hayes decided to drive them himself with the men who had mustered them. This was probably the last big mob of cattle taken from that area to Oodnadatta to be railed south, as the drought continued and no more cattle were able to use the stock route.

Hayes's son, **Edward**, joined his father at Horseshoe Bend and went with him on this drive to Oodnadatta. Young Edward had left school at 13 years of age. His mother and the rest of the family after dropping him with his father, drove on down to Adelaide by car and waited there for father's and son's arrival. They all stayed down until after Christmas and then drove home in two motorcars, Hayes having purchased another Dodge car.

In 1930 the original Hayes family decided to sell their station properties. Mrs Stott, widow of **Bob Stott**, bought Maryvale for her son Cameron, Owen Springs was purchased by Hurtle and Tom Kidman, nephews of **Sir Sidney Kidman**, and Edward and Jane Hayes purchased Undoolya, which at that time had only one permanent water source, the Emily Gap. Not until 1937 did Hayes discover that bore water was available in the Todd Valley. He and his wife re-purchased Owen Springs in 1937 from the Kidmans and ran it separately from Undoolya. Edward junior and his wife Jean went out to Owen Springs and managed it until 1939.

Ted and Jane Hayes had purchased a house in Alice Springs in 1940 with the intention of retiring, but as the war interfered with their plans, they did not retire until after the Second World War.

Hayes never really retired. He still led an active life on the stations until the year before he died in 1960. Although he had for many years raced horses locally, not until the latter years of his life did he race several horses in Adelaide, winning the Adelaide Cup with Star Aim in 1958 and a handicap at Flemington in 1956.

He was a life member of the Alice Springs Rifle Club having, in July 1936, given the land for the rifle range in what is now the Mount John Valley. Undoolya's boundaries at that time surrounded the town area.

Ted Hayes was one of the best cattlemen in Central Australia, and valued every individual beast. In the early 1940s he hired J Parkinson to come from South Australia with his dam-sinking plant and construct dams on both Undoolya and Owen Springs. This was the beginning of a vast improvement program on his properties for both more watering points and fencing. In 1950 he went to New South Wales and purchased from L Leake the first Poll Hereford cattle introduced to the Northern Territory. He was accustomed to long hours in the saddle in all kinds of weather and he could work all day without a drink of water. Although Hayes was very much at home out on the run, he did enjoy home life. Besides having the first station cars, he also was the first pastoralist in Central Australia to introduce kerosene refrigeration, electric lights and wireless to station homesteads.

Ted Hayes died on 28 March 1960 and is buried with his wife in the Alice Springs cemetery.

Family information.

E HAYES, Vol 1.

HAYES, EDWARD (TED) (1914–1988), pastoralist, was born in Alice Springs on 25 August 1914, the second son of [Edward Hayes](#) and his wife [Jane](#). The first eight years of his life were spent at Maryvale Station, where he grew up with Aborigines. The Aboriginal men were stockmen, gardeners and goat shepherds and the women worked around the house. In reflecting on his childhood, Hayes later stated, ‘We had Aboriginal women looking after us as children and they were very good. In the afternoons when we went to get the cows with them they used to show us where all the bush tucker was and how to gather it.’

This was a significant beginning in his education for life in the bush and established a relationship with Aborigines that he never lost. The Hayes children’s education at Maryvale depended on the availability of a governess until the family moved to Undoolya Station in 1922. The proximity of the homestead to Alice Springs allowed Hayes to complete his education at the school run by [Ida Standley](#). He left school at the age of 13 and shortly after went droving with his father. At the age of 15 he gained further experience with a professional drover but this was his only employment away from Undoolya.

On 18 October 1937 Hayes married Jean Bloomfield, daughter of [Lewis Bloomfield](#) and his wife Lillian of Loves Creek Station. Following their marriage, Hayes took over the management of Owen Springs, another Hayes family station. In 1939 he moved back to Undoolya to manage for his father, who contemplated retirement in Alice Springs. Hayes purchased a third share in Undoolya in 1947 and in 1953, when his father did retire, he became sole owner. In 1960 he purchased Deep Well and ran the two stations as a single entity comprising 2 600 square kilometres.

Hayes’s education as a pastoralist, under the tutelage of his father, was based on the knowledge that the survival of the pastoralist depended on wise management of the fragile land. His keen observation, initiated as a boy by family and Aboriginal wisdom, enabled him to recognise the effect that the variations due to drought and changing seasons had on the delicate balance between animals and vegetation. His conviction that this arid environment determined the parameters of man’s encroachment enabled him to achieve a delicate balance between modern technology and the environment. During his early years at Undoolya the station was mostly open range with limited natural water, which concentrated cattle in specific areas. Consequently this not only reduced stock numbers but eroded the areas around the water. Further, when there were no subdivisions or paddocks, mustering was labour intensive.

By the 1960s Hayes was subdividing and building cattle traps at watering places with trap paddocks to hold the cattle for drafting. He maintained that unless cattle were subjected to regular handling they soon became as wild as feral animals. By the late 1980s he had completed almost 600 kilometres of fencing and was able to handle all his cattle twice a year. By this time Undoolya and Deep Well had 60 watering points so well placed that there was no need for a man made bore. The value in beef quality and the preservation of the fragile land surface was immeasurably enhanced when every beast was close to water.

Much of the soil had a heavy crust, which prevented easy penetration of rain. Hayes noted the significance of grass growing where the hoof marks of grazing cattle had broken this crust. This gave him insight into ways of improving revegetation of native and introduced grasses. In 1951 he introduced buffel grass and at the time of his death he was in correspondence with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation concerning a new variety. Throughout his life he continued to read widely and critically the journals that widened his own knowledge with an uncanny ability to distinguish the relevant from the impractical in respect to the arid terrain he knew so well. He not only achieved a remarkable degree of self-education but had an analytical mind that enabled him to extract the practical application to his own beloved Undoolya. He not only knew Poll Herefords and land management but had the business acumen to hold a balance between income and expenditure that enabled him to survive the inevitable droughts and market fluctuations. In the last 30 years of his life he doubled the carrying capacity of Undoolya and, by his grazing controls and revegetation, enhanced the quality of the land.

Through his interest in the agricultural college at Katherine he expressed his concern for adequate training for those involved on the stations to enable them to know and recognise, amongst other things, the danger of introduced weeds. He recognised the threat to the land when Bathurst Burr was discovered but, while waiting for government action, never hesitated to stop and remove by hand any he saw propagating. Hayes had a reverence for this land where, to use his own words, he was born and bred. He grew up with Aboriginal children who were ‘born and bred’ on the same land, learned much from their elders and shared something of their mystical relationship to this land of his own birth. ‘You must’, he once said, ‘run your farm to the betterment of the land. The land is where my heart is. If I had my life over again I wouldn’t change anything’.

In the latter part of his life Hayes served in a variety of community organisations. He was a Life Member of the Alice Springs Show Society, President of the Central Australian Pastoralists Association, a Life Member of the Australian Beef Breeders Association, a Life Member of the MacDonnell Ranges Racing Association and a Life Member of the Police Boys Association. His other memberships included the Northern Territory Development Corporation, the Bush Fire Council and the Australian Rangeland Association.

In May 1983 he delivered the National Trust’s annual Doreen Braitling Memorial Lecture, speaking of the physical and social isolation that shaped the lives, attitudes and values of his pioneering parents and grand parents. In doing so he was not aware of how much he revealed about himself. The history of his parents’ and grandparents’ generations with their stories of courage, tenacity and mateship in coping with accident, sickness and death far from help, engendered not only pride in his forebears but the same quality in his own life. He told the story of his parents again with his articles on them in the first volume of the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography* (1990).

His knowledge of his family's history and achievements convinced him that their mutual success in the pastoral industry was based on what could be described as a family cooperative. His love for his wife Jean and their children and grandchildren was recognised by his friends in attitudes rather than words. He had a reserve that did not verbalise on his deep inner feelings and relationships but something of this could be sensed by those who knew him best. He was a man with simple tastes, reserved with strangers yet warm in the friendships he developed.

Hayes died suddenly on 5 March 1988 and, following a service in the John Flynn Memorial Uniting Church in Alice Springs, he was interred in the Alice Springs Garden Cemetery. The great congregation of mourners at the funeral service, representing a cross section of the Northern Territory's racial and cultural communities, paid its tribute to him as 'a man for all peoples.'

There were many other tributes. In the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly he was described as 'a legend in his own time', 'a man ahead of his time', 'one of nature's gentlemen' and 'a great Territorian'. There were also tributes, in simple words and moving actions, from the old Aboriginal men and women whose ancestral lands encompassed Undoolya. The old men were proud of their totem relationship and of a lifetime of mutual acceptance, expressed in 'sorry beads' they made and presented to Hayes's widow.

M Johnston, *Salt of the Earth*, nd; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 1988; Hayes family records and information.

GRAEME BUCKNALL, *Vol 2.*

HAYES, WILLIAM (c1827–1913), pastoralist, was born in Liverpool and brought up in Wales, where he became a butcher. He claimed that when he arrived in Adelaide in the early fifties he was only twenty-one years old. The same spirit of adventure that motivated his migration led him to outback South Australia. It is on record that he passed through Port Augusta 'when A D Tassie was the only resident there'. Some years later he married Mary Stratford of Goodwood. Mary's parents had met on the ship bringing some of the earliest settlers to Adelaide. Her father, the ship's carpenter, healed her mother's (also Mary) badly scalded leg with bread poultices—the leg the ship's doctor wanted to amputate. They were married on arrival in Adelaide. Mary, the future Mrs William Hayes, was born in a tent on the banks of the Torrens about 1840. She proved to be her husband's equal as a pioneer, enduring all the hardships of the years of their nomadic life as station contractors carting wool to Adelaide or Port Augusta, returning with station stores, dam sinking, fencing and shearing.

In the drought of the mid-1860s they lost all 30 of their working bullocks. Leaving the north they secured work on drainage and other contracts in south-east South Australia. On returning north William had contracts that took him as far as Coopers Creek with goods and returning with wool. However, amongst all the contracts he regarded 'the conveyance of five tons of copper ore in one lump from the Yudanamutpna mine to Port Augusta for exhibition in London' as a proud achievement, for he did it single-handed.

In 1884 Thomas Elder engaged Hayes to construct fencing and sink dams on his newly acquired Central Australian station, Mount Burrell. As **Edward**, their youngest child, was born on 16 June that year, it is probable that their departure was after his birth. They set out with three bullock wagons loaded with stores and all their household possessions, and another two wagons loaded with fencing wire, scoops, harness and all necessary tools for a far distant land. The slow-moving bullock wagons took several months to reach Mount Burrell. The partners, Gilmour, Hendry and Melrose, had stocked this station but they had not secured leases for the area. Thomas Elder purchased the 1 000 cattle and 70 horses on the station. Elder had previously applied for and been granted the eight Mount Burrell leases, which suggests that he already had some long-standing arrangement with Gilmour and partners.

As an interlude between his contracts with Elder, in 1890 Hayes took his teams to Warrina, then the terminal point of the northern railway, to haul a large consignment of steel telegraph poles to Alice Springs. On 1 January 1893 Hayes, 'the nomad', began to put his roots down in Central Australia. He claimed this was his wife's doing, for at her insistence he applied for a lease adjoining the Alice Springs track at Deep Well. In his first venture as a pastoralist he purchased 162 cattle from Tom Williams of Paddy's Hole, Arltunga. He admitted that when several died soon after he did not share his family's confidence in his future as a station owner. However, with the remarkable support of his wife and family, twenty years later they had become the most successful pastoralists in Central Australia. When interviewed by the press in Adelaide years later, William Hayes wanted to make the sole topic of the conversation 'the assistance he had received from his family'. The interviewer commented: 'It is doubtful whether the pastoral industry ever produced more remarkable women than Mrs Hayes and her daughters, who for many years undertook their full share of the station work. They could muster, brand, drove, slaughter and dress cattle with the best man going.'

In the devastating drought of the 1890s, Thomas Elder withdrew from Mount Burrell and the cancelled leases were then available for new applicants. A man named Cox secured the homestead block with new lease No. 1720 which he sold soon after to R D Coulthard. On 1 July that same year, 1895, Hayes gained his first foothold on Mount Burrell by securing the lease upstream on the Hugh River from the homestead block. He continued to apply for Mount Burrell leases until he held six, every one with a common boundary on the north, east and south with the homestead lease, while Henbury closed it in on the west. Coulthard, who by this time was involved with his own Tempe Downs leases, sold the homestead block to Hayes. The title to the homestead block was transferred in 1901. In 1903 Hayes transferred all seven leases into the corporate ownership of Hayes and Family. He had long since abandoned the Deep Well lease. In 1903 the Hayes family purchased their first Owen Springs lease and then two more the following year. All three were secured from the Willowie Land and Pastoral Association. In 1908 they purchased two other Willowie leases, Nos 1809 and 2172, which joined the southern boundary of Undoolya Station, and lay between the eastern boundary of Owen Springs and the Ooraminna Rock Hole. Meanwhile negotiations

had commenced for the purchase of Undoolya, but Norman Richardson, a Port Augusta station owner and land speculator, clinched the sale with Willowie, then within the year sold to the Hayes family. The deal was too fast for the titles office and Undoolya's leases 1, 2, 16 and 17 were transferred direct from Willowie to Hayes and Family in 1908. By arrangement with Richardson the Hayes family entered into occupancy in 1907 with John Hayes as manager. Philipson Creek lease 2196 was taken up by Hayes and incorporated in Undoolya.

In 1902 Hayes had purchased the Mount Giles block on the western boundary of Owen Springs, from the Cummings Estate. This was followed by two more purchases from Willowie, leases 1617 and 1712, on the northern boundary of Undoolya and extending to the Arltunga Reserve. This completed the significant expansion of the Hayes Family stations during the lifetime of William Hayes. They consisted of: Mount Burrell/Maryvale seven leases, total 1 449 square miles (3 753 square kilometres); Owen Springs, six leases, total 1 860 square miles (4 817 square kilometres); and Undoolya, seven leases, total 1 895 square miles (4 908 square kilometres). The grand total was 5 204 square miles (13 478 square kilometres). All these leases are shown on the 1910 Pastoral Map. In the 1915 Pastoral Inspection Report, the 1914 returns for stock are shown as follows for the combined Hayes and Family stations: 11 339 cattle, 1 316 horses, 400 sheep, and 1 192 goats. The Crown Pastoral Company [[Sidney Kidman](#)], holding an almost identical area, had 8 713 cattle and 1 475 horses on their two big stations of Bond Springs and Crown Point.

Two years prior to the death of William Hayes in 1913 the Commonwealth Government, through the Minister for External Territories, initiated an inquiry regarding the feasibility of establishing a horse breeding station in the Territory. [Corporal Stott](#), the Alice Springs police officer recently transferred from Borroloola where he bred police horses, was asked his opinion. In a hasty reply next day by telegram he recommended the Mount Giles block which Hayes Family was purchasing from the Cummings Estate. His reason: Consider Hayes retarding the progress of the MacDonnell Ranges, hold considerable area partially stocked, scarcely any European labour employed... ' On being asked for a more detailed report he made another proposal: 'I strongly recommend Commonwealth to retain blocks 1 and 2 [Undoolya homestead and town blocks] for horse breeding purposes, the blocks in question are without doubt the pick of the MacDonnell Ranges for natural grasses and surface water...' In his criticism of the Hayes family he failed to recognise, as did the Lands Department officers of that time, that understocking, prior to the sinking of bores, was the only safeguard for the survival of the fragile land and the industry itself in a land of uncertain rainfall. William Hayes died long before this proposal was finally abandoned in 1919, by which time horse-breeding was a dying industry. Though the Hayes family paid an annual lease all that time, the four (not two) original Undoolya leases were all re-advertised. There were three applicants but the Hayes family were given possession with new lease numbers.

William Hayes established a pastoral industry based on family initiative, hard work and wise land management. He recognised the fragility of the land by careful husbandry of herbage through understocking, supported by dams and wells. This was in contrast to the over-capitalised pastoral companies of the eighties who lost thousands of Pounds and abandoned their leases to the 'battlers'. William was the first and most successful 'battler'. He learned the lesson the land imposes on man and succeeded where many other battlers failed. He died in Adelaide on 17 November 1913 at the age of 86.

R Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia*, 1925; AA & NT Archives, Darwin; Lease Registers, *1910 Pastoral Map*; Hayes family oral history and papers.

GRAEME BUCKNALL, *Vol 1.*

HAYNES, FRANCES (FANNIE) (1869–1945), storekeeper and publican, was born at South Kensington, London, daughter of Albert Thomas Domney and his wife Ellen, in 1869.

Fannie and her sister Emily left London on 30 September 1891 on *Merkara*, which was bound for Brisbane. Fannie was then aged 22 and Emily was 20. They were listed as domestic servants and were classed as 'free passengers'. Their ship arrived in Brisbane on 23 November 1891 but Fannie and Emily had disembarked at Thursday Island. Presumably they travelled from Thursday Island by boat down the Gulf of Carpentaria to Normanton and then to Croydon, as the next record of Fannie is of her first marriage to Michael Ryan Cody, a miner, aged forty-five, at the Primitive Methodist Church in Croydon, Queensland, on 31 December 1891. She must have moved to Charters Towers soon after her marriage as, according to Ernestine Hill's *The Territory*, 'Fanny travelled overland in a coach and four from Charters Towers to Wandu, NT with her first husband, Cody, said to be a brother of Buffalo Bill. They opened a little hessian store when the goldfields were in swing.' Michael Ryan Cody died at Wandu in December 1897. His death certificate records him as being a storekeeper.

Nine months later, on 3 August 1898, Fannie married [Thomas George Crush](#), a miner, at the Registry Office, Wandu. He became a member for the Northern Territory in the South Australian Parliament. He and Fannie built the Federation Hotel at Brock's Creek. When Tom Crush died in August 1913, he was recorded as being a Licensed Victualler, who resided at Brock's Creek. Fannie's third marriage on 1 February 1916, was to Henry (Harry) Haynes, grazier, and took place at the Federation Hotel, Brock's Creek, which she owned and ran until forced out by the army in 1942.

Fannie and her sister parted during the 1890s and did not meet again until during the Second World War when Fannie was compulsorily evacuated from the north to Adelaide following the bombing of Darwin. There she underwent operations for cataracts on her eyes and afterward flew to Sydney to take up residence with Emily at 10 Gilgandra Road, North Bondi.

Fannie was, at this time, a very short, but very broad, lady with long silver grey hair, toothless and with a florid complexion. With her dresses of floor-length brocaded silk she was like someone from another era. Her sister kindly arranged for dentures, spectacles and some more modern clothing.

Fannie had many stories to tell—one possibly related to her journey across the north from Croydon to Wandu. She told how wild Aborigines had crossed their path and she had let her hair down and behaved like a crazy woman, prompting the Aborigines to run off. She always enjoyed a joke and had no time for anyone putting on airs—she could take the ‘mickey’ out of them very smartly. One incident we recall was when she asked a visitor, who was inclined to be self-important, if he would like to have his fortune told. He eagerly agreed, so Fannie asked him to sit up in the centre of a large round table with his legs crossed. She then took a pack of cards and laid them face up in a circle around him. She then proceeded to say, ‘Your past is—you WERE in the ring; your present is—you ARE in the ring; and your future is—you’ll get out of it as quick as you can!’ This tickled her fancy and amused those present, much to the embarrassment of the victim. This little episode showed that she had a wicked sense of humour. However, she also had her pensive moments, obviously thinking of her beloved Northern Territory and of the husband who had returned there to care for the property. She was extremely bitter about being made to leave her home in the north and often declared that our own troops pillaged and looted and did far more damage than the enemy.

Another Territorian, **Jessie Litchfield**, a journalist and author, used to visit Fannie quite regularly and they would sit and talk of old times, yearning for the opportunity to return home. However, this was not to be for Fannie, as her death preceded the opportunity. She died in Sydney on 5 February 1945. Her remains were cremated and her husband Harry, who arrived in Sydney soon after her death, took the ashes back to the Territory. As Ernestine Hill wrote in *The Territory* ‘Fanny WAS Brock’s Creek’, so it is to be hoped that her ashes were interred there.

Harry Haynes was a one-legged old bushman and is remembered as a kindly man. He died on 23 May 1947 at Darwin after complications following a fall from his horse. Having no children, Fannie’s property then passed to her sister Emily.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; Family information.

HOPE DELAHUNTY and AVIS DAVIS, *Vol 1.*

HEATH, EILEEN (1905–), Anglican deaconess, was born on 29 November 1905 in Fremantle, Western Australia, to John Henry Heath and Susan Ann Heath, *nee* Annear. A fourth generation Australian, she was the eldest of six children.

Educated at East Fremantle Primary, Princess May Girls’ High School, Fremantle Technical College (Business Training) and Deaconess House, Perth, Eileen in 1935 was appointed a missionary and welfare worker by the Australian Board of Missions to work at the Moore River Native Settlement at Mogumber, Western Australia. She was at Mogumber for nine years and during this time, on 26 February 1938, was ordained Deaconess by the Archbishop in St George’s Cathedral Perth.

In 1946 Sister Eileen came to Alice Springs, a move prompted by a request from the Diocese of Carpentaria and the Australian Board of Missions to establish a hostel for the benefit of outback Aboriginal children, mainly from pastoral properties, so that they could attend school.

Obtaining a Bishop’s Licence to work in the Northern Territory, Sister Eileen named, established and became Superintendent of St Mary’s Church of England Hostel situated at Mt Blatherskite, a short distance from the town. Originally the Lady Gowrie Rest Home for Servicewomen during the Second World War, the home was handed over to the Australian Board of Missions just as it was with army beds, Red Cross sheets, grey blankets, lots of sporting equipment and first aid gear. There was a tennis court but no laundry facilities, and the only finance Sister Eileen had to work with was a very small grant provided by the Anglican Church.

The first children to arrive at St Mary’s were from Newcastle Waters. Then Father Leslie, Rector of Alice Springs Parish at the time asked Sister Eileen if she could take the children of a number of Aboriginal families he came into contact with during his pastoral work, such as Beetaloo and the Overland Telegraph Stations. These children had no opportunity of education but their families showed interest in placing them in a hostel in Alice Springs where they could go to school. They were to be supported at the rate of 15 Shillings each child through the Station Trustees, and so 12 children came into residence and returned to their parents each school holiday.

As St Mary’s became too small for the numbers waiting to come in, several army buildings being disposed of were bought at a low cost. One large building had been a doctors’ mess attached to what was during the war the army hospital. This hut, with several small ones, was dismantled and re-erected for a dining room, chapel and sleeping quarters.

Sister Eileen had no vehicle to transport the children to school in Alice Springs until Father Leslie managed to find her an old army Chevrolet utility. Camouflaged and well worn, it nevertheless did the job until the number of children outgrew the vehicle and the Education Department provided a bus.

At a time when Aboriginal children across Australia were being institutionalised Sister Eileen devoted 10 years to ensuring that the St Mary’s Children’s Village was a friendly and caring place of learning. She opened St Mary’s with three girls in her charge and when she resigned in 1955, 71 children were in residence. Many of the children who passed through her hands were later leaders in various Aboriginal development projects.

In January 1956 after leaving St Mary’s, Sister Eileen opened a Receiving Home in Darwin on behalf of the Northern Territory Welfare Branch and at the end of that year she returned to Alice Springs to work as a Field Welfare Officer among Aboriginal people. Her work with Welfare was mostly with Aboriginal people of mixed descent and covered a wide range of needs: home counselling, assessments for better accommodation, getting children regularised for school and mothers to hospital for post-natal and ante-natal care. A certain amount of

Children's Court work was also involved when children had to be brought before the Court because they were being neglected or were breaking the law. Her empathy and rapport with the community is legendary and continued after her 'retirement' when she returned to St Mary's as a child and family services social worker until 1976.

Sister Eileen was also a foundation member and Secretary of the Prisoners Aid and Rehabilitation Association which originated in 1961 and continues today offering fellowship, guidance and assistance to prison inmates and their dependents both before and after release. 'We would visit the jail every week and interview any of them who wished to see us. Any requests they made were brought back to me and as far as I could I fulfilled their requests—such as shopping, getting in touch with relatives, picking up property in various places and checking on wages that were due to them'. Sister Eileen also encouraged prisoners to take up arts and crafts and she found a ready market for prison art. She was also a member of the Northern Territory Parole Board from 1976 until 1988, as she was long concerned that prisoners should be assisted in whatever way possible when attempting to resume life in the community.

In addition to the quiet dignity and considerable empathy she extended to fellow citizens in need, Sister Eileen gave 21 years service to the local Girl Guides Association. Retiring in 1970, Sister Eileen was awarded an 'Order of Merit' in recognition of the long contribution she had made to the local guiding movement. She was the first leader of the Alice Springs Brownie Pack that she established in 1947, co-founder of the Ida Standley Pack in the late 1950s and founder-leader of the Amoonguna Brownie Pack for Aboriginal children that she began in 1961. She was also involved in the Alice Springs Youth Centre.

Sister Eileen, during her 46 years in Central Australia, witnessed and contributed to Alice Springs' transition from a primitive, isolated and poorly serviced town into a modern one offering advanced amenities and community services. Slim, with curly grey hair and a bubbly laugh, Sister Eileen was an instigator of Jumble or Lawn sales for the Anglican Church, confounding many with her ability to obtain so much to sell on each occasion. She made her office at the Anglican Church, which enabled her to preside as Deaconess at Baptisms and Funeral Services, play the organ for these and church services, teach Sunday School, and take an active part in the Ladies Fellowship.

In 1968 Sister Eileen Heath was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE). On 7 November 1982 she was made an Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Darwin, and in the Bicentennial year of 1988 her name was included on one of the tiles featuring 200 famous Territorians laid in Darwin's Esplanade Park. In 1992, Sister Eileen shared the honour of Centralian of the Year with Sue Ryde before she left Central Australia to settle in Western Australia.

Interviews with Sister E Heath, 28 July 1994, S Hewitt, 1994.

SHIRLEY BROWN, Vol 3.

HEATHCOCK, RUTH SABINA nee RAYNEY (1901–), nurse, was born on 11 January 1901 at Murray Bridge, South Australia, the daughter of Frederick John Rayney, a railway engineer, and his wife Emily Melissa, nee Soar. She was one of a family of seven children.

As a child Ruth was self-assured with an inclination to mysticism and adventure. She early became friendly with the Aborigines of the area where she lived. These had their centre at the Point McLeay Mission on the shore of Lake Alexandrina. It was in this period that she became interested in Aboriginal lore and under the influence of Louisa Karpenny, who related the stories of the 'dreamtime'.

From the age of seven until 14 she attended the primary school at the small township of Wellington on the Murray River opposite Tailem Bend. She had no formal secondary education but at the age of 16 she sat for and passed the nurses' entrance examination, which required the payment of a fee of 20 Pounds. She trained in general nursing at the Adelaide General Hospital, but during this period she contracted an illness, which left her with only one lung. This necessitated a year's break in her training. She completed the course in general nursing and then trained in midwifery at the Lameroo Hospital, and sat for the examination in Adelaide, supervised by Dr Home. With the completion of her training she was appointed to the Point McLeay Mission as a nurse.

Ruth had always wanted to be a missionary. As a child she attended the Church of England and during the period of her training in Adelaide was confirmed at the Cathedral. She was not at all orthodox in her religious beliefs; rather she was critical of some of the church activities. However, she had a strong faith and asserted that her healing activities were God's 'gifts of grace'. The Aborigines loved her as she had, for them, a special healing ability. They said that she had 'golden hands'. She herself believed, as part of her mysticism, that in emergencies she had supernatural assistance.

While on holiday she met Rosetta Flynn, the sister of the **Reverend John Flynn** of the Australian Inland Mission (AIM). The result of her conversation with Rosetta Flynn was that she offered her services to the AIM and, with another Sister, in 1930 was appointed to Maranboy, then a small tin mining centre in the Northern Territory, and she served in that capacity for almost two years.

It was while at Maranboy that she met Mounted Constable Ted Heathcock, who was stationed at Mataranka. The Reverend Father Doherty married them at the Mataranka Hotel on 5 November 1931. Heathcock, an Englishman, was born in 1885 and had served with the British forces during the First World War. He had been discharged from the army in 1916 as medically unfit and after the war had migrated to Australia. He was thus 16 years' Ruth's senior.

The couple were first settled at the very isolated police station at Roper Bar where Ted Heathcock had the task of policing a huge area. Ruth continued to employ her nursing skills, especially by providing care and healing for Aborigines. It was in these early years in the Territory that she became aware of the numbers of Aborigines who had contracted leprosy. If officially detected the law required that they be taken away from their own people and

sent to the leprosarium at Channel Island in Darwin Harbour. The result was that the victims of the disease would be hidden from the authorities as they did not wish to be removed from their own totemic country and die in alien territory.

It was while at Roper Bar, during the absence of her husband on patrol, that nine Aboriginal elders visited Ruth. Although her Aboriginal housemaid was terrified at the sight of these men and hid, Ruth approached them without fear. They examined her ears, eyes, hands and feet and declared that she belonged to their tribe, 'in the dreamtime.' She accepted this status and believed that the Aborigines saw an 'aura' around her. The Aboriginal women taught her their language, that of the Alawar people, and gave her the name of Pitjiri, meaning the snake that will not sink. She told them that she could not swim so she was taken to the river and pushed under the water and she bobbed up like a cork.

Ruth was taken to visit an area in Arnhem Land called Burundju by the Aborigines and considered by them to have been the location of an earlier settlement in the dreamtime. The place was known as the 'Ruined City' by white people because of the strange geological formation, caused by erosion over the ages and resembling that of an abandoned city. It was a special place for the Aborigines and they discouraged visitors. Ruth, however, was taken there because it was there that some of the lepers were hidden.

Ted Heathcock became aware that it was during his absences on patrol, which might be for a month at a time, that the Aborigines brought the lepers to Ruth. Had he been present he would have been required to arrange for their transfer to Channel Island. Understanding the way his wife had with these people, he wrote to the League of Nations in Geneva outlining the situation with the result that the Administration allowed the people suffering from leprosy to be treated by Ruth in their own areas.

Ruth's finest hour was in 1941. Her husband had been transferred to Borroloola on the McArthur River but in March 1941 he was in Darwin with business in the Supreme Court. It was in the midst of the 'wet' when an Aborigine arrived with a note for the policeman. The messenger had come across many kilometres of flooded rivers and swamps to deliver the note, which was from **Horace Foster**, who had a camp on the Wearyan River. The note was brutally stark in its message. It read, 'Have shot myself accidentally. Think I am settled. Can you come out? Shot the bone in two above the knee. May bleed to death.' With her husband away Ruth immediately sent a message by the police transceiver to the Flying Doctor Base at Cloncurry. The doctor flew out the next day but the weather conditions and the boggy state of the airfield made it impossible to land near Foster's camp so he came on and landed at Borroloola to inform Ruth.

It was now several days since the accident but Ruth determined that she should go to provide what help she could. She assembled a kit of what she thought she would need and set out with **Roger Jose** and his Aboriginal wife in a fragile dug out canoe to travel to Foster's camp. This journey meant travel in stormy weather some 96 kilometres down the flooded McArthur River, across the dangerous bar to the open sea in the Gulf of Carpentaria. There were then about 24 kilometres in the Gulf at a part described as 'at that time of year one of the unhealthiest areas off the Australian coast', to the mouth of the Wearyan River and then to Foster's camp. The journey was made in extremely dangerous conditions with unimagined discomfort. The party, wet, hungry and cold at night, took three days and nights to reach its destination.

Ruth could see that her patient was in a hopeless condition. However, she dressed the wound and here she was confident that some supernatural power was hers to make the 'golden hands' help in her task. She sent an Aboriginal messenger to the nearest station, McArthur River, which had a pedal radio, to arrange for the flying doctor to come. The doctor came but Foster had died only an hour before his arrival.

In recognition of her work Ruth was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1951. The award citation specially recognised her courage and initiative in the 1941 journey. The Administrator in 1941, **C L A Abbott**, said the journey was 'one of the bravest acts I have known in the Northern Territory'.

Until his death in Alice Springs in 1943, Ted Heathcock assisted the armed forces in various ways because of his knowledge of the Aborigines and the country. Ruth also gave special war service by escorting Aborigines who were suffering with leprosy to Adelaide for treatment and care. After the war she escorted them back to Darwin. Following Ted's death, Ruth and her sister provided care for Aboriginal children at an Anglican hostel in Alice Springs. Their aged mother accompanied them.

Later Ruth returned to South Australia and took up residence in Marion, a suburb of Adelaide. For some 40 years she continued her nursing care of people and was recognised as a skilled midwife by the authorities in the Marion area. The Marion Council named her 'citizen of the year' in 1988. It was at that time also that the Council offered her a unit in newly constructed homes for the aged, where she had the company of her only surviving sister.

V C Hall, *Sister Ruth*, c 1968; interview with R Heathcock, 1989.

ARCH W GRANT, Vol 2.

HEFFERNAN, FRIEDA CECILIA nee LEHMANN (1898–1976), nurse, domestic worker, housekeeper and home maker, was born at Kanmantoo near Callington on 25 June 1898, the only daughter of four children born to Fritz Lehmann, a farmer, and his wife Agnes, *nee* Kiekebusch. She was educated at the local school until she was nearly 13 when, after the death of a grandfather, the family moved to her grandmother's farm on the Bremer River. Her first teacher had been a Catholic Irishman but now she came under the more traditional influence of her forebears' Lutheran faith. After leaving school she helped out on the farm and learned all the domestic skills, as she put it, 'that a girl ought to acquire'. She also did outside work, was fond of riding a horse and knew how to stook and pitch hay.

In 1920, at the age of 22, she began training as a nurse and was the first probationer at the newly constructed War Memorial Hospital at Murray Bridge, South Australia. After 12 months of nursing her health broke down, 12 to 14 hour days being the norm with no weekend or annual leave. Induced to go to Wellington, New Zealand, where she was told conditions for nurses were better, she soon found they were no different, and lasted only six months. She then worked as nurse and midwife for some of the Lutheran families in New Zealand. By the time she returned to Australia her parents had retired to Murray Bridge and her brother, Victor, was running the Callington farm. She enjoyed farm life once again and became housekeeper to a neighbour when his wife died, leaving him with a 15-year-old son.

In 1932 she decided to look for work in the Northern Territory. She would not have gone in the face of her mother's admonition that it was too far away, had not her mother told her that a cousin was going to South Africa to get married. As Frieda put it, 'Well, I thought to myself, if she can go to South Africa to get married, I can go to the Northern Territory and not get married'. Initially she went to keep house for Jack and Valesca Sargeant, who had a store at Newcastle Waters. Valesca was a school friend. Frieda left Adelaide on the 'ghan' on 22 November 1932. She travelled from Alice Springs northwards with Sam Irvine, the mailman, and was told that her reputation would be 'ruined instantly'. She stayed at 'the prim and proper, straight-laced' **Hazel Golder's** guesthouse until Sam, having overstayed his time at the pub, was ready. The two women became firm friends and years afterwards Hazel Golder admitted she had never seen Sam Irvine so drunk as on that day. Frieda sat in the front, amid cans and cases, and the two other passengers, both men, sat in the back. She later recalled that by the time they left Alice Springs Sam 'was as sober as a judge and behaved like a perfect gentleman during the whole of the trip'. They remained friends. While at Newcastle Waters Frieda joined the North Australian Workers Union and a Woman's Ticket No W5 was issued to her on 20 June 1933.

Later in 1933 Frieda returned to Alice Springs to be 'waitress, offsider, and general hand' for Hazel Golder. In 1934 she returned to her parents' home at Murray Bridge and in December 1935 she returned to New Zealand. In February 1937 she was again on her way north in the 'ghan' to work for Hazel Golder so that the latter could have a holiday.

After three months of housekeeping for the Haeses who by then had the Tea Tree Well property, she was engaged in 1938 by **Bill Heffernan** to be his housekeeper. As soon as she arrived Frieda began growing vegetables in soil enriched with plenty of sheep and cow manure. The *Adelaide Advertiser* was later to report on a huge cauliflower, 'it measured 9 ft. 6 ins. in circumference. Several of the leaves were 36 inches long, while the heart on its own weighed 46 lbs'. Frieda and Bill were married in Alice Springs on 12 September 1939; it was a very happy marriage. In her spare time Frieda contributed many historical articles to the *Adelaide Chronicle* under the pseudonym 'E's double' and she sometimes wrote letters to *The Farmers' Journal*. There were many visitors to the station but Frieda coped, regardless of the numbers.

Bill Heffernan died in November 1969. Frieda returned to South Australia in 1974 and died in Adelaide on 25 August 1976. The ashes of both are interred in a monument at Ti Tree.

P A Scherer, *Sunset of an Era*, 1993.

P A SCHERER, Vol 3.

HEFFERNAN, WILLIAM JOSEPH (BILL) (1884–1969), drover and pastoralist, was born at Maryborough, Queensland, on 28 December 1884, third child of his parents' marriage. His mother was Margaret, *nee* Raleigh. His father was in charge of mining at Mount Shamrock, so Bill did some of his schooling there. His father died in 1896 when he was 12, the family having already suffered a tragic loss when his elder brother and sister were burnt to death in the family tent. He and his mother went to live in Junee, New South Wales, to be with her family. After several years more schooling there he was sent to St Joseph's College at Hunters Hill in Sydney, the fees paid by an uncle. He soon ran away and took a job with John Bridge & Co as clerk in their wool store. After a short time he left this job and headed for Cobar in central New South Wales where he worked for about 18 months. At that time he was about 19 years of age and for most of the time his family had no idea where he was. He bought a horse and made his way to Broken Hill. He 'knocked around' there for a while and in 1905 joined the party of drover Ted Wilson (Bulloo Downs Ted) and went with a mob to Swan Hill on the Murray. As there was no bridge, they all had to swim the river.

He then went to have a look at Adelaide and in 1907 teamed up with Billy Philips who was planning to go to Wave Hill to bring down a mob of cattle. They took a train to Oodnadatta. At that time no meals were served on the train so they had to buy their meals at the various stations and sidings that catered for travellers. From there they bought horses to get them to Alice Springs. In Alice they set about organising a droving team, among whom was **Tom Nugent** of Ragged 13 fame. There were two plants of horses, about 70 or 80 altogether and they travelled north along the Overland Telegraph line and across the Murrarji track 'which was still nothing more than an unsurveyed track, through thick lancewood scrub and over rough and dry country'. From **Buchanan** properties in the Wave Hill district they picked up 3 000 head of cattle and drove them in two mobs of about 1 500 each. The Murrarji track was out of the question so they travelled in a more or less easterly direction across the Top End stations via the Armstrong, King, Roper and McArthur Rivers and turned south across the Barkly Tablelands through Lake Nash to Glengyle, a **Kidman** property. The next drove took him from Brunette Downs to Muswellbrook, New South Wales, with cattle belonging to the White family who owned both properties.

With a plant of his own of 60 horses he planned to take up land in Central Australia and worked his way back across to Banka Banka Station then being run by Tom Nugent. From there he first made application for a

grazing licence to open up and develop a property that he later named Ti-Tree; this was 1913. After doing some relieving work on the Overland Telegraph with his partner Jack Burns he got a grazing licence for a place he named 'Alcootara'. With the outbreak of war he wanted to enlist and so he let the licence lapse. Before he left the Territory he reapplied for Tea Tree, 'stipulating I want that country when I come back from the war'.

In 1915 he enlisted in the Third Light Horse Regiment as a Trooper, together with Alf Turner in Adelaide. The ship they were on anchored off Gallipoli, but they were not disembarked. He saw service in Palestine and Syria. Bill suffered shell shock and malaria and was in hospital for several months. He was repatriated as an invalid and reached Adelaide in June 1919 where he was discharged, having served three years 187 days abroad. As Melbourne was the administrative centre in matters pertaining to the Northern Territory, he went there and applied in person for the Ti Tree lease. 'This time I got it', he said. In Adelaide he was asked if he would drive a mob of Henbury horses to Derby in Western Australia. Having put together a plant and crew he left Alice Springs in November 1919 but had to wait near Newcastle Waters for the monsoon to break so they could attempt the 170 mile dry stretch to Top Springs—the Murrarji track. Having set off in the rain they soon discovered that was a mistake as the boggy conditions made everything impassable. Eventually they got through and easily managed to sell their mob of horses. After collecting a herd of cattle, he brought the first mob back to Tea Tree on the Overland Telegraph line, which he reached in June 1921. Thereupon he erected a more permanent dwelling which he described as 'what you might call a tin shanty'.

In 1924 Heffernan employed an Aborigine named Fishhook who came from the Burt Plain on the east of the telegraph line. He was an experienced drover and according to Heffernan 'has been my faithful standby ever since'. The partnership lasted until his death. At that time his nearest white neighbour was about 35 miles away. The line of the telegraph virtually ran through the middle of his lease so all travellers stopped including Afghan cameleers who sometimes relined their packsaddles. Originally they were stuffed with a buffel grass which is a native of Africa and Asia but it has now naturalised itself in many parts of the Territory. Heffernan stayed there until 1928 running a store, post office and telegraph station besides running some cattle. With his business activities the cattle tended to suffer so that year he moved back from the highway onto the Hanson River, about 16 kilometres west, and renamed the station 'Ti-Tree'. The store was leased and later sold.

As Heffernan dug many wells and bores on his property he conveniently survived the drought periods. He commented 'it is interesting that the watertable east of the bitumen is more shallow than on the western side'. He employed various well sinkers and contractors to build stockyards and fences, but his head stockman for 23 years was Billy Briscoe. By 1935 Edwin Fitzroy (alias Pfitzner) had completed a homestead for him. The walls were constructed of stone and potch-opal with an iron roof and Heffernan recounted that it 'still stands as solid as a rock, without a crack in the whole structure'. As it is only about 14 miles from Central Mount Stuart it is situated in the centre of Australia.

In 1938 Heffernan engaged **Frieda Lehmann** as housekeeper for himself and his offsider Fitz. As Heffernan put it 'we were reasonable cooks but could do with much more nourishing fare, especially after a hard day's work of mustering or branding. Besides washing, ironing, mending and keeping the home tidy, a woman offers interesting and happy companionship'. They were married on 12 September 1939 by Reverend **Harry Griffiths** in the sitting room of the Australian Inland Mission hostel in Alice Springs and 'lived happily ever after'.

In 1945, by now 65, he decided to take life 'more leisurely' so he employed a station-hand, Jeffrey Alfred Hamlyn, who was 18. When Jeffrey married Ruby Irene Hunt in 1958 Heffernan had a home built for them on his property where they were regarded as members of the family, he and Frieda having no children of their own. At their silver wedding anniversary in September 1964 Heffernan calculated that their 62 guests had travelled a total of over 11 000 kilometres to attend. In their leisure time Heffernan and Ruby Hamlyn played crib together and Frieda Heffernan read and wrote. His memoirs are a kaleidoscope of all the people who were in the centre from the 1920s. He speaks, for instance, of the murders of Fred Brooks and Harry Henty and the retribution meted out to Willaberta Jack and of the redoubtable Billy Crook.

Bill Heffernan died in November 1969, survived by his wife.

P A Scherer, *Sunset of an Era*, 1993.

P A SCHERER, Vol 3.

HEMMINGS, ERNESTINE: see **HILL, ERNESTINE**

HESKETH, ISABELLE VIOLET: see **PRICE, ISABELLE VIOLET**

HERBERT, (ALFRED FRANCIS) XAVIER (1901–1984), pharmacist, author, social critic, was born on 15 May 1901 in the isolated settlement of Walkaway near Geraldton, Western Australia, into an unconventional household consisting of his father, Welsh-descended Francis Benjamin Herbert, a cleaner and fireman with the railways, his mother, Amy Victoria, *nee* Scammell, her two children from a previous liaison, and his maternal grandfather. The ex-nuptial birth was not registered and its controversial circumstances led to the young Xavier feeling an intruder in his own family, where unresolved tensions between a working-class father and an assertive Anglophile mother with middle-class aspirations, engendered deep anxieties about his identity and allegiances. Herbert later attributed his worries about his masculinity to his difficult relationship with his father. His dominant mother's role was probably just as significant.

Educational experiences at state schools in railway towns and later at Christian Brothers, Fremantle (the Herbert children were baptised Catholics), did little to dispel Xavier's sense of inadequacy despite his success in a junior literary competition with 'The Speaking Fish', his first published story.

Having qualified as a pharmacist in December 1922, Herbert defied his mother and left Fremantle for Melbourne where he supported himself by dispensing while studying toward matriculation and entry into medical school. He passed the necessary matriculation subjects by February 1925 and was admitted into the first year of Melbourne University's medical course in March of that year, only to fail all the examinations in the following December. During this period he began to entertain ideas of writing professionally and seems to have had articles on medical quackery printed in *Smith's Weekly* in late 1924 and 1925. 'North of Capricorn', his first successful adult story, was published in the *Australian Journal* on 1 August 1925. Although his family had moved to Melbourne and his mother persistently sought to install him in a chemist's shop, he quit civilisation in search of 'life' both for the sake of 'living' and also as material for his fiction.

After a brief interlude in Sydney in 1926, Herbert headed north on his 'first walkabout'. This marked the initial phase of his rebirth as a Territorian and a man of the frontier. He reached Darwin in 1927 after an epic hike from Cairns across the Barkly Tableland. From 1926 to 1930 he amassed a wealth of frontier experience—in the cane-fields and rainforests of Queensland, in stock camps and on the railway in the Territory, in pearling luggers and on the government schooner the *Maskee* in the coastal waters and dispensing in the Darwin Hospital as government pharmacist. He travelled extensively around the coast of Arnhem Land, visited Melville Island and the Vernons and in 1928 went to the Solomons, witnessing the aftermath of the Sinarango Rebellion.

In the process of gaining this experience Herbert discovered within himself a profound capacity to empathise with the plight of the dispossessed and exploited Aborigines. At the same time, however, he also found on the frontier a context for the unbridled assertion of his masculine identity. The complex literary persona he developed was to be based on these conflicting impulses. Consequently, his most important works deal with the Australian frontier and reveal a tension between love for the land and the Aboriginal people on the one hand, and a boisterous revelling in the violent white male ethos of frontier society on the other. As such they represent an ambivalent critique of the Australian outback 'legend'.

The years from 1930 to 1938 saw Herbert struggling to establish himself as an author. He sailed for England in August 1930 seeking literary success and drafting a novel, *Black Velvet*, about race relations in the Northern Territory, on the voyage. He found instead his future wife Sarah (Sadie) Cohen, *nee* Norden (1899–1979), a London Jewess unhappily married to a cabinetmaker and returning to England after an abortive attempt to emigrate to Australia. In London Sadie encouraged him to rewrite *Black Velvet* so that it began to approach its later form as *Capricornia*. When he returned to Australia in late 1932, disillusioned with the British literary scene that ignored his novel, she soon followed. Thenceforth she provided Herbert with the almost maternal devotion he felt he had lacked as a child and the vital creative support he needed, especially during the difficult five years of revision and negotiation before P R Stephensen's Publicist Press at last published *Capricornia*.

In January 1935 Herbert fled to Darwin in despair over the fate of his still unpublished novel. He was appointed acting superintendent of Kahlin compound, with Sadie joining him a little later as matron. Together they worked to improve conditions for the badly fed, ill-housed Aborigines. In this task their friends the McGinnesses assisted the Herberts. The job was terminated in June 1936 and after a dispute highlighting political differences with the chief medical officer, [Dr Cook](#), a former friend, Herbert and Sadie went bush, setting up an Aboriginal cooperative with the McGinnesses and BulBul, the famous tracker, to mine tin and tantalite in the Finnis River region. Frustrated by the authorities over the issuing of labour licences, Herbert supplemented his income by work on the Darwin docks, later accepting the role of organiser for the North Australia Workers' Union. The success of *Capricornia*, which won first prize in the Commonwealth Sesquicentenary novel competition in April 1938, effectively shifted Herbert's attention from activism to art. From then on he expressed his concern for social justice largely through his writing.

Returning to Sydney as the celebrated author of a controversial book exposing the worst aspects of white colonisation of the Australian frontier, Herbert mixed with left wing writers, gradually distancing himself from the increasingly fascist and anti-semitic P R Stephensen. By mid-1941 he had broken completely with 'Inky' and his 'Australia First' movement. The recipient of the first of several Commonwealth Literary Fund fellowships in 1940 and awarded the Australian Literature Society's gold medal in 1941 for *Capricornia*, he strove to produce a worthy successor to that work. Despite a number of false starts on novels with frontier themes (*The King and the Kurawadi/Yeller Feller/The True Commonwealth* and a work about the pearling industry), he published nothing major for nearly twenty years.

He renewed contact with the Northern Territory during the Second World War. After the bombing of Darwin, Herbert, whose attitude towards and early involvement in the war remain mysterious, went from Caloundra, Queensland, where he and Sadie had been living in Vance Palmer's cottage, to Melbourne. In May 1942 he lowered his age to enlist, like his brother David, in the North Australia Observer Unit (NAOU). A sergeant, he was stationed with 'A' Company at Roper Bar.

Though regarded as a fanatic, he was respected by his comrades for his bushcraft and knowledge of the Aborigines. He, however, had no respect for his commanding officer, the noted anthropologist [W E H Stanner](#), referring to the NAOU as 'Silly Billy Stanner's Knackeroos' and later caricaturing him as Fabian Cootes in *Poor Fellow My Country*. He was discharged from the Army in August 1944 and appears to have joined Sadie in Sydney until again quitting civilisation in 1946 for the Daintree region in north Queensland. A few years later he and Sadie settled in Redlynch, later an outer suburb of Cairns. Woolf Cohen divorced Sadie in 1949 and she and Xavier married in a civil ceremony in Cairns in 1953.

From now on Herbert interspersed reclusive bouts of writing with other jobs: dispensing, wood-chopping, chemical analysis on the Tully Dam hydroelectric scheme and work as an aircraft cleaner and porter at Cairns airport. Still determinedly proving his masculine identity he learned to fly light aircraft in the 1950s as compensation for his vain emulation of his father's fine horsemanship. Now, too, he accompanied Percy Trezise on expeditions in search of galleries of Aboriginal cave paintings in the Laura district.

Seven Emus, set in the Northern Territory and satirising anthropologists, was published in 1959 and roundly criticised for its eccentric experimental syntax. *Soldiers' Women*, dealing with the sexual behaviour of women during wartime and revealing Herbert's misogynist streak, followed in 1961. A selection of Herbert's stories from the preceding decades, *Larger than Life* appeared in 1963, the same year in which *Disturbing Element*, his curiously 'non-specific' account of his first 25 years, saw print. By exploring material at some remove from those frontier experiences to which he was most deeply committed, Herbert to an extent freed himself from his fear of duplicating *Capricornia*. The next decade saw him reshaping experiences and themes from the late 1930s and early 1940s in a marathon labour which produced the longest novel written in Australia—some 850 000 words. *Poor Fellow My Country* was published in 1975 and won the Miles Franklin Award.

Where *Capricornia* covers the period from the early colonisation of the Northern Territory in the 1880s up to 1930, *Poor Fellow My Country* deals specifically with the years from 1936 to 1942 and expresses Herbert's rage and despair at what he saw as the destruction of the idea of a 'true Commonwealth' based on a quasi-Aboriginal love of the land, independence from foreign ties and social justice for all Australians. Like *Capricornia* the novel is largely set on the frontier, with the retreat from Darwin (Palmerston in the novel) after the Japanese raids, signifying for Herbert the bankruptcy of Australian nationalism.

Although these two major novels are ultimately pessimistic, they do celebrate aspects of life on the frontier and immortalise, in fictionally distorted portraits, a wide range of well-known Territorian 'characters'. If **Reuben Cooper** provides the model for Norman, Prindy owes a lot to Val McGinness and arguably also to **Nemarluk**. Tim O'Cannon (*Capricornia*) is based on Tom Flynn, the Banger in charge of Herbert's fettling team, GinBul (*Poor Fellow My Country*) is based on BulBul, and Billy Brew (*Poor Fellow My Country*) is a thinly disguised version of Bert Drew, 'the Donkey King of the North'.

Though awarded honorary doctorates at the University of Newcastle and the University of Queensland, in his final decade Herbert battled physical decline and grief. Sadie died on 20 September 1979 at Cherside Hospital, Brisbane, leaving him shocked and bereft.

Although Herbert travelled to Darwin in 1980 as a witness at the Finnis River land claim hearing, encountering old friends and reviewing memories, and had accepted terms as writer-in-residence at several universities, he produced no new fiction. The manuscript of *Me and My Shadow* lay unassessed with his literary executor and there is no evidence that the rumoured *Billygoat Hill* ever consisted of more than ideas and scattered notes.

At the beginning of 1984 Herbert left Cairns by Landrover for Central Australia. He set up camp near Ross River Station in the McDonnell Ranges, a bushman to the end, and died of renal failure on 10 November that year. He was buried at Alice Springs, close to the heart of the land he loved.

Photographs of Herbert reveal him to have been a tallish man of nuggetty build and rugged appearance. His intense gaze from beneath rather beetling brows, his obvious athletic prowess (he could run six kilometres in his 60s) and his preference for casual working clothes that exposed his hairy chest and arms, contributed to a somewhat daunting demeanour.

He was the subject of countless anecdotes and energetically promoted an irascible self-image, welcoming the labels 'ratbag' and 'stirrer' so that often it is difficult to separate the man from the myth. Read together, these 'Herbert stories' convey the impression of a complex, contradictory personality. The evidence of attention-seeking behaviour in his noisy iconoclasm and prodigious garrulity contrasts with Herbert's reclusiveness and compassion.

As Bernard Smith points out, Herbert's significance lies, like Katherine Prichard's, in his pioneering of the fictional theme 'that black and white alike in Australia are involved in a common destiny'.

He remains one of Australia's most important, if most enigmatic, writers.

L Clancy, *Xavier Herbert*, 1981; J McLaren, *Xavier Herbert's Capricornia and Poor Fellow My Country*, 1981; R & H Walker, *Curtin's Cowboy: Australia's Secret Bush Commandos*, 1986; P Dougherty, 'The Final Words of Xavier Herbert', *Bulletin*, 29 January 1985; L Hergenhan, 'An Australian Tragedy: Xavier Herbert's *Poor Fellow My Country*', *Quadrant*, vol 21, February 1977; Heseltine, 'Xavier Herbert's *Magnum Opus*', *Meanjin*, vol 34, no 2, June 1975; A McGrath, 'Mirror of the North', in *Australians 1938, 1987; Northern Standard* (Darwin), 11 June 1929, 3 May 1935, 7 June 1935, 25 October 1935, 25 February 1936, 27 March 1936, 21 April 1936, 22 May 1936, 16 June 1936; Beatrice Davis Papers, NLA; Miles Franklin Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney; Sadie Herbert Collection, Fryer Library, University of Queensland; Xavier Herbert Papers and Manuscripts in the possession of Ms Robyn Pill, c/- Curtis Brown (Australia); P Trezise to F De Groen, 14 March 1987; Interview with Kim Stanborough, ex-youth worker (Darwin), 20 January 1987, 31 May 1987 in Sydney; Court Hearing Transcripts of the Finnis River Land Claim Northern Land Council, Darwin; (Typescript) Finnis River Land Claim, Northern Land Council, Darwin.

FRANCES DE GROEN, Vol 1.

HERBERT, CHARLES EDWARD (1860–1929), solicitor, politician, judge and Government Resident, was born on 12 June 1860 at Strathalbyn, South Australia, eldest son of Lloyd Herbert, surgeon, and his second wife Mary Ann, *nee* Montgomery. Educated at the Collegiate School of St Peter, Adelaide, Herbert was articled to his uncle, Henry Hay Mildred, in 1877 and in 1883 was admitted as practitioner to the Supreme Court of South Australia. He went to Palmerston (Darwin) in October, the only other practitioner in the Northern Territory being **J.J. Symes**. The following year he joined J J Beare's practice at Moonta, South Australia. On 15 August 1885 in Adelaide, Herbert married Anna Emilia Augusta, daughter of M R Schomburgk, Director of the Botanic Gardens

in that city. There were four children of the marriage: Oscar (born 1886), Charles Lloyd (born 1889), Pauline (born 1893) and Evan (born 1904). He practised in Sydney from 1889 before returning to Palmerston in 1896. In 1899 he was Worshipful Master of the Freemason's Lodge in the Territory.

At a by-election on 20 October 1900 Herbert was elected as a Conservative to the South Australian House of Assembly for the Northern Territory; he was re-elected in 1902. In February 1905 he was appointed Northern Territory Government Resident, succeeding **C J Dashwood**, of whom he had been highly critical. From September 1906 until the following March Herbert served on the Commonwealth royal commission into the affairs of the Territory of Papua.

In the light of his experience in Papua his 1906 annual report on the Northern Territory emphasized the need for increased European settlement and liberal land laws. On his recommendation the South Australian government 'set up a scheme to foster mixed farming in the Territory'. He was also very concerned at the poor 'protection' offered to the Aborigines by the legislation then in place and in particular in the unauthorised removal of Aborigines from the Territory. Traditionally, the Chief Protector was the Government Medical Officer 'for the time being', but at a time of 'temporary strain' in 1908 Herbert arranged for very experienced **W G Stretton** to be appointed Chief Protector, a position he held until his death 11 years later.

In 1910 Herbert was appointed Deputy Chief Judicial Officer for the Territory of Papua. Among the presentations when he left Darwin was one from the Chinese community who remarked on his 'unswerving patience and justness... no matter what might be the nationality of the accused or the suitor'. Herbert responded that it had 'always been his endeavour to hold the scales of justice evenly balanced as respects the cosmopolitan Asiatic community which formed so large a part of the Territory's population'.

As the second judge of the Port Moresby Central Court, under the Lieutenant Governor and Chief Judicial Officer (Sir) Hubert Murray he heard cases referred from the resident magistrates' courts. An *ex officio* member of the Legislative and Executive councils he was also responsible for drafting ordinances. At least twice Herbert held concurrent judicial appointments in separate Australian territories: late in 1918 he heard criminal matters in Darwin arising from the attempt to depose the administrator **J A Gilruth** and in May to October 1921 he was an acting judge of the Northern Territory. In April 1924 he received another commission as acting judge.

A reclassification of the Papuan public service in 1926 removed Herbert from its ranks with the title of judge. He was by then in poor health due to the effects of his long tropical service. The family returned to the Northern Territory and lived on their property at Koolpinyah, south of Darwin. He was appointed a Northern Territory Justice of the Peace on 28 February 1927. In 1928 he accepted the post of Administrator of Norfolk Island in preference to the more highly paid position of Judge of North and Central Australia. He died of pneumonia on 21 January 1929 on Norfolk Island, where he was buried. He was survived by his wife, two sons, Evan and Oscar, then owners of Koolpinyah Station, and daughter, Pauline. His son, Charles Lloyd, had been killed in action in Belgium in 1917. He was an active Anglican and in 1932 a sanctuary lamp was dedicated to him in St John's Church, Port Moresby, which he supported when it was being built.

Administrator's Annual Report, 1908; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; P Elder, 'Charles Edward Herbert', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 9, 1983; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTAS E113, vol 1; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 6 January 1928.

PETER ELDER and V T O'BRIEN, *Vol 3*.

HERRING, (Sir) EDMUND FRANCIS (1892–1982), lawyer, soldier, judge and administrator, was born at Maryborough, Victoria, on 2 September 1892, the son of Edmund G Herring. He was educated at Melbourne Grammar School, where he developed fine skills in sport, particularly cricket and tennis, and he was dux of the school. He attended Trinity College at the University of Melbourne before being awarded a Rhodes Scholarship in 1912 and attending Oxford University in England.

In 1914 Herring enlisted in King Edward's Horse, as a trooper, until December of that year. He then obtained a commission and joined the 99th Brigade, Royal Field Artillery. With this unit he went in the British Expeditionary Force to France and Macedonia, rising to the rank of Major. His service won him the Military Cross (MC) in 1917 and Distinguished Service Order (DSO) in 1919. In February 1919 he was demobilised to England, eventually returning to Australia in 1920.

From 1921 Herring practised at the Melbourne Bar, becoming a King's Counsel in 1936. In April 1922 he married Mary Ranken, the daughter of Sir Thomas Ranken Lyle. In October of that year Herring joined the Australian Army Legal Department (Militia). He remained with that department until August 1923, when he joined the Australian Field Artillery as a brigade commander and, eventually, commander of 2nd Division Artillery. In October 1939 General Blamey chose him to command the 6th Division Australian Imperial Force (AIF) Artillery in the Middle East, with Brigadier's rank. He served with distinction in North Africa, Greece and Syria, rising to command of 6th Division in August 1941, with promotion to Major-General and being made a Companion of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) for inspiring leadership at Bardia, Tobruk and Derna.

Herring was amongst the senior officers recalled to Australia early in 1942 in the face of the Japanese threat. Alarmed at defence weaknesses and poor morale that emerged at Darwin in the wake of the Japanese raids of 19 February, War Cabinet decided to replace the 7th Military District military commander, Major-General **D V J Blake** with Herring. Herring received the appointment on 24 March 1942 and left for Darwin on the 27th, little more than a week after his return to Australia. The joint United States-Australian planning staff thought the situation serious enough to recommend that Herring be given 'unqualified strategic command of all Australian and United States forces, ground, air and naval, allocated to the defence of the general Darwin area'. War Cabinet

concurrent, but inter-service rivalry caused the chiefs of staff to reinterpret this instruction in such a way that Herring became 'co-ordinator', not supreme commander, except in the case of imminent or actual land attack. Nevertheless he had greater powers over a wider area than had his predecessor and he used his authority swiftly and ruthlessly, replacing every suspect officer, giving brigade commands to AIF veterans, dissolving the 7th Military District Headquarters as 'a nuisance more than anything else', redeploying his forces in depth and instituting a rigorous training program. One of his officers, Major **W E H Stanner**, noted Herring's 'great personal force, which everyone who served with him will recall'. There would be no withdrawals, Herring told his troops, adding, according to an American source, 'There have been too bloody many withdrawals in the British Empire.' By the time war-tested AIF units moved into the Darwin area in May 1942, Herring was satisfied that his men would fight.

Herring's personal leadership qualities had played a major part in revitalising northern defence; and, with the decline in the Japanese threat to north Australia after mid-1942, the high command decided to move Herring to the vital New Guinea theatre. He left the Northern Territory in August 1942 with promotion to the (temporary) rank of Lieutenant-General and went on to his greatest days as a military commander as General Officer Commanding (GOC) 2 Australian Corps (August–September 1942), General Officer Commanding (GOC), New Guinea Force and 1 Australian Corps (October 1942–August 1943) and GOC 1 Australian Corps (August 1943–February 1944). In the latter month his rank as Lieutenant-General was confirmed and he moved to the Reserve to become Chief Justice of Victoria.

On 29 May 1943 Herring had been made a Knight of the Order of the British Empire (KBE) for outstanding qualities of leadership in the southwest Pacific area (including NT and New Guinea). In 1950 he was appointed Director-General of Recruiting and Honorary Colonel of the Melbourne University Regiment; but his days of active soldiering were over.

Herring's civil career does not appear to have been hampered by his military role throughout the earlier half of this century. In 1936, he was made a King's Counsel. For 20 years, from 1945, he was Chief Justice of Victoria, during which time he established the Law Revision Committee. In 1941 he was made Chancellor of the Diocese of Melbourne, and retained that post for 31 years. For twenty-seven years, from 1945, he was Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria. He was chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Australian War Memorial from 1959 to 1974 and in 1959 was elected president of the Scout Association of Australia. His military awards include a Military Cross in each of the two world wars, and a Distinguished Service Order. He also received the American Distinguished Services Cross in 1943.

Herring died on 5 January 1982, aged 82, thirteen months after his wife, Dame Mary Herring. Their three daughters survived him.

D Horner, *Crisis of Command*, 1978; D Horner, *High Command*, 1982; D Horner, *The Commanders*, 1984; G Long, *To Benghazi*, 1952; D McCarthy, *South West Pacific Area, First Year*, 1959; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; S Sayers, *Ned Herring: A Life of Sir Edmund Herring*, 1980; S Sayers, *Lieutenant General Sir Edmund Herring: Joint and Allied Commander*, 1984.

J HAYDON, Vol 1.

HILL, CHARLOTTE MARY (1881–1931), pioneer Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary, was born in Western Australia and accepted by the Victorian Church Missionary Association (CMA and later CMS) in December 1909, as a missionary for the Roper River Mission. The CMA had started this mission in August 1908. The CMA was undecided about sending women missionaries to north Australia and it was not until over a year later that they agreed that they could be cared for adequately at the mission. Miss Hill and Miss J Tinney were the first lady missionaries there. Miss Tinney had had ten years' teaching experience as a missionary with the Methodist Overseas Mission (MOM) in New Guinea. Misses Hill and Tinney, accompanied by Mr and Mrs O C Thomas, arrived at the Roper River Mission on 16 May 1911.

Misses Hill and Tinney were in charge of the medical and educational work at the mission for the next six years. Miss Tinney resigned in May 1917 and sent several months helping at the MOM Goulburn Island Mission on her way south. Miss Hill resigned at the end of 1918, leaving the mission on 4 March 1919 and arriving back in Western Australia later in the year. The CMS expressed their deep appreciation for her 'long and devoted service in the cause of the Aborigines'. She later moved to Victoria and died at Daylesford on 17 December 1931.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; CMS records, Victoria.

KEITH COLE, Vol 2.

HILL, ERNESTINE nee HEMMINGS (1899–1972), journalist and author, was born Ernestine Hemmings in Rockhampton, Queensland, in 1899. She was educated at a convent in Rockhampton and later attended All Hallows Convent in Brisbane. Her first book *Peter Pan and Other Poems* was published when she was 17. These details apart, little is known of the early life of the woman who, under the name of Mrs Ernestine Hill, was to become one of Australia's best known and most prolific travel writers. When interviewed, Hill was reluctant to speak about her private life, a typical response to personal questions being, 'Tell only of the travel!' It was only in the weeks prior to her death in 1972 that Hill, perhaps given the more permissive mood of the time, revealed personal details to a Queensland academic which help to explain why such a talented writer chose to spend a nomadic existence far from the literary circles of the major Australian cities.

Ernestine Hemmings began her career in journalism in 1919 as Secretary to the Editor of the newly established *Smith's Weekly*. She later worked as Sub Editor on the paper. In the mid 1920s she joined Associated Newspapers, owners of the *Sun* group. A traumatic affair with one of the senior executives of the group led to the birth of a

son. Unable, for religious reasons, to marry the father of her child, Hemmings adopted the name of Mrs Ernestine Hill. The events marked the beginning of her nomadic life style. Her travels, which were subsidised by Associated Newspapers, apparently to keep her out of Sydney and as partial compensation for her plight, began in the 1930s. Assured of publication in the *Sun* newspapers, she soon gained prominence for her writings from distant corners of Australia.

Hill's enthusiastic journalistic style created immense problems for Associated Newspapers. In 1931 she wrote glowing accounts of a large gold discovery by a prospector at the Granites, to the north west of Alice Springs in the harsh Tanami Desert. Despite earlier reports that the Granites field was unprofitable, Hill's story led to a stock market boom and hopeful prospectors flooded the area. The Managing Director of Associated Newspapers, C R Packer, embarrassed at the sensation created by the Hill articles, financed a geological expedition to the Granites. When the report was published, Granites shares fell dramatically in value. The personal suffering which Hill's stories helped cause was immense. It was in the middle of the Depression, and a great number of men had travelled to the Granites with little but hope to sustain them. Many of these were left stranded, suffering from dysentery, and without food and shelter. The situation reached the stage where the Commonwealth government was compelled to take action, providing free transport to South Australia for those who were destitute or physically ill. The fact that Hill was guaranteed publication was not lost on her fellow journalists. F E Baume, a journalist with the Associated Newspapers geological expedition, prefaced his book on the Granites, *Tragedy Track*, with an attack on Hill's irresponsible and sensationalistic journalism. He wrote, somewhat dourly, of Hill that 'the front page is her own for the asking.'

Hill soon became embroiled in controversy again as a result of a front-page article on Arnhem Land Aborigines that appeared in the *Sunday Sun* in August 1932. The heading read 'Black Baby Saved From Being Eaten: Cannibalism on East West—Grisly Feast Persists—Story of White Woman Who Intervened—Mother's Awful Loss'. The tone of the article, including Hill's statement that it 'seems only with the total disappearance of the race will this ghastly horror die out', evoked much criticism. While Hill claimed in the article that she had actually witnessed the event, she later admitted that she had only heard the story. In an interview shortly before her death, she spoke of her early work as that of a 'wicked and ruthless journalist.'

Despite the racist tones of her 1932 article, Hill in later years did much, through her articles and photographs, to provide a record of Aboriginal and outback life during the 1930s and 1940s. She also worked with Daisy Bates on recording the latter's life with the Aborigines in a series of articles entitled 'My Natives and I'. The series was syndicated throughout Australia. In 1938 Bates published her book *The Passing of the Aborigines*. Hill was incensed that Bates made no acknowledgement of her contribution to the book, claiming that she had ghost written the work for Bates on the basis of a series of interviews held in the office of the *Adelaide Advertiser*. In her own book, *Kabbarli: A Personal Memoir of Daisy Bates*, published posthumously in 1973, Hill again asserted her co-authorship of Bates's book, and published a letter from Bates acknowledging her contribution.

During the 1930s Hill had several books published. *The Great Australian Loneliness*, an account of travel through outback Australia from Adelaide to Darwin via the Birdsville Track, Central Australia and Arnhem Land, was published in 1937. *Water into Gold*, a history of the Murray River irrigation area, was published in the same year. Hill's only novel, *My Love Must Wait*, based on the life of **Matthew Flinders**, appeared in 1941 and, published in the United States and Europe, sold more than 10 000 copies in Australia. Hill also wrote for journals such as *Walkabout* and provided a regular column for the *ABC Weekly*. She edited the women's page of the latter publication from 1940 to 1942, and was a Commissioner of the Australian Broadcasting Commission from 1942 until 1944.

In 1944 Hill was in the news once again, this time due to her efforts to have her son exempted from conscription. Claiming to be a widow, she maintained that her son was her research assistant and that she needed him to enable her to continue her work in telling Australians about their vast continent. In return for having her son remain with her, she wrote, 'I promise a lifelong and joyous typewriter toil for Australia... a book a year for eleven years.' In 1947 her story of the foundation of the Australian Inland Mission, and the work of **John Flynn** and the Flying Doctor Service, *Flying Doctor Calling*, was published. By the time her best known book, *The Territory*, was published in 1951, Hill had travelled, in her own words, 'twice around Australia by land, clockwise and three times across it from south to north, many times east and west, and once on the diagonal.'

The Territory, a sweeping and colourful account of the people and places of the Northern Territory, of which one writer commented that 'it ought to be in the swag of every Australian', was the last work published by Hill during her lifetime. But she continued to plan for future works, carrying tin trunks full of notes and manuscripts, cuttings and photographs, across the length and breadth of Australia. Described by a friend as 'a restless vivacious little person always eager to see new places and meet new people', Hill never lost her zest for travel. She once wrote to a friend that it 'is a dreadful addiction... It is all a magnificent country, and every dusty monotony leads to a joyous surprise... I love to take the trail, and nothing, I hope will be wasted... I'll travel it over in notes and maps and writing to the end of my years.'

The Ernestine Hill collection of photographs and manuscripts, including the drafts of two unpublished works, 'Johnny Wisecap' and 'Blanket Over the Moon', is housed in the Fryer Library, the University of Queensland.

Hill died in Brisbane on 22 August 1972, survived by her son Robert. Her wish was that she should be buried 'just under a tree, surrounded by a few friends and family.'

W H Wilde, J Hooton & B Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1988; *Advertiser*, 23 August 1972; *Australian*, 25 August 1972; *Courier Mail*, 23 August 1972; M Bonnin, 'A Study of Australian Descriptive and Travel Writing, 1929-1945', PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 1980.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

HOLLOWS, FREDERICK COSSOM (FRED) (1929–1993), ophthalmologist and humanist, was born on 9 April 1929 in Dunedin, New Zealand, the second of four sons of railwayman Joseph Alfred Hollows and Clarice Hollows, *nee* Marshall. The family name was originally Hallows, but on immigrating to New Zealand in the 1870s, Hollows' grandfather's name was registered as Hollows, and so it remained. Hollows was educated at the North East Valley Primary School, and later at Palmerston North Boys' High School. Hollows' parents were members of the Church of Christ, and he grew up in a home that was non-smoking and teetotal, but with a strong streak of socialism. Hollows described his father as a sort of 'Christian Marxist'. Having topped the New Zealand list in Bible studies in his final school year exams, Hollows attended Glenleith College, a Church of Christ theological college attached to the University of Otago (Dunedin), to study Arts and Divinity with the aim of becoming a minister of religion. In the first university vacation, as a naive, non-drinking and non-smoking Christian, he took a job in a mental hospital, an event that would change his views on life. As Hollows later wrote, 'Sex, alcohol and secular goodness are pretty keen instruments and they surgically removed my Christianity, leaving no scars'.

When he returned to university he changed to a straight Arts degree. He transferred to Victoria University, Wellington, for the third year of his degree, but on invitation from the University of Otago, returned there to study medicine. Hollows claimed that he never showed any great promise as a medical student, preferring to spend much of his time 'drinking, chasing women, rock-climbing and playing billiards'. In 1953, at the end of his third year of medical studies, he met his first wife, Mary, while working as a mountain guide during the university break. He graduated in 1956, and worked at Auckland General Hospital, then Tauranga and Wellington Hospitals, where he started taking an interest in eye health. During this time he also joined the Communist Party, a move that brought him under the surveillance of the New Zealand Security and Intelligence Service (NZSIS).

To continue his work in eye health, Hollows realised that he would have to go overseas for further professional study. He applied to study at the Royal Ophthalmic Hospital (Moorfields) in London, the world's oldest and most famous eye hospital. In 1961, having raised 5 000 Pounds by working as a locum in Auckland, Hollows left for England on the steamship *Hobart*, paying part of his way by working as ship's doctor. To further subsidise his studies he worked for the Maritime Radiomedical Service in London providing medical advice to ships at sea. While at Moorfields Hollows was joint winner of the Diploma of Ophthalmology Junior Prize. When he qualified he took up a position as Ophthalmic Registrar at the Royal Infirmary in Cardiff. There he came under the influence of epidemiologist Archie Cochrane, and the use of epidemiology—'study amongst the people'. Much of Hollows' work in Cardiff was on the study of glaucoma, an eye disease that can lead to blindness, in patients from Welsh mining towns. In the 1960s he published several articles relating to glaucoma. In 1965 Hollows was offered two positions, one in New Zealand as a Senior Lecturer at the University of Otago, the other in Australia as an Associate Professor at the University of New South Wales. The discovery that the NZSIS had started investigating his time in Britain decided Hollows on which position to take. The fiery hard-drinking, pipe-smoking radical was not one to mince words: 'What bloody subversive role could a senior lecturer in ophthalmology, sitting on the edge of the f...ing Antarctic ice cap in Dunedin, possibly play?' He took the position in Sydney, arriving in Australia in 1965.

As part of his appointment as Associate Professor of Ophthalmology at the University of New South Wales, Hollows worked at the Prince of Wales Hospital at Randwick. His interest in the eye conditions of Aboriginal people was fuelled in 1968 when, after attending a lecture given by author **Frank Hardy** on the strike by the Gurindji people at Wave Hill in the Northern Territory, Hardy later asked him to examine the eyes of two Gurindji stockmen. Hollows found that they were suffering from Labrador keratopathy, a condition caused by reflected ultraviolet light. On visiting the Gurindji camps at Wave Hill, Hollows also found an appalling high incidence of trachoma and cataracts to an extent not seen in any other Western society. His protests regarding the medical conditions of the Gurindji brought Hollows to the attention of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), and gained him the reputation in administrative circles as a stirrer. Hollows and his university colleagues set up the Aboriginal Medical Centre in Redfern, and started eye clinics in Bourke and Engonnia, both in New South Wales. His reputation as a radical was increased when he became a prime mover in the protests against the touring South African rugby team in 1971.

Hollows' concern for the general health conditions of Aborigines, and the high incidence of trachoma amongst the indigenous population, led to an inevitable meeting between Hollows and Territorian ophthalmologist and Roman Catholic priest, **Father Frank Flynn**. Flynn had identified the high incidence of trachoma amongst Territory Aborigines in the 1940s, and had striven for a practical, mass program of study and treatment of the affliction. In the early 1970s Hollows came to the Territory, and spent time on the Tiwi Islands studying the eye problems of the islanders, and Flynn and Ida Mann's research on indigenous eye problems. While the authorities had failed to respond to Flynn's reasoned urging for an Aboriginal eye program, they did not stand a chance when Hollows took up the issue. Abrasive, and often foul-mouthed, Hollows barged and bullied his way through the bureaucracy, and headed straight for the political leaders. In 1975, just before the Labor Government was dismissed, the Minister of Health approved a grant of one million dollars to the College of Ophthalmology to conduct a rural eye health program. The National Trachoma and Eye Health Program was launched in 1976, with Hollows as Director, and Flynn as Consultant. Initially with just a couple of trucks and later with well-organised teams, Hollows criss-crossed the country between 1976 and 1981. During the initial two-year screening program 10 500 people in 465 camps, country towns and large urban centres were checked for eye infection and disease. Of that number, 1 500 Aborigines were treated, with 1 000 eye operations being performed. Hollows spent a great deal of his own

time and money supporting the Aboriginal health movement in its formative years. In 1980 he married one of his field assistants, Gabi O'Sullivan. In the mid-1980s the national program, by then well established, was split up into state-based services.

In the early 1980s Hollows set up eye health programs, based on his Australian experience, in Mexico, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Nepal. In 1986, while attending the World Health Organisation World Blindness Program Conference in Alexandria, Egypt, Hollows was urged to visit Eritrea where civil war and poor health facilities had created appalling eye problems. Eritrea became the ground for Hollows' final crusade. In Sydney he launched into a training program for Eritrean doctors to perform eye operations, and fund-raising to provide the capital for setting up factories in Eritrea to produce inexpensive intraocular lenses. In 1990, despite having been diagnosed as having cancer in 1989, Hollows returned to Eritrea with equipment for eye health centres and factories. He had had an affected kidney removed, and underwent extensive radiation therapy, but the cancer persisted. In mid-1991 secondary cancer in the brain was diagnosed. He made a last visit to Eritrea that year.

In 1985 Hollows had turned down an Order of Australia award in protest over the state of Aboriginal health. In 1990 he was honoured with the highest rank in the Order of Australia, that of Companion (AC). He was also named Australian of the Year. This time Hollows accepted, and threw himself into publicising the plight of Eritrea and raising funds through the newly formed Fred Hollows Foundation. He was awarded the Australian Human Rights Medal in 1990, and received the Rotary International Award for Human Understanding in 1993. As part of his Australian tour as Australian of the Year in 1990, Hollows returned to the Northern Territory. Despite his cancer he set a hectic pace, and ill health did nothing to curb his blunt approach to matters that offended him. Speaking at a luncheon held in his honour in Darwin, he discomfited many of the white dignitaries present by his scathing denunciation of the fact that only a couple of Aborigines were present. What most delighted him during his tour of the Territory was meeting again with Father Flynn, and revisiting the Tiwi Islands. At Nguiu, Hollows caused great consternation when he insisted on swimming in the crocodile infested waters off Melville Island. His response to warnings by the Aborigines was that he was 'going soon enough', and may as well enjoy himself.

Shortly before his death on 10 February 1993, Hollows made a compact disc recording of readings of his favourite Australian poets for his young children. He was survived by his wife Gabi, their five children, Cam, Emma, Anna, three year old twins Ruth and Rosa, and two of Hollows' older children, Tanya and Ben.

Hollows was accorded a State funeral, an unusual privilege for a private citizen. A memorial service was held at St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney on Monday 16 February, with Frank Hardy reading the eulogy. The following day family and close friends travelled to Bourke in New South Wales, where Hollows was laid to rest between two coolibah trees in the cemetery there. The Aboriginal people of nearby Enngonia had made a special banner for the coffin, which depicted the story of the white serpent and how the white man had come to help and heal the Aborigines. At Hollows' request, a wake was held at a claypan about 60 kilometres north of Bourke.

J Arnold & D Morris (eds), *Monash Biographical Dictionary of 20th Century Australia*, 1994; *The Australian*, 11 & 16 February 1993, 17 July 1995; G Brisco, 'Obituary for Professor Fred Cossom Hollows 1929–1993', *Aboriginal History*, vol 17, 1993; F Hollows with P Corris, *Fred Hollows*, 1992; 'National Trachoma and Eye Health Program', The Royal Australian College of Ophthalmologists, Sydney, 1980; personal interviews with F Hollows, 1990.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 3.

HOLMES, CECIL WILLIAM (1921–1994), film director, author and journalist, was born on 23 June 1921 at Waipukarau, New Zealand, a son of Alan Holmes, a Lieutenant in the New Zealand Army and Ivy Marion Holmes, *nee* Watt. He was educated in New Zealand and saw service in the European and African theatres during the Second World War. As a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy he was torpedoed in the North Atlantic on board a destroyer in the convoys taking supplies from Liverpool to Murmansk, Russia. He was badly wounded and was later mentioned in dispatches and served a total of four years in overseas theatres of war. His decorations included the Atlantic Star, the Africa Star with 1942–1943 clasp, the Defence Medal, the War medal 1939–1943 and the New Zealand War Service Medal.

At war's end Holmes began the filming which was to become his life's work. He visited to Japan and at Hiroshima photographed the aftermath of the dropping of the atom bomb on that city. In 1947 he was in Surabaya, Indonesia when the Dutch left. He also visited Saigon and filmed French forces fighting Vietnamese guerrillas.

Between 1947 and 1952 he made documentaries for the New Zealand Film Unit and in 1953 made his first feature film in Australia, the well-known *Captain Thunderbolt*. His next film *Three in One* made in 1956 won prizes at several international film festivals. The Australian film industry had difficulty re-establishing itself in the immediate post-war period, partly because largely United States interests controlled distribution. Those with the funds shunned often talented filmmakers like Holmes as their views were considered to be out of touch with the establishment.

Cecil Holmes, a tall well-built, handsome man, was a humanist who once said that 'the family to which he belonged was that of mankind'. During the 1960s he made a number of films for the Methodist Overseas Mission in the Northern Territory on aspects of Aboriginal culture. During these years he also recorded Aboriginal sacred and mortuary ceremonies for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Between 1971 and 1975 he wrote and directed a number of television documentaries set in the Northern Territory, the last of which was *Cyclone Approaching*. At the 1964 Australian Film Institute Awards *I, the Aboriginal* won a gold medal for its dramatic expression and strong narrative appeal. The following year *Faces in the Sun* won a similar award.

In 1964 Holmes with his wife and family moved to the Northern Territory. He had been appointed editor of the Murdoch owned *Territorian*. The magazine reflected life in the Territory at the time and was mostly concerned

with the state of the cattle industry. Holmes ensured it also took up the cause of the battlers, the small farmers, miners and the Aboriginal people. Being a widely travelled man with compassion and democratic principles who had lived in London and New York, he was appalled at the situation on Aboriginal reserves where he considered the indigenous people lived in a sort of time warp while white administration staff and missionaries did their thinking for them. He saw that big changes would eventually overtake Darwin and the isolated reserves, and thought the Aborigines were in no way being prepared for this.

Holmes wrote constantly on the plight of the Aborigines though he was often at odds with the Director of Welfare when seeking permits to visit reserves. His well-researched articles on the ponderous local bureaucracy were sometimes witty and sardonic which earned him the eternal enmity of the Northern Territory government establishment, though at one point Rupert Murdoch wrote to congratulate him. Holmes increasingly claimed that his copy was being interfered with at the *Northern Territory News* and after a final argument he tendered his resignation late in 1968. By then Holmes and his wife Sandra had become members of the Aboriginal Rights Council then fighting for citizenship and equal pay. He supported the Wattie Creek Aborigines when they struck and helped provide to them food, medicine and funds.

In 1969 Holmes worked for the Australian Broadcasting Commission program *This Day Tonight* as an investigative journalist. He interviewed the tribal elders who were objecting to the establishment of the Gove bauxite mine and he also interviewed the mining people. Holmes travelled widely through the Top End Aboriginal communities where he was widely respected for his kindness and unrelenting fight for their rights. He was taken into the family groups of Douglas Daniels of Ngukurr and of Yirawala, a Gunwinggu elder, and of Alie Miller Mungatopi, a leading elder of Milikapiti, Melville Island. Holmes was also active in teaching young Aborigines the basics of film making techniques. Two of his most apt pupils were the son and daughter of **Philip Roberts** and his wife Hannah. These young people eventually made a small film about their land and people with funding provided by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Holmes was a long-time friend of **Dick Ward**, **Doug Lockwood**, **Tiger Brennan** and **Bill Harney** and would sometimes join them as they gathered at Holmes' residence in Melville Street, Gardens Hill. There they would drink a stubby or two, have a good yarn, some witty discourse and intelligent conversation in the 'Poets Corner', a special place under big trees at the back of the block where the seats were tree stumps.

Cecil Holmes died at St Vincent's Hospice, Sydney on 24 August 1994 after a long illness. His wife, Sandra, son Clinton and daughter Amanda survived him. His 'family' on Melville Island held a ceremony as a mark of respect during which time the beer club was closed for several hours. A representative from the island's communities attended his funeral and a specially painted cloth to drape over the coffin was sent along with ironwood leaves used for ceremonial purposes.

Holmes was a true humanist who kept nothing for himself and gave only to others and he left a considerable legacy of fine writing and films to teach and encourage present and future generations, among which were articles in newspapers and magazines and an autobiography *One Man's Way* published by Penguin. His film legacy includes *The Coaster*, New Zealand Film Unit (NZFU), 1947; *Fighting Back*, NZFU, 1947; *Power from the River*, NZFU, 1952; *The Food Machine*, NZFU, 1952; *Safari*, 1952; *Captain Thunderbolt*, (which he wrote), 1953; *Three In One*, 1956; *Djalambu: (Hollow Log)*, Milingimbi, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS), 1960; *Words for Freedom*, 1962; *Lotu*, (which he wrote), Methodist Overseas Mission (MOM), 1962; *An Airman Remembers*, ABC, 1963; *I, the Aboriginal*, ABC, 1964; *The Uwar*, Goulburn Island, AIAS, 1964; *Faces in the Sun*, MOM, 1965; *Lorrigan*, Croker Island, AIAS, 1965; *How Shall They Hear*, MOM, 1965; *The Nagarrren Yubidarawa*, Roper River Mission, ASIS, 1965; *The Islanders*, Film Australia, 1968; *Return to the Dreaming*, (which he wrote), Channel 7, 1971; *Ronan's Country*, (which he wrote) Channel 9, 1972; *White Men in Black Skins*, (which he wrote), Channel 7, 1972; *Gentle Strangers*, (which he wrote), Film Australia, 1972; *Cyclone Approaching*, (which he wrote), Film Australia, 1975. A number other planned projects never came to fruition.

Family information.

SANDRA LE BRUN HOLMES and AMANDA HOLMES, Vol 3.

HOLMES, (FELIX) ERNEST (1868–1929), businessman, was born on 7 February 1868 at Clarendtown, New South Wales, the son of Charles Felix Holmes and his wife Margaret (Maggie). Although he was registered as Felix Ernest, he appears to have called himself Ernest and many thought his name was Ernest Felix. He was educated in Maitland and in 1890 came to the Territory to join his uncle, William Lawrie, who was developing the Humpty Doo Station and a butchering business in partnership with M D Armstrong. Armstrong died as a result of the 1897 cyclone and young Holmes was taken into the partnership.

He took up residence in Palmerston and on his own account became interested in pearling, which he actively pursued during the first decade of this century. In January 1900 it was reported that a sale of his pearls in Thursday Island had been very successful. By 1906 when he had acquired a fleet of luggers he decided that prospects might be better elsewhere. He took his fleet to the Philippines and was away from Darwin for about three years.

Pearling having given him a good stake, in 1913 he bought from his uncle the controlling interest in the butchery and bakery business, which stood on the corner of Knuckey and Smith Streets, together with the freehold of the land. He installed an ice making plant, operated as Darwin Cold Stores, and ice was delivered to houses in the town early each morning. He also imported frozen goods, and for a time aerated and mineral waters. In 1914 he became the proprietor of the Darwin Aerated Water Factory.

Lawrie died in Darwin in January 1920 leaving an estate in both the Northern Territory and New South Wales valued at 27 657 Pounds. Holmes received a sixth share that included Humpty Doo and Nutwood Downs stations, and other real estate.

As an extension of his cold store business Holmes provided the first reticulated electricity in Darwin under the 'Electric Energy Agreement Ordinance 1923'. He was immediately prosecuted for obstructing the 'King's Highway' by erecting telegraph poles and it was some time before the Town Council and the Administration could agree on how best the poles might be situated. After this difficulty was resolved Holmes obtained a contract from the Town Council for the reticulation through a small section of the town. The electricity plant commenced operations on 10 September 1924, the erection being supervised by Vestey's chief engineer. The private service, which was costly and unreliable, was continued until 1934 when it was taken over by the Darwin Town Council. Holmes had by then died and his trustees fought valiantly, including taking Supreme Court action, to prevent losing their contract.

Holmes suffered from diabetes and being far from well early in July 1929 travelled to Sydney accompanied by a 'faithful' nursing sister who had long looked after him. For the flight she was dressed as a 'gentleman', which caused some comment in the press. He left in one of the first 'medi-vac' trips made by Qantas from Darwin and many turned out to see him go for which the press published his thanks. He was not, however, to recover and died suddenly on 1 August and was cremated at the Northern Suburbs Crematorium, Sydney.

Holmes was one of the most successful businessmen of his day and no other estate of a Territory resident, prior to the Second World War, was anything like his in its value. Probate of his will was granted to his executors the Permanent Trustee Company of Sydney and Sydney Seller Godfrey of the ES & A Bank, in New South Wales on 23 August 1929 and was resealed in the Northern Territory on 10 June 1930. The estate was sworn in at 90 063 Pounds; 53 238 Pounds represented assets in the Northern Territory, the balance being in New South Wales. Among the assets in the latter state was a home in Northbridge, Sydney and substantial bank deposits.

The Northern Territory assets comprised a third share in the Don Picture Company (the balance held by G F Wedd); sole ownership of Humpty Doo, Nutwood Downs and Maryfield stations with their accompanying grazing licences and a half share in Saint Vidgeon's Springs with its grazing licence. He owned perpetual town leases over 13 Lots in what is now the Fannie Bay area; a land grant which was used for slaughter yards at Fannie Bay; freehold title over an area now comprising much of the northern suburbs of Darwin from Rapid Creek to Holmes Jungle; 12 freehold Darwin town Lots on which were erected a number of houses and staff quarters as well as the butchery, bakery, electric light supply, aerated water manufacture, and ice and cold storage. Until the late 1970s the corner of Smith and Knuckey Streets in Darwin, at which Holmes conducted his business, was known as 'Holmes Estate.'

The *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* described Holmes as a 'remarkable' man who carried on his business 'with indomitable spirit and energy' though he seems not to have been particularly well respected. A lengthy obituary commented that although he had great vision for the future 'he was by no means faultless and by some of his business methods he earned not a little abuse and dislike'. The electricity reticulation Holmes had installed was costly and unreliable but, as the columnist pointed out, he had borne the installation cost himself and it was only 'due to his courage and far sighted enterprise' that Darwin residents enjoyed the 'civilized blessings' of electric light, cold storage and ice. With a butchery and bakery as well he clearly controlled the provision of most services. His aim, however, appears to have been only to make money for he sought no political influence. He was elected to the Darwin District Council at the head of the poll for a year in July 1913 but played no other part in the life of the town.

Although considered a very hard man, he was good to his employees. He remembered his long term employees in his will, some receiving substantial bequests, and provided accommodation and messing, which was closed after his death, after having operated since 1907.

His recreation was horse racing; by 1916 he had a stable of horses and was generally most successful. It was said of him that he was an exceptionally good judge of both horses and cattle and he took an active part in local race meetings. He also indulged this hobby in interstate races under the name 'I Felix'. When he died one of his racehorses was valued at 892 Pounds and 10 Shillings, a substantial sum at the time.

On 29 September 1917, giving his age as 47, he married Cleo, the 17-year-old daughter of the Japanese pearler Charlie Hamuara, who gave the necessary permission as she was under age. A daughter, Lillian, was born on 3 March 1918 and educated at a private school near Sydney. It was claimed that Holmes doted on his daughter but in his will he left her and her mother comparatively unprovided for, given the size of the estate. The value of the bequests to them was estimated to be barely a third of the estate. He also left legacies to three sisters, his nieces and nephews as well as his employees. A further large bequest was made to an executor, Sydney Seller Godfrey, with the residue going to the Presbyterian Inland Mission for hospital and bush nursing in north Australia. The trustees apparently dealt with Holmes's widow and daughter very ruthlessly. Margaret Widdup was later to relate that a sale was held of everything in the matrimonial home. Friends and neighbours rallied around and bought items known to have been the personal possessions of his widow and these were later returned to her.

Holmes's wife, daughter and sister were moderately successful in an action under the Testators' Family Maintenance Act in June 1932 after two earlier unsuccessful attempts that failed as the presiding judge ruled that he had no jurisdiction. Their legacies and those of Holmes's sisters were to take priority over other bequests; even so, his daughter's inheritance was dependent on her not leaving Australia after the age of 21 and if his widow remarried or led an 'immoral' life her entitlements were also to cease.

D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; *Chronicle*, 8 August 1929; *Northern Standard*, 2 August 1929, 1 July 1930, 28 November 1930, 2 December 1930, 10 November 1931 & 12 July 1932; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 21 January 1900, 14 August 1903, 6 May 1904,

30 January 1913, 15 May 1913, 10 July 1913, 11 September 1913, 14 May 1914, 2 June 1916, 12 September 1924, 5 July 1929 & 2 August 1929; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1929; Northern Territory Archives Service, E96/108, E106/326 & E103/9/30; H J Wilson, 'The Quality of Life', MA(Qualifying) Thesis, University of Queensland, 1986.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

HOLMES, MERVYN JOHN (1886–1965), was born in Melbourne on 22 February 1884, son of John Paterson Holmes. He was educated at Toorak and Melbourne Grammar schools and graduated Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery in 1909 from the University of Melbourne. He married Jessie MacKinnon on 10 October 1919.

Holmes was appointed to the Northern Territory Department of Health in July 1911 as one of two medical officers who were to investigate and promote the health of Aborigines. He undertook several extensive health surveys and wrote detailed reports on the prevalence of diseases, both common and exotic. He did much to control malaria and to reduce the spread of tuberculosis in Darwin.

Late in 1912 Holmes was promoted to Chief Medical Officer. He undertook an extensive survey of Darwin itself and did much to replace slums with healthful housing. Dr Holmes laid the foundations of health legislation for the Territory; this included the Building Regulations, 1916, providing the first health standards for both private homes and industrial sites. He drafted the *Health Ordinance*, *Infectious Diseases Ordinance*, *Mosquito Prevention* and several other ordinances to improve the health of the community.

Following extensive surveys in the outback, he compiled a comprehensive guide, *The Bushman's First Aid* for settlers and miners. He introduced medical kits for the outback and his book, advising on preventive as well as curative measures, was in every kit.

The 1914–18 war brought financial restrictions which limited fieldwork but there was no epidemic of malaria in his time. In February 1916 he joined the Australian Army Medical Corps and was lost to the Territory except in an advisory role. He subsequently held senior Commonwealth positions and served in both world wars. He died in Melbourne on 30 January 1965.

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ELLEN KETTLE, Vol 2.

HOLTZE, MAURICE WILLIAM (1840–1923), botanist, was born on 8 July 1840 in the kingdom of Hanover, now part of West Germany. His father, Karl Holtze, was Inspector of Orphanages in Hanover. As a young man Maurice Holtze studied and graduated in botany and horticulture at the Royal Gardens in St Petersburg, later known as the Komorov Institute in Leningrad and a leading botanical centre in the Soviet Union. He then served four years as an assistant in the Gardens at Hildesheim, followed by three years in a nursery in the city of Hanover. In later years Holtze spoke of a picture, seen in the cottage of a farmer when he was a boy, which motivated his interest in botany. The picture showed nine figures including a king, a parson, a lawyer and other representatives of notable professions and, at the foot, a farmer. A written scroll beneath each figure outlined each notable's self-perception of his own role in society and the importance of his allotted task. When it came to the humble farmer the scroll simply read, 'And I feed you all!' This early interest in the practical aspect of the science of botany, the development and use of plant species for the benefit of mankind, rather than in purely decorative or interesting botanical specimens, dominated Holtze's work as a botanist throughout his long career.

In 1872 Holtze migrated to Australia with his Russian wife Evlampia, daughter of Captain S Mesinzoff. While Holtze was brought up as a Roman Catholic, he does not appear to have practised the religion. His wife was a member of the Russian Orthodox Church. They brought with them to Australia their four young children, **Nicholas**, Ludmilla and Constantine. The Holtze family settled near Palmerston in the Northern Territory. Two further children were born in the Territory, Leopold, who died aged nine months, and Alexis.

Holtze initially found employment as a guard in the Palmerston gaol, where he worked until 1878. In that year the Government Resident, **E W Price**, as a result of several years of agitation by Palmerston residents who felt that the Government Gardens should both increase its capacity to supply vegetables to the township, and fulfil its intended role as an experimental garden and recreation area, wrote to the Minister for the Northern Territory requesting the appointment of 'a fair botanist and florist' to administer the gardens. Holtze applied for the position and, on 16 July 1878, was appointed Government Gardener. He quickly decided that the existing experimental garden, which had been established in 1871, was unsuited to crop experimentation. In 1879 a new site of 12 hectares was chosen at Fannie Bay and by September of that year the new garden had been trenched and cleared. With only Chinese labour to help him during daylight hours, Holtze, in the face of the 'most rigid economy' being enforced in establishing the garden, had to physically transfer the plants on his own from the old to the new garden early in the morning and late into each night. Within weeks of planting, it was realised that Holtze would have to live nearby as 'otherwise Chinese will steal the plants'. Accordingly, permission was given for a gardener's house to be erected in the gardens.

By March 1880 the Gardens were flourishing with cotton, arrowroot, sesamoid and a variety of tropical fruit trees doing well. In May of that year Holtze won a Gold Medal at the Sydney Exhibition with his cotton. He was also experimenting with both sesame and peanut oils. In 1970 his daughter Ludmilla, then almost 100 years old,

recounted how her father had pressed the oils, using his wife's clothes mangle. With each of his experiments Holtze kept copious lists and cross-references, noting those species that did well each season, those that did well at certain times and needed further experiments in varying soils and at different times, and those that appeared to fail even in nursery conditions. The Gardens were also fulfilling their role in providing plants to private plantations. In 1881, 8 000 banana trees and 13 000 pineapple seedlings were handed out. In addition, one of the original demands of the Palmerston residents for the Gardens to be developed as a recreation area appears to have been fulfilled satisfactorily as, on 2 July 1881, the local newspaper pointed out, 'The amiable Government Gardener is eaten out of house and home by casual visitors. Why doesn't someone put up a regular pub at Fannie Bay?'

In 1875, to encourage investment in the north, the South Australian government offered 5 000 Pounds for the first 500 tones of sugar to be produced in the Northern Territory. Holtze was urged to give experiments with sugarcane top priority. Tests in September 1880 showed that the results were 'beyond all expectation', and that the Territory could look forward to a booming sugar industry. By April 1881 approximately 40 000 hectares of land had been taken up by southern investors interested in the production of sugar. The **Delissa** Pioneer Sugar Company took a major holding on Cox Peninsula and in August 1881 the first crushing of surplus cane from the Gardens took place. The anticipated sugar boom never eventuated, with crop failures, insect pests and the weather all contributing to the abandonment of sugarcane as a large-scale investment in the early 1890s. Ironically, Holtze was blamed for much of the failure as it was due to his success with cane in the Gardens that investors poured money into establishing sugarcane plantations in the Territory. However, as early as 1882 he was telling a member of the visiting Parliamentary Party that Delissa and other planters had planted at the wrong time and that 'their crops will not be one-half so good as they might have been'.

Holtze found a strong ally and friend on the appointment of **J L Parsons** as Government Resident in 1884. Parsons's arrival was timely as the South Australian government was going through one of its periodic cost-cutting exercises and proposed that the area of the Gardens, and its expenses, be cut by half. It was also suggested that, 'If there is any difficulty ... the role of the Government Gardner is to be abolished ... and the Gardens worked by prison authorities.' Parsons not only rejected these suggestions, he also asked that Holtze's request for a new experimental garden site be considered as this was needed for the agricultural development of the Territory. When over a year had passed and he was still waiting for a decision on the garden from the government, Parsons took matters into his own hands. On 2 January 1880 he announced that 10 acres (four hectares) of paper bark swamp, the site of the present Darwin Botanical Gardens, was to be cleared for the new gardens. An official Proclamation for the Botanical Gardens was issued on 1 October 1886.

With the political pressure removed from him by Parsons, Holtze was free to concentrate on the Gardens and experiments. He kept in contact with botanists throughout the world, in particular with Baron Ferdinand von Muller, Government Botanist to Victoria, who sent him many valuable plant species. The Gardens flourished. Yet, in spite of the many successful experiments, investment in the many crop species that had proved their hardiness in a tropical climate was not forthcoming. Holtze felt that crops such as arrowroot, cotton and rice, which had been grown and thrived in the Gardens for many years, would be commercially viable. He won many prizes for these at agricultural and horticultural exhibitions, including two gold, one silver and three bronze medals—as well as eight certificates of merit—at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in Calcutta in 1886. It seems that southern investors were wary of further investment in the Territory after the initial disastrous attempts to commercially grow crops such as sugarcane, tobacco and coffee, all of which had proved highly successful in the Gardens environment. Holtze himself never lost faith in the potential of the north. In 1882 he offered to take up 10 000 acres (4 000 hectares) for a cotton plantation for which, if successful, he would pay the government 7 Shillings 6 Pence per acre. That this offer was not taken up is probably due to the land laws of the time. Holtze constantly criticised the laws, saying that the most suitable lands for development were 'practically locked up against the bona-fide settler'.

Holtze did not limit his interests to the Gardens and commercial land use in the Territory. In 1888, alarmed at the indiscriminate cutting of trees by Chinese woodcutters, he suggested that a forester should be appointed, as was the case in Hong Kong. He was duly appointed Forester for the Northern Territory, a position that carried no extra salary but which he took very seriously. In 1889 he was honoured with a Fellowship of the Linnaean Society in recognition of his services to botany in Australia.

In 1891 Holtze was appointed Director of the Botanic Gardens in Adelaide. His position in Palmerston was taken over by his son, Nicholas, on a part-time basis, which he held until his death in the Gardener's Cottage on 24 May 1913. During his 12 years as Government Gardener Maurice had, despite almost continuous problems with finance and labour, managed to show that a wide variety of plant species could, with due care and attention, be grown and flourish in the tropical north. He was honoured after his arrival in Adelaide with a Fellowship of the Royal Society. On 13 June 1913 Holtze was awarded the Imperial Service Order (ISO) for his services to botany. When speaking in later years on the capabilities of the Northern Territory for tropical agriculture, Holtze continued to stress the importance of a careful, scientific approach to land cultivation in the north as its curse had been that 'inexpert persons have tried to establish plantations on unsuitable land'. Holtze retired as Director of the Botanic Gardens in Adelaide in 1917. He is credited with much of the landscaping in Adelaide and its reputation as a 'garden city'. In Palmerston, later known as Darwin, the living memorial to Maurice Holtze was seen in the beautiful Darwin Botanical Gardens. The Holtze family was also remembered in the suburb of Ludmilla, named after Holtze's only daughter. Maurice Holtze died at American River on Kangaroo Island, South Australia, on 12 October 1923. His wife, two sons and his daughter survived him.

J W Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia: and an Extended Colonial History*, 1884; W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as It Is*, 1882; Northern Territory Government Residents Reports, 29 September 1884, 1 January 1890; J B Bauer, 'Some Other Eden: a History

of the Darwin Botanic Gardens', in *North Australian Research Bulletin*, December 1980, no 7; *Advertiser*, 16 October 1923; M Holtze, 'The Capabilities of the Northern Territory for Tropical Agriculture', paper read before the RGSA, SA, 4 July 1901; Personal details on Holtze family from documents held by Miss L S Hughes, Woodville, SA, Mrs W Ruediger, Morgan, SA.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 1.

HOLTZE, NICHOLAS (1867–1913), botanist, was born in 1807 at Bunska in Russia, near the Siberian border, first child of **Dr Maurice William Holtze**, botanist, and his wife Evlampia, *nee* Mesinzoff. In 1872 he accompanied his parents to Australia, where the family settled near Palmerston in the Northern Territory. It appears that most of his education took place at home as the first school in Palmerston did not open until January 1877. In March 1879 he started his first job as a messenger boy with the overland telegraph office at a salary of two Guineas per week—a considerable sum for a 12-year-old at that time. He was later transferred to Southport, then back to Port Darwin, still as a messenger. In May 1882 he was assigned to Southport as an assistant with the Postmaster's Department, but resigned in August of that year to become a clerk, fifth class, in the office of the Government Resident with a salary of 130 Pounds per year.

In 1891 when his father, Maurice Holtze, relinquished his position as Government Gardener of the Government Gardens in Palmerston to take the post of director of the Botanic Gardens in Adelaide, the Government Resident, **J G Knight**, recommended that Nicholas should be offered the position of Curator (a title never officially given to his father), on a part-time basis. Knight praised the younger Holtze as 'an enthusiastic botanist and collector', urging that he be paid the sum of 50 Pounds per annum for his services as Curator 'mornings, evenings, and spare time'. A further note pointed out that this arrangement would save the Government 500 Pounds on Gardens expenditure. The appointment was promptly approved. An editorial in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* condemned the appointment as a 'hanky panky kind of arrangement'. While noting that Nicholas had some knowledge of botany, the fact remained that he was only twenty-three years of age and his sole source of botanical knowledge came from his father. More importantly, the editorial continued, such absurd economising in appointing a part-time curator was 'sure to be treated with ridicule by everyone who holds the opinion that if a Government Garden is of any utility at all it is surely worth independent management'.

As the years went by the position of Curator of the Gardens became more and more of a part-time occupation for Holtze as his considerable talents were used in other government positions. These included appointments as Acting Secretary to the Government Resident in March 1892; Acting Deputy Registrar of the Northern Territory in April 1892; Public Trustee of the Northern Territory in June the same year; confirmed as Deputy Registrar in 1893. In April 1884 he was appointed Secretary and Accountant to the Government Resident. Further positions were added: in 1894 he was appointed Inspector of Vine Fruit and Vegetables and, in 1896, Returning Officer for the electoral district of the Northern Territory. In 1906 he was appointed Deputy Sheriff, and in 1908 was gazetted as Sheriff. By 1908, despite the fact that his only paid positions were those of Secretary and Accountant to the Government Resident and as Curator of the Gardens, Holtze, with a total salary of 480 Pounds, and a free house in the Gardens, was the third highest paid officer in the Northern Territory after the Government Resident and the Medical Officer. On the transfer of the Northern Territory from South Australia to the Commonwealth Government in 1911, Holtze's salary was fixed at 525 Pounds per annum, with no housing allowance, and his title designated as Government Secretary.

In spite of the difficulties faced in obtaining finance for the Botanic Gardens in the bleak economic climate of the 1890s, the devastating cyclone which almost wiped out the town of Palmerston in 1897, and the indifference of **C J Dashwood**, Government Resident from 1892 to 1905 in respect to the Gardens, Holtze managed to achieve a great deal in his years as 'part-time' curator. In 1895 he reported that the avenue of coconut palms, envisaged by his father and laid down by Nicholas in 1892, was already a feature of the Gardens 'and in a few years will be a splendid sight'. Unfortunately Cyclone Tracy destroyed most of the trees in 1974. He also found time to make field trips to survey Territory land suitability for various crops. One of his few reports readily accessible outside of government papers is *Reports on Goulburn and Other Islands*, printed in 1911.

Nicholas Holtze continued his father's work in promoting tropical agriculture in the Northern Territory, continually experimenting with crops such as rice. By 1899 he had 13 varieties of rice under trial. He was also to the forefront in realising the potential of mechanical harvesting. In spite of continual rejection of government funding to purchase a mechanical harvester he managed to organise a demonstration of mechanical harvesting for a rice crop on the farm of Messrs Milton and Ferric in 1911. Unfortunately the only man who could operate the machine broke his arm while trying to start it, and the harvest had to be gathered in the normal way. In his final report, dated 21 January 1913, Holtze still maintained that mechanical harvesting of crops such as rice, in conjunction with mixed farming, would 'prove the solution of the profitable utilization of our tropical coast country by a European race'.

Lack of reliable machinery also proved to be a problem with another of Holtze's successful experiments, with sisal hemp. In 1893, 6 000 of the plants had been ordered from Florida. Of the 5 300 plants that survived the long journey, 5 000 were sold and the remaining 300 planted in the Gardens. By 1897 there were 2 000 plants, progeny of the original shipment, and in 1905 Holtze had a further thirty acres (12 hectares) of sisal hemp planted at a rate of 537 plants per acre. The potential for the plant was enormous. In 1907 the United States alone had imported raw sisal fibre worth over eight million Pounds Sterling. At the same time it was estimated that Australia could use 10 000 tonnes of fibre annually for use in binder twine and rope. However, in order to supply this lucrative market, machinery was needed to extract the fibre from the leaves. The government finally agreed to provide the machinery, which arrived in September 1909. As the machines were operated by inexperienced prison inmates there were many initial problems. In spite of this the trials were regarded as successful and interest in the crop

grew. The Government Resident managed to win approval for relaxation of the stringent fencing laws, and Holtze issued 150 000 bulbs, sufficient to plant 350 acres (140 hectares), to local agriculturalists. In 1911 Holtze attended a conference in Java on fibre production, hoping to find solutions to the problems of finding suitable, and reliable, machinery for extracting sisal fibre in Territory conditions.

Circumstances intervened to bring to an end Holtze's vision of tropical agriculture, and the use of machinery in harvesting. April 1912 saw the arrival of the first Commonwealth Administrator of the Northern Territory, **Dr J A Gilruth**, a veterinary scientist whose primary interest lay in the development of the Territory pastoral industry. Holtze's untimely death in 1913 at the age of 45, and the lack of a suitable botanist to succeed him at the Gardens due to the manpower requirements of the First World War, meant that many of his ideas were never implemented—and the Darwin Botanical Gardens (the name changed when the Commonwealth took over in 1911) entered a period of comparative neglect.

Early in 1913 Holtze left Darwin for Katherine on a 'brief botanising expedition'. He was taken ill shortly after his arrival and was moved to Pine Creek, where he lay for three days unaware of the fact that there was a medical practitioner in the town. By the time he was brought back to Darwin, where **Dr C L Strangman** attended him, his condition was described as 'very low and feeble'. His ailment was reported to be dyspepsia—or indigestion—resulting in a rupture of the walls of the stomach, an ailment that could have been treated if diagnosed earlier. It is more likely that he was suffering from stomach ulcers due to stress. Before his strength could be rebuilt to the extent that an operation could be performed Holtze died, on 24 May 1913. According to the *Northern Territory Times* of 29 May 1913, Holtze's fatal attack was understood to have been due to 'certain worries in connection with operations in the Gardens' that continued 'despite the fact that his medical attendant had advised that... his recovery depended entirely on complete quiet and rest'.

Holtze was buried in the Two and a Half Mile Cemetery (later known as the Pioneer Cemetery) in Darwin, where an Anglican service was performed. Over 150 mourners attended the funeral. He left behind a wife Annie, *nee* Burkett, a son, Maurice, and two daughters, Evlampia and Olga. Much of the beauty of the later Darwin Botanical Gardens is due to the untiring work of Nicholas Holtze. Holtze Cottage, rebuilt and serving as a restaurant, stood on the site of the Holtze family home in the Gardens.

J Bauer, 'Some Other Eden: A History of the Darwin Botanic Gardens', in *North Australian Research Bulletin*, December 1980; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 29 May 1913; Personal details on Holtze family from documents held by Miss L S Hughes, Woodville, SA, Mrs W Ruediger, Morgan, SA.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 1.

HOPKINS, ELIZABETH: see **DARCY, ELIZABETH**

HOUNG ON YEE, CHARLES (CHARLIE) (1905–1996), tailor, gardener and businessman, was born in Darwin on 7 July 1905, the third of four sons of Yee Hang Pew and his wife who had arrived from China some years earlier. His father was a well-known herbalist, who operated herbalist businesses in Darwin, Sydney and Melbourne. At the age of five he was taken back to China for a Chinese education, returning at the age of 18 in 1923. He became an apprentice tailor to Toy Sing Loong & Company where he was indentured for a period of three years for the amount of 80 Pounds. During this period he made not only his own clothes but his own shoes of cloth as well as he could not afford to buy any.

On 12 May 1930 he married **Myrtle Fong**, the youngest sister of well-known Darwin identities George Lim, Harry Loong, Charlie On, and Ernest and William Fong. Their wedding was celebrated by 90 guests at the Kuo Ming Tang building in Cavenagh Street a part of Yuen Yet Hing's shops. After the wedding they returned to China to the Toi Shan district to Yee Charlie's mother where they remained for nearly a year.

On returning to Darwin, Charlie was able to resume his tailoring work for a period before obtaining an agency selling Malvern Star bicycles. Between them Charlie and Myrtle ran a laundry service mainly for armed services and bank personnel and government workers. This was extremely hard, hot work, using the copper boilers, scrubbing on clothes board and ironing with wood heated or petrol irons. The work was constant for little return and barely enough to put food on the table. In later years they entered into partnership with two of Myrtle's brothers, Ernest and William Fong, operating the Darwin Aerated Waters soft drink factory. They were to remain in this business for many years, only interrupted by the War in 1942. During the war the factory was taken over by the Army and then returned to them at the end of the war.

Their four sons all born in Darwin are Ron, Raymond, Ken and Maurice, who were evacuated with their mother Myrtle on the *Montoro* which was the last passenger ship out Darwin before the bombing of Darwin in 1942. They travelled in relative comfort, unlike the Chinese who had left on earlier ships and endured discrimination. They travelled to Brisbane for a short period to stay with relatives and then on to Sydney. Charlie remained in Darwin with all able-bodied males over the age of 16 who had to remain. He had been riding his bicycle down to the wharf on 19 February 1942 when Darwin was hit with the first bombs. As was his normal practice as a keen photographer he had his camera slung over his shoulder and took many pictures of the destruction left by the first bombs to hit Darwin. He was able to help a woman from the rubble amongst all the chaos and mayhem and then rode back to his home where he rushed inside to collect more film. On returning he was dismayed to find that both his bicycle and his camera had been stolen.

He was able to gather a number of household goods and clothing on a truck for his family and travelled down the road to Adelaide River. On arriving at Adelaide River, all evacuees leaving were forced to hand over their vehicles together with everything on them to the Army. The Army was confiscating anything movable, and all

were left stranded to find their own way down south. Charlie eventually found his way to Sydney where he was reunited with his family. He was able to find a job with the shipping firm of James Patrick and Co as a chauffeur for Captain Phillips where he remained for approximately a year. He was forced to leave, as the wages were so poor and insufficient to feed and clothe his growing family of boys. He then moved onto a two-hectare block of land in Botany with two friends where they established a market garden. They grew a variety of vegetables for the markets and his sons were able to enjoy a relatively stable, healthy lifestyle. After a few years there the family purchased a fish and chip shop in the suburb of Glebe where all the boys were required to hand peel so many buckets of potatoes each before and after school. Charlie and his family returned to Darwin in 1946 when the Army relinquished the cordial factory back to the original owners.

On their return to Darwin they lived in Smith Street west until 1951 when their home in Lambell Terrace was built. They were to remain there for many years until a long deserved holiday in 1966, when they travelled for a year to many countries. Their life was interrupted again in 1974 with Cyclone Tracy. As with the 1937 cyclone and the Second World War, it was a major upheaval. Their new home in the northern suburbs was totally demolished as were the majority of the homes in the area and had to be rebuilt.

Charlie's love of photography dominated a large part of his time – taking as well as developing and printing his own photographs. There is a large collection of family photos. He was a keen moviegoer in his earlier years and had a permanent booking at the Star Theatre in Row J, where he especially enjoyed the Wednesday night westerns. His later years were devoted to his garden, growing, nurturing and pruning his large garden that he maintained right up to the time of his death.

He was involved in the Chinese community and was Vice President of the Chung Wah Society for a number of years. He often took part as a drummer for the popular Lion Dance troupe.

In 1995 Charlie and Myrtle celebrated their 65th wedding anniversary with their sons and families, quite an achievement for two Territory born pioneers. On 24 January 1996 Charlie passed away after a sudden illness survived by his wife Myrtle, his sons, 13 grandchildren and 12 great grandchildren.

Family information.

GLENICE YEE, Vol 3.

HOUNG ON YEE, MYRTLE (KIM LAN) (1914–), homemaker and matriarch, was born on 29 June 1914 at Brocks Creek in the Northern Territory. Her parents were Fong Ding and Fong Wong See from Canton in China. She was the youngest daughter in a family of six boys and three girls, all of whom became prominent and respected Chinese business people in their own right. The confusion of different surnames for the one family arose from the practice of Chinese writing their surnames first, followed by their given name. In the Fong family it resulted in three of Myrtle's brothers having different names. They were George Lim, Harry Loong and Charlie On. The two youngest brothers were able to retain their correct surnames, Ernest Fong and William Fong. Her sisters were Ethel and Florrie. Her parents were to lose a son, Phillip, at the age of twelve years. Myrtle is recorded on her birth certificate with the Chinese name of Kim Lan.

Her earliest recollections are of her childhood in Pine Creek and living in premises purchased by her parents from the Chinese merchant **Yet Loong**. Yet Loong had used this building as a food store and she has vivid memories of enormous cooking utensils and woks still there. The floors were half ant bed with the remaining half of timber and the ceiling had a large hole that was used to store goods in a loft. This was common with many of the old buildings where a pulley system was used to haul goods up. Collecting fresh water was a chore that she helped her older sisters with and it entailed climbing down a ladder in a well and then into a tunnel to bucket out the water. This was a frequent occurrence whenever the level of the water was low. The water from the well was the only drinkable water and even then was rather cloudy. Another chore she remembers clearly was the stripping of the sugar cane leaves and rolling over the vines of the sweet potatoes after school to stop them spreading too far. The family maintained a vegetable garden for their own consumption and all had to give a helping hand. The garden consisted of sweet potatoes, yams, black eye beans and peanuts.

Myrtle started school at six years of age but she only attended intermittently, as she was required to help her elder sister, Ethel, care for her child Walter. Her teacher was Mrs Carruth, the permanent teacher at the Pine Creek School, who received help from **Ern Tambling** who was a travelling teacher who moved from area to area. She retained fond memories of her scant schooling and of her Queensland reader containing the story of 'The Little Match Girl'. She recalls that some of her school friends were from the **Ah Toy, Cox**, and Stevens families.

At the age of 11, after the death of her father in Pine Creek, the family moved to Emungalan (on the north bank of the Katherine river) where Myrtle was to help her brother George Lim. George had a general store and she was required to assist him while at the same time learning to drive his car. At the age of 13 or 14, although not old enough to obtain her driver's licence, she was freely driving around in George's old Chevrolet with the apparent blessing of police Sergeant Wood. She recalls that there were only a few cars in the area at the time, one belonging to the **O'Shea family** and one to Lizzie Tang. It was Myrtle's job to drive to the Bond Shed to collect goods for the store.

She was much in demand by her older brothers and her next move was to Mataranka with her mother to help Charlie. Charlie had a general store and bakery in Mataranka and her job in the bakery was to put the loaves of bread in the oven and then bring them out when cooked. This was extremely hot and tiring work, the work constant as it was the only bakery at Mataranka at the time.

She came to Darwin at the age of 16 for an arranged marriage to Charlie **Houng On Yee**. Charlie was born in Darwin on 7 July 1905, the son of Yee Hang Pew, a well-known herbalist. He had returned to China at the age

of five to obtain a Chinese education, returning at the age of 18, when he obtained an apprenticeship in tailoring. He received 80 Pounds for a three-year contract. Myrtle and Charlie were married on 12 May 1930 in a wedding celebrated by 90 guests held in the Kuo Ming Tang building in Cavenagh Street, and officiated at by the Registrar of Marriages, [J W Nichols](#). After the wedding they were to visit Charlie's mother in the Toi Shan district China, where she had returned some years earlier. They were to spend nine months in the village and Hong Kong and when they returned to Darwin, it was in the depths of the Depression.

On their return they were to live with a dear friend Selena Hassan, where Charlie was able to obtain a work as a tailor for which he was trained. At a later date they were to move further up Cavenagh Street into one of Yet Loong's shops. Myrtle's elder sister Ethel had married one of Yet Loong's sons, Harry Quan. They acquired the agency for Malvern Star bicycles and took in laundry work. Like the majority of the Chinese population, they worked extremely hard to just earn a living and be able to put food on the table.

Myrtle and Charlie had four sons, Ronald, Raymond, Ken and Maurice. Ronald was delivered by [Mrs Tye](#), Raymond by their friend Selena Hassan, while Ken and Maurice she delivered herself. This was not unheard of but not for the faint hearted. It was in the middle of washing that she came into labour, gathered all the necessary equipment and awaited the arrival of her baby. She delivered the baby Ken, gave herself half an hour's rest and then resumed work back at the washing board. She also delivered Maurice under the same conditions, and maintains that going to a doctor was not even considered.

She told of how 'the show must go on' and how the washing and ironing had to be finished in readiness for her customers. The majority of customers were from the Army, the bank boys as well as private citizens, who relied on her to have their clothes ready. Washing entailed soaking, boiling, scrubbing on the glass washing boards and starching the clothes, and when dry, damping down before ironing. An added chore was the flaking of the solid cakes of soap, as at that time no soap powder was available. Ironing itself presented a challenge, as the first iron Myrtle had was heated on the open fire, which then had to be tested on a rag before attempting to use on the garment, as black sooty marks always came off with the first few strokes. Her next iron was a petrol iron, which was considered quite upmarket. One petrol lamp with mantle would light up a whole room. It was hot, hard work, especially as all bank staff and government workers wore whites only, while the service personnel wore khaki.

In 1937 with four sons under six years old, they were to experience a cyclone. They recall the high winds and sheets of galvanised iron flying around. The boys were to hide under a huge timber counter lined with mattresses and pillows.

Prior to the war Myrtle and Charlie were to join her brothers Ernest and William Fong in establishing the Darwin Aerated Waters soft drink factory in Knuckey Street that was taken over by the Army after the bombing on 19 February 1942. Prior to their evacuation the air raid sirens left an impact on the children as all lights had to be put out. Raymond recalls on one occasion being at the Star pictures with one of his younger brothers when the sirens went off. He remembers running in the dark dragging his brother trying to find his way home in the blackened town. Myrtle and her four sons were to leave on the last civilian ship out of Darwin, SS *Montoro*. Unlike those Chinese who were evacuated on *Zealandia* under great hardship, she was to travel in relative comfort. They stayed in Brisbane for a short period with her sister Ethel and then moved on to Sydney where her husband later joined her. Charlie had remained in Darwin as was the policy and later travelled down through the centre to join his family. On 19 February 1942 as he was riding his bicycle towards the wharf section, the first bombs hit Darwin. He recalls hearing the calls of help from a woman who was lucky enough to survive and helping her from the rubble to safety. He was horrified to see the wharf in flames. A keen photographer all his life, always with a camera over his shoulder, he began taking many photographs. He returned to his home, dropped the bicycle and camera, rushed inside to collect more film, but was shocked to find them both missing when he returned. He was able to salvage some of their household goods and a truck and had hoped to drive south to rejoin the family.

On arriving at Adelaide River all evacuees with vehicles were requested to line them up and then hand over the keys. The Army then confiscated all vehicles as well as the personal property loaded. This was a great shock to all concerned who were then left stranded to find their own way down south. He eventually met up with his family in Sydney and was able to obtain a job as a driver for Captain Phillips of the shipping firm James Patrick and Company. He later moved onto a property at Botany on a two-hectare block of land with two friends and established a vegetable market garden. They were to grow a variety of vegetables, such as carrots, parsnips, shallots, rhubarb, turnip and cabbage. From there they purchased a fish and chip shop in the suburb of Glebe until their return to Darwin in 1946.

On their return to Darwin the Army returned the soft drink factory back to them. All work in the factory was done manually; from washing bottles, to labelling and the lifting heavy crates of drinks in large brown bottles. Myrtle had the job of mixing the syrup, which entailed the continuous heavy lifting of 28-kilogram bags of sugar to a high level, a backbreaking job. Often over the Christmas period they worked continuously seven days a week for months at a time to keep up supplies. They kept up this work for 19 years without one holiday until all their sons were married. In 1966 they embarked on a year's holiday, covering many major cities in Australia, on to New Zealand, England, Europe, Asia and the United States. This was to be their holiday of a lifetime as indeed it was. One highlight was travelling on *Queen Elizabeth II* from London to the United States and sitting down at the Captain's table for a formal dinner.

Their first home after the war was in Smith Street west next door to Quongs Bakery. Later they purchased a block of land in Lambell Terrace for 70 Pounds where a large home was built. After living there for many years, they were to relive the terror of the cyclone of 1937 in Cyclone Tracy in 1974. They had recently moved to a new home in the northern suburbs prior to the cyclone and, as with most homes in that area, theirs was totally demolished and had to be rebuilt.

In 1992 they celebrated their 62nd wedding anniversary with their sons and family and were thrilled to receive congratulatory letters from the Queen, the Governor General, the Administrator, Chief Minister and other dignitaries of the Northern Territory. It was fitting that two Territory-born pioneers should be honoured on such an occasion. Territory women like Myrtle who have dedicated their lives to their families and endured the harsh living conditions of the tropics, always compromising when necessary in any emergency situations. They are the unsung heroes of the Territory and deserve the recognition. In 1995, having recently celebrated their 81st and 90th birthdays, Myrtle and Charlie looked back on a lifetime of achievement with satisfaction in contributing to the Northern Territory and in raising their family of four sons. They then had 13 grandchildren and 12 great grandchildren. Charlie died on 24 January 1996.

Family information; *Northern Territory News*, 26 January 1996.

GLENICE YEE, Vol 3.

HUNTER, WILLIAM DAVID (NUGGET) (1900–1971), bush worker, was born in Bundaberg, Queensland, in May 1900. It seems likely that, instead of his mother's milk, he imbibed the famous Bundaberg rum. Whatever the case, no greater reprobate, scoundrel, waster, urger and layabout ever reached Central Australia. His name 'Nugget', he stated, was the result of being 'a bit of a larrikin'. No truer words have ever been spoken.

When, precisely, he arrived in Alice Springs is unknown. He claimed, in his usual exaggeration, that the only building in the Alice at the time was the Stuart Arms Hotel. What is likely is that, on arrival in the 1920s, the Stuart Arms was the only building he frequented! One of the earliest events that occurred in his time in the Centre was the Coniston Station massacre, in which over 100 Aborigines were shot (the official number was 31) in retaliation for the murder of a white man, an old dogger named Fred Brooks. Hunter's account was that 'three hundred, four hundred' were shot. He knew the official figure: 'Thirty. Three hundred. Taught 'em a good lesson. Good for 'em!' Hunter invariably spoke hard-edged like this, whether he was talking about himself, Aborigines or any other members of the community.

When The Granites goldfield briefly boomed in 1932, Hunter was there, 450 kilometres north west of Alice Springs, battling along with hardened old time prospectors and the 'new chums'. After a time he decided that an easier life was warranted, so when a wagon started for Halls Creek—and, more particularly from his viewpoint, the Halls Creek pub—with a seriously ill prospector, he hitched a ride. When the prospector died he promptly jumped from the wagon and walked the rest of the way to Halls Creek. He made it plain that he preferred to carry his swag than ride with a corpse.

The years of the Great Depression, officially 1929 to 1933 but virtually to the end of the 1930s in Central Australia, meant that Hunter had to find work somewhere. He took to tribute mining on the wolfram fields in the Mount Doreen–Mount Hardy area, 300 crow fly kilometres north west of the Alice. His idea of tributing was to live with an Aboriginal woman and let her and her family do most of the work. Although not alone in this, in the mid 1930s he was the only man officially caught 'gin hunting', as the expression of the era had it. Thirty six years later he still expressed gruff anger at the sentence, and the same exaggerated rough edge in his further comments: 'They gave me six months and fined me 50 quid! Bloody lubra. Yes, they gave me six months and 50 quid for civilisin' her. Well, in a manner of speaking. All them squatters done it, didn't they! And me? They gave me six months and 50 quid! Shoulda killed her, but she cleared out. Yes, shoot 'em! That's the best way. No more trouble then.'

Appalling as these statements were, they were an exaggeration of his views, as were all the comments he made. For the rest of his life, in fact, he did his best to have an Aboriginal woman as a companion, and basically as chief worker in any of the bush work he ever accidentally fell into.

In his later life he simply lived the life of a bludger, in every sense of the word, on the outskirts of Alice Springs.

By the mid 1960s he felt like doing even less work, so he got himself accepted into the Old Timers' Home, immediately south of the Alice. Pension day saw him sitting outside this 'Bushmen's Rest', as he termed it, in a little shelter with an appropriate sign, 'Give an Old-Timer a Lift'. Any lift in any vehicle had only one destination for Hunter—the Stuart Arms Hotel. Afterwards he would suffer a partial recovery on a nearby convenient step, swearing heartily to anyone who engaged him in conversation.

Naturally enough, upon his return to the Old Timers' Home, if he did not get tangled up in the fence—which he would curse and blame for his predicament—he would get 'tangled up' with the more sober residents. Never was it Hunter's fault. 'The Old Timers' Home', he stated, 'they're a mob of bloody lunatics. Should all be down in Melbourne or Sydney in a mental asylum. Bloody in-breds!' And the next pension day would see him the same again in Alice Springs. There he would be, jumper front stained with beer, teeth worn away to nothing so that his face wrinkled like an old apple with polished cheeks, sitting on some steps. 'Nugget Hunter's the name', he cried, 'come from Bundaberg in the old days. Where they make the Bundy rum. Too right they do! Cure that cough for you, young fella! This bloody place, look at it! There was nothin' here when I came, nothin'. 'Cept the old Stuart Arms. Now you get killed if you go out there, into the street. Shoot 'em! Good for 'em!'

Despite all his vulgarity, outrageousness, gruffness and exaggeratedly honest racism in the last years of his life, or perhaps because of all these things, there was something appealing about the old scoundrel. He probably took perverse pleasure in dying the day before Christmas in 1971, thereby upsetting the 'bloody lunatics' at the Old Timers' Home. His former Aboriginal wife survived him by 20 years. There were no descendants.

R G Kimber, *Man from Arltunga*, 1986; sighted official patrol reports of the 1930s in which Hunter's arrest is referred to; R G Kimber, records of interview with Hunter, July 1970; discussions with other old timers who knew Hunter.

R G KIMBER, Vol 2.

HUTHNANCE, JOHN FRANCIS GILBERT (1872–1945), pioneer Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary to the Roper River Mission, was born in Melbourne in 1872. He was appointed by the CMS to be the leader of the founding party to establish the Society's first mission to the Aborigines in Arnhem Land at Roper River. **R D Joynt** from Melbourne and Charles Sharp from Daylesford were the other two members.

The party left Melbourne on 10 July 1908 and arrived at the Roper River Mission site on 29 August 1908. The first service of Holy Communion was held on that day, under a tree. Joynt later wrote: 'August 29, 1908—landed at Roper River where the present Mission is situated. Home-sick, but full of love for these poor degraded blacks around us for whom Christ died.' Huthnance spent the next fourteen months supervising the establishment of the new mission. Medical work was performed only to the limit of the missionaries' knowledge, but with a high success rate. However, the work was difficult, the climate was exhausting and the isolation was keenly felt. He left the mission on special leave in order to bring his wife back to Roper River, arriving in Melbourne in October 1909. While in Melbourne, Huthnance submitted several reports praising the work of the mission and with great expectations for its development. However, in January 1910 he tendered his resignation because he felt the mission was an unsuitable place for his wife and family to live.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; CMS Records, Melbourne; R D Joynt, *Ten Years Work at Roper River Mission 1908–1918*.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

I

INCH, HANNAH: see **WOOD, HANNAH**

IDRIESS, ION LLEWELLYN (1889–1979), writer, was born on 20 September 1889 at Waverley, Sydney, the son of Walter Owen Idriess, sheriff's officer from Wales, and his Australian-born wife Juliette Windeyer, *nee* Edmunds. He completed his education at the Broken Hill Superior Public School and the Broken Hill School of Mines. He subsequently worked as an assayer, seaman, rabbit poisoner, boundary rider, drover and miner. During the First World War he served overseas with the Australian Imperial Force. On his return to Australia after the war he was, for a time, a buffalo shooter in the Northern Territory. He also travelled extensively in Central Australia.

In 1928 Idriess settled in Sydney as a freelance writer. During the remainder of his life he published some 47 books, most of which were best sellers. Several were historical works on Northern Territory Subjects, most notably *Lasseter's Last Ride* (1931), *Flynn of the Inland* (1932), *The Cattle King* (1936) and *Nemarluk: King of the Wilds* (1941). In these he combined bush yarns with historical and geographical information to bring a new vision of Australia to his city-dwelling readers. In so doing he developed a number of Territory legends: Flynn, Lasseter, Kidman and the survival skills of the Aborigines. He believed strongly that the Territory ought to be economically and socially developed for the benefit of all Australians, his views here being powerfully advanced in *Onward Australia* (1944). His prose style was snappy and often colloquial. It was used effectively to make his readers aware of little known parts of Australia.

Idriess married in about 1932 to Eta Morris. He was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1968. Survived by his two daughters, he died on 6 June 1979 at Mona Vale, Sydney.

J Croft, 'Idriess, Ion Llewellyn', *ADB*, vol 9, 1979; W H Wilde, J Hooton & B Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1985.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 1*.

IVANETZ, IVAN ANTONOVITCH, known as 'Long John' (1897–1977), was born near Poltava, in the Ukraine, and was a 'Cossack of the Poltava Province'. In 1910 his father moved to Omsk and took up 1000 acres (400 hectares) of newly opened land to farm wheat. 'Long John' was well-educated, finishing sixth form as an external student at an Omsk grammar school.

During the First World War he graduated from an Omsk ensign school and, after some confusion, joined Admiral Kolchak's 'White' Army in 1918. He was wounded three times, awarded the Medal of Vladimir, Class IV (Military Division) and was twice promoted for military valour. He was promoted to Second Captain by 1920 and twice commanded an armoured train, before being forced to cross the Chinese border in 1922.

Ivanetz spent two years in Manchuria, and four years in Shanghai, before arriving in Australia in 1927. Landing at Townsville, he tried to get work in the cane-fields around Bundaberg. The hard campaigning in Siberia had caught up with him and he became very sick. After trying to get work on the railway gang building the line to Mount Isa, he returned to Townsville broke. Getting a loan from a Russian friend, he talked a truck driver into taking him and nine others (for 70 Pounds each) to Katherine. He arrived in 1929, during the last stages of the railway work around Katherine, and earned 28 Pounds for a fortnight's work.

After railway work had ceased, he met another Russian, and they decided to take up land along the Katherine River. After being turned down once, they obtained block 97 by 1929. They had one month to clear the land and have seeds planted before the rain started. Three bags of seed were planted by the first rains of the wet season: the resultant peanut crop was excellent.

For the first two years, Ivanetz lived in a tent, until conditions improved. In 1936 he returned to Harbin, Manchuria, and married a Russian woman. In 1937 Ivanetz had sole possession of block 97, and in 1938 was granted the lease of that block. He became naturalised in 1937.

In 1939 Ivanetz tried growing cotton, but floods washed away the seed. During the Second World War, he grew vegetables and citrus fruit for the army, while they in return helped by providing fertiliser at cheaper rates. He employed Aborigines to assist in picking fruit and maintaining his land. After 1946 he had to rely on peanuts again. During the dry season, he had the services of an irrigation system that was capable of pumping 10 000 gallons (45 500 litres) of water per hour from the river. And although he was still making money from peanuts in the 1950s, by the mid-1960s he was forced to give up.

He died in 1977. He was described as being 178 centimetres, with deep-set hawk-eyes and a lean frame, a quiet man who hid his thoughts. He was acknowledged to be a good farmer and an honest hard-working man. Long John's Creek, a local landmark, was named for him.

Family information.

MICHAEL CANAVAN, *Vol 1*.

IVANETZ, NADIA: see **PASCOE, NADIA**

IZOD, ERIC CHARLES (1910–1971), motor engineer and businessman, was born in Canterbury, Victoria, on 18 January 1910. When the family home on a six acre block at Riversdale Road, Surrey Hills was built it was

named 'Ericstane' in honour of the boy. At the age of 10 young Eric was badly injured in an accident, his leg being fractured in five places. He spent 12 months in hospital and for three years afterwards he wore a calliper and was warned against running and jumping and all the adventurous things boys like to do. The advice seems to have been ignored as family legend has it that he won a statewide one-mile race during this period, calliper and all. He was advised to wear a metal shield to protect the bone from further injury. When Izod came to Darwin in 1946 he put the shield in a bottom drawer and only brought it out when he went on fishing trips to Arnhem Land.

Eric Izod was mechanically minded from an early age. At 13 he talked his father into allowing him to leave school to work in a garage. He started work at Mackie Motors and finished his apprenticeship at Melbourne Engineering Works. During this time he was a professional musician, playing saxophone and violin equally well. However, playing seven nights a week and working at an apprenticeship was too much, so he had to make a choice between careers. He chose mechanics but his love of music was to last all his life. He raced motorbikes and won a Melbourne to Sydney car race in a 1926 Chevrolet.

At the completion of his apprenticeship he operated a small workshop, Riverdale Road Motor repairs, in a building in the grounds of 'Ericstane' and continued to improve his engineering qualifications. Eric married Ellen Florence Armitstead and built a new home next to 'Ericstane' for his bride. There were three children of the marriage, Leo, Marcia and Michael. The original home was turned into a small private hospital for convalescents and geriatrics. Times were tough during the early Depression years. Eric worked at Toynes and invented the first hydraulic clothes hoist but failed to take out a patent. Just prior to the outbreak of war he opened a garage at St Kilda named Izod's Village Belle but this was requisitioned by the military.

During the early 1940s Izod had tried to join one of the armed services but was rejected time and again because of his leg injury. Finally he was allowed to join the Citizen Military Force (CMF) as a Private. After waiting on tables he demanded something more in keeping with his qualifications so he was promoted to Corporal. He was commissioned in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) in April 1943. After further training he was sent to New Guinea in charge of motor transport maintenance with the rank of Captain. During this time he devised a technique for cutting grooves across the ends of universal joints to allow grease into the needle rollers to prolong life. In 1945 he was sent to Darwin in charge of motor transport.

So impressed was he with the potential of Darwin that as soon as the war was over he moved his family north and they lived in a house on the Esplanade. He purchased seven ex-navy boats with a view to establishing an inter-island trade but was persuaded by the Administrator to open a garage-service station. The first site of Izod Motors, Darwin, was an old soft drink factory in Cavenagh Street. In 1949 he built the Silver Top Service Station at the corner of Smith and Knuckey Streets. From November 1952 he ran a taxi service. In 1955 when the site was resumed to allow the Post Office to be erected he was offered another business block. The second showroom for Izod Motors in Darwin was opened at the corner of Knuckey and Cavenagh Street in 1955 (now the site of the AMP Building) and he operated from these premises until his death. Izod's initial vehicle agencies were for Chevrolet and Oldsmobile. He then obtained the first Holden agency in the Top End in 1948 and he held it for 23 years. Each year he would announce the new model with a huge party at his home.

Izod Motors, Katherine, was opened in 1949 and this operated for 10 years. During the 1950s, in partnership with Ivor Hall, he owned Killarney station, reputedly one of the best in the Territory. In the early post-war years

Izod also had mining interests in Tennant Creek and at one time was in partnership with the redoubtable **Tiger Brennan** in the Mauritania and Klondyke mines. Later in the decade he built nine luxury flats at Myilly Point.

He was active in the political and civic scene. He was appointed to fill a casual vacancy as one of the two Darwin members of the Legislative Council on 18 August 1949. The last sittings of this Council were held on 30 November 1949. He stood for election to the third Council on 15 October 1951 and served until 29 May 1954 when pressure of business forced him to retire from the political arena.

He was one of the foundation members of the post-war racing club and did an enormous amount of work to build the race course using his own equipment and he is credited with getting post-war racing going. He owned many racehorses and won numerous trophies in 1952 and 1953 including the Darwin Cup, Katherine Cup, Jubilee Cup, Tennant Creek Gold Cup for Territory bred horses, and the Anzac Memorial Sash. He was Chairman of the Darwin Turf Club from 1955 to 1957 and served on the committee until his death. He was made a Life Member in 1964.

He was also active in the Returned Services League Club and in this capacity assisted young unemployed ex-servicemen who could not get work because of lack of tools. He was a committee member and Vice-President at the time of his death. As a Reserve officer, he started the Royal Australian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers (RAEME) section of the CMF in Darwin. He was active in the Chamber of Commerce, the Police Boys Club and sat on the Apprenticeship Board. There were few organisations in the town with which he was not involved; at one time he was on nine committees simultaneously. He was on the planning committee for the Darwin Community College, which ultimately grew into the Northern Territory University, an appointment that gave him much satisfaction.

He was a noted safecracker—legally—and the man called upon by the police to open safes when keys were lost or the mechanism damaged. This started in 1946 when the Police Inspector, **A V (Alf) Stretton**, sought his assistance to open safes, keys having been lost during the evacuation and war years. Thereafter his services were often called upon and he gave expert witness at a number of trials. He always had a reputation as an athlete. He liked to dance and could outstay his peers and most of the teenagers, except his daughter-in-law. His favourite party trick was to hang from the rafters by his ankles while drinking a beer without using his hands. Although not a big man he was very wiry and was noted for his robust sense of humour. He was also known as a very

approachable man who could move in all strata of society and it was said of him that ‘while he could not stand still on one spot physically, inwardly he had a great deal of patience’.

Eric Izod died in a motor accident on 19 June 1971. He had apparently had a heart attack while driving and the subsequent crash ensured he did not live. His widow, three children and 13 grandchildren survived him. He was buried at the McMillans Road cemetery according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. He was clearly held in esteem by the General Motors-Holden (GMH) group. The family received a number of letters from management expressing sympathy on the loss of ‘a remarkable character... a most endearing bloke’. On 19 August 1971 Ron Withnall moved a motion of condolence in the Legislative Council so that it could place on record ‘its appreciation of his meritorious public service’. Withnall went on to remind the House that no-one then sitting had been a member in Izod’s day and that the Council had been very new at the time and much hard work had needed to set the standards which followed. As he put it ‘the work that was done by the people at the time and by Eric Izod himself needs to be placed on record’.

Family information; *Northern Standard* 23 April 1948; Northern Territory Parliamentary Debates, 19 August 1971; D Spain, oral interview, NTRS 226 TS329; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, *Northern Territory Parliamentary Papers*, No 1 of 1986; H J Wilson, ‘Knuckey Street’, 1993.

MARLENE IZOD, Vol 3.

J

JAPANMA (JIBANYMA), JAMES (c1902–1962), was an outstanding leader and teacher at the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Roper River Mission. He served at the mission for many years as a teacher and lay reader. He married Minnie McLoud (see [Harold Hamilton](#)), a part-Aboriginal girl from Borroloola, who changed her name at her baptism to Leah.

In June 1941 the school work that had been carried on in a dynamic way by James Japanma was taken over by a European missionary. He was now free to engage more frequently in itinerant evangelism among the surrounding European cattle stations. He continued to teach religious instruction at the school, where it was stated in 1949: His love for his own people and especially the children was most noticeable.

After many years of faithful work as a teacher, evangelist and lay reader he died at Roper River in March 1962. His work was then taken over by Barnabas Roberts.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; CMS Records, Sydney and Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 2.*

JENSEN, HARALD INGEMANN (1879–1966), geologist, was born in 1879 at Aarhus, Denmark, son of Niels Georg Oscar Jensen, farmer and clerk and his wife Clara, *nee* Neilsen. The family migrated to Queensland in 1884. Jensen attended public schools at Irvinebank and Caboolture, then won a scholarship to Brisbane Boys' Grammar School. In 1904 he graduated Bachelor of Science at the University of Sydney with honours in Geology and Chemistry, under Sir Edgeworth David, and was appointed first McLeay fellow of the Linnean Society of New South Wales in 1905. Before resigning in 1908 he travelled in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand and published many professional papers. In 1908 he was awarded a Doctor of Science degree and the university medal, then worked as a soil scientist with the New South Wales Department of Agriculture.

From childhood Jensen was a convinced socialist. He was an active member of the Labor Party and wrote regularly for Labor and union journals on politics, economics and mining. In August 1912 he was appointed Director of Mines in the Northern Territory in order, he believed, 'to carry out the platform and objectives of the Labor movement as far as mining is concerned'. He took with him his wife Jane Elizabeth Ellen, *nee* England, whom he had married in Sydney on 26 September 1906, and their three children.

Shortly after arrival in Darwin, Jensen departed on horseback to examine the known mining fields. On returning to Darwin he left at once for Borroloola to select sites for oil drilling as a follow-up to an earlier suggestion by geologist [Dr Woolnough](#).

During 1913 Jensen prepared a new Mining Ordinance, which set out conditions under which government assistance would be given, and made it more difficult for companies and individuals to tie up ground for speculative purposes. Additional professional staff were appointed and over the next few years this small group did an amazing amount of geological investigation and mapping. Diamond drilling was stepped up and mines of promise given government assistance. Under Jensen's direction the government itself carried out a program of shaft sinking at Zapopan, Union Reefs and Pine Creek.

Of the fieldwork, Jensen said, 'The long journeys have been made on horseback with a string of pack-horses and the assistance of a blackfellow. When detailed observations were necessary a halt was made for a few days and the country was scoured on foot. I have followed the travelling methods usually indulged in by geologists and bushmen and frequently my path has lain through untrodden country, sometimes floods or other causes necessitating long detours for hundreds of miles, far off any road, track or path.'

During the early years of Commonwealth administration the Department of Mines worked under considerable pressure; for example, during September 1913 instructions came from Melbourne that a geologist must go to Tanami to investigate a subsidy application and the re-timbering of a well. A report was also needed on the Alligator River district and the Administrator demanded an urgent report on the sinking of bores between Alice Springs and Newcastle Waters. Jensen said, 'I took Tanami, the most difficult and hazardous.'

Of this trip, Jensen said that, using Pine Creek as a base, he loaded up the Department of Mines' horses with three months' provisions and departed on 18 October 1913. The trip to Wave Hill was difficult, comprising alternate long dry stages and black-soil plains made boggy by early storms. On the way he secured a team of mules at Victoria River Downs Station and sent the tired departmental horses back. He was met by Warden Johns at Wave Hill and escorted to Tanami, which was reached on 28 November. He returned to Wave Hill on 27 December, rested there until 7 January and then had to make a detour via Katherine as the Katherine and Ferguson rivers were in flood. In all he covered 2 000 kilometres on horseback.

During his first two years in the Territory, Jensen's relations with the Administrator, [Dr Gilruth](#), were cordial and they often had a friendly chat or a game of chess. Then friction developed, initially over a recommendation by Jensen that a government battery be erected at Maranboy. Gilruth wanted a private battery. The dispute went to the minister who ruled in favour of Jensen. From then on relations between the two, both able and learned men, deteriorated. Jensen refused to sign a lease of the Daly River Copper Mine to a syndicate headed by a man named Palmer, but of which Gilruth and [Judge J D Bevan](#) were also members. Gilruth retaliated by appointing a new Director of Mines and Jensen became Chief Geologist.

Jensen proceeded to lay 43 charges of maladministration against Gilruth and others. A royal commission was set up but found no justification for the allegations. Then assertions were made that Jensen had made disloyal

statements whilst the country was at war. A public service inquiry found that the statements were improper but that Jensen was not disloyal. Gilruth recommended the dismissal of Jensen but the federal government insisted on resignation, which took place in September 1916. Years later Jensen's main charge was re-examined, this time by the Royal Commission of 1920 which found, amongst other things, that the Administrator and the judge did indeed have an interest in the Daly River copper mine. Whilst Gilruth later disputed this, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Jensen was treated unjustly.

After leaving the Territory, Jensen was Government Geologist in Queensland, 1917–1922, during which time he recommended consideration of purchase of Mungana Mines by government and revealed at a later royal commission that he knew of private interests held in Mungana by politicians E G Theodore and W McCormack. (Jensen is said to be Dr Jenner in Frank Hardy's book *Power Without Glory*.) He worked as a consultant geologist, 1923–1938, then led the Queensland section of the Aerial Geological and Geophysical survey of north Australia from 1938 to 1941 when it was disbanded.

J Malcolm Newman, wartime Controller of Strategic Minerals, asked Jensen to proceed to Central Australia to do a geological survey of the mica-bearing regions of Harts Range and Plenty River, which he did in 1943 and 1944. Jensen bitterly observed that whilst prospecting on Cape York Peninsula at 62 years of age, he covered 80 miles (130 kilometres) on a horse, yet had been forced to cease work for the Commonwealth government in 1944 because he had attained the age of 65.

From 1945 to 1950 Jensen worked with Inigo Jones on supposed weather cycles. He then lived on a small property at Caboolture. When burning off grass the wind changed and he was severely burned. Taken to Brisbane hospital, he died there on 13 July 1966 and was cremated. He had been divorced in 1937. Two sons and three daughters survived him.

Jensen did notable pioneering work in the assessment of the mineral resources of the Territory and in the Setting up of the first Department of Mines under the Commonwealth regime. He prepared the first Commonwealth Mining Ordinance for the Territory and his earlier charges against Gilruth probably contributed to the eventual downfall of the latter in 1919. Of the Commonwealth efforts at mining mica and wolfram during the Second World War he said it was 'a gigantic waste of fine mica and mighty poor production. Similarly wolfram mining was a farce.'

ADB, vol 9; *Reminiscences of a Geologist*—H I Jensen (Unpublished) in Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, Report of Royal Commission (1916) into charges made by Dr Jensen against the Administrator and others (not printed, and held by Tables Office, Parliament House, Canberra); *CPP* 1920, no 46; Report of Royal Commission on Northern Territory Administration; Administrator's Reports for 1913, 1914, 1915; *Bulletin of the Northern Territory* nos 11 & 12.

T G JONES, Vol 1.

JIBANYAMA: see **JAPANMA**

JOHANNSEN, GERTHARDT ANDREAS (1876–1951), stonemason and builder, was born in Denmark. Nothing is known of his childhood, but at age 25, he arrived in Australia in its first year of nationhood. He had left Denmark because of war with Prussia. For some years he worked in the Barossa Valley in South Australia, where he built St Thomas Lutheran Church in Stockwell, where he met his bride-to-be, Marie Ottilie Hoffmann. The two were married in 1905, and embarked for the Territory with their first child, Elsa, four years later.

Johannsen's first position was on the Hermannsburg Aboriginal Mission, constructing yards and buildings with the mission Aborigines. Mrs Johannsen taught the Aboriginal women handicrafts and sewing during their two-year stay at Hermannsburg. During this time, Johannsen travelled to the Arltunga goldfield, where he and Bill Liddle participated in the construction of the first police station.

From 1911 to 1928 Johannsen took up the lease on Deep Well, which was a government-owned watering station on the north-south stock route. For many years the family lived in a small log hut on the station, until the large stone house in which they finally lived was completed. Deep Well was on the Overland Telegraph Line and telegraphed messages told of the number of stock that would require water.

In 1918, Johannsen acted as a guide on the important geological expedition of **Sir Baldwin Spencer** and Sir Keith Ward. He also acted as guide to explorer Valdemar Steffansson, when he visited the fringes of the desert later known as the Simpson. Dr Steffansson was carrying out comparative research of the dry desert in Central Australia with the frozen arctic.

During his years on Deep Well, Johannsen also tended other watering points on the stock route, overseeing their management and maintaining them. At times, he employed people to water the stock while he took bush contracts.

In 1923, the Lutheran Mission Board was unable to replace the late **Dr Carl Strehlow** and the Johannsens were subsequently asked to take over the management of Hermannsburg. In their absence, **Joe Costello** managed Deep Well. Johannsen did his utmost to keep the mission self-supporting. He sunk new wells and organised the Aborigines to plant vegetables both at the mission and at Kapirilja Springs over seven kilometres away. The federal government granted the mission a 200 Pounds subsidy for the 1923–24 financial year. This allowed Johannsen to set up a tanning industry, and new buildings and stockyards were completed. Mrs Johannsen and her eldest daughter Elsa taught the women to embroider and crochet.

In 1926, a wave of poliomyelitis had reached epidemic proportions in Central Australia, and Johannsen was one of its victims. Johannsen's son Kurt, then aged 11, drove his father by truck over 90 kilometres of roadless country into Alice Springs. He was cared for by his wife for three months, until he was fit enough to make the journey to Adelaide for proper medical attention. By 1928, he had recovered and was once again on Deep Well. The return, however, was short lived. After surviving seven years of harsh drought, the family was forced off Deep

Well, and so they moved into Alice Springs. Johannsen bought a block of land in Todd Street and built a house on it for the family.

In the 1930s, Johannsen pioneered the first mail drive to Arltunga. During this time, the Johannsens' house was used as the office of Connellan Airways (later Connair), until the Second World War. With the outbreak of the war, the army moved into Alice Springs. The hospital was taken over by military authorities and the house was commandeered for use as army sisters' quarters.

During the war, the Johannsens lived at Strangways Ranges, 80 kilometres north of Alice Springs. Kurt Johannsen had discovered mica here and the family involved themselves in the mining operation, until the Allied Works Council, which urgently needed the mica for military aircraft, took over the mine. In 1946, the family moved back to Alice Springs. The move was prompted by a severe injury incurred by Johannsen while gold mining at Winnecke.

At the time of Johannsen's death, he was a well-respected member of the Alice Springs community. He was a foundation member of the Alice Springs Progress Association, and the Alice Springs Community Club, as well as being an ardent worker for the Methodist Church. A photo of Johannsen taken toward the end of the war shows him as a slight man, with balding hair and high-set cheekbones. He was buried in Alice Springs in 1951, his entire family being present at one of the largest funerals seen in Alice Springs at the time. His wife outlived him by eight years, and died in 1959, during her fiftieth year in the Territory. The Johannsens' first child, Elsa, married into the Petrick family of Alice Springs, and their daughter Trudy married into the Hayes family, a prominent pastoralist family of Central Australia. Johannsen Street in Alice Springs commemorates their contribution to the development of Alice Springs.

J Petrick, *Street Names Tell History*, nd.

J PETRICK, Vol 1.

JOHANNSEN, KURT GERHARDT (1915–), labourer, driver, road train operator, miner, pilot and businessman was born at Deep Well, Northern Territory, on 11 January 1915, the son of **Gerhardt Andreas Johannsen** and his wife, Marie Ottilie, *nee* Hoffman. The Reverend **Bruce Plowman**, an early patrol padre, recorded the baptism in his book *The Man from Oodnadatta*: 'On Sunday afternoon the family gathered in the dining room and after a short service little Kurt Gerhardt was solemnly baptised, to the joy of his parents...'

In 1929, the Johannsen family moved from Deep Well to Alice Springs. Johannsen senior, a Danish stonemason and builder, had contracted poliomyelitis and this disabling affliction came on top of seven years of drought at Deep Well, which led to the family walking off the property and taking their few possessions to Alice Springs. It fell to the lot of the 14 year old Kurt to earn what he could to support the family. He carted nightsoil and garbage with a Dodge truck; his father had obtained the contract for the service but was too weak to work. Young Johannsen also carted firewood for the bakery and the hotel and carried out repairs to windmills and pumps, for which he had obtained plenty of practice at Deep Well. Later on, he acquired an old Lister engine and a 32-volt generator with which he charged batteries for those people who owned radios in the town, earning two Shillings per battery. He also supplied 32-volt power lights for homes.

Castig around for other avenues of income the Johannsens acquired the mail contract from Alice Springs to Arltunga, Winnecke, Mount Riddock and McDonald Downs. This was only a fortnightly service, so Johannsen was able to assist Sam Irvine on the Alice Springs to Tennant Creek and Birdum mail run. Sam Irvine was a pioneer of the motor mail era in the north of South Australia and in the Northern Territory. In 1925, he won the contract for the Oodnadatta to Alice Springs and Arltunga mail runs. As the railway line pushed northwards, Irvine's mail services underwent change; his Arltunga run was taken over by the Johannsens and he became the contractor for the much longer Tennant Creek service, which was later extended to Newcastle Waters and Birdum.

Eventually, when Irvine's health deteriorated, the Johannsens acquired the Alice Springs to Birdum mail contract and the Dodge Four truck which had served on the sanitary and garbage service and later on the Arltunga mail run, was replaced by a bigger vehicle which was a composite of various mechanical components put together by the mechanically talented Kurt Johannsen to carry loads of up to eight tons. During the Wet Season the mail truck terminated at Powell Creek and the mails were taken further north on horseback.

As Gerhardt Johannsen's health improved, he established a passenger service that operated in tandem with the mail run. Every Sunday the mail coach, which was an eight seat Studebaker President, left Alice Springs for Tennant Creek where it arrived three days later after overnight camps between Barrow Creek and Ti Tree Well, and between Wauchope and Tennant Creek. On the monthly run to Birdum, the passengers spent the third night at Banka Banka and the fourth at the pub at Newcastle Waters. Passengers stayed overnight in the pub at Birdum before joining the train for Darwin the following morning. The train journey involved an overnight stop at Pine Creek. Johannsen shared the driving duties on both the mail run and the passenger service with his father.

On 29 June 1940, the Johannsens relinquished the mail run and L M Owen acquired it. About a year later, the Army took over the conveyance of all mails north of Alice Springs.

Kurt Johannsen's mechanical talent led him to design a wood-burning device that produced gas to power engines and act as a substitute for conventional fuels. But by the time he had patented it and got other parties interested, the war had turned the corner and his project lapsed. He continued to drive his Studebaker, which was fitted with the wood burner for some years afterward.

During the war, after a brief stint with the Civil Construction Corps, he was able to convince the manpower authorities that he would be of more value to the nation's war effort if he could mine a special type of mica (used in aircraft plugs) which he had discovered some time previously whilst gold mining at Winnecke.

As the war ended, he formed the opinion that if the logistics of war failed to lead to the construction of a railway through the Territory, road vehicles of train proportions could become economically viable. As the government began to sell off wartime equipment at big disposal sales in Alice Springs and Darwin, Kurt Johannsen bought Bren Gun carrier recovery trailers from which he removed the axles and built up bogies for his self-tracking road trailers which he had designed. He also bought several former tank transporters (Diamond Ts) that he modified and converted into prime movers to haul his cattle road trains.

As he was in considerable debt at this stage he had the good fortune to win a tender to retrieve 63 000, 198 litre drums, formerly used to carry petrol, aircraft fuel and bitumen from various defence force sites near Darwin. After sorting and cleaning, there was a ready market for them with petrol companies that had been unable to obtain drums for their products during the post war shortage of a wide variety of items. He carted them 1 150 at a time on three trailers and a body truck (prime mover) and sold them at a considerable profit above the cost of gathering, transporting and cleaning them.

The drum recovery operation proceeded steadily while the cattle transport side of his business was being developed. The cattle trailers were designed to be convertible flat tops for general freight cartage. They were also self-tracking units, similar in principle to the government road train that was used by the Department of Works to transport supplies to outback Territory stations between 1934 and 1946. Each Johannsen trailer's capacity was the equivalent of two railway cattle vans and the prime mover carried sufficient beasts to fill a van.

The first consignment of cattle handled by Johannsen's road trains was from Murray Downs to Alice Springs and the second from Ted Dickson's Waite River Station to Alice Springs.

In 1947 and 1948 road transport of cattle was in its infancy; the transition from traditional droving to the faster but costlier mechanised movement was slow because station owners had yet to be convinced that their cattle would arrive at the saleyards in better condition after travelling by road transport and would bring higher prices, thus offsetting the extra cost. The main advantage of transporting cattle is that young cattle can be transported whereas they cannot be walked long distances, enabling a much bigger turnover, of approximately 305 more from a property, which of course is now the normal practice. Cattle are now sent away all year round as soon as they are about two years old and are fat. Smaller cattle being loaded in double-decker transports is much more economical with the greatly improved roads of the 1990s.

However, in the late 1940s, the Beef Roads Scheme was not even thought of; the roads that Johannsen's vehicles had to use, other than the Stuart and Barkly Highways, were, in the main, only bush tracks and deteriorated rapidly after a few trips over them by these heavy multi-wheeled units. Boggings were frequent after rain; on some occasions, a trailer went down in mud holes so deep that it laid over and the beasts walked out of it.

Fortunately, for Kurt Johannsen, the fluctuations in demand for his cattle trains caused by some station owners' reluctance to accept the new medium, plus seasonal limits on movements in northern districts (confined to the April to October portion of the year) did not affect him to any major extent. He was able to utilise his vehicles on general freight transport and carting copper ore from his Jervois mines to the smelting works at Mount Isa.

Although the cattle train operation proved to be quite viable there were problems as operating costs began to rise and several stations decided to buy vehicles to transport their own cattle as well as livestock from neighbouring stations at times. Around 1955 there were big increases in wages. Freight charges by the Commonwealth Railways went up 50 per cent. To meet some of these costs Kurt Johannsen put up his prices by 10 per cent but station owners and members of the Cattlemen's Association resisted this.

Johannsen then switched to ore cartage and also contracted to the Commonwealth Railways to move 156 war-surplus rolling stock and locomotives from Larrimah to Alice Springs, as this equipment became due for overhaul in the southern states and was later returned to the Territory.

In the drought of the 1960s, Johannsen returned to cattle transport for about 10 years, but once more 'gave it away' as hauliers from other states, looking for work for their equipment during the strained economic period, began carting for very low prices. He sold most of his equipment and pursued his mining interests at Jervois and later at Molly Hill. Eventually, after having heart surgery, he sold both of these mining operations and retired to Alice Springs.

In the midst of all his other activities, Johannsen, at one stage, even found time to learn to fly. He acquired a Tiger Moth shortly after the Second World War and, upon gaining his pilot's licence, flew the Tiger to all corners of the Territory, supervising his transport and mining business.

One trip nearly ended in disaster. In February 1951 he was forced down in a remote area near Lake Hopkins, 350 air miles west of Alice Springs, just over the Western Australian border. The aeroplane's propeller was damaged in the landing, and rather than wait to be rescued, he trimmed off the damaged ends to balance the prop and flew back to Alice Springs. He had a passenger with him at the time who had to be left behind with some food and a condenser, which Kurt made from two petrol cans, using salt water from Lake Hopkins, for a water supply. The passenger had to be left behind due to the aeroplane's inability to lift off with two aboard because of the reduced 'bite' of the airscrew. The propeller is now in the Alice Springs Aviation Museum. A film crew re-enacted the task of trimming the propeller with 20 centimetres missing off each end and the making of the condenser, when it was filming a documentary series on human survival.

In retirement, Johannsen spent the summer months in Adelaide and travelled around the northern parts of Australia in the winter months, visiting old friends and seeing some beautiful parts of Australia in remote areas. He travelled in his Mulga Express, Mk. IV, a much-modified Dodge that ran on wood gas.

Johannsen married Kathleen Rowell in 1940 and they had two children. In 1950, he married Daphne Avis Hillam but there were no children. In 1958, he married Elsie Dixon, *nee* Collins, by whom he had two children.

JOHANSEN, ANN (ANNIE): see [LOCK, ANN \(ANNIE\)](#)

JOHN, ALBERT PAUL (alias PAUL ALBERT JOHN(S) and ALBERT PAUL ALDON) (1906–?), casual labourer, dogger, gold-fossicker and antique dealer, was born at Diesdorf, Wanzleben (near Magdeburg), Germany, on 17 January 1906. His father, a military officer, had been born in Berlin and was so strict a disciplinarian that the lad absconded from home, though he had a kind and sympathetic mother.

Paul left Hamburg in March 1926 aboard *Viola* but was refused permission to land in London. He therefore took ship on *Halle* and, sailing via South Africa, landed at Port Adelaide on 13 July 1926 as a prohibited immigrant. He was then 20 years of age. He is said to have been arrested in the Stoneyfell vineyards near Magill and was employed for a short time in the local winery under a German manager.

From here he was transferred to a farm near Anlaby, and from there to another farm at Mintaro. Here he met with an accident on a horse that cracked his kneecap. He was nursed in the Clare hospital for about 27 weeks with a 3-inch coach-bolt through a hole bored into his knee. After recovery, he took whatever seasonal jobs he could get in the Clare district, mainly in gardens and vineyards. He chummed up with several other young Germans who were employed around the town, and during weekends stayed at a boarding house where he could enjoy the company of women, music and song.

Paul was well educated and had a very good singing voice. He also had a fine ear for poetry and could grow quite passionate, skilfully modulating his voice, when quoting poems he had committed to memory. He loved the verse of Omar Khayyam. His favourite book was *The Beloved Vagabond* by William John Lock (1906) and he had attractive handwriting.

After recuperating from a second accident, with resulting injury to his left foot, Paul decided to return to the city and find a more constant and permanent job. So, with his German friend Carl von Czarnecki, headed for Adelaide and for more than a year worked on the Port Adelaide wharves as stevedores, whilst sharing rooms with another wharf-labourer in Hardys Road, Torrensville.

Paul's next objective was to see the great outback, the real Australia (as he called it). So he had himself suitably fitted out with jodhpurs, a pair of long leather boots, a revolver, ammunition belt and a broad-brimmed hat. He left on his own by train for Alice Springs on 10 May 1929. Four weeks later, he got a job as works manager at the Hermannsburg Mission. His first job was to build a tourist road from the station to Palm Valley with the help of Aboriginal labourers. The job was well done.

Within 12 months, his German friend Carl came to join him. When the Mackay Aerial Expedition's camel supply-team, under Afghan command, came through Hermannsburg about the middle of 1930 Paul and Carl requested to accompany this caravan, as independents, for the mere sake of the novel experience and in order to have a good look at the country. They were away for about a month. Not long after their return, Paul was discharged by the superintendent of the Mission for a serious breach of conduct.

But that left Paul at no loose end. He soon assembled a team of camels, and with two Aboriginal companions, went out into the western desert to hunt for dingo (wild dogs), for whose scalp the government paid a bounty of 12 Shillings and sixpence each. Besides, Paul had remarked to [Pastor Albrecht](#), when he saw the heavy lumbering Thornycroft of the Central Australian Gold Exploration (CAGE) party in Alice Springs in August 1930: 'Those people will never succeed in getting through that desert country and negotiate the high sandhills with that vehicle. The only mode of transport for that type of country is camels. And I am going out there with my team of camels, because I will be available when they need me. I am quite sure I will get a job'. That sort of practical foresight was typical of Paul.

As predicted, so it happened. When the CAGE party discovered that they were 150 miles too far north of [Lasseter](#)'s alleged 'gold reef', they were forced to turn south. The truck, however, had no hope of negotiating the so-called 'breakaway country' of shattered sandstone that gradually fell away some hundreds of feet from the desert plain to the basement below. Thus prevented from making further progress, the party returned to their base-camp at Ilbilla and decided to withdraw from their unaccomplished mission of finding the 'reef'.

A few days later Paul John and his Aboriginal companions turned up at Ilbilla with his team of five camels. In the face of the main party's withdrawal, Lasseter asserted he was still prepared to carry on if John would help him. Leader Blakeley drew up a contract accordingly to engage Paul John as Lasseter's assistant and transport provider. The agreement extended from mid-September to mid-November. During that time the two men headed south into 'reef' country without delay and while John stayed in camp at Malagura waterhole in the Petermann Ranges, Lasseter went on alone to re-locate his 'reef' and bring back (so he claimed) samples of gold. When questioned by John to view the specimens, Lasseter refused and completely clammed up. At this, John called him a pretender and 'a liar' whereupon a fight ensued. Next day both decided to bury their differences and returned to Ilbilla base-camp to replenish their food and water supplies. Surprisingly, Lasseter now dispatched John with letters to deliver to the Government Resident in Alice Springs and to the senior policeman. Travelling via Hermannsburg, John reached town on 13 November. He never saw Lasseter again.

In Alice Springs Paul John now consulted with Errol Coote (newly appointed leader of the Expedition) and with Philip Taylor (CAGE's mechanic) as to future plans. Taylor and John were instructed to transport fresh petrol supplies to Ilbilla, in readiness for a Royal Australian Air Force plane that was to arrive on 20 December to search for Lasseter. The two men left Alice Springs on 27 November, heavy rains impeded their progress and they did not reach Ilbilla until 15 December. The rescue plane duly arrived on the 20th, but no pre-arranged smoke signals

went up to guide it to the landing-ground. Evidently, the occupants of the camp, Taylor and John, were steeped in a drowsy summer sleep. It was not until 26 December that Taylor realised something was seriously amiss, so he dispatched John to Hermannsburg on his fastest camel to raise the alarm. The rest is familiar history.

Paul John hung around Hermannsburg for a few weeks, but when this came to the notice of the authorities on 18 January 1931, he was 'given 12 hours to get off the place'. Perhaps a month or two after Lasseter's death had been reported, Paul once more induced his friend Carl in Adelaide to join him in another desert foray to find the gold. But an argument with Frank, their cook, and his dismissal aborted the whole venture.

From that time, onward Paul's movements are undocumented, so information is dependent mainly on hearsay. He is alleged to have worked in the Tennant Creek mines, and, over an illegal gold transaction, to have been incarcerated at Fannie Bay Gaol in Darwin. There are so many contradictions and discrepancies in the John story that no definitive account of the man's life will probably ever be written.

For further information on Paul John, we are dependent on a few sketchy details which further investigation has provided. In 1929, while still a resident of Clare, John lodged an application to become naturalised but was told to 'reapply after seven years'. In November 1932, he applied again, this time from Alice Springs. Sergeant **J C Lovegrove**, who had known him for three years, recommended it be granted. The naturalisation certificate was issued in Canberra on 16 February 1933.

After expressing the desire to take up permanent residence in Australia, it seems strange that John should then apply in the following month for a single passport to visit his parents in Germany. H B Walkington, a special magistrate at Alice Springs, who had known John for four years, endorsed the application. It appears the passport was not issued although the fee was paid. Darwin or Wyndham were designated as likely ports of departure.

In March 1936, Albert Paul John was licensed in Renmark to drive a motorcycle. On 1 July 1937, he was a licensed car driver, his address then being Pirie West Post Office. Five weeks later he was charged in Brisbane for having stolen a motorcar and was sentenced to six months hard labour. Soon after that time had expired, he mysteriously turned up in Western Australia. The indications are he moved around a lot. While still residing in Australia, he is alleged to have belonged to an organisation of Nazi sympathisers.

Early in 1938, Paul John succeeded in travelling back to Germany and it is claimed that in November that year he took part in a pogrom against the Jews. He is further alleged to have spent nine months in Berlin immediately before the outbreak of the Second World War in a Nazi instruction school, after which he became a member of the Secret Service. Two of his brothers are supposed to have been officers in the Luftwaffe.

A few days before the outbreak of war, he crossed to London on some mining pretext, but in March 1940 was signed on as an Air Raid Precaution official in Westminster. Among his colleagues, he boasted of being a member of the British Union of Fascists (a supporter of Sir Oswald Mosley) and of having committed acts of sabotage. However, this may be conjectural only, merely intended to impress. It is not known whether John's naturalisation was revoked or not, but he was not granted a visa to re-enter Australia after the war.

During an interview with a *Truth* reporter in London during February 1973, John claimed to have been interned in England, later to have lived with his wife in Rhodesia, and to have conducted an antique business in Westerham for 18 years. He still possessed faded photographs taken in the 'bush' in the early 1930s and owned a map of the area where Lasseter died. His friend Carl remarked of him, 'Paul was a fantastic liar. And what he did not know, he made up. Things that you and I wouldn't even have thought of, he has already done'.

His vital statistics were: height in boots 179 centimetres, weight 66 kilograms, brown eyes, brown to auburn hair, fair complexion, medium build, distinguishing marks: Turks head over crossed swords on right forearm, scar near navel, scars on both sides of right knee (where the bolt had been inserted to mend his knee-cap).

Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory, A367, C75655; F Blakeley, *Dream Millions*, 1972; E Coote, *Hell's Airport*, 1934; C v Czarnecki, personal interviews; I L Idriess, *Lasseter's Last Ride*, 1931; C H Sayce, *Golden Buckles*, 1920; A Stapleton, *Lasseter Did Not Lie!*, 1981; B M Stoneking, *Lasseter in Search of Gold*, 1989; PL Taylor, diary, CAGE 3rd Expedition; *Truth* (Melbourne), 17 February 1973.

P A SCHERER, *Vol 3*.

JOHNS, PAUL ALBERT: see **JOHN, ALBERT PAUL**

JOHNSON, BESSIE JANET PHILLIS, formerly DRYSDALE (1895–1984), was born in Hobart, Tasmania, on 17 January 1895, the daughter of a train driver, Frederick Johnson, and his wife Emma, *nee* Woodward.

Johnson's family arrived in Darwin when she was aged sixteen. She had twelve brothers and sisters. Two brothers, Ted and Len, and one sister, Eileen came to Darwin also. On their way to Darwin, in 1911, the Johnsons took up land on the Daly River. This venture was unsuccessful, and they continued on to Darwin, where Johnson's father was employed as an engine driver with the Commonwealth Railways.

In 1915, at the age of 20, Johnson married Stewart Drysdale, and went to live with him at Point Charles lighthouse, where Drysdale was lighthouse-keeper. They later lived in Parap and Darwin.

In 1941, Johnson was evacuated with her youngest daughter Joy, from Darwin to Adelaide, where they spent the war years. She returned to Darwin in 1946, where her husband had opened a general store in Smith Street. She assisted in the running of the store until it was sold in 1960, along with another business, Drysdale's Service Station.

From her first marriage, Johnson had five children. She remarried in 1963, to Henry Robinson. She was then 68, the marriage was without issue.

Johnson died of old age in Darwin on 15 January 1984, two days before her 89th birthday, and was buried at the McMillans Road cemetery.

Of Methodist religion, Bessie Johnson played an important part in the social development of Darwin; she was a foundation member of the Darwin Girl Guides Association, a foundation member of the Darwin Golf Club Associates, and foundation member and past president of the Darwin Red Cross Society and the Darwin Country Women's Association. She was also a member of the Darwin Professional and Business Women's Guild, the Royal Commonwealth Society, Darwin and Nightcliff Garden Club, Northern Territory Pensioners Society and the Darwin Old Timers and was an associate member of the Returned Servicemen's League.

Family information.

JOY DAVIS, Vol 1.

JOHNSON, EDMOND (1897–1918), soldier, was born in Hobart. In 1911 his parents, **Frederick Johnson**, a train driver, and Emma Juletta, *nee* Woodward, came to farm on the Daly River, and he lived on the Daly until he enlisted in the AIF on 11 March 1916, at Darwin.

He served as a private (military number 2189) and embarked for Europe with the 4th Reinforcements, 47th Australian Infantry Battalion at Brisbane on HMAS *Boorara* on 16 August 1916.

He saw action in France, and was awarded the British War Medal and the Victory Medal. He was killed in action in France on 28 March 1918. The Villiers-Bretonneux Memorial in France and the Darwin War Memorial bear his name.

Johnson Park in Darwin is named after him.

Family information.

MAY BEARD, Vol 1.

JOHNSON, FREDERICK (1856–1944), farmer, train driver and racehorse trainer, was born in Hobart on 16 April 1856. His parents were Frederick Johnson, labourer, and Jessie, *nee* Henderson. He married Emma Juletta Woodward, and they had twelve children—eight daughters and four sons.

Frederick, accompanied by his wife and four youngest children, came to the Northern Territory in 1911 to take up a farm on the Daly River. The family lived on the Daly until 1916, when they moved to Darwin, and Frederick was employed as an engine driver by the railway.

Frederick set up a racing stable in Parap, and trained horses for himself and others. He was a founding member of the Darwin Turf Club and won the Darwin Cup with his son Leonard as jockey.

In 1922, he returned to Hobart and died of pneumonia in 1944. He is buried in Hobart General Cemetery.

He was 160 centimetres tall, of slight build, with blue eyes and red hair, hence his name 'Copper' Johnson, which also relates to his 'peppery' nature.

His second-youngest son **Edmond** was killed in action in France in 1918. Bessie Janet Phyllis (his second-youngest daughter) married **Alexander Stewart Drysdale**. Eileen (his second daughter) married Jack Brown. Leonard, his youngest son, went to Queensland when his mother and father left Darwin, and remained there until his death. The sixth-generation descendants of Frederick Johnson still lived in Darwin during the 1990s.

Family information.

MAY BEARD, Vol 1.

JOHNSON, JOSEPH COLIN FRANCIS (1848–1904), journalist, mining promoter and politician, was born in South Australia on 12 February 1848, the son of an early pioneer, Henry Johnson and his wife Wilhelmina Colquhon, *nee* Campbell. After education in Victoria, he returned to South Australia, where he became a well-known journalist and mining promoter, popularly known in the press as 'alphabetical' Johnson.

On 8 April 1884 he was elected to the South Australian lower house as member for Onkaparinga and on 11 June 1887 became Minister for Education and Minister controlling the Northern Territory, a portfolio he held until 27 June 1889. During his tenure of office, he introduced a new mining bill to replace legislation 'which none of the other colonies would tolerate at all' though he was unable to get through the House a land bill that would have benefited the Territory. He enjoyed a lengthier incumbency than most other 19th Century ministers charged with looking after the Northern Territory and visited the north in March and April 1888, as he believed he could not 'rule' over a country he had not seen. Johnson was the third minister to visit in 18 years of settlement, but unlike his travelling predecessors, he was not to return.

He was warmly received. At a banquet in his honour he told those present that he believed the Territory was about to awaken. He was convinced that the climate would allow much to grow and was 'absolutely breathless at the mineral wealth which had been revealed' during his trip; and at that time he was one of the Adelaide directors of the North Australian Mining Company which had recently been formed in England. More importantly, he also said that he did not believe that the Territory was the financial drain it was popularly supposed, that there was in fact a credit balance. During his visit, he doubtless inspected the two town blocks he had bought in Palmerston in 1882, Lot 508 in Smith Street and Lot 658 on the Esplanade, as well as the country acreage he also owned in the Northern Territory.

On his return to Adelaide, he was 'reassuring' on the Territory's future and his expectation of good financial results was also repeated. The immediate result of his visit was one of the many parings of the Northern Territory public service; to the point where Johnson later admitted, 'the pruning knife has in some cases been so unsparingly applied as to impair the efficiency of the service.' For reasons that remain unclear, his report was not published

as a parliamentary paper until 1891, by which time he had apparently reversed most of the opinions he had held when in the north.

Clearly his visit disillusioned him though his changed attitude appears to have been more the result of what he described as the ‘drifting’ policies of the South Australian government than any defect in the Territory itself. He believed that the Territory had been mismanaged and the constant change in ministries had not helped. He was the 32nd South Australian minister to control the Northern Territory. His evidence to the 1895 Royal Commission reflected the despair which had fallen on members of the South Australian government over the best way to administer the Northern Territory. He told the Royal Commissioners that it would be a good thing for the Territory to be rid of South Australia and that he thought that administration by the Imperial government would better serve the north’s interest. The choice of Thursday Island as the coaling station and arsenal over Port Darwin aroused his bitter opposition and his view that white men could not labour in the northern climate clashed with the growing White Australia cry.

Johnson left parliament in 1896 and appears to have taken no further interest in the Territory’s affairs. In 1897, the rents on the 8 050 square kilometres of land he held under pastoral leases were also overdue and there had been no development on his land in Palmerston. By 1895, the Smith Street Lot had had its rates unpaid for five years. Johnson died in Adelaide on 18 June 1904 but it was not until 1912 that the town Lots came into Darwin hands, notwithstanding that both were in the ‘settled’ part of the town.

He was typical of his South Australian contemporaries; fired with enthusiasm when in the north, happy to dabble in land and mines but unable or unwilling to provide the ‘risk’ capital or the policies for the necessary infrastructure to be put into place.

H Coxon, J Playford & R Reid (eds), *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament 1857–1957*, 1988; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia’s Northern Territory*, 1981; R M Gibbs, ‘Johnson, Joseph Francis’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 9, 1983; W F Morrison, *The Aldine History of South Australia*, vol 2, 1890; South Australia, Government Gazette, 27 October 1897; South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 178/1891 & 19/1895; *North Australian*, 24 March 1888; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 7 April 1888; *Observer*, 21 April & 17 November 1888.

BARBARA MAYFIELD and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

JOHNSTON, CHARLES AUGUSTIN YORKE (CAY) (1892–1983), station manager, was born in Brisbane on 6 August 1892, the only child of James Johnston, a hotel manager at Ipswich and his wife, Margaret, *nee* Yorke. He attended the Christian Brothers College, Ipswich until he completed his schooling at 15.

Johnston worked on Queensland pastoral properties, Arabella and Alpha stations, before serving with the Second Light Horse in the First World War. In 1919, he was employed as head stockman on the biggest cattle station in the Northern Territory, Alexandria Downs, owned by The North Australian Pastoral Company. Situated on the flat, open plains of the Barkly Tableland, Alexandria was so extensive—28 085 square kilometres or nearly the size of Belgium—that Johnston used a compass from his army days to find his way around. With no fences, very little surface water, Redwater disease associated with ticks, and distant markets in Queensland and South Australia, the problems seemed insurmountable.

Brumby runners, also known as cattle duffers, were an early problem but Johnston willingly shared in the hard work with his men and was justly rewarded by their loyalty. Although a quiet, reserved man of slight build, he showed leadership qualities and had the confidence of the Company’s Managing Partners in Brisbane. He was promoted to manager in 1924 but continued to be constantly on the move in his work—visiting the stock camps and the outstations, Gallipoli and Soudan (137 and 121 kilometres from the homestead respectively). The 20 sub-artesian bores also needed to be checked and Johnston would drive around in a buggy accompanied by a horse tailer who minded the spare horses. The drought of 1926–1928 was particularly severe when cattle were moved to bores and pumpers worked long days to keep wood supplied to the steam engines which were used to pump the water. Optimum conditions, however, were not always forthcoming and Johnston was constantly adjusting the distribution of his stock on the property in relation to the availability of grass and water.

Except for the wet season when cattle work ceased, there was a continual round of mustering, branding, dipping, inoculating against Redwater, and a yearly turnoff of some 10 000 head. Alexandria carried up to 60 000 head of Shorthorn cattle and the turnoff was generally sold to [Sidney Kidman](#), whose drovers would move the cattle to his fattening properties in Queensland before the trip to Marree and then Adelaide for slaughter. During good seasons, some mobs would be walked to the Dajarra railhead for transport by rail to the meatworks at Townsville. In 1934, The North Australian Pastoral Company purchased Marion Downs and cattle could be sent there for fattening.

During Johnston’s time, there was extensive involvement of Aborigines in the cattle industry. Cay found them to be experts on horses and with ropes. Aboriginal women also played a major part in the domestic life of the station, carrying out tasks of cleaning, washing, cooking and waiting on tables. These were the days when Aboriginal wages were minimal, alcohol was banned and the extended Aboriginal kinship network would be fed and clothed by the station. But the Europeans were also part of the station; the saddler, the bullock team driver, the blacksmith. The station was their life; they never left.

Alexandria played a significant part in the history of aviation in Australia while Johnston was there. The first landing of an aircraft in the Northern Territory was at the station on 8 December 1919. Captain Wrigley landed on his way to meet Ross and Keith Smith who flew into Darwin from Great Britain two days later. Cay Johnston was on the inaugural Qantas flight in February 1925, which extended the airmail service from Cloncurry to Camooweal. Three years later on 24 February 1928, Bert Hinkler landed at Alexandria homestead for breakfast on his record-breaking solo flight between England to Australia. The day before he had landed at a bore to quench his thirst because of the extreme heat. He slept there the night and took off the next morning only to see the homestead

a few kilometres away. In 1930, Amy Johnson landed at Alexandria during her historic flight, the first woman to complete the trip between England and Australia.

In 1925, Johnston married Ellen (Nell) Gertrude Staunton. Nell was born on 17 January 1904 and her parents, Michael and Gwen Lillian Staunton, *nee* Weirman, had a hotel at Duchess and later at Cloncurry. Two of her brothers Dennis (Danny) and John (Jack) were carriers for stations on the Barkly while other siblings included Patrick (Paddy), Molly, and Michael. When Nell married Cay Johnston, she became the first white woman to live permanently on Alexandria. Although kept busy raising their three children, Cay (born 1926), Patricia (1928) and Tony (1933), Nell missed contact with the outside world. Of Cay she later recalled, 'He'd only get home to sign the cheques and pay the men and go again'. Nell eagerly awaited the mail. It came to Alexandria fortnightly by packhorse, but in the wet, no mail came for months. Supplies travelled by ship from Brisbane to Burketown and thence to Alexandria by horse-drawn wagons. From the 1920s, motor transport was used.

Because of communication difficulties, the Barkly stations felt isolated from the Territory and any news was usually from Queensland. A highlight for Nell, however, was the Administrator's visit from Darwin once a year. This was reciprocated in 1926 when she and other managers' wives drove to Darwin in the Johnston's Oldsmobile and stayed at the Administrator's residence. Brunette, Alexandria and Alroy also used to have monthly social gatherings where the managers, their wives and usually the bookkeepers would meet and play tennis and card games such as bridge. The evenings would conclude with a singsong around the piano or the gramophone. The yearly Ranken Races were also a highlight. As Nell Johnston recalled of her time on Alexandria: 'I was never frightened that I wouldn't be able to cope... but I did feel much better when we got the flying doctor'.

After 15 years as manager, the Johnstons left Alexandria in 1938 because of Cay's ill health caused by the responsibility of such a huge station. He managed the Post Office Hotel at Cloncurry, owned by Burns Philp, and then returned to the pastoral industry when he managed the sheep property, Cammeray, outside Julia Creek. He relieved at Victoria River Downs Station before retiring to Townsville. The highlight of his working life, however, had been his time on Alexandria. As he recalled in later years about the station, 'Everybody spoke well of it. Everybody talked about working there. The men that worked there never left... they stayed till they died... I'd have died there'. Cay died in Townsville on 2 November 1983 and Nell on 11 June 1990.

M Kowald & W R Johnston, *You Can't Make It Rain*, 1992; *North Queensland Register*, 3 March 1979; C & E Johnston, oral interview 26 May 1981, Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226, TS 250.

MARGARET KOWALD, *Vol 3*.

JOHNSTON, ERIC EUGENE (1933–), naval officer and Administrator of the Northern Territory, was born in Shanghai in Kiangsu Province of China on 29 July 1933, the son of Captain V V Johnston of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN). He was educated at Frankston High School in Victoria and the Royal Australian Naval College in 1947–1950 (which he entered as a Cadet Midshipman at the age of 13), while he later attended the United States Naval War College on Rhode Island in 1970–1971. He saw maritime service between 1950 and 1955 on Her Majesty's Ships *Devonshire* and *Maidstone*, and Her Majesty's Australian Ships *Australia*, *Culgoa* and *Tobruk*. He graduated from a Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Warfare and Damage Control specialisation course in the United Kingdom (1955–1957) and was posted as Executive Officer at the Royal Naval NBC Damage Control Training School (1957–1959). After staff postings to the Cadet Training Ship HMAS *Swan* (1959–1962) and Britannia Royal Naval College (1962–1964), he served with HMAS *Melbourne* (1964–1966), including service off the Malay Peninsula during the confrontation. He was appointed Executive Officer at the RAN Trials and Assessing Unit (1967–1968) with the rank of Commander, and was then Executive Officer at the Recruit Training Establishment HMAS *Leeuwin* (1968–1969).

He joined HMAS *Vendetta* as her Commanding Officer and was deployed with the United States Seventh Fleet in waters off Vietnam in 1969–1970; this was the first Australian-built warship to serve in Vietnam and was the first Daring-class destroyer to be deployed in the role for which they were designed, naval gunfire support. Commander Johnston received both a United States Commander-in-Chief-Pacific Commendation and an appointment as Officer of the Order of the British Empire in the Military Division (OBE) in 1971. Following this, Johnston attended the United States Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island and then was Chief of Staff to the South East Asia Treaty Organisation Exercise Director (1971–1972) and Director of Personnel Services (1972–1973), being promoted to Captain in 1973.

His long association with the Northern Territory began in December 1973 when he was appointed Naval Officer Commanding North Australia (NOCNA); he was also an Honorary *Aide-de-Camp* to the Governor-General from 1974 to 1977. He was caught in the rubble of Naval Headquarters in Darwin following Cyclone Tracy on Christmas Eve 1974, and was responsible for leading Operation 'Navy Help' in Darwin in the wake of Tracy, 'with unflagging energy and good humour'. The Court House, which had survived the Japanese raids of February 1942, had, since October 1942, been occupied by the Navy as Naval Headquarters, HMAS *Melville*. Captain Johnston received a warning call at 2.00 pm Central Standard Time on 24 December 1974, and by 4.30 the following morning the Operations Room was totally destroyed, with NOCNA and three staff trapped within the ruins. As his Headquarters was falling down around him Captain Johnston and two sailors crawled out of the rubble to take refuge in the Cell Bar (a mess established in one of the original cells behind the building). All but one escaped, the other being extricated at first light.

The damage that Tracy wreaked on the city of Darwin was exceeded in magnitude only by the Navy's clean-up effort under the capable guidance of Captain Johnston from a new office in the MLC Building, christened HMAS *MLC*. He was appointed a Member in the Military Division of the Order of Australia (AM) on 17 June 1975

with the following citation: ‘For outstanding leadership, exemplary conduct and steadfast performance of his duties while exposed to the dangers of Cyclone Tracy and for his dedication and tireless efforts towards the restoration of Darwin’s defence and town services’.

From 1976 to 1978, he was Commanding Officer of HMAS *Perth* and was then appointed to the military staff of the Strategic and International Policy Division of Defence Central. During the tenure of this appointment, he was the Australian delegate to the United Nations Law of the Sea Conferences in New York and Geneva in 1978 and 1979. On promotion to Commodore in July 1979, he took up his final appointment as Director of Public Information for the Department of Defence, from which position he retired from the Navy on 31 December 1980.

He married Joan Hall (*nee* Holland) on 4 December 1971 and had two stepsons. In June 1980, he was invited by the Chief Minister, [Paul Everingham](#), to resign his naval commission to become Administrator of the Northern Territory. As he later observed, ‘Joan and I had our minds made up in seconds. Indeed, I think Paul was rather stunned at the speed of our response’. Commodore Johnston was appointed Administrator of the Northern Territory from 1 January 1981, and they arrived in Darwin on 19 January. He was re-appointed for a second term in March 1986. Upon his arrival, he made it clear that he saw that his role was to bring to the attention of Government and Opposition what he found to be the aspirations of the Territory people, and in fulfilling this role, Commodore and Mrs Johnston travelled extensively throughout the Territory to listen to the views of Territorians.

At first, Commodore Johnston occupied an office in the Stuart Building (no longer standing) but, at the end of 1981, he and his wife and their respective staffs moved into the former Naval Headquarters which had been rebuilt by W R Bradley & Co Ltd, under the supervision of architect Alan Hammond.

The Johnstons were responsible for overseeing a considerable refurbishment of historic Government House. In 1981, a modern and fully-equipped kitchen was installed within the framework of the original kitchen, the terrace was completed and the verandah roofing was replaced and upgraded to comply with the Cyclone Code during 1981–1982 while, in 1982, various ongoing renovations to the House were completed to prepare the House for the visit by Her Majesty The Queen: the gardens on the eastern aspects of the property were extensively landscaped and it is from this work that the thick and colourful bougainvillea stand near the main driveway originated. These works undertaken in the gardens were rewarded in 1982 by a Darwin City Council Civic Commendation awarded by the Lord Mayor, Cec Black. During their tenure in office, the Johnstons hosted visits by many other dignitaries including His Holiness the Pope and Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands.

From the raising of the regiment on 1 July 1981, Commodore Johnston was the first Honorary Colonel of the North West Mobile Force (NORFORCE), while he was also appointed Chief Scout in the Northern Territory and was Patron of some 87 organisations throughout the Territory. Joan Johnston was Patron of some 21 other organisations. Commodore Johnston was invited to become Patron of the St John Council for the Northern Territory (Inc), and was appointed a Commander Brother in the Order of St John (CStJ); he was later promoted in the Order to Knight of Grace (KStJ) in September 1984 and, following constitutional changes in 1987, the Administrator was appointed Deputy Prior of the Order of St John in the Northern Territory.

In 1988, he was granted an Honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of Queensland. He was listed as one of ‘200 Remarkable Territorians’ by the Australian Bicentennial Authority Northern Territory Council, and on 13 June 1988 was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) for his service as Administrator of the Northern Territory. As this was an appointment in the General Division, he had the relatively rare distinction of being entitled to wear the insignia of both his AO and his military AM.

Upon his retirement in 1989 after the longest post-war period in office, Commodore Johnston maintained a firm Territory involvement as a resident of Nightcliff and Chairman of such bodies as the Northern Territory Grants Commission, the Electoral Redistribution Committee and of Batchelor College.

E E Johnston, ‘At the Governor-General’s Pleasure’, Menzies School of Health Research Oration, 1988; *Northern Territory Digest*, various editions; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 27 November 1980, 20, 21 & 24 January 1981; personal interview 15 July 1985, and correspondence in 1993; St John Council for the Northern Territory (Inc), Chairman’s report, 1 July 1985; P A Rosenzweig, ‘The Role of the RAN and Captain Eric Johnston’, *Sabretache*, 1986.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, *Vol 3*.

JOLLIFFE, (PATRICIA) SHIRLEY ANNE *nee* MALONEY (1923–), teacher and homemaker and **JOLLIFFE, HAROLD** (c1913–1988), roadmaster. Shirley Maloney was born in Wyndham, Western Australia, on 25 March 1923, youngest child of [James Lawrence Maloney](#) and his wife [Charlotte](#), *nee* Martin. She attended school at Wyndham and after the family moved to Tennant Creek in 1934 she and her sister, [Betty](#) boarded at Tintern Church of England Girls School, Melbourne. She recalls travelling to Melbourne by train with her pet bird—a rainbow lorikeet. The bird was in a covered cage and the girls managed to keep it hidden on the train and in the hotel in Adelaide.

Shirley completed six years at boarding school and gained her Intermediate Certificate there. She returned to Tennant Creek and became a junior teacher at the local school for several years. She married Harold James Jolliffe on 23 December 1947. They lived at Alice Springs and then returned to Tennant Creek where their only child, Noel, was born in 1950. Soon after this, the family returned to Alice Springs where they built their own home.

Harold Jolliffe, son of William James Jolliffe, was born in Tarrawanna, New South Wales. He came from Wollongong to Tennant Creek in 1942 to work with the New South Wales Department of Main Roads, which was then forming, and bitumenising part of the north-south road. He stayed on after the War and worked as a supervisor on road projects all over the Northern Territory. He came for six months but spent the rest of his working life in

the Territory, retiring in 1978. After his retirement, he was awarded the British Empire Medal (BEM) for services to the Northern Territory.

He died suddenly on 13 July 1988, aged 75, on a visit to Darwin to see his son with whom Shirley now lives.

Family information.

ANN RICHARDS, Vol 3.

JONES, EILEEN ROSEMARY nee TUFFIN (1929–), nursing sister, was born on 25 February 1929 at Smithtown, Macleay River, in northern New South Wales, the younger of two children of Robert Henry Tuffin and his wife, Valerie, nee Chadwick. The Chadwicks were pioneers of the Macleay River area and her father's family were early settlers in the Port Macquarie area. Eileen's father initially was a farmer and later a wholesale produce merchant. Her primary school education was frequently interrupted due to illness and numerous periods of hospitalisation. Her secondary education was at St Clare's College, Waverley, New South Wales. After three years, she left high school to take up a position in the Salaries branch of the Department of Public Instruction, now Department of Education, Sydney.

Her general nursing education was undertaken at the Sydney General Hospital. This hospital was steeped in history as its first Lady Superintendent, Lucy Osburn, was selected by Florence Nightingale to come to Australia with four other Nightingale nurses to establish a traditional nursing education program. Eileen commenced her general nursing in 1947 and completed the four-year course in 1951. As a student nurse, Eileen received 12/6 (twelve Shillings and six Pence) per week plus board. A normal week consisted of either 60 hours night duty or 56 hours day duty. It was the norm for students to attend lectures in their own time irrespective if this happened to be on rostered days off or after night duty. At that time, all student nurses were expected to reside in the hospital under strict supervision. Immediately after completing her general nursing program Eileen commenced the Midwifery Nursing program at the Royal Hospital for Women, Paddington, New South Wales.

On completion of this course in 1952, Eileen and two friends accepted nursing positions with the Commonwealth Department of Health, Northern Territory Medical Service. She took up her position at the Darwin Hospital on 5 February 1952 specialising in midwifery nursing. Late in 1952, Eileen was transferred to work at the Katherine Hospital for a number of months. At that time, there was no local doctor. The medical superintendent of Darwin Hospital, Dr Bill Alderman, visited the hospital on a regular basis. The registered nurses were therefore required to provide a diverse range of health services to the population of Katherine district and surrounding areas, including a regular clinic session at Pine Creek. The licensee of the Pine Creek Hotel made a back room available for the clinic.

On her return to Darwin Hospital Eileen continued working mainly in the midwifery areas though from time to time she was required to relieve in other areas. She married Norman Francis Jones in Christ Church Cathedral, Darwin on 24 March 1954. At that time, it was permissible for married women to be employed as registered nurses in the Northern Territory. The marriage ended in divorce some 20 years later.

In July 1955, Eileen accompanied her husband to Adelaide, South Australia. Eileen was not happy unless she was working. So within a short time of arriving in Adelaide she was employed within two nursing specialties, namely in the Labour Ward and as an Operating Theatre Sister at the Williza Private Hospital. She stayed there until she commenced her infant welfare nursing certificate course at Torrens House. During the later part of her stay in South Australia, Eileen's husband returned to Darwin and she joined him on 1 July 1957. On her return, she sought employment as a registered nurse at Darwin Hospital but in the two years that she was absent from Darwin, the Northern Territory Medical Service had endorsed a policy that married women were not to be employed as Registered Nurses at Darwin Hospital.

Not to be thwarted by bureaucracy, Eileen sought employment with the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration that at that time looked after Aboriginal affairs. Her first appointment was to establish a health centre at Hooker Creek, now Lajamanu. A year later, she was transferred to Maningrida to establish a health centre. The role Eileen played in the establishment of the health service at Maningrida is outlined in the book *The End of Dreaming* written by Ingrid Drysdale and Mary Durack. In later years, Eileen was also to work at Yuendumu, Barunga and Belyuen Settlements.

In those years, the role of a remote area nurse was very diverse. The nurse was on call 24 hours a day seven days a week. In addition to being nurse and midwife, the person was expected to fulfil the roles of pharmacist, dentist, veterinarian, cook and cleaner when no one else was available. Eileen reminisced that at Lajamanu she was required to cook two meals a day to ensure that all pre-school children, antenatal and breast feeding mothers, and anyone else in the community who was ill received adequate nutrition. A doctor came from Darwin every six weeks otherwise if Eileen required medical advice or support she had to rely on using the radio to speak to a doctor. Eileen stated that during this period it was normal to record baseline information in the health records otherwise verbal communication was acceptable. This practice changed in the 1970s when everything had to be recorded, often in duplicate or triplicate. She recognises the medico-legal importance of documentation but believes this era heralded in the paper warfare between personnel working in remote communities and a range of government bureaucracies.

Eileen reared four babies whilst working in remote communities; two were raised at Lajamanu and another two at Maningrida. The mothers of these babies were either hospitalised at the East Arm Leprosarium or had died. To be assigned this child rearing role reflects the standing and important position Eileen occupied in the community, as it is usually allocated to an aunty or older tribal woman. At Lajamanu, the nurse was never asked to assist a mother in the delivery of her child. Childbirth was considered a private matter by the Warlpiri; a pregnant

woman was attended to by female relatives. The situation was very different in Maningrida where within days of her arrival there, Eileen was called upon to deliver a baby at the low tide beach area. This was the first of many babies she delivered on the Maningrida beach. Eileen recalled that there were nine tribal groups at Maningrida and she was called upon to deliver babies in each area occupied by the tribal groups.

By 1963, the government of the day realised that by refusing to employ married nurses they were limiting the health expertise available to many people in the Northern Territory. With the change of policy, Eileen was re-employed by the Northern Territory Medical Service as a registered nurse involved in mass tuberculosis screening. Northern Territory residents were required to have chest x-rays to eliminate the incidence of tuberculosis. The radiological equipment for this survey was located in the outpatient's department of Darwin Hospital.

At the request of Dr John Hargrave, with whom she had worked at Maningrida, Eileen accepted a non-nursing position as Technical Assistant at the East Arm Leprosarium on 11 November 1963. In 1967, she accepted appointment as Leprosy Control Field Sister and occupied this position until her retirement on the 25 February 1994. In collaboration with John Hargrave, Eileen co-authored the book *Leprosy in Northern Territory Aborigines* that was published in 1968. This publication was revised a number of times and later re-published under the title *Leprosy in Tropical Australia*. In 1995, this publication was still in print and was used by medical, nursing and other health personnel in tropical areas of the world.

On 26 January 1988 Eileen's work as a nurse was recognised by the people of Australia, especially the residents of the Northern Territory. She was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM).

Although Eileen retired from full-time employment her days were fully occupied. Apart from many friends who kept in touch regularly, she grew orchids, was an avid cricket supporter and read widely. Many Territory residents remembered Eileen Jones as a very caring nurse of medium build, 148 centimetres in height, who walked with the aid of a stick as her left leg was shorter than the right mainly due to repeated surgery. Her visual appearance belied her age and the many years she spent working in the harsh Northern Territory climate. Her constant companion was her terrier Mitzi.

I Drysdale & M Durack, *The End of Dreaming*, 1974; personal information.

CECILIA BATTERHAM, Vol 3.

JONES, ELSIE MURIEL nee KING, (1886–1943) nursing sister of the Australian Inland Mission, was born in Bairnsdale, Victoria on 11 November 1886, daughter of Leonard William King, a shipping agent, and Sophie, nee Dunn. She had two brothers, Horace and Frank.

Elsie completed training as a nurse at Sale District Hospital in Victoria on 4 March 1916. She promptly joined the Australian Army Nursing Service and served at Salonika and in Egypt, 1916–19. On her return from overseas, she trained as a midwife and registered that qualification in Victoria on 2 December 1921.

The Maranboy Hospital had been opened in 1917–18 and new staff were posted there. Someone had ridden from Victoria River Downs to the overland telegraph station at Daly Waters to carry news that an outbreak of malaria had occurred there and was accounting for the illness of eleven percent of the staff. **John Flynn** had wanted to establish a hostel there for some time and local demand for a hospital was greater than ever.

King joined the Australian Inland Mission and, with Sister Jean Gray, arrived in Darwin by ship in mid-April 1922. They were meant to go to Maranboy but malaria was rampant at Victoria River Downs so King, having nursed malaria cases while overseas with the army, was promptly sent there. She nursed the sick men on the verandah of the homestead. Later, Wimmera House was built and Jean Gray joined her. Both of these nurses at different times made hazardous journeys on horseback into outback areas to assist the injured and nurse the sick. King also travelled to outback homesteads to deliver babies and at another time spent six weeks caring for a policeman with a fractured leg before he was sufficiently fit to be moved. Her term at Victoria River Downs was completed in September 1924.

The Australian Inland Mission at that time had troubles with subsidies from the government and with the co-operation of Percy Kelsey, from A J Jolly of Darwin and Mat Wilson, who carted the timber gratis from Timber Creek to Victoria River Downs, the Wimmera Hospital took shape in 1923. Sister King spent two years there and finally married one of the local stockmen, Robert John (Jack) Jones. As Sister Jones, she did a further period there in 1933, as she had continued nursing after her two children (Jack and Barbara) had arrived.

Jack Jones, King's husband, was an Australian Imperial Force signaller during the war, and later worked as a drover for the Vestey cattle stations. In 1933, they were living in Pine Creek where Elsie Jones was matron of the home for mixed-race children for 14 months until the children were transferred to Alice Springs. During their time at Pine Creek, Elsie Jones cared for the sick and injured in Pine Creek on a voluntary basis and was appointed as the nursing Sister at Pine Creek when that hospital was re-opened early in 1934.

From 1 June 1934, Mr and Mrs Jones were in charge of the home for mixed-race children at the original telegraph station near Alice Springs. There were 140 boys and girls of all ages. As there was no government hospital, all sick children were nursed at the home. Elsie Jones and her husband coped unaided with epidemics of measles and whooping cough. Dr Frank McCann immunised all the children against diphtheria but other immunisations were not then available.

When their own two children developed trachoma and had to spend many months in Melbourne for treatment, Mr and Mrs Jones applied for a position in the north where trachoma was less severe and were appointed to the leprosy hospital on Channel Island in February 1937. The Jones children lived in Darwin, as they were not permitted residence on the island.

Elsie Jones provided nursing care of a high standard and was greatly respected and loved by the patients. Young women from among the patients were trained as nursing assistants, knowledge that was very helpful during the war emergency. Jack Jones commanded respect among the men and achieved a high standard of discipline. He obtained a Morse lamp and taught patients how to signal messages to the police station on the Esplanade in Darwin. In 1938, the King honoured Elsie Jones when she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for services to nursing.

When other women were evacuated during the build-up of war in December 1941, Jones remained on the job while her children were sent to school at Charters Towers. She was not well and on the morning of 19 February 1942, she was attending Darwin Hospital as a patient when the enemy bombed Darwin. The following day she managed to return to Channel Island to arrange the evacuation of many of the patients to the quarantine station on the mainland. Elsie Jones left Darwin by train on 24 February. At Tennant Creek, she left the convoy and went to Rockhampton Downs to stay with friends. While there, she became acutely ill and contacted the Royal Flying Doctor Service at Cloncurry on 10 March. As the service could not immediately go to her aid Dr Walter Straede from Tennant Creek and his wife set out on the long drive by road; their car broke down and they perished. Elsie Jones was flown to Cloncurry and then by Qantas to Brisbane. She died in Brisbane General Hospital on 17 May 1942 aged 54 years. Her husband and two children survived her.

J S McPheat, *John Flynn—Apostle of the Inland; Inlander*, vol 7, no 1, June 1922; Victorian Nursing Council registration; *Argus*, Melbourne, 7 November 1924; Australian Inland Mission records; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 August 1935; AA, Canberra Series A1928, 716/12 & 34/5746; Series A431, 46/121; Channel Island patients, oral evidence; Eileen Fitzer, personal communication.

ELLEN KETTLE and JAQUELINE M O'BRIEN, *Vol 1*.

JONES, SARAH (SALLY): see **FEENEY, SARAH (SALLY)**

JONES, TIMOTHY GEOFFREY (TIM) (1922–), public servant and writer, was born in Sydney on 6 January 1922, son of Thomas Jones and Emily, *nee* Bodel. He attended Rose Bay Public School and Canberra High School, obtaining the New South Wales Leaving Certificate in 1938. He joined the Commonwealth Public Service in 1939 and then joined the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) in February 1942. After being a Radar Operator with 37 Radar Station (RS) at Milne Bay, Papua, from 1 August 1942 to 5 December 1943 he returned by DC3 to Townsville on a flight that also carried the famous actor, Gary Cooper. After leave, he spent six months at 20 RS, Nelsons Bay, New South Wales and then returned to Milne Bay to join 330 RS. After only a short time there, he was transferred to Port Moresby to wait for orders and was then sent to Madang. The station was not operational so with a colleague he spent his days on the harbour in a little outrigger canoe, locally called a lakatoi.

When the war ended, he returned to Sydney and resumed duty as Staff Clerk at the Patent Office. He married Thelma McEwen in July 1946 and there are three children of the marriage, Carol, Imogen and Michael. In 1954, he graduated Bachelor of Commerce from the University of Melbourne. He was promoted to the Department of Information and then the Public Service Board.

In 1956, he was appointed Public Service Inspector for the Northern Territory. The position was based in Canberra but necessitated periodical visits to the Territory until 1968 when a regional office was established in Darwin. The role covered establishments, appeals, conditions of service and included a delegation to 'resolve anything of an urgent nature without reference to the Board'. During these years he travelled widely throughout the Territory and developed the interest that would be later reflected in the histories he would write. He also has much first hand knowledge of many of the individuals who made up the Northern Territory Public Service of the day and he has a particular respect for [Colin Adams](#), then Director of Mines. Another stalwart for whom he had a high regard was the 'upright and fair' transport officer, Jim Farrell, to whose lot it fell to see that Commonwealth vehicles were not improperly used.

The first decade after the end of the Second World War was difficult in the Northern Territory. Staff and resources were limited and Tim acknowledged the difficulties faced by, for example, the newly appointed Director of Welfare, [H C Giese](#), in converting Aboriginal settlements that had been little more than ration depots and first aid posts into centres with training and educational facilities. As he put it 'the Director had... a light in his eyes, enthusiasm and zeal' but he 'had inherited a number of officers from the old days and had found that it was virtually impossible to retrain them into the new philosophy. In some cases they were hopeless addicts to the rum bottle'.

Of Tim's own role, a colleague was later to say, 'he very quickly adjusted to the unconventional environment and developed a keen appreciation of the aspirations and temperament of Territorians... and was at great pains to assist people at all times irrespective of race, colour or creed. The rugged lifestyle imposed by so doing around his even greater enthusiasm for the Territory and its people, particularly in the remote areas'. One of the Public Service Inspector's jobs was to see that proper practices were maintained and that public money was not wasted. Tim told the story of arriving in Maningrida on a normal visit of inspection and finding a 'six-foot high mound of Kellogs corn flakes cartons'. The Welfare Branch had directed that fowls be kept to 'ensure a supply of fresh eggs for the Aboriginal people'. Tim's response was that 'this seemed most acceptable but I did not quite see the connection with Kellogs corn flakes'. It seems that they forgot to order chook food and then it was discovered that fowls were keen on corn flakes. As Tim put it 'consequently, the fowls enjoyed a life of luxury and eggs were produced at an enormous cost'.

He remained in this position until 1968 when he was promoted Public Service Inspector, Canberra, later redesignated as Regional Director for the Australian Capital Territory. Functions included recruitment, with power to appoint up to Class 11, conditions of service, and training including a group of some 200 secretarial

trainees. He also represented the Board on a Standards Association Committee to draw up National Standards for testing in Typewriting and Shorthand. He was also on a Committee to advise the Minister for Education on subsidies to business colleges.

He retired in 1987 and shortly afterwards wrote a set of procedures for the accreditation of private business colleges. He was then required to implement them as Accreditation Commissioner. The role was expanded some years later when the Australian Council for Private Education and Training took over accreditation of a wide range of private colleges, ranging from business, religious and fashion design to aviation and dramatic arts. He was elected a Fellow of the Commercial Education Society of Australia in 1989. He retired completely in 1993.

His interest in the Northern Territory never left him and he published two books: a mining history *Pegging the Northern Territory* was published by the Northern Territory Department of Mines and Energy in 1987 and this was followed by *The Chinese in the Northern Territory* published by Northern Territory University Press in 1990; a second edition is in the pipeline. In addition, he wrote articles for the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography* and in 1995 was planning 'Reminiscences of a Public Service Inspector in the Northern Territory'.

He lived in Canberra with his wife. He was a life member of the Australian Capital Territory Racing Club, and committee member of the Canberra Wine and Food Club. He was also a committee member of the Australia–China Friendship Society, another major interest being the history and politics of China.

Correspondence with the author, 1983 to present.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

JOSE, ROGER (c1893–1963), labourer and 'hermit', was born in about 1893, probably in New South Wales. Accurate details of his parentage are unknown but he claimed, almost certainly incorrectly, to be the son of an Anglican Dean of Adelaide. He arrived in Borroloola in 1916 after walking from Cunnamulla in Queensland.

Initially Jose was employed at cattle stations near Borroloola, working on fences and building yards. At one stage, he also maintained the track between Borroloola and Anthony's Lagoon. He lived in Darwin briefly during the 1920s; being married there to Maggie, a full-blood Aboriginal woman from Adelaide River. She died in the early 1950s and Jose then lived with her sister Bidy.

Jose became well known as Borroloola's most celebrated 'hermit', one of a small group of white men in the isolated town who lived at a subsistence level in close contact with the local Aborigines. He read most of the town's library before it disappeared and could sprinkle his discourses on a wide range of subjects with quotations from the Bible, the plays of Shakespeare and the great classics. David Attenborough, who once made a film featuring Jose, described him as 'a noble-looking man with a long grey beard of patriarchal proportions, curling silver hair and deeply scorched wrinkled skin'. He often wore wallaby-hide slippers, a tea cosy for a hat and a heavy coat 'to keep out the hot air'. His diet consisted of snakes, yams, lily roots, birds, rum and methylated spirits. Jose's house, which stood until 1984, was built in the 1920s and was a corrugated iron tank with a roof and holes for windows and a door. From the 1930s onward, he very rarely left Borroloola and he died there in 1963. Although a militant atheist, his grave is marked with a simple cross and is located near Borroloola airstrip.

Jose was not a major historical figure but by the end of his life was one of the Northern Territory's best known and most loved 'colourful characters'. Prominent writers sought him out to sample his simple yet unusual philosophy of life. **Douglas Lockwood** once claimed: Jose taught me more about simplicity and humility than any other man... A day with him was an enchanting experience.'

D Attenborough, *Quest Under Capricorn*, 1963; D Carment, 'Borroloola: Some Aspects of Its Heritage', *Trust News* vol 1, no 1, March 1984; D Lockwood, *Up the Track*, 1964; J A Whitaker, *Borroloola*, 1985; K Willey, *Ghosts of the Big Country*, 1975.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 1.

JOYNT, REGINALD DESMOND (1885–1946), Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary to the Aborigines, was born in Melbourne on 21 May 1885. His father was Edward Kelly and his mother Alice Woolcott. He grew up at The Avenue, Windsor, not far from the home of **Hubert Warren**. After attending school, he became a teacher before entering the CMS training home in February 1906. Following almost two years' training he was accepted by the Victorian Church Missionary Association (later the CMS) for service at the proposed Roper River Mission.

Joynt was one of the three founding missionaries of the Roper River Mission which was started on 27 August 1908, the other two being the Reverend **J F G Huthnance** from Bendigo and Charles Sharp, a farmer from Daylesford in Victoria. The founding party left Melbourne on 10 July 1908. On their way to Thursday Island, they called at the Yarrabah Mission where the mission Aborigines, **James Noble** and his family, and Horace Reid, agreed to accompany them to the Roper and help them in the new work. From Thursday Island, they sailed to the chosen site on the Roper arriving there on 27 August 1908.

The new missionaries made considerable progress at the mission during the first two years. A garden was cleared and planted and buildings were erected for the missionaries, a store and a school. Joynt was in charge of the schoolwork for which the Bishop congratulated him on his first visit.

Joynt was the only missionary to remain at the mission in 1910. Huthnance and Sharp resigned during the year, as did James Noble and Horace Reid. The acute staffing difficulties, however, were relieved with the arrival of four new missionaries, Mr and Mrs O C Thomas, **Miss C M Hill** and Miss J Tinney on 16 May 1911. The Reverend R and Mrs Birch arrived later in the year.

Joynt quietly carried on his work during the difficult times of 1912 and 1913, which resulted in the Reverend and Mrs Birch and Mr and Mrs Thomas resigning. The work went ahead much better on the arrival of the

Reverend H E Warren in 1913. Joynt was no leader and welcomed Warren's appointment as superintendent of the mission.

Joynt worked faithfully at the Roper Mission throughout most of the years of the First World War and did not take his second furlough until January 1918. While in the south he was made deacon by the Bishop of Bendigo, for the Bishop of Carpentaria, at St Paul's Bendigo, on 15 September 1918.

On his third tour from September 1918 until January 1921 Joynt saw the consolidation of the work at Roper, and joined in the planning for the second mission for the half-castes to be started on Groote Eylandt. He returned from his furlough in March 1921. On 1 December 1921 he was ordained priest in Christ Church, Darwin by Henry Newton the Bishop of Carpentaria. The journey from Roper to Darwin and return for the service was 1379 kilometres, during which he travelled 722 kilometres on horseback and 657 kilometres by train.

During his furlough in 1923 Joynt took with him **Timothy Hampton**, a half-caste helper whom he had adopted. Timothy was very well received by CMS supporters in the south. On their return, he married Timothy to another half-caste, Sarah Johnson, in St Catherine's Church, Roper River on 15 January 1924. Alf Dyer gave the bride away and Esther and Naomi, two fellow confirmees, were bridesmaids. Timothy and Sarah then became the first full-time non-European staff members at the mission.

At the beginning of 1928, the Roper Mission began to pass through very difficult times. The rains had failed and the gardens were not producing food. The general tone of the place was poor. Joynt felt that Warren, who was in charge of both the Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt and also Roper, was not giving sufficient time and help to the latter. As a result, he and Timothy Hampton resigned. Joynt withdrew his resignation several months later, and Hampton the following year. Joynt carried on the work but he was long overdue for furlough.

In order to relieve the staffing crisis Messrs Kenneth Griffiths and **Keith Langford Smith** agreed to staff Roper for twelve months, enabling Joynt to take his furlough. When he arrived back in the south, the CMS agreed to allow him to take two years' leave in England. While there, he resigned from the Society as at 30 April 1930. In accepting the resignation, the CMS expressed its gratitude for the twenty years' excellent service that Joynt had given to the Aboriginal people in north Australia.

Joynt continued to minister as an Anglican clergyman in England until his death in 1946. In his will, he bequeathed the whole of his estate for the support of a CMS male missionary at Roper.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; CMS Records, Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

K

KANCUBINA-KIANG-OO-PANNY (known in 1930s), described as a ‘witchdoctor’, was a member of the Ballamogna people at Caledon Bay. On 21 April 1937, Kancubina and his wife Boo-koo-murra arrived at the Roper River Police Station carrying a youth, Smiler, who was stricken with leprosy. The 386-kilometre journey from Caledon Bay had taken nearly nine months, Kancubina and Boo-koo-murra having carried Smiler for most of the way. Smiler had previously worked for Constable Ted Heathcock and hoped that Heathcock’s wife, [Ruth](#), a nursing sister, could cure the disease.

A letter from Constable Heathcock to the Chief Protector of Aborigines, dated 7 October 1937, related the incident, and as Smiler spoke some English, used his words to describe the journey: ‘Kancubina and Boo-koo-murra and me bin leave Caledon Bay last cold weather time. Two fella bin carry me all the way longa back. I bin want to come to Roper River for Mrs Heathcock to fix up hands and feet belong me. Me can’t walk, too sick longa foot and longa leg and Kiang-oo-panny and Boo-koo-murra bin talk “We take im you”. They bin carry me from water to water and Kiang-oo-panny bin hunt and bring me kangaroo and porcupine and wallaby and when im go long way to hunt sometimes many days Boo-koo-murra bin get yams and roots and lilies belonga tuckout. Boo-koo-murra too, when me bin no good smell long sores, im bin get im gum leaves and box im up longa hot water and bin bogie me longa leaf and water and kill im no good smell. I bin talk plenty times long two feller. More better you leave im me die here. Two fella bin talk. No more we can’t leave you, we get you longa police station allright. I bin try get im to go back plenty times but im no more go. I bin propery no good smell longa sores and I bin chuck im fingers and toes when im break off longa road.’

Smiler, Kancubina and Boo-koo-murra were transferred to Mataranka and then to Darwin by train, where the Chief Protector of Aborigines, [Dr Cecil Cook](#), immediately ordered the removal of Smiler to the leprosarium at Channel Island. Kancubina carried Smiler to the dinghy, and was deeply distressed when he was not allowed to accompany the boy to the leprosarium. He and Boo-koo-murra were placed in an Aboriginal compound.

The dedication of Kancubina and Boo-koo-murra to their sick companion and their epic journey were reported in both national and overseas publications. Efforts were made to have Kancubina awarded the Albert Medal for Bravery and to give his wife an award for her role in saving Smiler’s life. Both Constable Heathcock and the Administrator of the Northern Territory, [C L A Abbott](#), however, pointed out that similar awards to Aborigines in the past had shown that such awards had little meaning to the Aboriginal people, and suggested that the provision of a regular supply of more practical items, such as hunting equipment, knives, fish hooks and tobacco, would be of more value to Kancubina and his wife. The sum of 12 Shillings and six Pence, sent by a Mr S Lane, who had received that amount from a London periodical *Passing Show* for an article he had written about the event, was also used to buy provisions for Kancubina and his wife.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory Office, F1 37/580.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

KEKWICK, WILLIAM DARTON (1822–1872), explorer, second-in-command to [John McDouall Stuart](#), travelled with him on four of his journeys in South Australia, Central Australia and to the north coast.

Kekwick was born in East Ham, County of Essex, in 1822, of a Quaker family. His brother, Daniel, was born in November 1818. They were educated at Ackworth School, a Quaker institution in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The family came out to South Australia in *Warrior* in 1840. He tried business in Burra, and then went to the Victorian gold diggings. His brother Daniel later introduced him to the pastoralist James Chambers and he was appointed second-in-command under John McDouall Stuart in a series of pastoral journeys to the north of South Australia, the first being in 1859.

In his second journey under Stuart, the exploration moved north of the 26th parallel for the first time into Central Australia, on 3 April 1860. Stuart named Mount Beddome after Magistrate Samuel Beddome who had married Kekwick’s sister. A further hill nearby he named Mount Daniel after Kekwick’s brother. They all reached Central Mount Stuart (called Sturt originally by the explorer) on 21 April 1860. Daniel Kekwick’s next son (1862) was called William Mountstuart Kekwick, obviously commemorating the fact that his brother had been with Stuart in 1860 when they reached the centre of Australia. A little later, in naming Kekwick Ponds, south of Attack Creek, Stuart remembered his second-in-command.

William Kekwick was with Stuart in South Australia on his third journey and again with him on his fourth, fifth and sixth journeys—the last one in 1862, when they reached the north coast. On his way up the coast on 9 and 10 July, Stuart rested at a spring and blazed trees there, marking them with ‘JMDS’. He named the springs Kekwick Springs to honour the man who had given him loyal support over the three overland journeys. Kekwick had, in the words of Mona Webster, ‘exerted a fine influence over the young men in Stuart’s party and helped to smooth over many difficulties when Stuart’s strict discipline came into conflict with youthful high spirits and dislike of restraint. Kekwick’s ability to take his leader’s place when Stuart was absent from the main party or too ill to grapple with the difficulties confronting them contributed much to the ultimate success of the expeditions.’

Kekwick left Stuart in 1863 in Adelaide and as Mona Webster relates, ‘lived for some years in Port MacDonnell where he married in 1864. In 1871, he returned to Adelaide expecting to obtain employment on the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line but was unsuccessful. He then turned again to mining, at Echunga. Shortly after he went there an expedition under the command of [W C Gosse](#) was organised by the South Australian Government

for the exploration of the country west of the Overland Telegraph Line, and Kekwick was offered, and accepted, the position of third-in-command and collector of natural history specimens. He was not well at the time of leaving Adelaide with the party, and in 1872, whilst they were still in the North Flinders Ranges, he developed pneumonia and died. He was buried at Blinman in the area which first had excited his admiration when going north with Stuart in 1859. He left a widow and four children not too well provided for—the family moved to Western Australia where his widow survived for many years.

Patrick Auld's representations years later ensured that Kekwick's grave at Blinman was suitably marked by the South Australian Branch of the Royal Geographical Society with a marble headstone which bears the inscription: 'William Darton Kekwick, Explorer, in admiration for his pluck and loyalty to John McDouall Stuart, as second in command from 1859 to 1863.'

I Mudie, *The Heroic Journey of John McDouall Stuart*, 1968; M Webster, *John McDouall Stuart*, 1958; Obituary, Daniel Kekwick, *Observer*, 7 December 1895.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

KEMPE, FRIEDRICH ADOLF HERMAN (1844–1928), missionary, was born on 26 March 1844 at Deuben, Saxony, in Germany. His father, Adolf Kempe, worked in the coalmines in Gitter-see near Dresden, until his death in 1870, from a mine collapse. His mother died when he was twelve, in 1856.

Kempe attended school at Coschuez until 1858, when he joined his father in the mines. However, this is not what Kempe wanted, and after only three years, he was apprenticed to a joiner. Kempe was a keen traveller and, although his new job took him to various villages in Germany, he yearned to travel overseas.

After his father's death, Kempe joined the mission house in Hermannsburg, Germany, and five years later had completed his training. His first 'assignment' was the formation of a Lutheran mission in Central Australia, following a grant of land, by the South Australian government, on the Finke River. Kempe and fellow trainee W F Schwarz were advised by their seniors that they should 'find' a life-long companion, with only eight weeks until their departure. With only days to go before their departure, Kempe became engaged to Dorothee Quickenstedt, and Schwarz to Whilhelmina Schulz.

The trip to Hermannsburg Mission from Adelaide was commenced in October 1875, the hottest part of the year. The journey was uncomfortable for all and tensions once rose to such a point that one of the party threatened to shoot another, though nothing came of it. After twenty months on the trail, Kempe and Schwarz arrived at the Finke River on 4 June 1877. Four days later, the first well was dug, and the Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission was established. For the next thirteen years, Kempe and Schwarz, with their new wives, were to devote their entire existence to the mission.

Before the missionaries could communicate with the Aborigines, they had to learn the language. This was vital before any of the Aborigines could be given work. The Aborigines of the Aranda tribe were quick to befriend the missionaries. After their arrival, Schwarz and Kempe began instruction with some of the Aboriginal children. However, the two missionaries did not by any means have an easy time. Although the Aborigines were very friendly, the missionaries were constantly frustrated by their habitual walkabout. Crops most often failed, being burnt both by the searing heat of the desert and the biting cold of winter frost. At one stage, Schwarz travelled to Adelaide and while there, made several complaints against the surrounding landholders and police treatment of the Aborigines on the mission, claiming they were 'persecuting' them. Major newspapers throughout the country carried these claims and backlash from the very general allegations made by Schwarz threatened the entire existence of the mission. The landholders and police made several counter allegations regarding the mission's treatment of the Aborigines, which resulted in an inquiry into the practices of the mission. Twenty-one witnesses were examined, but no official outcome was made known and no charge was brought against the mission.

Ten years after the founding of the mission, Kempe and Schwarz had their first success. On 30 May 1887, seven Aboriginal teenagers of the Aranda tribe were baptised. However, their happiness and feelings of success were short-lived, as the mission became plagued by sickness. Although many of the Aborigines remained in good health, virtually all the missionaries and their families became ill at some stage over the next two years. Those who were not ill were forced to carry out the work of the sick as well as their own, which resulted in tiredness and even more illness amongst the missionaries. The mission 'machine' limped along for a further two years, until, in 1889, Pastor Schwarz and family decided to leave the mission through ill-health and moved to South Australia. Kempe had also decided to leave the mission with his family, after his six-year-old son died from typhoid. However, he felt it necessary to await the arrival of a replacement missionary, rather than leave the entire mission in the hands of one man, missionary Schulze, who had also been on the mission since it was established; but his wife also became ill and died; and after almost three years of waiting, Kempe decided to leave the mission.

The last few years at Hermannsburg Mission were less rewarding to the missionaries for another reason also. Kempe recalled that, aside from the sickness, there was a political motive behind leaving the mission. The Hermannsburg Mission had, in the 1880s, become answerable to the local 'supporting church' of the Hermannsburg Institute in Germany. Thus the mission, and the missionaries, were not entitled to benefits under the new mission rules that had been devised at this time. The Hermannsburg Institute was also looking to dispose of the mission to a local synod, a fact that greatly dissatisfied the two missionaries.

Kempe's dying wife had suggested he marry her good friend Sophie Kunz, who was at the time in Africa. Kempe in fact did marry Sophie, after sending for her on his return to Adelaide, in 1892. For the next five years Kempe and his new wife travelled to different parishes in the South Australian countryside, until 1896, when they bought land in Balaklava and built their first home. The next year Kempe led a party to Denial Bay, on the West

Australian coast, to look for a suitable mission site, and was present for the initial construction. After he returned, Kempe provided land for a new church in Balaklava, which was built in 1899.

In 1913 Kempe's second wife died. After remarrying the next year, to Bertha Hansen, he remained at Balaklava, and in 1919 celebrated his twenty fifth year of ministry in the small town.

In 1924, Kempe retired and shortly after suffered a stroke. He was paralysed, unable to speak, and although he recovered sufficiently to walk again, he never regained proper control of his speech. A year after his retirement, Kempe celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his ministry. In 1926, his third wife died and Kempe sold his home to live with his children in Maitland and Tanunda. In 1927, while in Tanunda, he suffered a second stroke, and died in March the next year. He was buried at Dalkey cemetery, three kilometres southeast of Balaklava, with his second wife Sophie.

Kempe was one of the true pioneers of Central Australia. His sense of duty, both to God, and to the Aboriginal people of Hermannsburg, urged him to continue his work on the mission, where many others would have given up. He compiled the first grammar and dictionary of the Aranda language, which was printed in 1892, and although he was on a mission to 'convert' the Aborigines, he respected and appreciated their customs. Kempe Street in Alice Springs is named for him.

F A H Kempe & P A Scherer, *From Joiner's Bench to Pulpit*, 1973; L Leske, *Hermannsburg, a Vision and a Mission*, 1980; J Petrick, *Street Names Tell History*, 1980; P A Scherer, *Venture of Faith*, 1980.

DUNCAN McCONNEL, Vol 1.

KENTISH, LEONARD NOEL (LEN) (1907–1943), Methodist Minister, was born in Melbourne on 28 August 1907. Len, as his family and friends knew him, was one of a family of eight children born to Cecil Wallace Kentish and Alice Fay, *nee* Jackson. Cecil's father, Henry, was only eight years of age when his family migrated to Australia, having sailed from England on *Canton*, arriving in Port Adelaide on 8 May 1838.

In 1910, the Kentish family led a migratory trek of 200 Victorians into southern Queensland where they settled on the land as pioneer graziers at The Gums in the Tara district near Dalby. Len attended school at The Gums and then attended Dalby State High School, passing the Junior Public Examination. Due to a series of droughts and other setbacks in the district, his family was forced to move to Bundamba near Ipswich in 1923. After working briefly in the town council, he volunteered to work as a Methodist Home Missionary, being stationed at Mitchell.

He became a candidate for the ordained ministry in 1927 and under the guidance of the Master of King's College gained his matriculation to the University of Queensland, which he entered as an undergraduate student at the age of 18. While in residence at King's College he gained his Bachelor of Arts Degree with Honours in the field of mental and moral philosophy. He also excelled in sports, being awarded college 'blues' in football, cricket, tennis and athletics. During a fourth year in Kings College, he commenced work on the Bachelor of Divinity degree through the Melbourne College of Divinity, was president of the Student Club and lectured in Greek and Hebrew. He was also a member of the crew of the College's rowing four.

On completion of his studies in preparation for ordination, he married Violet May Simpson on 31 March 1934 in Maryborough and the couple moved to the Hermit Park Methodist Circuit in Townsville. After a short time there, Len responded to a call to Overseas Missions work in the Northern Territory and began work in the joint European and Aboriginal ministries in Darwin.

In 1940 after three years of residence in Darwin he was appointed Chairman of the Methodist Overseas Missions North Australia District in which office he continued when he moved to the Mission Station on Goulburn Island. During the four years in Darwin, he had completed his studies for the Bachelor of Divinity degree and had also obtained Accountancy qualifications. On Goulburn Island, he commenced work on his Master of Arts thesis, but gave priority to the demanding work of developing a written language in the Maung dialect for the Aborigines of the island. He also found time to contribute several articles on his Territory experiences to Church journals. His published articles include 'Sawdust in the Dinner' in *The Missionary Review*, 5 April 1939 and 'Sea Slugs and Crocodiles' and 'The Witness of North Australia' both in *The Queensland Methodist Times*, 17 March 1938 and 23 October 1941 respectively.

With the outbreak of the Second World War and the imminent threat of a Japanese invasion in north Australia, Leonard Kentish became a voluntary Coast Watcher in constant radio contact with Darwin, continuing his ministry among the Goulburn Islanders and his Chairmanship of the District. In February 1942, his wife and three young children were ordered to evacuate after the bombing of Darwin. His family travelled through Mataranka, Alice Springs, Adelaide, and Melbourne before reaching Brisbane where they lived with his mother in Paddington, as they waited for Len to join them.

One year later, his plans to join them in Brisbane were interrupted. The *Patricia Cam*, an Australian naval supply vessel on which he was travelling on a tour of his district, was attacked and sunk between Elcho Island and Cape Wessel by a Japanese floatplane on 22 January 1943. He was taken prisoner and interned at Dobu in the Aru Islands. On 5 February 1943, his captors beheaded him but news of his fate did not reach his widow and their three children, a son and two daughters, until late in 1946. The delay, not only in the notification but in the granting of a suitable pension, gave rise to much comment in the press. Len Kentish's body was later re-interred at the Ambon War Cemetery by the Australian War Graves Commission. His obituary recorded in the minutes of the New South Wales Methodist Conference in 1947 noted, in part: 'In the area in which he worked and under the uncertain conditions of war he stood continually in great personal danger but continued to give himself with humility and courage to befriending and protecting the aborigines among whom he worked'.

Len Kentish's name has been given to a memorial coconut grove on Goulburn Island. It is on the Roll of Honour at Darwin's Memorial Uniting Church and the Coastwatchers' Memorial in Rabaul. It is also listed in

a memorial plaque in the foyer of King's College at St Lucia at the University of Queensland. It is also on a plaque honouring Methodist 'martyrs' (most of them victims of the sinking of *Montevideo Maru*) located at the Uniting Church Centre for Ministry at North Parramatta. His photograph hangs in Kentish Court at Wesley Central Mission's Sinnamon Retirement Village, near Jindalee in Brisbane.

R Brown & O P Studdy-Clift, *Darwin Dilemmas*, 1992; J W Burton, *The First Century*, 1955; W S Chaseling, 'The Late Rev L Kentish, BA, BD', *The Missionary Review*, December, 1946; *The Courier Mail*, 8 October 1946, 12 August 1953; JW Dixon, 'Life on Goulburn Island' (Extracts from a broadcast address by A H M Ellison), *The Methodist*, 9 July, 1955; G Dundon, 'Patricia Cam', *The Gosford Star*, 19 October, 1984; A Gill, 'When the War Hit Home', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1993; A Gill & A Demack, 'Kentish Wartime Drama was 50 Years Ago this Month', *Journey*, February 1993; O Griffiths, *Darwin Drama*, 1943; J Leggoe, *Trying To Be Sailors*, 1983; D Lockwood, *Australia's Pearl Harbour*, 1966; J McClelland, *Proceedings of an Australian Military Court*, 1993; M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; *The Queensland Methodist Times*, 9 January 1947; 18 November 1948; E Shepherdson, *Half a Century in Arnhem Land*, 1981; M Somerville, *They Crossed a Continent*, 1951; *The Story of the Disappearance of the Reverend Len Kentish*, 1992; *The Sun*, 18 February 1975; *Truth*, 29 August 1948, 5 September 1948, 12 September 1948, 10 October 1948; A Wilson, 'The Kentish Affairs', *The Journal of the Aircraft Owners' and Pilots' Association*, December 1979.

NOEL KENTISH, Vol 3.

KHAN-PERI, CONSTANTINE (CON): see [PERRY, CONSTANTINE \(CON\)](#)

KIDMAN, (Sir) SIDNEY (1857–1935), pastoralist, was born near Adelaide on 9 May 1857, third son of George Kidman, farmer, and his wife Elizabeth May, *nee* Nunn, both English-born. There are many unfounded legends about the early career of Sidney Kidman, none more persistent than the myth that as a child he left home with just five Shillings and a one-eyed horse. In fact, the Kidman family was sufficiently well off to ensure that Sidney had at least a brief private school education in Adelaide.

When he left school, it was natural, given the family's farming background, that Sidney Kidman should look to the land. His elder brother Sackville Kidman found work for him on stations in the far west of New South Wales, in the 'corner country' which was later to become the heartland of the Kidman pastoral empire.

By the time he was 20 years old Kidman had a bullock team and he was doing well, carrying to the new mining town of Cobar. Already he had learned from the exploits of men like **C B Fisher** and James Tyson that there was more money to be made by bringing beef and beer to the mining fields than there was by actually digging minerals out of the ground.

Soon after, Kidman got his big start through a legacy of 400 Pounds from his grandfather. With this fund he started stock dealing on a large scale, buying cattle in remote places and taking them to markets on the mining fields and in Adelaide. He quickly saw and exploited the fact that South Australia rarely produced enough beef for its own markets. The strategies that shaped his later acquisition of a chain of stations from the north of the continent to the south were based on his keen appreciation of this situation.

Kidman clearly modelled his personal life and business methods on James Tyson, the son of a convict who became a drover, then a stock dealer, and eventually the owner of a huge chain of high-quality stations. Tyson was frugal to the point of meanness, he was abstemious and he never swore. Kidman emulated all these characteristics, as well as Tyson's foible of anonymously riding through the outback to observe his men and his country and to overhear what was being said about him.

Both men had a flair for livestock dealing, and here Kidman probably eclipsed Tyson to become the most spectacular buyer and seller that Australia has known. Rarely did Kidman's judgement in the marketplace fail him, although he made one bad mistake early in his career when he exchanged a one-fourteenth share in a new mining company, called BHP, for a small mob of bullocks.

In the early 1880s, Kidman was ready to begin the station purchases that were to make him, in terms of area, probably the biggest landholder in Australian history. His plan was to acquire contiguous holdings in key locations, so that he could move stock progressively from north to south, toward the nation's most active and buoyant markets.

Kidman's method was to buy established existing stations, usually in remote and arid regions. Despite recent adulatory reconstructions of history that have endeavoured to present him as a great developer of the inland, Kidman never pioneered a single square mile of new country. Rather, he waited until he could buy out the original pioneers cheaply. Thus, he traded on the misfortunes of others, but it must be said that anxious vendors were pleased to see him as a buyer of last resort. This was especially true during the drought years of the 1890s when his empire took shape.

Often Kidman bought a share from a desperate pastoralist, on the basis that the partner would look after the property. Kidman knew that he would thereby get the best possible management. It was in this way that Kidman acquired his first Northern Territory interests, in Owen Springs and Crown Point stations.

Old timers said that two things happened when Kidman bought a station; first, it rained and then the fences fell down. Kidman bought during droughts, knowing that it had to rain eventually. He had the resources to wait patiently until the droughts broke. Fences did fall down because Kidman forbade any station expenditure that was not directly productive. Managers had to make do with whatever improvements the pioneers had left behind.

At first, this frugality was a prudent reaction against the over-capitalisation that had ruined the inland's first pastoral settlers, but later the neglected condition of Kidman's stations became a matter of scandal. Northern Territory lands administration files bulged with references critical of Kidman's refusal to spend money on his properties and the Pastoral Leases Investigation Committee of 1935 reported that Kidman's ownership of land was

'contrary to the public interest'. However, by this time Kidman was powerful enough to shrug off the demands of governments that he comply with lease covenants.

Kidman's interests in the Northern Territory at various times included outright ownership of or shares in Huckitta, Stirling, Owen Springs, Crown Point, Bond Springs, Hamilton Downs, Austral Downs, Newcastle Waters and Victoria River Downs. Extensive though these holdings were, they did not approach the scope of those held earlier by Fisher and Lyons, or later by Vesteys. In fact, the Northern Territory was peripheral to Kidman's main activities in the arid lands of Queensland, New South Wales and South Australia.

There is evidence that Kidman influenced the South Australian government to develop water facilities along the Birdsville Track stock route in the 1890s in preference to the development of the route along the Overland Telegraph Line. Certainly, the drilling of bores along the Birdsville Track was critically important to Kidman. Whether the neglect of the north-south stock route that the Territory so badly needed was a direct consequence of Kidman's representations will probably never be known, but in any case, the result was inimical to the Territory.

However, Kidman soon afterward had cause to be thankful to the Territory. The great drought that marked the turn of the century lasted longer than Kidman bargained for and would have forced his failure but for the support of the Bank of New South Wales. The bank, fearful of the national consequences of Kidman's collapse, backed Kidman when he formed a syndicate to buy Victoria River Downs in 1902. Kidman knew that the huge station had countless thousands of cattle that had not been mustered for years and he correctly forecast that there would be a surge in the demand for cattle when the drought broke.

Just as Kidman judged the market to a nicety, so he judged the men who were capable of mustering VRD's scrubbers and taking them east to market. In 1904 Blake Miller, Kidman's head drover, took the first mob east across the Murrumbidgee stock route toward eager buyers, and Kidman was out of difficulty. Typically, the Kidman syndicate sold the great station at the end of the decade, just when the current beef boom was about to end.

Kidman had been able to attract the very best bushmen into his workforce because to work for him was to join the outback's elite. Kidman's huge stations tested all the skills of the Australian stockman. Kidman men had to excel at their work because they had to handle stock in primitive conditions, usually without the benefit of yards and fences. Men liked working for him, because 'you always knew where you stood with him', and because his financial strength meant comparative security of employment.

Kidman was created Knight Bachelor in 1921, when he was at the height of his power. The honour recognised benefactions to wartime charities and to the Australian Inland Mission. In 1932, 100 000 people came to a bushman's carnival held in Adelaide to celebrate his 75th birthday. He died on 2 September 1935 but his empire in other parts of Australia was held together and continues even today. However, the family interests in the Northern Territory were quickly disposed of. He was married on 30 June 1895 at Kapunda to Isabel Brown Wright. They had three daughters and a son.

Ion Idriess and more recent eulogists of Kidman have tried to present him as a visionary pioneer of inland Australia. He was never that. He was a stock dealer who acquired already developed land as an adjunct to his trading operations. That is not to belittle him—as a dealer his activities were of enormous significance to the pastoral industries. He was a buyer at times when others lacked the money or the courage to buy, and thus he put a 'bottom' in the market at critical times. That was his unique contribution to the outback.

I L Idriess, *The Cattle King*, 1936; H M Tolcher, *Drought or Deluge: Man in the Cooper Creek Region*, 1986; Film produced by Dick Smith c1983; Australian Stockman's Hall of Fame *Newsletter*, November 1982; *ADB*, vol 9, 1983; Report of the Northern Territory Pastoral Leases Investigation Committee, 1935, AA, Darwin; Personal communications with the following 'Kidman men', tape recordings held by author: Bryan Bowman, Alice Springs, 1982; Jack Dowler, formerly Alice Springs, now of SA, 1982; Charlie Strudwick, Nambour, Queensland, 1986; Bill Brook, Birdsville, 1982; Robey Miller, Mount Isa, 1982.

PETER FORREST, *Vol 1*.

KILFOYLE, THOMAS (1835–1908), drover and pastoralist, was born in Ireland in 1835 and migrated to Australia in 1849. After working as a drover in Queensland, he took part in long cattle treks through the Northern Territory during the 1880s. It was at that time the 'T K Camp' on the southern edge of the Jasper Gorge, in the Victoria River district, was named after him. A large boab tree there bore his carved initials. He shared a number of expeditions with **M P Durack** in the 1890s, sometimes droving cattle for sale in the mining settlements of the Pine Creek area and at others exploring unoccupied country. On one such trip, they marked out a block on Auvergne Station that they called Kildurk, a combination of their two names. In 1891, he married Catherine Byrne, member of a well-known pioneer family in the Kimberley district of Western Australia.

From 1896 until his death Kilfoyle managed Rosewood Station, which he owned in partnership with J J Holmes, a Western Australian politician. He became one of the most prominent pastoralists in the Victoria River District, a fame partly acquired due to accusations concerning his theft of cattle from adjoining properties. 'Patsy' Durack, father of M P Durack and patriarch of the Durack family, excused Kilfoyle here, saying, 'He's been a faithful friend and servant to this family, and I'd not now begrudge him a bit of tarry-diddle with his branding iron.'

Kilfoyle died in Darwin in 1908, survived by his wife and only child, John. By then he was widely regarded as one of the Northern Territory's most remarkable drovers and bushmen and as one of those who opened up the Victoria River district for pastoral occupation.

D Carment, 'A Future for the Past in the Victoria River District', *Northern Perspective*, vol 7, no 1, 1984; M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983; J Makin, *The Big Run*, 1983.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 1*.

KILIAN, AMELIA ALBERTINA nee GUNTHER (1849–1927), pioneer businesswoman, was born about 1849 in Prussia to Samuel Gunther and Ernestine, nee Hellmscher. Her parents came to Australia about two years later and seem to have settled in Victoria. On 4 May 1869 at Spring Creek, Victoria, Amelia married **Charles Frederick Kilian**, a 32-year-old boot maker who was born in Prussia about 1836, making him about 13 years older than his bride who was only 19. The wedding took place at her father's home according to the rites of the Wesleyan Methodist Church with Amelia's father giving consent. Amelia and Charles had a son, Henry Otto, in 1870 and a daughter, Amelia Ernestine, in 1874, both born in Victoria.

Charles, who seems to have had a bit of wanderlust, came to the Territory sometime in 1873 before his daughter's birth and promptly established a boot making business in Palmerston (now Darwin). Amelia and the family joined him in July 1874. About 20 months later, on 23 April 1876, Amelia made a little bit of Territory history when she gave birth to twins, Frederick William and Charles Francis, believed to be the first European twins born in the Territory.

Despite having a very young family, Amelia became involved with the business almost immediately and in 1877 advertised that she was selling off the whole of her stock consisting of men's women's and children's boots, shoes and slippers at cost price to enable her to clear everything out before the end of the year. Over the next ten years, Amelia continued to raise a family and operate her own retail business on the corner of Smith Street and the Esplanade.

While her husband tried various ventures elsewhere she remained in Palmerston and in 1888 bought land in her own name at the gold mining town of Burrundie where her husband established a boot making and repair business. Amelia was becoming quite a shrewd businesswoman and speculator and when land was offered at the goldfield townships, she purchased several lots in Playford (Pine Creek), the Union, as well as at Burrundie. She also bought town lands at Palmerston and Southport.

On 20 November 1890, tragedy struck when Amelia and Charles' eldest son, Henry Otto, died shortly before his 21st birthday. The paper reported that all classes and creeds in the community attended the funeral and burial service at Palmerston cemetery.

By 1891, Amelia was living in Palmerston, and Charles was living at the Union. Three years later, in October 1894, Amelia advertised some of her freehold property for sale in Union town, at Playford, Palmerston and Southport. It is worth noting that Amelia was one of the very few people to get a return from land speculation in towns adjacent to the goldfields.

About this time, Charles left for Western Australia, ostensibly to improve his health, while Amelia remained in the Territory running the business. She registered to vote in 1895 in Palmerston along with her daughter, Amelia, who was by then, just 21. In February 1896, Charles returned to Palmerston for a holiday with the family, departing two months later, again leaving Amelia in charge of the businesses. Amelia and her daughter would exercise their right to vote a month after Charles' departure.

When the family home was destroyed in the disastrous cyclone of 1897, Amelia showed her ability to stand up for herself. Someone wrote to the newspaper and accused her of receiving what they regarded as unneeded money from the cyclone relief fund. Amelia wrote a prompt reply saying that even though she had suffered great loss in the cyclone she had not neither applied for nor received any money from the fund.

Amelia's good business head, enterprise and faith in the Territory received the praise of a *Northern Territory Times* editorial in August 1900 which stated: 'Although the groan of the pessimist is to be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, practical evidence of unfailing faith in Port Darwin's brighter future has been given by one of our oldest residents Mrs C Kilian, in the recent erection on the south side of Smith Street next door to the Hotel Victoria of a neat and compact little cottage which blots out one more vacant spot and materially improves the appearance of that street. Mrs Kilian is to be congratulated upon the brave spirit which has prompted such an expenditure of capital in these dull and unpromising times and it is to be hoped the trend of events may prove her to have been a keen and far seeing lady. The cottage is practically a four roomed house with verandahs all round neatly enclosed by iron and bamboo lattice work with a multiplicity of hinged shutters for admitting the cool breezes on occasions. A well has also been sunk on the allotment at considerable expense and in the rear is a detached kitchen with cement floor and containing what is somewhat of a novelty in the Territory—a *bona fide* fireplace with the orthodox chimney. We understand the premises are to be let on very reasonable terms particulars of which can be obtained on application to Mrs Kilian'.

About five years later Charles returned to Palmerston to rejoin Amelia and his daughter and to live out his remaining years. He died on 5 April 1916 at the age of 79. Amelia Albertina Kilian died in Darwin 10 years later, on 22 November 1926, at the age of 77, believed to be Darwin's oldest resident. She had lived in the Territory for 53 years and it was said that not once during that time had she left. A daughter and a son survived her, two other sons having predeceased her. The overland telegraph colleagues of her son, Fred, acted as pallbearers. Her daughter, Amelia, known as Amy, erected a tombstone at the Goyder Road Cemetery to mark her parents' graves.

Amelia left her property on lot 521 (on the west side of the Hotel Victoria) to her daughter Amelia together with furniture during her 'maidenhood' but if she married it was to be shared with her surviving brothers. Her estate was valued at 968 Pounds. Amy never married and lived in Darwin until, according to evacuation records, she was evacuated overland on 24 February 1942 at the age of 68 to Melbourne, along with her brother, Fred Kilian, who went to the Post Master General's Department there. However, family information suggests that they were evacuated to Adelaide, having lived together in the family home until then. The house itself was used as a reference point when the surveys were done in Darwin to ascertain the amount of war damage and compensation payable to previous owners.

Frederick Kilian died in Adelaide on 17 November 1950 and Amelia Ernestine Kilian died there on 5 November 1962.

Australian Archives, F46, F649 S181; B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; Northern Territory Archives Service E97/4/179.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

KILIAN, CHARLES FREDERICK (c1837–1916), pioneer boot maker, was born in Prussia about 1837. It is not known whether he came to Australia with his parents or as an adult but on 4 May 1869 at Spring Creek, Victoria, he married 19-year-old **Amelia Gunther**, daughter of Samuel and Ernestine Gunther who had also come to Australia from Prussia. There were four children of the marriage.

Kilian came to the Territory in 1873 and for more than 30 years he and his wife leased a block of land at the corner of Smith Street and the Esplanade, now part of Christ Church Cathedral grounds from which for many years they ran a boot/shoemaking and repair business. He also imported shoes. The house in which they lived was the rectory for a number of years.

In his early years in the Territory Kilian was active in the community. He was a member of the first District Council in Palmerston and helped establish the first Palmerston Institute, the first library. In May 1876, in July 1877 and again in May 1878 he was among the signatories seeking a school in Palmerston. In 1877, the Government Resident considered that the town's doctor had acted unprofessionally. The townspeople, anxious not to lose their only medico, held a meeting, chaired by Kilian, and carried a unanimous resolution that the charges against the doctor were 'frivolous and unwarranted'. Though German born Kilian must have spoken good English and been respected in the community to chair such a meeting but at a Council election later that year he was only fourth on the count and was not elected.

For a period after 1878, he was a gaol guard and is said to have managed Brandt's sugar plantation at Shoal Bay for several years from which he visited Palmerston once a fortnight. In 1887 he returned to Palmerston and re-established his boot making business, although the local press, probably under the hand **V L Solomon**, had this word of warning for him: 'With odds of two Chinese against him it will require a great effort to knock out an income by this trade but if a good article is turned out by him at a fair figure no doubt the European will be given the preference'. He apparently met with some success because the following year he opened a boot depot at Burrundie. In 1891, he was running a business at the Union and also operated from Pine Creek. He went to Western Australia in 1894, on medical advice, and returned from Coolgardie two years later for a holiday with his family. He went back to Western Australia but returned permanently to the Territory about 1905 still in indifferent health.

Charles Frederick Kilian on died on 5 April 1916 at the age of 79, survived by his wife, daughter Amelia, son Charles who lived in Melbourne, and son Fred then in Adelaide. He was said to have been a man of 'exceedingly peaceful and easy disposition' who enjoyed the goodwill of the older residents though he was little known to the younger generation. He was buried in the Goyder Road cemetery according to the rites of the Anglican Church.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 15 August 1890, 21 February 1896, 13 April 1916; South Australian State Records, GRS 1: 299/1876, 438/1877, 323/1878.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

KIM LAN: see **HOUNG ON YEE, MYRTLE**

'KING BOB': see **GAJIYUMA**

KING, ELSIE MURIEL: see **JONES, ELSIE MURIEL**

KING, PHILLIP PARKER (1791–1856), naval officer, hydrographer and company manager, was born on 13 December 1791 at Norfolk Island, the son of Philip Gidley King and his wife Anna Josepha, *nee* Coombe. In October 1796 the King family sailed for England in *Britannia*. When his father left England in November 1799 to become Governor of New South Wales, young Phillip was placed under tuition of the Reverend S Burford in Essex.

King entered the navy in 1807 as a First-Class Volunteer, the usual method of entry for budding officers. He served for six years in the coastal waters of Western Europe and in the Mediterranean, rising to Master's Mate in 1810 and Lieutenant in 1814. There is no record of King's early surveying experience but according to family tradition **Matthew Flinders**, a friend of the family, interested him in surveying and introduced him to Captain Thomas Hurd (1757–1823), hydrographer to the Admiralty 1808–23. Hurd, first of the professional officers who were to give the Royal Navy's hydrographic service pre-eminence in the field, is said to have trained the young lieutenant. King must have proved an apt pupil. In 1817 the British government decided to complete the survey of the Australian north and west coasts, which Flinders had been forced to abandon in 1803; and, at a time when the ending of the Napoleonic Wars had left nearly ninety per cent of British naval officers on half-pay—professionally unemployed—King received the command.

Flinders had worked under Admiralty instructions alone and King received similar orders regarding the conduct of the survey; but Earl Bathurst, at the Colonial Office, also took a hand. His instructions to King required the recording of geological and meteorological data, observations of the Aborigines and an alert eye for trade possibilities. King and the two officers allocated to him, John Roe and Frederick Bedwell, sailed for Sydney in the merchant ship *Dick*, arriving in September 1817. Before his departure, King married Harriet, daughter of

Christopher Lethbridge of Launceston, Cornwall. She accompanied her husband to Australia, settling in Sydney during the years of King's surveys.

Governor Macquarie authorised the purchase for 2 000 Pounds of the near-new, teak-built cutter *Mermaid*. By the sea-going standards of the time she was tiny, displacing only 92 tonnes, 17 metres long, broad-beamed, but rather too sharp in the bottom, thought King, to be run aground easily for repair. Into her King crammed 19 men, his water spaniel and stores for nine months, leaving Sydney on 22 December for King George's Sound and North West Cape, where the survey began. From February until June 1818, the expedition surveyed the coast as far as Van Diemen's Gulf, making frequent contact with Aborigines and Macassan trepangers.

In June, *Mermaid* visited Timor and then returned to Sydney the way she had come, arriving on 29 July. Next December and January, King surveyed the recently discovered Macquarie Harbour (Tasmania). In May 1819, *Mermaid* left Sydney for Torres Strait. King went on to survey the coast between Cape Wessel and Admiralty Gulf, returning to Sydney on 12 January 1820.

There *Mermaid* was careened, recoppered, caulked and sunk for several days to rid her of rats and cockroaches which, according to King, infested the ship, destroying the dry stores, gnawing holes in the water casks and even eating the musket cartridges. *Mermaid* left for her third voyage to the north on 14 June 1820. The rats reappeared before she sailed and the cockroaches soon after. At least, reflected King, they were not so bad for a few months. The ship grounded near Bowen causing considerable damage; but King refloated her, went on to survey the northwest coast between Admiralty Gulf and Brunswick Sound and returned to Sydney on 9 December 1820.

On 26 May 1821, King left for his fourth and final survey of the north Australian coast in *Bathurst*, 187 tonnes, which carried a complement of 13—and a 16-year-old girl, Sarah Chambers, who stowed away for love of the bos'n. All we hear of her from King is that she 'in a very short time heartily repented of her imprudence and would gladly have been relanded'. *Bathurst* passed through Torres Strait, visited Mauritius for refreshment, resumed the survey of the west coast and arrived back in Sydney in April 1822. There King learned that he had been promoted Commander on 27 July 1821. He received orders to return to England with his ship, embarked his wife, who bore him a son off the Cape of Good Hope and arrived in April 1823.

King's Australian surveys gave him lasting recognition as one of Britain's leading hydrographers. A modern hydrographer, G C Ingleton, judges him to be 'the greatest of the early Australian marine surveyors'. He brought new standards of accuracy to the Australian survey. When he left it he had named and proved the insularity of Bathurst and Melville islands, had sailed down the strait between them, soon to be the site of the first British settlement in north Australia (Fort Dundas, 1824), had found and charted the future settlement sites of Raffles Bay and Port Essington and had discovered and explored the East, South and West Alligator rivers. He added greatly to knowledge of the whole north-west coast of Australia and was the first known non-Aboriginal to sight Port Darwin, recorded only as 'a deep opening... of a river-like appearance' as he passed it by on 28 August 1819.

King's survey skills were matched by fine seamanship and the qualities of a leader. Australia's northwestern coasts, dangerous to modern vessels, were far more so to the clumsy *Mermaid* and *Bathurst*, propelled by wind alone and unable to beat against a strong breeze. They sailed off low shores, backed by mangrove swamp or desert sand and bare rock, fringed by a maze of shoals, islands, reefs and coral niggerheads where vast tides race at speeds beyond the power of sail to stem. King used them with skill and kept his head when they sent his ship out of control. 'The vessel was at times unmanageable, from the violent whirlpools through which we passed, and was more than once whirled completely round upon her keel,' he wrote of *Bathurst*, 'but our former experience... prepared us... and the yards were... quickly braced around.' Time and again, great seamanship—and a dash of luck—preserved them.

As King noted in his usual restrained fashion, *Mermaid* 'afforded neither comfort or convenience of any description'. Her captain possessed—and needed—high personal qualities; devotion to duty, foresight and organisational ability, humanitarianism and a personality that allowed him to lead by example. Thrown together with his officers, Roe and Bedwell, for six gruelling years, he held their regard and they his. Botanist Allan Cunningham shipped on all four voyages, became King's close friend and remained so for the rest of his life. King knew and appreciated the personal qualities of his seamen and supervised their diet and cleanliness with care. Without a surgeon on board for two years, he doctored the men himself, noting ruefully their fear at his lack of medical skills and confessing that the matter worried him so much that 'on some occasions I thought of little else'. But his ships had a remarkably good health record for the time: two deaths in six years. He used the lash most sparingly and his quiet sense of humour helped to ease trying situations.

Apart from dutifully collecting Aboriginal words, King showed more inclination to avoid than to fraternise with the black inhabitants of the north. Though his patience began to wear thin on his fourth voyage he consistently restrained his men, even allowing tribesmen to carry off the precious theodolite tripod rather than fire on them to recover it.

On his return to England, King prepared his charts under the supervision of Sir W E Parry, Hurd's successor, and advised the government on settlement sites in the north commending, particularly, Port Essington. In 1826, he published in London his two-volume *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia*, partly illustrated by his own sketches. From 1826, he commanded HMS *Adventure*, with HMS *Beagle* as consort, in notable surveys of the South American coast, being promoted to Captain before returning to England in poor health in October 1830. The Royal Society and the Linnean Society welcomed him to membership; but in 1832, King went on to half-pay and sailed for Sydney to take up family lands in New South Wales. He became a large landholder, commissioner for 10 years of the giant Australian Agricultural Company, member of the New South Wales Legislative Council and founder of a notable Australian family.

The navy did not forget him. Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, Parry's successor as naval hydrographer and perhaps the most outstanding of those who held that post during the nineteenth century, thought him a truly scientific surveyor and urged those who followed him to Australian waters to seek his advice. They did and he became something of a father figure to the next generation of naval surveyors. As he grew older, change passed him by. 'I am quite tired of this place,' he told a friend sadly in 1853, 'now rendered so void of comfort from the independence of the lower classes,' but he knew his ties to Australia were too strong to break. He died of apoplexy at his home in North Sydney on 26 February 1856, survived by his wife and eight children. In the words of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, King 'was the first and for years the only Australian-born to attain eminence in the world outside the Australian colonies'. King's Table, the flat-topped hill he saw beyond the entrance to Darwin harbour in 1819 and King Sound, Western Australia, commemorate him.

G C Ingleton, *Charting a Continent*, 1944; P P King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia*, 1827; *ADB*, vol 2; A Powell, 'Explorer-Surveyors of the Australian North Coast', 1—P P King and the Men of *Mermaid* and *Bathurst*; *JRAHS*, March 1980.

ALAN POWELL, *Vol 1*.

KIRKLAND, WILLIAM BRUCE (1898–1952), medical practitioner, was born on 27 January 1898 at Minyip in Victoria, the son of James Kirkland, whose father, also James, arrived on the Bendigo goldfields from Scotland in 1852. Bruce Kirkland's father was an employee of the Victorian Railways, stationmaster at Minyip, at the time of his son's birth. Kirkland's mother, Elizabeth Ann, *nee* Giblett, was born at Tarlita, Victoria, on 18 June 1854. She married James Kirkland at Castlemaine, Victoria, on 24 November. Their son was educated at St Paul's Grammar School, Caulfield, Victoria and graduated Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery from the University of Melbourne in 1925.

As a young man, Bruce Kirkland served in the First World War. After completion of his medical course, he spent some time in New Guinea before going to the Northern Territory in 1927 as medical officer with the North Australia Railway construction during the building of the railway from Katherine to Birdum.

In September 1929, Kirkland transferred to the Department of Health as the first doctor appointed to Katherine. On 11 December 1929, he was transferred to Alice Springs as the first doctor in that region. Patients were cared for in the small hospital, Adelaide House, built and staffed by the Australian Inland Mission.

He carried out medical surveys of the Aboriginal population at Hermannsburg, and some cattle properties. In 1932, he transferred to Darwin but he did not stay long again at Alice Springs during part of 1934 before relieving as Chief Medical Officer for almost a year. In 1935 while acting as chief protector of Aborigines, he arranged some financial assistance for two new missions, Port Keats and Yirrkala.

On 1 April 1939, Kirkland was appointed to the position of Chief Medical Officer and the following year, he personally examined all the leprosy patients on Channel Island and established the first individual medical records for them. At this time, all children on the island who did not have leprosy were sent to missions.

With the build-up toward war, several doctors joined the army and were sent elsewhere, leaving the service for civilians and the outback very short-staffed. The new Darwin Hospital on Myilly Point was built during 1941 but in the meantime, the Packard Street hospital was overcrowded and inadequate. Dr Kirkland was the chairman of a medical planning committee to coordinate service and civilian hospital needs and to ensure emergency supplies. However, their supplies were drawn on for action elsewhere, leaving Darwin very short.

New equipment for the new Darwin Hospital did not arrive and, when the hospital was opened on 2 February 1942, Dr Kirkland borrowed beds from the American army and a mobile X-ray unit from Larrakeyah Barracks. He did not have adequate staff for the disaster on 19 February when the hospital was attacked. Two large bombs damaged a ward and six other bombs fell near the hospital, breaking windows. Flying debris holed the roof in several places. Most civilian casualties were taken to Darwin Hospital while army ambulances took the wounded from the harbour and Royal Australian Air Force base to army hospitals at Bagot and Berrimah. Dr Kirkland was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for his work that day.

After the bombing, the army took command and the civilian nurses were sent out with evacuees and patients. Dr Kirkland was absorbed into the army on 6 July 1942, and was retained at Fortress Hospital (Darwin hospital) to oversee quarantine matters and to provide care for the leprosy patients on Channel Island. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel but remained in charge at Darwin for the duration of the war. Early in 1943, he arranged for Catholic Sisters to staff the hospital on Channel Island and continued to care for these patients himself.

Dr Kirkland was released from the army in September 1945 and at his own request was transferred to the staff of the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine at the University of Sydney. He visited the Northern Territory several times as an adviser to post-war staff. He also visited Papua New Guinea with a team to review the hospital needs of that country. On top of that, he became a consultant on leprosy to the special lazaret at Prince Henry Hospital, New South Wales.

He was ill for a few months before his premature death on 20 July 1952 at the age of 54 years. His wife Ruth, a nursing sister whom he married at Darwin on 21 January 1933, survived him, dying in Scotland on 26 January 1986. Their daughter, Ruth Jeannette Anne (later Mrs Hosie) was born in Darwin, 9 June 1936, and lives in Scotland.

Dr Kirkland was known as a kindly person with pleasant personality who did his best to help the outback missions. Kirkland Crescent commemorates him in Darwin.

Family Information; Department of Health Records, AA, Darwin; School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine Records, Sydney.

ELLEN KETTLE, *Vol 1*.

KITE, JIM: see [ERLIKILYIKA](#)

KLEIN, JOHN: see [VERBURG, EDWIN](#)

KNIGHT, JOHN GEORGE (c1825–1892), architect and administrator, was born in London, England, in about 1825 the son of John Knight, stone and marble merchant. He trained as an engineer and architect before arriving in Melbourne in February 1852. During the following two decades, he achieved some fame as one of Victoria's best-known architects and as an organiser of international exhibitions. He was married on 21 April 1853 at St Paul's Anglican Cathedral in Melbourne to Alice Bertrand.

In the early 1870s reports of gold attracted Knight to the Northern Territory. This was a time when the South Australian government was taking steps to diversify the Territory's administration and make it more professional. In September 1873, Knight was appointed Secretary and Accountant to the Resident in Palmerston, with additional duties as Architect and Supervisor of Works. His appointment annoyed those Adelaide politicians such as Ebenezer Ward who believed that a South Australian ought to have been chosen. In November 1875, he was retrenched as Supervisor of Works and his salary cut. He resigned and returned to Melbourne but in January 1876 was back in the Northern Territory as Goldfields Warden. In April 1880, he became Clerk of the Court at Palmerston, and soon after was also made Deputy Sheriff, Clerk of the Licensing Bench, Curator of the Property of Convicts, Registrar, Accountant, Official Receiver and Returning Officer. In 1887, he was Commissioner for the Northern Territory at the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition and in 1888 did the same job at the Melbourne International Exhibition. During 1889, he acted as Government Resident and Judge. From the early 1880s onward, he was responsible for the design of some of Palmerston's more substantial buildings. These included the police station and court house, part of Fannie Bay Goal, the front façade of Brown's Mart, the Town Hall and his own home overlooking the port, an imposing residence known as 'Knight's Folly'.

He was permanently appointed Resident in July 1890. Despite his long Territory experience, his administration was ineffectual. He was unable to rise above the petty arguments among Palmerston's white residents and saw former friends turn against him. He was, in any case, only in office for eighteen months before he died on 10 January 1892. His wife, who was then living in London, three sons and two daughters, survived him. His estate was valued at 800 Pounds.

Knight was a genial man with special talents as an organiser. Probably his most important contribution to the Territory was as an architect, with his surviving buildings in Darwin being viewed as significant components of the Territory's built heritage. They were also on the Commonwealth Government's Register of the National Estate. His Victorian friends were puzzled that he chose to 'waste' his abilities in remote Palmerston but he enjoyed his role there as a powerful local figure. Despite his unhappy period as Resident, he was for most of his life very popular among those who knew him, being described as a 'very nice fellow, a real gentleman, and a jolly nice chap'.

Australian Heritage Commission, *The Heritage of Australia*, 1981; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; National Trust of Australia (NT), *A Walk Through Historical Darwin*, nd; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 15 January 1892; *ADB*, vol 5.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 1*.

KNUCKEY, RICHARD RANDALL (1842–1914), grocer's assistant, surveyor and miner, was born at Saint Stithians, south of Redruth, Cornwall, England, on 23 October 1842, the son of Richard and Persis Knuckey and one of their eight children. He arrived with his family in South Australia in January 1849 aboard *William Money*.

Knuckey was educated at Burra and Kadina in a mining area and worked initially as a grocer's assistant at Kadina until he joined the Survey Department in 1866. He was mentioned as a Government Surveyor of Clare, South Australia, in 1868 and 1869 when he joined [G W Goyder](#)'s expedition to the Northern Territory to survey Palmerston. Knuckey was one of Goyder's six Senior Surveyors in 1869 and made significant efforts in this major survey task and those who contributed to it.

Following on the Palmerston (Darwin) survey and that of the Hundreds and Sections in Darwin's hinterland in 1869, Knuckey was given the task of contributing to Section A of the Overland Telegraph Line Survey in 1871 and 1872 in the vicinity of the South Australian border with the Northern Territory. Knuckey discovered and named the Dalhousie Springs in this area in 1871. The completion of this work in August 1872 provided the telegraphic link to Darwin and by cable to Java and the outside world. Knuckey then continued as Overseer of the Overland Telegraph Construction in 1874. From Daly Waters he searched for and located William Nation, an overlander, after Leonard Elvy, who had been travelling over from Queensland with cattle, reported Nation missing at Daly Waters in May 1874. An excellent bushman, Knuckey set off and located the remains of Nation in June that year and named the Nation Ranges after the deceased. The Ranges now bear the name Yiyinti. He also applied the name Rosie Creek to an unnamed creek running into the Gulf of Carpentaria in that area after his elder sister Rosina Richards, *nee* Knuckey. The finding of Nation's last resting place was always regarded as a splendid achievement by Knuckey in the Territory. It was an example of his skills as an excellent bushman and surveyor.

In 1876, [Charles Todd](#) selected Knuckey to oversee a further Overland Telegraph link between Port Augusta and Eucla, a distance of 1 224 kilometres. After this work, he was appointed to the position of Inspector of Posts and Telegraphs Service in October 1888. In 1889, he supervised for a year a telegraph line construction between Narromine and Peak Hill in New South Wales. He then tried his fortune in the Western Australian goldfields but

returned to South Australia in 1911 without the mining success he had hoped to achieve. The north attracted him again and he went with a team up his old line to Powell Creek in 1914.

Knuckey died, aged 71 years, at Miss Hill's Private Hospital in Adelaide on 14 June 1914. Knuckey's Lagoon near Darwin, streets in Darwin and Alice Springs, Knuckey Bluff at Urapunga and Mount Knuckey at Tobermorey all bear his name. Rosie Creek bears the name of his sister, Rosina Richards. Knuckey had a photographic memory and having crossed a stretch of country would never forget it. The Cornish emigrant learnt through the Australian desert and bush locations to appreciate their mysteries and contribute in a major way as a surveyor to their development.

D E Kelsey, *The Shackle: A Story of the Far North Australian Bush*, 1975; M J Kerr, *The Surveyors: The Story of the Founding of Darwin*, 1971; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; P Taylor, *End of Silence*, 1980; *South Australian Chronicle*, 20 June 1914; Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory Records; South Australian Archives, 140/46, GRG Report of Section A.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

KOOLAMURINEE: see **SECRETARY, BOBBY**

KRAMER, ERNST EUGEN (1889–1984), evangelist, colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society and unordained freelance preacher, was born in Basel, Switzerland, on 10 May 1889. His family were members of the Swiss Reformed Church. In his youth, however, religion did not run deep with him. He immigrated to Australia a few years before the outbreak of the First World War. As he had nowhere to go on his arrival in Adelaide, a Christian family took him into their home. Here his faith was rekindled, so that he committed his life to Christ. He felt he had a calling to the people of the outback, especially to the Aborigines who were so pitifully neglected.

Some time in 1912 Kramer married Euphemia Buchanan in Victoria in a small Gippsland town. There were four children of the marriage: Colin, Mary, Faith and Grace.

In 1913, he left Adelaide on a ministerial tour along the lower Murray, then onto Port Augusta, west to Tarcoola, and along the country east of the Flinders Ranges to Oodnadatta. In 1916, his pastoral duties took him to Port Wakefield, Point Pearce, Quorn, Leigh Creek and Farina. He set out again in May 1919 with his wife and two children in a closed van drawn by eight donkeys, bound for Alice Springs. Several goats tethered behind the van provided the family with milk. An influenza epidemic was raging in the outback at the time. They reached the Alice safely, however, on 16 December 1919. Mrs Kramer is said to have become the seventh white woman to settle in Alice Springs.

In the Alice, the Kramers invested in four blocks of land and built their own family home. One of Kramer's first local excursions into the 'bush' was to the Arltunga goldfields. In mid-June 1920, the Kramer family visited the **Strehlows** at Hermannsburg for 11 days to receive some tuition in the Aranda language. In 1924, Kramer built a small 'tabernacle' on one of his town blocks that he named 'Ebenezer'. It was built of cement blocks (the first made in central Australia), had a straw roof and accommodated a bell on a twin pole. Here he gathered a group of Aborigines for worship and instruction. His Aboriginal helper was Mickey Dow-Dow. During the Christmas period of 1925, the family was again at Hermannsburg.

From mid-June to mid-August 1928, Kramer made an extensive camel journey into the western desert, almost as far as the Western Australia border, ministering to Aboriginal people and any white station owners. His only companion was James Huston Edgar, an outstanding pioneer missionary to China and Tibet, a man with a powerful physique, a great traveller, a born explorer, a gifted linguist, and a member of the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute. They travelled by camel from Alice Springs to Erldunda, Opperinna, Lake Wilson, Mt Hinckley, Butler's Dome, Ayers Rock, Lake Amadeus, Middleton Ponds and back to the Alice.

The Kramer home became the first supply depot for British and Foreign Bible Society (B&FBS) literature in the Northern Territory. Although the Kramers at first worked independently under the name of 'The Australian Caravan Mission' they were later supported by the Aborigines Friends Association in Adelaide.

When they left the Northern Territory in October 1934, after 15 years of evangelistic service, they flew on a family visit overseas. Upon their return, they took up residence in Melbourne where Kramer became a deputationist for the B&FBS. Their last place of residence was Adelaide. Kramer wrote a booklet about his experiences entitled *Australian Caravan Mission to Bush People and Aborigines: Journeys in the Far North and Centre of Australia*. He died in the Royal Adelaide Hospital on 15 February 1984.

E E Kramer, *Australian Caravan Mission to Bush people and Aborigines*, nd; M L Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, 1965; personal interviews; P A Scherer, *Select Letters from the Outback*, 1994; M Terry, *Untold Miles*, 1928.

P A SCHERER, Vol 3.

KRIEWALDT, (RUDOLF) MARTIN CHEMNITZ (1900–1960), lawyer, scholar and judge, was born on 26 October 1900 at Lobethal, South Australia, the son of Emil Paul Gerhard Kriewaldt, who was born in Wisconsin, the United States, in 1870 and came to South Australia as a Pastor of the Lutheran Church. Kriewaldt's Lutheran background was reflected in his personality and he regarded himself as 'a son of the manse'. His brother became a Lutheran minister and later Chairman of the Koonibba Aboriginal Mission Board in South Australia.

His early years were spent in South Australia until his father's death in 1916 when his American mother decided to return to the United States with her two sons. Kriewaldt lived in San Francisco and studied at the University of California from 1918 to 1920. During vacations, he worked at the Western Meat Company. He was very happy in San Francisco but transferred in 1920 to the University of Wisconsin, where he graduated Bachelor of Arts.

His academic distinctions included membership of Phi Beta Kappa and Delta Sigma Rho honorary scholastic fraternities.

Kriewaldt returned to Adelaide in 1923 where he completed his legal studies at the University of Adelaide, graduating Bachelor of Laws in 1925 and being admitted to the South Australian bar in 1926. Unlike his immediate predecessor on the bench in Darwin, **T A Wells**, he was a leader at the bar in Adelaide with an established reputation as a diligent practitioner and a conscientious enquirer into the operation of the legal system and its social effects. For 15 years, he was Independent Lecturer at the Law School of the University of Adelaide, where he lectured mainly in Property, and he was a foundation member of the Australian Law Schools Association. During the Second World War, he served in the Legal Branch of the Royal Australian Air Force as a Squadron Leader between 1942 and 1946, spending some time on duty in New Guinea and participating in Japanese war crimes trials. His first marriage was in Adelaide on 5 June 1925 to Mary Finlayson. It was dissolved on 31 January 1947 and he married again on 5 February 1948 Edith M, daughter of O E G Trudinger, well known in Adelaide commercial circles.

In 1951 Kriewaldt was appointed the Acting Judge of the Northern Territory Supreme Court because of the illness of Judge Wells. After Wells's retirement in 1952, Kriewaldt was appointed Judge and took up his duties in April 1952. After he was sworn in by the Administrator, **F J S Wise**, he was welcomed to his court by the Darwin legal fraternity, which included the Crown Law Officer, **Keith Edmunds**, who used the occasion to speak of Wells's bravery in sticking to his post during the air raids of early 1942. In June 1953, Kriewaldt was awarded a Coronation Medal.

During the years he spent in the Territory Kriewaldt although 'very much a professor manque' worked as hard as Wells, enduring the same difficulties, except he was more reflective about his decisions and upon the circumstances surrounding the cases of Aborigines confronting the criminal justice system. Kriewaldt went back over Wells's judgements (largely kept in shorthand) trying to find reasons for the larger number of acquittals in murder cases tried by Wells compared with those cases he had tried. Kriewaldt heard 23 murder cases between 1951 and 1956 of which four were proved, with eight reduced to manslaughter, one jury disagreed, one not continued, one insane and eight acquitted. Wells heard 24 murder cases between 1944 and 1950 of which three were proved, 16 acquitted, four reduced to manslaughter and one not continued. In his nine years as Acting Judge and Judge Kriewaldt presided over 39 murder trials of which 24 involved Aborigines.

Kriewaldt concluded that acquittals of Aborigines on murder charges came about because of the white jurymen's belief that he should not concern himself with crimes committed by blacks. He saw this attitude as typical of a white society living in close association with Aborigines as in Alice Springs where the acquittal rate was greater than in Darwin for cases heard by both Wells and Kriewaldt. It was Kriewaldt's view that a jury should be free of bias but should be able to tell if witnesses were telling the truth. He perceived, though, that this was a task beyond the powers of a white jury in Aboriginal cases where a high degree of mutual unintelligibility prevailed.

In the 1940s, the problem of white juries empanelled to try Aborigines on murder charges (jury trials were abolished, except for murder, in the Northern Territory in 1921) was seen at large as a violation of the principle of trial by equals. Kriewaldt denied the validity of such a principle since 'equal' was a vague term and juries elsewhere were not composed of the social 'equals' of the defendants. Pressure was applied to the Administrator for the creation of 'Native Courts' and legislation was enacted but never promulgated since the coexistence of two racially divided legal jurisdictions was repugnant to the executive charged with the guardianship of Australia's democratic processes. Both Wells and Kriewaldt were opposed to such a duality and the latter put his view in 1958, when summing up in the case of Leo's murder of Namagu in Borroloola. The white man, he said, 'had decided to use the law as a civilising medium on the aborigines. The only alternative would mean giving up attempts to assimilate the natives and relegating them to live on reservations.'

The first murder trials Kriewaldt heard involved white men. Two Czech migrants aged 19 and 20 had brutally murdered a Darwin taxi driver in order to take his money. They were found guilty and sentenced to death by Kriewaldt on 13 June 1952 and hanged at Fannie Bay Gaol on 7 August 1952. The judge was shocked by the executions and his opposition to capital punishment was strengthened by this experience and precipitated the anxiety he felt when he had to deal with another case of homicide not involving Aborigines. Terence Stapleton, aged 23, who had a history of mental illness, after a drinking bout shot dead Constable Condon at Katherine. After his trial Stapleton was sentenced to death by Kriewaldt on 7 August 1952 but the judge felt constrained to give his reasons for his decision in Stapleton's case to the Commonwealth Attorney General, Senator J A Spicer. He stated his mind was preoccupied by the fact that the two men he had most recently tried had just been hanged. But he explained that he had attempted to discount the effect of this earlier case, his 'instinctive desire for vengeance when a police officer is killed' and his opposition to capital punishment. After two further trials Stapleton was acquitted on grounds of insanity on 6 May 1953 when Kriewaldt committed him to jail 'during the pleasure of the Governor-General' under Section 381 of the Criminal Law Consolidation Act.

The problem of applying the law in Aboriginal society was evident in cases where Kriewaldt presided in Alice Springs during 1953. Three Aborigines, Charlie, Captain and Tiger, were charged with the murder of Selby at Areyonga during what the press termed a 'killing corroboree'. Kriewaldt considered this was the sole occasion in his experience where tribal custom prevailed over individual motive. He thought Charlie had little idea that he was breaking the white man's law but Kriewaldt decided he had to be punished as an example to the other Aborigines at Areyonga and averred that 'wherever white people impose their civilisation upon coloured peoples, the white man's law must prevail.'

Aborigines were not always defendants. In September 1955 the Chambers brothers, Jack and Colin, who were part owners of Eva Downs Station, mistreated a group of four Aborigines. Jim and Dolly Ross, Isaac and Munroe were assaulted by the Chambers with stockwhips. When Dolly Ross gave her testimony, she lowered her dress to

display the marks on her back and the scar on her breast. ‘Those fellas’, she said, ‘flogged me all day along big Anthony road, all through gate and in yard...’ Kriewaldt regarded as ‘quite fantastic’ the defence proposition that this pathetic band of middle aged and very young Aborigines could have attempted to attack the mounted men. Kriewaldt sentenced the Chambers each to six months’ jail and fines of 400 Pounds after a hearing that extended over several days. Reports of the Eva Downs case were widely circulated in the press in Australia and elsewhere. In the United States, a syndicated article by Robert Ruark brought a batch of sympathetic letters to Kriewaldt from Canada and the United States applauding his decision.

The gulf between Aborigines and whites was exemplified in an echo of Judge Wells’s opinion of Aboriginal testimony when in March 1958 the Stipendiary Magistrate in Darwin, Mr Dodds, asserted, ‘Some aborigines are accomplished liars... They don’t show the same reflexes as a white man when they are lying.’ Kriewaldt did not share his colleague’s sentiment, preferring to explain how in the absence of competent interpreters there was no way of testing the truth of the evidence given by an Aboriginal witness. But Kriewaldt betrayed his bias when he doubted the capacity of Pidgin English or ‘any other aboriginal language’ to convey the formal language of Anglo Australian law across the linguistic and cultural barriers between Aborigines and whites. Like his predilection for wearing the full forensic regalia of wig and gown under the most trying conditions (unlike his predecessor Wells), Kriewaldt seems to have relied on the trappings of the law and its archaic language to reinforce the appearance of one culture in contact with another.

In the divorce jurisdiction, Kriewaldt adjudicated in the matter of Eacott v. Eacott in 1957 on the question of the liability of a father after divorce to support his 18-year-old daughter at university. He reasoned that a father with a small income might not have been disposed to support his student child and would have expected the child to maintain herself if there had been no divorce. Accordingly, the divorced father had no obligation to pay his daughter’s maintenance as a student. This decision reflects the social conditioning Kriewaldt underwent in the United States. He had worked to get himself through his own course and doubtless thought the university student in the Eacott case should do the same. Sometimes a shaft of dry wit would penetrate Kriewaldt’s grave demeanour when in the divorce proceedings of Barden v. Barden he referred to the notion of ‘fair wear and tear’ in marriage.

In Alice Springs in 1957, Kriewaldt heard the case of the Crown v. Kunoth that involved part Aborigines and the rape of a young girl near Utopia Station. Because the prosecution had great difficulty in getting the principal witness to give evidence, Kriewaldt took the unusual step of helping the young girl overcome her shyness and reluctance, persuading her to speak of the circumstances of her alleged rape.

Again in Alice Springs in late 1958, Kriewaldt’s most celebrated case was heard when he dealt with the artist **Albert Namatjira**’s appeal against his conviction for the supply of alcohol to Aborigines whose status as ‘wards’ made it an offence to do this. One of Australia’s best legal advocates, Maurice Ashkranasy, QC of Melbourne, argued against Namatjira’s conviction. He put all possible questions of constitutional and administrative law to prove the invalidity of the Welfare Ordinance which declared some 15 000 Aboriginal ‘wards’ prohibited from access to alcohol as well as the facts of Namatjira’s artless yet covert attempt to supply alcohol to ‘wards’. Kriewaldt meticulously rebutted Ashkranasy’s arguments and his decision to refuse Namatjira’s appeal was upheld by the High Court. Although compelled in law to act as he did, Kriewaldt expressed his sympathy with Namatjira’s plight, seeing him as a man torn between two worlds. Kriewaldt considered a fine inappropriate since the alcohol supplied by Namatjira had contributed to drunken brawls leading to the murder of an Aboriginal woman. But Kriewaldt reduced Namatjira’s original sentence of six months to three months in the knowledge that it was unlikely that Namatjira would have to serve his term in jail. At this trial Kriewaldt expressed his attitude to Aborigines, saying that, ‘All my life the duty of Christians towards heathens and the duty of the more fortunate towards the less fortunate has been imposed upon me... legislation for the protection and advancement of aborigines is essential if they are to escape extinction.’

Kriewaldt’s clear distinction between what he regarded as the heathen Aborigines and Christian whites flowed into his decision in the Crown versus Wadderecarri (Waderwarri) when he ruled inadmissible as evidence the dying declaration by an Aborigine since he could hold no belief in life after death as in Christian dogma.

Although Kriewaldt’s cases involving Aborigines provide dramatic interest and are important in understanding how white society established its authority in the Northern Territory. He contributed in over 300 cases to the body of settled law involving bankruptcy, maritime disputes, mining disputes, contracts, motoring offences, road construction, jury lists, company legislation, neglected children, stock routes and even the disposal of night soil in Darwin.

During his term of office in Darwin Kriewaldt deplored the lack of access to a good law library as well as the difficulty in getting literature on current anthropology. He was to some extent able to overcome these obstacles by conducting a wide-ranging correspondence with legal and other authorities.

On 20 May 1960, Kriewaldt became ill with suspected hepatitis during Supreme Court sittings in Alice Springs. But he recovered enough to dispose of remaining matters on 21 and 23 May. He was flown to Darwin, where he was taken to hospital and conducted Supreme Court hearings from his bed to complete a divorce case and two chambers matters on 27 and 28 May. Accompanied by his wife and two children, he was flown to Adelaide for urgent surgery but he died in the Repatriation General Hospital at Springbank on Saturday night 11 June 1960. He was buried in Adelaide’s Centennial Park Cemetery on 14 June 1960 after a funeral service at the Flinders Street Lutheran Church. He was survived by his widow and five children: three, Robert, Michael and Rosemary from his first marriage, and two, Martin and Helen from his second marriage.

Kriewaldt had a keen sense of social responsibility and had played a part in the setting up of the Poor People’s Legal Assistance Scheme in Adelaide and had been active in church affairs. From his years in the United States,

he sustained a life long interest in baseball and had been the patron of baseball associations in South Australia and the Northern Territory.

For Kriewaldt's scholarly disposition, the Northern Territory Supreme Court was an ideal arena in which he could concern himself with all aspects of the law at a manageable level. Also, he had the opportunity of seeing that justice was done and the chance to adumbrate the principles of law involved in his decisions, a privilege not generally available to jurists in other jurisdictions.

Who's Who in Australia, 1959; G Sawyer, 'Judge Martin Kriewaldt' in *Adelaide Law Review*, vol 1, 1960–1962; *Advertiser*, 13 June 1960; *Australian Law Journal*, vol 34, 23 June 1960; *Herald*, 13 June 1960; *New Zealand Truth*, 21 December 1955; *Northern Standard*, 4 April 1952, 13 June 1952, 8 August 1952, 7 May 1953, 5 November 1953 & 12 November 1953; *Northern Territory News*, 20 March 1958, 3 April 1958, 24 December 1958 & 24 May 1960; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 December 1956; Australian Archives, MP 16/1; National Library of Australia, MS 5169/8.

PETER ELDER, *Vol 2.*

KWALBA, also known as 'POLICEMAN JACK' (dates of Kwalba's birth and death are not known). He was born in Central Australia, into the Inteera totemic group. He was the son of Nakinkaka from Imanda and of the Ulboluna totemic group and his second wife, Totumeraka, a Knuarea woman from Patatuna. Kwalba had two brothers, Inditjalbuka and Ilkalita. His two wives, Liesha and Kitty Benham were both half-caste women and his children Tim Armstrong and Chinaman Ted became well-known figures in their own right.

Kwalba's name is assured a place in history because of his connection with **William Willshire** and the Tempe Downs murders of 1891. The extent of Kwalba's involvement is not clear and what has been documented about the massacre is an amalgamation of many fragmented stories and anecdotes. But Kwalba is representative of those who lived in an era of conflict and an era where both Europeans and Aborigines had little understanding of each other's ways. On 22 February 1891, shots were heard at Tempe Downs. Constable William Willshire, who had earlier gained a reputation for his disdain for the 'Natives', led a punitive party to Irbnankara. Kwalba was reputedly among this party. **Francis Gillen**, then magistrate of the Alice Springs court and later a well-known anthropologist, sought to bring Willshire to justice. This act was much to the satisfaction of the Aranda people who had perceived Willshire as the arch villain for many years. This gratitude was demonstrated in a ceremonial festival in Alice Springs in 1896.

It appears that Kwalba's and the part of the other Aborigines in the punitive party was confined to following orders and there is no evidence that Kwalba had turned against his own people. His story, or what is now known of it, highlights the plight of the many who were torn between two cultures.

Strehlow Research Foundation Newsletter; no 6, 1983 & no 7, 1984, Biographical index files, AIAS, Canberra.

ROBYN MAYNARD, *Vol 1.*

KWONG SUE DUK (SUN MOW LOONG) (1853–1929), was the youngest of three sons born in the Kwong ancestral village of Wong Nai Chuen, Liang Pui, in the county of Toishan, Guangdong Province, China. The family name, Kwong, was originally bestowed on an Imperial army general some 25 generations earlier, in the year 960, by the Emperor of the Sung Dynasty. General Kwong was sent to the south of China to help establish unity across the country, and this family line continued to produce Imperial scholars and government officials in Southern China.

As a youth, Kwong Sue Duk first ventured abroad to seek an early fortune in the California gold rush. (The California goldfields were known as Gum Shan or 'Gold Mountain'.) After several years, he earned enough money for his family and passage home and soon returned to Toishan, China. He then embarked on an education including Traditional Chinese Medicine. In 1874, he married his first wife (Gee An Gow). Within a year, and after the birth of their first son (Kong Sing), Kwong heard of the new riches to be found in the gold rush of Australia (Sun Gum Shan or 'New Gold Mountain') and took a ship to Cooktown, North Queensland in 1875. This became the first of many journeys between Canton and Australia as he gradually established business, family, home and an affinity for this foreign and harsh land.

Kwong Sue Duk returned to China after several years and, in 1879, Kwong Sue Duk's wife bore them a daughter (Jon Gee). In 1882, he set sail once more—this time arriving in the prospering township of Southport in the Northern Territory. Kwong eventually established a successful general trade store and real estate enterprise operating under his business name, Sun Mow Loong. Southport and the surrounding goldfields boomed and Kwong's businesses had a turnover in trade of 25 000 Pounds annually. He became well respected and influential amongst the Chinese and European communities and was often consulted over matters concerning the Chinese. Kwong assisted many other Chinese to migrate from the Toishan area to Australia and helped them to find work.

In 1884, he obtained his naturalisation certificate in Australia. He also married a second wife, Chun Ngor Gwei, who was with her mistress visiting Australia. After moving to Palmerston (the name given to early Darwin) in March 1887, Kwong married a third wife, Yuen Yuk Lau who was brought to Australia by Kwong's friends and relatives. Several months later, he travelled to China where another daughter (Toy Mee) was conceived by his first wife. Kwong then returned to Australia to tend to his thriving businesses, and this time bought a number of rental properties, always under the business name of Sun Mow Loong. In the year 1888, Kwong's third wife gave birth to a daughter, Ly Kin, the first of her nine children.

He returned to China in 1889, and subsequently brought out his first wife and their three children to Palmerston, where she later bore them another daughter, Sum Gwai. Kwong and his first three wives built and supported the

family together, and in the next 12-year period 11 more children were born—Thomas, Edward, Leslie, Elsie, Fred, Lim, Maizie, William, Kathleen, May and Lily. By 1902, the Kwong children totalled 16.

Despite the rugged conditions of the remote Northern Territory, Kwong prospered well, purchasing rental properties and at least five large gold mining leases. This wealth appeared to be a target for derision, and a court case in 1889 revealed a clear attempt to frame him for embezzlement of a stolen cheque. He embarked on several projects, including an experiment in the processing of opium, for which he built a solidly secured building of stone in Cavenagh Street. The opium experiment was unsuccessful, and in 1894, Kwong sold his share of the building. This series of five stores survived three major cyclones and a bombing raid, and was later known as the ‘Stonehouses’ or the ‘Sue Wah Chin’ building. In 1894, he bought two large gold mining leases at Union and Lady Alice reefs, but the production from these fields would soon begin to wane.

In January 1897, a tropical cyclone damaged much of the town, including Kwong’s properties. (After the storm, his third wife gave birth to his sixth son, Lim, and the family often referred to him as the ‘cyclone baby’). His first wife had difficulty in adjusting to such a harsh and foreign land and in 1898 Kwong travelled with her, and their four children, for a brief visit to Canton. Unfortunately, all except Kwong chose to remain in China—never to return to Australia. During this trip to China, in 1899, Kwong met and married his fourth wife (Wong Kwei Far), who had come to Canton from Beijing (Peking) to visit her former mistress. He returned with her to Palmerston.

The cyclone of 1897 and the dwindling economy of the Territory had left Kwong Sue Duk in a poor financial state. He sought relief in the growing economy of the Cairns region (North Queensland) and in late 1902 arrived alone in Cairns. He was given a two-storey building to live in, rent-free, by a man who still owed him 3 500 Pounds. The man then gave Kwong additional money so he could send for his families, and in time wives two, three and four and all their children arrived in Cairns by ship.

The family set up a store and business under the name of Kwong Sue Duk Kee, next to the Sze Yap temple in Sachs Street, Cairns, where he sold mostly Chinese goods. In the back of the store, he had an office where he dispensed herbal remedies for such common ailments as indigestion, colds, and other minor complaints. Displaying their faith and respect for him, patients, both Chinese and European, called him ‘Dr Kwong’. Whilst in Cairns, five more children, Harry, Annie, Maud, Victor and Kong Won were born to his third and fourth wives, but Kong Won died at an early age. Kwong wanted to compensate for this loss and later adopted Lawrence and his sister, Violet.

Kwong Sue Duk’s family were from the Sze Yap (‘Four Districts’) region of Guangdong, and this group of Chinese lived in the southeastern segment of the Cairns Chinatown, whilst people from the ‘Chong Shan Districts’ who were more numerous lived in Sachs Street at the other end of the enclave. The Chinese community in Cairns earned some acceptance and respect from the European population and Kwong Sue Duk in particular was well thought of by both the European and Chinese communities and he acted as consul for his countrymen. European-Chinese race relations in Cairns, since well before this period, appeared unusually good compared with the southern centres, and seemed to largely revolve around the mutual economic dependence that quickly developed between the two groups.

For the Kwong descendants, networks and relationships with a number of Chinese families developed across northern Queensland as the children of Kwong Sue Duk began to marry and start their own families. Traditional Chinese wedding ceremonies for his daughters were a curiosity to Europeans at the time. However, Kwong Sue Duk had other plans for his sons, and as they began to reach marriageable age, he looked to China to select suitable wives for them. In late 1907, the whole family (except two married daughters) boarded a ship for Hong Kong. In 1909, Ida, the youngest of the 24 children, was born in Hong Kong. She and another sister, Annie, are the two surviving members of his original immediate family today.

Kwong Sue Duk returned to settle in Townsville, Queensland in 1910. In 1913 most of the family followed, as they felt more at home in Australia and Kwong established another successful Chinese herbal medicine practice in Little Flinders Street.

In 1917, Kwong was now 64 years of age, and another major move was made. He was selective about whom his growing daughters should marry, and to find more eligible bachelors he looked to Melbourne, the thriving capital of Victoria, where a large Chinese population existed. His second wife remained in northern Queensland where most of her children were now married and working, and Kwong Sue Duk took wives three and four and the younger children to Melbourne. The Chung Wah Society found temporary lodgings for them and eventually the family moved into a three-storey building at 296 Russell Street. Kwong Sue Duk continued his herbal medicine practice in Melbourne and country Victoria, including the townships of Ballarat and Bendigo.

Whilst Kwong and most of his family now considered themselves essentially Australian, some of his offspring began their own interesting lives abroad. In 1914, number six son, Lim (the Darwin cyclone child) went on to Columbia and Harvard Universities. He joined China’s diplomatic service and was soon posted as Chinese Consul General to the Philippines, and then San Francisco. Later, as bank president, he was instrumental in converting the Bank of Canton to an internationally significant company. In 1925 Kwong’s youngest son, Victor, followed his brother’s footsteps to Harvard University. He served as Second Secretary to the Chinese Embassy in Washington and San Francisco, then many years with the United Nations General Assembly.

Whilst the children were establishing their own lives, wives two, three and four moved to stay with them, and Kwong Sue Duk also travelled to visit them all. In 1925, and at 72 years old, he visited Lim in Shanghai, then third wife and family in Hong Kong. In 1927, he returned to Melbourne to visit sons and daughters and their families, then retired to live in Townsville, where many of his eldest children lived. He continued with his herbal medicine practice from Townsville but on 17 February 1929, after a short illness, he died at the age of 76.

For a ‘man of Family’, this peaceful end to life, amongst his many children and grandchildren, was consummate. They remember him for his quiet, fair, but strict discipline at home where he taught by example the personal and

community virtues aspired to in age-old Chinese philosophies. He balanced a strong sense of Chinese tradition in domestic life with an appreciation for Western etiquette in his energetic and astute business life in Australia.

Kwong Sue Duk was remembered as a kind, honest and vibrant man, whom friends say was always a gentleman. Almost a legend in Australian immigration history, the story of Kwong Sue Duk with his wives and children has woven an unusual and colourful tapestry into the fabric of Australia's recent history. His descendants in 1995 numbered around 780 and included five generations.

Nui Bo Kwong, personal communication; Nui Bo & Victor Kwong, 'Biographical Sketch of Kwong Sue Duk', 1982; C R May, 'The Chinese in the Cairns District, 1876–1920'; H Reynolds (ed), *Race Relations in North Queensland*, 1978; C R May, *Topsawyers*, 1984; E Toohey, *Kie Daudai*, 1994.

WARREN LEE LONG and ROSALIE HIAH, Vol 3.

KYLE-LITTLE, SYDNEY (SYD) (1918–), was born on 8 November 1918 at Darwin Hospital, son of Arthur Sydney Hamilton Little and Florence, *nee* Goodman. Many years later Syd changed his surname to Kyle-Little. His father joined the Northern Territory Mounted Police about 1913 and served at Rankine River, Roper River, Katherine, Pine Creek. He resigned on 31 January 1917. That year in Darwin he married Florence Goodman, 'a real Territorian'. Florence's father was the head lighthouse keeper at Point Charles lighthouse. Her sister Margaret married Wilfred Widdup, the Head Gaoler at Fannie Bay gaol; her older brother George managed Humpty Doo Station for a time and her younger brother Cecil later owned Annaburroo (which is now the 'Bark Hut').

The Little family left Darwin soon after the birth of Syd's second brother and settled in Brisbane, although Syd spent holidays in the Territory with his uncle George, helping out at Humpty Doo station. In 1937 Kyle-Little returned to Darwin as part of the Darwin Mobile Force. He had joined the regular Army in Brisbane and then transferred to Darwin where he served from 1937 until the outbreak of war in 1939. After the beginning of the Second World War Syd Kyle-Little was transferred south as an instructor for the Australian Imperial Force but was later returned to Darwin. He was serving as Warrant Officer Class Two, stationed at Parap, with Third Field Regiment during the first bombing raid on Darwin by the Japanese. He spent some time in Darwin and later served in New Guinea, New Britain Island and Borneo (Kalimantan).

Towards the end of the war, while in a military hospital at Concord in Sydney, to which he had been evacuated with wounds, Kyle-Little read a newspaper advertisement for Cadet Patrol Officers. He applied and was interviewed by **E P Chinnery**, who suggested that because of his family connections he might prefer to work in the Northern Territory rather than New Guinea.

Syd Kyle-Little returned to the Territory in time to see the end of the Second World War (although Jeremy Long gives this date as June 1946) and began work as a cadet patrol officer with the Native Affairs Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. He had attended the basic cadet's training for patrol officers; the specialised course under **A P Elkin** at the University of Sydney covering anthropology, criminal law and tropical medicine.

In the dry season of 1946 Kyle-Little began work in the Northern Territory in earnest. He sailed from Goulburn Island on a mission lugger that hove to off Entrance Island at the mouth of the Liverpool River. There they launched a dugout and with the assistance of two Aborigines from the mission, paddled to shore, and landed at Juda Point. Here Kyle-Little met Oondabund, a man he was to immortalise in Territory writing and with whom he maintained a lifelong friendship. Together with Oondabund the party travelled overland to Oenpelli in the first of a series of long foot patrols, he undertook in Arnhem Land to apprehend killers in 'tribal murders'. He undertook further patrols in the Maranboy and Mataranka areas and made another trip to Alice Springs before beginning a study of Aboriginal workers in the buffalo industry. When the cases came to court Kyle-Little was criticised by the judiciary for interfering in police matters. (In turn, Kyle-Little was himself critical of the judiciary whom he considered biased against the Welfare Branch and prejudiced in favour of the police.) Kyle-Little commented, 'In all the murder cases I never ever used handcuffs or chains as did the Police, my prisoners walked in with me, and I never lost any prisoners. This was a sore point with some members of the Northern Territory Police Force'.

In September 1948 Kyle-Little patrolled the Victoria River district and then later in the year conducted a horseback patrol, from Borroloola, of the Gulf district. Early in the next year, he was back in Arnhem Land pursuing the murderer of **Raiwala**, who had been **Donald Thomson**'s assistant in the 1936/1937 fieldwork and Sergeant in the North Australia Observer Unit 1942/1943. Raiwala was discovered alive; this fact in itself typical of the misinformation that was current about Arnhem Land, but which again attracted more criticism of the patrol officers.

Kyle-Little moved on to pursue a project he had been recommending for some time, the permanent stationing of a patrol officer in Arnhem Land. He and a cadet, **Jack Doolan**, were given the task of setting up a trading station in the Arnhem Land Reserve at the Liverpool River area. This was both an attempt to halt the westerly drift of Aborigines towards the urban centres of Katherine and Darwin and to assist the Arnhem Landers to move towards economic self-sufficiency. The patrol officers set up trepang camps, shot crocodiles and collected Aboriginal artefacts for sale including mats and baskets. The station was closed for the wet season of 1949. The attempt at the trading station was short-lived, much to the disappointment of Kyle-Little and Doolan. Only the name, Maningrida, was a reminder of 'Munin-grida' which Kyle-Little called the trading station, on local advice from the 'Guna-vidji'.

Kyle-Little was posted to Melville Island to look after the Snake Bay settlement. Although he continued to lobby the department to continue the Maningrida project, nothing else was done there in the short-term. Disappointed Kyle-Little took long leave and did a world tour, travelling to North and South America. While in the United States the Korean War broke out and Kyle-Little volunteered for the American forces but was not accepted. He then

travelled to England, volunteered for the British Army, and was accepted as a Private. In London, he lectured to the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland (this organisation was to contact Kyle-Little and commission a book about his experiences). He was called up to the London War Office where he was asked to proceed to Malaya to serve as a Resettlement Officer in the British Colonial Service. Kyle-Little arrived in Malaya in 1951 and was made Chief Resettlement Officer. Within a year, he was seconded to the British Army and within 18 months was promoted from Captain to Lieutenant Colonel. He stayed with the Malayan Security Forces in the Home Guard in the State of Negri Sembilan, Malaya for seven or eight years. In September 1952, he won the Distinguished Conduct Medal, Malaya. Kyle-Little was granted unrestricted permission from Queen Elizabeth II to wear the Negri Sembilan Distinguished Conduct medal which was conferred upon him by His Highness the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan for bravery. At night, in a flood at New Village, Port Dickson, Kyle-Little swam the river and secured the access bridge and rescued a woman and child who had been swept away in the flooded river.

While in service in Malaya he led his troops on numerous deep jungle patrols, harassing the communist forces on their own ground, finding their mountaintop training camps and attacking strategically. These attacks always involved close encounter combat during the final stages and the fighting was ruthless and deadly. Arnhem Land had been a great training ground for Kyle-Little and his close associations with Oondabund and other Aboriginal assistants had taught him the crafts of bushmanship. Kyle-Little commented, 'I have always been proud of the multi-racial Malayan Security Force I commanded and what we achieved. Malaya today is a proud free and independent nation, that defeated communism very successfully'.

It was during this time that Kyle-Little wrote his account of his time in Arnhem Land, *Whispering Wind* and in 1957, the book was published. The book is a mixture of his reports as a patrol officer and the story of his relationship with the Arnhem Land Aborigines. Kyle-Little acknowledges the assistance of his friend, journalist Dennis Warner, who also advised him to remove certain passages critical to aspects of Arnhem Land administration at the time. It is a vivid and exciting read and its recent re-issue is testimony to its success.

Kyle-Little met his wife, Marianne Lila Waugh, in Malaya soon after the book came out. *Whispering Wind* was a success with offers of follow-up film and television inquiries including Columbia Broadcasting System television and *Life* magazine. For a variety of reasons, but mainly his marriage in the same year as his book was published, Kyle-Little did not take up any of these offers. Kyle-Little worked for an American company, Wyeth International, for a time as their Regional Manager, South-East Asia. He then joined a British company, Singapore Cold Storages, as the National Marketing Manager. Kyle-Little served as a military observer in French occupied Vietnam under the British and survived the battle of Nom Bien Phu. Three of his sons were born in South-East Asia, Simon, Clinton and Scott, but the fourth, Damian, was born in Australia as Kyle-Little feared escalation of the Vietnam conflict and moved out of the region.

Kyle-Little did not return to Arnhem Land until 1981 when he was flown back to open the community museum there. At this time he renewed his friendship with his two old trackers and the others members of that community. In the 1980s, following the renewal of old ties, one of Kyle-Little's sons abandoned a Bachelor of Education degree at James Cook University to work at Maningrida Arts and Crafts after the community requested Kyle-Little saying, 'we've got to have a son of yours'. This son, Simon Kyle-Little, continued to live in the Northern Territory, where he operated a tourist venture in eastern Arnhem Land. Kyle-Little maintained his contact with the Maningrida community which he immortalised in *Whispering Wind* and continued to visit the Territory regularly although his permanent home was in Brisbane. In the mid 1990s Syd Kyle-Little completed a book about his experiences in Malaya tentatively titled, 'The War That Was Called An Emergency'.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS A3 50/81, F1 46/677, 49/393; J Doolan, interview with the author, 18 January 1985; S Kyle-Little, interview with the author, 9 June 1995; S Kyle-Little, *Whispering Wind*, 1957; S Kyle-Little, letter to the author, 20 June 1995; J Long, *The Go-Betweens*, 1992; Northern Territory Archives NTRS 226 TS260; information from Sergeant G Simpson, History Officer, Northern Territory Police.

MICKEY DEWAR, Vol 3.

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LAMBRICK, EMMA JANE (1822–1846), pioneer British resident of Port Essington, was born 4 August 1822, daughter of Lieutenant Dillon of the Royal Navy at Perranarworthal in Cornwall. She married Lieutenant George Lambrick, a veteran of the Carlist wars in Spain on 24 November 1842, at Budock in Cornwall, and their daughter Emma was born in August 1843, when they were stationed at the East Stonehouse marine barracks in the county of Devon.

Eight months later, George Lambrick was placed in charge of the military guard on board the convict ship *Cadet*, bound for Hobart where it was to discharge most of the convicts, and then to Port Essington where he was to serve under **Captain John McArthur**, commandant of the settlement. Emma, her daughter and a female servant, were given permission to accompany Lambrick on the journey.

When *Cadet* sailed in April 1844, there were several other women on board also accompanying their husbands to Port Essington: Mary Ann Clarke, twenty-four, wife of Private James Clarke; the pregnant 27-year-old Esther Norman, wife of Private William Norman; Jane Isaacs, wife of Sergeant Hugh Isaacs; Mary Ann Kirk, wife of Private David Kirk; and Mary Ann Crowden, wife of Private William Crowden. Mary Ann had been allowed to accompany the ship only on condition that she paid her own way to Dublin, the port from which the ship sailed.

Two of the women did not complete the journey. Mary Ann Clarke, who became ill, was discharged at Kingstown, Ireland, shortly after the party had left Dublin. Her husband was not to return to England until 1850, after the abandonment of Port Essington. The fate of Esther Norman was more tragic. Eight months pregnant, she became ill soon after embarkation and within the first few days gave birth to a stillborn child who was buried at sea. Esther died a few weeks later, thus, leaving her husband a widower, with their five-year-old son to raise by himself.

The tragedy could hardly have been encouraging to the pregnant Emma who, by the time *Cadet* and its consort *Angelica* reached Hobart, was reported by her husband to be ‘in a most delicate state of health’. She was so fragile that George was reluctant to continue the journey. However, in October on their way up the Western Australian coast Emma safely gave birth to George Lambrick Jnr, a weak and sickly child whose health was not improved by the tropical climate of Port Essington.

Shortly after their arrival at the settlement Emma, George and family moved into a small wooden dwelling above the storekeeper’s quarters. Mary Ann Kirk, Jane Isaacs and Mary Ann Crowden and their husbands moved into the married quarters, as did William Norman and his son. It was McArthur’s policy to keep the marrieds apart from the other residents.

As the only ‘lady’ (officer’s wife) at Port Essington, Emma Lambrick was almost completely isolated by the social standards of the time. John Sweatman, who spent several weeks at the settlement with HMS *Rattlesnake* and lived with the Lambricks, noted that Emma was ‘without society, no amusement and no one but her husband to talk to, and he busy with his duties most of the time’. Sweatman painted her as a very fragile, quiet woman in bad health but concluded that at least she had ‘an unfortunate baby that was always sick and who, perhaps served to keep her employed,’ but Captain John McArthur described her as ‘a truly amiable and sensible woman’. He added: ‘How she endures the privations she is exposed to I cannot comprehend. Great equanimity with firmness of purpose appear to be her main characteristics.’

She needed whatever psychological strength she could find. Emma became pregnant again and while awaiting the birth of her third child her son George Jnr died, probably a victim of malaria. A few months later Emma bore another son, but he too was weak.

Finally, in October of 1846, the climate and the circumstances of Port Essington took their toll and Emma herself died, followed a few weeks later by her infant son. Only young Emma was left to comfort her grieving father.

George Lambrick had a special monument erected to the memory of his wife and two sons, reportedly with some of the stone being imported from England. The pyramid-shaped tombstone still stands, a permanent reminder of the many who lost their lives there.

Writer **Elsie Masson**, who visited the graveside in 1913 during an official inspection with the then Territory Administrator, **John Gilruth**, wrote of Emma’s life and fate: ‘She came with her little daughter to Port Essington, doubtless expecting to find a comfortable sociable military settlement. A year passed, her baby was born and both she and the child died and were buried in this lonely spot. Not far from the cemetery is a pretty little strip of beach backed by fine tamarind trees. Here a little girl used to play happily in the sand while her mother sat, her hands folded, gazing out on the mournful shores, wondering if she would ever live to pick wildflowers in a cool English forest again. Just as it looked to her eyes, so the harbour looked to ours—utterly lonely and remote, imbued with sadness as if lamenting the lives sacrificed in that premature experiment.’

There appears to have been no written material left behind to tell us what Emma remembered of her time at Port Essington, but for many years following the abandonment of the settlement there was an Aboriginal woman who could have perhaps told a great deal about the lifestyle. She was the woman who, known as Flash Poll, as a girl of about ten, was nursemaid to Emma for two years.

Young Emma left Port Essington with her father in November 1849 and returned to England the following year, never to return to the land of her childhood. She died in England in March 1925, a ‘spinster of independent means’, well looked after both by her father’s will and by her two step-brothers, children of George Lambrick’s second marriage in 1860.

LAMILAMI, LAZARUS (MERWULIDJI) (c1908–1977), missionary, an Aborigine of the Maung linguistic group of western Arnhem Land, was born about 1908 on the mainland south-west of Goulburn Island. He spent the earlier part of his life with his family as a semi-nomad on the mainland. They moved to Goulburn Island soon after the Methodist Overseas Mission (MOM) started its first mission in Arnhem Land in 1916. He went to the mission school, but was also initiated into Maung membership. He worked on the MOM boats, which plied between Darwin and the five missions spread along the coast. He later settled down on Croker Island.

Lamilami married Magumiri in 1930, but after about five years, they separated. He then married Iliidjili in 1947, from whom he had three children, Ruby (Nangurinyara), Ronald (Ilugilug) and Lloyd (Dabidjara).

Lamilami had a very good knowledge of the Macassans, the Indonesian trepangers who made annual trips during the wet season to the northern and eastern coasts of Arnhem Land for several centuries. His uncle had gone back to Macassar with the Macassans but had never returned. His father, according to tribal custom, had to marry his brother's promisee, who became Lamilami's mother.

After his second marriage in 1947, he moved to Goulburn Island where he worked as a mission carpenter. He became deeply involved in the church work there. During this time, he visited a number of centres in the southern States of Australia doing deputation work for the MOM.

Lamilami was transferred to Croker Island in 1964 where he worked as a mission builder and as a local preacher. In 1965, he was accepted as a candidate for the Methodist ministry and had to take special studies. He was ordained on 5 November 1966 and worked as minister on Croker Island for a number of years. He was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for his outstanding service to the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

He joined the staff of Nungalingya College at the beginning of 1977 where he contributed significantly to a cross-cultural understanding of Christianity. He died suddenly in Darwin Hospital on 21 September 1977.

The Reverend Lazarus Lamilami was an outstanding Aboriginal person, greatly loved by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike. He was a key figure in traditional and church life on Croker and Goulburn islands. He did much to build bridges of understanding between the white and Aboriginal races. He frequently said, 'We must walk hand in hand together.'

L Lamilami, *Lamilami Speaks: An Autobiography*, 1974; K Cole, *The Aborigines of Arnhem Land*, 1979; Uniting Church of Australia, Records of the Methodist Overseas Mission.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

LAMPE, VICTOR LESLIE (1887–1949), headmaster and Supervisor of Education, was born on 5 April 1887, at Oakbank, South Australia, the second youngest child of Francis and Maria Jane, *nee* Lugg. His father, formerly of Hamburg, Germany, was the head brewer at the Oakbank Brewery. Victor attended primary school at Oakbank and later was a student at St Peters College. On conclusion, he studied at the University of Adelaide, graduating as Bachelor of Arts. Entering the Education Department and after experience in various schools, he became head teacher at the Farina School in South Australia in 1910, where he met and married Winifred Patricia Napier on 24 January 1913. Later in 1913, he was appointed to Darwin as headmaster (of the only school) and subsequently, Supervisor of Education for the Northern Territory.

After taking up his appointment, he realised how isolated the Territory was and made every effort to ensure his pupils were kept informed of the current affairs of the other states of Australia and world affairs in general. As there was only primary education available before the Second World War, he eventually gained the approval of the authorities to grant one scholarship in 1926 to one student to proceed south to study at secondary level. In 1935, two scholarships were granted. He was also responsible for initiating correspondence courses for children in the outback of the Northern Territory.

Over the years from 1913, he became involved in community affairs, as a member of the Church of England, the Masonic Lodge, and active participation in cricket, football and tennis. He was one of the instigators in forming the Northern Territory Australian Rules Football Association and captained the Waratah Team on a number of occasions. In later years, he had the pleasure of seeing each of his three sons members of his former team.

In 1928, he became a Justice of the Peace for Western Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territory and Special Magistrate. After the closure of the school in the early years of the Second World War, he was appointed Chief Censor and continued in this position after the military assumed control of Darwin. He and his wife were the welfare officers in charge of the last evacuee ship, SS *Montoro*, to leave Darwin mid January 1942. He returned immediately to continue his duties. After surviving the first bombings of Darwin, he became ill and on 28 April 1942 returned to Adelaide on sick leave. He retired on medical grounds in February 1943. He died on 10 November 1949 of carcinoma and was buried on 11 November 1949 at Centennial Park Cemetery, Springbank, South Australia, being survived by his wife, three sons and one daughter.

A street in Fannie Bay is named after him.

Family information.

J L LAMPE, Vol 1.

LANGFORD SMITH, KEITH (1907–1981), missionary, was born at Wahroonga, New South Wales, on 2 January 1907, a son of the Reverend Canon L E and Mrs Langford Smith of Sydney. He was educated at Trinity Grammar School, Sydney, Hurlstone Agricultural High School, and at the Metropolitan Business College, Sydney.

Langford Smith, accompanied by Kenneth Griffiths, spent the two years from May 1928 until June 1930 as a missionary in training for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at the Roper River Mission, enabling **R D Joynt** to take his furlough. On his return to Sydney, Langford Smith secured his flying certificate and in April 1931 purchased a Gypsy Moth aeroplane (VH-UJ V). Now a full CMS missionary he flew the plane to the Roper Mission arriving there in July 1931. He then set about the task of exploring air routes and places where Aborigines as yet untouched might be reached by plane. Later he was able to report that he had flown a total of 22 530 kilometres in *Sky Pilot*.

Langford Smith also had forward-looking ideas regarding missionary training. He said that they should have a knowledge ‘of the native language’, of ‘his laws and customs’, and ‘of his beliefs, myths which form the psychological background which is very real to him’.

After several years, he became a central figure in a controversy at the Roper River Mission. He overspent in supplies and for his aeroplane and was censured by the CMS. This was followed by serious allegations of misconduct made under privilege by **H G Nelson**, a Member of Parliament for the Northern Territory from 1922 to 1934, which led to a government board of inquiry. The board comprised **E T Asche**, Crown Law Officer for the Northern Territory, **Dr C E Cook**, Chief Protector of Aborigines for the Northern Territory, and the Reverend C H Nash, appointed by the CMS. The board heard evidence at the Roper River Mission for a period of 17 days during May 1933. Neither the evidence nor the board’s report was made public. The CMS dismissed Langford Smith after the hearing, but later issued a public statement saying that ‘not at any time has Mr K Langford Smith been charged by any of its committees with any moral misconduct and dissociates itself from any imputations which may have been made against Mr K Langford Smith’s moral character’.

Langford Smith subsequently wrote two books about his work at Roper, called *Sky Pilot in Arnhem Land* and *Sky Pilot’s Last Flight*. Langford Smith later started the Marella Mission Farm at Kellyville in New South Wales for part-Aboriginal children. For many years, he conducted a radio session on 2CH known as ‘The Sky Pilot’s Log’. He was invested with the A M (Member of the Order of Australia) in 1977 in recognition of fifty years’ service to the Aborigines. He died in Sydney on 29 September 1981.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; K Langford Smith, *Sky Pilot in Arnhem Land*, 1935; K Langford Smith, *Sky Pilot’s Last Flight*, 1936; House of Representative Debates, vol 142, pp 4118–21; AA, NT, and ACT Branch, Canberra; CMS records, Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, Vol 1.

LASSETER, LEWIS HUBERT (HAROLD BELL) (1880–1931), gold-seeker, was born on 27 September 1880 at Bamganie, near Meredith, Victoria, second son of English parents William John Lasseter, labourer, and his mother Agnes, *nee* Cruickshank, who died when he was young. Lasseter’s boyhood and youth are obscure but he later claimed to have served in the Royal Navy and to have been discharged in 1901. He then went to the United States of America where, describing himself as a labourer, he married Florence Elizabeth Scott at Clifton Springs, New York State, on 29 December 1903.

About 1908 Lasseter returned to Australia, worked in a variety of jobs in New South Wales and dabbled with a number of inventions that he attempted to patent. In 1913, he drew a sketch for an arch bridge over Sydney harbour. In Melbourne in 1916, describing himself as a ‘bridge engineer’, he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force only to be discharged eight months later as medically unfit. Undaunted, he re-enlisted the following year in Adelaide only to be again discharged unfit shortly after. On 28 January 1924 describing himself as ‘Lewis Harold Bell Lasseter, bachelor’, he married Louise Irene Lillywhite, a nurse, at Middle Park Methodist Church, Melbourne. The Lasseters moved to Sydney where he found work as a carpenter and finally as manager of a pottery. In September 1929, he publicly claimed to be ‘the original designer’ of the Sydney Harbour Bridge and unsuccessfully sought payment for six months’ work on the design.

Possessing a predilection for approaching those in authority, Lasseter, claiming this time to be ‘a competent surveyor and prospector’, wrote to AE ‘Texas’ Green, Federal Member for Kalgoorlie, on 14 October 1929 outlining what he called an ‘out of the ordinary suggestion’ to develop the mining, pastoral and agricultural industries of the Centre. He claimed that 18 years previously he had discovered ‘a vast gold bearing reef in Central Australia’ which over twenty-two kilometres assayed three ounces to the ton and which could be developed with an adequate water supply and capital of 5 million Pounds. Lasseter offered to survey an 800-mile (1287 kilometre) pipeline route from a projected dam in the headwaters of the Gascoyne River in Western Australia to the reef for 2 000 Pounds. He sent a copy of his letter to the Western Australian Minister for Mines and suggested that the Federal and Western Australian governments share the cost of the ‘flying survey’. In Sydney in November Lasseter was interviewed by (Sir) Herbert Gepp, chairman of the Development and Migration Commission, and geologist Dr L Keith Ward who were sceptical of Lasseter’s reef, which he vaguely located about 400 kilometres west-south-west of Alice Springs near the western end of the MacDonnell Ranges. The government took no action.

In dire financial straits by March 1930, Lasseter, claiming to be ‘a qualified ship’s captain’, approached John Bailey of the Australian Workers’ Union in Sydney and told him of his find—this time 33 years previously when he was 17. Travelling west from the MacDonnell Ranges, he said, his horse had died near Lake Amadeus and a surveyor named Harding who took him through the Gibson Desert to Carnarvon, Western Australia, whence they returned three years later and relocated the reef rescued him. In subsequent interviews with Fred Blakeley, Errol Coote, Charles Ulm and others the story varied in detail and naturally aroused some suspicion; nevertheless

the lure of gold in a time of economic depression led to the formation of a company to send out an expedition to locate Lasseter's reef.

The Central Australian Gold Exploration Company's well-equipped expedition, which left Alice Springs west for Ilbilba on 21 July 1930, consisted of Fred Blakeley, leader, Lasseter as guide, George Sutherland, prospector, Philip Taylor engineer and driver of the Thornycroft truck, Fred Colson, light truck driver, Errol Coote, pilot of the Gypsy Moth aircraft, and Captain Blakeston-Houston, the Governor-General's English aide, who came along for the experience. Lasseter, who paid 10 Pounds per week for his services, was insured for 500 Pounds.

Lasseter's behaviour in the field was peculiar, in turn unco-operative, suspicious and sulky; he passed his spare time singing Mormon hymns and writing his diary. No trace of a reef was found—not surprising in such non-auriferous country—and when accidents, doubts and rough terrain forced the party back in September, Lasseter carried on his search with Paul Johns, an English dogger who had a string of camels. According to Johns, Lasseter 'did not impress [him] as a man who knew the country, but rather as one who had read about it'. They quarrelled and parted company and Lasseter, after his two camels bolted, lived for about four months with Aborigines and died, apparently of starvation at Shaws Creek in the Petermann Ranges. **Bob Buck**, engaged by the company to search for Lasseter, attested that he found his body and buried it in March 1931. A death certificate was issued giving the date of death as 30 January 1931, based on Aboriginal evidence that he had been dead 'two feller moon next jump up'. Lasseter, who claimed in his diary, later recovered, that he had 'rediscovered' his reef and pegged his claim, was survived by his wives, two daughters of his first marriage and two daughters and a son of his second. In 1958, his alleged remains were exhumed and reburied in Alice Springs.

Lasseter, nicknamed 'Das' or 'Possum', was stocky, about 160 centimetres in height, dark complexioned, with a flat, chubby face; his partly bald scalp was deeply scarred. Self-educated, but literate and well spoken, Lasseter was a poseur. To Blakeley he was 'a man of jumbled moods', lacking 'a credible story about anything in all his reminiscences'; Coote called him 'a man of most eccentric nature' and an old acquaintance wrote that 'he was more or less of a crank, very aggressive, very self-opinionated and full of large, hopeful visions'.

Lasseter's obvious lack of knowledge of navigation, bushcraft and prospecting, his conflicting and vague statements and his peculiar conduct during the expedition suggest that he had never before been in that part of Central Australia, let alone found a gold reef. The myth of a cave or reef of gold (Earle's) in the Centre long predated Lasseter's story which is remarkably reminiscent of several novels written between 1896 and 1920 which deal with fabulous gold finds in the Australian desert. The American Harold Bell Wright's *The Mine with the Iron Door* (1923) was also a popular contemporary novel and photo-play on much the same theme and Lasseter's addition of 'Harold Bell' to his names on his second marriage, following the publication of Wright's novel, is probably a reflection of his fanciful mental state. Given the existence of the myth, Lasseter may well have been suffering from an hallucination; or given his poor financial situation he may have been hopeful of accidentally stumbling on a gold find once in the Centre.

The myth of 'Lasseter's Lost Reef' has persisted and excited numerous expeditions by gullible people largely in response to the publicity given by Ion Idriess's romantic account *Lasseter's Last Ride*, first published in September 1931 and which ran to 17 editions by 1935. Blakeley's non-fictional account *Dream Millions* (1972), while highly critical of Lasseter, adds to the legend by suggesting that he did not die in the Centre but somehow made his way out, ultimately back to the USA.

'Lasseter Country', and the Lasseter Highway, from Alice Springs to Ayers Rock, serve to perpetuate a myth.

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GERALD WALSH, Vol 1.

LAWLER, THOMAS ROBERT (TOM) (1922–), agricultural scientist and lands administrator, was born at Redcliffs, Victoria, on 7 May 1922, the son of Robert Leonard Lawler, a wheat farmer, and Cecilia Winifred, *nee* Cunningham, a teacher. Both sides of his family were early settlers in Australia, a maternal great-grandfather, Timothy Minehan, having arrived in Sydney in 1833 as a 16-year-old convicted for stealing pillows.

The family later moved to a farm outside Griffith in New South Wales, and Tom Lawler matriculated from Griffith High School in 1939. From 1941 to 1946, he served with the Royal Australian Air Force. His service included duties as a navigator in bombers in the Middle East and Italy, and in Transport Command in Northern Europe and Burma.

In 1951, Lawler completed a Bachelor of Science Degree in Agriculture at the University of Sydney. While at university he had also excelled at Australian Rules Football and was awarded a 'University Blue'. After graduation, he became involved in the rice industry at the Yanco Research Station in New South Wales. There he provided background research for the change to high moisture harvesting of rice and hence, to aerated storage. In 1955, he represented Australia at the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation's Rice Conference in Penang, Malaya.

On 15 June 1957, Lawler married **Ella Mary Stack**, a medical practitioner, who later became involved in community affairs in the Northern Territory. She became Australia's first female Lord Mayor when she became Lord Mayor of Darwin. They had three sons, Matthew, Damien and Luke.

In 1958, Lawler established the Cotton Research Station at Narrabri in New South Wales where he later proved the economic viability of irrigated cotton on black soil plains. In 1961, the family moved to the Northern Territory, where he took up a post as Senior Agronomist with the Agricultural Branch of the Northern Territory

Administration, Department of the Interior. In 1965, he became the Director of Agriculture for the Northern Territory Administration and in 1966, he became Chief Agronomist with the Agricultural and Animal Industry Branch of the Northern Territory Administration.

As Chief Agronomist he promoted wet season burning and the use of Townsville Stylo pasture; was involved in the Douglas Daly experiments which demonstrated the cropping potential of Blain soils; and was involved in the development of pilot farms in the upper Adelaide River region. In 1965, he had also been appointed to the Northern Territory Land Board, of which he remained a member until 1987. As a member of the Land Board, he was involved in rural land settlement policy, pastoral lease administration, and government land claim policy.

In 1967, Lawler began working on his property 'Labasheeda', outside Darwin, and he remained a pastoralist until 1974 when he took up a position with the Lands Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. In 1975, he became the Director of Lands and in 1976 he was appointed Assistant Secretary, Lands, Department of the Northern Territory. He remained in Lands administration until 1987 when he retired from the Northern Territory Land Board and the Northern Territory Department of Lands.

Tom Lawler held positions in several community organizations over the years. He was Chairman of the Northern Farmers Association, 1967–1974; Chairman of the Buffalo Breeders Association, 1967–1974; Treasurer of the Darwin Branch of the Returned Services League, 1975–1989; Chairman of the Adelaide River Show Society, 1967–1987, and he was made a life member in 1988.

His political involvement included helping to establish the Liberal Party in the Northern Territory, and with **Goff Letts**, who later became Majority Leader of the Legislative Council, he helped establish the Country Liberal Party. He was a member of the Country Liberal Party in the Northern Territory from 1974 until 1988 and was on the Pre-selection Committee for Darwin electorates for more than 10 years.

In October 1989 Tom Lawler semi-retired with his wife, Ella Stack, to a farming property outside of Moruya on the south coast of New South Wales, where he breeds cattle. His interests involved his family, reading, community work with Legacy, and Australian Rules Football.

Family information.

GREG COLEMAN and ELLA STACK, Vol 3.

LEHMANN, FRIEDA CECILIA: see **HEFFERNAN, FRIEDA CECILIA**

LEICHHARDT, FRIEDRICH WILHELM LUDWIG (1813–1848), naturalist and explorer, with interests in philosophy and languages, was born at Trebatsch in Prussia on 23 October 1813. He was the sixth of the eight children of Christian Hieronymus Matthias Leichhardt and his wife Charlotte Sophie, *nee* Strahlow. His father was a farmer and royal inspector of peat. Leichhardt was educated at Trebatsch, Zaue, Cottbus and the Universities of Berlin (1831, 1834–36) and Göttingen (1833). John Nicholson, a fellow student at Göttingen, influenced him to change his attention from philosophy and languages to the natural sciences. Nicholson's brother, William, and Leichhardt then studied medical and natural science from 1837 to mid-1841 in England, France, Italy and Switzerland. Throughout this time, the two men lived on William Nicholson's small income, and William then provided Leichhardt with all necessities and 200 Pounds to travel to Australia.

Leichhardt had decided upon Australia because, from the European perspective, it was still an almost untapped field for the study of the natural sciences. He boarded the ship *Sir Edward Paget* at London in October 1841 and arrived in Sydney on 14 February 1842. His intention was to explore inland Australia, but his initial studies were of the geology, flora and fauna of the Sydney and Hunter River Valley districts. He gave some lectures on the geology and botany of Sydney, thus beginning the process by which he became known as 'Doctor'; his contemporaries acknowledged his dedication to knowledge of the natural sciences even though he was never to obtain a degree from any university.

During 1843 and early 1844 he journeyed alone from Newcastle to Moreton Bay, always collecting, observing and recording the geology, flora and fauna of the country. However, he was impatient to explore the vast inland and, when the Legislative Assembly proposed an expedition and it was refused sanction by Governor Gipps, Leichhardt arranged for private subscription. He and five men left Sydney in August 1844, were joined by four more men in the Moreton Bay district, and left Jimbour—then an outpost of settlement—on 1 October 1844. Shortly after the expedition set out two of the men decided to return, then on 28 June 1845 Aborigines attacked the camp. John Gilbert, a brilliant young naturalist, was killed and two other members of the party, Roper and Calvert, were severely wounded. The party hurriedly left the scene of the tragedy and, with a lesson harshly learned, thereafter set up well-organised night-camps and kept regular night watches. They reached the Gulf of Carpentaria and followed the coastal areas into the present-day Northern Territory. A major discovery was the Roper River, vital as a navigable river, which allowed access to the northern end of the Overland Telegraph Line during its construction in 1870–72. Here, however, four of the remaining 13 horses were drowned and Leichhardt was obliged to discard most of his treasured botanical collection. By now, the party was in considerable trouble, their horses ever-weakening and their food, in the main, being whatever bush tucker they could collect or shoot. However, Leichhardt continued to keep a comprehensive daily journal that remains a valuable source of information about the Aborigines and natural resources of the northern-most portions of the Northern Territory.

As the party travelled still further northwest other major features were named—such as the Limmen Bight and Wickham River, and Leichhardt recorded everything possible of the geography, geology, flora, fauna and ethnography of the country. Unfortunately, though, he was forced to discard more of his precious collections and those that had been made by John Gilbert.

Eventually they came upon more and more evidence of Aborigines who had had contact with Europeans. Friendly associations were established whenever circumstances allowed and the party travelled on, living on flying foxes and native fruits, and as they approached, Port Essington being given occasional guided assistance by the Aborigines. On 2 December, they met an Aboriginal who could speak some English and fifteen days later, they arrived at Port Essington.

Although Gilbert had died and two other men had been wounded, the majority of the geological and botanical specimens had had to be discarded and all of the men had suffered privations, the expedition was hailed as a great success. Leichhardt was feted upon his arrival back in Sydney in April 1846, for he and his party had all been presumed to have perished. As might be expected, Leichhardt enjoyed the time of his ‘resurrection’: ‘[I] popped out of my grave, successful in my undertaking, and my pockets full of fine discoveries and reports of new country.’ His name became ‘a password to young Australians’ and over 2 500 Pounds were granted to him and the other members of the party.

In very short time, Leichhardt was planning another expedition. Sturt had failed in his 1844–46 attempt to discover an inland sea and to reach Central Australia, so here was another challenge. The journey would take at least two years, its objects being ‘to explore the Interior of Australia, to discover the extent of Sturt’s Desert and the character of the Western and North West Coast, and to observe the gradual change in vegetation and animal life from one side of the Continent to the other’.

In December 1846, Leichhardt and seven men set out from the Darling Downs. Heavy rains and straying animals delayed them, then fever struck. They were forced to return after travelling only 800 kilometres. A fortnight later Leichhardt travelled to the Condamine River, and during July–August 1847 studied the country from there to Mitchell’s exploratory track of 1846.

The account of the Moreton Bay–Port Essington exploration was published as *Journal of An Overland Expedition In Australia* in 1847, confirming Leichhardt as the ‘Doctor’ dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge of the natural world. His re-grouped expedition, gathered on the Darling Downs in February 1848, promised even more; and yet it is probable that his experiences in the Northern Territory on the first major expedition had created an impression that was to contribute to the eventual mystery of this, his final major expedition. He believed that he could very largely live off the land but, as is now known, the game and vegetable foods of the country skirting Sturt’s Stony Desert and the Simpson Desert are not in the prolific abundance that he had found in the Top End of the Territory.

Leichhardt and his six men (some references suggest seven men) travelled west, using pack-mules instead of the more conventional horse-drawn wagons to carry their supplies and equipment. They travelled via the Condamine River to McPherson’s station, Cogoon, then the farthest west station in the Darling Downs country. In April 1848, they left Cogoon and totally disappeared. Despite numerous searches in Queensland, northern New South Wales, the Northern Territory and Western Australia, conclusive evidence about the party’s eventual fate has never been forthcoming. The majority of claims about the finding of long-lost diaries, a survivor of the party or pieces of equipment have been at best very suspect, and generally false. However, the discovery in 1938 of coins of pre-1848 date and fragments of old equipment on the south-western edge of the Simpson Desert suggest the possibility that some, if not all, of the party perished at the location.

Leichhardt’s reputation in 1846 was as the ‘Prince of Explorers’. Since that time the publication of books and articles by companions of his expedition, other explorers and historians have tarnished the image. Some of the criticisms have been fair but many have been unwarranted, and recently there have been studies that have begun to restore his reputation. Whatever his personal frailties, there can be no doubt that he greatly contributed to knowledge of the Northern Territory, Queensland and New South Wales. In his disappearance, together with all of his men, animals and equipment, he created one of Australia’s greatest and most enduring mysteries.

Leichhardt published many articles and a book in his brief time in Australia before his disappearance. In addition, many of his letters have been published in collected form. His name is commemorated in a suburb of Sydney, a major highway, the Leichhardt River and Falls, and a mountain range in Queensland, Mount Leichhardt, west of Central Mount Stuart in Central Australia, Leichhardt Terrace in Alice Springs, and in the Top End of the Northern Territory in monuments in Darwin and at the Roper Bar crossing of the Roper River; and no doubt as he would most have appreciated, in the botanical names of numerous plant species.

The few surviving portraits, sketches and the bust of Leichhardt depict a lean man with dark, slightly wavy hair and a direct gaze. He suffered poor eyesight but his did not prevent him from making accurate observations of the natural world. The sketch by Mann suggests that he allowed his shoulders to slump forward a little and favoured a Chinese ‘coolie’ style of hat, possibly to shade his eyes.

In recognition of his leadership of the remarkable Moreton Bay–Port Essington journey Leichhardt received the King’s pardon for not having returned to Prussia for compulsory military service, his contributions to science and general knowledge of the world formerly unknown to Europeans outweighing his breach of law. In April 1847, the Geographical Society, Paris, awarded a share of the annual prize for the most significant discoveries in geographic knowledge to Leichhardt, and a month later, the Royal Geographical Society, London, awarded him the Patron’s medal in recognition of the increased knowledge of Australia’s geography. Thus, very widely in Europe and throughout Australia he was honoured for his great achievements.

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LEE HANG GONG: see **HANG GONG, LEE**

LEE TOY KIM (MRS LUM LOY) (c1884–1980), a businesswoman and the matriarch of one of Darwin's largest Chinese families, was born in Shekki, in southern China, around 1884. One of two adopted daughters of Fong Sui Wing, Lee Toy Kim was brought to Darwin about 1898 when the destruction of the 1897 cyclone was still evident. The other adopted daughter was Lee Leung See (later Mrs Cheong Yui). Their adoptive family owned four stores in the Northern Territory—Wing Wah Loong and Company in Darwin, Wing Chong Loong in Pine Creek, Wing Chong Kee in Katherine and another in Mataranka.

Although she had no formal education and only spoke the Sze Yap dialect, Lee Toy Kim could read and write Cantonese and in later life often quoted from the philosophical works of Lo Buk Woon. Before her marriage, she worked in the family grocery and general store in Cavenagh Street—the heart of Darwin's Chinatown.

Around 1901, at the age of 17, she was married to Lum Loy, a mining engineer. Their early married life was spent in the mining towns of Wandu and Brock's Creek where Lum Loy repaired mining equipment. Their only child, a daughter called Lizzie Yook Lin was born on 8 December 1906 at Baama Goda, a railway siding near Brock's Creek. The Lum Loy family settled in Pine Creek where Lum Loy died in 1918.

When Lee Toy Kim returned to Darwin with her daughter on the death of her husband, Lizzie Yook Lin attended school, where she was dux of her class. In the years until the war, Lee Toy Kim leased a four-hectare property near the site of the present Darwin Bowling Club at Fannie Bay from Vestey's in 1920. Here with little outside help, she established a mango plantation of approximately 200 trees. From her plantation, she exported fruit to Western Australia. The trees were removed by troops during the war to deny cover to the Japanese in the event of an enemy landing on Fannie Bay beach.

In 1923, Lizzie Yook Lin married Chin Loong Tang and they made their home in Emungalan, opening a store there and later in Katherine. In 1935 after their return to Darwin, Lee Toy Kim sold the mango plantation and moved back into town to help run the Chin family cafe on the corner of Bennett and Cavenagh streets while Chin Loon Tang was in Hong Kong. She later purchased a block of land at the Stuart Park 'police paddock' near the present site of the large oil tanks at Frances Bay. There she ran chickens, walking daily from town to the farm to tend the birds and collect the eggs. The latter were sold to Gee Fong Ming's cafe in Darwin.

An ardent worshipper at the Chinese temple all her life, Lee Toy Kim was visiting the temple when Darwin was bombed, just before 10 am on 19 February 1942, by the Japanese. She reluctantly evacuated the town with members of the Que Noy family who drove her to Adelaide River. From there she went by train to Katherine and joined her daughter and grandchildren who had been sent out of Darwin after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941.

The family was then evacuated by army convoy along the Stuart Highway to Alice Springs on 27 March 1942, after the Japanese also attacked Katherine from the air. They stayed in Alice Springs with the Quee family until joined by Chin Loong Tang, and then continued their journey south to Adelaide.

In Adelaide Lee Toy Kim helped her son-in-law and his family run a fruit and vegetable shop in Hansan (now Poultney) Street for two years.

In 1944, the Chin family moved to Sydney, taking Lee Toy Kim with them. There, on 7 August 1945, her daughter Lizzie died of a kidney complaint shortly after giving birth to her ninth child.

At war's end, Lee Toy Kim travelled with the late **Harry Chan**'s mother back to Adelaide where they were met by Lee Toy Kim's eldest grandson, Ronald Chin and accompanied back to Darwin via Alice Springs.

Back in Darwin Lee Toy Kim found the town in ruins and all the land acquired by the government. The policy of the latter was to gain control of the city centre and to eradicate Chinatown. Landowners were compensated block for block. However, the new blocks were a quarter acre in area while the old block size was half an acre. Lee Toy Kim was compensated for her chicken farm and chose to take up half of the property previously owned by Chin Loong Tang on the corner of Henry Street and the Stuart Highway. Chin Loong Tang retained the other half, thus keeping the family and landholding close together.

Lee Toy Kim lived on this piece of land for the rest of her very full life. She established a garden there and her grandson Ronald built her a house. Many Darwin residents of the 1950s and '60s remember her as Lum Loy, the elderly lady in traditional Chinese trousers, jacket and hat who walked daily from Stuart Park into Darwin. In the year before her death she was still tending her garden in which she grew many tropical fruits, such as mangoes, guavas, five-corners, custard apples, ginger, garlic, chillies, Chinese melons and bitter melons. Like her son-in-law, Chin Loong Tang, she continued to be a regular worshipper at the Chinese Temple. She regularly took part in all the traditional festivals celebrated in the Darwin Chinese community, one of which was Ching Ming, when the souls of the ancestors are honoured by prayer and offerings of food, paper money and clothing.

Her death on 20 August 1980 at the age of about 96 and subsequent burial at Gardens Road Cemetery ended an era. She was remembered by Europeans and Chinese alike with great respect for her strength of character and her sense of independence, despite her reverence for, and upholding of, tradition and the family. With her died much valuable historical information about Darwin and its Chinese community between Federation and the Second World War.

LETTS, GODFREY ALAN (GOFF) (1929–), veterinarian, public servant, politician, consultant, media correspondent and newspaper proprietor, was born in Donald, Victoria on 18 January 1928, the son of Mr and Mrs G W Letts. After secondary education at Melbourne Grammar School, he attended the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney, graduating in 1950 as Bachelor of Veterinary Science. Between 1951 and 1957, he was employed with the Victorian Department of Agriculture. On 29 October 1952, he married Joyce, daughter of Mr and Mrs RS Crosby; they were to have three sons and three daughters.

Letts came to the Northern Territory in 1957 to undertake a relief assignment in Alice Springs. Later, he secured a permanent position within the Northern Territory Administration as District Veterinary Officer for the northern region, based in Darwin. In 1958, he became the Assistant Director of the Animal Industry Branch, a position he held until his appointment to the directorship of a newly combined Animal Industry and Agriculture Branch in 1963. He remained as Director until his retirement from the public service in 1970. By most accounts, Letts was considered an effective administrator and a strong and adroit advocate for economic development. In his official or professional capacity, he was Chairman of the Northern Territory Wildlife Council from 1964 to 1970, a member of the Northern Territory Lands Board for the same period and a member of the Northern Territory Veterinary Surgeons Board from 1964 to 1973. He was also awarded a Churchill Fellowship in 1966.

From the mid-1960s, Letts became increasingly disillusioned with the Commonwealth's stewardship of the Territory, particularly with what he saw as the growing and unacceptable level of bureaucratic control from Canberra, the dominance of the clerical influence over the professional and the reluctance to accept appropriate political and constitutional advancement. His experience both as a senior administrator and as an official member (representing lands and primary industry) of the Legislative Council from 1967 to 1970 was a major factor in his decision to leave the public service in 1970 and take up private veterinary practice. Moreover, it was a powerful influence behind Letts' subsequent move into electoral party politics.

When the Country Party (CP) was established in the Territory in 1966, Letts was a prominent founder member and he was active in its later development. In 1971, he easily won the Victoria River seat in the Legislative Council as an endorsed CP candidate. Five (of an elected membership of 11) CP members had been returned and Letts became party head. During the 11th (and last) Council (1971–1974), Letts, in concert with other leaders, pressed hard for constitutional concessions from the Commonwealth. With the election of a federal Labor government in December 1972, party rivalry in the Council intensified with Letts a foremost opponent of many Labor policies, including what he saw as a consistently parsimonious and reluctant approach to the issue of self-government. He did, however, welcome Labor's acceptance of a fully elected Legislative Assembly that took place in October 1974. Before that election, Letts played a leading role in the creation of the Country Liberal Party (CLP), which combined the two conservative interests in the Territory. He led it to a comprehensive victory; the CLP won all but two of the 19 seats. Letts himself retained his own electorate of Victoria River easily.

Until the first transfer of functions to local executive control in January 1977, the competence of the new Assembly was substantially the same as the old Council. However, the dominant CLP had to fashion a new representative role and to continue the campaign for the devolution of authority. To Letts, as Majority Leader of a party with very limited parliamentary experience and with few facilities, fell the onerous tasks of organisation and advocacy. Although his style and approach antagonised some, his enthusiasm, hard work and indefatigable opposition to Labor policies won respect from most of his colleagues.

Despite some serious policy disputes, especially over the imposition of Aboriginal land rights and over uranium development, Letts found that the return of the Coalition parties to federal office in late 1975 provided a much more congenial working relationship with Canberra. That was most evident in its acceptance of major constitutional change for the Territory. Initially, it proposed 'statehood in five years' but, partly due to Letts' view that such a step was too radical and premature, it was scaled down to substantial 'self government'. Throughout the remainder of the Assembly session, negotiation of its terms and implementation was Letts' major preoccupation. Styled as Chief Secretary from January 1977, he was the first Territory political leader to undertake executive responsibility, even if the first instalment of the transfer of functions was meagre.

In the Assembly election in August 1977, the CLP suffered a severe rebuff with a net loss of five seats. Letts and most of his Executive Councillors were defeated. Victoria River was won by Letts' Labor opponent, **Jack Doolan**, a result which Letts attributed to his own inability, through work commitment, to attend to constituency concerns adequately and, more importantly, to the CLP's stance of land rights which alienated the sizeable Aboriginal vote. Although personally disappointed, he welcomed the CLP's victory and the prospect of self-government proceeding unimpeded. Later, he admitted to a sense of relief with his defeat, citing progressive disenchantment with his political experiences after 1975. If he had been re-elected, he maintained that he intended to leave politics by 1980 and the leadership even earlier. For his services to Territory politics and public administration, he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1978.

Back in private life, Letts worked as a consultant from his home in Batchelor; one significant activity was his chairmanship of the Board of Inquiry into Feral Animals in the Northern Territory in 1978–1979. Moreover, in 1979, he was appointed to the Advisory Council of the Commonwealth Scientific Industrial Research Organisation and the Uranium Advisory Council, serving on both until 1983. He remained an active CLP member and was pre-selected to contest the Territory House of Representatives' seat in 1980. When, however, he was offered the

first substantive chairmanship (and Chief Executive Officer) of the Northern Territory Conservation Commission, he withdrew his candidacy. In recognition of his experience and interest in the area, he was made a Trustee of the World Wildlife Fund in 1981.

Letts served the Conservation Commission with distinction until 1983, when he resigned to contest the Assembly seat of Araluen (in Alice Springs—then the location of the Commission) as an independent. His decision to stand against the CLP incumbent (and a government minister) reflected his view that the CLP government was taking an unnecessarily confrontational attitude towards the Commonwealth and towards Aborigines in the Territory. In particular, he was affronted by the strident opposition to the transfer of the Ayers Rock (Uluru) park area to Aboriginal ownership. While he came second in the poll (with one fifth of the vote), Letts was devastated by his relatively poor support.

Subsequently, Letts left the Territory to pursue his family newspaper business in Victoria. Nonetheless, he continued to visit the Territory periodically for consultancy and personal reasons. At various times, he wrote historical and political material for the local media.

Sometimes called ‘The Father of Self-Government’ for the part he played in the constitutional development process, Letts made a worthy contribution to the political and economic development of the Territory. But he was a man of his times; his experience as a public servant in the pre-self-government era, and especially his conviction that any new system should accommodate a better and closer relationship between politicians and officials, was not well attuned to the new political realities in the Territory after the mid-1970s. His consensual consultative style, his aversion to conflictual behaviour and his lack of political decisiveness were, at the time, not acknowledged as the most vital and successful leadership attributes.

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ALISTAIR HEATLEY, Vol 3.

LEWIS, JOHN (1842–1923), businessman, pastoralist and politician, was born in Brighton, South Australia, on 12 February 1844, son of James Lewis, a member of the party which surveyed the city of Adelaide and who accompanied Sturt on his 1844 expedition, and Eliza Margaret Hutton, *nee* Bristow, whom he married in 1841. John Lewis was educated until the age of twelve at Mrs Hillier’s, Grundy’s and Nesbit’s private schools in Adelaide. He did not like school.

Lewis then worked on farms, at blacksmithing, droving cattle and sheep, and as a station overseer until 1871. In that year, he leased an interest in land on the Cobourg Peninsula with a view to establishing a station. On 17 January 1872, he set out for the Northern Territory with his brother James and a number of horses. At the new telegraph station at Barrow Creek, he secured a contract to operate a pony express over the 450 kilometres between the two ends of the unfinished Overland Telegraph Line from Tennant Creek to Daly Waters. Soon after, he heard the news of gold discoveries in the Territory and wired Adelaide to ship a dray and stores to Port Darwin. He remained long enough to be present at the final joining of the telegraph wires and then hurried north, reaching the goldfields on 26 September 1872, and Port Darwin soon after. F Driffield telegraphed Lewis from Adelaide requesting him to organise a prospecting party. This he did, collected his dray and three tonnes of stores and with forty packhorses left for the goldfields. He charged 60 Pounds a tonne for two tonnes of the stores, the other tonne being for his own party.

Over the next few years, Lewis became something of a Territory legend. He erected a jetty at Southport and founded the Eleanor mine at Pine Creek where he erected the first battery to crush in the Territory. He became the legal manager of sixteen mining companies, operated steam launches between Port Darwin and Southport, had a large bulk supply store at Southport as a supply base for stores on the goldfields and operated several horse teams hauling stores inland. He bought a share in the original Union Reefs mine with Adam Johns and others, resulting in a large profit. He was also a shrewd speculator in flour and other necessities. At one time, he bought up all the flour in Port Darwin and Southport when no further ships were expected for months. He made a lot of money speculating in Territory mining shares. Before the Gold Escort was established, Lewis often rode all night with gold on the track from Pine Creek to Port Darwin.

In 1874, at the request of Government Resident **Scott**, Lewis organised a search party for explorers Permain and Borrodale who had vanished in the Alligator Rivers region. This involved going overland by horse from Union Reefs to Port Essington. Following this expedition Lewis established a buffalo station on Cobourg Peninsula but apart from the initial setting up, does not seem to have spent much time there. He left the Territory in 1876, leaving **Paul Foelsche**, a close friend, as his agent for the station, who paid bills and furnished reports.

Back in Adelaide Lewis joined the firm of Liston, Shakes and Company, stock and station agents, and then made good profits on shares in Broken Hill mines. In 1876 he married Martha Brooks and in later years he was part owner of the South Australian Hotel and several stations in Central Australia, some with **S Kidman**. He became a member of the Legislative Council of South Australia in 1897 and remained so for many years. He died on 25 August 1923 and was buried at Burra, South Australia.

During Lewis’s time in the Territory, he exhibited qualities of hard work and self-reliance. He organised an extensive surface transport and supply system, was one of the few who succeeded in mining ventures and was universally respected. He usually saw things as black or white and was quite authoritarian. Most of these qualities he passed on to his sons, Essington in particular. An entry in his diary in 1873 is revealing: ‘One of the Telegraph Company’s men gave me a little cheek so a clout to the head soon brought him around.’ His book *Fought and Won*, published in 1922, contains an account of his Territory experiences and portrait photographs of him.

Lewis had four sons, James, Gilbert, Essington and Lancelot, and two daughters, Eleanor and Jane. Essington led BHP on to the world stage and as Australia's leading industrialist, was Director-General of Munitions, War Organisation of Industry and Aircraft Production during the Second World War.

G Blainey, *The Steel Master*, 1971; T G Jones, *Pegging the Northern Territory*, 1987; J Lewis, *Fought and Won*, 1922; John Lewis Papers and Diaries, (SAA); *Who's Who in Australia*, 1927.

T G JONES, Vol 1.

LEYDIN, REGINALD SYLVESTER (1905–), local government officer, public servant and Air Force serviceman, was born in Fairfield, New South Wales, in 1905, the son of John Bartholomew Leydin. He joined the Commonwealth Public Service as a young man and arrived in Darwin in 1926 as a clerk in the Internal Audit Section of the Northern Territory Administration.

In 1928, he became Town Clerk of Darwin, having offered his services when the Mayor of the town told him of the difficulties his Council was having with its paperwork. Leydin held the position during a period of vast changes in Darwin. In 1930, the Councillors resigned rather than accept election by full adult suffrage. Thereafter, until the Council was abolished at its own request in 1937, the Northern Territory Administration nominated Council members. Darwin was garrisoned from 1932 and increasing demands were made on municipal facilities by the growing defence forces, to the detriment of the public. The rate base, however, was not growing and Leydin was later to claim that the idea of abolishing the Council was largely his own, as he could see no future for it, or for himself. After its abolition, Leydin returned to the Northern Territory Administration.

Leydin worked very hard as Town Clerk and was well thought of for his efforts. He was undoubtedly most efficient. Council meetings were reported in the press; the Town Clerk's report was always lengthy and detailed and financial matters were fully explained. The early 1930s marked a time of considerable unrest due to the level of unemployment in the town. The Council offered relief work but on one occasion, Leydin had to defend himself with his fists when a belligerent labourer assaulted him.

At the time of his appointment the only electricity reticulation in the town was delivered by **F E Holmes** (and after 1929 his estate) at exorbitant cost and with little reliability. When the Town Council decided in 1934 to install its own service, Holmes's trustees fought a long and hard rearguard action. **Dr C E Cook**, the Chief Medical Officer, later nominated Leydin as one of two men (the other Tom Harris) who caused changes to be made which immeasurably improved life in Darwin. He referred specifically to the benefits of electricity 'available at prices the people could pay. Amenities for housewives were improved beyond their anticipations.' In order to win public support Leydin had called at each home explaining the benefits of a municipal owned scheme. The supporters of the Holmes trustees had convinced the Administration that a referendum needed to be called on the subject and when this endorsed the Council's stand they took Supreme Court action and lost.

From 1937 until 1940, Leydin was Staff Clerk and Personal Secretary to the Administrator. In 1940, he was promoted Chief Clerk (Administration) with responsibility for municipal matters, a task that became increasingly difficult as defence needs expanded and the townsfolk's requirements were increasingly ignored.

From December 1941, Leydin saw service in the Royal Australian Air Force and returned to the Northern Territory as Acting Government Secretary in 1946. The appointment was confirmed the following year and in this capacity, he took his seat as the senior Official Member when the Northern Territory Legislative Council held its first sitting on 19 February 1948. He was to be an Official Member of the Council until 23 March 1954.

Leydin worked continually to foster 'civic responsibility' and municipal reform. In the years immediately after the war, municipal matters were in the hands of a Town Management Board of which he was often critical. Late in 1950, he was instructed to report on municipal matters generally and his report, completed in 1951 and which recommended that a local government authority be set up by June 1953, was much debated during the next few years, both within and outside the Legislative Council. It is for this report that he is best remembered in the Northern Territory. F Walker later recalled that Leydin had made 'perhaps the longest second-reading speech' in the first years of the Legislative Council's history. It was to introduce a local government bill but it met much resistance, as municipal services were then free. It had still not been passed when Leydin sat in the Legislative Council for the last time. It was not until 1957 that a local government council was re-established in Darwin though the legislation followed some of his recommendations.

In April 1954, Leydin was Acting Administrator when the Petrov incident hit the headlines. He was at the airport when Mrs Petrov was rescued from her Soviet guards and it was he who first told her that her husband was alive, contrary to the information she had been given. Later, under close security at Government House, she told Leydin she wished to stay in Australia. Mrs Petrov was reported as saying that it was Leydin's calmness and sympathy that had helped her in her decision.

On 29 April 1954, it was announced that Leydin had been appointed Administrator of Nauru. On the public announcement of the appointment, the *Northern Territory News* headline ran, 'We'll be sorry to lose him'. He returned to the Northern Territory briefly in 1963 as Acting Administrator.

Leydin served as Administrator of Nauru from 1 July 1954 until 1958 when he was appointed Administrator of Norfolk Island, where he remained until 1962. The same year he returned to Nauru. He was Administrator until 1966, Chief Secretary of the independent Republic of Nauru from 1969 until 1970 and in the latter year Australian representative there. In 1963 and again in 1966 he was a special representative to the United Nations during the negotiations on Nauru's independence. He became a Director of the Nauru Phosphate Corporation in 1969 and Chairman of the Nauru Royalty Trust in 1970. By 1971, he had returned to live in Victoria.

He was made Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in June 1953 and was awarded a Coronation Medal in the same year. In 1961, he was made Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) for his public service.

As a young man in Darwin he played football for the Wanderers and was described at the time as a ‘smiling young man of great personal charm which disguised an inflexible determination.’ Leydin was the quintessential public servant; the apolitical bureaucrat who gave advice without fear or favour and who in his career in the Northern Territory between 1928 and 1954 served his masters well and earned the respect of them all.

He married Millicent Magdalen Bergin on 14 November 1928. There were no children of the marriage.

A Heatley, *A City Grows*, 1986; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1971; *Northern Territory News*, June 1953, 22 April 1954, 27 April 1954, 29 April 1954; Australian Archives, Northern Territory, F1 51/458: H J Wilson, ‘The Quality of Life’, MA(Qualifying) Thesis, University of Queensland, 1986; personal correspondence.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

LINDSAY, DAVID (1856–1922), explorer, surveyor and Northern Territory apologist, was born at Goolwa in South Australia on 20 June 1856, the youngest son of John and Catherine Lindsay, *nee* Reid. His father was a mariner who had migrated to South Australia from Dundee in Scotland. He left school when fifteen years of age and worked for a short time as an assistant in a chemist shop in the town. Soon thereafter, he obtained work in Adelaide in the office of a mining agent. He later became an agent in his own right, and while his explorations brought him a certain amount of fame, it was his work as a mining agent that sustained him for most of his life.

In 1873, after 12 months of clerical work, Lindsay entered the South Australian survey department as a cadet surveyor. Two years later, he was appointed junior surveyor and on 23 January 1878, after five years on the field staff of the survey department, he was appointed Surveyor Third Class in the Northern Territory. Lindsay left Adelaide on 30 January 1878 for Port Darwin and thereby began his long association with the Northern Territory.

In April 1882, after four years of service as a government surveyor in the Northern Territory, Lindsay resigned to go into private practice—at a time when there was a weak boom in pastoral speculation in the Territory. The boom did not persist and in 1884, South Australia plunged into an economic recession. Lindsay could find little work in the Territory or in South Australia. To make matters worse, he lost his savings with the collapse of the Commercial Bank of South Australia in 1884. In 1885, he was forced to seek employment in the eastern colonies and was ultimately successful in being engaged to undertake pastoral surveying in New South Wales and the Northern Territory.

Except for exploring Arnhem Land in mid-1883, which he did for the South Australian government, it was during the latter years of the 1880s that Lindsay did most of the exploration for which he was renowned. In 1885–86 he undertook what he called the Great Central Exploration Expedition from Adelaide to Port Darwin and discovered the apparent ruby—actually garnet—fields in Central Australia. In October 1885, he surveyed the first 104 allotments for the township of Stuart six and a half kilometres from the Alice Springs. Two years later, he made a second overland trip, this time in the opposite direction. These explorations were ultimately recognised by the Royal Geographical Society, when in 1887 he was elected a fellow. However, this recognition, welcome though it was, did nothing to secure his future.

Lindsay had a passion for exploring. Thus, he lobbied hard and long for the position of leader of the exploring expedition that in 1890 Sir Thomas Elder had agreed to finance. His efforts were successful, and his joy was great. The expedition was well equipped, comprising 15 men, including two surveyors and two natural scientists, with 44 camels; it carried supplies for six months, and was intended to be one of the great Australian exploring expeditions. It left Adelaide on 22 April 1891, charged with the task of exploring Central Australia to the west of the Overland Telegraph.

Unfortunately for Lindsay, the expedition was almost a total failure. A severe drought in the region to be explored made for great hardships. These difficulties strained relations between Lindsay and his men, three of whom he dismissed for insubordination, while three others resigned rather than continue with the expedition.

Early in 1892, the remnant of the expedition reached Geraldton in Western Australia. Lindsay was eager to continue the work and salvage something from the expedition, but Elder abandoned it in March 1892. A subsequent inquiry by the South Australian branch of the Royal Geographical Society into the fortunes of the expedition ensured that relations between former members of the expedition remained acrimonious for a considerable time. The Society exonerated Lindsay, but this was a far cry from the acclaim that he had hoped would be his due after the expedition.

For nearly 20 years after the Elder Exploring Expedition, Lindsay returned to his profession as a surveyor and mining agent, though his efforts met with only moderate financial success.

In April 1893, he acquired 50 camels and commenced a carrying service in Western Australia to serve the recently discovered goldfields, though he abandoned this business late in 1894.

Coolgardie remained the centre of Lindsay’s interests for the following five years. In 1895 and again in 1896 he visited the United Kingdom to attract interest and capital to the Scottish Westralia Limited, of which he was the colonial manager.

In the years from 1899 to 1907 Lindsay and companies in which he had interests took up tin mines in north Queensland. These interests required his constant attention, and he was frequently away from Adelaide, which was once again his base. Again, none of these ventures brought the success or wealth which Lindsay would have wished.

Despite his multifarious activities Lindsay longed for the security of a government position and frequently sought positions in the South Australian civil service and that of other colonies, and in 1911 he applied for the position of Administrator in the Northern Territory. He was unsuccessful, and in 1911 was once more in Western Australia in search of profitable gold mines and leases.

However, other government appointments were offered to Lindsay in the years from 1913 to 1919 that entailed work in the Northern Territory. The first of these was made in March 1913, when he was appointed a commissioner to inquire into the utility of a railway in the Territory. His abiding interest and concern for the economic development of the Northern Territory, together with his first-hand knowledge of the region, seemed to fit him for the position. However, his convictions about the manner in which the Territory should be developed possibly made this an unwise choice. Lindsay and another of the commissioners, F Clarke, recommended that a railway should be constructed to link Katherine to Oodnadatta in South Australia by means of a direct route through Alice Springs—this was the very thing for which Lindsay had long lobbied. A Combes, the third commissioner, so opposed the recommendations of his colleagues, that he submitted a completely separate report.

In February 1914, after the completion of the work of the commission, Lindsay took the opportunity to visit England to attract investment to the Territory. The war intervened and frustrated his efforts. In 1916, and again in 1919, Lindsay was engaged in survey work in the Territory, on behalf of the Federal government. By 1920, however, he was again dependent upon his own devices. At the time of his death in Darwin on 17 December 1922, he was in the Northern Territory representing a large syndicate that he had formed for the purpose of selecting land for cotton growing.

Lindsay had married on 10 March 1881. His wife was Annie Theresa Lindsay, the daughter of Arthur Lindsay, who was at the time the superintendent of the Destitute Asylum in Adelaide. Annie accompanied Lindsay to the Northern Territory in 1881, but it is evident that she remained in Adelaide while Lindsay was engaged in his explorations during the eighties. By this time, they had begun to have children. In his explorations of 1883, Lindsay named two features, Glen Annie and Gwendoline Falls, after his wife and daughter. Ultimately Lindsay had a family of one daughter and four sons.

In the latter years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, Lindsay became one of the most ardent champions of the Northern Territory. He was a member of several associations that had as their object the lobbying of members of Parliament for increased attention to the economic development of the Territory. He gave numerous lectures extolling the virtues of the area as a field for economic enterprise, including a paper before the International Geographical Congress in London in August 1895. He wrote innumerable articles and pamphlets for the same purpose, which included *An Expedition across Australia* (1889), *Territoria* (1909), ‘Central Australia As It Is—A vast region which awaits development’ in *The Australasian Traveller* (December 1909) and ‘The Northern Territory of Australia. A much-misunderstood country. Is it fit for white settlement?’ in *Sea, Land and Air* (June 1922).

David Lindsay was a man who constantly struggled to achieve public recognition, financial success and security, but failed to do so. A generation earlier, his indefatigable energy might have brought him fame, but in the latter years of the nineteenth century, he could do little other than fill in the gaps in Australia’s exploration which had been left by others and work to sustain himself during the period of recession at the end of the century.

David Lindsay Papers, Uncatalogued Manuscripts, no 200, Mitchell Library; David Lindsay Papers, Item 1240, SAA; P F Donovan ‘David Lindsay (1856–1922) Explorer, Surveyor and Northern Territory Apologist’, in *South Australiana*, vol 18, no 2, September 1979; *Advertiser*, 19 December 1922; SAPP 239–1883/84, SAPP 45–1893; *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol 11, 1889; CPP 31–1914.

P F DONOVAN, Vol 1.

LINGIARI, VINCENT (1908–1988), bush worker and Aboriginal land rights leader, was born in 1908. He belonged to the Gurindji people of the Victoria River District. A leader and Kadijeri man amongst his own people, he worked, as did many Aborigines, on cattle stations owned by Europeans. Lingiari was renowned for his personal qualities as well as his superb horsemanship and abilities as a stockman. Native Affairs patrol officer **Jack Doolan** regarded him as ‘the most remarkable man I have ever met—black or white.’

These personal qualities led Lingiari to first question and then take action on the treatment of Aboriginal people on stations. He worked at Wave Hill, owned by the British ‘beef baron’ Lord Vestey. It was clear to Lingiari that there was a vast difference between the treatment of white and black workers at Wave Hill. The white workers had beds to sleep on and steak to eat while the black workers lived in shanties, often too low to stand in, had no bedding and were fed salt beef and bread. While the white workers were paid on a regular basis, the Aborigines often had to wait for months for the paltry wages they had been promised and in many cases, wages were never paid at all. The white stockmen returned to the station every week or so, unlike the Aboriginal stockmen who sometimes spent months at a time with the stock. The practice was of particular concern to Lingiari as he felt it was a deliberate ploy to enable the white workers to use the Aboriginal women in the absence of their menfolk. The Aboriginal people on Wave Hill were ‘treated like dogs’, with no respect shown for their abilities or tribal standing. White station bosses and hands called Lingiari, proud of his Aboriginal name, Tommy Vincent.

In 1966 Lingiari spoke with Dexter Daniels, Aboriginal organiser for the North Australian Workers’ Union (NAWU), about the treatment of Aborigines on the Vestey stations, and of his feeling that a walk off of Aboriginal workers might be the only option if conditions did not improve. Such action did not have the approval of the NAWU as the union had already applied to the federal arbitration court for Aboriginal workers to receive the same pay as white workers. In March 1966, the court approved the NAWU submission, but deferred its application until 1 December 1968. This decision angered Aboriginal workers, and led to a series of strikes on Territory stations. In August 1966, Lingiari approached the Wave Hill Station Manager and asked that Aboriginal stockmen be paid a

fair wage of ‘twenty five quid a week’. It is perhaps an indication of how little Lingiari had ever been paid in cash that he was unsure if ‘quids’ were Pounds or Dollars, brought in with decimalisation in 1966. The Manager refused. In that case, said Lingiari, he and his people would withdraw their labour and walk off all the Vestey stations until their claims were met. On 23 August 1966, the Aborigines left Wave Hill Station and ultimately squatted in Wattie Creek. Other Aboriginal workers and their families from other stations joined the group. While mainly Gurindji people, there were Aborigines from many other groups who joined in the walk off.

Lingiari’s concern that his people would suffer due to lack of food and support was unfounded. Support came from Daniels in Darwin and locals, many of them whites, who sympathised with the Aboriginal workers and provided initial food supplies until the Wattie Creek community became organised and initiated traditional hunting and gathering procedures. When the Wave Hill Manager and other station managers arrived at Wattie Creek with a killed beast and offered the opportunity to return to work on the stations, both offers were refused. The Aboriginal walk off created great problems for the station managers. They desperately needed workers. Many Aborigines, mainly the younger men, did return to work on the stations. However, this time the treatment was quite different. Lingiari and other Aboriginal elders made it clear that they would only provide workers to stations that supplied proper wages and food and treated their Aboriginal workers with respect. The element of respect, which confused many of the white station managers and owners, was central to the aims of Lingiari and the other Aboriginal leaders at Wattie Creek. In many cases stations which had relatively good housing for their Aboriginal workers were refused requests for workers due to the way the Aborigines were treated. Conversely, other stations that had poor housing, but had a reputation for treating their Aboriginal workers fairly, had little difficulty in finding willing workers.

Having achieved some control over their own destinies, the thoughts of Lingiari and his people turned to a dream that had gained momentum during the 1960s—land of their own. Lingiari’s vision was for Gurindji people to live on their own land, eat their own beef and conduct their own ceremonies without interference. He wanted justice and a land in which Aborigines and whites could live together with dignity and mutual respect. Lingiari’s belief that both blacks and whites could live in harmony extended to the alien animals that the white settlers had brought to the north of Australia. When asked when he was going to pull out the Aboriginal water pump workers off the stations, he replied, ‘Never’. Lingiari knew that the sound of suffering and dying animals would not affect the big Vestey bosses but that he and his people would hear, and be affected by, that suffering.

As Wattie Creek grew into a community with housing and organisation, Lingiari made many visits to southern capitals to plead the case for a homeland for the Gurindji people. He found a sympathetic listener in Gough Whitlam, who came to power in 1972 as Prime Minister. The process was set in motion to transfer a section of land, including Wattie Creek, to the Gurindji people. On 16 August 1975 Whitlam, known to the Gurindji as ‘Jungarni’, ‘that big man’, at a special ceremony at Wattie Creek poured a handful of soil into Lingiari’s hands, symbolising the return of the land to Lingiari and his people. The land grant of 3 200 square kilometres is the area later known as Dagaragu. Lingiari was later awarded the Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for his service to the Aboriginal people.

On 21 January 1988, Lingiari passed away at Dagaragu. A burial service was held at Kalkaringi, where his family and a large group of mourners, black and white, gathered outside the Baptist church to sing hymns and pay tribute to a great Northern Territory Aboriginal leader.

F Hardy, *The Unlucky Australians*, 1968; Vincent Lingiari File, State Library of the Northern Territory.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

LINKLATER, MARY ALICE: see [MILLER, MARY ALICE](#)

LINKLATER, WILLIAM (BILLY MILLER) (1868–1958), bushman, drover, prospector, horse trader, buffalo hunter, cattle rustler and writer, was born in Adelaide on 29 July 1868, son of William Robertson Linklater, a baker, and his wife Eleanor Wemys Linklater, *nee* Fea. His parents were Scottish Presbyterians of the ‘spare the rod, spoil the child’ variety. As a youth, Linklater found Sundays ‘purgatory’ and eventually, after a thrashing by his father who had discovered that he planned to run away to sea, he turned in the other direction and went bush. He never saw his father again. The legacy from his youth that he valued was something of a classical education and he continued to read widely during his lifetime in the bush.

He got any work he could get and by the age of 16 was a fully-fledged drover and had reached his full height of 167 centimetres of the ‘agile whipcord he remained all his life’. He took the name ‘Billy Miller’. His adopted name was given by the Aboriginal group ‘Yanta Wonta’ who said he ‘bin die and jump up white fella’. Their version of his name was ‘Billamilla’, which meant waterhole and that place was his spiritual home.

During the 1880s, he travelled extensively in Western Australia and Queensland, at one time following in the footsteps of the ill-fated Burke and Wills expedition. Before the turn of the century Miller worked with [Tom Nugent](#) on his newly formed Banka Banka Station and had first hand information from him about the latter’s role as captain of the ‘Ragged Thirteen’. They stole as they rode to the Hall’s Creek goldfield where Miller was also prospecting. When that failed, he returned to the Northern Territory ‘duffing’ en route a good mob of cattle that ‘more than compensated for his failure to make a worthwhile gold strike’. With no law to speak of in the remoter areas of the Territory, Miller worked part time as a stockman on some stations and part time as a ‘poddy dodger’. He made raiding forays into South Australia and Queensland taking cattle back to the Territory. It is said that on one occasion he turned up at the Katherine with a fine mob of horses all bearing the brand of the South Australian Commissioner of Police.

He and Steve Lewis were the first white men to travel around Lake Woods and he and Harry Bates blazed the trail between Beetaloo Station and what is now called OT station. Over some years working there, he fathered a number of children by a Jingili Aboriginal woman. He mourned the death of his half-caste son, William (George) Miller, who fell from a horse at OT Downs in post-war years. A later child, born in 1905, was [Alice Mary Miller](#), 'Lulla'.

By about 1910, he was back droving for wages along the Murrarji track between Newcastle Waters and Wave Hill. He was a pioneer buffalo and crocodile shooter but his attempts at exporting hides met with little success. He continued to drove over the next 20 years and helped more than one man in the pioneering months of a new station. He also had a brief foray at pearling and then mining at Wandii.

Over the years, he built up a considerable knowledge of Aborigines and their customs and he was accepted as a blood brother by several clans. The respect in which he was held by Aborigines, many of whose languages he spoke, was recognised and he sometimes travelled as pilot and guide with exploring parties. He defended the rights of the Aborigines fiercely and began to record what he saw. Around the campfire, he would read Shakespeare, Plato and Karl Marx 'and anything else he came across', the weightier the better for it passed the time. In appropriate circumstances, he read aloud and he recounts how while out at Bedford Downs the men never tired of hearing how Horatius held the bridge. On night watch in a stock camp, particularly if Aborigines were expected to be troublesome, he would walk up and down in front of the campfire 'declaiming favourite passages' of Shakespeare.

In 1933, he made a permanent camp at the Katherine but failing eyesight sent him to Sydney in 1938 after 54 years in the Territory. He spent the rest of his life in Sydney in a boarding house where he was known for his 'fog-horn voice, fondness for a wide-brimmed, high-crowned Stetson hat and unrivalled capacity for blistering the air with ripe Australian oaths'. He lived on an aged pension friends had obtained for him. He never married and died in obscurity in 1958 and was buried in the Botany cemetery.

About 1941 he published under his own name *The Magic Snake* that dealt with Aboriginal legends. He became a member of the Fellowship of Australian Writers. In 1968, 100 years after he was born, with a Commonwealth Literary Fund grant, Lynda Tapp published a number of his memoirs under the title *Gather No Moss*. People interested in Aboriginal place names later recognised the value of his work and the trust placed in him by Warumungu and Jingili people in particular. His daughter, Alice Miller, proudly held a copy of *The Magic Snake* until her death in 1974. Before his death, Linklater had deposited his papers with the Mitchell Library. He kept up a correspondence with such notable Territorians as [Jeannie Gunn](#) of *We of the Never Never* fame and he was photographed in Adelaide in 1946 with T H Pearce (Mine Host) and Jack McLeod ('The Quiet Stockman'). In 1980, his nephew H T Linklater published *Echoes of the Elsey Saga*, which was based in part on material supplied by Billy Miller.

H T Linklater, *Echoes of the Elsey Saga*, 1980; W Linklater, *The Magic Snake*, 1941, 'The Ragged Thirteen', 1941, ms, Mitchell Library, Sydney; W Linklater & L Tapp, *Gather No Moss*, 1968; B Sharp, 'Pioneer Adventurer', Stockman's Hall of Fame, June 1993.

V T O'BRIEN and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

LITCHFIELD, (AUGUSTUS) BOYNE PHILLIPS (1912–), general and bush worker, diesel engineer and community worker, was born on 29 February 1912, at Clifton Hills, Victoria, where his mother was visiting family for six weeks, the son of Valentine (Val) Litchfield and his wife [Jessie](#), nee Phillips. His father worked for the government diamond drills at West Arm and Anson Bay looking for coal and then moved to Union Reef and Pine Creek. When Litchfield reached school age, he was sent to board at the Catholic school in Darwin until his father gave mining away and moved to Darwin to work at the Vestey's meatworks at Bullocky Point. The family lived at Parap behind the police station. Litchfield, aged 11, was awarded the Royal Humane Society Medal for jumping down a nine-metre well to save his two-year-old brother from drowning in 1923.

Litchfield attended the Parap School and later the Darwin School, which was located near the present site of the General Post Office. Some Melville Island Aborigines camped on Mindil Beach when Litchfield's parents lived at Myilly Point. One, Jumbo, who was about Litchfield's age, began helping to look after the younger children. He became a very important member of the family, remaining very close, especially to Litchfield's mother until her death in 1956. Litchfield remembered that two old Chinese men lived in a shack on the corner of Knuckey and Cavenagh Streets. They had a buffalo and cart to deliver cordwood around Darwin. They kept several buffalo near the One Mile Dam, and Litchfield with his brothers and sisters often played there and rode the buffalo full speed into the water.

Litchfield's first job was with the British Australia Telegraph Company with his brother Val and friend [Roy Edwards](#). Then he worked for Holt and McMillan, who had a butcher shop in Smith Street. One long weekend Litchfield was accidentally locked in the freezer. In those days, there was only a lock on the outside of the door. He kept himself alive by moving carcasses from one place to another. Another job was in Cowper's Garage, which had the contract to service aircraft as they came through Darwin.

In 1930, Litchfield joined Geoff Dangerfield on his lugger *Enchantress*. For three years they shot and skinned crocodiles and buffalo, and gathered trochus shell, pearl shell, turtle shell and trepang. They also carted crocodile and buffalo skins from the Adelaide River to Darwin for an old hunter. The writer [Ernestine Hill](#) accompanied them on one of their hunting trips. She later described in an article 'one of the most foolhardy things I have ever seen' when Litchfield, aged 19, dived into the Adelaide River to retrieve a crocodile he had just shot; he was so confident he had killed it! At another time Litchfield and Dangerfield shot geese and kangaroos for the itinerant camp near Gardens Hill. Many homeless men lived there during the depression years.

In 1932, Litchfield's father died of malaria and his sister Betty was very upset so Litchfield took her way on a holiday. They took six weeks to drive over the outback tracks to Adelaide. From there, they visited friends and relatives in the eastern states before returning to Darwin.

Litchfield met Noel Healey on the return trip. Healey ferried supplies to outlying stations from the railhead at Katherine. He employed Litchfield to drive his Leyland trucks for three Dry Seasons. The trip took Litchfield from Katherine through to Wyndham and down to Mistake Creek, Ord River and then on to Inverway. On the return trip, he would go through Wave Hill to Katherine, then on Larrimah, Nutwood Downs, OT Downs, Beetaloo, Dunmarra and then back to Katherine again. He had many adventures. On one trip, he was changing a tyre when the wheel fell on him, pinning both his hands for 14 hours before a passing truck driver came to his rescue. Another time he was bogged for four days near Wave Hill. Once [Dr Clyde Fenton](#) flew past, and seeing the vehicle, landed his aeroplane and arranged for Litchfield to get enough petrol to reach Katherine.

During the 'wet' in his first year with Healey Litchfield contracted to go with a drover taking 1 000 head of cattle and 30 horses from Pigeon Hole near Wave Hill through Montijini, Newcastle Waters and Anthony's Lagoon to Boulia in Queensland. There were six men and a cook, Dan Delany. They covered about 16 kilometres a day and took three months to do the trip. Another time he went as cook with a crew and 900 head of cattle for a journey from Newcastle Waters through Lake Woods, Powell Creek, Renner Springs, Helen Springs, Banka Banka and Churchill's Head to Brunchilly. Another wet season he helped remove the anthills to make the runway at Daly Waters Aerodrome. While there Litchfield picked up the nickname 'Cannibal' because he and a workmate were resting in the shade of a tree when a small poisonous snake bit his mate on the ear. Since there was no sharp implement handy, Litchfield decided to break the skin to release the poison by biting it. The fellow got such a fright that he struggled and Litchfield accidentally took a piece off the ear. Once when a worker from Moline Gold Mine out from Pine Creek was missing Litchfield went with the policeman and 20 other men to search for him. The ground was waterlogged; too wet for a fire, so Litchfield cut the top off an anthill and with wood from overhead, they were able to cook and enjoy their evening meal.

In 1936 while on holiday in Sydney Litchfield met [Glad Burling](#). They became engaged and were married on 24 April 1937 at Lane Cove. Litchfield took a four-year apprenticeship for diesel fitting at Leyland Motors in Redfern, Sydney. Their first two children were born in Sydney.

In February 1941, Litchfield was offered a position managing a service station in Darwin. He and his family returned to the Northern Territory by car. His wife was six months pregnant and the children were one and two years old. The trip, over mostly dirt tracks via western New South Wales and South Australia and up through Alice Springs in the height of summer, took six weeks, a tremendous feat for those days. They passed many military vehicles on the road north of Alice Springs as well as road builders and because of the heavy wet season could not get any further north than Daly Waters. In early April Litchfield put his wife and children on an aeroplane to Darwin and sat out the floods before continuing the journey. Glad stayed with Litchfield's sister, Betty, and after he arrived, the family moved to a rented house near the Daly Street Bridge. Their third child was born six weeks later. On 21 December 1941, Glad and the children were evacuated back to Sydney because of the impending danger in Darwin. Litchfield was directed into the railways for the duration of the war. His wife and three children, with only hand luggage, left on *Zealandia*. For two years, Litchfield worked between Darwin and Katherine on the railways. He was in Adelaide River when Darwin was attacked but on several occasions was in town during raids, once sheltering under the railway carriages during the bombing.

Litchfield's wife and family returned to the Territory in 1944 and spent two years in Pine Creek along with thousands of troops and other returnees. They lived in a tin shed as people took whatever they could find for shelter. Their fourth child was born in 1945. Eventually early in 1946 Darwin was declared safe so Litchfield and others took their families back to try to start life over again. The town was a mess, with barbed wire and paper scattered all over the place, and bomb wrecked buildings everywhere. It was hard finding everything that had been left behind destroyed; even the family car had been burned. After three attempts a dwelling was found for the family: a three-roomed corrugated iron bullet holed building in Stuart Park. One room only had mesh for part of the walls.

Litchfield started a partnership with his next-door neighbour, Jimmy Stanton. They brought Army surplus diesel trucks and started a carrying business. They moved many army surplus goods first and later carted peanuts from the Daly River and produce from Katherine as well as further afield. Litchfield was well known for his courtesy and willingness to help others, especially those in trouble. He could fix anything with almost anything. In 1948, surplus tomatoes from farmers in Katherine needed disposal, so Litchfield's wife started selling them to the Army, Navy and Air Force. Later other green grocer items were added and soon they had a thriving business. They sold out in 1954.

Litchfield managed the Banyan Agricultural Farm near Batchelor from 1954 until 1957 and in 1957 became a leading hand in the vehicle workshop at Rum Jungle, Australia's first uranium mine. He became a foreman and was a traffic officer when the mine closed down in 1971. During his spare time, mostly on weekends, Litchfield delighted in taking town people and visitors out bush fishing, crocodile hunting and buffalo sighting. He was famous for his Barramundi fishing and at times held a commercial fishing licence. But his main claim to fame was the fact that the crocodile Sweetheart, which became a problem at the Finnis River, had attacked him and his boat. In attempting to catch and move the crocodile, it drowned, so was preserved and is now in the Northern Territory Museum at Bullocky Point in Darwin.

Litchfield became involved in the Scouting movement, becoming District Scout Master. He was later also involved in the Saint John Ambulance. He assisted for three days in the clean up of Darwin following Cyclone Tracy in December 1974. He was at various times President of the Rum Jungle Recreation Club and on the

committee of the Bowls Club at Batchelor. He assisted the Rum Jungle Hockey Club and was a member of Lions International, the Batchelor/Adelaide River Tourist Promotion Association and, as a Trustee, the Rum Jungle Lake Recreation Board. He spent 15 years maintaining and improving the lake area for which he received the Keep Australia Beautiful Tidy Towns' Award in 1990. He suffered a stroke in 1982 that left him with a speech impediment and loss of memory, but this did not deter him from continuing his community work. He was awarded the Queen's Jubilee Medal in 1977 for services to the community.

E Hill, 'Crocodiles and Pink Lotus', in *Walkabout's Australia*, 1968; C Stringer, *Saga of Sweetheart*, 1986; family information.

JANET DICKINSON, Vol 2.

LITCHFIELD, CHRISTABEL JOHANNA: see **RODERICK, CHRISTABEL JOHANNA**

LITCHFIELD, FREDERICK HENRY (1832–?), expedition member, explorer and reputedly the first person to find gold in the Northern Territory, was born on 27 April 1832 at Gazapore, India, second child of Charles William Litchfield and his wife Margaret, *nee* O'Connor. His father was a Major in the 38th Regiment of Foot; he and one other person were the only survivors when the company was destroyed at the siege of Bharatpur, India, in 1826. Frederick's mother is presumed to have died shortly after his birth because his father married his second wife, Ellen Munro, at Beckampore, India, 20 February 1835. The family moved back to England where the third child, George Charles, was born at Canterbury, 21 May 1836, then on to Ireland where a fourth child, William James, was born at Dublin, 8 April 1838. When Charles was about to retire from the army the family set sail for Adelaide, South Australia, in the barque *d'Auvergne*, arriving 21 March 1839. Also on board ship were Charles's brother, Dr John Palmer Litchfield, and his sister, Ann Litchfield, who later married the Honourable Thomas Reynolds. Another brother, Frederick Burnett Litchfield, followed later.

On 17 June 1840, Litchfield's father joined the Adelaide Metropolitan Police Force as a sub-inspector and on 31 March 1847, he was promoted to Inspector of Metropolitan Police. He died on 25 August 1850, aged 47, and his funeral was one of the largest seen in Adelaide to that date. Fred Litchfield continued to live with his family in Grenfell Street, Adelaide.

Litchfield spent seven years between 1852 and 1863 in the Bendigo and Ovens goldmining districts of Victoria, and it was possibly there that he met Alexander Tolmer on his Gold Escort trips to Mount Alexander. Tolmer was a friend of George E Mason, husband to Litchfield's older sister, Agnes. In September 1859, Litchfield joined Tolmer's expedition to race **John McDouall Stuart** across the continent from south to north; but the severe drought of that year caused Tolmer to abandon the attempt after two and a half months. Tolmer experienced some problems with several of his men, but found Litchfield trustworthy and a good worker. Tolmer said of him, 'I cannot too much extol the untiring zeal and energy which this young man has from the first starting of the expedition always displayed, and the ever ready aid and cheerful assistance I have received at his hands.'

In 1864 Litchfield, possibly at Tolmer's recommendation, was accepted for the **Finniss** expedition to the Northern Territory in the capacity of a labourer to look after the stock. The expedition left Adelaide on 29 April 1864 and arrived at Escape Cliffs on 22 June.

The company proceeded up the Adelaide River to the first camp. On 8 July, Litchfield joined the first exploring party led by B T Finniss with Fred Finniss and three others. They examined the Daly Ranges and found and named Fred's Pass. On 9 August, Litchfield was wounded in the arm by a stone spear in an affray with the Aborigines. Three spears wounded another member of the party and one Aborigine was shot. Finniss praised Litchfield and three others for their gallant conduct. At the end of August the camp was moved to Escape Cliffs, and from then until the new year, Litchfield was often sent out to search for straying goats, buffalos and horses, or to hunt wallaby and kangaroo, or fish for salmon to supplement the dwindling food supply. On 17 November 1864, he was one of 19 men to sign a letter of complaint to the Government Resident about insufficient food.

In January 1865, Litchfield, along with Fred Finniss and Ross, started out for Cape Hotham to search for suitable stone for building, and in March, he was one of a party of five, led by Fred Finniss, sent out to explore toward the Daly Ranges. They were away 15 days. During the following month, Litchfield accompanied an exploration party led by Auld and four others to Port Darwin. The Government Resident met the party at Stokes Hill in the schooner *Beatrice* with extra provisions. They found and named the King and Howard rivers.

In May 1865, Litchfield commanded a party of six others and 12 horses sent to examine the country around the upper Adelaide River and Daly Ranges. They headed toward Chambers Bay and then veered southward. On the upper reaches of the Adelaide River, on 18 May 1865, Litchfield cut his mark in the rocks on the east side of the river. This was located by **J T Manton** on 3 December 1866.

Litchfield was very enthusiastic about the quality of the country he passed through. 'I have seen none better for cattle. Travelling through this part of the country is like travelling through a cultivated meadow, and parts of it resemble very much the Oven's diggings in Victoria. I am sure gold will be found around here.' He found and named Mounts Bennett, Dougall, Hunchback and Farrington and the Finniss River. On 23 May, the party turned for home because the horses were knocking up and King was ill.

In July 1865, the Government Resident found a need of extra protection of the camp against the natives, so he appointed Frederick Litchfield Acting Inspector of Police, his own son, Fred Finniss, Sergeant and five other men as Constables. The men also were given a raise in pay. Litchfield was given command of another exploration party in September 1865, this time to go as far as the Daly River and beyond, if possible. On the eighth day out the party was again at the Finniss River, and Litchfield decided to prospect for gold. In half an hour, he had found a speck

and shortly afterward two more. Several of the party searched but were unsuccessful. Goyder later substantiated Litchfield's gold claim and verified his description of the country.

Litchfield found and named many creeks and mountains, including Haywards Range (after his brother-in-law), Mason's Plains (after another brother-in-law), Reynolds River (after his uncle), as well as Mount Litchfield and Mount Tolmer. The party was away for two months. Shortly after their return, some members of the Finnis Expedition, including Litchfield, were recalled to Adelaide for an inquiry into Finnis's handling of the settlement of Escape Cliffs.

Some criticism was made of Litchfield; that he had been employed as a labourer, advanced to storekeeper, then made Inspector of Police at an increase in pay, and also that he was not suitable to lead an exploration party. Therefore, it was said, his evidence at the inquiry should be received with caution as he had been, in a manner, paid for it. His uncle, the Honourable **Thomas Reynolds** defended Litchfield by saying, 'The late Chief Secretary, Mr Hart and present Treasurer, Mr Duffield, have each complimented him and one personally thanked him as one of the few men who had done his duty to the Government in the Northern Territory.'

Fredrick Litchfield did not marry, and the date of his death is uncertain. Reynolds suggested late in 1866 that Litchfield was upset by comments made about him and that 'he was no longer with us'. By 1873, Reynolds referred to him as the 'late F Litchfield'. In 1914, his cousin stated in a letter to Stephen King that Litchfield had died in Calcutta, India, from an old spear wound received in the Northern Territory, which broke out and turned gangrenous. According to this source, he was on board ship at the time and was taken to hospital in Calcutta, but did not recover.

A Tolmer, *Reminiscences of a Chequered Career*; 1882; Information supplied by Lyle Litchfield, Marree, SA, from Birth, Death and Marriage Certificates, SA newspapers, shipping lists; Police records, SA; Biography of G E Mason, SAA; Finnis Diaries, SAAI 12 M, 49 M; NT Expedition journal, SAA, D6031(L); Letter from Maria Mail to Stephen King, 1914, SAA; SAPP 1864, no 89, 1865/66, no 15 83, 1866/67 no 17, 1807, vol 2, no 16, 1870, vol 3, no 157, 1873, no 55; *SA Register*; October 16 & 17, 1866.

JANET DICKINSON, *Vol 1.*

LITCHFIELD, GLADYS (GLAD) nee BURLING (1911–), businesswoman and community worker, was born at Upper Orara, near Coffs Harbour, New South Wales, on 25 March 1911. She was the eldest of seven children born to Henry Burling and his wife Nell, nee Denning. The family lived on a dairy farm and had a piggery. Litchfield attended the Upper Orara Primary School and then the Canterbury High School after the family moved to Sydney. She left school at the age of 16, becoming apprenticed to a milliner and at the age of 19 in 1930 opened her own shop in Pitt Street, Sydney. She married **Boyne Litchfield**, a Northern Territory lad who was doing a diesel engineering course in Sydney, in April 1937. Their first two children were born in Sydney. When his course was completed, Boyne was offered a job back in Darwin and had been sent the money for the family to fly up but instead Litchfield went out and purchased a car so they could drive. Petrol was rationed because of the Second World War, but they had been given special permits to travel.

Litchfield, along with her husband, two babies and two passengers made an epic journey by road from Sydney to Darwin via Broken Hill and Port Augusta in February 1941. She was six months pregnant. The journey, mostly over dirt tracks in the heat of summer and with millions of flies, took six weeks. On the way through the Territory, they passed convoys of military vehicles heading north as well as personnel working on the road and building bridges. It was the middle of the Wet Season. At Daly Waters Litchfield and the two children flew to Darwin while her husband waited for the floods to subside. They boarded with her sister in law Betty Dangerfield on Railway Hill near the present *Northern Territory News* office in Darwin. The family later moved into a rented house above the railway line near Daly Street Bridge. The baby was born in Darwin six weeks later. Life in Darwin was anything but dull at that time. There were black outs at night and air raid drills; the women even had to learn how to use guns to protect themselves. Litchfield's husband was managing a garage in Mitchell Street for 'Bogger' Young, and since employees were in short supply, the only workers were soldiers who would attend after their day's duties. One of Litchfield's chores was to feed the men because they missed their meal at the Army Mess. What an introduction to the Territory!

The stay in Darwin was short lived: Glad Litchfield, with hand held luggage only, was compulsorily evacuated with her three children back to New South Wales on 20 December 1941 on the ill-fated *Zealandia*, which, on its return, was sunk in the harbour when Darwin was bombed on 19 February 1942. Litchfield's husband was directed to work on the railway crew between Katherine and Darwin. The journey was a nightmare; there was not enough food for all the women and children who were crowded 10 and more to a four-berth cabin. Some Japanese prisoners of war were taken on board at Thursday Island, which added to the over crowding, and there was a rumour that a Japanese submarine was following the ship. Finally, they arrived in Sydney but were held up at the Heads because of another submarine alert. When the ship finally docked, Litchfield's family, who had gone to meet the ship, got tired of waiting and left, so, with her last five Pound note she hired a taxi to her parents' house. Four extra mouths to feed at that time of scarcity were not welcome so Litchfield soon found other accommodation.

Litchfield received no money from the Territory because her husband's wages had been garnisheed to pay bills that had mounted up from having to set up house as well as feeding the workers in Darwin. She had to take jobs to support herself and three children. Litchfield saw her husband only once in the two years she was away. She and the children returned to the Territory in 1944 by train via Port Augusta to Alice Springs and then in the back of an Army truck to Pine Creek. They were allowed no further. There they lived, in a corrugated iron shed, for the next two years along with many other returnees and military personnel. Litchfield's fourth child was born while they waited. They returned to a bombed and looted Darwin in February 1946 to start over again. All their personal

possessions had been destroyed along with the car during the raids. After two failed attempts to find a house the family moved into a corrugated iron house just off Westralia Street in Stuart Park. That was home for nine years.

Litchfield began selling excess tomatoes from the Katherine farms in 1948. Her husband started a carrying business and was asked by the Katherine farmers if he could dispose of their unsaleable crops. Litchfield put up a sign on the highway to advertise and approached the armed forces with an offer to supply their needs. From this humble beginning developed a green grocer business, which sold nuts, cold meat, home made cakes and sweets, soft drinks, fruits and vegetables. Litchfield was the first person to get perishables from the south by airfreight. Her shop was a welcome addition to that area of Darwin. She also supplied her home made sweets to local shops in town and still found time to sew most of the clothes for her children as well as to attend to the normal household duties. Litchfield joined the Country Women's Association in 1950, later becoming a Branch President, Territorial Vice President and Acting Territorial President.

Litchfield sold the business in 1954 before she moved with her husband and four children to Banyan Farm near Batchelor. In 1957, the family moved into the town of Batchelor where her husband started work at the nearby Rum Jungle Uranium Mine. Litchfield became involved in activities in the town, school and especially the Bowling Club. When the mine closed down in 1971, the Litchfields elected to stay in Batchelor. Litchfield's favourite pastime was knitting baby clothes to enter in shows as well as for sale in a Darwin shop. She was well known for having one of the best gardens in Batchelor.

Litchfield had tremendous strength of character. She never lost her feeling of pride in herself and tried to instil it into her children. She was known as 'the Duchess' to most of the people of Batchelor. For someone of her background to have lived through and survived the early hardships she experienced in the Top End often amazed some of her acquaintances.

Northern Territory Women's Register, 1988; family information.

JANET DICKINSON, Vol 2.

LITCHFIELD, JESSIE SINCLAIR *nee* **PHILLIPS** (1883–1956), Northern Territory pioneer, political lobbyist, self-taught historian and writer, was born on 18 February 1883 at Ashfield, Sydney, second child of John Phillips, surveyor and pastoral inspector, and Jean Sinclair, *nee* Ruid. She may have inherited her later passion for writing and reporting from her maternal grandfather and uncle who established the *John O'Groat Journal* at Wick, Caithness, Scotland in 1836.

Jessie spent her childhood travelling with the family to various New South Wales country towns until 1895 when they returned to Sydney where Jessie attended Neutral Bay Public School. One of her teachers was Mary Cameron, later Dame Mary Gilmore, with whom she corresponded throughout her life.

In 1907, after spending her girlhood in Melbourne, she sailed to China to visit wealthy relatives in business there. On the boat, she met a young engineer, Valentine Litchfield, who disembarked in Darwin. Six months later, on her return from China, Jessie joined him and on 21 January 1908 they were married at the Methodist Church in Knuckey Street, leaving the next morning for their home at West Arm, then one of the most important mining fields in the Territory.

For the next several years they moved wherever the diamond drills were sent—first to West Arm, then Anson Bay (where for almost a year she was the only white woman), Brock's Creek, the Ironblow mine, the Union Reefs and Pine Creek. Conditions were isolated and crude—her first home consisting of hessian walls, an iron roof and a bough shed in front for shade and coolness. But Jessie, an avid reader and student of Territory history, became passionately committed to Territory life and almost immediately began writing about it and lobbying for better conditions. Her plea for mission stations, written to various individuals and the Victorian church publication, the *Messenger*, is credited with having influenced the establishment of the Australian Inland Mission and later the flying doctor service. When the diamond drills finished, Val Litchfield found work in Darwin with Vestey's meatworks and Jessie settled down to town life at Parap, beginning in earnest a life of writing and reporting Territory events for a variety of southern papers. In 1927, she made her first venture into politics by unsuccessfully standing for a seat on the Darwin Town Council, claiming when she lost that a major reason seemed to be that she was a woman. It was the first of several unsuccessful attempts she made for an elected office.

The strength of her commitment to the Territory and of her persistence in pursuing a goal can be seen from her five years of lobbying for land. By 1923 when, with Vestey's closed, Val was out of work, Jessie began a lobbying campaign for them to be granted a lease of 300 acres (120 hectares) of land at Anson Bay and 300 Pounds of material, to be paid back to the government over ten years at five per cent interest. For five years, she pleaded their case with every appropriate government official stressing 'we can face difficulties boldly and do not need spoon feeding'. Her pleas were consistently rejected and for many years the family was heavily reliant on her income from writing, which included, in 1930, the publication of her book *Far North Memories*, based on life in the diamond drill camps.

Val died in 1930 shortly after the enterprising and self-reliant Jessie—by then mother of seven—had overcome local objections to become first woman editor of the *Northern Territory Times and Government Gazette*. She edited the paper until June 1932 when it was purchased by its rival, the *Northern Standard*, a union-owned paper with which Litchfield—an avowed anti-communist and in most respects a strong conservative—had fought many an ideological battle, although she had written for both papers in the late 1920s.

A self-trained photographer and historian as well as writer, Jessie was by now something of a local expert on Territory affairs. She became Darwin press representative for several Australian and overseas papers, including six years with Reuters, covering such events as the 1934 London to Melbourne centenary air race. She relinquished

her press reporting only when, a week before Darwin was bombed in February 1942, she was reluctantly but compulsorily evacuated to Sydney, where she purchased a small lending library that, at the war's end, she reopened from self-built premises as, the Roberta Library in Darwin. Her interests extended to almost every facet of life. She exchanged seashells and stamps with people from all over the world; she entered and won poetry contests; she sent fat, cocoa and sugar to war victims in Yugoslavia and Germany; she sent plant specimens to the British Museum and she wrote to friends all over Australia, keeping them posted on Territory life.

Through her prolific letter writing to influential people, Litchfield crusaded for the rights of residents in the post-war reconstruction of Darwin and for Territory self-government. Her personal correspondence files contain letters to and from [McAlister Blain](#), [CLAAbbott](#), Sir Robert Menzies, John Curtin, George Pearce, Arthur Calwell, Norman Rockwell, [Bill Harney](#), [Ernestine Hill](#), Dame Mary Gilmore and US District Court Judge Waring.

Litchfield was a particularly strong advocate of traditional Aboriginal life and once defended it in a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* after a journalist had referred to Australian Aborigines as 'probably the most primitive human beings in the world'.

However, she was never more vocal about Territory issues than when, in 1951, at the age of 68, she unsuccessfully contested the Territory federal seat as an independent against Labor's [Jock Nelson](#), hiring a taxi to drive 5000 kilometres throughout the Territory to campaign. One of her platforms was the creation of two separate states, North and Central Australia. Her political bid failed; but her grandson, Marshall Perron, became the Territory's Deputy Chief Minister and Treasurer when the Territory won self-government in 1978.

In 1953, Litchfield was presented with the Coronation Medal for outstanding service to the Northern Territory and later became the first Territory woman Justice of the Peace. In 1954, she helped establish the *North Australian Monthly*, edited in Cairns by Glenville Pike with Litchfield serving as Assistant Editor and Territory correspondent until her death while in Melbourne on a holiday in 1956. She had, during her life, published hundreds of poems, short sketches and articles on the Territory and its people, but of the six novels which she completed, all of them set in the Territory, only one was ever published.

As requested in her will, she was cremated and her ashes scattered over Darwin. She left all her manuscripts and her 3 000 Pounds estate to the Melbourne Bread and Cheese Club, requesting it to establish the Jessie Litchfield Literary Award to be presented each year to the person who, in the opinion of the club committee, had made the best contribution to Australian literature. Preference was to be given to works dealing with Northern Territory life.

Like most strong and controversial figures Jessie had her critics but when she died tributes poured in from all over the country, including, from Dame Mary Gilmore: 'In Northern Australia and beyond Darwin, she was a builder, an influence and an historian. Her interest never dulled and her spirit never failed. She personified the true Territorian. Her passing was a loss to the Australian people.'

Glenville Pike, long-time friend and editor of the *North Australian Monthly*, put it this way: 'Jessie Litchfield... battled hard nearly all her life for the NT and was admired for her sturdy independence, her fearlessness in championing the cause of the neglected North and for her faith in its eventual progress. Coming to the NT in 1907, it was a remote, negative and very poor [place]; from then on, by means of her pen, Jessie Litchfield kept it before the eyes of the world.'

J Dickinson, *Grand Old Lady of the Territory*, 1982; Various issues, *Northern Territory Times*, *Northern Standard*; J S Litchfield's personal papers, courtesy of Christa Roderick.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 1.

LITTLE, JOHN ARCHIBALD GRAHAM (1843–1906), was senior and inspecting officer of the northern section of the Overland Telegraph for nearly 34 years. He was born near Echunga, South Australia, on 23 May 1843, the son of William Little and his wife Jane, *nee* Scandrett. His mother, a teacher before her marriage in July 1842, emigrated from Ballymena, Northern Ireland, and arrived in South Australia in December 1839. His father came from Mackside, Roxboroughshire, Scotland, and was employed as a clerk in a banking institution before leaving Scotland to join his parents in December 1839 as an agriculturalist in the Mount Barker district of South Australia. He had, however, an interest in optics and metallurgy and the development of these skills led to his engagement with the Yatala Smelting Company at Port Adelaide. In May 1850, with twelve others associated with the company, he was lost at sea, presumed drowned, when the coastal cutter *Jane Flaxland* foundered in St Vincent's Gulf. Jane Little remarried in June 1854.

Young John attended J L Young's private school in Adelaide until February 1857 when he joined the South Australian Government Service with permission to learn, without salary, the working of the magnetic telegraph. Appointed as a junior clerk in July of that year and assistant telegraph operator in February 1861, he was stationed at Adelaide Railway, followed by Woodside, Nairne, Mount Gambier and Naracoorte before taking charge of the Penola Post and Telegraph Office on 1 December 1863.

In June 1866, he became stationmaster at Guichen Bay (Robe) in the southeast of South Australia. Here, his duties were expanded to include those of sub-collector of customs and harbourmaster.

Following the cancellation, in May 1871, of the Darwent and Dalwood contract to construct the northern section of the Overland Telegraph, the South Australian government organised its own expedition under Robert C Patterson, aiming to complete the northern section of the telegraph line before the end of that year. John Little was appointed telegraph stationmaster at Port Darwin on 1 August 1871 and, after a briefing in Adelaide, left for Port Darwin in the barque *Bengal* late in that month. His initial tasks were to take charge of the section of line already erected (Port Darwin to Katherine), assist Patterson by organising telegraph operators to man the various sections completed

by the construction parties, represent the telegraph department in negotiations with the Government Resident and the British Australian Telegraph Company to determine the site of office buildings and to oversee the erection of those buildings.

Arriving at Port Darwin on 26 September 1871, he encountered difficulties in getting agreement about a suitable site and building work actually started on two different sites before each was abandoned in favour of a site near the Government Residency. He also became involved in Patterson's problems in getting the construction teams and their supplies to the distant work sites. Little's advice was largely ignored but he did manage to persuade Patterson and the Government Resident (**Bloomfield Douglas**) to send a dispatch to Adelaide by the Dutch corvette *Caracua* late in October, advising **Charles Todd** of the difficulties and seeking that reinforcements be sent to the Roper River depot.

Late in November 1871, at Patterson's insistence, Little undertook a journey to Normanton in Queensland to contact Adelaide by telegraph and confirm the need for assistance. He left Port Darwin in the barque *Bengal* and in the middle of the Gulf of Carpentaria was transferred to the small sailing vessel *Larrakeyah* in which he proceeded to Normanton. He then found that the Queensland telegraph was incomplete and he had to travel another 250 kilometres on horseback to Gilbert River to reach the terminal of the line. On receiving assurances that help was already being organised, he returned to Normanton and then proceeded in the *Larrakeyah* to the Roper River depot to report to Patterson. During this passage across the Gulf, they were battered by a cyclone for three days with the vessel sustaining considerable damage and being in danger of foundering.

While waiting for reinforcements, Patterson and Little made some explorations in the Roper River area and claimed to be the first white men to sail up the Hodgson River. They named prominent features after their wives, but these do not appear on present-day maps.

When the reinforcement construction parties got under way again in April 1872, Little returned to Port Darwin and had the distinction of sending the first through signals from the office when the Overland Telegraph was finally joined near Frews Ironstone Ponds on 22 August 1872. He also retransmitted the first through messages between London and Sydney when the overseas cable was restored to service in October 1872. The supervision of the telegraph line and stations north of Attack Creek was added to his duties and he assumed the title of Senior and Inspecting Officer.

He was also appointed sub-collector of customs, a part-time position he held until Port Darwin was declared a free port in October 1875. Little also contributed two articles to *South Australia, its History, Resources and Productions*, 1876 edited by W Harcus.

One was a straightforward account of the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line and the other dealt with the climate of the Northern Territory.

After the staff quarters were completed late in 1872, Little was joined by his wife Matilda Cecily, *nee* Johnston, whom he had married at Penola, South Australia on, 22 November 1865, and their two young daughters, Edith and Blanche. Their only son, Egbert Percy Graham, was born on 13 September 1874. In June 1875, Aborigines in the Roper River area murdered Charles H Johnston, stationmaster at Daly Waters and a brother of Mrs Little. John Little led a group of telegraph men that joined the police in the search of the culprits.

In February 1876, the Little family had their first southern leave. In September of that year, their third daughter, Maud, was born at Port Darwin. Tragedy struck the family again when Mrs Little became ill and died at Mount Gambier, South Australia, on 19 April 1877.

Left with four young children to rear, John Little then faced a dilemma. Any attempt to obtain a transfer from his Northern Territory position could only result in demotion because his salary and allowances together with the use of staff quarters at Port Darwin made his annual income second only to that of the superintendent (Sir Charles Todd) and there was no comparable position available to him in South Australia. Little continued his career in the Northern Territory and arranged for his children to be cared for and educated in the south.

In August 1880, customs duties were reintroduced at Port Darwin and John Little was again the part-time sub-collector until **Alfred Searcy** took over on a full-time basis in June 1882. Other public offices held by John Little over the years were Justice of the Peace, Chairman of the Palmerston Hospital Board of Management and Deputy Sheriff.

Contemporary writers described him as a man of energy, grit and determination, possessing administrative talent of a high order and a proper sense of the responsibility and dignity of his position. A strict disciplinarian, he commanded the respect of his subordinates but also acquired something of a reputation as a martinet who, at times, was unreasonable and obstinate. He suffered poor health for some years with bouts of fever but he still managed to undertake regular inspections, on horseback, of the telegraph line to Attack Creek nearly 1000 kilometres inland. In middle age, his weight had increased to 109 kilograms (17 stone) and so he needed a hefty horse to carry him. According to a companion on one of these trips, it took two men to get him on his horse, one to give him a leg up, with the other hanging on the offside stirrup to prevent the saddle from slipping.

With the retirement of Sir Charles Todd in 1905, Little became the most senior officer in his department of the Government Service. He died, at the age of 63, on 21 May 1906. Thus, said the *Northern Territory Times*, 'The public lost the services of a courteous and obliging official, the Government a good and faithful servant, and the Territory a firm believer in its ultimate greatness.' He was buried in the old Parap cemetery in Darwin.

J A G Little papers, SAA; R C Patterson diaries, SAA; Telecom Museum, Adelaide (archives section).

CLAUD LEONARD. *Vol 1.*

LITTLEJOHN, WILSON COLERIDGE (BILL) (1899–1987), policeman, was born on 23 August 1899 at Karori, near the toe of the North Island of New Zealand, his father being the chief engineer for Waimea County

Council. He completed his education at Nelson Boys' College, the oldest secondary school in New Zealand. His uncle, Dr William Still Littlejohn, was headmaster, later becoming the principal of Scotch College, Melbourne. The influence of this notable headmaster encouraged the spirit of venturesome independence that characterised Littlejohn's whole career. His record at school sport, particularly football and tennis, was outstanding, as were his standards of conduct and industry. He was confirmed in the Presbyterian Church and held fast to the faith of his fathers.

He proceeded from his final secondary school examinations to an Air Force Training School in Christchurch where he obtained his wireless operator's certificate and his pilot's licence, exhibiting his growing interest in aviation. These qualifications prompted his decision to work his sea passage to England and to enlist in the Royal Air Force. He served as a Sergeant Pilot in England during the closing stages of the First World War. On returning to New Zealand, he joined the Eastern Extension Cable Company as a telegraph operator and after two years was unexpectedly posted to Darwin. At the end of his second year in Darwin, one of his new friends, a young constable, spoke to him about the adventuring career prospects within the police force. Littlejohn's laconic reply was 'I'll give it a go!'

He joined the Northern Territory Police Force in 1925 and after a preliminary spell in Darwin was transferred to Alice Springs as a mounted trooper, to work under **Sergeant R Stott**. So began his notable span of service for 31 years as a Northern Territory policeman. He was now approaching 26 years of age, a gaunt six-footer with a suntanned face, an accentuated nose and a head of straight black hair. He was characteristically slow of speech but quick to make decisions. In character, he was an upholder of traditional morality, moderate in social habits and a man who could mix good humour with official duty. Under the able guidance of Sergeant Stott, Constable Littlejohn became well versed in police procedures and the requirements of law and gained practical expertise in handling horses and camels, carrying out periodic patrols up the Tanami Track and to the borders of the Simpson Desert. In 1926, he formed a close friendship with **Alfred Traeger**, the wireless expert who accompanied the **Reverend John Flynn** to Alice Springs. Reviving his capacity as a telegraphic operator he helped Traeger and Flynn in the erection of aerials and the installation of the equipment for the first successful experiment in bush wireless in the engine room behind the nursing home that was in the course of construction. Being strong of body and limb he became Flynn's offside in the laborious task of cutting and carting of logs to burn limestone rock for the supply of lime for erection of the walls of the new buildings.

When the Australian Inland Mission Nursing Home was opened in Alice Springs in June 1926 Littlejohn was typically to the forefront in helping the new nursing sisters to settle in. Nor was he slow in clinching a spontaneous romance with one of them. At the conclusion of her two years' nursing appointment, Sister Ellen Dorothy Small and Constable Wilson Coleridge Littlejohn were married by the Reverend John Flynn in the Annandale Presbyterian Church, Sydney, on 1 June 1928. They made their first home in the Heavitree Gap (Alice Springs) police house. Then followed a succession of appointments to various stations throughout the Northern Territory—Charlotte Waters, Brock's Creek, Pine Creek, Tennant Creek, Darwin, Anthony's Lagoon and Darwin again. Littlejohn's record of service was characterised by an all-round unobtrusive efficiency. He was no seeker of public acclaim but he won common respect among all corners for his strict sense of common justice. He climbed from rank to rank, from Constable to Sergeant, to Inspector, to Police Superintendent, and on 21 April 1985 he came back to Alice Springs from retirement for the Centenary Celebrations of the Heavitree Gap station, at the age of 86 and a half years being the oldest living survivor of the pioneering band of mounted troopers. Littlejohn was never given to extolling the various significant events of his life and unfortunately for historians he was disinclined to preserve archival records of his personal attainments. Although he was the chief police officer in handling the arrest at Darwin airport of the two Russian guards who were escorting Mrs Petrov back to Russia on 19 April 1954, it was typical of the man to dismiss this dramatic happening as a normal part of his responsible office. The same honest reticence applied to the quite outstanding service he gave during the bombing of Darwin by the Japanese in February 1942; and though he might well have been able to settle the long-running controversy over the behaviour of Administrator **C LA Abbott** after the raids, he merely signed a bald statement in support of Abbott's position and never publicly referred to the matter again.

Retirement from his position as police superintendent came in 1956 when Littlejohn and his wife took up residence in Springwood on the Blue Mountains. As age overtook them both they moved into a senior citizen's unit in Julianna Village at Miranda, Sydney. Mrs Littlejohn died on 1 September 1982 and Bill then made his home with his daughter Margaret and her husband at Gynea Bay. He died in Garrawarra Hospital, Sydney, on 8 October 1987 at the age of 88 years, after a short illness. A Uniting Church thanksgiving service was held in the Woronora Crematorium Sydney on 12 October 1987. One son, Ian, and one daughter, Margaret, both of whom were reared in the Northern Territory, are now married with families of their own, living in New South Wales.

Wilson Coleridge Littlejohn holds a significant place in the history of the Northern Territory Police Force. He served under the rugged pioneering conditions of the 1920s, and in the later war and post-war years of the 1940s and 1950s. He earned the eulogy given at his funeral service: 'There was only one Bill Littlejohn! He was singularly 'his own man'—earthy, independent, unswervingly forthright, never a 'Yes Man', contemptuous of bribes, true as steel in judgement and action.'

Family information.

J FRED McKAY, Vol 1.

LIVERIS, LAZARUS (LES) (1923–1995), public servant, was born in Darwin Hospital on 28 October 1923, youngest child of Andreas Kailis Liveris and his wife Maria, *nee* Constantinou. His father had first come to Darwin

in 1915 from the island of Kastellorizo in the Dodacanese islands, which are very close to the Turkish mainland. He got jobs where he could and in 1917 returned to Greece. January 1919 saw him back in Darwin accompanied by his wife and infant son. Also with them were his mother's two sisters and a brother. A valued family possession is Andreas' passport handwritten in French. Two months after Les was born his father died, on 24 December 1923.

The family first lived in a dirt-floored shack built of corrugated galvanised iron and bush timber at the corner of Daly Street and the Esplanade, the area then being called 'Greektown'. The first Greek Orthodox Church was then opposite. Without a male breadwinner, life was difficult. Les at first went to the convent school with his cousins but was only there for a week as his mother became concerned that 'prayers' played a large part of the daily routine. He was then sent to the state school with his older brothers. In 1936, he won one of the two scholarships granted each year for study at a Queensland secondary school. Because of his mother's financial situation, and despite offers of help from **Reverend L Kentish** of the Methodist Church, and the Police Association, the scholarship had to be declined. As Les says of his mother, 'she was as poor as a church mouse and proud as a peacock and she just wouldn't take charity'. Despite this, his mother had high aspirations for her son. Les recalled that although his mother had a very tough life she had indomitable courage that included a great faith in the future, 'one day my boys will grow up', she used to say. Eventually in the 1930s she bought a block of land at the corner of Mitchell Street and McLachlan Street, then 'a little out of town', for 80 Pounds. A family home was built there; the National Bank is now on this site. She died on 29 September 1966.

Les' first job, at age 13, was with **A S Drysdale**'s service station and repair shop where in addition to some bookwork he was general factotum at 15 shillings per week. After about three months **Reginald Sylvester Leydin**, whom Les acknowledged as being very influential in his life, saw his mother and offered him a job in the Northern Territory Administration. Leydin at that time was Chief Clerk (Administrative) and L H A Giles, Government Secretary. Les told the story that having been interviewed by Giles he was told that he would hear from him in a few days. But Administrator **C L A Abbott** overhearing this, said, 'Tell the boy to start on Monday'. On Monday 21 June 1937 at a wage of 1 Pound per week, Les became a messenger along with Mickey, an adult Aborigine. During his rounds, he was frequently told that he would never get promotion and he should be outside doing manual work like his countrymen. After some months of this, and without realising the implications of the remarks, Les told Leydin he wanted to leave. Leydin told him he should at least try to stay for six months, that he was sure he would prove everyone wrong. He was then promoted to Junior Clerk (Stores), and then Junior Clerk in the Sub Treasury Office, where at the age of 16, during a crisis after the Salaries Clerk had a breakdown, he and another junior prepared the salaries for the 400 Northern Territory public servants. He never forgot Leydin's dictum 'you are a servant of the public'.

When war broke out he was offered a position in Canberra but declined and was on leave in Sydney at the time of the bombing of Darwin so he enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). After his leave, he returned to Adelaide Sub-Treasury Office and Alice Springs before he was called up in July 1942. He enlisted first as aircrew but was then selected for further training as a wireless telegraphy operator and it was in that capacity that he was posted to Port Moresby where he spent 22 months. During that time, there were about 14 Japanese raids over the town. On returning to Australia, he was sent to Point Cook and completed a six months course on high frequency direction finding. At its conclusion, a small number of his classmates were selected to be trained in interception work on the Japanese KANA code. He was to have been posted back to Darwin but having expressed his reluctance to return to Darwin in wartime conditions he was then posted, in April 1945, with the rank of Leading Aircraftsman, to the 4 Wireless Unit in the Philippines. Under General MacArthur's command was a group of 500 Australians, their most northerly based unit, which would have gone with the American troops to Japan if an invasion had taken place. According to Les, MacArthur said he would not go without the Australian intelligence men. He returned to Australia in November 1945 and was de-mobbed in Sydney having first given a helping hand with the endless inventories required, to the delight of the auditor who had known him in pre-war days.

Up until 1939 public servants in the Northern Territory were an entity on their own with no transfer to Canberra then possible. After that date, they became members of the Commonwealth public service. They had their war-time service credited to their superannuation entitlement, as effectively they had been on leave without pay, so Les returned to Darwin to become a Junior Registry Clerk with the Department of the Interior (which then had the management of the Northern Territory) in February 1946. He hitched a ride back with the RAAF so that he did not have to spend any of his 200 Pounds deferred pay only to be told that the Commonwealth would have paid a commercial fare and he could have travelled in comfort! Further promotion meant sitting for the fourth division examinations but for some time, Les was very restless and unable to settle. Again RS Leydin encouraged him to sit for the examinations. He did so, passed, and was promoted to Senior Clerk in the registry.

In 1949, a new position of Immigration Officer in Darwin was advertised. Previously the various immigration functions had been handled by such departments as customs and police but now it was proposed to bring them all together. Liveris was reluctant to apply but submitted an application after a friend stood over him while he wrote it. On 8 September 1949, he became the first Immigration Officer in the Northern Territory; the position now designated 'Regional Director'.

Post-war Darwin, always cosmopolitan, was a very different place from its pre-war forebear. There were many, many European migrants. Italians made up the largest group, but there were more Greeks, Dutch, Romanians, Czechs and Yugoslavs and a significant number of Britons. At that time, all assisted migrants, regardless of their qualifications, had to serve in directed employment for two years so people like surveyors and architects worked as labourers and cleaners. Five years of residence were needed before citizenship was granted and in that time, aliens could not obtain land. Liveris could see the harm this was doing to the post-war development of the town and pushed for changes to the legislation. Eventually policies were changed but not before a large group of Dutch

migrants, very skilled artisans, left for other parts of Australia because they could not find work to suit their skills. In the early 1950s, the post-war pearling industry was in its infancy and he assisted with the re-introduction of Asian labour, including Japanese. Les recalled that the post-war migrants 'changed the character of Darwin', not least by their economic input. One of his jobs was reporting on how the migrants were settling in, whether there was any friction, and how many were employed on building projects. The contractor for the civic centre reported that he had 70% migrants in his work force but 'I wish it were 100%'.

On 7 January 1956, Les married Maria Haritos, daughter of **E G Haritos**. There were two daughters of the marriage. Up to the time of his marriage Les spent a lot of time fishing and crocodile shooting with two men whom he described as 'the best in the business', his brothers-in-law, Mick and Jack Haritos. With a couple of others they would spend two or three nights a week in their boat and Les estimated that they probably caught over 300 crocodiles in Darwin Harbour, one of which was a '14 footer' shot in East Arm. His prize fishing catch was a jewfish, which weighed 15 kilograms gutted and which he caught over the wreck of *British Motorist*. Between 1946 and 1949, he played Australian Rules football with the Buffaloes and they retained his allegiance and support until his death. In 1949, he was a foundation member of the Northern Territory Basketball Association and president during the year the court was built at the corner of Daly Street and the Esplanade. The Association is now called the Darwin Basketball Association and Les was its first life member.

Les Liveris served in Darwin until May 1965 when he was posted to Madrid, Spain, as Consul. This was a diplomatic posting, the first for a Territorian, but a large part of his duties still concerned immigration matters. Having become fluent in Spanish, he returned to Darwin in May 1968 and served as Regional Director of Immigration until September 1980. These were very interesting years indeed, as apart from the changes involving self government—and for three months Les was seconded to the Northern Territory government to write the policy for the establishment of state type functions connected with immigration—the Vietnamese boat people also began to arrive. The immigration officers were stretched to the limit. From the late 1970s, approximately 2 500 Vietnamese arrived in Darwin and on two occasions Les helped when Vietnamese boats reached West Australia. Before the arrival of the Vietnamese, there had been an influx of refugees from Timor in 1975, although the immigration work was made a little easier as the department had some advance knowledge of the numbers to expect which was not the case with the majority of the Vietnamese boats.

As with most other residents Cyclone Tracy affected Les and his family in December 1974. Their home was damaged and Marie and the girls were evacuated not to return for 14 months, 'a very hard 14 months' said Les. For most of this time, he lived in a single room in a hostel but he was able to go south to see his family about every three months and he also had several business trips to Canberra when he was also able to visit them. He was offered a transfer to a southern office (of his choice) but declined to go and joined the emergency committee of departmental heads set up soon after the cyclone. On his suggestion an information office was established, immigration work being at a standstill, and with Les at the helm, assisted by Iro Melbye and Myra Skinner, the office gave help to all who came for assistance. Many of the Commonwealth government's records were sent south at this stage but Les declined to do this and within six months of the cyclone the immigration office was working as usual.

In December 1980, Les was posted as Counsellor to the Australian Embassy in Athens. It had previously been Foreign Affairs policy that diplomatic appointees were not sent back to the country of their ancestors. At a conference in Sydney, the Immigration departmental head said he would clear it with Foreign Affairs if Les and his family were willing to go. The policy was changed and the family brushed up on their Greek. In April 1982, he suffered a massive heart attack and returned to Australia in August and later had by-pass surgery. He then retired having spent 46 years in distinguished public service, years that saw massive change in Australia. No doubt, Les' career paved the way for many of his compatriots both in and out of the Northern Territory.

In 1980, he received an Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for public service though Les claimed that the medal properly belonged to the staff of his department whom he described as 'most loyal hard working public servants who were a dream to have as a gang working for you'. He received a Queen's Silver Jubilee medal in 1978 and held commissions as a notary public and for taking declarations.

In the early 1960s, Les was very involved with the Darwin Handicapped Persons' Association, later called Kokoda Industries. Between 1962 and 1965 and 1968 to 1970, he led a team that raised 25 000 Dollars for construction of the Greek Hall in Cavenagh Street. In addition to working with migrants in his professional capacity Les was actively involved with the Good Neighbour Council and the Migrant Resource Centre so that he could see at firsthand how they settled into the Australian community. He assisted in the establishment of these organisations following the Galbally report in 1978. The report also recommended the establishment of a translators and interpreters service and Les was involved with its setting up. With the assistance of Robyn Turnbull and Lyn Powierza, migrant education services were established for the first time in the Northern Territory. After his retirement, he did a year of voluntary work and established the Greek Orthodox Community Welfare Office, and trained two staff in the first year.

In late 1994 Les, Marie and daughter Kerry moved to Perth to be near their other daughter, Christine, who had their first grandchild in January 1995. He died suddenly in Perth on 22 November 1995 and his body was returned to Darwin for burial in the McMillans Road Cemetery, a service first having been held at the Greek Orthodox Church. He was a highly respected man and the tributes poured in.

Family information; personal interviews, 26 August 1995, 10 September 1995.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

LO, SHUI KWONG (1900–1995), Methodist Minister, was born on 11 November 1900 in Juk-Yuan Village, Pok-Lo Province, South China. Lo's father and grandfather were Christians as the London Missionary Society was active in the area. His mother, however, was not and so he was brought up with Confucian beliefs until he was 12, when he came under the influence of his father's family. He was educated at the Pok-Lo Mission School and then attended the Hip-Wo University in Canton. He spent four years at the Canton Theological College and gained his Licentiate of Theology in 1929. He could speak a number of dialects including Hakka, Cantonese and Mandarin and served with the London Missionary Society in Macau, Canton and Hong Kong until 1941.

He was married in Hong Kong on 12 December 1931 to Wong Yuk Yuen, who had teaching qualifications. By November 1941 with the Japanese pressing ever southward he left Hong Kong with his wife and children bound for Darwin which they reached on 5 December 1941 aboard Burns Philp's *Merkur*. Lo came to the Territory under the auspices of the Methodist Overseas Mission as a Pastor to the Darwin Chinese community and as a Chinese schoolteacher. He was given a warm welcome and provided with a house near Woods Street next to the petroleum tanks overlooking Frances Bay. The school was short-lived as by January 1942 many of the residents of Darwin including Lo and his family were evacuated due to the escalation of the war with Japan. As a schoolteacher, Lo was allowed to leave Darwin on the same basis as the Darwin public school teacher. Lo and his family first settled in Townsville as did some of the other Chinese families from Darwin. He was again warmly received and with the assistance of the Secretary of the Townsville Chinese school, he reopened it with 21 pupils. On 21 October 1942, Pastor Lo accepted a call to work for the Chinese Presbyterian Church in Sydney. His parish included the Campbell Street Church, St Luke's in Redfern, and the Ashfield Methodist Church. On 4 March 1943, Lo was ordained into the ministry of the Methodist Church of Australia. He carried out his teaching and pastoral work in Sydney until 1946 when he was posted back to Darwin by the Methodist Overseas Mission 'to continue his interrupted work there'. In September Lo with his wife and youngest son reached Darwin, the other three children remaining at Methodist schools in Sydney. The family settled in a house at Lot 700 Schultze Street, Larrakeyah. The house had formerly belonged to a schoolteacher, Helena Carruth, but the Northern Territory Administration had resumed it, along with the rest of the town. At first, it still bore the damage it had suffered during the war. Later the house was repaired and upgraded to include classrooms and an extra bedroom. Here Lo conducted a Chinese School and ministered to adult Chinese. Children attended on Saturday morning and on public holidays and 'special' classes were held for adults on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings.

In 1948, Pastor Lo received a request to go to Rabaul on New Britain, Papua New Guinea, to relieve the Chinese Minister who was retiring. It was believed that there were many more Chinese in need of his ministrations in that area than there were in Darwin. He agreed to go and left his wife to keep the Darwin school open. He was later to write that he was very happy to live among the Chinese in New Britain as they had lived a 'rat like' life in the bush during the war years. 'During the Japanese occupation there were about 1280 Chinese people living under the pressure of 100 000 Japanese fighting forces. I had more than 300 Sunday school children and 20 teachers', he wrote.

He returned on leave to Darwin in 1952 and found that his wife had maintained the school in Schultze Street 'in good order'. Pastor Lo and his wife returned to Papua New Guinea but in 1958 ill health saw them returning to Brisbane. In March 1964, he returned to live permanently in Darwin. Pastor Lo was among those who assisted in the fund raising for both the Uniting War Memorial Church (Smith Street) and for the Chung Wah Hall, the original Temple having been damaged in the bombing of Darwin and demolished in 1948. The Chinese school was conducted from these premises after it was opened in January 1956, it having operated from the 'Stonehouses' in Cavenagh Street from 1952. Pastor Lo led an active life in Darwin and occasionally visited his 'flock' at Pine Creek.

The Reverend Shui Kwong Lo died in Darwin on 8 September 1995 survived by his wife and three sons, David, John and Michael, their wives, a son-in-law, 14 grandchildren and three great grandchildren. A daughter, Lily, died in 1972.

A W Grant, *Palmerston to Darwin: 75 Years Service on the Frontier*, 1990; Lo family information; *Northern Territory News*, 9 September 1995; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 11 October 1995.

BARBARA-MARY PEDERSEN, Vol 3.

LOCK, ANN (ANNIE) also JOHANSEN (1876–1943), dressmaker and missionary, was born in South Australia in 1876, the daughter of Walter Lock and his wife Ann, *nee* Stokes. Her parents had met on *Coldstream* in 1865 *en route* from England. They were married in 1866 and settled in the Riverton area of South Australia as share farmers. Annie, as she was known, was the seventh of 14 children and had only a basic education. She worked as a dressmaker until she was 24, when she received a 'call'. She then entered Angas Bible College in Adelaide, and in 1903 joined a non denominational faith mission, the Australian Aborigines' Mission (AAM) (after 1929 the United Aborigines' Mission [UAM]) Although raised a Methodist, she had no formal links with that church's missions.

Lock worked at Sackville Reach and then Forster in New South Wales until 1909. She then became Matron of Dulhi-Gunyah Orphanage in Perth, Western Australia. From 1912, Lock worked at Katanning in the south west of that state, transferring to the nearby government settlement at Carrolup upon its establishment in 1915. Between 1917 and 1923, she worked on Sunday Island near Derby in northern Western Australia before opening a mission at Oodnadatta in South Australia. She left Oodnadatta in 1926 on furlough, and in March 1927, she established herself as an independent worker, not fully supported at the UAM at Harding Soak near Ti Tree in Central Australia. Living in a bush shelter, Lock gathered sick and starving Aborigines around her. The government refused to support

her mission, partly because the Lutherans were already at Hermannsburg and the Aborigines' Friends' Association supported an itinerant missionary, E E Kramer, in Alice Springs.

A drought had been devastating Central Australia since 1925 and racial tensions were high. On 8 August 1928 Fred Brooks, a 60 year old dingo scalper, was killed by Aborigines on Coniston Station near Harding Soak. **Constable Murray** was sent to catch those responsible and arrested two men who were later found not guilty by a Darwin court. His party also killed between 17 and 70 other Aborigines.

The drought also forced Lock to retreat to Harding Soak in September 1928. Reverend Athol McGregor of the Methodist Inland Mission drove Lock north to Barrow Creek. Facing white hostility, she continued with McGregor to his home in Katherine. Lock saw an opportunity to take two Aboriginal girls in her care to Darwin for injections against yaws. At this time, the Northern Territory was divided for administrative purposes into Central and North Australia. Lock unwittingly broke the law by taking the children across the border to Darwin. Constable Murray was also in Darwin in early November for the trial of his suspects. When he tried to put the children on the train back to Alice Springs without the missionary, Lock resisted, and headlines throughout Australia read 'Grim Struggle for Abo. Girls—Sister v Police—“Take them from my arms”, she cries'. Although Lock won the battle, both she and McGregor were later fined.

While in Katherine Lock spoke to J W Bleakley, investigating Aboriginal conditions in the Territory for the federal government. As a result, Bleakley sent a coded telegram to the Minister for Home and Territories on 15 October 1928. He reported that Aborigines at Harding Soak had told Lock that Murray's party had killed several women and children. This was the first indication of the massacre.

Lock's allegations, along with pressure from humanitarian groups, forced the federal government to establish an official enquiry into the shootings in January 1929. Both McGregor and Lock gave evidence at Alice Springs. The Board exonerated Murray and blamed the racial unrest partly upon a 'woman Missionary living naked amongst blacks thus lowering their respect for the whites.'

Lock's fellow missionaries were among her severest critics. The evidence to the Board of Enquiry of H A Heinrich, from Hermannsburg Mission, led to the sensationalist headline: 'Mission Girl Who Would be Happy To Marry a Black.' The propriety of Lock and other women working alone with Aborigines was hotly debated, although Lock later denied Heinrich's charge in a letter: 'What I said was that I do not know how any one could marry a black. It is as much as I can stand to put up with the smell of them.'

A E Gerard, South Australian UAM President, publicly defended Lock. She had, he said, 'spent 20 years of her life helping our aborigines, and... has had a life full of chances to marry a black should she have desired to do so.' However, Lock was an embarrassment. Gerard suggested her name be removed from the list of missionaries in October 1929, because she 'would not allow the Council to direct her'. He said that her work was 'excellent... but from the Government standpoint her methods were unsatisfactory and brought discredit on the mission.' The Council took no decisive action.

Central Australian settlers and officials believed that Lock attracted groups of 'wild' Aborigines, encouraged the men not to work by providing food for nothing and taught them that they were equal to white men. However, despite her provocative behaviour, Lock's views about Aborigines differed only marginally from those of her contemporaries. She refused food to men capable of working, preached a strong work ethic, and tried to keep the peace between white and black. She accepted that white men's interests were paramount as they were 'trying to get a living in the bush', and blamed the government for neglecting the Aborigines, who were consequently threatening whites: 'If the Government rent the land, and it is stocked, and the stock eat of the native food... the Government should make some provision for the natives, especially in drought time.' She felt 'very sorry for these men of the bush', by whom she meant the whites. Nevertheless, she did care for the people with whom she worked, particularly the children. One Aboriginal woman remembers her as 'a fat woman [with] masses of hair which she pinned up; she achieved everything through kindness [and] often had two kids in her lap, one kid on each leg.'

Lock remained in Central Australia for three years following the Enquiry. She camped at Ryan's Well near Harding Soak until March 1930. She then travelled north in a buggy accompanied by four children and an Aboriginal couple, arriving at Bonney Well, south of Tennant Creek, on 27 March 1930. Her camp on Boxer Creek is known locally as Annie Loch [*sic*] Waterhole. The UAM decided against establishing a permanent mission here and Lock was not replaced when she left in late 1932. Lock worked at Ooldea in South Australia from 1933 until 1936. She spent several months in Sydney writing her memoirs but these remained unpublished and have been lost.

On 15 September 1936, Lock astonished everyone by marrying. James Johansen, her new husband, was a widower. A retired bank manager from the Eyre Peninsula in South Australia, he was a self-appointed Brethren missionary to white residents of the area. The couple lived in a converted Model T Ford and travelled from town to town. Annie died from pneumonia on 10 February 1943 and is buried in Cleve Cemetery. She left everything to her husband, who married twice more before his own death in 1970.

C E Bishop, "'a woman missionary living amongst naked blacks'", MA Thesis, Australian National University, 1991 (contains full bibliography).

C E BISHOP, Vol 2.

LOCKWOOD, DOUGLAS WRIGHT (DOUG) (1918–1980), journalist, soldier and author, was born in Natimuk, Victoria, on 9 July 1918, the son of Alfred Lockwood, newspaper proprietor, and his wife Ida Dorothea, *nee* Klowss. After education at the Natimuk State School, he worked as a reporter on Victorian country newspapers

in Natimuk, Camperdown, Tatura and Mildura then joined the Melbourne *Herald* in 1940. On 4 October 1941 he married Ruth, daughter of Reverend A Hay. They later had a son and a daughter.

In 1941, he was sent to Darwin as the *Herald's* correspondent, witnessing the Japanese bombing of the town in 1942. He then served with the Australian Imperial Force in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands before returning to journalism in 1944 as a war correspondent in the South Pacific area. In 1946, he went back to Darwin as the *Herald's* correspondent, remaining there, except for the period 1954 until 1956 when he worked in the London Bureau of the *Herald* until 1968. He was Managing Editor of the *South Pacific Post* in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, from 1968 until 1971 and 1974 to 1975, Editorial Manager, the *Herald and Weekly Times* in Melbourne in 1971 and 1972, Manager of the *Herald* in 1973 and Managing Editor of the *Bendigo Advertiser* from 1976.

During his many years in the Northern Territory Lockwood travelled extensively, covering news and writing human-interest reports for the Melbourne *Herald* and its associated newspapers throughout Australia. He visited cattle stations, Aboriginal reserves and drovers' camps and was banned for life from stations owned by the absentee English landlords Vesteyes for drawing attention to their treatment of Aboriginal employees. His regular 'Bush Week' column became a popular feature in 'southern' papers.

In 1954, he was on the spot for the defection of Evdokia Petrov at Darwin Airport. In 1957 his report of Bas Wie's incredible journey to Darwin from Timor in the wheel nacelle of a Dutch Air Force Dakota won the 'World's Strangest Story' contest run worldwide by the London *Evening News*. In 1958, he covered the heart rending trial and jailing in Alice Springs of artist **Albert Namatjira**. He won the W G Walkley Australian National Award for Journalism for 1958's best piece of newspaper reporting with his report of Ruth Daylight, 16, who came from her Aboriginal camp at Halls Creek in the Kimberley to Canberra to meet the Queen Mother at Yarralumla, then returned to 'normal' conditions with a packing case for a dwelling. He moved easily among black and white people in the country he called his own, the country he called 'The Land of God's Eighth Day'. In 1963, he went with officers of the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration into the Gibson Desert seeking and meeting Pintubi Aborigines there who had never seen people with white skin.

On his travels through the Northern Territory as a journalist, Lockwood gathered a unique store of material for books he wrote about the region. Based on his own knowledge and experience, these made his name known as an author throughout Australia and in many other parts of the world. Published in German, Danish, Russian and Polish as well as in English, they included *Crocodiles and Other People* (1959), *Fair Dinkum* (1960), *Life on the Daly River* (1960, with Nancy Polishuk), *I, the Aboriginal* (1962), the biography of a Territory Aborigine which was awarded the Adelaide *Advertiser* Literary Competition Prize, *We the Aborigines* (1963), *The Shady Tree* (1963, with **Bill Harney**), *Up the Track* (1964), *Alice on the Line* (1965, with Doris Blackwell), *The Lizard Eaters* (1964), *Australia's Pearl Harbour: Darwin 1942* (1966), *Northern Territory Sketchbook* (1968, with Ainslie Roberts), *The Front Door: Darwin, 1869–1969* (1968) and *My Old Mates and I* (1979).

Lockwood's writing appealed to 'general' readers who in most cases had never been to the Northern Territory. Many of his books became best sellers and were reprinted in paperback editions. His prose style was brisk and breezy. He described the world of gold miners, explorers, cattlemen, buffalo hunters, pearlery, seafarers, public servants, Aborigines and a host of other people, recounting the stories some of them had told him. His enthusiasm for the Territory was infectious. As he wrote in *Up the Track*, 'I have been on a journey through the Northern Territory of Australia which, so far, has lasted twenty years. I've been gypsy around this land of enchantment for so long it has become part of me.' 'In the Territory', he stated in the same book, 'you must get to know us. After that, you'll have fun... and be accepted.' Some of his writing, however, was more serious in tone and intent. *Australia's Pearl Harbour* for many years remained the most accurate and comprehensive account of the bombing of Darwin. *The Front Door* was for a long time the only well-researched book on Darwin's history.

I, the Aboriginal was the basis for a television program and in 1980; Lockwood featured in the Australian Broadcasting Commission's television documentary series 'A Big Country'.

Lockwood and his family lived for many years in an attractive home on Darwin's Esplanade, which was later demolished to make way for the Darwin Performing Arts Centre. Many older Darwin residents later remembered him as being gregarious and popular. The changes that took place in Darwin after the mid 1960s were not always to his liking and he preferred the town he had known in the 1940s and 1950s.

He died in Victoria on 21 December 1980, survived by his wife and children. His ashes were scattered over the Kakadu wetlands he loved. His son, Kim, followed in his father's footsteps as a well-known author and journalist.

D Lockwood, works cited above; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1974; W H Wilde, J Hooton & B Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1985; reminiscences of several Northern Territory residents with memories of Lockwood; family information.

DAVID CARMENT and RUTH LOCKWOOD, Vol 2.

LONG, HARCOURT HILTON (1922–), town planner, was born on 23 September 1922 in Fremantle, Western Australia, into a professional family. His father, Ernest Hilton Long, was an architect. His mother was Maud Victoria Curnick who, during the Second World War was a technician with the Army, using very early forerunners of computers. He completed his schooling at Scotch College, Melbourne, in 1940.

At the age of 19, one week before the onset of the Pacific war, he joined the Australian Army and saw service in Darwin as a member of the 55th Anti-Aircraft Composite Regiment. This was not only his introduction to Darwin, but also to the exacting and intense work of map preparation required to plot the courses of enemy aircraft. During this time, he acquired a detailed geographic knowledge of Darwin and its hinterland.

After the war, Harcourt Hilton Long became eligible for assisted further education with the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Service that encouraged ex-service personnel to gain tertiary and other qualifications before re-entering the civilian workforce. He used this opportunity to attend the University of Melbourne and he graduated in 1952 as a Bachelor of Architecture with a postgraduate Diploma of Town and Regional Planning. For the next five years, he worked for the Town Planning Board in Victoria and the Regional Planning Authority, Melbourne, during which time he married Nonie Wright whom he had met when she was a librarian at the Architecture Library at the University of Melbourne. She later became Acting Librarian-in-Charge of the Northern Territory Library Service.

Long returned to Western Australia in 1958 to become a senior planning officer for the West Australian Town Planning Department. Again, he travelled northwards into the tropics, this time to participate in the planning of the new towns of Exmouth and Kununurra. Kununurra is unusual for a regional centre in Australia. It was planned not only as a service centre but also as accommodation for the farmers who were moving onto the lands newly irrigated from the Ord River Project. The farmers were to commute from Kununurra. The design of the town exhibits several of the features that were later to become incorporated into Harcourt Long's urban designs in the Top End. These included the avoidance of ribbon development and the siting of the built-up areas away from the major through roads. The main commercial and public amenity centre was situated at the heart of the town on a crescent shaped road that acted as a hub from which streets radiated in an irregular pattern.

The success of the Kununurra design brought Harcourt Long to the attention of the Northern Territory Administration, which was planning to expand its town planning operations. Darwin had had an extremely chequered history of urban planning and development. The ramshackle town that had grown up within Goyder's neat rectilinear plan had spilled around the coast and had expanded towards the airport. In 1944, the Commonwealth decided to acquire all Darwin land to facilitate the re-planning and rebuilding of the bombed town. All land was acquired in 1945 but throughout the 1950s town planning was 'relatively stagnant'. By the early 1960s, it became apparent that the population was rising quickly. There was a shortage of residential lots and new urban areas were urgently needed. The suburbs of Ludmilla, The Narrows, Nightcliff, Rapid Creek and Larrakeyah (Kahlin) were at various stages of development as was Stuart Park that was cleared of wartime buildings. Alice Springs, Katherine and Tennant Creek also saw some reconstruction and subdivision. Plans were also under way to extend the city of Darwin beyond Rapid Creek towards Lee Point for a proposed population increase of 20 000 and an aerial photographic survey of Darwin to the 16 Mile was carried out with a view to future growth for a population of 100 000.

From 1960 it became apparent that the administration of town planning needed a thorough revision and in 1963 Harcourt Long returned to Darwin to help set up a separate town planning section within the Lands and Survey Branch which was reorganised when the Town Planning Ordinance came into effect in 1964. The Administration's annual report states with obvious satisfaction: 'Town planning activities have been stimulated by the appointment of a town planner with wide experience and specialist qualifications' and there had been a start to 'investigations leading to preparation of an overall plan for the City of Darwin'.

In 1964 with a growth rate of nine per cent annually, Darwin was second only to Canberra. In 1969, it was calculated that with a compound growth rate of twelve per cent Darwin would reach 100 000 by 1979. Alice Springs and Katherine would grow to 8 000 and 2 000 respectively by 1980. In hindsight, we can see that these figures were overestimates but they meant that planning had to consider phenomenal growth that was not tied to the usual demographic influences of regional economic activity and natural population increase.

In an attempt to provide for an integrated control of planning and development, Long's response was to plan urban 'districts' as nodes of urban growth separated by wide bands of reserved lands and the tide. They were to be interconnected by arterial roads and future ferry services. This approach was later implemented in the building of the northern suburbs, the new town of Palmerston and the current (1994) plans for developments at Gunn Point, Weddell and beyond. The concept of modular planning had never been realised in Australia before and was described by Long as 'the latest thinking in growth form'. One of his major concerns was that Darwin would continue to enjoy its coast and that these 'islands' of urban growth would allow easy access to the beaches and harbour which are the city's 'greatest amenity'. He advocated the preservation of mangroves and coastal rainforests, and the retention of the Darwin city centre as the geographical as well as administrative heart of the envisaged metropolis. This concept presupposed the eventual urbanisation of Cox Peninsula with a view to future development extending to port facilities at Bynoe Harbour and Port Patterson.

This was later to have significant implications in the Kenbi Land Claim. In support of the Northern Territory Government's attempt to define Cox Peninsula as 'land in a town' he stated that he had always planned for eventual urbanisation west of the harbour and that his 'mind recoiled at any concept of creating a metropolitan region wherein the political centre was separated from the geographical centre'. In 1964 he tried to convince the federal government to 'kick start' development on Cox Peninsula by building an accommodation subdivision for workers on the Radio Australia relay station. This housing with its attendant town water, sewage system, and transport improvements was to be the harbinger of a city surrounding the harbour. Only the Mandorah ferry services have eventuated.

Each 'district' was planned to have one secondary school and commercial centre, and was composed of several 650 household 'neighbourhood units' each with its own primary school, oval and local shops as its 'nucleus'. Servicing the 'neighbourhood' were smaller parks and roads designed to provide local access but 'exclude or make unprofitable' through traffic. Through traffic was accommodated by peripheral roads that feed onto the broad arterial routes. The regular grid of suburban streets so loved by earlier planners and surveyors was assiduously avoided. From 1964 onwards Harcourt Long put his ideas into the detailed planning of the 'neighbourhoods' as

he designed the suburbs which he and his neighbour **Doug Lockwood** recommended be named after Aboriginal tribes: Jingili, Alawa, Moil, Wagaman, Nakara, Wanguri, and Tiwi. The later suburbs of Leanyer, Wulagi, Anula, Malak and Karama also followed the same basic concepts but some included much larger parklands which provide off-road play areas and pedestrian and cycle networks. The same circuitous road patterns are to be found in Palmerston.

Elsewhere in the Northern Territory, Harcourt Long was involved in Alice Springs, Katherine and Tennant Creek that, like Darwin, all gained statutory town plans, and as Chief Town Planner he liaised with Nabalco and BHP in the planning of their respective developments on Gove Peninsula and Groote Eylandt. By 1970 Borrooloola, Pine Creek, Cape Crawford, Larrimah and Timber Creek and a total of 32 missions and government settlements had all received the attention of the Town Planning Section.

In 1970, Harcourt Long left Darwin to work in Tasmania, Queensland and Melbourne for a private planning practice, Urban Design and Planning Associates, for whom he held the position of Victorian manager. In 1976, he joined the City of South Melbourne as its first City Planner until 1984 when he moved to the Victorian State Government Department of Industry, Technology and Resources, becoming involved in La Trobe and Monash Universities' Technology Estates and the Japanese Rural Project at Yea. After three years Long began working on housing projects in the Lynch's Bridge area for the Victorian Government Major Projects Unit. Throughout his career, he held part-time positions lecturing in planning at the University of Melbourne, Perth Technical College and Darwin Adult Education Centre. He has also been an examiner for the Victorian Architects' Registration Board.

Harcourt and Nonie Long were parents to three sons and one daughter. Long retired from government employment in 1990 and lived in Victoria. He published works on the Darwin region, the Tamar Valley of Tasmania and its northwest. He was a Fellow of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects and a Fellow of the Royal Australian Planning Institute.

Few people have the opportunity or expertise to leave their mark upon the land and upon the daily experience of future populations to the extent that their work becomes integral to the life of a community. As Chief Town Planner for the Northern Territory from 1963 to 1970, Harcourt Hilton Long had that opportunity and exercised that expertise. Notwithstanding the devastation wrought by Cyclone Tracy in 1974 his contribution to the Territory's, and especially Darwin's, development is to be found in the lay-out of a number of the northern suburbs; in the formulation of a unique regional approach to Darwin's presumed growth; and in the town planning of smaller communities that had previously grown with little or no planning

K Frey, oral history interview; Department of the Interior annual reports 1961–1970; Lands and Survey Branch Annual reports 1961–1964; H Long, 'Greater Darwin Town Planning Scheme', nd; H Long 'The Future Development of Cox Peninsula', nd; Minutes of Evidence of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works; personal correspondence.

DONAL RAETHEL, Vol 3.

LONG TOMMY: see **[MIJANU](#)**

LOVEDAY, PETER (1925–), metallurgist, historian and political scientist, was born in South Australia on 28 December 1925. His father Ronald Redvers Loveday had migrated to South Australia from England in 1919. Peter's mother, Liza Mills, was the youngest of nine children of William and Lizzie Mills. Both of her parents came from English families who had migrated to South Australia during the nineteenth century. Ronald and Liza Loveday had in all seven children of whom Peter was the eldest.

In 1928, Ronald Loveday received a grant of land on the Eyre Peninsula in South Australia under the ill-fated Soldier Settler Scheme. Later in the same year Ronald and Liza and their two small children, Peter and Penelope, moved on to the property and began the arduous task of clearing the mallee. The period the family spent on the farm was particularly difficult; the hardship of clearing, and of growing wheat crops in marginal country was compounded by years of drought. As other small landholders had done, the Lovedays tried mixed farming, sheep raising/wheat farming, but ultimately they were unable to overcome the combined difficulties of insufficient capital, poor seasons and lack of support from the government. In February 1936, the family left the farm and shifted to a property near Port Lincoln.

One of the family's main considerations was the need to educate their children. Peter attended a local primary school and, after the family moved to Whyalla, boarded in Port Lincoln in order to complete his secondary education at the Port Lincoln High School. His first stage of post-secondary education was undertaken at Sydney Technical College where he graduated with a Diploma of Metallurgy. In 1952, Peter commenced undergraduate study at the University of Sydney. He graduated Bachelor of Arts with Honours in 1956 and was awarded two University medals, one for History, the other for Philosophy. The next year he commenced his Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) candidature, also at University of Sydney and in 1962 was awarded his degree for the thesis: 'The Development of Parliamentary Government in New South Wales 1856–1870'. Part of his PhD research was completed under a Research Fellowship awarded by General Motors Holden for the years 1957 and 1958. Other academic awards followed: Australian American Education Foundation Scholarship 1964; Simon Fellowship, Manchester University, 1965.

Peter married his first wife Ruth in 1952, and there were two children from the marriage, a daughter and a son. The marriage was dissolved in 1986. In 1988, Peter married Baiba Berzins.

Following his early academic successes Peter was employed between 1959 and 1967 at the Universities of Sydney and Adelaide, and from 1968 to 1981 as Senior Fellow in Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences (RSSH), Australian National University (ANU). When he was appointed as Field Director and Executive

Director of the North Australia Research Unit (NARU, ANU) in Darwin in 1981 the link with RSSS was maintained.

An interest in the political economy of the Northern Territory predated Peter's 1981 appointment to NARU. Among his impressive list of publications are two jointly edited with Dean Jaensch which bear witness to this fact: *Elections in the Northern Territory, 1974–1977*, (1979) and *Under One Flag: The 1980 Northern Territory Election*, (1980). During his term at NARU Peter encouraged scholarly writing on topics related to various aspects of northern Australia, its economy, its ecology, and its history. A large number of monographs, edited conference papers and discussion papers were published in the decade Peter was at NARU.

In order to sustain such an ambitious publication programme Peter opened up the environment at NARU to many scholars. Visitors to the Unit (which moved to a final and permanent home during his directorship) reflected his wide interests and special attention to comparative studies. Scholars in the fields of anthropology, archaeology, marine biology, economics, ecology, geography, history and law, visited from interstate, and from the United Kingdom, North America, Europe and Scandinavia. Many took up research fellowships. As well as their research, they participated in regular seminars, and assisted in the mentoring of graduate and post-graduate students, and post-doctoral fellows, attached to NARU. The effect was the establishment of a significant international network of scholars.

Because NARU, under Peter's direction, began to highlight the importance, and relevance, of Aboriginal communities to life in northern Australia, a number of research projects were initiated that emphasised indigenous, or 'first nations', peoples. Among the issues investigated were Aboriginal housing, employment, economic enterprises and involvement in the political economy of the north. Articles, or book chapters, authored by Peter himself include: 'Indigenous and Electoral Administration, Australia and Canada' (with Jaensch) in *Electoral Studies* 6 (1) 1987; 'Local Government in Aboriginal Communities from the Assimilation Period to the 1970s in J Wolfe, *That Community Mob, Local Government in Small Northern Territory Communities*, 1989; 'Northern Political Trends' (with Jaensch) in P Jull and S Roberts (eds), *The Challenge of Northern Regions*, 1991.

During his time in the Northern Territory Peter also found time to follow his hobbies, tennis, bushwalking and sailing. He also served the Territory community as a member of various committees and boards including the Northern Territory (NT) University Planning Authority for several years, NT History Awards Committee and Council of the University College of the NT, among others. Local historians also benefited from Peter's editing skills. He and his wife, Baiba, worked for example, with Pearl Ogden on her publication *From Humpy to Homestead, the Biography of Sabu*, Darwin, 1992.

At the end of 1991, Peter and Baiba retired to Sydney, but maintained strong links with, and an active interest in the Territory. They researched a Northern Territory University commissioned monograph they were writing on the history of post-secondary education in the Territory. In 1992, Peter was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) for services to education in the Northern Territory.

P Hetherington, *The Making of a Labor Politician*, 1982; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1996, 1995; personal conversations and correspondence with the author.

LYN A RIDDETT, Vol 3.

LOVEGROVE, JOHN CREED (JACK or LOVEY) (1885–1954), policeman, was born on 27 September 1885, at Wellington East on the Murray River in South Australia. He was the fifth child of John Duckett Lovegrove and Margaret, *nee* Mason.

His grandfather, Leonard Lewis Lovegrove, was born in Roughly Park, North Horsham, Sussex, England on 5 April 1817 and came to Australia on the ship *Calphurnia* in 1849. His occupation is shown as 'veterinary surgeon, Pound' in the records of the South Australian Maritime Museum. Oral family records say he completed three years of medicine before coming to Australia. L L Lovegrove married an Irish lass, Mary Creed, at the Blakeston Church of England in South Australia in 1850. Mary Creed was born in County Cork, Ireland in about 1830. She immigrated to Australia on the sailing ship *Elgin* with another 19 Irish girls who came upon the payment of one hundred sovereigns by the Australia Company. She was a schoolteacher. It was from his grandmother that John Creed and three further generations of males in the family obtained 'Creed' as one of their given names.

John Creed's mother was the daughter of George Ezekial Mason and Agnes (*nee* Litchfield) whose brother, Fred, was the first discoverer of gold in the Northern Territory and whose name has been commemorated in Litchfield Park, Litchfield Shire and Fred's Pass Reserve in the Top End. The Lovegroves finally settled in Meningie on Lake Albert near the mouth of the Coorong in South Australia.

Little is known at this stage about John Creed Lovegrove's first 25 years. It is evident from his writings that he must have had a comparatively good education for a country boy of those days. Photographs of him as a young man about town suggest that he took care with his appearance. When he joined the South Australian Police Force as a Mounted Constable on 1 October 1910, he gave his previous occupation as farm labourer. In the next five years, he relieved at police districts at Kingston, Millicent, Hergott Springs and Frances in South Australia. He had also been stationed in Adelaide, Port Augusta, Renmark and Karoonda.

On 1 October 1915, he transferred to the Northern Territory Police Force and retired from that Force on medical grounds on 12 September 1942. The continuity of his service in South Australia and the Northern Territory was recognised and in a seniority list published in the *Commonwealth Gazette* of 3 September 1931 the date of his appointment is shown as 1 July 1910. Although he was commonly called 'Creed' in South Australia, he was always called 'Jack Lovegrove' in the Northern Territory.

In his early years, Jack served in a number of bush stations and carried out patrols to remote areas. He told his son, Thomas Creed, of patrols he carried out in the Bulman area and into Arnhem Land. In 1924, he led a search

party to investigate a report that two white women were living with Aboriginal people in northeast Arnhem Land, possible survivors of the wreck of the boat *Douglas Mawson* that had disappeared sometime earlier. The search party undertook extensive travel by boat and foot and interviewed Aboriginal groups in the Cape Arnhem area and missionaries who had heard the rumours. These were finally believed to be unfounded.

In January 1919, he had been at Roper River for some time when he indicated he wished to resign due to ill health having suffered prolonged bouts of fever—probably malaria or dengue that was rife in the Top End in those days. His application was approved to be effective in early May when a relief constable would be sent to Roper River on the ration boat *Sir John Forrest*. In May, he received advice from [Inspector Waters](#) that he could not be relieved as formerly proposed and he agreed to stay until relief arrived in August. On 24 July, Mounted Constable Sheridan, who rode over for that purpose from Anthony's Lagoon, relieved him. Lovegrove then travelled by horse to Mataranka and then continued to Katherine, travelling via Maranboy. From Katherine he telegraphed Darwin 'Will start tracker and plant back to Roper'. He travelled by train to Darwin, arriving about 19 August 1919.

The resignation process in the Police Force in those days was obviously not a 'down tools and take off' affair. Lovegrove took four months accumulated leave and advised Inspector Waters that he would withdraw his resignation in the event of him being transferred from Roper River. This met with the agreement of his senior officer.

On his return from leave, he was evidently posted to Newcastle Waters where he advised Inspector Waters on 23 May 1921 of a serious problem he was having with abscesses in his ear. He sought permission to travel to Darwin for medical treatment with Acting [Sergeant Stretton](#). On 25 September 1922, Inspector Waters sent a telegram to the police at Newcastle Waters, 'Constable Lovegrove instructed to take charge of all police searching for Condren's murderers. Obey his orders. Tanami should be advised as soon as possible'. Wave Hill police station was used as the headquarters for the search and the party consisted of Constables Lovegrove, Heathcock, Hood and Hemming. The party searched into the Tanami Desert and familiar place names such as Halls Creek, Inverway, Hooker Creek, Catfish Waterhole, as well as Tanami appear in the police journal to indicate the extent and location of the search that apparently found no murderers.

In later years, Lovegrove talked to his family about his days at Newcastle Waters. He became a close friend of Bullwaddy Bates (Harry Bathern) who with his mate, Bostock, settled and owned Beetaloo and OT stations on the upper Newcastle Waters Creek. He also talked about his horse patrols to the southern end of his district at Hatches Creek that took as long as three months to complete.

On 19 November 1924, he travelled by train to Emungalen en route to Rankine River to take charge of that district. He was accompanied by Mounted Constable Allen, who was on his way to Lake Nash to relieve [Mounted Constable Murray](#).

It is interesting to note a series of exchanges between the Minister's office in Melbourne and the Commissioner of Police in Darwin, Major Dudley. The Minister's office questioned a recommendation that the Commissioner had made that Lovegrove be promoted to Sergeant. This sort of practice would be familiar to many more recent Commonwealth public servants. The Commissioner's reply was cool and terse. It reads, 'Had there been a senior constable as capable as Lovegrove, he (Lovegrove) would not have been recommended. I certify that in my opinion there is no senior constable to equal Lovegrove's capabilities of filling the position of sergeant to the satisfaction of the authorities'. In another communication he went on to say that of the three constables senior to Lovegrove, one was a splendid man but not sufficiently educated to carry out the duties; another's character was not good; and the third was a splendid man but his knowledge is not on a par with Lovegrove's. The Minister then approved his promotion in an acting capacity with the question of permanency to be held in abeyance until the conclusion of his relieving period.

On 10 December 1924, Sergeant Lovegrove informed the authorities of his intention to marry and drew attention to the state of police accommodation at Rankine River, saying 'I do not think the quarters here are suitable for a married man...' and suggesting that the government provide some money to upgrade the quarters.

In August 1925, John Creed Lovegrove married Lilian Eleanor Styles, the eldest daughter of Tom Styles and the late Eleanor (*nee* Tuckwell). The bride was a granddaughter of one of Darwin's earliest pioneering families, [Ned](#) and [Eliza Tuckwell](#). The bride's mother born in 1873 was amongst the first white children born in Darwin.

The wedding was written up in the local paper of 4 August 1925 and was apparently quite a grand affair. The bridesmaid was the bride's sister, Gertrude, who was later to marry the Surveyor General, [Bill Easton](#). The best man was Sergeant Alf Stretton, a Borroloola born Territorian who later became Superintendent of Police. An elegant touch at the reception was described in the article as follows, 'A large wedding bell hung from the centre and when the happy couple were immediately beneath it a stream of confetti poured upon them and a pure white bird was released which flew and rested on the bride's shoulder'. The paper went on to say, 'The bride by her charming manner and gentle disposition endeared herself to all'.

Lilian Lovegrove had had responsibility thrust upon her at an early age. With her father, Tom Styles away prospecting in the Tanami desert, she had, at the age of 14, nursed her mother through a terminal illness. Her mother died at a young 36 years of age. Lilian lost her only surviving brother when he died of wounds sustained in action in the Dardanelles during the First World War. The whole responsibility for her younger sisters, Gertrude, [Eileen \(Fitzer\)](#) and [Myrtle \(Fawcett\)](#) fell on her shoulders. Eileen Fitzer, the last surviving child of Tom and Eleanor Styles recently said of her sister, 'Lil never had a girlhood. We depended on her so much and when she married I wept inconsolably as I thought the bottom had dropped out of my world'. The couple were allocated a house at Myilly Point.

On 26 February 1926, the Commissioner, supported by the Chief Clerk and Accountant, L H A Giles, recommended that Lovegrove's promotion to Sergeant be confirmed and backdated to 8 July 1925. The wheels

turned slowly even in those days and it was not until January 1927 that there is evidence of Lovegrove signing his correspondence as Sergeant without the 'Acting' appendage.

On 4 May 1926, a daughter, Yvonne Lilian, was born in Darwin. During the first half of 1927, Lilian was again expecting a child. The family apparently took leave, for on 27 July 1927, Thomas Creed was born at Petone Hospital on Goodwood Road in Millwood, a suburb of Adelaide. The part owner and matron of the hospital was Sister Rita Campbell, a girlhood friend of Lil's when the Styles lived at Brocks Creek and Rita Campbell's parents were at the Howley Siding where her father was a fettler.

It is interesting to note that in an application on 8 September 1927 for transfer to a vacant position pending in Alice Springs, Jack Lovegrove said in respect of war service, 'I am not a returned soldier but, as you will note from my staff file, I applied to the then Administrator, Dr Gilruth for twelve months leave, or until the termination of the war, for the purpose of enabling me to enlist for service abroad. A promise was given; but not kept'. After leave that began in December 1929 the family returned to Alice Springs and where Jack Lovegrove was to take over as Sergeant in charge there. At the time, the Territory was divided administratively into two so he was appointed to the 'Office of Police Branch, Department of Government Resident, Central Australia'.

Apart from normal policing duties he filled the following statutory positions for Central Australia: Mining Warden; Licensing Inspector; Registrar of Motor Vehicles; Health Inspector, Receiver of Dingo Scalps; Keeper of the Stuart Town Gaol; Pound Keeper; Chief Inspector of Stock; Clerk and Bailiff of the local court; Collector of Public Monies; Deputy Chief Protector of Aborigines; Authority for Aboriginal Marriages; Clerk of the Licensing Branch, Central Australia. In addition to this he relieved as Deputy Administrator when V G Carrington, Deputy Administrator was absent for which he was paid a higher duties allowance.

The extension of the railway line from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs added to the work load of the police in Central Australia and this prompted the Administrator, [R H Weddell](#), following a visit to The Centre to recommend in October 1935, that Lovegrove merited an advancement to the commissioned rank of Sub-Inspector. In the manner typical of 'Absentee landlords', the Minister or his underlings in Melbourne considered that they knew better and refused to accede to the Administrator's recommendation.

With her Territory background, her caring nature and her early introduction to serious responsibility, Lil Lovegrove was an ideal partner for her husband in Alice Springs. Jack and Lil were very popular and their house was always open to townfolk and especially to the young constables who were being recruited and posted to Central Australia and to the families of policemen out-posted from the Alice. Their three children attended the Hartley Street School and later the Darwin Public School. Yvonne was later a boarder at St Margaret's Church of England Girls School in Brisbane and later Presbyterian Girls College in Adelaide and both Creed and Ian were boarders at St Peters College in Adelaide. Lil Lovegrove was a dedicated Anglican churchgoer and she insisted her children be given an active Christian upbringing. In her final years, she experienced some disappointment with the Church of England and was more inclined to attend the John Flynn Memorial Church in Alice Springs.

In late 1937, Lovegrove was transferred to Darwin arriving there about 15 September 1937. He was recommended by Superintendent A V Stretton for promotion to a position of Inspector, 'which it is proposed to create'. On 1 December 1937, he was formally appointed as Inspector. He was paid higher duties for a total of 78 days during 1938 as acting Superintendent.

Before going on leave in May, he had two short periods of illness necessitating sick leave, which flared up again in December when he returned to Darwin. Things got worse by the middle of 1941 with longer periods of absence due to illness. Finally, it was decided that he should be retired from the Force on medical grounds as he had a heart condition.

The Territory was a harsh and unforgiving country in the early part of the twentieth century when John Creed Lovegrove arrived there, as many lonely and not so lonely graves will testify. There were few buffers against a sometimes-savage climate, medical aid was sparse and far away and there were few other amenities, either physical or social. Over the years, this took its toll on Lovegrove and he was only 57 years of age when he retired.

The family moved back to The Alice, which they loved and had always considered as home and Jack Lovegrove contributed to the War effort by becoming a censor. They later took over the management of the Barrow Creek Hotel where they remained until mid 1948 when they bought a town block at Ti Tree where they built a home. They later returned to Alice Springs where they lived in Hartley Street opposite Ly Underdown's pub, until Jack Lovegrove's death on Christmas Eve, 1954.

Gilbert and Sullivan had their characters sing, 'When constabulary duty's to be done, the policeman's lot is not a happy one'. I doubt that Jack Lovegrove would have agreed with this. He experienced great adventure as a young policeman in remote areas and found great mateship in the bush. He had close friends amongst his colleagues to whom he was affectionately known as 'Lovey' and he was highly respected by fellow Territorians. He had a wife and family who were committed to the Territory and who gave him great support. He never considered moving away from the Territory. Despite loneliness in remote areas at times, privations, illness and a few other setbacks including a small measure of bureaucratic bastardry, I am sure, that on balance he would have preferred to have said, 'My policeman's lot was indeed a happy one'.

Family information.

T CREED LOVEGROVE, Vol 3.

LOWE, BEULAH MADELINE (1927–), missionary, linguist, teacher, musician, was born in Sydney on 12 December 1927, daughter of William Edward Lowe, and Evelyn Emily *nee* Strong. Her father was an English merchant seaman from London. Her mother came to Australia with her sister in the early 1920s. Beulah was the

eldest child and only girl in a family of three. She attended Manly West Public School and North Sydney Girls High School where she completed her secondary education. In this period, she took music lessons and learned to play the piano. She became a proficient pianist and organist.

As a 13 year old Beulah decided to become a Christian. When she was in her early 20s, she was called to be a missionary. Later she recounted that she had seen an article on a tiny island called Milingimbi where the children did not have a teacher. 'It was a strong call of God,' she said. The experience was to influence her entire life. In 1949, she was admitted to the George Brown Missionary Training College of the Methodist Church at Haberfield in Sydney for one year. This was followed by a further year of linguistic studies under the direction of Dr Cadell of the University of Sydney. In a class of 100 Beulah was awarded the top marks.

Having been appointed as a missionary teacher to the North Australia District of the Methodist Overseas Missions in December 1950, she flew to Darwin and then travelled by sea to Milingimbi in Arnhem Land. She remained in this post for a period of 27 years with a furlough after each three-year period. She was five feet six inches tall and fair-haired and especially gifted with an ear for sounds, be they vocal or instrumental.

She was determined to learn the language and on her first day at Milingimbi, while the lugger was being unloaded, she started writing down the words that were to be her tools. As Maisie McKenzie records, 'Her notebook and pencil became almost part of her... She wrote down what people said and then learned it by heart. In her spare time and when walking to school she practised, talking to herself. She then bought a tape recorder and dictated stories and experiences'. Her musical talents were quickly acknowledged and she was given the job of church organist and youth choir leader. When she left Milingimbi one of the students, Warmbirriir, continued the direction of the choir. Even though her job was teaching, she was also required to help out in the dispensary and with craftwork.

The Gupapuyngu language has a wide variety of sounds. For instance, the letter 'n' has six different varieties instead of the one letter the Europeans know. But Beulah was able to hear those different nuances. She was therefore asked to translate some of the Scriptures into Gupapuyngu. Although it was then against government policy, the Methodist Overseas Missions believed it was better for children to be taught in the vernacular. She translated numerous hymns and her first major translation was the gospel according to Mark. She was, as the **Reverend Arch Grant** has noted, 'greatly appreciated for this valuable work'. Beulah recognised that the local language had contrasting stops, both voiced and voiceless. That is something unheard of in any other Aboriginal language. To prove her point Beulah had to take informants to the Australian National University at Canberra and it was proved with sensitive instruments that her analysis was correct. That also demonstrates Beulah's keen sense of hearing as well as her desire to be perfect in her work.

Because of her understanding of the white man's world as well as the most complicated tribal laws regarding marriage and family, she became a resource person for tribal leaders such as Djawah as well as the confidante of young girls who had been promised to certain older men. Her intimate knowledge of the Yolngu Rom ('Yolngu' is Gupapuyngu for 'our people' and 'Rom' means 'law') also stood her in good stead when her missionary colleagues shared their administration and communication problems with her. Teaching in the English language was often not suitable in Arnhem Land and Beulah taught mainly in the Gupapuyngu language. She particularly stressed the importance of teaching adults before the children were so instructed. After further training at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, she began to develop a phonetic alphabet and from 1958 worked full-time in language work.

In order to help new European staff learn the Aboriginal language, Beulah Lowe conducted courses for them. The short conversational course was recorded on cassettes so that staff members could teach themselves. **Ella Shepherdson**, who herself lived for 50 years in Arnhem Land has recorded the benefit. 'In 1973 bilingual education was introduced officially in selected schools throughout the Northern Territory. Because the mission had pioneered language study it was relatively easy to launch effective bilingual education programmes in northeastern Arnhem land'.

In 1961, Beulah completed her orthography of the Gupapuyngu language, the first written work on an Arnhem Land language. Joyce Ross (later Joyce Sharman) requested a copy as she was a keen student at the missionary training college and wanted to learn the language. Beulah freely shared her work and Joyce would telephone Beulah to check on pronunciation. It was fortunate that Milingimbi had a telephone at the Mission office, the only one in Arnhem Land.

The mission authorities in Darwin and Sydney did not appreciate that the Gumatj language of Yirrkala and Galiwinku was quite different from Milingimbi Gupapuyngu but Beulah made sure that whatever was given to the Gumatj speaking population was acceptable to them. That made it necessary for her to visit the Yolngu though it was sometimes difficult for her to gain permission to travel so far away from her base. Joyce was later to spend 26 years at Yirrkala where she had local Aboriginal assistants who were always available whenever needed to check up on language matters. Beulah, although popular with all the staff, always found it hard to find someone committed to helping with the translation work, or with story writing for the school. This often delayed her work and caused her great frustration and at times the lack of helpful linguistically inclined Aborigines made her work all but impossible but as her room mate, Sister **Jess Smith**, wrote, 'her patience and gentleness with the Yolngu was untiring'.

Beulah always kept herself in the background and never drew attention to herself. She was offered Membership of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for her services as a teacher, linguist and musician but she refused it, commenting, 'No, I am not worthy of such a great honour'. Several of her colleagues, when interviewed years later, confirmed that one could not help feeling attracted to her because of her quiet charm and competent dedication, her Christian faith and consequent unselfish service. No wonder a number of young men proposed marriage, but none was accepted. She had found her family in the Yolngu and in all who shared her calling to serve her Lord in a practical way.

Beulah hated snakes and there were plenty of them on the island. Once when she was playing the harmonium, she stopped playing in the middle of a hymn and quietly moved to a nearby pew. The congregation continued singing without an organ accompaniment and Sister Jess Smith quietly went to sit next to her wondering what was wrong with Beulah. 'There's a snake in the organ!', she whispered. The snake must have been there from the beginning of the service. It said a lot for her quiet manner and self control that she had moved so quietly without upsetting the service.

She also helped in the communication between the resident nursing sister and the Yolngu especially when evacuation of a patient to Darwin hospital was vital and the patient was reluctant to leave the island. There were many other areas too where the joint skills of the two women were necessary. She was an extremely humble person as Doreen Lawton, a missionary at Yirrkala, was later to record. In the days of horse hair mattresses Doreen Lawton, as a newcomer, thought she had been given the most lumpy mattress. She herself was 'humbled' to discover that not only had Beulah given her the best room in the house they shared, but also the best mattress.

It has been recorded that Djawah, the Senior Leader of the Gupapuyngu, would call on Beulah to act as interpreter when important meetings between Yolngu and Balanda (corruption of 'Hollander', now meaning any Caucasian) were to take place. Without her availability, communications between government and Aborigines in the area would have been considerably hampered.

She was interested in all aspects of the Arnhem Land culture and was of the opinion that the development of cancers among the Aborigines has become more of a problem because of the change in diet from the native foods of the land and the sea to the more European type of foods.

She was greatly loved by the people of Milingimbi as well as by the other staff members. She left Milingimbi in 1977 and retired to Seaforth, a Sydney harbour suburb. She lived a quiet life, though in 1995 was not in good health. She was organist at the Seaforth Uniting Church where her musical skills were greatly appreciated. As Maisie McKenzie wrote 'Beulah Lowe has made a significant contribution to the work in Arnhem Land, and she must take her place among the most outstanding missionaries'.

M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; E Shepherdson, *Half a Century in Arnhem Land*, 1981; personal information from R and M Beazley, K and F Cheater, A Grant, C and J Gullick, D Lawton, J Sharman, J Smith and D Tuffin.

JOHN VANDER-WAL, Vol 3.

LUM LOY, MRS: see **LEE TOY KIM**

LUXTON, EDWIN (c1857–1913), businessman, was born in London, England, and came to Australia in about 1878 with banking training. He arrived in the Northern Territory in 1881 as one of the staff of the Town and Country Bank. In July 1882, he took a sublease over part of Lot 526 on the corner of Smith and Bennett Streets, Palmerston, for 13.5 years from **V L Solomon**, who in turn had a head lease from an Adelaide absentee owner. Luxton went into partnership with A E Jolly in 1883 having first built a residence and store on the block 'well and tastefully fitted up'. The store and his own residence, built of wood and iron, were valued at 400 Pounds in 1887. The head lease was transferred to Luxton in 1889 though by then A E Jolly and Company solely ran the store. That firm continued to trade on the site until 1942.

In 1887, on behalf of the partnership, Luxton moved to the Cambridge Gulf (Wyndham) in Western Australia to take over the business interests of W K Griffiths and Company. The partnership was dissolved by mutual consent in 1893 and Luxton moved to Sydney for a number of years, as one of the conditions was that he not conduct a competing business within four years.

He returned to Palmerston in 1897 and purchased Lot 412 in Smith Street (adjacent to Brown's Mart on the Bennett Street side) on which he established a store as general merchant and importer. The following month he requested the District Council to kerb his street frontage but was advised that it was not proposing to kerb that side of Smith Street 'at present' but that he could do it if he wished.

On the evening of 31 March 1903 Luxton's store was destroyed by fire, the apparent cause being the spontaneous combustion of some matches held in stock. The business was insured for 1 700 Pounds, though actual losses were estimated at some 3 000 Pounds. He was quick to inform his customers that he would fulfil all orders as soon as new stocks were received. Only the retail store was damaged, the bond and bulk stores were not harmed. Within the month, the insurance had been paid and Luxton announced the rebuilding of his premises.

Later in 1903, which was clearly not a good year for him, Luxton was involved in litigation, for breach of contract, with his erstwhile partner, A E Jolly. Luxton claimed that Jolly had promised to sell him all his businesses in the Northern Territory for about half what they were worth, as he (Jolly) was very worried about his financial situation. These included the store and residences at the corner of Bennett and Smith Streets, the Victoria Hotel, a store at Pine Creek, a fleet of 16 pearling luggers, certain mining leases and a battery at Pine Creek.

After an extremely costly hearing which involved evidence taken from many witnesses in Palmerston and argument over more than 10 sitting days in Adelaide, the judge found that there was no contract, mostly on account of Jolly's 'insanity' at the time. Luxton's lawyers had also made the mistake of suing Jolly's partner, Clark, when the latter was not a party to the negotiations. In order to protect Clark the law decreed that the damages to Luxton be lessened though he did succeed in the claim for the mining leases and the battery, though not the land on which it stood.

Although he renewed his storekeeper's licence annually, he did not advertise his business from May 1905 until a large display advertisement was inserted in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* only a month before he died in 1913. By that time, his premises were on part of Lot 532 Smith Street (nearly opposite Christ Church),

which he leased from W H Gray, an Adelaide absentee owner. At various other times Luxton held long leases over Lots 423 and 519, which were then sublet.

Luxton does not seem to have had any sporting interests though in 1885 the firm of Jolly and Luxton gave a trophy for shooting. He was not one of the towering figures of Palmerston's history but he does seem to have been concerned to see that the north developed, and the townsmen gained nothing for which they had not asked. He was a signatory to the letter seeking electoral representation for the Territory which was given to **J L Parsons** when, as a minister, he visited in 1882. In 1886, he was a member of a committee discussing the transcontinental railway. In October 1897, Luxton was part of a deputation to the Government Resident requesting that ships with certain explosives, such as 'fuse, Chinese crackers, and cartridges' might be allowed to call at Port Darwin. For years, ships with any types of explosives were forbidden the port as no agreement could be reached on the best place to site the magazine. He was also a long time member of the North Australia League and Vice President in 1903. At various times he was elected to the 'Show' committee and in 1905 served on the committee established to welcome the Governor of South Australia. Thereafter he took no further active part in the life of the town, probably due to his health.

In 1912 he went to Sydney for treatment of diabetes but felt so improved that he returned to Darwin, only to die shortly thereafter on 5 March 1913 at the age of 56. He was known as a man whose 'word was his bond' and his 'bluff straightforward honesty' made him a 'man's man'. He was generous to a fault, always ready with a subscription to help the common good.

He had married Annie Sloper on a visit south in 1892 but there were no children. His devoted wife to whom he left an estate of 5 000 Pounds, subject to a small bequest to his sister, survived him. Two thousand Pounds of his estate came from a life policy, which he had prudently taken out.

Advertiser, January & February 1904; *North Australian*, 28 August 1886, 8 October 1887; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 25 March 1882, 30 December 1882, 26 June 1885, 1 August 1892, 10 February 1893, 22 October 1897, 3 April 1903, 10 April 1903, 12 June 1903, 29 May 1903, 14 March 1904, 15 April 1904, 6 May 1904, 21 April 1905, 6 March 1913; Northern Territory Archives Service, E106 40 & E96/20 Land Titles Office Records.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

LYONS, JOHN WILLIAM (TIGER) (1908–1970), lawyer, soldier and politician, was born at Lucknow, New South Wales, on 9 November 1908, son of Hon. James Denis Lyons, a produce merchant and grazier who later became a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council, and his wife Sarah Anne, *nee* Maloney. Both the Lyons and Maloney families had migrated from Ireland, the Maloneys in the 1830s. The Lyons were Catholics and John Lyons was educated at Saint Stanislaus College in Bathurst, New South Wales. An excellent student, he was awarded a gold medal for English. Completing his secondary education below the minimum age for entry to university, he spent two years learning wool classing before starting his law degree at the University of Sydney. On completion of his degree, he worked for a Sydney legal firm. On 7 July 1933, Lyons married Dorothea Margaret Wright at Saint Xavier's Church in Darlinghurst, Sydney. The honeymoon was spent in Darwin.

What started as a six-week honeymoon in Darwin extended to a stay of nearly 40 years. Lyons entered a legal partnership with John Harris, and practised as a solicitor and barrister for many years. John 'Tiger' Lyons retained many of the physical and mental characteristics of his Irish ancestors. He had a keen sense of justice, and often represented the underdogs of society in cases where there was little chance of payment. He was also a noted criminal lawyer, and not one of the many clients he defended on murder charges was ever hanged. In the 1930s, Lyons earned world fame when he won thousands of Pounds in damages for the owners of Japanese fishing luggers impounded by the government. Whether in arguing a case or speaking on a public issue, he showed 'considerable oratorical ability which he used to devastating effect on those who did not share his point of view.' The red headed lawyer in his private life had a deep love of literature and sport and was a gregarious and entertaining companion.

The Lyons settled in a house in Larrakeyah. There were three daughters of the marriage, Margaret, Denise and Thea, and three sons, John, James and Timothy. When the Japanese evacuated Darwin citizens in 1941 due to fears of invasion, Dorothea Lyons and the children went to Sydney. Lyons remained in Darwin. Shortly after the family had settled in their wartime home at Hunters Hill, the shadowy figure of a man in military uniform was seen on the verandah late one night. It was Lyons. He had joined the Army and with the rank of Major spent the remaining war years as a legal advisor to United States Army units based in Australia. The Lyons family returned to Darwin as soon as the town was reopened to civilians in 1946. In 1948, Lyons bought the old British Australia Telegraph Company Residence on the corner of the Esplanade and Knuckey Street in Darwin. The family lived there for the next 26 years.

In 1957, elections were held for positions on the newly formed Darwin Municipal Council. Darwin had not had a town council since 1937, when the then council resigned and handed over the responsibility for municipal administration to the Northern Territory Administration. Lyons was elected as a representative for the Port Darwin ward. He became Deputy Mayor and, on the resignation of **Bill Richardson** as Mayor in 1958, took over the position of Mayor of Darwin. Lyons's administration is remembered as a colourful era in the Council's history. While he was reportedly mellower and more ready to seek consensus than Richardson, in his dealing with councillors 'his biting wit and sarcasm were often felt in Council debate'. Lyons was also not adverse to mixing it physically with opponents should the need arise. A case in point was his brawl in 1958 with the feisty Editor of the *Northern Territory News*, **Jim Bowditch**, over the issue of the day labour garbage strike in Darwin. As Mayor, Lyons had upset unionists, and Bowditch, by leading councillors in a clean up of garbage in the town. Lyons

served as Mayor until 1959 and remained on the Council until 1963. He resigned when he was elected to the Legislative Council, where he remained until 1968.

Lyons died in Darwin Hospital on 12 February 1970 after a long illness. His wife and children and four grandchildren survived him. A requiem mass was conducted at the Catholic cathedral by Bishop J P O'Loughlin. People from all walks of life came to pay their last respects to Lyons and senior students from Saint Mary's College formed a guard of honour outside the cathedral. Lyons was laid to rest in the cemetery at McMillans Road. There were tributes paid to him at a special sitting of the Supreme Court and in the Legislative Council. The *Northern Territory News* in an editorial, which mentioned the 1958 incident involving Lyons and Bowditch, stated that he 'was a man possessed of rare compassion for his fellows, enormous courage and a powerful sense of humour.'

When, after a number of years in which there were no separate wards for the Darwin Council, wards were reintroduced in 1971, a ward encompassing Port Darwin was named after Lyons. The Lyons home on the Esplanade, which was sold in 1974, became a 'heritage property' owned by the Northern Territory Government. To many old Darwinites it was still always referred to as 'Lyons Cottage'.

A Heatley, *A City Grows*, 1986; *Northern Territory News*, 13 February 1970; family information from Mrs M Doherty (*nee* Lyons), Darwin.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

M

MacARTHUR (also McARTHUR), JOHN (1791–1862), officer of the marines; Little is known of MacArthur's early life except that he was the son of James MacArthur and that he had a brother Hannibal three years his senior who later became a prominent pastoralist and businessman in New South Wales. However, the records of the Royal Marines provide information on his distinguished naval career.

On 14 April 1809, MacArthur became a Second Lieutenant and had served on seven ships when he was promoted to First Lieutenant on 25 September 1827. On 10 July 1837, John MacArthur was promoted to the rank of Captain.

It was during this period of his rank as Captain that he held the position of acting commandant, later commandant, at Port Essington on the north coast of Australia, and his sons James and John spent time there with him, both holding the position of storekeeper. James left for Sydney on HMS *Britomart* in September 1841. John arrived in Port Essington on HMS *Meander* in 1849.

Early in 1838, HMS *Alligator* and HMS *Britomart* sailed from England with MacArthur and the 21 Royal Marines who were to make up the new garrison at Port Essington. One of these men was **George Windsor Earl**, a linguist and a draughtsman, who later wrote about his experiences. Captain **Bremer** had instructed MacArthur to ascertain a suitable site for a settlement. It was MacArthur who named the site Victoria after the present British monarch. In 1839 Bremer left Port Essington to take command of the Indian Station and MacArthur was left in charge.

MacArthur's letters and dispatches give away little of his personal feelings. Even after his 11-year stay at Port Essington, he left no record of how he felt about the abandonment of the settlement. He does however display a descriptive pen and shows a flair for natural science, as did many of his educated contemporaries. 'It is quite a mistaken notion which has obtained with some that our flowers are without fragrance and our birds without song. Some of the shrubs produce the most odoriferous flowers as do several bulbous rooted plants, and there are two remarkably fine birds that might vie with our thrush for song and several smaller birds that would be much esteemed in England.'

In a letter to Bremer, MacArthur refers to some of the recreational activities enjoyed by the men at the settlement 'when the garrison partook of amusement with a bat and ball'. Also wrestling matches and running competitions were popular with members of the crew of visiting ships—no doubt a welcome relief from the monotony of life in a small community.

High hopes had been held for the success of Port Essington as a trading post but by 1840, it was already showing signs of stagnation. The site proved to be out of the way for the Macassan trepangers and Dutch control of the Macassan economy depleted any hopes of British trade. The official papers indicated an attack on Earl's estimates on the viability of the trepang industry and it was felt that the potential had been overstated.

Land sales had been mooted to be an economic option. In a dispatch to Lord Stanley on 11 August 1843, Sir George Gipps advocated it was desirable that Captain MacArthur be authorised to sell land in small quantities'. Land could be held under a 'permissive lease' but Bremer had maintained that such tenure did not and would not attract investors from southern colonies. MacArthur had earlier suggested the possibility of selling land to the Malays and Chinese but this was not done. Nor was the plan to sell land to residents at the settlement. It would seem that they were more concerned with leaving.

By November 1843 MacArthur appealed to the governor to relieve the little garrison 'without loss of time' and this relief came for officers and men in 1845 although their commandant was to remain at Port Essington another five years. T H Huxley provides some insight into the relations between officers: 'Each man seemed to hate the other with a most delightful cordiality and the only thing in which they were united was in the most unqualified abuse of the whole settlement.'

It has been argued that because of the failure of the two earlier military outposts, Port Essington was created with a handicap. Certainly there does not appear to be the same naive optimism that was expressed in earlier times by Captain Bremer and **Major Campbell**. However, MacArthur consistently displayed an incredible amount of staying power and a manner befitting a commandant at all times. This image is supported by notable visitors such as **Dumont D'Urville** and **Ludwig Leichhardt**.

Port Essington did not experience major health problems until in 1843 a visitor introduced the malarial virus. It claimed many victims for a number of years including Aborigines, a sad irony in the light of the fact that race relations had been reasonably amicable. One of the victims of malaria was Father **Angelo Confalonieri** who had survived a shipwreck only to be spared for such a miserable fate in 1848.

The men who brought their wives with them seem to have had no notion of what they were coming to. Among them was one officer, Lieutenant George Lambrick, who arrived with his young wife **Emma** and their baby. A fever subsequently claimed her life and the lives of two of their children. Lambrick remained at the settlement with MacArthur until it was abandoned.

On 30 November 1849, the British burned their labours of 11 years and turned their backs on Port Essington. A 21-gun salute was fired from HMS warship *Meander* as a final farewell. After a brief stay in Sydney MacArthur, with the majority of the Royal Marines who had survived Port Essington, boarded HMS *Rattlesnake* for England and arrived on 9 November 1850.

MacArthur's marines career continued to flourish as he gained promotion to the rank of Brevet Major in 1851, Lieutenant Colonel in 1852 and Brevet Colonel in 1854. During his colourful career he saw action in France and on the west coast of Africa.

John MacArthur in many ways remains something of an enigma. His dispatches, his letters and the few surviving reports from those who knew him depict him as an able leader, a meticulous recorder of events and, above all, an English gentleman who strove to keep a remote outpost civilised at all times. None of his writings hint at whether he felt he had wasted eleven years.

On 15 August 1853, MacArthur was placed on a full pay retired list. In Buckinghamshire nine years later he died on 28 July 1862.

F H Bauer, *Historical Geography of White Settlement in Part of Northern Australia*, part 2, 1964; C P Conigrave, *North Australia*, 1936; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; P G Spillett, *Forsaken Settlement*, 1972; *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, vols 23 & 24, Records of the British Royal Marines, ref ADM 196/58 N Folio 107.

TED STREET, Vol 1.

MACARTNEY, FREDERICK THOMAS BENNETT (1887–1980), poet, writer, critic and public servant, was born in Melbourne on 27 September 1887, youngest child of Irish born Thomas Macartney and Elizabeth Emma, *nee* Jacob. His mother was Australian born, descended from a long line of English yeomen from Warley, Essex. Macartney's father died when he was five and he was brought up in what was then called 'genteel poverty' though assisted by his mother's family who had not approved of her marriage. He left school at 11 having, by his own admission, learned only those things drummed into him by rote. A succession of jobs followed, always with an eye to advancement. He acknowledged that he always had an inclination and a feel for words but employment, particularly in his younger years, always came before his literary tastes. Although he was much involved with the Melbourne literary scene, he spent some years away from Melbourne working on pastoral properties in clerical positions for which he learned shorthand and typing.

In 1921, he was appointed Assistant to the Government Secretary of the Northern Territory Administration and he arrived in Darwin in February that year. The Government Secretary at the time was Colonel Story for whom Macartney had little regard. Story resigned in 1922 and Macartney was appointed to his position. He was to spend 12 years in the Territory.

In addition to the position for which he had been appointed, Macartney was given a number of other duties, among which were Clerk of Courts, Sheriff, Public Trustee, Registrar General, Registrar, Births Deaths and Marriages and so on. As he himself put, he was the 'legal Pooh Bah'. When the Commonwealth took control of the Northern Territory in 1911 Territorians were completely disenfranchised until 1922 when, after a great deal of well-documented agitation by the locals, they were allowed to vote for one member of the House of Representatives. The second election was held in December 1925 and Macartney was the Returning Officer. There was strenuous campaigning but the local press noted that in his role Macartney had 'carried out the election in a strictly impartial manner and there was not the slightest hitch or even argument during the whole proceedings'. His own view was that 'the whole place, of course, is an anomaly. We elect one member of the Reps, and he hasn't got any vote in Parliament. We might just as well send down a few gramophone [*sic*] records of our own making. The opponent to the sitting member **Nelson**, is one, Story, who, after an honorable period of three years uselessness as Govt. [*sic*] Secretary here, was euphemistically sacked, and therefore (probably with perfect fitness) considers himself suitable for parliament. The fight is beautifully bitter, and everybody is hating everybody else about it so much that I almost love them all. They even try to impeach my Olympian neutrality, so far without any result except mental grins with a slight lemon flavor.'

Macartney was apparently a 'strict disciplinarian' in the office though he seems to have been held in great respect. Among his staff when he was Clerk of Courts was Miss A M O'Neil, who in 1936 was appointed Acting Clerk of Courts, 'the first known time such a position has been filled by a woman'. The press noted that she had received her early training under Macartney and had gone on to be 'right hand "man"' to his successor, **J W Nichols**. For his part, Macartney increasingly got bored with Darwin. As he wrote to his long time correspondent, Nettie Palmer, 'I'm really an excellent official, but that's about all... The principal difficulty is perhaps that I despise the people here so completely, and I don't seem to care much whether they deserve it or not. Don't imagine I'm really despondent... Nor have I lost my sense of humor. Life, particularly here, is too much of a scream for that'. By 1930 when the economic situation threatened to overwhelm the whole country he wrote: '“Things (as the phrase goes) are just as bad here as elsewhere in Australia, and we officials are expecting shortly to have our salaries reduced. This, however necessary or just, is exceedingly annoying to one like me, who gets no satisfaction at all from the place except the money it brings. I don't mind selling my soul to the devil but I do expect him to keep his promises'.

Macartney had been brought up a Methodist and in the best tradition was 'saved' at a revival meeting as a young teenager. By the time he came to the Territory he was a 'backslider' so far as religious observance was concerned but his upbringing had instilled a lifetime's 'moderation' into his activities, though as he put it 'abstemious youth was renounced in early manhood'. In the north, these habits stood him in good stead; Macartney makes it clear in his autobiography that he did not succumb to the indulgences that brought many another man down. He maintained his health and vigour, (except for several bouts of 'one of our brands of fever'), swimming by then being his 'religion'. He was a regular at the Lameroo baths and much frustrated when a 'tired' town council failed to keep up the maintenance so it was not a safe place to swim.

Although he had married in 1917, it was not a success and, as Macartney put it, his appointment to the Territory gave the opportunity for a ‘clean break’. (He eventually married again, but not until 1947). He was a man who largely kept to himself, few having his literary interests. At times, he got ‘dreadfully depressed’ away from ‘all the other associations to which I rightly belong and for which there is no substitute here’. For the most part, he lived alone in a large bungalow that was close to the sea in the gully between what was then Fort Hill and the hill on which Government House stands. It had long been the home of senior government servants. At times, he ate at the local hotels but in November 1928, he noted that he was preparing his own meals ‘because the grub at the hotels is vile’. At night, he had his gramophone for company, as music was another major interest. He made a life-long friend of **Judge R I D Mallam**, who left him his entire estate when he died in 1954. In his turn, Macartney published a booklet, entitled *A Noticeable Man*, about his friend.

During his years in the Territory Macartney kept in touch with the Melbourne literary scene. Among his correspondents was Nettie Palmer and 16 of his letters written from Darwin to her survive. He acted as town librarian and endeavoured to order books which would educate the literary tastes of the borrowers, though as he was to say to Nettie Palmer: ‘There are only 25 subscribers, but we get a Government subsidy, and have about 30 Pounds a year to spend on books. I have the choosing of these, and have to make concessions to “popular” taste, but manage to get a good proportion of good books. The selection is more or less restricted to fiction, with occasional books of travel, biography etc., for I haven’t yet thought it discreet to introduce poetry or plays, though we have the usual standard volumes of the former... In odd moments I’m going through the shelves, weeding out old books no longer fit for circulation, and re-numbering and re-cataloguing the lot—between two and three thousand altogether, so it’s a long job’.

There is a long history of amateur dramatics in Darwin and in 1926, Macartney produced a play. Nettie Palmer was told ‘the show went as well as I could have wished but, oh the work I had to put into it. I gave my little company to understand at the beginning that, if at the end of our rehearsals the performance was not up to a good enough standard, I would not go onto public performance. But they really did well, and our solitary lady (who, unfortunately is leaving Darwin) was a treasure in her part’. Macartney’s comment that his group ‘died with its only effort’ may well have been a reflection on him!

Physically he appears to have been a tall, rather spare man who went bald early in life. Although generally he liked the Northern Territory, his time here was very much a means to an end. The positions he held were well paying and he hoped would lead to some measure of financial independence so that he could continue his writing career. But the pressure of his duties gave him little time to write and at times he felt no inclination to do so. Macartney was later to say that for half a lifetime he was obliged to do other things for a living but that writing was always his main purpose. After he inherited Mallam’s estate, which included not only money but also a large quantity of books and household china, his money worries were largely behind him.

In his later years, Macartney had an influential career as a literary commentator. He was relentlessly critical about the popular ‘landscape’ school of writing which became popular in the 1920s and 1930s and which depicted the outback adventurous lifestyle. No doubt owing to his experiences in the Northern Territory, he saw himself as cultural arbiter of Australian literature, particularly material set in the north of Australia. He took over reviewing the Australian books in the influential Melbourne literary journal *All About Books* after Vance and Nettie Palmer went overseas. He ruthlessly demolished such writers as Francis Birtles, William Hatfield and Michael Terry for their lack of plot, wooden descriptions and inadequate literary style. He maintained this role cheerfully throughout his career and commented acidly in 1969 of Rex Ingamells’ poetry, ‘here you have a people whose habits belong to a bygone stage of evolution, the Stone Age, and to imply, for instance, that there is a musical quality in their songs, which are often prettified, that their legends are as you see them in most books, continuous and coherent, when as a matter of face the whole of the primitive mentality has nothing of that precision... this was only a kind of literary playing Indians’. His view in 1931, as he wrote to Nettie Palmer, was that there was a ‘tendency, which I myself have noticed among bushmen, to want to seem more familiar with the ways and minds of the blacks than they really are or could be’.

But Macartney also wrote about the north. *Something for Tokens* was published in 1922 and *A Sweep of Lute Strings* in 1929, both written when he was resident and during these years, other poems were published in the *Bulletin*, its Red Page then being very influential. *Hard Light and Other Verses* was published in 1934 soon after he had left the Territory. In his autobiography *Proof Against Failure* published in 1967 Macartney described his impressions of the Northern Territory between 1921 and 1933 as a chronological narrative. Clearly, in retrospect, those years were simply an interlude in his life and his memories later softened his 1929 view that ‘I have seen some elephants which have more understanding, and more discretion and intelligence, than any kind of people I have met’. This was a quote from a book he was then reading, but as he said to Nettie Palmer, ‘I am pleased to give this a local application without the same zoological restriction’. The venom is missing in the autobiography.

The painter Margaret Preston was said to have been influenced by her association with Frederick Macartney. He died in 1980.

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HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

MACDONALD, ALBERT (1870–1924), telegraphist and overland cyclist, was born on 17 December 1870 at Clare, South Australia, son of David Macdonald, a tailor, and Christina, *nee* McPhail. When Albert was quite young, the family moved to Orroroo, where he attended school and where he commenced work on 4 August 1885 as a messenger with the Post and Telegraph Service (on a salary of 31 Pounds four Shillings). After working as a junior telegraph operator at Orroroo (1888–89), Melrose (1890–91) and the Central Telegraph Office in Adelaide (1892–93), he was transferred in March 1893 to the Northern Territory to work as a telegraphist on the Port Darwin line (on a salary of 100 Pounds).

During his five and half years in the Territory, Macdonald spent about half of his time at the Overland Telegraph Office in Port Darwin (1893–95 and 1898) and half at the Telegraph Station at Powell's Creek (1896–97), about 880 kilometres south of Darwin. In Darwin he joined the Literary and Debating Society and was a prominent athlete, winning a mile race at Palmerston Oval on 14 July 1893 in the time of five minutes, 23 seconds. His main claim to fame, though, was as a cyclist.

Macdonald put the Northern Territory on the map in 1898 when he became a major figure in the 1890s cross continental cycling craze. In August 1898, he set out to break the existing record of 60 days for the cycling journey from Darwin to Adelaide. As recorded in the advertising booklet *Albert Macdonald of Orroroo*, published subsequently by the firm that supplied his bicycle, Macdonald corresponded with the Austral Cycle Company of Little Flinders Street, Melbourne, from February to July 1898 in the hope of obtaining their sponsorship. They gave their support on the condition that he complete the journey from Darwin to Melbourne in five weeks or less. Macdonald set himself to establish an 'unbreakable record'. He was photographed holding his bicycle (a 'Swift' No 1 Light Roadster, fitted with Dunlop Roadster tyres) with seventeen other staff of the overland telegraph service, including the postmaster **John Little**, in Darwin shortly before he set off on his marathon ride.

Macdonald left Darwin at 6.15 am on Monday 22 August 1898. Knowing the northern part of the route so well—he claimed to be familiar with the first 1280 kilometres of the 3 136 kilometres—and assisted by a tailwind, Macdonald reached Adelaide on 19 September after 28 days, 15 hours and 30 minutes on the track. He was the fourth man to complete the north-south cycling route across the continent, but it was his speed that was most impressive. On the final leg from Wilmington to Adelaide he covered 301 kilometres in the one day. As he rode on to Melbourne the newspapers, including the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, reported his progress. He completed the full journey to Melbourne in 33 days, five hours and 30 minutes, averaging 125 kilometres a day—much faster than anyone thought possible at the time. This cycling feat earned Macdonald a prominent place among the overland cyclists who made Australia the world leader in this form of marathon cycling in the late 1890s.

Macdonald did not return to the Northern Territory after his cycling feat. He took up residence in South Australia, working as a telegraphist, first in Mount Gambier (April–May 1899) and then for the rest of his life in Adelaide. In 1915, he became a postal inspector on an annual salary of 310 Pounds. He was active in the South Australian Post and Telegraph Association. He played a prominent role as its secretary in presenting their submission to the Royal Commission on Postal Services in 1908, and argued strongly on behalf of members disadvantaged by the federal take-over of the Post and Telegraph Department in the years after Federation.

Macdonald visited the United States in 1907 and gained ideas for improving the existing vibratory mechanical transmitters used by telegraphists, many of whom suffered repetitive strain injuries from using these machines. He subsequently developed and patented a 'pendograph', which used a pendulum type vibrator instead of a horizontal vibrator. His invention was approved for use by the Central Telegraph Office and he sold it for two Pounds, twelve Shillings and six Pence.

On 18 April 1899, the year after he left the Northern Territory, Macdonald married Lillian Maud Turler, aged 25, the sister of the Noorlunga postmistress. The marriage was registered as taking place in the district of Morphett Vale. They had two sons, Trempece and Stewart, and two daughters, Nancy and Betty.

Predeceased by his first wife, Macdonald married Edith Holmes on 24 June 1924 at his home in West Terrace, Adelaide. By this time, he was the Postal Inspector in the Murray Bridge district. In ill health since February, he died at his home a few months later on 23 October 1924. The cause of death was certified as 'cerebral apoplexy'. An obituary notice in the Adelaide *Advertiser* on the day of his burial in Magill Cemetery, 25 October 1924, recorded his 'sterling services' as secretary of the Post and Telegraph Association, his membership of the Leopold Lodge of the Freemasons, and his reputation as 'an enthusiastic amateur cyclist'.

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KEVIN T LIVINGSTON, *Vol 1.*

MACKAY, DONALD GEORGE (1870–1958), explorer, was born at Yass, New South Wales, on 29 June 1870, the son of Alexander Mackay, the owner of Wallendbeen Station near Yass, and his wife Annie Mackay, *nee* Mackenzie. Both parents were of Scottish birth. Mackay was educated at Wallendbeen State School and at the Oaklands School, Mittagong. After a brief engineering apprenticeship, he worked for his father as a jackeroo. Alexander Mackay died in 1890, leaving Donald Mackay with one third of a very large estate, which provided him with a substantial private income. Between 1890 and 1899, he travelled extensively throughout the world. He also prospected for gold in western New South Wales.

In July 1899, Mackay left Brisbane with the brothers Alex and Frank White on a bicycle ride which was to take him around Australia. The Whites were forced to abandon the journey but Mackay finally returned to Brisbane in March 1900 after a record breaking time of 240 days, 7 hours and 30 minutes and a distance travelled of 17 500 kilometres. His ride took him through scarcely known areas and involved considerable hardships.

Mackay married Amy Isabel Little, daughter of John Little of Sydney, on 16 April 1902 in Sydney. He and his wife established a comfortable home at Port Hacking near Sydney that he used as a base for fishing, motoring, sailing and further travel.

In June 1908, he departed for Papua as leader and financier of an exploring expedition that investigated the headwaters of the Purari River. During the following decade, he sailed a yacht in the South Pacific and visited New Zealand and the Dutch East Indies.

In 1926, Mackay commenced the first of several exploration trips in the Northern Territory that he both led and financed when, with the anthropologist Dr Herbert Basedow, he took a camel expedition into the Petermann Ranges. During 1928, again with Basedow, he was leader of an expedition in Arnhem Land. Between 1930 and 1937, he personally supervised four aerial surveys of Central Australia. One of these resulted in the discovery in 1931 of a large lake that the Commonwealth Government named after him. The surveys meant the production of far more useful maps than those that had previously existed. He donated copies of all his maps and reports to the Commonwealth Government and the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

Appointed Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1937, Mackay spent most of his remaining years at Port Hacking. In his old age, he achieved well-deserved recognition as ‘the last Australian explorer’. While his journeys were not of the same significance as some that took place in an earlier period, he did much to increase knowledge of remote areas. A powerfully built man, he was well known for his generosity, physical fitness and qualities of leadership.

Mackay died of cardiac failure at Sutherland Shire Hospital on 17 September 1958. A widower, he had no children. He was cremated in Sydney following a Presbyterian service. He was the author of various articles and reports. A brother, Major-General Kenneth Mackay, was a prominent soldier and member of the New South Wales parliament.

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DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 1.*

MacKILLOP, DONALD (1853–1924), Jesuit priest (1882–99) and Superior (1890–97) of the Austrian Jesuit Mission to the Aborigines in the Northern Territory (1882–1899), was born in Portland, Victoria, on 27 April 1853. He was the eldest son of Alexander MacKillop and Flora McDonald, both of whom had arrived in Sydney from Scotland in 1835, and who had both moved within a year to Melbourne where they met and married. His father seems to have been a charismatic personality, combining the gifts of great oratory, a command of six or seven languages, and several years of ecclesiastical studies in Rome—all of which promised to make him the leading Catholic layman of early Melbourne, a promise gradually voided by his volatility and depression which grew with a series of business disasters. Donald’s sister, Mary, known as Mother Mary of the Cross, was founder (with the Reverend Julian Tennison Woods) of the Josephite Sisters—the largest congregation of nuns in Australia, and whose existence helped to ensure the survival of a separate Catholic education system. Donald was educated at St Aloysius’ College, Sevenhill, South Australia, a complex of boarding-school (1856–86), seminary for diocesan priests, novitiate and scholasticate for Jesuit students, Cellars, and centre for the Mission for the Austrian Jesuits who had come to the colony in 1848. He entered the Society of Jesus in June 1872 at Sevenhill and did his noviceship and studies in rhetoric and philosophy there until 1877. He then taught the boys at the same college until 1882 when he was sent abroad for theological studies at Innsbruck (1883) and in North Wales (1884–85), where he was ordained priest.

Tertiaship, the final year of Jesuit studies, was done at Roehampton. He returned to Adelaide on 14 October 1886 with two Jesuit companions, all three destined for the mission to the Aborigines in the Northern Territory, founded in 1882 by the Austrian Jesuits from Sevenhill, and then the first and only other Catholic mission in Australia since the founding of New Norcia, Western Australia, in the early 1840s. The Austrian mission, which lasted 18 years and involved a total of 19 Jesuits, was the largest conducted in South Australia and the Northern Territory in terms of the number of Aborigines involved and, compared with its nineteenth-century counterparts in Australia, had the most advanced missiology. Anthropologists such as **W E H Stanner** and **R M Berndt** single it out for its exceptional insights and appreciation of Aboriginal culture. Unlike other missions, it did not instantly dismiss native lore as heathenish, but attempted first to understand and then adapt it, a double endeavour that failed. The mission consisted of four stations, one near Palmerston, two on the Daly River where no white man had previously settled, and one thirty kilometres west of the Daly. In their policies of gradualism in evangelising, of respecting the distinct tribal territories, of employing and attempting to preserve the local dialects, and their effort to accept some aspects of native practice (such as corroboree), these stations were clearly based on the model of the Jesuit Reductions in eighteenth-century Paraguay. MacKillop was the most forthright exponent of these policies. From 1887 to 1889, he was attached to the Rapid Creek Station (outside Palmerston), to work and

study the Mulluk Mulluk dialect, the *lingua franca* of the Daly region. At the end of 1889, he was sent by the then Superior, **Father Anton Strele** to found a new station at Serpentine Lagoon, 30 kilometres west of the Old Uniya Station on the Daly. For a year, he laboured ineffectively there with four companions to found a colony among the Madngella and other tribes who had never seen whites before.

In December 1890, MacKillop was made Superior of the whole mission, which then included three stations and a residence in Darwin. As such, he was responsible for the direction of policy and the financial upkeep of the whole venture. The latter bore heavily on him, since the assistance promised by the bishops did not materialise. Deeming the three existing stations to be doomed to failure (because of expense, the European and Chinese encroachment and consequent tribal disintegration, and the great agricultural unsuitability of two of the sites—a legacy of Strele's impracticality), MacKillop closed all three and concentrated his 11 Jesuits in one new station, also on the Daly, in August 1891.

Despite successes (at times up to 600 Aborigines were camped in and around New Uniya, and 20 families were settled on two-acre farms), the policy of small, self-supporting agricultural townships did not catch on with the Aborigines, and inconstancy was the dominant trait of the few conversions made. Poverty, to the extent of near starvation, struck the station again, and MacKillop was forced to make begging tours in the south and east in 1892–93—unsuccessful because of the Depression and apathy. At the same time the continuing decimation of the tribes made the Jesuits seriously doubt the survival of the Aboriginal people. MacKillop clung to his policies of preserving the native culture and of 'religion primary in intention but secondary in practice' and described his model as 'a kind of socialism', but outside factors crowded in to produce a tragic desperation as he foresaw the end of the mission, 'the daydream of my life'. In vivid prose, he frequently lashed out in the press at 'blood-stained Australia', at the white and Chinese population and at the government, castigating the latter for its pusillanimity in grants of land in tribal territories and finance. Worn out and seriously ill he was ordered south in October 1897. Leadership of the mission became mediocre after his departure, and, following floods in 1898 and 1899, the station was closed. MacKillop's direction had been realistic, though his forthright criticism of official government policy probably alienated co-operation from that area.

MacKillop spent the rest of his life in intermittent good health, working in Jesuit parishes in Norwood, South Australia (1898–1901); Hawthorn, Victoria (1902–03); Richmond, Victoria (1904–10), Sevenhill, South Australia (1911–13) and Norwood, South Australia (1914–24), where he died on 2 February 1924. As the evidence of former Residents **J L Parsons** and **C J Dashwood** before the Select Committee on the Proposed Aborigines' Bill of 1899 (SA) suggests, it was the failure of the Jesuit enterprise in the Territory that helped confirm the negative character of government legislation on Aborigines for the next two or three decades.

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G J O'KELLY, *Vol 1*.

MAHAFFEY, GWENDOLINE MARY (GWEN) (1932–1975), nurse, was the daughter of Robert and Molly Mahaffey of Moree, New South Wales, and was born there on 10 May 1932, the youngest of four children. She grew up in the town and was educated at the Moree High School. An excellent sportswoman, she held trophies in tennis, swimming and diving and was part of an aquatic ballet formed at the baths in Moree in post war years. After leaving school, she worked in a local pharmacy before beginning her nursing training at the Concord Repatriation Hospital in Sydney in September 1954.

She completed her training at Concord in 1958 and then undertook a Midwifery Education program at the Canterbury District Memorial Hospital in Sydney between May 1959 and May 1960, going on to do her Tresillian/Mothercraft (Infant Health training) at the Royal Society for Welfare of Mothers and Babies at Vacluse in Sydney. After a brief visit to the Territory in 1962, she began to know of that region's charms when travelling with her friends Jacqueline Seale and Vern O'Brien. She was bridesmaid at their wedding in July 1964.

Mahaffey came to the Territory in 1965 as a Survey Sister in Rural Health and learnt a great deal about the outback and nursing in remote areas on outback station runs as well as in Aboriginal communities. She visited Maningrida, Milingimbi and Elcho Island at a time when the outstation movement was beginning and visited the mainland (Arnhem Land) from Milingimbi to help establish some of these new communities, where she gained the title 'Yappa Mahaff'—Sister Mahaffey. She spent time at Elcho Island (now Galiwinku) during a busy measles epidemic in 1965.

Transferring to the Darwin Hospital in 1966, she worked as a Charge Sister. In 1967, she came to the School of Nursing as a Tutor, a Nurse Educator. She gained a Diploma of Nursing Education in 1969 and a Diploma in Nursing Administration in 1973 at the College of Paramedical Studies. She was totally committed to student nurse education and continuing education for all registered nurses. Following the lead taken by **Jacqueline O'Brien**, the first post war qualified Nurse Educator at the Darwin Hospital; Mahaffey devoted herself to the daunting task of maintaining professional nursing education standards with only limited staffing.

Nurse educators had to upgrade a system that dated back to the 1920s and in which there was little correlation between theory and practice. Practical instruction was simply 'left to the Ward Sisters who gave students structural bedside teaching according to their degree of motivation. Lack of interest on the part of a Ward Sister meant that the student "picked it up" by trial and error.' Gwen Mahaffey had an excellent rapport with the student nurses and spent a great deal of time counselling them through their problems or anxieties.

She was accomplished in other fields. She was a skilled craftswoman, able to fashion intricate handbags, stubby holders, belts and riding crops using the techniques of leather carving.

Sister Mahaffey died suddenly on 10 May 1975. The high esteem in which she was held was evidenced by the Gwendoline Mahaffey Memorial Trust Fund which was set up by her many friends and nursing and hospital colleagues following her untimely death. Her significant contribution to nursing education and student nurse counselling is remembered in this memorial award and a photograph of the former Nurse Educator was mounted in the former School of Nursing at the Darwin Hospital. The Fund provided for an annual award in the form of a gold medallion to the student nurse who achieved the best all round standard in his or her final year of training. The street at Howard Springs where she planned her retirement bears the name Mahaffey Road after the first resident who built a home on this subdivision.

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JACQUELINE O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

MAHONY, JOHN JOSEPH (JACK) (1895–1959), police constable and hotelier, was born 7 February 1895 in Richmond, Victoria, the third of six children of Edmund and Teresa Mahony. Edmund Mahony was a tailor who received a framed citation from the Pope for his work for the Catholic Church and for starting the St Vincent de Paul's Society in Victoria. The family were descendants of migrants from Cork in Ireland. Teresa Mahony, *nee* Trowbridge, born in Monmouth, Wales, was a milliner.

Jack Mahony, educated at St Ignatius's School, Richmond, had blue eyes, brown hair and was of stocky build, 173 centimetres tall. A keen athlete and boxer, he was co-founder of the Brighton Beach Lifesaving Club and taught lifesaving and diving. Not all details of his early life can be traced, but it is known that after a brief period in the watchmaking trade, he spent several years as a printing machinist in Melbourne. He joined the Light Horse during the First World War, and learned horsemanship. Because of an injury in childhood, one of Mahony's feet was shorter than the other and he was not allowed to serve overseas. Mahony moved to the State Electricity Commission in Victoria in the early 1920s working on transmission lines, and then moved to Canberra as a clerk. Around 1925 he joined McKellar's team as a chainman on the Oodnadatta–Alice Springs railway line survey. In 1926 and 1927 he worked on the survey of a deep-sea port at Borroloola, taking soundings from a native canoe and experiencing difficulties that taught him valuable lessons of survival.

After joining the North Australia Commission as a draftsman in Katherine in 1928, Mahony also continued in survey teams, and the skills learned are evident in sketches in later police journals.

In Katherine, Mahony met the O'Shea family, well-known Territory pioneers in mining and hotel keeping in several centres. **Tim** and **Catherine O'Shea** owned the Railway Hotel and had six attractive daughters all of whom were to marry and remain in the Territory. The eldest, Kathleen, later married Mahony.

Jack Mahony went to Darwin in the hope of joining the Northern Territory Police Force, and spent three unhappy months as a warder at Fannie Bay Gaol at a time of many fights and riots. He succeeded in joining the police force on 18 May 1931. His early service was in Darwin, Timber Creek and Maranboy, with duties in Pine Creek, Tennant Creek and Katherine. In January 1932, he was sent to Pine Creek after the police station had been blown up during a riot of the unemployed and recorded in his diary a close escape when a revolver aimed at him misfired.

From Timber Creek, in July 1932, Mahony and **Ted Morey** left to search for the fugitive **Nemarluk**, wanted for the murder of three Japanese pearlers. Their patrol encompassed 2 000 kilometres of rugged Fitzmaurice River country. They were forced to return more than two months later without their quarry when food supplies were exhausted and witnesses and sick prisoners proved an encumbrance. Mahony was critical of the obsolete equipment issued.

Almost immediately, Morey and Mahony left on a foot patrol for Caledon Bay to investigate the murder of five Japanese trepanners by the Balamumu clan led by Wonggu. The two men carved their names and the date on a tree near the scene of the murders.

A second patrol investigated the same murders in June 1933. Morey and Mahony formed a land party leaving from Urapunga Station. **Vic Hall** and Stewart McColl were to meet them at the coast. Trackers accompanied both groups. Mahony's report detailed rugged terrain with steep inclines, huge salt pans, bogs, and 'dense jungle scrub, at times being pulled off our horse and left hanging on a vine like a dried grape'. Numerous bridges had to be built and men and horses arrived exhausted, the men suffering from dysentery caused by a diet of wallaby when supplies were finished. The four went to Woodah Island to enlist the aid of an Aboriginal group led by **Tuckiar**, not knowing that these men had killed two drifters, Traynor and Fagan, in the same area and were ready to kill again. The members of the patrol became separated and McColl was fatally speared on 1 August. Ted Morey wrote of Mahony's bravery when he drew spears from the remaining members of the police party by yelling a warning. Mahony narrowly escaped death from two spears, one of which cut through the puggaree of a hat which his family still has. The police force was later criticised by Mahony and Hall for sending out a small and poorly equipped party, which they both felt led to the death of McColl.

Further attacks were expected, and Mahony, Morey, Hall and **Clive Graham**, were assigned to protect those at the mission on Groote Eylandt, from September 1933 until April 1934. Following protests from humanitarian groups in the southern states, a missionary peace party went into the area, and persuaded Tuckiar and others to return to Darwin where they were tried in August 1934. At the trial, **Judge Wells** was critical of a situation whereby missionaries acted as policemen, while police had to wait at the mission. During the time of mission duty,

a young missionary, **Evans**, was fatally wounded when he accidentally shot himself on his first excursion inland. These events deeply impressed Mahony, though long letters to his fiancée, Kathleen O'Shea, expressed frustration at the boredom of his assignment and concern over ill treatment of some Aborigines at the mission.

Ion Idriess wrote of these events in *Man Tracks* and Mahony acted as a consultant. Apparently, the two argued when Mahony insisted on accuracy. Vic Hall wrote of the Arnhem patrol in *Dreamtime Justice* and *Outback Policeman*. He wrote of Mahony, 'How he loved the bush, this stocky Irish-Australian with the warm, green [*sic*] eyes and the flaring temper. A good man in a jam, tender to horses, women and kids. Anybody in trouble could have his last shilling.'

Kathleen O'Shea and Jack Mahony were married in Katherine on 10 October 1934. They had three daughters: June born in 1936 and identical twins Denise and Deader in 1944. They were stationed at Mataranka, Roper River, Alice Springs, Arltunga, Lake Nash and Anthony's Lagoon. Mahony was responsible for inspection and mass dipping of cattle, and duties as Protector of Aborigines, earning praise from the Native Affairs Department for exceptional care in the latter role. He was involved in other dramatic episodes and cases, most notably during the Roper River floods of 1940.

Mahony's version of these floods has been published in *Northern Territory Affairs*. He drove his family to safety in Katherine and then returned to take stores, horses, mules and goats to Telegraph Hill just before the river came down with tremendous force. Using Roy Chisholm's motorboat, Mahony and his trackers made several trips to the camp, collecting fear-stricken Aborigines and government property, struggling against floodwaters that carried them well downstream on each occasion before they could battle their way to the camp. Mahony fed and cared for 27 Aborigines, moving the party and rations again, when rising waters reached them. Safe on Gardargabul Hill, Mahony erected a shirt flag and named the camp Mount Ararat. For eight days, the party survived, though Mahony was exhausted, nearly blind from infected eyes and suffering from a poisoned foot and rheumatics after constant immersion in water and mud. Later he sought no praise for himself but argued for gifts for his loyal Aborigines who, he considered, had saved many lives. The Aborigines received nothing and Mahony, who had lost considerable personal property and had a new car ruined in the flood, was only partially compensated by an unsympathetic administration. This proved a bitter blow.

In 1953, Mahony retired from the police force to become licensee of the Larrimah Hotel, built by Tim O'Shea. He gained a reputation for his hospitality and humour. The hotel became known as the Vatican because Mass was held there, though the 'smoke signals' to alert people to the mass were metaphoric and not fact, as has been reported. In 1956, Mahony was active in petitioning the Administrator and **Hasluck** for the police station at Larrimah and in 1958, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace.

Mahony's final years were tragic. In 1957, he was shockingly injured when the petrol engine of a lighting plant he was helping to repair exploded and he became a human torch from feet to waist. He spent many months recovering in Katherine hospital, and whilst he joked that he was 'too green to burn' there was no humour in the heart problems he suffered afterward and which led to his death on 27 February 1959. Father Henschke, who had married Mahony, officiated at his burial at the Katherine cemetery and members of the police force travelled hundreds of miles to act as pallbearers and guard of honour.

Jack Mahony had a great respect for Aborigines as reflected in 'The First Citizen' which was published in *Bank Notes*, and his story of the survival of Cramulla after a bad mauling by a crocodile, which appeared in *Citation*. A conscientious and outspoken man, he was disappointed that he was only a Senior Constable at the end of his police service.

Those who admired his loyalty and courage, his refusal to admit defeat, and his ability to laugh at himself have written of Mahony with great affection. He was known to challenge criticism of his cooking by the retort that he had 'cooked for Gandhi on his 40-day fast'. Mahony's wife, Kathleen, considered him a wonderful husband and father. There was something of a paradox about a man who could survive the rigours of early police work, the Roper River flood and several thrashings as he carried out his police duties, and yet could write weekly with charm to his small daughter, June, who had been evacuated during the war. The letters were delightfully illustrated with sketches and little stories which have been kept by June Grant who also has many photographs and original documents.

Kathleen Mahony presented a bell to St Joseph's Church, Katherine, in memory of her husband.

S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1977; V Hall, *Dreamtime Justice*, 1962; V Hall, *Outback Policeman*, 1970; *Bank Notes*, September 1948; *Citation*, June 1966, June 1967; *NT Affairs*, 1975; *Northern Territory News*, 3 March 1959; Mahony family papers, in possession of J Grant, Rossmoyne, WA; J Mahony papers, NTA; K Mahony, oral history interviews by R Jamieson, NTA.

RONDA JAMIESON, Vol 1.

'**MAJOR**' (c late 1880s–1908), Aboriginal outlaw, belonged to the Wageman language group of the Daly River area. He was 'picked up' as a boy by the South Australian stockman Jack Kelly. According to one account, he was brought to the east Kimberley from the Overland Telegraph Line. Another yarn tells how he came from Darwin in the company of a Queensland Aboriginal woman named Rosie. By 1898, Kelly was working on Texas Downs Station in the east Kimberley close to the Western Australian/Northern Territory border. Beyond this, little is known of Major's familial background with certainty. In the oral record, it was said that Aborigines of the Djaru and Gidja languages raised him but he appears in later life to have maintained links also with the Wageman.

As a child, Major was mistreated by Kelly in a variety of ways. He was beaten, thrown early one morning into a waterhole and hung from a tree overnight in a sack. As he grew older and stronger, he began to stand his ground and it was Kelly who occasionally received a beating. At the same time, Major became relatively sophisticated in

white ways. On more than one occasion, he accompanied Kelly to the city of Perth. He worked as a police tracker and courier and it is mentioned that twice he saved Kelly's life.

For these reasons his subsequent turn to outlawry presented a paradox. It surprised the whites of the district who regarded him as a 'civilised station boy' returned to 'savagery'. Most of what is known about Major's life centres upon his brief period as a bandit and his consequent death in a shoot-out with a police patrol.

In the chief oral version of his tale the turning point came when Major was flogged by Kelly while blindfolded, the punishment at first attributed to a policeman named Jock Miller. Miller then took Major in chains to Wyndham. Later he gave him his freedom and sent him back to Texas Downs armed with a rifle to assure his safe conduct. Perhaps because he held a grudge toward Kelly, Miller told Major of the subterfuge taken over his flogging and Major set out with revenge in mind.

The tale at this point is taken up by the written accounts. At one of the Texas Downs outstations near Growler's Gully, Major shot and killed a white man named Scotty McDonald. Soon after in the same area he put to death two other white men, Davis (or Davidson) and Fettle. Major was said to have been accompanied by other Aborigines, including two named Nipper and Dibbie (Debbie). They retreated into the rugged hill country of the Mistake Creek area and a police punitive expedition soon followed composed of men from Wyndham, Turkey Creek, Hall's Creek and Timber Creek.

Major's stronghold was described as a rock shelter commanding a view of the terrain in most directions. Access to it was by means of a ladder only. From this place, he and his companions harassed travellers and stock workers. They were at large for about three months, from July to September of 1908, dating from McDonald's death. It is likely that the group underwent privations, though the surmise that a young child was eaten must be taken with caution. Bones found by the pursuit party may not have been human. If they were human, death may have been brought about by starvation. On the other hand, ritual cannibalism at the death of a close relative cannot be ruled out entirely, for there are some personal testimonies to this effect for other cases among east Kimberley Aborigines.

In the oral version, Major was by then dispirited. He had a presentiment of his approaching death and sought to return to his homeland toward Darwin. To do this he had to leave the relative safety of the hill country, and it was near a landmark called Red Butte that the punitive expedition picked up their tracks. The police followed them throughout the next day to a place called Wild Dog and came up with them at the Nine Mile.

What followed is recorded graphically in the official report written by Constable Fanning, who led the punitive expedition. Open pursuit began. Rifle fire was exchanged between the two parties and Major, Dibbie and Nipper split up and were shot to death separately by different members of the pursuit party. An Aboriginal tracker named Quart Pot followed and killed Dibbie. Another Aboriginal tracker called Dilly shot Nipper. It is not clear who fired the round that ended Major's life, whether Fanning or one of his assistants. Major was at first wounded in one hand, but he was successful for a time in holding back his attackers from behind an ant hill because his wife assisted him by reloading his rifle. Eventually she was wounded in a breast. One version tells that she died, another that she was taken to a station where she lived to old age. Major, at this point in the oral narrative, attempted to give himself up. He stepped out with his hands raised and was shot summarily once or twice in the body before being given the *coup de grace* in the head as he lay wounded. His hand was then severed and taken back as a trophy. In Fanning's report, he was shot in the head while running, crouching and returning fire.

The foregoing appear to be the most salient events in Major's life of which we know. It is likely that by the time of his death he was between 18 and 24 years old, a married man. His abduction as a young boy and the ill treatment he received at Kelly's hands were relatively usual practices in colonial Australia. Clearly he had Aboriginal family ties, was not entirely a waif from the bush when Kelly took him up. For Kelly's part, Victorian notions about child-raising allowed for greater violence than is acceptable today—'spare the rod...' etc—to which was added the race hatred of colonial times and the sentiment that a 'savage' might only be 'civilised' by a firm hand and when young.

Considering this background of personal abuse and the colonial temper of the day it is not surprising that Major, and indeed most other Aborigines, harboured enmity toward Europeans both in general and in particular instances. One version of his tale observed that Major's anger was directed towards Jack Kelly and that ironically he was never able to realise the revenge he sought. Yet, this specificity is belied by the fact that he did succeed in killing other whites and created some panic in the district. Durack wrote perceptively that, 'The natives said he meant to wipe out all the white men in the Country and become a great king,' adding that this might have become a reality had his resistance been better organised, for the whites were relatively few in number and lived in scattered settlements.

At the same time, undeniably personal motives were present. In the version reported by Moore, the first man killed by Major was said to have laced the flour left in his camp with strychnine. If this was true, it is very likely that Major felt justified in putting such a man, Scotty McDonald, to death. And Durack suggested that a jealous wife of Major's deliberately sowed dissension by telling Major that Kelly was out to shoot him.

There are no ready means of assessing easily the reliability of the different versions of Major's story but this is not essential to an understanding of the man and his times. Clearly, the oral versions present perspectives as well as explicit events differently from those reported and written by whites. It would be surprising if this was not the case. And there are particulars which ring true for every account as much as there are discrepancies. For example, the Aboriginal narrative which noted that Major's hand was taken as a trophy pinpointed a practice common among whites when dealing with Aboriginal recalcitrants, though head-taking is more frequently cited for other areas. From the European standpoint, the whites read the signs of Aboriginal resistance accurately enough and they responded accordingly.

From the Aboriginal perspective Major's career is told in an oral tradition still found in the east Kimberley though many of the old storytellers are dying out. In the district he stands somewhat as a legendary figure like frontier bandits of other parts such as Pidgeon and **Nemarluk**. Their kind of resistance was endemic on many of the Australian frontiers, especially so in the north.

G Buchanan, *Packhorse and Waterhole*, 1934; M Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1959; M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983; M Durack, 'Major the Outlaw', *West Australian*, 14 May 1932, 'Outlaws of the north', *Daily News*, 1 October, 1932; N Fanning, Report of PC Fanning, no 908, Relative to shooting abo natives Major, Nipper and Dibble at the 9 mile Creek east Kimberley on 5.9.08', *West Australian Police Letterbook*; B Shaw & J Sullivan, 'They same as you an me', *Aboriginal History*, 1979; B Shaw & J Sullivan, *Banggaiyerri*, 1983; B Shaw, *Countrymen*, 1984.

BRUCE SHAW, Vol 1.

MALINOWSKI, ELSIE ROSALINE: see **MASSON, ELSIE ROSALINE**

MALLAM, ROSS IBBOTSON DALTON (1878–1954), lawyer and Judge, was born in London on 1 June 1878, the son of Robert Dalton Mallam, a London solicitor. His mother, Ellen Mary Anne Hyde, *nee* Ross, was a gifted artist, and came from a talented literary family.

After completing his education at St Pails School, Mallam entered into articles in his father's office and was admitted as a solicitor in 1901. In 1902 he migrated to South Australia, was admitted to the Bar there, and practised initially in the office of Paris Nesbit KC (a gifted but eccentric Adelaide lawyer) before going out on his own. In early 1910, in anticipation of the transfer of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth, he sailed to Palmerston (now Darwin) to establish his own practice, at which he was soon successful.

Mallam never married. Despite a strict Anglican upbringing, he was intellectually a sceptic, and rejected religious and other traditions. Politically he was pro-Labor, not so much for dogmatic or doctrinaire beliefs, but because he favoured the underdog and saw the balance of power between the employer and the working man too heavily weighted against the worker. Consequently, much of his professional energy was devoted towards taking on the establishment in court. He opposed the **Gilruth** administration, and when changes came in the 1920s, opposed those as well because he considered the changes—and those selected to administer them, inept. A skilful barrister, he appeared mainly for defendants in criminal matters and championed the cause of liberty in a series of important civil cases in the 1920s, many of which ended up in the High Court of Australia.

In October 1919, after the Director, (Carey), the Government Secretary, (Evans) and **Judge Bevan** were forced to leave the Territory, the government appointed, by a series of short commissions of a few months each time, the Supreme Court Registrar and Stipendiary Magistrate, Major Gerald Hogan, to act as Deputy Judge. Mallam intensely disliked Hogan, whom he considered inept and bombastic. After Judge Bevan's commission was revoked, in September 1920, Mallam argued that Hogan's commission as a Deputy Judge was no longer valid. Hogan, who wished to succeed Bevan, rejected the argument and allowed an appeal from himself sitting as a magistrate. In January 1921, Deputy Judge Hogan suspended Mallam from practice for 12 months for filing a false affidavit in a probate matter. Both of these matters were successfully appealed to the High Court. In February 1921, the Court ruled that there could be no valid appointment as a Deputy Judge in the absence of any person holding the office of Judge. An embarrassed Administration was forced to pass retrospective legislation to validate such of Deputy Judge Hogan's decisions as had not been successfully appealed. Consequently, Mallam's suspension was quashed and he returned from Melbourne in May 1921 to resume his practice. Nevertheless Hogan SM on the pretext that the formal order setting aside his judgement by the High Court had not arrived, still refused to recognise his right to practice, and it was necessary for Mallam to apply to Acting Justice Herbert to have his right to practice restored—an order that Herbert made immediately. When **Donald Arthur Roberts**, the town's only other lawyer, was appointed to the Supreme Court bench in November 1921, Mallam became increasingly involved in attacking the Administration at every opportunity. He was opposed to the abolition of trial by jury in 1921, the division of the Northern Territory into two separate territories in 1926, and he advocated the abolition of its Public Service.

His closest friend, the poet **Frederick T Macartney**, who later acted as his associate (besides holding a number of other positions) described him in the early 1920s thus: 'With his tropical suit, his topee, and a beard at that time down to his waist, he looked like a character out of Conrad. He spoke clearly and precisely, an indication of his upbringing and education, but without affectation. He had rather big steely eyes ready to twinkle at the oddities and absurdities of life, but his sharply exacting and sceptical mind was scrupulously intent on fairness, though he unhesitatingly in the course of his profession, took any advantage allowed by the law, which he studied minutely'.

He spent much of his spare time revelling in his own eccentricities, and his own sense of mischievous fun, his love of languages and literature. He became a notorious member of the Goose Club, which consisted of himself, Fred Thompson, editor of the *Northern Territory Times*, and a police sergeant who would meet on the Esplanade each evening to criticize the Administration. He anonymously penned critical articles for the *Northern Territory Times*.

Upon Robert's retirement, Mallam was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court on 24 April 1928. By the time of his appointment to the bench, he had trimmed his beard to a short goatee. Both the conservative *Northern Territory Times* and the union owned newspaper, *Northern Standard*, received his appointment with jubilation and enthusiasm. Although only 49, his health was beginning to deteriorate, and he was hospitalised almost immediately, causing him to postpone his first sittings as Judge until 20 June 1928.

Shortly after his appointment Mallam insisted on carrying on the Court as the Supreme Court of North Australia and the Supreme Court of Central Australia, both of which had come into existence on 1 February 1927, when the Northern Territory was divided into two separate territories. His predecessor, Roberts J, had, in effect, ignored the provisions of the Northern Australia Act 1926 which had established the new Courts. A stickler for formalities such as these, he was later to hold that neither court had been conferred with jurisdiction in bankruptcy, due to errors in the drafting of the Commonwealth Bankruptcy Act 1924–1927. Some of his decisions seemed to display something of an anti-Commonwealth and anti-establishment bias, although he was careful to justify himself with well written, and well-researched, reasons for his judgments. Perhaps it would be fairer to record that if the law could be used to support the underdog, he would not go out of his way to avoid that consequence. For example, in 1931, Mallam upheld challenges made to jurors involved in the Citizens Protection League at the trial of one of the unemployed involved in a fracas between police and unemployed on the verandah of Government House. Mallam was particularly critical of the Citizens Protection League, made up of mostly conservative elements in the town, which he likened to a vigilance committee.

In November 1928, he sat on the trial of Padygar and Arkikra, two Aborigines charged with the murder of Frederick Brooks at Coniston Station. This was the first time the Supreme Court of Central Australia had ever sat officially, although the hearing was in Darwin. The Crown sought to lead evidence of confessions made by each accused after they had been violently arrested. Mallam rejected the confessions as inadmissible because they were not voluntary. One reason he gave for his decision was that neither confession was made with the consent of the Protector of Aborigines—a unique early attempt by the court to protect tribal Aborigines from confessions obtained by police once in custody. Verdicts of not guilty were promptly returned in favour of both the Aborigines. The evidence at the trial relating to the case generally caused an uproar and led to the Commonwealth appointing a Commission of Enquiry into the police role in the Coniston killings, although the Commission ultimately whitewashed the whole affair.

Towards the end of 1931, Mallam's health had deteriorated to such a degree that his decision to resign was an open secret. In late August 1931, the Darwin Town Council resolved to send a deputation to him to see if his services could be retained by his visiting the Territory periodically. Mallam indicated that he was prepared to continue on in this way, and the Council resolved to take the matter up with the Minister.

By mid-1932, Mallam had taken sick leave and was replaced temporarily by Acting Justice Sharwood, (then the Commonwealth Crown Solicitor). Mallam resigned in early 1933 and was replaced by [Justice Wells](#). The proposal for him to remain on as Judge and visit the Territory periodically was never seriously considered.

After his retirement, Mallam moved to Melbourne where he settled after a year's interlude in Adelaide. Whatever his illness was—thought to be sprue—it was not serious enough to curtail his life span. In 1940 and 1949, he published two scrapbooks amongst his circle of friends consisting of his own thoughts as well as quotations from the ancient Greeks to modern matters. He died, aged 76, on 26 May 1954. He left his entire estate, a not inconsiderable sum, to Macartney.

D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; F T Macartney, *Proof Against Failure*, 1967, *A Noticeable Man*, 1957; Minutes of record of High Court of Australia relating to *In re Mallam and Mallam v Minister for Home & Territories*, 28 February 1921, 1 March 1921, 23 March 1921; *Northern Standard*, 18 May 1928, 11 September 1928, 19 October 1928, 23 October 1928, 23 October 1928, 9 November 1928, 19 March 1929, 17 April 1931, 4 September 1931, 22 July 1932, 30 September 1932; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 18 January 1921, 3 March 1921, 21 May 1921, 22 June 1928; Ordinances of the Northern Territory, 1911–1969, vol III, p 2190; *Presley v Geraghty*; (1921) 29 Commonwealth Law Reports 154; Transcript of Memorial Sittings, Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, 20 September 1954.

DEAN MILDREN, *Vol 3*.

MALONEY, BETTY ELEANOR: see [RICHARDS, BETTY ELEANOR](#)

MALONEY, JAMES HENRY (JIMMY or JERRY) (1904–1988), engineer and builder, was born in 1904 in Collie, Western Australia, son of [James Lawrence Maloney](#) and his wife Charlotte, *nee* Martin. When he was a teenager, his parents moved to Wyndham. During a visit to Darwin as a teenager, he won a swimming race at Vestey's pool—now known as the 'Tank' or Darwin High School gymnasium. He completed an engineering apprenticeship at the Wyndham meatworks and became chief engineer. He married Ellen (Nellie) Walsh in Wyndham but in 1933 after only a few years of marriage Nellie died. His parents took over responsibility for his young daughter, Patricia.

About 1934 Jimmy followed his parents and sisters to Tennant Creek and, with his father, built the original Goldfields Hotel. He was a clever engineer and erected and managed several crushing batteries on the goldfields over the years. For example, he built the first battery and crusher and put down the first bore at the Rising Sun mine which was owned by [William Weber](#), long time friend of the Maloney family. According to Kevan Weber, Jimmy was the 'best man you could get to do anything with heavy machinery or sinking bores'. He also worked in the southern part of the Territory sinking bores, and during the war years was in charge of all the bores on Banka Banka station owned by his long time friend [Mary Ward](#). The military was camped nearby and required water for the troops in transit between Alice Springs and Darwin.

He stayed at Banka long after the war was over and met and married, about 1948, his second wife, Irene Isabelle Jeffries, who went to Banka Banka as a teacher for the Aboriginal children there. They settled in Alice Springs but the marriage ended in divorce and Jerry returned to Tennant Creek and died there on 24 April 1988, aged 83. He is buried in the Tennant Creek cemetery.

Jimmy was a splendid sportsman and played rugby league for the Rising Sun team and cricket for the town team. He was also a brilliant billiards player who took on all comers from as far afield as Mt Isa, Darwin and

Alice Springs and always won. Failing eyesight forced him to eventually give up the game. He was also a fanatic bridge player partnered by [Con Perry](#).

Jimmy's daughter Pat grew up in Tennant Creek and attended Girton Church of England Girls School in Adelaide for several years. She returned to her hometown where she worked as a telephonist. She married Jack Canty in 1951 and two daughters and a son were born. They remained in the Territory until Jack's promotion to Tullamarine Airport, Melbourne. Pat died of cancer aged 40 in 1971.

Family information; Northern Territory Archives, oral history interview, NTRS 226 TS 251; *Tennant Creek Times*, 6 May 1988.

ANN RICHARDS, Vol 3.

MALONEY, JAMES LAWRENCE (JIM) (1875–1948), bushman, miner and bookmaker, and **MALONEY, CHARLOTTE nee MARTIN** (1885–1959), homemaker. Jim Maloney was born at Pundeet, Victoria, on 16 April 1875, son of Mark Moloney (the spelling on the certificate) and his wife Annie, nee Calahan. Both were Irish born, from Cork and Galway respectively. Jim was the second of 13 children, many of whom died at birth. In his teens, he went to Western Australia looking for work. He lost a leg in a shunting accident while working on the railways and while in hospital learned to read and write. On 22 June 1904 at Bunbury, Western Australia, he married Charlotte Martin, daughter of James Martin and Priscilla nee Wright. Charlotte was born at Lygon Street, Carlton, Melbourne on 29 October 1885, the second daughter of eight children, one of whom died as a baby. It is not known when her family went to Western Australia.

After his marriage, Jim worked in forestry and the young couple spent some time in the southwest of the state. He later drove trucks for the Main Roads Department. Jim Maloney was a very keen union man and took a great interest in politics. Jim and Charlotte's son [James](#), (known as Jimmy or Jerry), was born at Collie, Western Australia, late in 1904.

In 1915, Jim went to Wyndham to act as a bush bookmaker. He travelled widely in the northwest and was described by [Ernestine Hill](#) as 'the Knight of the White Lettered Bag, the one and only bookie in the outback, shouting the odds from a beer-case'. During these years two more children were born. Charlotte and Jimmy travelled to Westonia, Western Australia, where Betty was born on 21 January 1918. The family returned to Derby by sea and then had a 'terrible journey overland by buggy' to Wyndham. Soon after Charlotte's mother died of a form of bubonic pneumonia, then sweeping the world. In 1923, Shirley was born in Wyndham.

Son Jerry married Ellen Walsh and had a daughter Patricia. Ellen (Nellie) died of a rheumatic heart and Jim and Charlotte took over the rearing of Patricia. Their house in Wyndham was simple but Charlotte was known for her obsession with cleanliness. She was a quiet person and rather pessimistic. For years she had the same Aboriginal helpers, Billy and Liddy, and when they went walkabout, Nipper and Lucy—and vice versa. She kept goats, sold milk, and scalded cream. She also made bread and Victoria sponge cakes and sold these. Mary McIntyre was the schoolteacher at the time and she bought a cake from Charlotte every Saturday. Rumour had it that she was 'going with' Ted Whelan. Ted was in prison for rustling cattle. On Ted's release, Mary married him after which he changed his name back to Ward. Ultimately he found the Blue Moon mine near Tennant Creek and developed Banka Banka station nearby with the proceeds. The Maloney and Ward families maintained contact until [Mary Ward](#)'s death.

In 1928 or 1929, Jim travelled to the races in Alice Springs via the Tanami. He met some prospectors who spoke of the mine that was later called 'The Granites' and visited Tennant Creek that he thought might be an up and coming town. He returned to Tennant Creek about 1930 and founded the Lone star mine along with Bob McLeish and George Boland but ultimately it was not successful. In 1934, Jim decided to move permanently to Tennant Creek so the family had to pack up and go. Charlotte packed all her precious things in a wooden chest made without nails that had been brought to Australia from Scotland by her paternal grandfather. She left her goods with the stock and station agent in Wyndham to be sent on when she settled in a home in Tennant Creek and never saw any of them again.

Charlotte and the three girls left Wyndham on a ship for Darwin on 5 December 1933. Jim met them in Darwin and then went on ahead to Tennant. Charlotte and the girls travelled by train to Birdum, then waited for a passing truck, and finally reached Alice Springs on 19 January 1934. The road was a series of potholes and travelling was 'awful'. They stayed at Helen Springs station that was owned by the Bohnings. There was only one man living at the station and when the family arrived, he was so shy he took his horse and left. Charlotte washed all the clothes at the station, as well as their own things, and hung them out. Goats ate the legs of Shirley and Betty's pyjamas (first shortie pyjamas!). Another truck took them to Banka and Jim came up from Tennant Creek and took them to spend the night at the Lone Star. The family spent one night at the Lone Star sleeping under the stars on a 'scotch feather bed'—a canvas sheet over uprooted spinifex!

Jim and his son Jimmy built a corrugated iron house and fly wired it. It was on the east side of Paterson Street, on lot 49, just south of the Tennant Creek hotel. It had one bedroom, the front verandah was fly-wired, and when at home the children slept there. The house had a wood stove—no electricity of course. Water was a major problem and 100 gallons per week were bought, brought in from nearby wells by truck. The water was used repeatedly. Washing and bathing, cleaning the cement floors and then finally poured around the yard to keep the dust down. The continual dust flowing into the house nearly drove Charlotte mad. She swept the yard continually and son Jimmy said that tree roots that were three inches underground gradually appeared and ended up three inches above ground. Charlotte is one of only two women in the first Northern Territory electoral roll that included Tennant Creek residents (1934).

Jim and Jimmy then built the first Goldfields Hotel of angle iron but, when it was finished, he was unable to get a licence. Alec Scott at the Tennant Creek hotel, on behalf of the brewery objected. He sold the hotel and bought

the Barrow Creek hotel and Charlotte and the family spent some time there when the races were on. They also went to Alice Springs, staying at the hotel owned by Ly Underdown, when the races were held there. In the early 1940s, Jim built a billiard room and a barbershop and continued to work as a starting price (SP) bookmaker. During the war years he worked at Hatches Creek making hop beer. After the war, Jim purchased lot 166 in Paterson Street from **William Weaber**'s estate. It has sometimes been claimed that Maloney had engaged the well known architect **B C G Burnett** to design the Goldfields Hotel but Maloney appears to have only had dealings with Burnett about 1947 (according to an account in his probate papers). Perhaps he intended to build a new family home on lot 166.

During the war years, James Maloney was the local chairman of the Air Raid Precautions (ARP). After the bombing of Darwin it was official policy that all non-essential civilians from Alice Springs north should be evacuated but so far as Tennant Creek was concerned that was observed largely in the breach. Jim was a clever man and served as a Justice of the Peace, and sometimes coroner. He had a detailed knowledge of the various Mining Acts and often successfully represented miners in court cases against qualified solicitors. He was a cheerful, optimistic man with a great sense of humour. He did not smoke and was very protective of his family. He would not allow swearing. Although he never drank at home, he was said to have been a heavy drinker when young, without showing any ill effects. In his later years, he would drink one bottle of beer a day. His pet hate was the crooner Bing Crosby whose songs were played by his granddaughter, Pat, on an old fashioned record player.

Jim had long had heart trouble and died suddenly on 13 December 1948 aged 73. He is buried in the Tennant Creek cemetery. Charlotte was devastated and lived with Shirley and Betty for long periods until her own death in Darwin hospital from cancer of the pancreas on 10 May 1959.

Australian Archives, Darwin CRS F1 1942/350; Family information; E Hill, *The Great Australian Loneliness*, 1940; Northern Territory Archives Service, probate records; H J Wilson, 'The Heritage of Tennant Creek', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1995.

ANN RICHARDS, *Vol 3*.

MAMITPA or MAMIDPA also known as FINNIGAN, TIM, PANNICAN, TIM and 'OLD TIM' (late 1860s–1931), Aboriginal trepanger and boatman of north western Arnhem Land, was born on or near the Cobourg Peninsula in about the late 1860s. His main language was Yiwaidja but he also spoke some other Arnhem Land languages. He learnt to speak English very well, as well as some Macassan. He was particularly associated with the Port Essington area of the Cobourg Peninsula and belonged to the Murran clan. His land was Marraya and his skin group was Yariyarnin. His parents' names are not known but they probably had contact with the British settlements at Port Essington and Raffles Bay.

From a very early age, Mamitpa came in contact with Macassans who visited the northern coast each year to collect trepang and trade with the Aborigines; various sources say that when young he made several trips to Macassar on the praus. During the 1870s, Mamitpa also came into contact with white men who came to the Cobourg Peninsula, such as **John Lewis**, **E O Robinson** and Charles Levi. In the early 1880s Mamitpa and other Port Essington Aborigines were recruited to work on a sugar plantation—this was probably Delissa's plantation at Delissaville, managed by Charles Levi.

For over 20 years Mamitpa worked for E O Robinson, pearler, buffalo shooter, trepanger, Manager of the Cobourg Cattle Company and Customs Officer at Port Essington and Bowen Strait. In 1879, Wandu Wandu murdered Robinson's associate T G Wingfield at Croker Island. Aborigines at Croker Island still many years later told the story that Mamitpa, being able to read and write English, wrote a note saying that Wandu Wandu was the murderer and left the note on a stick on the beach. Wandu Wandu was eventually captured and tried for the murder. Mamitpa helped to sail Robinson's boats *Bertie* and *Essington* and assisted with his work in collecting duties from the visiting Macassans and trepanging. Robinson left the Cobourg Peninsula in 1899 and is said to have sent Mamitpa five Pounds worth of tobacco, tea and sugar every Christmas until he died in 1917—a clear sign of his friendship and high regard for Mamitpa.

Sub Collector of Customs **Alfred Searcy** got to know Mamitpa well when he visited the Cobourg Peninsula in the 1880s and wrote about him in his three books. He said Mamitpa spoke Macassar dialect fluently, was an expert boatman, knew the coast thoroughly, spoke excellent English, did not drink alcohol and was living at various times at Port Essington, Bowen Strait, Goulburn Island and Wark. Searcy said: 'I was tremendously taken with him.'

From about 1887 to 1890, Mamitpa worked for trepanger Rodney Claude Spencer on the Cobourg Peninsula and in April 1890 was working at Spencer's Bowen Strait camp when he witnessed Spencer's murder of Mamialucum. Mamitpa was a witness at Spencer's trial, the first time in the Northern Territory that a white man stood trial for murdering an Aborigine. At the trial, Spencer accused Mamitpa of being involved in the murder but the court did not agree and found Spencer guilty. Another court case at which Mamitpa gave evidence was in November 1892—the Palmerston Police Court hearing of Wandu Wandu and five other Aborigines for the murder of six Malays at Cape Brogden near Bowen Strait earlier that year. When the case was heard by the Circuit Court, in February 1893 Mamitpa acted as interpreter for several of the accused Aborigines and other Aboriginal witnesses—this is further evidence of his language skills.

In 1899, **A J V 'Alf' Brown** was appointed Customs Officer at Bowen Strait, taking over from Robinson. Mamitpa worked for Brown for nearly 30 years, helping to sail his various boats, including *Essington*, *Pat* and *Beryl*, and assisting with trepang work especially at Bowen Strait and after 1925 at Araru in Blue Mud Bay near Cape Don. In 1908 **Dr Strangman**, Medical Officer and Protector of Aborigines, visited Arnhem Land and at Malay Bay found some Aborigines trepanging for Mamitpa, whose wife had died a few months previously. H W Christie, Lighthouse Keeper at Cape Don from 1917 to 1925, knew Mamitpa well, as did the people at Goulburn Island Mission. In about 1928, George Sunter met Mamitpa at Blue Mud Bay near Cape Don, still

trepaning for Alf Brown. Sunter took up trepaning and recruited Mamitpa to work for him, describing him as very hardworking, honest and wise, 'an excellent fellow, a most valuable old man and chock full of wisdom collected during the past sixty years.' Mamitpa died and was buried at Gudji (Fort Wellington), Raffles Bay in September 1931.

It is unusual to find so much written in white people's documents about an Aboriginal man like Mamitpa. He was respected by his fellow countrymen, both black and white. During his life, he learned many new skills, including how to sail ships and how to speak several languages. He had the ability to live and work with the Macassans and white men who came to the Cobourg Peninsula, as well as maintaining his own language and culture.

G Chaloupka, *Croker Island*, c1979; E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; A Searcy, *By Flood and Field*, 1912, *In Australian Tropics*, 1909, *In Northern Seas*, 1905; G Sunter, *Adventures of a Trepanng Fisher*, 1937; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 21 January 1882, 1 April 1882, 25 February 1888, 11 July 1890; South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 1893/64; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1/1908/175; information from N Muluriny.

JENNY RICH, Vol 2.

MANNION, JAMES JOSEPH (JIM) (1912–1968), policeman and soldier, was born on 1 August 1912 at Broken Hill, New South Wales, the son of Martin Henry Mannion and his wife Marcella Ellen, *nee* Marron. His mother died when he was two and he was reared in Adelaide by a maiden aunt and a bachelor uncle. He was educated in Adelaide but spent his holidays and the first few years after he left school in the Spalding District working on the wheat farms of family and friends.

He joined the Northern Territory Police Force on 29 March 1936 and spent several months in Darwin in preliminary training. Here he early showed the courage he was always to exhibit during his police career when on one occasion he defended himself and other police from a gang of sailors intent on getting one of their number released from police custody. Boxing had early been an interest and at the age of 18, he had been the Australian correspondent for *The Ring*, a boxing magazine.

In January 1937, he was posted to Tennant Creek, then a roistering gold mining town, where he was married on 26 February 1938 to Nancy Gwennyth Collins, daughter of William Andrew and his wife Flora Daisy Collins of Adelaide. They had met in Tennant Creek, where Nancy, in the spirit of adventure, was working as a waitress. Conditions being rough, Mannion patrolled the local mineral fields on a donkey. After his marriage, he was posted to Brock's Creek, the remote Lake Nash station and Mataranka. It was from Mataranka that Nancy was evacuated by air to Darwin, as an emergency caesarean was needed for the birth of their first child, daughter Nancy.

Mannion saw service as a Private with the Second Seventh Battalion in the Middle East and New Guinea during the Second World War and resumed duty in the police force on 15 January 1945. He was then posted to the Roper River. His family lived in Adelaide during the war and in December 1944, a second child, Robert, was born there, also by caesarean section. Nancy Mannion joined her husband as soon as she was able. Having travelled to Alice Springs on the Ghan, she, with the two children, was driven to Roper River by a young man with a utility truck, the trip taking two days. Lengthy patrols were routine for the 'outback' policeman and on one occasion when Mannion was away from the Roper River station Robert contracted diphtheria and only the efforts of all associated with the radio network, the aero medical service and the Darwin Hospital saved his life.

Mannion was promoted Sergeant in March 1948 and for the next 11 years served at Katherine and Tennant Creek, with short periods in Darwin and Alice Springs. In June 1952 when Sergeant in Charge at Katherine Mannion was shot and wounded, and Constable Condon was killed, by a man who was later sentenced to death, but acquitted on a retrial on the grounds of insanity. For his part in this incident Mannion was commended for bravery.

Courage was an integral part of his character. On 3 December 1956, an explosion rocked Tennant Creek when 9 091 litres (2 000 gallons) of fuel at Campbell's Garage blew up. Most of the town's commercial centre was damaged. One man died and more than 40 others received injuries, some seriously. As a result of his heroism that evening Mannion was awarded the George Medal (GM), then the second highest civilian decoration for gallantry. True to form, he was embarrassed by the news and claimed that his wife had a bit of a shock. The investiture was held in Darwin in December 1959 and the citation read: 'Sergeant Mannion entered the first building after... an explosion to ensure that no one was trapped inside. He was well aware of the contents of the building and the dangers. Despite this knowledge he continued his search.' He was a very self-effacing man. At the time, the *Tennant Creek Times* reported that Mannion's evidence at the inquest on his part in the fire 'is this year's masterpiece of under-statement.' Long after his death, his widow commented, in reference to the incident, that he was just doing his job.

Prior to his return to Tennant Creek, in late 1955, Mannion had been stationed in Darwin where his diligence in raiding and prosecuting illegal gambling dens had made him unpopular in certain quarters. He was known in the town as the Sergeant in charge of gambling and though he was considered 'a man of great integrity as a police officer', his claim in court that a particular illegal bookmaker had been singled out for attention because of orders from a 'superior authority' saw him transferred to Tennant Creek within the month. The 1950s was a time of turmoil in Northern Territory policing. There were frequent 'temporary' transfers and it was claimed that the northern men were forced to operate with 'out of date methods and lack of scientific equipment'. Such was Mannion's reputation as a tough officer who upheld the law that in Tennant Creek in 1956 the 'good old times' were referred to as BM—before Mannion.

In July 1957, he was sent back to Darwin as Acting Inspector and in June 1958 his promotion was confirmed and he was appointed Head of the Criminal Investigation Bureau. In June 1959, he was appointed Senior Inspector,

Administration; in this same year, he was awarded long service and good conduct medals for 24 years' service in the police force.

After a Police and Citizens Boys Club was opened in Darwin in July 1955 he took a great interest in boxing training of some of the young men. He was also founding Editor of the police magazine *Citation*, first published in December 1964.

On 18 September 1968, holding the rank of Chief Inspector, Jim Mannion died at the young age of 56. What better epitaph for any policeman than for it to be said, 'Mannion is a very good cop... he is scrupulously fair.' He was a shy, friendly man with a quicksilver mind given to repartee. Of middle height, though broad and strong, it was said of him that 'when that broad, reddish face becomes set and the eyes chill, he will dominate most gatherings.'

Advertiser, 2 April 1955; *Melbourne Sun*, 31 July 1956; *Northern Territory News*, 31 March 1955, 15 July 1958, 18 December 1959; *Northern Territory Police Association Journal*, January/March 1960; *People*, 4 September 1957; *South Australian Stock and Station Journal*, 1960; *Sunday Mail*, 3 April 1955; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 July 1958; *Tennant Creek Times*, 14 February 1957; *Commonwealth Government Gazette*, no 41, 24 July 1958; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 327 (Mannion papers), NTRS TS89 (oral history interview, N Mannion); N Mannion, family information.

NANCY LITCHFIELD and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

MANTON, JAMES THOMAS (1812–1899), surveyor, engineer and architect, was born in England. He arrived in South Australia on 2 December 1849, in the ship *Bolton*, bearing a letter from Lord Grey to Governor Young of South Australia outlining his experience on railways works and in the superintendence of surveying on the South Devon, Wiltshire, Somerset and Waymouth Line. Manton's initial task in South Australia was the building of the Cape Willoughby lighthouse in 1850, under appointment by the Colonial Engineer, Freeling. By October 1853, Manton had been appointed to the Central Roads Board and up to 1860 had worked in the south district and the Tapley's Hill Road.

In 1863, he applied to the Chief Secretary for the position of Superintendent or Government Resident of the Northern Territory. Instead, **B T Finnis** was appointed to lead the expedition and Manton secured the second in command position as Engineer and Surveyor of the Northern Territory Expedition. After arrival at Escape Cliffs on 21 June 1864, the work commenced under Finnis, expeditions being made by W P Auld toward Darwin and by **Fred Litchfield** to the Daly River. In May 1865, Litchfield discovered and named the Manton River after James Manton. This river was, in 1940, to become the source of Darwin's wartime water supply when a dam was built there. When Finnis was recalled to Adelaide late in 1865, Manton remained in charge at Escape Cliffs.

Explorer **John McKinlay** arrived during Manton's term and clashed with him about securing the vessel *Julia* for exploration work aimed at finding alternative sites for a capital. Both Manton and McKinlay eventually agreed that Darwin should be the site, against Finnis's recommendation of Escape Cliffs.

Manton returned to Adelaide when the South Australian party was recalled. He then applied for a government appointment with the Commissioner of Public Works but was not successful. Later work with the South Australian Society of Architects, Engineers and Surveyors is recorded. He went into private practice and was, in later years, an architect in Lower Mitcham, Adelaide. He retired there. He had some property in the area and was a supporter of St Michael's Church for forty-four years until his death after a long illness on 17 June 1899. The Manton River Dam, and Manton's Hill near the Adelaide River perpetuate his name in the Darwin district.

E Hodder, *History of South Australia*, vol 1, 1891; W A Norman, *History of the City of Mitcham*, 1955; E & R Jensen, *Colonial Architecture in South Australia*, 1980; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities*, 1981; C C Manhood, 'The Life of Boyle Travers Finnis', MA Thesis, 1966; *Adelaide Observer*, 17 June 1899; *Adelaide Register*, 14 June 1899.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

MARIAC (WELLINGTON) (?–?), an Aboriginal elder of the Raffles Bay region, was nicknamed 'Wellington' by the members of the British garrison at Fort Wellington (1827–29). Impatience and intolerance on the part of the commandant, Captain Henry Smyth, led to a tense and violent situation in which an injury to a soldier was revenged with a massacre of some of Mariac's people. The new commandant, **Captain Collet Barker** (1828–1829), adopted a humane and conciliatory approach. At the earliest sign of Barker's goodwill, Mariac immediately reciprocated, even entering the fort, despite visible fear. Mariac returned Barker's hospitality when Barker spent the night unarmed with him at the Aboriginal camp. Between them, these two men forged a real peace that permanently influenced race relations in the region. When, to Barker's dismay, the closure of the military settlement was ordered, Barker recorded in his diary on 28 August 1829, 'abandoned the settlement to Wellington'. Mariac and Barker were both, in their way, great statesmen and a regrettably rare example of what might have been.

T B Wilson, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, 1835; Barker's Diary, MS Mitchell Library.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

MARIKA, WANDJUK DJUAKAN (c1929–1987), a Riratjingu ceremonial leader from Yirrkala, was one of the most significant Indigenous spokesmen of this century. He was active in the struggle by the clans at Gove prior and during the first land rights case *Milirrpum and Others v Nabalco and the Commonwealth Government 1971* which sought to stop mining activity on Riratjingu land. He became widely known as a public speaker and *yidaki* performer, and as champion of Aboriginal artists' rights through demands for recognition of traditional copyright.

Wandjuk Marika was born on Bremer Island (Dhambaliya). During early childhood, he travelled by foot throughout the lands of the Top End and by canoe around the coast of North East Arnhem Land from Melville Bay to Caledon Bay. The eldest son of Mawalan Marika and his wife Bamatja, Wandjuk inherited extensive rights to land and ritual knowledge of several clans—including Rirajingu. On his father's death in 1967, he became custodian of Yalangbara, the sacred Riratjingu beach where the Djankawu landed on the shores of Australia. Djankawu were the primary creation ancestors of the Dhuwa moiety of East Arnhem Land.

When **Reverend Wilbur Chaseling** started the Methodist Overseas Mission at Yirrkala in 1935, Wandjuk Marika was one of the first children taught to read and write, although he had learnt to write the alphabet with stick and paperbark from **Burrumarra**, a Warramirri clan leader from Elcho Island. Burrumarra was Wandjuk Marika's mother's brother, that is, his 'father'.

During his life Wandjuk Marika was notable as the translator of the Bible into Gumatj for the Methodist Overseas Mission, interpreter for his father Mawalan to anthropologists Ronald and Catherine **Berndt**, and advisor to many government departments, including the Welfare Branch of the Northern Territory Administration, (among whose staff was Ted Evans, **H C Giese** and Ted Egan), the Office of Aboriginal Affairs 1969–1972 (Chairman Dr H C Coombs). He was a member of the Aboriginal Arts Advisory Committee of the Australian Council for the Arts 1970–1973, then of the Aboriginal Arts Board of which he was chairman from 1975. Other positions held include Director, Aboriginal Artists Agency, Director Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Pty Ltd and Member, Advising Committee of Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

He visited many countries including the United Kingdom, Russia, Canada and New Zealand and often advised Aboriginal organisations throughout Australia on cultural matters. About 1981, in London, he attended a Royal Command Performance of *Yidaki*. Wandjuk Marika acted in the films *Right Stuff* and *Where the Green Ants Dream* (director W Herzog) and appeared in a Film Australia documentary of the memorial ceremony for his father called *Memory of Mawalan* 1973 (director Ian Dunlop).

Wandjuk Marika was a major artist of North East Arnhem Land, concentrating on bark paintings of Dhuwa designs relating to Yalangbara, Djankawu, the thunderman, Wuyal honey man, turtle hunters, the Wawilak sisters and Murrurruma the hunter. In 1995, his life story as told to the author was published by the University of Queensland Press under the title *Wandjuk Marika: Life Story*.

He wrote many forewords to Aboriginal Arts Board publications particularly catalogues during the 1970s and early 1980s including: *Aboriginal Australia*, The Australian Gallery Directors Council Ltd., Sydney, 1981; *An Exhibition of Aboriginal Art of North Australia*, Exhibition Catalogue, Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council, Sydney; *Art of the First Australians*, Exhibition Catalogue, Aboriginal Arts Board of the Australia Council, Sydney; *Oenpelli Paintings on Bark*, Exhibition Catalogue, The Australian Gallery Directors Council Ltd, Sydney.

Publications in which his life and/or art are discussed and/or illustrated include: Louis Allan, *Time Before Morning: Art and Myth of the Australian Aborigines*, Rigby Limited, Sydney, 1976; *The Australian Aboriginal Heritage Catalogue for the 5th Festival of Asian Arts*, B A V Peacock editor, produced by the Hong Kong Museum of History, Hong Kong, the Urban Council, 1980; R M Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, Thomas Nelson Australia Limited, Melbourne, 1976; R M Berndt, *Three Faces of Love: Traditional Aboriginal Song-Poetry*, Thomas Nelson Australia Limited, Melbourne, 1976; Wally Caruana, *Aboriginal Art*, Thames and Hudson, Singapore, 1993; Wally Caruana, *Australian Aboriginal Art: A Souvenir of Aboriginal Art in the Australian National Gallery*, The Australian National Gallery, Canberra, 1987; Wally Caruana, *Windows on the Dreaming: Aboriginal Paintings in the Australian National Gallery*, Australian National Gallery, Ellsyd Press, Canberra 1989; Jennifer Isaacs, *Australian Dreaming: 40 000 Years of Aboriginal History*, Lansdowne Press, Sydney 1980; Margo Neale, *Yiribana: An Introduction to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Collection, the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney*, The Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1994; *Stories on Bark: The Australian Museum 1980 Calendar*, Paintings by East Arnhem Land Artists, Narrative by Wandjuk Marika; The Australian Museum, Sydney, 1980; Edgar Wells, *Reward and Punishment in Arnhem Land 1962–1963*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1982.

J Isaacs, *Wandjuk Marika*, 1995.

JENNIFER ISAACS, Vol 3.

MARSH, HENRY ROLFE (c1821–1909), master mariner and public servant, was born in England in about 1821. He spent a number of years in South Australian waters and commanded the barque *Rebecca* during the 1850s. He was first appointed to South Australian government service on 12 April 1870 and arrived in the Northern Territory on 2 December 1872 as master of the government cutter *Flying Cloud*. He had first seen the north as mate of *Gulnare* in 1870.

Marsh was appointed Port Darwin Harbourmaster on 8 March 1876, soon after the retrenchment of William Cook, the first such appointment. Marsh was still expected to command the cutter (or any other vessel in the government fleet). He remained on the temporary list until permanently gazetted on 30 December 1880 and remained in this position until he left the north on 15 November 1897. No other Harbourmaster to this day has served for such a lengthy period.

As with so many of his fellow public servants, he was not dealt with kindly by the South Australian government. He had difficulty, for example, in obtaining suitable housing and office accommodation. The government expected him to live on board the cutter *Flying Cloud*. In 1879, he advised the Marine Board in Adelaide that he had applied for a residence and an office but the request had gone unanswered. Among his duties he was required to post up

various Notices to Mariners ‘in a conspicuous place’ in the Palmerston Marine Board office, but ‘no such place exists’ he advised the Board Secretary. ‘All the other officers, some with wives and families and some single—Government boatmen and Storekeeper have good quarters supplied them by the Government, I am the only one left out although with the exception of the Inspector of Police I have been the longest time up here, viz 7 years. I believe that it is the general opinion that the “Cloud” is all cabin.’

Marsh went on to state that the ship had been much altered some four years before as she was not a good sea boat and much too small. The rebuilding allowed the ship to carry a crew of 11 Malays, and to provide space for the cypress pine logs then being cut on Indian Island for building purposes at Palmerston. What had been his accommodation now carried stores and provisions in addition to the necessary charts and navigational instruments. It would not have been seemly for him to live with the crew ‘so I have no place but under the awning on deck to live in either the Wet or Dry season.’ Despite support from the Marine Board and the Government Resident, who had been advised by the Medical Officer that Marsh’s health would suffer without proper quarters, the South Australian government would not approve the necessary funds.

Two years later Marsh was forced to raise the subject again. In a letter to a member of parliament he complained of ‘no other home but the small dog kennel of a cabin in the Flying Cloud.’ He had had two days’ leave of absence in nine years and had not seen his wife or younger children in that time. The letter did bring some result. In December 1881, a house having been acquired, the cost of a passage for his wife and half the cost of the fares for four children was paid the government.

In 1882 when a parliamentary party led by the Minister Controlling, [J L Parsons](#), visited the Northern Territory, Marsh skippered *Maggie* when it intended to visit the Cox Peninsula. [W J Sowden](#), in his narrative of the visit, described Marsh as a man with a ‘cheery face’ and his photograph shows a man with the watchful eyes of a mariner. On that occasion, the weather deteriorated to the point where Marsh deemed it prudent to turn back, much against the wishes of the Minister. A raging storm later that evening proved the value of his judgment.

The port ran smoothly under Marsh’s hands and he was highly respected by his colleagues. No question with maritime implications was ever asked of the Government Resident without Marsh’s advice being sought. It was, for example, Marsh’s duty to identify and report on the 19 vessels lost during the cyclone in January 1897 when at least 15 men perished. With the Government Resident as Chairman, he sat as the marine assessor whenever a Board of Enquiry was held. One such was the stranding of *Brisbane* in October 1881. Neither life nor cargo was lost during this incident, which must reflect credit on Marsh who was in charge of the salvage operation after the ship was declared a total loss. In 1883, in a promotion report, the Government Resident, [E W Price](#), declared that Marsh ‘serves with zeal and diligence and entirely to my satisfaction’. This was praise indeed as Price had served for a long time in the Royal Navy and considered himself a ‘professional seaman’.

The Harbourmaster, as the first contact with visiting ships, was always at risk if infectious disease was on board. In February 1887, Marsh spent some weeks in quarantine on board the hulk *Ellengowan* after the arrival of a ship from Hong Kong with cases of smallpox among its passengers.

He married Mary Askew Hogg in Adelaide on 19 February 1851 and four sons and a daughter were born. In 1890, Mrs Marsh, then living in Adelaide, felt compelled to complain that her husband had not had a holiday for 17 years. He went south in November 1897, initially for three months’ leave, having ‘been our harbourmaster for as long as we can remember’ as the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* informed its readers. But he did not return and formally resigned on 15 September 1898. He died on 24 December 1909 at the home of his daughter in Ashfield, New South Wales, at the age of about 90, leaving ‘another blank in the fast thinning ranks of early day NT pioneers.’ It was not until 1958 that a master mariner was again appointed Harbourmaster of Darwin. Marsh Shoal, a dangerous reef in the western approaches of the Cumberland Strait, bears his name.

W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as It Is*, 1882; *North Australian*, 11 February 1887; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 30 March 1876, 15 October 1881, 31 December 1909; South Australian Parliamentary Papers, Blue Books; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 790; State Records of South Australia, GRG-51/17, 2512/1880, 3914/1881, GRS 1-173/1873, 333/1878, 293/1881, 560/1881, 11/1882, 130/1883, 106/1884, 91/1890, 238/1890.

HELEN J WILSON and RICHARD J WILSON, Vol 2.

MARTIN, ALFRED (ALF) (1876–1950), butcher, stockman, drover and station manager, was born in South Australia in 1876. He moved to Western Australia as a young man and worked in one of the butcher shops run by Connor, Doherty and Durack in Perth. When the firm left the butchering business, he moved to the Kimberley region in Western Australia at the turn of the century to work for the same firm as a drover. All four of his brothers also settled in north Australia. In 1906, he married Beatrice Edwards, whom he had met in Wyndham, Western Australia. They subsequently had eight children. In 1909, he joined Bovril Australian Estates, a British company, as Manager of its Carlton Hill Station near Wyndham. He remained in this position until 1926.

Martin was appointed Manager of Bovril’s Victoria River Downs Station, the ‘big run’ that covered a huge area in the north west of the Northern Territory, in August 1926. Often referred to as ‘Hell-fire-Alf’ because of his dangerous driving, he surprised some observers by becoming a first rate administrator. As the historian Jock Makin later remarked, ‘He knew all there was to be known of the meat industry.’ He chose able men to run stock camps and achieved deep loyalty from his employees.

The difficult Depression period put his skills to a considerable test. There was a lack of finance for station improvements and a shortage of horses. In 1928, Bovrils summoned him to London where he advised the company’s directors that a thorough muster was needed to clarify the numbers of cattle. The board, though, concluded that this was too expensive and decided to accept Martin’s own estimate. In June 1933, he travelled to Canberra, where

he successfully opposed a Commonwealth government proposal that it resume possession of a quarter of Victoria River Downs's area due to Bovril's supposed failure to invest sufficient capital in the station. In deference to a reduction in the basic wage of stockmen, Martin cut his own salary from 750 Pounds to 650 Pounds per annum, the level at which it stayed until 1941. Unable to persuade Bovrils to spend money on improvements that he believed would more than double the size of the Victoria River Downs cattle herd, he also had no luck with his suggestion that the station be divided into two based on the suitability of pastures and watering facilities. Even so, at the start of 1934 Victoria River Downs had the largest herd ever pastured on a single property in Australia, with stock returns indicating no less than 170 036 cattle.

Further difficulties followed the Depression. In 1936, there was a serious drought that forced Martin to move some 80 000 cattle to river frontages. There was not, he wrote, 'a blade of grass for the stock to eat.' At the end of the year, the drought broke with record rains that caused severe flooding. The Second World War left him with just five white stockmen to run his camps. As a contribution to the war effort, he and his family embarked on a fund raising drive for the Red Cross. In 1941, almost 300 Pounds was raised, with similar amounts coming annually for the duration of the war. The conflict meant that there was a growing demand for Northern Territory beef, from which Bovrils reaped financial benefits. The company, however, remained dubious about Victoria River Downs's long-term prospects and towards the end of the war made arrangements with Australian Mercantile Land and Finance to take over the station's general management. Many years of physically and emotionally demanding as well as often frustrating work had taken their toll on Martin's health and in 1945 he decided to retire.

He and his wife moved to Perth. But Martin found it hard to settle in a big city where, he said, he felt 'fenced in'. They moved to Katherine, which made them much happier. He died in Perth, while seeking medical attention, in 1950, survived by his wife and six of their children.

One of the best known station managers in north Australia, Martin displayed remarkable endurance in his battles to look after remote properties there over a long period. Perhaps even more noteworthy was that for some 35 years he was the loyal employee of the same company. He was, his daughter Florence recalled, 'a very handsome man, six feet tall, with black wavy hair and very blue eyes and a swarthy complexion, tanned darker by the tropic sun.'

J Makin, *The Big Run*, Revised Edition, 1983; F Martin, *Three Families Outback in Australia's Tropic North*, 1980; L A Riddett, *Kine, Kin and Country*, 1990; correspondence with F Martin.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

MARTIN, CHARLOTTE: see [MALONEY, CHARLOTTE](#)

MASON, KENNETH BRUCE (KEN) (1928–), teacher, clergyman, Anglican Bishop and administrator, was born on 14 September 1928 in Sydney, New South Wales. He was baptised in St Thomas' Anglican Church, Sackville, New South Wales and received his primary and secondary education in Bathurst, New South Wales. Having achieved his Leaving Certificate in 1945, Ken continued with his education by studying for a Primary School Teachers Certificate at Sydney Teachers College; subsequent employment as a relief teacher in one and two-teacher schools in Goulburn, and teaching older, low IQ children in Forbes, convinced Ken that he 'was a lousy teacher'.

Throughout his youth and his teaching days he had been involved in church activities; as a choirboy and server in Bathurst and with the youth group in Goulburn, his enthusiasm making him a target for ministry. In 1951, he attended the Young Anglicans Conference in Dubbo and it was here that he met and was challenged by Dr Barry Marshall, otherwise known as Brother Timothy of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd (BGS). Having spoken to the Bishop of Bathurst, and knowing something of the Brotherhood, Ken decided to undertake training for the church as the 50th ordinand of the BGS. He attended St John's Theological College, Morpeth in 1952–1953 where he obtained his Licentiate in Theology with First Class Honours, sharing the Hey Sharp prize for the best pass. In 1953, he became a member of the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd and became known as Brother Aidan. He was ordained Deacon at All Saints Church, Condobolin, on 21 December 1953 and Priest at St Barnabas' Church, West Wyalong on 11 June 1954 by Bishop Arnold Lomas Wylde, Bishop of Bathurst and in these roles he officiated at St Ambrose Parish, Gilgandra until 1958.

In 1959, he took up the position of Priest-in-Charge of Christ Church Parish, Darwin. A warden of Christ Church at that time was Peter Spillett, who recalled that the Brothers were sent by the Bishop of the Diocese of Carpentaria (which at that time included the Northern Territory) at the request of the local churches. Brother Aidan came to Darwin and Brother Hamish to Katherine where they 'lived a very frugal life on a very small stipend—they were single, mobile, young and active so they really helped set the church on its feet throughout the Territory'. Ken found that Darwin people enjoyed life although, from his professional point of view, 'they were very secular: accepting people for who they were without antagonism, rather with indifference; the many cultures of Darwin were accepted in the same way'. After a year in the position of Rector of Alice Springs, Ken spent two years at the University of Queensland studying for a Diploma of Divinity, completing at the same time a Bachelor of Arts that he had begun externally in 1954. Whilst studying he was Resident of St Francis' Theological College, Milton, Queensland where he undertook Sunday duty at St Andrews Parish, Lutwyche. From 1965 to 1967 he held a series of positions at Trinity College, University of Melbourne, Victoria, finally as Acting Warden.

On 20 October 1967, Ken was elected first Bishop of the Northern Territory, the new Diocese having been excised from the Diocese of Carpentaria that was administered from Thursday Island. Peter Spillett recalled that there was strong opposition to the creation of the new Diocese, and the progression of the motion for secession through the Diocesan, Regional and General Synods was something of a political campaign which involved many people

including Francis James, who was then editor of a controversial church newspaper based in Sydney. The creation of the new Diocese of the Northern Territory was clinched when the Australian Board of Missions agreed to its funding provided that the parishes contributed as they could. On the 24 February 1968, at St John's Cathedral Brisbane, Ken Mason was consecrated Bishop by the Most Reverend Phillip Strong, Archbishop of Brisbane and Primate of Australia. Ken was enthroned at the old Christ Church Cathedral in Darwin on 1 March 1968.

Parishioners of the Cathedral recalled Ken's encouragement of social and cultural activities although he himself denied having been much involved; he felt himself able to 'empathise with Franciscan larrikinism, mobility and openness', wanting to 'provide a role for Christians to be themselves and to accept people who are sacramentally Christians from many backgrounds'.

Ken's tenure as Bishop was interrupted by Cyclone Tracy, which all but destroyed the old Christ Church building, only the porch being salvaged. The collapse of the roof and walls destroyed most of the furnishings, and many of the damaged robes and items of furniture were consigned to some of the old wells that dotted the church property. At the first Eucharist after Cyclone Tracy glassware from Tuminellos wine bar was used as altar vessels; the wine bar also provided a 'throne' for the Archbishop of Canterbury during the consecration of the new Cathedral in 1977.

Highlights of Bishop Ken's incumbency were the ordination of the first Aboriginal Priest in the Diocese, Michael Gumbuli Wurrumara, and his involvement as Chairman of the Council of the Darwin Community College, Nungalinya College Council and the Young Men's Christian Association.

On the 7 July 1983, Bishop Ken resigned the See of the Northern Territory to take up the position of Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions (ABM) to which he had been elected in May of that year. In this capacity and as a member of the Anglican Communion Ken was involved in many committees, conferences and commissions such as Treasurer of ABM, Convenor of the 1986 Anglican Missionary Conference in Brisbane and member of the Standing Committee, Missionary and Ecumenical Commission, and International Affairs Commission—all of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia.

On leaving the Brotherhood of the Good Shepherd in 1964 Ken joined the Oratory of the Good Shepherd, which was a small, worldwide religious congregation, living by common rule but not in a community—from 1981–1987 he was the Superior of the Oratory. He was also a member of the Society of St Francis; from 1981–1993, he was the Protector of the Society's Australia and New Zealand Province and from 1991–1993 Protector General of the Society worldwide.

Bishop Ken received the Queen's Silver Jubilee Medal in 1977 ('it just arrived in the post one day'), was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) in 1984, and was a Chaplain of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Bishop Ken's last official act was the consecration of the Bishop of Dogura, Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea in 1992 after which he retired to live in Sydney.

Anglican Church of Australia, Diocese of the Northern Territory, records; Parishioners of the Diocese; personal information; P Spillett, interview, 1994.

MICHAEL EVANS, Vol 3.

MASSON (MALINOWSKI), ELSIE ROSALINE (1891–1935), was born in Melbourne, Victoria, to a distinguished academic family in 1891. She was the daughter of Sir David Orme Masson, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Melbourne, and his wife Mary, daughter of Professor Sir John Struthers. The newly married David and Mary Masson arrived in Australia from Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1886. The family was cultured and urbane. **Professor Sir Baldwin Spencer** was a close family friend, who probably influenced Elsie's decision to travel to the Northern Territory.

She came to the Northern Territory to take up work as governess to the children of the first Commonwealth Administrator, **Dr J A Gilruth**, in 1913. She was also companion to Mrs Gilruth in a period where there were relatively few European women in the Northern Territory. Masson is probably best known in the Territory for her book *An Untamed Territory: the Northern Territory of Australia*, which was written from articles she had published in various Australasian newspapers. The book is a lively account of Masson's experiences, although didactic rather than autobiographical. The book covers material from Darwin to Pine Creek, the Daly River, the Alligator Rivers region and the Roper and includes information on the economy, industries and geography of the region and peoples. Historian Barbara James noted that the book, 'though presented from an elitist vantage point, provide[s] excellent first-hand account of early Territory lifestyle'.

Masson described the Aboriginal people she encountered at various locations and communities in the Territory. She was critical of the mission system and although patronising, recognised the role Aboriginal people played in opening up the Northern Territory. 'When in the future the picture is painted of the pioneers—the stalwart, strenuous man and woman pressing on through primeval bush—let there also be depicted marching briskly in their shadow the aboriginal black-boy and his lubra'.

Spencer's biographers, D J Mulvaney and J H Calaby, have noted that both Spencer and Masson, writing across a variety of subjects but particularly Aboriginal welfare, took a 'kindred approach'. Masson complemented the picture of the Northern Territory that had been constructed by **Harriet Daly** and **Jeannie Gunn** in presenting the region from a female perspective. She noted that although a man travels north to, 'The prospect of better work, or the fascination of life in a more primitive community... The wife, on the other hand, goes because he goes, and not because the life appeals'. Masson also pointed out the role that European women played in socialising Aborigines into European society through the training of domestic servants. Europeans who forged good working relationships with Aborigines impressed her: **Paddy Cahill** and **Joe Cooper** are both mentioned favourably.

Masson left the Northern Territory in 1914 and returned to Melbourne. *An Untamed Territory* was published a year later. She became romantically involved with the Polish/Austrian anthropologist Dr Bronislaw Malinowski during his Melbourne visits on furlough from fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands. Mulvaney and Calaby suggest that it was Elsie's attachment to Malinowski that led to a falling out between Malinowski and Spencer, as Malinowski had been involved with someone else, and in any case, was not considered by Spencer a suitable partner. Elsie became Elsie Malinowski in 1919 when she married Bronislaw.

The couple travelled to Europe where Bronislaw became, successively, Lecturer, Reader and Professor at the London School of Economics. Between 1927 and 1942, Malinowski held the Chair of Social Anthropology. The Malinowskis had three daughters. Elsie died in 1935. Malinowski later remarried.

Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS A3 14/7500; B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989; E R Masson, *An Untamed Territory*, 1915; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1985; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS517, interview with R Roney by M Weedon and J Collins; H Wayne (ed), *The Story of a Marriage*, 1995.

MICKEY DEWAR, Vol 3.

McARTHUR, JOHN: see [MacARTHUR, JOHN](#)

McAULAY, (RONALD) PETER (1932–1995), clerk, policeman and Commissioner of Police of the Northern Territory and Australian Federal Police Forces, was born in Alberton, South Australia on 30 November 1932, the son of Angus and Daisy McAulay. He was educated at Streaky Bay Primary School, Alberton Primary School, Woodville High School and the South Australian Police Academy. Police records show that he joined the South Australia Police as a Junior Constable on 8 January 1951 after having previously been employed as an audit clerk with the Adelaide Steamship Company and General Motors Holden.

For the next 16 years he served at Port Adelaide, Woomera, Elizabeth and Christies Beach as a uniformed officer and later as a detective, which designation he received in 1962.

He was promoted to Inspector at age 34 becoming the youngest Inspector in the history of the South Australia Police Force. In 1968, he was seconded for a year to the Commonwealth Police to serve with the Australian Police Contingent of the United Nations forces in Cyprus. He was again posted to Cyprus in 1970, on that occasion as a police adviser to the United Nations. In that capacity, he commanded the multinational police contingent, comprising Austrians, Danes, Swedes and Australians. He was also appointed Deputy Chairman of the Political Liaison Committee, which was responsible for settlement of serious intercommunity conflicts and the provision of advice to the United Nations on Cypriot political, economic and legal matters. He returned to the South Australia Police in 1972.

He served in the Major Planning and Research Unit until the end of 1977. During this period, he acted as a consultant to the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary for the design of a patrol system manual database for Port Moresby. In January 1978, he was promoted to the rank of Detective Chief Superintendent and command of the South Australia Police Criminal Investigation Bureau. Before accepting the position as Commissioner of the Northern Territory Police, McAulay declined an offer to be appointed as the Chief of Security for United Nations Headquarters, New York.

He was appointed Commissioner Designate of the Northern Territory Police effective from 14 August 1978 and as Commissioner from 13 October 1978 when former Commissioner McLaren retired. Being the first Commissioner after self-government Peter McAulay was in a position to make sweeping changes to the Police Force. Self-government brought a commitment to policing from government and additional funding for the Police Force. His prior experiences enabled him to direct the funding to areas of greatest need and emerging requirements.

In the first months of his term as Commissioner, Peter McAulay travelled the Northern Territory extensively. During this time, he became a strong supporter of the Northern Territory and its population. He saw a need to rationalise the Force and proposed the closure of some stations and major upgrades at others. His proposals all received the support of government. He also ensured that the Force was re-equipped and that the structure was adjusted to meet the increasing demands upon the Force.

The Berrimah Police Centre was built during McAulay's term as Commissioner. Seeing a need for a new Headquarters and a centre from which Darwin police patrols could operate, McAulay arranged for land to be obtained at Berrimah. Purpose built, the headquarters, established on 35 hectares of land in McMillans Road, was recognised at the time of its official opening as one of Australia's finest police buildings.

It was during McAulay's term as Commissioner that the Fire and Emergency Services became an additional responsibility of the Commissioner of Police. He was the first Chief Executive Officer of the Police, Fire and Emergency Services. In this capacity, he held the appointment of Northern Territory Controller under the Disasters Act. This appointment gave him executive powers should a state of disaster have been declared.

One of the more innovative Commissioners in the history of the Northern Territory Police, McAulay was quick to introduce new ideas. The Police Aide Scheme was one early innovation. This scheme, initially proposed as a coast watching service, soon grew in scope and size. It rapidly became one in which Aboriginal people were involved in law enforcement within their own communities. Another Australia first was the School Based Constable Scheme. Started in 1984, this initiative saw a police officer placed at Casuarina High School. This scheme was so successful that police officers were soon stationed in each Northern Territory high school.

A major controversy during his time as Commissioner was the Chamberlain case. On 17 August 1980, baby Azaria Chamberlain disappeared from the family tent at Uluru (Ayers Rock). At the original inquest,

the Coroner held that no person was responsible for the death of Azaria and that a dingo had taken the baby. The investigation continued after the inquest and on 20 November 1981, the Supreme Court quashed the findings of the inquest and ordered a new coronial inquiry. The Chamberlains were committed for trial at the second inquest and Mrs Lindy Chamberlain, mother of baby Azaria, was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment after being found guilty of murder by a Supreme Court Jury in October 1982. Michael Chamberlain, her husband, was found guilty of being an accessory to the murder. Two appeals were rejected. However after a matinee jacket, identified as Azaria's, was found on 2 February 1986, Lindy Chamberlain was released from jail and an inquiry announced. Mr Justice Morling conducted the inquiry and concluded that new evidence made the convictions unsafe. The Chamberlains were pardoned.

During the long period of the Chamberlain trial and inquiry the Police Force was subjected to much criticism. Commissioner McAulay defended the integrity of his Police Force throughout. He did, however, move to upgrade the Forensic Science Section after some inadequacies were revealed in its practices during the long saga.

McAulay resigned from the Northern Territory Police on 1 January 1988 to take up an appointment as Commissioner of the Australian Federal Police, a position he formally assumed on 15 February 1988. In that position he was also Australia's representative to Interpol and served on the Commonwealth Law Enforcement Board. He retired as Commissioner of the Australia Federal Police in 1994.

During his service, Peter McAulay was awarded the Queen's Police Medal (QPM) for distinguished service and the United Nations Cyprus medal. He was also admitted as an Officer in the general division of the Order of Australia (AO) for public service. He was a Fellow of the Australia Institute of Management and a Member of the Australian Institute of Company Directors.

In November 1994, he was appointed, together with a former West Australian Under Treasurer, Ross Bowe, to review the Northern Territory Police organisational structure, adequacy, and appropriateness of current police human resource policies. Following a short but intensive review the consultants report was delivered to Government in February 1995.

Remembered within the Northern Territory Police as the Commissioner who transformed the Police from a small rural force into a twentieth century police force, he was renowned for his innovation, initiative, personal integrity and competence. He had often told close friends that he had never been ambitious and was prepared to work his way up the ladder with everyone else. Devoting his life to policing, Peter McAulay ensured that policing gained, not only in the Northern Territory but also nationally and internationally.

Married twice, he had two sons, Peter and Evan (Angus), by his first wife, Eileen, to whom he was married from 1953 to 1973. He met his second wife, Avril Shirley Holdstock, in Cyprus, where she was principal of the British Services School. They were married in Adelaide on 16 March 1978. Peter McAulay died at Woden Valley Hospital, Canberra on 14 November 1995 after a long battle with a respiratory disease. The Northern Territory Police headquarters at Berrimah was named the 'McAulay Centre' in his honour.

BC Bates, press release, November 1995; South Australia Police Historical Society, information paper; N H Young, *Innocence Regained*, 1989; *Who's Who in Australia* 1996, 1995.

BILL WILSON, Vol 3.

McCOY, INA VERA: see [GRIMSTER, INA VERA](#)

McENTYRE, MARY: see [WARD, MARY](#)

McGINNESS, VALENTINE BYNOE (VAL) (1910–1988), Aboriginal pioneer, was one of a family of rebels. His mother, Alyandabu, known by non-Aboriginal people as Lucy, was a remarkable Aboriginal woman who, after the death of her husband, fought to keep her family together and to forge their identities as both Kungarakany and European Australian. His father was Irishman Stephen McGinness who jumped ship in Sydney, possibly changed his name, moved to the north, and flouted convention, and no doubt suffered social ostracism, by entering into a Catholic marriage with Alyandabu. They raised four sons and a daughter. Two of Val's brothers—Joe and Jack McGinness—became known for their activism in defence of Aboriginal rights. So did Val.

Val called himself a 'half-caste', 'part-Aboriginal', 'part-coloured', 'coloured'—terms that are commonly regarded as pejorative, and are unacceptable to many people of Aboriginal descent. But he knew who he was, and he was proud of both his Kungarakany heritage and his Irish roots. He took strength from his mixed ancestry. But he resented deeply the treatment of people of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal descent.

Born on St Valentine's Day (14 February) in 1910, at the Lucy tin mine at Bynoe Harbour, Valentine Bynoe McGinness grew up at the mine initially, in the warmth of his family. The mine had been named 'Lucy' after Alyandabu found the tin ore that led to its establishment. Members of the family were to work the claim intermittently for more than half a century. In 1918, however, when his father died, Val quickly learned the realities of being known officially as 'half-caste'. According to both Val and Joe their mother was pressured by the Aboriginal Department into abandoning the mine, and the three of them travelled by horse and dray into Darwin where the boys were held at the Half-caste Home in the infamous Kahlin Aboriginal Compound. Alyandabu, an accomplished cook, worked at the Compound for some time, and then in Darwin town, and so was able to maintain contact with the boys, and ease the harsh conditions at the Home. Val often recalled the grim physical privation he experienced at the Home, but resented most the poor standard of education he received.

Fortunately, Val's sister Margaret was married to a white Australian, Harry Edwards, who established a blacksmith and wheelwright business in Woods Street, Darwin. In 1923, Val and Joe absconded from the Home

and moved in with the Edwards. The Aboriginal Department chose not to interfere, Val was apprenticed to his brother-in-law, and in 1927, he became a qualified blacksmith and wheelwright. This happened just as the motorcar was starting to make the trade redundant. Street-wise, resentful of injustice, but determined not to succumb to the social and economic discrimination designed to crush ‘half-caste’ spirits, he engaged for the next dozen years in a variety of jobs in the Territory. He worked on the construction of the Stuart Highway south of Katherine. During the Depression, he was one of a number of unemployed granted blocks in a not very successful Government scheme to develop peanut farming in the Katherine area. He worked for some years as a driver for the Medical Service and made himself a skilled motor mechanic.

During these years, the tall, rangy young man made his mark as a sportsman—one of the few ways in which ‘half-castes’ could hope to excel in the stratified, racist, Darwin society. He was a noted football player, athlete, woodchopper and boxer. In 1928, he won the Welterweight Boxing Championship of North Australia by a knockout; his right fist, according to a newspaper report, could be heard ‘whistling through the air again and again as he tried to land the required blow on the beaten man’. He is said to have earned the nickname ‘Hookey’ for his amazing kicking ability in Australian Rules Football, although Val himself recalled that the name was earned at the Half-caste Home when he contracted hookworm. Val made his mark with the Vesteys and later Buffaloes clubs—made up primarily of ‘half-caste’ players—and was a member of the Buffaloes team that won the 1935 Grand Final by default when the all-white Waratahs refused to take the field.

It was while working as a driver for the Medical Service that he first made the acquaintance of **Xavier Herbert**, working at the time as dispenser in the hospital. Herbert too was in and out of work, and the two men at one time re-opened and worked the Lucy Mine. When Herbert was appointed temporary Superintendent of the Kahlin Compound, the two men worked together in a short-lived attempt to improve the living conditions of inmates. They remained life-long friends. Val’s life is reliably thought to have helped motivate the writing of Herbert’s two best-known novels *Capricornia* and *Poor Fellow My Country*.

Herbert worked with the ‘half-caste’ community to form the Euraustralian League, which later became the Northern Territory Half-caste Association. The League, formed to achieve full citizenship rights for Aboriginal people of mixed descent, held its inaugural meeting in Val’s home. In 1936, the Association succeeded in convincing the Minister for the Interior to make provision for exemption of ‘half-castes’ from the Aborigines Ordinance. Adult ‘half-castes’ could apply for exemption because they were ‘worthy’ citizens and growing numbers henceforth were granted their ‘dog licence’ as the exemption certificate was derisively known. Although he was encouraged by the authorities to apply for exemption Val refused on the grounds that he was born a British Subject and should have no need to apply for his rights as a full citizen. The Chief Protector exempted him from the Ordinance anyway. This is one indication of the regard authorities had for the angry young man. Another is the fact that he was allowed to purchase one of a small number of houses built for Darwin ‘half-caste’ families in the 1930s.

In 1938, Val moved to Queensland. He tried to enlist but was not called up as his skills as a motor mechanic were needed at home. He then worked at the Allied Works camp in Cairns and spent the next 20 years overcoming discrimination—‘they called us “niggers” over there’, he recalled—and working as a mechanic in and around Cairns, on the North Queensland goldfields, on pearling boats operating out of Torres Strait, and for the Irrigation Commission. In the early 1940s, he converted from the Catholic faith into which he had been baptised, to become a Jehovah’s Witness. He undertook Bible studies, and it was only then that he learned to read and write properly.

Val returned to live in Darwin in 1960 when he heard that his mother was dying. He became renowned locally for his mandolin playing, singing and composing. In 1974 with Jaffa Ah Mat, he formed a mandolin/steel guitar band, comprising part-Aboriginal people, Torres Strait Islanders and European Australians, which dominated Darwin’s dance hall scene for years. For the rest of his days he delighted Darwin residents with his mandolin playing.

Valentine McGinness died and was buried in Queensland in November 1988, and was survived by a daughter, Rowena, two sons, John and Cecil, and his wife Jane. He had married Isabel Hume in 1930, but they grew apart and eventually divorced after he moved to Queensland to find work. He formed a *de facto* relationship with Emma Mariset who died in 1942 shortly after the birth of their second son. His partnership with Jane Assan lasted for more than 30 years until his death.

Val’s contribution to the development of the Territory was not recognised by the award of Imperial or Australian honours. He is not remembered officially for his membership of boards and committees, for epic or heroic deeds, for startling discoveries. They did not name a suburb after him. Yet his spirit of independence, his commitment to justice and his involvement in the Territory’s economic and social improvement marks him out as a remarkable pioneer.

Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory, CRS A1 34/5886; Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS F144 1319/65; T Austin, *I Can Picture the Old Home So Clearly*, 1993; T Austin & K Mills, interviews with V McGinness; D de Brabander, ‘Alyandabu’, *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*, 1994; Xavier Herbert Papers, National Library of Australia; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1977; J McGinness, *Son of Alyandabu*, 1991; V B McGinness, ‘Uncle Val’, privately produced audio tapes, nd; V McGinness & T Austin, ‘Breakfast Was One Slice of Bread’, *Northern Perspective*, 1988; V McGinness, interview by A McGrath, Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226TS 86; V McGinness, interview by J Dickinson, NTRS 226 TS 532; *Northern Territory Times*, 17 April 1928, 15 May 1928; G O’Loughlin, ‘Obituary’, *Northern Territory News*, 19 November 1988.

TONY AUSTIN, Vol 3.

McGUIRE, ALICE (?-?), was the first appointed Matron when the first hospital was opened at Palmerston in 1874, behind Doctor’s Gully. Her husband, John Samuel McGuire, had joined the South Australian Police as a trooper in January of that year. Irish born in 1837, he had been a coachman and had decided on the police force in

Adelaide. His wife applied in April 1874 as a Matron, indicating that she had been used to a hot climate as she had nursed in India between 1862 and 1871.

Alice McGuire commenced nursing after arrival at the hospital that was in a location somewhat remote from the rest of the married community in the area near the first ‘camp’. Her husband arrived on transfer from Adelaide later in 1874 and was on local patrol in Darwin. In May 1875, he decided to resign from the police and took on the task of an attendant at the Hospital, thus supplementing his wife’s work as Matron there. Similarly in 1878 Jane Manson, who was to relieve her was supported by her husband, James Manson, when the McGuires departed. The Matron worked in turn under Dr F Guy, Dr Sturt and Dr Morice as Colonial Surgeon and Protector of Aborigines. The original structure of the Hospital was of wood and iron, built by Robertson and Stewart. A philanthropic Adelaide lady, Louisa Da Costa, sister of Benjamin Da Costa, a merchant of Grenfell Street, made the first donations of 500 Pounds toward the cost of the original ward that included an Asiatic Ward. In the first four years of settlement, there had been no hospital and women and children of the first settlers were at some risk, as were those at the goldfields because scurvy and fever were rife.

During Matron McGuire’s period at the hospital, Dr Guy died and was relieved by Dr T J Sturt MD as Colonial Surgeon in late November 1875 whilst some additional wards were being added with the Da Costa gift funds. Dr Sturt came from London and was at Kapunda, South Australia, when appointed. His casual approach to those in authority caused some friction with successive Government Residents **Scott** and **Price** and caused Matron McGuire to resign her post in June 1877. However, she withdrew her resignation after the departure of Dr Sturt later in 1877.

Alice McGuire had an accident in 1878 when she was seeing Mrs Gilbert McMinn off on a ship. She was carrying a child in a vehicle that rolled over on a large ironstone boulder. In the resultant accident, she was seriously injured in the face and head. She recovered and, in July 1878, left Palmerston on the SS *Aijeh* via Batavia, Hong Kong and England with her two children.

Her contribution as first Matron during the hospital’s first four years was a significant one. Jane Manson relieved her.

SAA (NT) 33/74, 130/74, 371/74, 361/65, 330/77, 356/77, 441/78 & 537/78; SAA McGuire Police Career Summary 1874NN77; BDM, Adelaide, 1873; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1874–78.

JACQUELINE M O’BRIEN, Vol 1.

McINNIS, RONALD ALLISON (1890–1982), surveyor, soldier and town planner, was born at Te Kowai near Mackay, Queensland, on 20 November 1890, the son of Duncan McInnis, an accountant, and his wife Amelia Sophia Elizabeth, *nee* Cunningham. Although both parents were born in England, McInnis was particularly proud of the Scottish background of the clan McInnis. He early found the truth in the McInnis family motto ‘E Labore Sulcedo’—pleasantness comes from industry—when as a boy he carved a table from Queensland beech. It was the start of a life long love of wood and a commitment to preserving trees. McInnis’s long career in town planning reflects the 20th century growth of the garden city and national fitness movements in Australia, in which the incorporation of green belts and recreation areas came to be regarded as of equal importance as the construction of buildings in town planning.

McInnis’s career began at the age of 14 in a Brisbane survey camp. During the First World War, he served with the Australian Imperial Force at Gallipoli and in Egypt and France. On his return to Australia after the war, he was appointed surveyor to the Mackay area and subsequently prepared a town plan for Mackay.

In 1935, McInnis was appointed City Planner of Brisbane. He moved to Brisbane with his wife Gwen and daughter Alison. Gwen was a member of the well-known Hardy family, timber merchants of Wagga Wagga in New South Wales. Under McInnis’s direction, Brisbane was the first Australian city to adopt a large-scale town-planning scheme, with zoning for specific living, industrial and recreational areas. One of his monuments in Brisbane is Coronation Drive, which today is one of the city’s most scenic roads.

When **C L A Abbott** took up the position of Administrator of the Northern Territory in 1937, one of his first recommendations was that a qualified town planner be appointed to address the urgent questions of housing, roads and basic services for the town of Darwin. A town plan, prepared by a committee and the government architect W T Haslam, was produced in 1937. This plan created intense friction between Abbott’s administration and the armed forces. It was oriented towards the development of Darwin as primarily a military base, with much of the town centre, including the Administrator’s residence, being allocated to the Navy. Abbott rejected the suggestion in the plan that Darwin should be divided into three sectors, each sector being administered separately by a branch of the armed services. In October 1939, he wrote to the federal government asking that McInnis be appointed to formulate a proper long-term town plan for Darwin.

McInnis arrived in Darwin in September 1940. He immediately noted the neglected appearance of the town but felt that much of the reason for the absence of ‘civic pride’ was due to the lack of involvement by citizens in town matters. The Darwin Town Council, faced with increasing financial pressures, had handed over responsibility for town administration to the Northern Territory Administration in 1937. In studying the history of Darwin and the Northern Territory, McInnis noted the tendency of southern bureaucrats to treat the north of Australia as a colony rather than as a part of Australia, with little notice being taken of the wishes of ordinary citizens in decision making. He determined that an important aspect of his town plan for Darwin would be consultation with residents and the formation of a town management board.

McInnis was quite satisfied with the existing lay out of Darwin, which had been initiated by **G W Goyder** in 1869. Although the grid pattern of the streets was no longer popular in town planning, he felt that it was ideally

suiting to the narrow peninsula on which the town was placed. However, he was far from pleased with the sanitation and drainage system in the town. That Darwin in 1940 still relied on the night cart system, with sewerage being emptied into the sanitary reserve at the base of the cliffs between the Botanic Gardens and residential areas was, in McInnis's opinion, totally unacceptable in a tropical town. He was equally scathing about the hygienic conditions in the 'bag hut' town camps, which had developed due to the lack of proper housing in Darwin, and about the total lack of zoning, the overcrowding and the sanitary situation in Darwin's China Town.

The 1940 Darwin Town Plan, which McInnis produced, was sweeping in its depth and attention to detail. The plan went beyond the physical building of a town on a particular site and the supply of the essential requirements of sanitation, sub divisions, road works and zoning. It took into consideration aspects such as the climate of Darwin, its surrounds, the creation of a town management board, the allocation of spaces for present and future public access to recreation areas, the creation of a civic centre and a sweeping water front drive, and the necessity of a sealed highway to connect Darwin with southern centres in order to promote future development and tourism. McInnis addressed details such as housing, recommending that the elevated houses designed by [B C G Burnett](#) were more suitable and less space consuming than older style houses with large verandahs. He also provided a listing, which he had compiled with the assistance of local botanist [Florenz Bleeser](#) of trees and plants best suited to the implementation of a greening program for the town.

Abbott was delighted with the McInnis plan. It did not, however, please any of the armed forces chiefs. McInnis in his report was blunt in his condemnation of any long-term occupancy by the armed forces of prime residential and recreational areas such as the Esplanade, Larrakeyah and East Point. He particularly upset the Navy with his proposed civic centre being located in the Bennett Street area that that service claimed.

A start was made to implement McInnis's plan. A sewerage incinerator was constructed and kerbing and guttering commenced in the town centre. However, the escalation of the Second World War, the evacuation of civilians and the bombing of Darwin in February 1942, brought such work to a halt. The military, given breathing space, prepared its own Darwin town plan. The military plan, prepared by three serving Army officers, was submitted to the federal government in 1943. Included in the plan was the proposal that all privately owned properties in Darwin should be purchased by the government and diagrams which designated all the prime sites in Darwin to the armed forces. In response to the military town plan, Abbott again asked that McInnis be appointed to submit a further plan for the town.

Changes to the town brought about by the war years provided, in McInnis's view, 'A unique opportunity to rebuild Darwin in such a way that it would reflect Australia's faith in the future.' While most of the recommendations of the 1940 town plan remained unchanged, the bombing of the Post Office and the removal of China Town by the military allowed for the creation of a civic square on a large scale, including a memorial beacon in memory of those killed during wartime hostilities. Abbott took the 1944 McInnis town plan to the Prime Minister, John Curtin, and was promised that the sum of 2 000 000 Pounds would be allocated for post war reconstruction in Darwin. Unfortunately, Curtin died before official approval was given to the McInnis town plan.

In 1945, Abbott wrote despairingly that 'over all the householders of the Darwin area lies a kind of monstrous shadow known as the Darwin Town Plan'. Now called THE PLAN, it gained the doubtful dignity of capital letters due to the heated criticism to which it was subjected. It was no longer the McInnis plan but a new plan developed by an inter departmental committee. Launched officially amidst much fanfare in early 1947, the new plan made no acknowledgement of McInnis's work, the military plan of 1943 being stated as marking the beginning of the development of a Darwin Town Plan. In the inter departmental plan, private property having been subject to compulsory government acquisition in 1945, planning was approached as though Darwin 'was a paddock and not a town already in existence'. All buildings, apart from the Hotel Darwin, were to be flattened, the civic centre would be on the Esplanade and the original Goyder lay out of streets would be replaced by a series of *cul de sacs* and residential allotments. Despite the expenditure of millions of Pounds on the inter departmental vision of Darwin as a 'Canberra in the tropics', a complete town plan and report was never finalised. In 1950, with only 38 houses being completed since the war and planning in chaos, the Administrator, [A R Driver](#), wrote to the Minister for the Interior informing him that he had formed a committee with a view to 'curtailing that plan and endeavouring to cut out commitment sufficiently in order that a Plan may be evolved something on the lines of the McInnis plan.'

But time had run out for Darwin. The opportunity to build a modern tropical town had been lost. The Menzies government elected to power in 1949 showed little interest in the replanning of Darwin. The 'colossal bureaucratic experiment in town planning', the Darwin Town Plan, was scrapped and there were no funds available to implement a plan along the lines that McInnis had put forward.

In 1945, McInnis was appointed as Tasmania's first Town and Planning Commissioner, a post he held until his retirement in 1950. Interviewed in 1980, McInnis said that he would 'have liked to live in Darwin'. But he never returned to the north and spent the rest of his life in Tasmania. In his retirement, he spent much of his time in his garden overlooking the Derwent River in Hobart, where he recorded the melodies of many of the birds, which found sanctuary in the trees he preserved and planted. He was a member of the Board of National Fitness and was involved with the administration of Saint Aidan's Anglican Church.

McInnis passed away at the Repatriation Hospital in Hobart on 8 May 1982, aged 91 years. His wife, who died in 1977, and his daughter predeceased him.

E Gibson, 'Bag-Huts, Bombs and Bureaucrats', BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Queensland, 1989.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

McKAY, MARGARET HEATHER BELL: see [DODD, MARGARET HEATHER BELL](#)

McKAY, ST CLAIR (SANDY) (1905–1969), teacher and soldier, was born on 14 June 1905 at Port Kembla, New South Wales, one of six children of Angus William McKay and his wife Lillian, *nee* Smith. He was educated to Leaving Certificate standard at Newcastle High School and in 1924 attended Sydney Teachers' College. Thereafter he taught at numerous New South Wales schools, including eight years at single teacher schools in remote areas and three years of opportunity classes. He served for four years with the Australian Imperial Force during the Second World War and obtained a full Teacher's Certificate on 1 January 1945.

He joined the Commonwealth Teaching Service in June 1952 and was posted to Delissaville in the Northern Territory. This was a difficult first posting in the Territory as the previous teacher of the 10 girls and 20 boys had been unsatisfactory and McKay was later to comment that formal teaching was 'hindered until good relationships between teacher and pupils were established.' McKay, however, acquitted himself well and by early August was teaching a further 12 males in an adult class.

He taught at Phillip Creek in 1953 and until May 1954 and he then established the Snake Bay School on Melville Island, which opened on 2 June 1954. Initially the teacher's residence was a small two-roomed building but later a Sidney Williams' hut was converted into a home.

A report on his work in the setting up of this school with 20 children, whose ages ranged from five to about 13 and of whom only four had ever been to school, praises his organising ability and the 'ideal' pupil teacher relationship which he had developed. In addition, classes were run for adults, each week night, and they benefited from the teacher's presence in recreational activities. Instruction concentrated on literacy and social conduct.

In common with his sister, **Margaret Dodd**, McKay's pupils were noted for the correctness of their English. A journalist who visited the Snake Bay School about a year after it was established reported on the 'perfect' English spoken by the children and the general cleanliness of all. As the children came from bush camps, they showered and put on school clothes each morning. McKay was a very musical man and singing and miming were part of his teaching methods. It was said of him that much of what he taught was by way of rhyming couplets and doggerel verse.

He remained at Snake Bay until 1960 when he then taught at Elizabeth Downs and at the School at Mainoru established by his sister, while she was ill. McKay continued to teach in Aboriginal schools until his death in Katherine on 25 September 1969 at the age of 64. At that time, he was teaching at the little school at Beswick Station.

Australian Women's Weekly, 8 June 1955; *Northern Territory News*, 26 September 1969; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 291 (Dodd papers); family information.

HELEN J WILSON, *Vol 2.*

McKEDDIE, GEORGE (1851–1927), pioneer storekeeper and businessman, was born in Avoch, Scotland in October 1851, the son of George McKeddie and his wife Isabella. He migrated with his family to Geelong, Victoria, in 1855. Arriving in the Northern Territory in 1874, he originally lived at Southport, on the Blackmore River. He joined the firm of **P R Allen** and Company, storekeepers, in 1878, later becoming a partner and Manager. He retired in 1908. He was subsequently in business at 'the Katherine' as 'mine host' at the Sportsman's Arms Hotel. After 1920 he lived quietly in and around Darwin, spending a good deal of time at Delissaville on the Cox Peninsula, where he had some livestock running. He died of heart disease in Melbourne, Victoria, where he had travelled for medical attention, on 6 April 1927.

During his long residence in the Territory McKeddie made many friends and earned a reputation for being straight and reliable in his business transactions. At various times he held diverse interests—especially in business, mining and grazing. He was Director of a Territory syndicate which purchased and made an unsuccessful effort to develop the Zapopan Gold Mine near Pine Creek. He also had a half interest in the Mount Wells tin mine. A Justice of the Peace of long standing, he was for some years a member of the Darwin Town Council. At the time of his death, he was also a member of the Bagot Road District Board and an Honorary Past Master of the Darwin Masonic Lodge.

McKeddie does not seem to have married but was partner of a Larrakia Aboriginal woman, Annie Duwun. They had two children, Lilly (or Lillie) and Jack. **Delfin Cubillo** was one of his 10 grandchildren.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 8 April 1927; Cubillo family information; McKeddie family information.

INEZ CUBILLO CARTER and DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 2.*

McKEOWN, ANNA ELIZABETH: see **DOLAN, ANNA ELIZABETH**

McKINLAY, JOHN (1819–1872), bushman and explorer, was born on 26 August 1819 at Sandbank, on Holy Loch, Scotland, the son of a merchant, Dugald, and his wife, Catharine (*nee* McKellar). After local schooling, he migrated at 16 with his brother, Alexander, to New South Wales, where they worked the land near Goulburn for an uncle, Duncan McKellar. When McKellar went bankrupt, McKinlay, at 190 centimetres a giant for his time, moved farther outback, learned bush-craft from the Aborigines and made money by taking up and selling squatting leases. By the time he was 31 he held occupation licences in South Australia, was thoroughly self-reliant and an accurate shot.

In 1861, the South Australian House of Assembly chose him to lead the South Australian Burke Relief Expedition, which left Kapunda in August that year. After stopping at Blanchewater to collect six months' supplies and 100 sheep, the party reached Cooper Creek in October. McKinlay found what he thought was Charles Gray's

grave and, after a resupply trip to his camp by his second-in-command, W O Hodgkinson, knew of the deaths of Burke and Wills and the rescue of King.

McKinlay then headed north. Heavy rain in February 1862 transformed Sturt's Stony Desert into 'running streams and blossoming meadows'. Stores were low, but the group lived well on fish and meat. McKinlay kept tight discipline, maintained good relations with the Aborigines, and shaped his course accurately for the Gulf of Carpentaria, reaching it in May 1862—three months before **John McDouall Stuart** reached Chambers Bay in what is now the Northern Territory.

Unluckily HMS *Victoria*, with which he was trying to rendezvous, had sailed. McKinlay made for Port Denison (Bowen) on the east coast of Queensland. By 20 June, his men were rationed to 566 grams of salt meat a day, and by 31 July, all livestock except 10 horses had been eaten. 'Quite a good breakfast', McKinlay wrote one day of their camels' feet stew. On 2 August, he saw cattle tracks, and the group was saved. On his return south, he was lauded with Landsborough in Melbourne and with Stuart in Adelaide. His party was the second to cross the continent from south to north, and first to do so and return safely. Like Stuart, he never lost a man.

In 1865, McKinlay was chosen to find a better site for settlement on the north coast than Escape Cliffs at Adam Bay in the Northern Territory. In the one overland tour he was to examine the Liverpool, Roper and Victoria Rivers—a grand, and in hindsight, impossible task. An uncharacteristic procrastination led to his party's leaving for Arnhem Land in the middle of the Wet season. For six months, McKinlay and his 14 men struggled through soaking rains and sheets of water. By June 1866, he was trapped on the western bank of the East Alligator River with no food, most of his men ill and under spasmodic attack from Aborigines. He could not retrace his steps, and the impenetrable Arnhem Land escarpment prevented movement to the east. He killed his horses, dried the meat, bound the skins to saplings and, with a big canvas tent as an outer skin, made a punt in which he and his party sailed down the flooded East Alligator and out into the Arafura Sea. Six days and nights of enormous effort—at one stage they were 14 kilometres from shore—took them along the coast and back to Adam Bay.

On both this and the Burke Relief Expedition McKinlay quarrelled with, and sacked, his second-in-command, though they had to stay with him until journey's end. A short and relatively painless trip by sea provided information about the Daly River, Anson Bay and Port Darwin. Of the latter, McKinlay said: 'Port Darwin, from its central position and excellent harbour, with good and safe approach has vast advantages, for shipping, to any other on the coast, with deep water close in and protection from all weather'. He doubted that the land was suitable for a settlement, however, preferring instead the heads at the harbour entrance, Point Emery and Talc Head.

Between explorations McKinlay continued to take up runs in South Australia and, in 1863, married Jane Pile, of Gawler. They had no children. He made a short trip to Palmerston in 1870, acting as an agent for London and Adelaide land order holders, and died in Gawler on 31 December 1872. John Forrest laid the foundation stone of an impressive monument to him in Gawler.

John McKinlay has not been accorded the attention or respect he deserves, by either historians or the lay public. However his achievements are viewed overall, he remains the first of the white explorers to have led a successful expedition across Australia from the south coast to the north and back. And despite the disorder and discord of the Northern Territory trip, it, too, deserves acknowledgment as an epic of survival. McKinlay traversed more than 4 000 kilometres of unknown territory, both on land and water, and made an important contribution to geographical knowledge. He brought considerable skill as a bushman to his expeditions, of which there is evidence in his and others' journals.

His attitude towards his men could be called firm but fair. He suffered no foibles, and incompetence always aroused wrath. But more than once, he confided his personal judgments to his journal, rather than pass them on in official reports. His attitude to the continent's first inhabitants was, while it might be called 'softer' than that generally prevailing, still pragmatic. His approach to his guides on the Burke expedition appears to be that of a fair-minded man. When he was occasionally disturbed by small betrayals of trust he reacted like a schoolmaster. Aborigines met on the way were kept at a distance, but there was no arrogance or violence apparent in McKinlay's feelings towards them. When they let fear and anger drive them to displays of power, as on the East Alligator River, McKinlay naturally defended himself and his men with 'well-placed buckshot'. It is an arrogant-sounding phrase, but it was in keeping with the white man's perceived superiority at the time and there is no mention in the diaries kept by McKinlay or his men of any serious injury having been caused.

As to his place in history, McKinlay's achievements and the expanded knowledge that flowed from them outweigh the failures enough to suggest that he has been undervalued. True, he did not carry out the secondary object of the Burke relief expedition, which was to examine the country between Lake Eyre and Central Mount Stuart, and at no stage did he turn his horses' heads towards Fowler's Bay as ordered. But his work was vital, adding to the knowledge gained by Burke and Stuart and, with the first and possibly still the greatest transcontinental driving feat, showed stock could be moved that way, both sheep and cattle.

The Northern Territory debacle, if nothing else, showed the futility of attempting to move through the Top End during the wet season. It also, of course, demonstrated once again the ability of humankind to survive against apparently impossible odds.

K Lockwood, *Big John*, 1995.

KIM LOCKWOOD, *Vol 3*.

McKINNON, WILLIAM (BILL) (1902–), seaman, labourer, salesman, prison warder and policeman, was born on 16 June 1902 at Ballina, New South Wales, the youngest of four children of a cane farmer whose forebears had come to Sydney in 1837 from Skye in Scotland. He was educated at schools in Nambour and Cleveland in southern

Queensland while his family worked cane and dairy farms nearby. He left home in September 1922 intending to become a seagoing radio officer, towards which he had already completed a correspondence course while working as a grocery boy. He entered the radio school in Sydney but the aftermath of a minor breach of discipline mortified him so much that he did not go back. Determined to go to sea, he signed on as a firemen's peggy with the Union Steamship Company for a round voyage.

Policing seemed a much better idea so he joined the New South Wales Police Force in July 1923 as a mounted recruit and saw service in several country towns in the central west of the state, but was invalided out in May 1925 from the effects of a bullet in the head accidentally discharged from his own rifle. Notwithstanding this injury, he was accepted by the Queensland Police Force in July of the same year but was discharged six months later as the wound was again causing problems. From April 1926 to December 1927, he was a warder in Queensland prisons, but disliking the life, he took a two-year contract with the Rabaul Town Police, which commenced in December 1927.

He remembered his time in Papua New Guinea with affection but his contract was cancelled in November 1928 after he had fallen out with the police superintendent. After his discharge, he spent a few months as supercargo with several of W R Carpenter's traders in the New Britain area. Among his acquaintances at this time was Erroll Flynn, soon to become a household name as an actor in Hollywood films.

On his return to Australia, he worked on a dairy farm near his family in Queensland and then got a job as a labourer at the BHP steelworks in Port Kembla until he was laid off when the Depression began to bite in 1930. His next job found him selling household goods in and around the central coast of New South Wales. This position also fell victim to the Depression so it was with considerable relief that he accepted an offer to join the Northern Territory Police. He commenced duty on 31 June 1931 and his first few days were spent travelling from Sydney to Adelaide and then to Alice Springs in the Ghan.

It was his years with the South West Camel Patrol, 1931 to 1934, for which he is best remembered, although as he was later to comment, 'until my arrival in the Centre, I was not even aware that camel-teams existed in Australia, and I had never camped out in my life'. These patrols were, by today's standards, mammoth efforts of endurance. Between July and November 1934, for example, McKinnon, with two trackers and eight camels, was away from Alice Springs for 121 days during which time they covered 3 490 kilometres dispensing justice and looking after the well being of all within their ambit. On another patrol he went as far as the Western Australian border, on one stretch of 400 kilometres in desert country, the camels were 10 days without a drink. On 21 February 1932, McKinnon became the first man to climb to the highest point of Mount Olga.

After his marriage in Alice Springs on 10 December 1934 to Doreen Letchford Taylor, daughter of Albertus Martin Taylor of Adelaide, although nominally based at Alice Springs, he served at Charlotte Waters at various times between 1935 and 1938 when that station was closed. He then opened a new station at Finke on the railway line. During those years, he also relieved at Arltunga in 1936, Barrow Creek in 1937 and Tennant Creek in 1938 and occasionally patrolled with the North West and South West Camel Patrols.

He was first promoted in October 1941 and sent to Darwin where he was soon involved in the first bombing raid on 19 February 1942. About his experiences in Darwin during the bombing he was later to write that at the time he was 'the most junior non-commissioned officer in our force. Four days after the "blitz" I was the most senior member of the force left in Darwin with thirteen constables under me.'

He stayed in the Territory during the war seeing service at Borrooloola and Katherine and in March 1944 was transferred to Tennant Creek where his wife and child, who had been evacuated, were permitted to join him. Back to Darwin in January 1946 he was promoted Senior Sergeant in August 1947 after the completion of his Sergeant's examinations, which he topped. Two years later, he was promoted to Inspector and transferred back to Alice Springs. A further promotion to Senior Inspector followed in 1951 accompanied by a move to Darwin. From July 1955 until he retired in June 1962, he was back in the 'centre'.

McKinnon was a strict disciplinarian and on several occasions faced enquiries on his handling of certain Aborigines. In May 1935, it was alleged that he had been cruel to Aboriginal prisoners during a routine patrol. The Board of Enquiry found the offence proved with the qualification that the beating McKinnon had administered had been at the request of a missionary at Hermannsburg. A salary increase was delayed 12 months as a result. On another occasion in Darwin in 1946, he was charged with improper conduct in his treatment of an Aboriginal prisoner but was exonerated.

During his career, he was involved in many incidents that made the Australian press. He was the official police witness at the last hangings in the Northern Territory in 1952. Popular belief had it that he was the hangman, and he was known thereafter as 'Hanger Bill'. He points out in his memoirs, however, that an experienced hangman from Adelaide was sent to do the job. In 1954, he led the police contingent at Darwin Airport in the rescue of Mrs Petrov who was being forcibly removed from the country. The police were under strict orders not to resort to violence but McKinnon, having been accused by the Acting Administrator of almost starting an international incident, maintained that the Russian bodyguards had been about to draw their weapons.

He led the investigation into the notorious Sundown murders in December 1957 and in the same month was the Justice of the Peace and Coroner who signed the 'Warrant to Bury' when the bones of **Lasseter** were brought in from the desert for proper interment, at which he was also a pallbearer. In 1943 he had been Sergeant in Charge at Borrooloola when the lone survivor of a crashed United States Air Force plane was brought in, having struggled in the remote country, his companions dying one by one, for five months.

In 1959, he received long service and good conduct medals for 29 years service. McKinnon retired on 16 June 1962 (one of the few Northern Territory policemen ever to have served until retirement age) as Senior Inspector in Charge of the Southern Region. In 1949 he had been described by an Acting Superintendent of Police

as an ‘officer with wide and varied experience in both office and outdoor duty, has proved he can handle men, is a strict disciplinarian, has had experience in the New South Wales and Queensland police forces.’ On his retirement, among the many tributes, was one from a Central station owner who expressed the feelings of his colleagues in the remoter areas, ‘You have played the game over the years, and we are losing a sterling friend who carried out his duties with justice and tact.’

McKinnon, in his recollections, later described the three years of camel patrols as the most satisfying years in his whole career. He found his later years in the service far from satisfying and a particular grievance was that he had been passed over for appointment as Commissioner by a man junior to him in the service. It particularly riled as none of his contemporaries had had experience in the police force of another state. The Masonic Lodge was an interest in which he played a leading part.

He and his wife retired to Buderim in Queensland, assisted by a 6 000 Pounds win in the New South Wales lottery in 1957. Here he worked on his memoirs and wrote regularly to the local newspaper. McKinnon was a meticulous record keeper and his personal papers held in the Northern Territory Archives form a valuable source of material on police life of the day.

S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1977; *NSW Police News*, 1 July 1933; *Queenslander*, 9 March 1933; *Walkabout*, 1 December 1949; *Northern Territory News*, 18 December 1959; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 321 (personal papers), NTRS 226 TS88 (oral history interview).

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

McLACHLAN, GEORGE GALBRAITH (1842–1873), surveyor and gold warden, was born in 1842, a nephew of **G W Goyder**, his mother being a sister of the Surveyor-General.

McLachlan, a senior surveyor, was a member of Goyder’s party that sailed from Adelaide in the coastal barque *Moonta* in December 1868 arriving in Port Darwin on 5 February 1869. The objectives of the expedition were to establish a settlement in the tropical regions of South Australia and to survey the land for future settlement.

The surveyors laid out the site for Palmerston town on the familiar grid pattern of Adelaide. The survey team worked hard and by the end of August 1869 the survey was complete; 665 866 acres (269 675 hectares) of town and country lands had been surveyed. In September 1869, Goyder left for Adelaide leaving behind some of his party to take charge of the new township. One of these was McLachlan who was in charge of the Lands and Survey Office with a salary of 350 Pounds per annum.

In July 1870 McLachlan received instructions from the Government Resident, **Bloomfield Douglas**, to undertake an expedition to Leichhardt’s crossing on the Roper River with a view to future telegraphic extension. The idea was to assess the potential of timber supply for the telegraph poles, easy gradients to assist in the erection of the overland telegraph and the accessibility of water and food for stock. McLachlan set off with five men on a trip that was to take about three and a half months. The party rode out southward from Palmerston, their route taking them down to the Mary River, through hills and ranges to Kekwick Springs and on to the Katherine River. They continued southeast to the Waterhouse where three of the party remained and set up camp. McLachlan, with the remaining members of the party, set off to explore the Roper River region. They found two horses that Stuart’s party had left behind eight years previously. They reached the Chambers River and started homeward for Palmerston on 26 August.

McLachlan’s report was favourable overall; he had located a practicable telegraph route through country well timbered with a permanent adequate water supply suited for pastoral occupation. In addition, he verified positions of two of Stuart’s camps that gave a more accurate picture of that explorer’s tracks. This expedition had taken place in the dry season and therefore he had no indication of how different the region would be when heavy rains and flooding rivers had occurred. It was on this expedition that he discovered gold 55 kilometres east of Pine Creek.

In October of the same year, 1870, McLachlan, at the request of Douglas, travelled in the government schooner *Gulnare* to perform a general survey of the Roper River entrance and its channel. He had with him **McMinn**, who was another of Goyder’s original party. On reaching the Roper, they transferred to a longboat and opened the river highway, exploring and sounding for 150 kilometres to Leichardt’s Bar. There were problems with floods in the wet season and the party was split in different locations, causing havoc with food and supplies. By the time they had returned to Palmerston in March 1871, many were suffering health problems, including scurvy.

McLachlan made several trips of exploration and found small quantities of gold in the Pine Creek region. He was appointed the Territory’s Gold Warden in 1871 and advised new prospectors ‘not to come rushing here unless they provide themselves with stock, drays, provisions, took firearms etc for 12 or 18 months’; he knew that the cost of living was inflated in the gold-rush days in the Northern Territory.

McLachlan contributed to the opening up of the Northern Territory by surveying the land for settlement and for the installation of the Overland Telegraph. It is suggested by Threadgill that had McLachlan’s base in the Roper region been used as headquarters for the construction of the Overland Telegraph instead of faraway Port Darwin, both delay and difficulty could have been reduced. With the opening up of the Roper, stores and gear for the hinterland could have been loaded by boats, thus giving the telegraph teams a shortcut of 240 kilometres south-west to Daly Waters where the line would pass.

For the short time he was in the Northern Territory, February 1869 until his death from lung trouble in 1873, he appears to have been an energetic person of high achievement who foresaw potential in the future of the region.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1981; M J Kerr, *The Surveyors: The Story of the Founding of Darwin*, 1971; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1977; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; B Threadgill, *South Australian Land Exploration, 1856–1880*, 1922.

J STEEL, Vol 1.

McLEOD, WILLIAM (?–?), businessman and publican, was one of the prospectors to initiate the Palmer River goldfield, in the early 1870s. He arrived in Borroloola in 1884 in the vessel *Lucy and Adelaide* with alcohol and general stores. It was his intention to set up in opposition to ‘**Black Jack**’ **Reid**. Unlike Reid, McLeod had paid duty on his supplies, and was thus received genially by the customs officer, **Alfred Searcy**, who assisted McLeod in getting his supplies up the MacArthur River into Borroloola.

McLeod faced no immediate competition from Reid, as Searcy seized Reid’s supplies, and he was returned to Palmerston for sentencing. Although McLeod suffered some hardship—his store was held up on one occasion—he continued to grow, and was very successful. Within two years, McLeod was advertising as McLeod, Hunt & Company and he was the local agent for Burns, Philp and Company Ltd.

By April 1886, a year after setting up his store, MacLeod had built the MacArthur River Hotel. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Palmerston Licensing Bench show McLeod and Reid both applying for their respective publican’s licences. It is probable that competition in that sphere between the two was quite fierce. McLeod sold his hotel in 1887. He later died of malaria, and was buried on the MacArthur River.

J Whitaker, *Borroloola*, 1985.

JUDITH WHITAKER, *Vol 1*.

McMINN, GILBERT ROTHERDALE (1841–1924), surveyor, public servant and Government Resident in the Northern Territory, was born in Newry, County Down, Ireland, and was one of the sons of Joseph McMinn, a bank manager, who had married Martha, *nee* Hamill. When Joseph died in Ireland, his wife sailed to Australia with eight children in *Albatross*, which docked at Port Adelaide in September 1850. There, Gilbert was educated and took up surveying as a career.

A younger brother, William, joined the Northern Territory survey expedition under **B T Finnis** to Escape Cliffs in 1864. He sailed on *Henry Ellis* as a chainman and Gilbert followed on *South Australian* as a labourer in October. William was appointed as a surveyor in 1865, but, distressed at the steamy northern climate, he became one of the unhappy group who secured a seven-metre boat, *Forlorn Hope* and set off for Western Australia. Gilbert returned to Adelaide in 1866 when the survey party under **Manton** was recalled. Gilbert McMinn returned to the north with Goyder’s expedition to Port Darwin in February 1869. Goyder made up six main parties to survey town and rural sections. McMinn headed one, assisted by E M Smith, who later became Surveyor General of South Australia. The bulk of McMinn’s surveys were affected in the Hundred of Strangways and Ayers, on the Elizabeth River and west to Southport.

However, by 1870–71 he had become involved in the preparation for the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line and was appointed by **Todd** to take charge of the central section of the line, between Marchant Springs and Alice Well on the Hugh River. His work as a surveyor on the line in February 1871 led to his discovery of Simpson’s Gap and through this, a practical route east of **John McDouall Stuart**’s course over the MacDonnell Ranges at Brinkley’s Bluff. He completed his section of the work on 15 November and then, under instruction, took over the next northern section from **William Whitfield Mills** by late December 1871.

McMinn played a major part in establishing one of the telegraph station buildings at the Alice Springs waterhole before he left for Adelaide in July 1872, a month before the line was connected near Dunmarra. His diary relates the day-by-day events of that work in 1871–72, including Mills’s naming of Heavitree Gap in commemoration of Mills’s school at Heavitree, Devon.

In June 1873, McMinn became a senior surveyor in the Northern Territory and a supervisor of works at a salary of 700 Pounds. He contributed to W H Marcus’s book in 1876, *South Australia—Its History, Resources and Productions*. McMinn married Anna Gore, daughter of **Alfred Gore** of Palmerston, on 28 November 1874. Their son, Willie died on 10 March 1878 aged seven months. Anna McMinn died on 25 December 1880 and was buried in Darwin with her infant child. McMinn later married Madge Fleetwood Marsh who also predeceased him. After the departure of **E W Price** as Government Resident in 1883, McMinn acted in the position for fourteen months until the arrival of **J Langdon Parsons** in May 1884. His quarterly reports were regarded as practical and succinct. He was also responsible for tracing Stuart’s early exploration routes, including a tree marked by him in 1862 at Point Stuart. Taking leave in 1884, he returned to be appointed Resident Magistrate and Customs Officer in 1886 at Borroloola. His diary again records, dramatically, the setting up of his post in a tent in the newly proclaimed Town of Borroloola.

McMinn left the Territory in May 1888, went to Adelaide and by 1890 to Sydney, where he was appointed a Justice of the Peace and carried out some work on drainage in 1894. He published a paper on it in the *Agricultural Gazette*. In 1895, he worked in Adelaide for the Education Department and then moved on to Western Australia, like many of his fellow surveyors, in search of new opportunity. He finally settled in 1907 in Melbourne and gave a paper to the Hawthorn Literary Society on the Northern Territory. He lived at Hawthorn and later at St Kilda with his daughter, Beulah, a nurse. Aged 83, McMinn died of a heart attack on 18 October 1924 and was buried privately at the Box Hill Cemetery. One son from the first marriage and two daughters and two sons of the second marriage survived him.

McMinn’s significant contribution to works in early Darwin was recognised by Goyder in McMinn Street and McMinn’s Lagoon in the rural area south of Darwin. His family have given his early survey instruments to the Northern Territory Department of Lands, successor to the body he originally headed in 1873.

W H Bagot, *Some Nineteenth Century Adelaide Architects*, 1958; Inst of Engineers (Aust) and Aust Post Office, *The Centenary of the Adelaide–Darwin Overland Telegraph Line*, 1972; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 15, 16 February 1884; *Adelaide Register*, 8 August 1899; *Argus*, 21 October

1924; *Centralian Advocate*, 29 October, 11 February 1971; *SAPP* 1865 (89), 1805–66 (131), 1866–67 (17), 1870–71 (36), 1875 (122), 1877 (103); McMinn papers, SAA; University of Adelaide Archives.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

McRAE, FLORA: see **WORGAN, FLORA**

MEDLONE also known as '**JACK DAVIS**' (c1835–c1914), well-known Aboriginal identity, had a long association with Port Essington from the 1830s until his death sometime after 1914. According to Crawford Pasco, Medlone was about four years old in 1839 when the Port Essington garrison was established. He was said to have become 'something of a pet with the regiment', running messages for the officers and strutting beside squads of marching men in imitation of their drill. It is quite likely that he was the same small boy whom John Sweatman said was nicknamed Jim Crow' and was 'a sort of hanger-on at the mess'. This boy's claim to fame was his habit of 'giving vent to the most horrible blasphemies and obscenities', which he had been taught by 'a certain Lieutenant of the *North Star*'.

With two other young boys, Mijok and Aladyin, Medlone was taken to Hong Kong in 1847 on a merchant ship. The master of the ship died, stranding the three boys in Hong Kong. Miraculously, Crawford Pasco, who had been in naval service at Port Essington until 1841, was posted to China. In Hong Kong, Pasco recognised the boys and managed to arrange for their return to Port Essington on a schooner bound for Torres Strait. **Captain MacArthur**, then commandant at Port Essington, wrote to Pasco advising him that Medlone had arrived but that one of the other boys had died on the voyage.

Shortly after Medlone's return, the Port Essington garrison was abandoned. He became one of a number of well-known Port Essington Aboriginal people who provided a friendly port of call for passing ships and gave valuable service as pilots and interpreters for over half a century. These included 'Jack White' and 'Bob White'.

As a very young man, sometime during the years 1850–70, Medlone joined the crew of a merchant ship and sailed on it for a number of years to quite distant places, becoming a fluent speaker of English. During this time, he acquired the name 'Jack Davis'. He was away so long that he was presumed dead by his people, had forgotten some of his own native language and had aged somewhat. As a result, he was not at first recognised by his people and had some difficulty proving his identity, particularly as this made him the leader of his clan.

From 1870 to 1914, Medlone, as 'Jack Davis', is mentioned by virtually every visitor to Port Essington who recorded their impressions. William Wildey described him as 'the native chief in 1873, noting that he was assisting **Robinson** of *Northern Light* to gather trepang. He became a friend of **John Lewis** when he established his buffalo enterprise at Port Essington in the 1870s.

Lewis took Medlone's son, Nanyenya, with him to Adelaide. This type of action was not uncommon but more often than not ended disastrously. Nanyenya was very popular and full of mischief and finally 'became too much for the people of Adelaide'. For a year or two, Lewis tried unsuccessfully to find a home for Nanyenya on several rural properties.

Lewis then tried to send Nanyenya to Melbourne but the young lad escaped and returned on foot to Lewis's property at Burra. The next year, Lewis put Nanyenya in the charge of Captain Cadell who was sailing back to Port Essington. Nanyenya jumped ship in Gladstone, Queensland. With great expense and difficulty, Lewis eventually managed to have him brought back to Adelaide. Regrettably, before another ship left for the Northern Territory, Nanyenya became ill and, after four months in hospital, died in Adelaide.

Medlone lived to a ripe old age and was still alive in 1914 when **Elsie Masson** visited Port Essington. She described him as 'a stooping, sightless old blackfellow, the last of his race' and the last 'living soul in the Northern Territory who remembers the days of the settlement at Port Essington'. He could still 'mumble out the story of the settlement', repeat the names of the officers and feebly endeavour to mimic the voice of the drill sergeant. So, said Elsie Masson, did the 'long-forgotten tones of some Cockney Sergeant-Major linger ghost-like for a few more years in the voice of an ancient North Australian Aboriginal'.

A Searcy, *In Australian Tropics*, 1909; J Allen & P Corris (eds), *The Journal of John Sweatman*, 1977; E R Masson, *An Untamed Territory*, 1915; W Wildey, *Australasia and the Oceanic Region*, 1873; Crawford Pasco, correspondence, SAA; John Lewis papers SAA; George Lambrick letterbooks, SAA, NSW.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

MEMORIMBO, also known as '**FLASH POLL**' (c1836–c 1907) was a well-known and popular resident of Port Essington from the 1830s until 1907. The 'Flash Poll' described by almost all visitors to Port Essington in the second half of the last century was probably the young Aboriginal girl whom Sweatman called Memorimbo in 1846. According to Sweatman, she was then about ten years old and employed as a servant by George and **Emma Lambrick**, and used to 'wait at table wearing a sort of petticoat'. This is probably the same person whom George Lambrick referred to as young Emma's nursemaid although we cannot be certain. The nickname 'Flash Poll' was not acquired until later and there is conflicting evidence of the age of Flash Poll. The Lambricks may have employed other local girls at other times, one likely contender being Marilima, sister of **Medlone** ('Jack Davis'), described by Crawford Pasco as being about three years old in 1839 and obviously well known to him at the garrison. There is also the further complication that Aboriginal people possess and use more than one name.

Memorimbo would have been about 37 years old when 'Flash Poll' was first being described in the early 1870s, by which time she seems to have acquired her nickname, no doubt through the friendly association of Port Essington people with visiting survey ships and other vessels. In 1872 or 1873 she was, according to

William Wildey ‘sixty years of age, but she does not appear to be more than forty. Her hair is but just getting grey, and she is as active as a girl of fifteen.’ This would be a strange description if sixty were only a guess, so this may be based on some information that would make her 30 years old when the Lambricks employed Memorimbo. On the other hand, John Lewis says Flash Poll in 1873 ‘looked about fifty years of age and was very active and straight as a die’. She told Lewis that she had been ‘a servant of Captain Lambrick’. [Alfred Searcy](#) described her as having been a young woman in Port Essington.

Flash Poll spoke English quite well, and liked to impress visitors by reciting the Lord’s Prayer, learned perhaps from [Father Confalonieri](#) and following it with a string of expletives (learned, no doubt, from some less religious members of the garrison). She was always described as a happy sort of person who liked to cause a laugh by donning western clothes, riding a horse or generally ‘showing off. She was particularly friendly with Searcy, who regularly sent her gifts and to whom she willed her skull (although it is not known whether he ever received it).

When Searcy knew Flash Poll in the 1880s she was a large, buxom woman and very agile. She had known the officers at Port Essington very well and told Searcy many interesting and humorous stories about them and about life at the garrison. It is indeed a pity that her memories were never recorded. Whoever she was in 1846, Flash Poll lived to a ripe old age, dying at Port Essington about 1907.

J Allen & P Corris (eds), *The Journal of John Sweatman*, 1977; A Searcy, *In Australian Tropics*, 1909; W Wildey, *Australasia and the Oceanic Region*, 1873; Crawford Pasco, correspondence SAA; John Lewis papers SAA; George Lambrick’s letterbooks, NSWAA.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

MIJANU (LONG TOMMY or TRACKER TOMMY) (c1900–1978), stockman and police tracker, was born about the turn of the century, at Newcastle Waters.

Mijanu, known also as Long Tommy or Tracker Tommy, of the Jabijinnginja (or Jampijinpa) subsection, grew up in the area of Newcastle Waters and Powell Creek, the next telegraph station to the south. He was six foot four inches (193 centimetres) tall, with a fine strong physique, even in old age. He was quietly spoken, with a ready smile, and remembered by the Europeans who knew him as ‘one of Nature’s gentlemen’.

As the anthropologist [W E H Stanner](#) recorded when he interviewed him (as ‘Long Tommy Mitjanu’) in 1934, his traditional country was west of Banka Banka station, the country of his patrilineal Dreaming *Japurla-japurla* or *Karu* ‘Laughing Boys’, and his matrilineal *ngurlu* was *yalawan*. His languages were Mudburra and Jingulu, and he knew Warumungu and Warlmanpa as well as English.

When young, Mijanu worked for pastoralists Fred Kennedy and Bill Riley at Elkedra. Riley had been linesman-stockman at Powell Creek. Mijanu, who later returned to stock work at Newcastle Waters, was a good horseman, a skill essential also in police work, even after the Second World War. Soon after returning to Newcastle Waters, he began regular work as Police tracker when recruited by [Constable Muldoon](#) at Newcastle Waters in the 1930s. However, Patrol Officer [T G H Strehlow](#)’s 1938 census does not record him at Newcastle Waters or other places along the Overland Telegraph line.

Mijanu had been recruited by Mounted [Constable Murray](#) in April 1929 to assist the group that recovered the bodies of Anderson and Hitchcock from the *Kookaburra* forced landing and so appears in the group photograph taken in front of the *Kookaburra* by W N Berg. It originally appeared in *The Daily Guardian* of 28 June 1929 and it was reproduced by Davis in 1980 and the author in 1982.

This was just one of many occasions when his bushmanship was used by officials. In April 1936, a Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Dragon Rapide aircraft made a forced landing in dense scrub north of Number 11 Bore on the Murrnaji track. Once the site was located by another RAAF aircraft ‘black tracker Long Tommy of Tennant’s Creek’ was involved in the subsequent recovery, on 23–24 April, of the three crew.

In the early 1940s, Mijanu worked for a time for Max Schober, the publican at Newcastle Waters. Mijanu and his wife Ruby worked at Newcastle Waters Police Station most of the period between 1945 and 1948 under Constables [Syd Bowie](#) and David Mofflin, and relieving Constable John Gordon. Mijanu was with relieving Constable [Gordon Stott](#) when he moved the Police Station from Newcastle Waters to the new village of Elliott after the war. Trackers were provided accommodation at the Police Station, but as was usual, Mijanu and his wife chose to live at the Aboriginal camp. The work of a Tracker mostly was not that of tracking. As described by the Administrator in 1951, ‘For the greater part of his time he assists in the maintenance of police horse plants, attends to Police Station and yard upkeep and acts as liaison between the Aborigines in the district and the Police officer’. This particularly occurred when accompanying police on patrol, often for weeks at a time. Mijanu however was also a tracker in the classic sense. One time, probably in the mid 1940s, working with Constable Gordon Stott, and after several days difficult tracking over stony ground and through long grass, he located the body of a white road worker who perished out from Number Three bore near Larrimah.

Before the Second World War, Aboriginal employees were not paid money, but were usually credited with funds in a trust account, which they could draw on with their employer’s assistance. Indeed this practice was common until the late 1960s, especially away from towns. Mijanu would use his credit to get clothing and other goods from the local store, or on trips to town (Katherine or Tennant Creek) with his ‘boss’. As was typical of Police Trackers, Mijanu expressed his loyalty to individual police officers rather than to the police as a whole. Policemen he worked for fondly recall Mijanu and his good nature, honesty and reliability. One recalls Mijanu being very sick for several weeks in 1945, from being sung, and helping him recover by dosing him with a pannikin of castor oil. Ron brown relates how ‘Long Tommy’ watched out for him during a fracas at Newcastle Waters.

At Elliott Mijanu had a son, Jamie, who was born on 10 June 1950 and who died on 20 August 1990. In 1960 at Elliott the linguist Kenneth Hale recorded Mijanu, and recalls him being ‘very clear and quick with language’.

He provided introductory vocabulary and sentences in both Mudburra and Jingulu: the first tape-recording of those languages.

By the mid 1960s, Mijanu was a pensioner. During the period 1967–1971 Granton Harrison and Rod V Liebknecht from Adelaide contacted Long Tommy at Elliott, and employed him as a guide on their prospecting trips along the 1928 railway survey line between Murrarji and Cattle Creek. Their area of interest was towards where the *Kookaburra* made its forced landing, which Mijanu knew first-hand as has been noted above. It is notable that none of the searchers for the *Kookaburra* made use of Mijanu (or any other of Murray's 1929 Aboriginal guides). One of Harrison's photographs showing Mijanu is published in the *Kookaburra* book by Davis and Smith, who do not mention that he is also in Berg's 1929 photograph at the *Kookaburra* site.

At times from 1966 until his death, Mijanu worked at Elliott with linguist Neil Chadwick in his study of Jingulu and other languages of the area.

On 29 July and 10 August 1977 historian Peter Read, whose subsequent book includes a portrait of 'Tommy Tracker', interviewed Mijanu and his account of what he may have justly considered his greatest tracking achievement, finding the body near Larrimah with Constable Stott.

He died at his hut at the Top Camp at Elliott, and was buried in the Elliott cemetery on 15 June 1978. He was survived by his elderly daughter Dolly Nangala (Julpungali), and his late son's twin children, Terence Thompson and Melissa Thompson.

Advertiser, 25 April 1936; Australian Archives, letter from Administrator to Secretary, Department of Territories, 21 December 1951, CRS F1 1949/408; R Brown & P Studdy-Clift, *Darwin Dilemmas*, 1992; N Chadwick, 'Survey Materials', 1973, 'A Descriptive Study of the Djingili language', 1975; P Davis & D Smith, *Kookaburra*, 1980; K L Hale, Mutpurra and Tyingilu field notes, Elliott, 1959–60, AIATSIS Library, MS 3034, Tape LA 4555; D Nash, 'Aboriginal Knowledge of the Aeroplane *Kookaburra*', *Aboriginal History*, 1982; *Northern Territory Government Gazette*, no 19B, 13 May 1957; F Nottle, *Diary of Kookaburra Recovery Trip*, 1929; J & P Read, 'A View of the Past', 1979; P & J Read, *Long Time, Olden Time*, 1992.

DAVID NASH, Vol 3.

MILLER, ALICE MARY (LULLA) also LINKLATER (1907–1974), house girl and children's nurse, was born in 1907, the daughter of **William Linklater**, known as Billy Miller, and an Aboriginal woman, Hollowjacks Alice, at OT Downs Station, Northern Territory. A legendary Territory bushman and author of the classic *Gather No Moss*, an epic early pastoral story of the Territory, Linklater later related that his adopted name was given by the Aboriginal group 'Yonta Wonta', whose members said he 'bin die and jump up white fella' and their version of his name was 'Billamilla', which meant waterhole and that that place was his spiritual home. As a young child at the Kahlin Compound in Darwin Alice Miller was cared for by Superintendent MacDonald and his wife Marian as a young house girl. The young MacDonald children could not pronounce her name Alice so she became 'Lulla' to them and later to the **Lovegrove**, Fawcett and Fitzer families and others who knew her. As a child, she confronted Billy Miller in a Darwin street and asked him if he was her father. When she told him her mother's name and how old she was, he agreed he was. Later the little half-caste girl used to greet him with a wave and yell 'Hello, Dad', bringing his paternity into account.

Miller worked with the Styles girls, Lillian, Myrtle and Gertie, in 1921, living in Darwin's main street between Brown's Mart and the 'Tin Bank'. Later she looked after the young Lovegroves at Alice Springs and Katherine as policeman John Lovegrove, who had married Lillian Styles, was posted to various stations. In the late 1920s and 1930s, she looked after the young Fawcetts, children of Jim Fawcett and his wife Myrtle, one of the Styles sisters. After 1928, Miller 'grew up' the Fawcett children during the time that their father was Manager of Jolly and Company in Darwin. When the war clouds loomed in December 1941 and an evacuation was ordered from Darwin, Miller went down on *Koolama* to Perth, Western Australia, with Myrtle Fawcett and they were in Wyndham on the way there when Pearl Harbour was bombed on 7 December 1941. Miller worked at the Saint John of God Hospital in Perth.

Miller had a brother, George, but he also went under the name of his father, 'Billy Miller', and was managing OT Downs Station when he was killed after falling from a horse at about 40 years of age. She also had a cousin with whom she was friendly, Madge Williams (also Cooper).

Returning to the Northern Territory after the war, she continued her associations with the Fawcetts and their descendants. In 1961 she went to live at Ooloo Station near the Daly River as the children of Pam Rixon, *nee* Fawcett, grew up there. She enjoyed fishing and crabbing and was a keen shot with her .22 rifle. She loved living in outback locations and the billabongs of the Daly River were part of her life in the Top End as she 'grew up' two generations of Territorians. She was very fond of reading and sewing.

Alice Miller died in Perth on 25 March 1974 and many Territorians particularly the Fawcetts and the Lovegroves, gathered to pay their respects at her graveside near the Ooloo homestead. She was, for them, 'Lulla of the Fairy Tales'.

B Miller, *The Magic Snake*, 1941; W Linklater & L Tapp, *Gather No Moss*, 1968; Certificate G Miller; personal papers, A M Miller; correspondence, Rixon family, Ooloo.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

MILLNER, JAMES STOKES (1830–1875), medical officer and Government Resident in the Northern Territory, was born on 27 November 1830 at Wednesbury in Staffordshire. His father, Thomas Millner, who married Eleanor Stokes in 1827, was a timber merchant. He owned the Phoenix Timber Yard, Ryder's Green, West Bromwich, Staffordshire. Millner had one brother, Thomas, who came to South Australia in 1857 with his wife and family,

and he had three sisters. He arrived in South Australia as a ship's doctor on *Lismoyne* in 1855, and at first lived at Nile Street, Glenelg.

In 1863, when in practice at Angaston, South Australia, and also surgeon to the Adelaide Regiment, Millner applied for the position of Colonial Surgeon, Health Officer and Immigration Agent in the Northern Territory, about to be settled by the South Australian government. He stated that 'apart from nine years in country medical practice' he had spent 'several years afloat, in the Arctic regions, whaling and in the Mail and Emigration Services'. He stated that in addition to his medical qualifications he was capable of acting as coroner, registrar of births and deaths, postmaster, etc. He was advised that his application would be considered when any appointments were made, but was not appointed to the abortive Escape Cliffs settlement.

He practised next in Yankalilla, where he was well-respected in the district, and it was there that he left his wife Esther and his three children, when in January 1870 he 'led a relief expedition' to the Northern Territory, after **Goyder's** surveys of the Darwin area in 1809. He evidently considered that the conditions in the Northern Territory were quite unfit for women and children.

George Goyder returned to Adelaide in September 1869 leaving **Dr Peel** in charge until January 1870, when Dr Millner arrived from Port Adelaide in *Kohinoor*. Peel departed on 6 February 1870 and Dr Millner held the commission of Acting Government Resident and Special Magistrate, Medical Officer and Protector of Aborigines. His salary was 500 Pounds per annum. The population was forty-three which included three surveyors, five policemen and five carpenters or masons. Goyder had established a base camp consisting of tents and shacks of stringy-bark and paper-bark. Sawn timber was scarce and when **Bloomfield Douglas** was appointed Government Resident in April 1870 and decided to bring his family with him on the *Bengal*, it was necessary to build some better housing. The huts that were built were rough, with pressed mud floor; the windows were sheets of iron, propped open.

When Bloomfield Douglas arrived on 24 June, the population rose to 60. Dr Millner then became Colonial Surgeon and Protector of Aborigines. He was overworked in his medical practice, but his reputation was high and he often had fifty patients in his care. He kept a rough journal of the day-to-day events of the early 1870s, which gave an insight into the early times of the settlement, as well as a record of the medical problems of the colony and some of the first contacts with the Larakia Aborigines.

Port Darwin was away from the regular sea routes, mail being to Kupang in Dutch Timor, 650 kilometres away. At one time, there was no communication with the outside world for nine months, except for the arrival of a telegraph line construction party, until Bloomfield Douglas sent *Gulnare* to Kupang to collect mail and stores. Leather rotted in the humidity of the wet season and white ants destroyed wooden structures. The discovery of the goldfields brought hundreds of miners. In 1873 Bloomfield Douglas joined the prospectors and Dr Millner was again Acting Government Resident until the arrival of **George Byng Scott** in October 1873.

Mrs Esther Millner died at the end of December 1872 after a short illness, but it was not until early in 1874 that Dr Millner was able to return to South Australia.

On April 1874, he married Elizabeth Woods, the youngest daughter of the late J F F Woods, of 'The Coppice', Nottingham, England. They were married at Gawler and returned to Palmerston with the three surviving children of his first marriage, two daughters, Esther Eustace, aged 12, Grace Maud, four years, and his son William Sturt, aged ten. They lived on Section 672 on the Esplanade at Palmerston, a block now occupied by the British Australian Telegraph Museum Building (Lyons Cottage) and at one time held by the National Trust.

By the end of 1874, the population had grown to 600 white residents and 180 Chinese and Malays. Stores had been opened, but there was no school, water cost ten shillings a load, and its cleanliness was not guaranteed. Law and order was made difficult by the living conditions, many disputes at the goldfields, and by the residents often refusing to pay taxes.

In February 1875, Dr Millner and all his family sailed on *Gothenburg*, returning to Adelaide because of illness. *Gothenburg* was a steamer of 500 tonnes, with 86 passengers and 38 crew, and an experienced master, Captain Pearce. In the early hours of 24 February, the ship struck a reef in Flinders Passage, off the Queensland coast, gale force winds made it impossible to free her and 102 drowned in the wreck, swept from the deck and the boats. All the Millner family perished.

The chancel in the Anglican Church at Yankalilla is dedicated to the Millner children. A street and suburb of Darwin are named after James Stokes Millner and it is believed that George McLachlan named features south of Darwin after the family.

P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1968; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 6 March 1875; *Adelaide Register*, December 1872; SAA, 790/977/ 1863, 80/1870.

ME DIVE, Vol 1.

MILLS, WILLIAM WHITFIELD (1844–1916), surveyor, was born on the 19 November 1844, at Norley Street, Plymouth, Devon, a few streets from Plymouth Hoe. He was the oldest of seven children, four boys and three girls, born to Josias and Elizabeth Land Mills, a daughter of Alexander Grant Whitfield, a solicitor and freeman of Plymouth. Josias Mills was variously described from time to time, as an auctioneer, a 'fancy warehouseman' or dealer, a paperhanger and 'fancy dealer'.

Mills was educated at Heavitree School about a mile east from Exeter on the road to London. He was a member of the Church of England. On leaving school, Mills became a printer.

On 23 January 1866, he sailed from Plymouth in the 930-tonne three-masted sailing ship *Atalanta*, and arrived at Port Adelaide on 15 April 1866. He had four Pounds in his possession on his arrival. He joined the South

Australian Government Service in June 1866, in the Survey Department. By December 1868, he had become a second-class surveyor and was selected by **Goyder**, the South Australian Surveyor-General, to accompany his expedition to Port Darwin to survey town and country sites at Palmerston. During the survey two members of the party were attacked by Aborigines and one died. The survey was completed on 21 August 1869. Dominic Daly, one of the surveyors wrote in his diary 'all surveyors were agreed that they would never undergo the same trials and dangers again for similar compensation', which had been 20 per month.

In 1870, an Act was passed by the South Australian Parliament authorising the building of the Overland Telegraph between Port Augusta and Darwin. **Charles Todd**, the South Australian Post-Master General, raised a party of 15 officers and men to erect the central section of the telegraph line. This section was to be divided into A, B, C, D and E sub-sections, each approximately 190 kilometres long. Of the five surveyors appointed to supervise these sub-sections three, Harvey, **McMinn** and **Knuckey**, had been with Goyder's Darwin expedition. Undaunted by his Darwin experience, Mills accepted an appointment as second in command of C sub-section. Todd was later to say 'The successful carrying out of the Overland Telegraph Line was largely due to Mr Goyder, the experience of the men he had trained being of great value.'

C sub-section men left Adelaide on 5 September 1870. J Beckwith was in charge. However, by 21 November Beckwith's health, which had been declining all the time since leaving Adelaide, was such that Todd decided he was not fit enough to continue and wrote to Mills, then just 26, advising him of his appointment to Beckwith's post, with McMinn in overall charge of B and C sub-sections, and that 'in a work of such magnitude and difficulty as that before you, success depends on the example and tact of the officer immediately in charge of the men'.

The lives of the members of his party were largely in the hands of Mills who had no one to call on for immediate help and who had 'to watch over the health and morals of the party, to regularly suppress gambling and endeavour as far as possible to promote all rational amusements'. The base camp for the central section was to be the junction of the Hugh and Finke rivers.

Mills, with two other surveyors and a party of four, arrived at the base camp towards the end of January 1871. Mills went on to find a waggon route through the MacDonnell Ranges as, until this was done to enable supplies to be taken forward, the parties could not leave the base camp to which Mills returned on 1 March, and left again on the seventh.

On 11 March 1871, in his own words, he 'again arrived in the MacDonnell Range and was successful in finding a pass about thirty miles east of Stuart's Track with numerous waterholes and springs, the principal of which is Alice Spring, which I had the honour of naming after Mrs Todd'. He named the pass Heavitree Gap after his school in Devon. Despite later claims made for **John Ross**—who never himself made any such assertion—there is no doubt that Mills was the discoverer of the Alice Springs.

After discovering Alice Springs, Mills pushed on. He named the Everard Plains after the minister controlling the Northern Territory, Burt Creek, Forster's Creek, Mount Forster, and Anthony's Well after members of his section and possibly Harry Creek after a young brother. He also named the Laira River after a river in Devon. He named nothing after himself.

On 27 July 1871, Todd instructed Mills to complete his section and then go north to assist Harvey with E section, and then go north again to assist with the northern section that was behind schedule. In December, a group of Aborigines attacked Burt, Mills's second-in-command, by throwing spears and lighting the grass, but the line was completed on 22 August 1872. Mills was paid a bonus of 50 Pounds for his work as 'Overseer and Surveyor' plus an additional 100 Pounds for getting C section completed on time.

On two occasions in 1873, Mills made unsuccessful applications for appointments in the public service. He returned to the Northern Territory and mined the quartz reefs and alluvial land near Sandy Creek. He then practised as a surveyor at Palmerston, the Shackle and Yam Creek.

Mills returned to Adelaide and practised as a surveyor until 1881. In 1881 and 1882, he was the manager of a camel carrying company in the north of South Australia and the Northern Territory.

On 6 June 1881, with Charles M Short, a son of the then Bishop of Adelaide as second-in-command, and five Afghan camel drivers, Mills left with a team of thirty camels from Beltana in South Australia, heading for Northampton in Western Australia, where he had been engaged to take charge of the transport section connected with the construction of the telegraph line from Northampton to Roebourne. He arrived on 25 November 1882, the camels having been fourteen days without water on two occasions. This line was finished in October 1883.

Mills then practised as a surveyor in Adelaide and Western Australia, where he went prospecting at Widgiemooltha in 1914. Mills died on 18 August 1916 and is buried there. His fellow surveyor on the Overland Telegraph, R Knuckey, also died at Widgiemooltha. Mills is remembered in a street name in the Darwin suburb of Rapid Creek.

W W Mills, articles in *Adelaide Observer* 5 & 12 January 1884; W W Mills, report to Todd, 12 December 1872, SAA 140/47; Letter from Dominic Daly to his sister Harriet, 27 September 1869, SAA 984; M C Hartwig, 'The Progress of White Settlement in the Alice Springs District and its Effects upon the Aboriginal Inhabitants, 1860–1894', unpublished PhD Thesis, Adelaide University, 1965; F J Gillen, Camp jottings, 22 April 1901; Diary of Surveyor-General Goyder, 5 February 1869; Charles Todd's letter to Mills, 25 November, 1870 (SAA 140/23; MCNT 55/1907; Major-General G W Symes 'The Penetration of the MacDonnell Ranges with respect to the discovery and naming of Alice Springs', RGSA SA Br, April 1957.

ELLIOTT WHITFIELD MILLS, Vol 1.

MILNER, HELEN: see **PHILLIPPS, HELEN**

MILNER, RALPH (?-?), pastoralist, came from Kopperamanna Station in South Australia. His wife Phoebe died in the mid 1860s whilst they were enduring a drought somewhere near Cooper's Creek. In September 1870 Ralph Milner, accompanied by his brother John set off for the Northern Territory hoping to claim a reward from the South Australian government for taking the first sheep overland to the Territory.

The party consisted of Ralph and John Milner, Kirk, Thompson, Lamb, Pybus, Wooding, Brown, Ashwin, and two Aborigines. They took with them one wagon, two bullock drays, two carts, 12 months' provisions, materials for 50 packhorses, 300 horses, 7 000 sheep and 25 dogs (10 sheep dogs and 15 stag hounds). Each man was to be paid 25 Shillings a day plus a share of half the reward promised by the South Australian government. This indicates that Milner was a generous man. The reward was never paid and may even have been more a rumour than a promise. The expense required for such a journey indicates that the Milner family were relatively wealthy. The party kept to the Overland Telegraph Line as far as it went and then relied on **John McDouall Stuart**'s journal for the rest of the journey. Ashwin records that Stuart's journal proved fairly accurate.

Their journey was not without adventure and tragedy. On their way north they encountered the Finke River after 130 kilometres without water. The Finke was dry when the party arrived. However, due to rain upstream the riverbed was covered with more than 2 metres of water and was 400 metres wide the next day. Milner decided to swim the river after it did not subside. The sheep were washed downstream and many were lost in the quicksand. At Alice Springs the party made camp with the surveyor **Mills**. Disaster lay ahead at Wauchope Creek. The sheep ate the poisonous native *Gastrolobium* plant and approximately two thousand of them died by morning.

If this was not enough, there was another, more grave, tragedy awaiting the party at Attack Creek further north. Ralph Milner and some of the party went ahead after the camp was established to explore, while John Milner stayed behind to mind the sheep and camp. A tall strong-looking Aborigine was invited into the camp by John, over the protests of Brown and Thompson. Ashwin later recalled that with no provocation by John, the Aborigine clubbed him on the head. John died as assistance came. Ashwin recorded that the camp was a miserable place for a week or so as Milner took the death of his brother hard. John was buried and a carpenter later erected a gravestone.

Later at a camp at Powell's Creek the dogs were let loose on the Aborigines and they killed one more whom Milner believed to have been following the party. Wet season camp was established at Red Lily Lagoon near the Roper River. The party, joined by Knuckey, lived on cold water and meat. Stores from the Post Master General's Store at the Roper River landing supplemented this. Christmas 1871 was spent at the Red Lily camp. In February 1872, some of the sheep were sold to Patterson of the Overland Telegraph party to feed the workers who had been living on tinned beef and water. The sheep were delivered to them at Bitter Springs. At this time, that Milner suffered a bout of rheumatism. He had previously suffered from rheumatic fever throughout his life.

In March of 1872, Milner arrived in Port Darwin with a broken arm. He was treated by the Acting Government Resident, **Dr J S Millner**, who also happened to be the medical officer. Milner applied for a pastoral lease of 1 500 square kilometres on Cox Peninsula but was defeated by an appeal by a 'Government House man', and Mr Cue. Milner was described as a fair man. He offered support to Ashwin and others of his party who wished to pursue new opportunities in the north such as gold prospecting.

Milner's expedition proved that there was a stock route for either cattle or ship through Central Australia. The poor condition of the sheep and the poison grass episode were valuable lessons for future pastoralists in the north, emphasising the harshness of the northern environment.

It is believed that Milner later went to New Zealand and died a much more prosperous man.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *Australian Encyclopedia*, vol 6, 1976; A C Ashwin, 'Recollections of Ralph Milner's Expeditions from Kopperamanna to the Northern Territory with sheep and horses in 1870-1871 with an account of his subsequent experiences in the Northern Territory'; *Proceedings of the RGSA*, SA vol 5, pr 32.

HELEN FAVELLE, Vol 1.

MILNER, THOMAS (TOM) (1916-1985), sailor, master mariner and marine surveyor, was born on 13 July 1916, one of two sons of Herbert Edmund Milner and Frances Ridgway, *nee* Morcombe. Tom was born in Adelaide but his father developed tuberculosis and a drier climate was recommended. About 1919, when he was about three, the family moved to Waikerie on the Murray River where they developed an orchard. Tom was later to recount how fascinated he was by the Italian migrants who settled in the area, by their self-sufficiency and their customs. He tells of seeing grapes trodden in the traditional way and of hearing opera on the night air.

He attended the Waikerie primary school and decided to join the Royal Australian Navy (RAN). He sat the entrance examination in 1929 and was one of 12 'boy entrants' to be accepted that year and the only one from South Australia. His initial training was at HMAS *Flinders* (a shore station) at Westernport, Victoria where as a cadet he was 'bullied in the traditional way'. He was promoted Midshipman in May 1934 and began his sea service in HMAS *Canberra* and HMAS *Australia*. He was then posted to the United Kingdom for further training. In 1936 when playing rugby in a Service match at Alexandria in Egypt, he was kicked in the right temple. He continued to play but later collapsed and a brain haemorrhage was diagnosed. He recovered sufficiently to return to HMAS *Flinders*. He was posted back to the Gunnery School at Greenwich in London where he got mumps. He was invalided out of the RAN, 15 per cent permanently unfit, in 1939.

He was refused entry to the RAN when war broke out and in 1940, he joined the mercantile marine and sailed as an Able Seaman on Trinder Anderson-Manz line's *Tricura*. Although there were initial doubts from the Director of Marine that his naval time counted towards the sea-time required for his Second Mate's certificate he was asked to sit for the examination in Sydney. The chief examiner encouraged him but until the doubt had been resolved Tom did not know whether to 'swot or have a good time' as he was then courting the girl who became his wife.

Tom got his ticket, was promoted to Fourth Mate, and then to Third Mate in the United States. His ship had crossed the Pacific and then joined a convoy across the Atlantic. The ship returned to Melbourne in June 1942 and there was a letter from [Helen Mary Phillipps](#) to say that she had completed her medical examinations. As Tom put it, 'he had a sort of loose arrangement with her that if she got through her exams they might consider matrimony'. He managed to get a message through to her hospital in Sydney that he was in Melbourne (but didn't actually speak to her) and as soon as she heard he was in Melbourne Helen got on a train. They were married the next day, 29 June 1942. After only a few more weeks in Australian waters, Tom's ship headed back to Europe via Panama. Merchant ships continued to cross and recross the Atlantic, despite horrendous losses, and in 1944, Tom's ship took the first fresh meat seen in Malta in 18 months.

On VE Day, 6 June 1945, he was in Wellington, New Zealand. By then, he was Mate and serving with Burns Philp in the Christmas Island phosphate trade. He sat for his foreign going master's certificate (now called class 1) in 1946. In 1947, he took a tug and barge on a delivery voyage to Singapore. On his return to Australia, he landed at Darwin and overnights at the Qantas rest home at Berrimah.

In 1947, he sailed as navigator aboard *Mistral* in the first official Sydney to Hobart yacht race and sailed in the race again the following year.

Between 1949 and 1954, in what would have been an unusual situation at the time, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Administration employed both Tom and his doctor wife in their respective professions. He was master of HMCS *Neinimanoa*, which serviced all the islands of the group.

They returned to Australia in 1954 and he joined the Australian Shipping Board, the predecessor of the Australian National Line. He was appointed to *Wongara* as Second Mate as it ran to Darwin and both he and Helen liked hot climates. Helen was appointed to establish a school medical service and she came to Darwin in October 1954. Tom remained at sea, Darwin now being his home port. Darwin was then, according to him, 'A proper scruffy town... not a lot of females around'. There was only one berth in the port, a timber wharf built during the war, the new Stokes Hill wharf not being completed until 1956. On one occasion, a ship waited 32 days for a berth though regular traders had priority.

In 1957 while on a period of leave, due to a damaged knee, and with the Harbourmaster 'screaming to be relieved' he took on the relief role. At the time, Helen was living in a flat at the Sister's quarters at the old hospital (later part of the University student residences) and Tom was the 'only male legally permitted to sleep there'. The acting appointment continued for some years, Tom was the first master mariner in the position since the days of [Henry Rolfe Marsh](#). Among a myriad of tasks that falls to the Harbourmaster in Darwin, pilotage is one of the most important. It is generally accepted that Darwin is a difficult pilotage port. Not only is there a large rise and fall of tide but also the currents are unusual and very variable. Tom found that his predecessor's methods of pilotage did not suit him so he set about to learn about the tidal conditions by means of little bits of bamboo floating in the water and developed manoeuvres to suit. He was not the first, nor the last, Harbourmaster to learn to pilot in Darwin by this means. In addition, there is the diversity of ships. As he put it, 'Each ship is different, some just don't behave, and you always have to be wide awake'.

The Northern Territory Port Authority was established in 1963 and Tom was appointed the first Chairman. He was very critical of the enabling legislation that had been written by Crown Law Officers without reference to expert maritime advice. The Darwin waterfront had never had a particularly good reputation. The wharfies were on a go-slow between 1967-1970, one gang managing to break all previous records for dilatoriness by only shifting 'one ton per gang hour'. It was the role of the Port Authority to promote the port but as Tom put it, 'Darwin wharf labourers were always a law unto themselves and the answer always was "not with that shower of bastards on your waterfront"'. He was Chairman until 1975 and a member until 1980; he was the last master mariner to serve on the Board. Subsequently in order to satisfy the Transport and Works bureaucrats the Port Authority was renamed the Darwin Port Authority, a new Act was put in place, and what had been a statutory authority effectively became just another arm of government.

In 1960, Tom had been appointed a Lloyds Surveyor and he began the first marine surveying firm in the Northern Territory. He employed Knut Melbye in 1970 and took him into partnership in 1973. About 1982 Ron Halstead joined the firm as a partner.

Tom was acting Harbourmaster when the Fujita Salvage team arrived in 1959. He always had an excellent relationship with the Japanese and in 1977 was appointed Japanese Consul for a term of five years. At the time, there were about 25 Japanese families in Darwin. Other names were put forward but Tom Milner was the choice of the Japanese authorities. In 1983, he became a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his services to shipping and to the community. He was Chairman of the Automobile Association of the Northern Territory between 1970 and 1984 and he was an active member of the Returned Services League. He had a long association with the Darwin Sailing Club, for the last decade of his life he was Vice Patron, and he was a life member of the Darwin Club.

After Helen's death on 14 May 1973, Tom continued to live alone in their home on the Esplanade at the corner of McLachlan Street, his companion his dog 'Roly'. The marriage had been very happy. He was not above describing himself as 'Mr Phillipps' on medical occasions and he was to comment often how much he missed 'the old turkey'. During Cyclone Tracy, the house was damaged but rebuilt in its original style. When the area was resumed so that the Beaufort Hotel could be built Tom, after putting up a valiant fight, had the house moved to the end of Stirling Place, Larrakeyah.

He knew he had cancer for about two years but met his end with dignity and courage. 'The termites are at me again', he would say. He died on 5 January 1985 at the age of 68 and was buried in the McMillans Road cemetery. At the next sittings of the Legislative Assembly on 27 February 1985 the Minister for Ports and Fisheries, Steve

Hatton, in recording his death noted that he was ‘a man of integrity... held in enormous respect by all who came into contact with him. He had a strong determination and interest in seeing a job well done. He did not side-step a fight on an issue when his opinion was contradicted. However, to his merit, even his opponents would never deny him the respect he deserved because he always endeavoured to be fair in his dealings’. Among the many other tributes his partner, Knut Melbye commented, ‘He was a gentleman among gentlemen. Darwin is the poorer for his passing’.

T Dahlenburg, ‘Great Gentleman of the Top End’, *Sunday Territorian*, 6 January 1985; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS386; *Northern Territory News*, 30 September 1963, 2 January 1985; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 27 February 1985; personal information.

HELEN J WILSON and RICHARD J WILSON, *Vol 3*.

MINCONA: see [MINYANA, TJAKAMARA](#)

MINJANA: see [MINYANA, TJAKAMARA](#)

MINJENA: see [MINYANA, TJAKAMARA](#)

MINYANA, TJAKAMARA also known as ‘KING’ MINYANA, and with variant phonetic spellings such as MINYINA, MINJANA, MINJENA and MINIONA (c1882–1969), was one of the greatest leaders of the Warlpiri ‘tribe’. His parents were Yangganu Tjupurula (father) and Ginnula Napananga, and he was born at Mount Singleton, probably in 1882, approximately 400 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs. Through his own conception site and various rights inherited through his ancestors, he was a key man associated with Dreaming sites and travelling routes such as the Kangaroo, Possum, sweet Acacia gum, known as Mantala, Flying Ant, Yala ‘Bush Potato’ and Yarapiri Snake. He was one of four brothers, all of whom remain revered by their descendants; these others were Moiu, Purjungu and Minawara.

In his youth, Minyana travelled the country of closest association with his parents—approximately 100 kilometres radius from Mount Singleton, but on occasions twice that distance. His intelligence was recognised early in his life by the elders of his father’s and grandfather’s generation, who eventually chose to instruct him in the role of medicine man—although this doctor’s role was not fully developed until after his initiation to manhood and many other adult experiences.

He became an expert hunter and craftsman of traditional tools; in particular, he became an expert in stone-knife manufacture. As with all Aborigines he grew to adulthood with a very strong attachment to his country. The essential productivity of the Mount Singleton area was emphasised during the great drought of the late 1890s—early 1900s period, when not only Minyana and his relations were forced to focus more and more on their home country, but also people from further west, including some of the Pintupi people of the Western Australian/ Northern Territory border region. Minyana was present at Inter-Amoru Rockhole when some of these people appeared, perishing from lack of water, he and his family gave them water, and then food, and allowed them a haven until the rains came in the western country.

Inter-Amoru Rockhole area was also important because it was here that he courted his first wife; he was eventually to have three wives, namely Djikji (widow of his brother Minawara), Molly (also known as ‘Queen Molly’) and Nora—all of them being of the Napaltjarri sub-section, as was correct by law.

During his young manhood, he was one of the warriors who defended his people against attacks from marauding Aborigines from the north, as did his father. The southern Warlpiri won convincing victories in the country well north of Mount Singleton during this period of warfare, and Minyana became respected as a redoubtable fighter. This, coupled with his deep interest in ritual law and his developing medicine man role, marked him as a strong personality.

As time passed he and his wives came to have a considerable family of sons and daughters, and he was painstaking in his instruction in bushcraft and the law. His deep attention to the detail of the Dreaming rituals, protocol at ceremonies, and correctness in whatever he did, resulted in his emerging increasingly as a naturally recognised leader.

In about 1925 he took his son Wolpa-tarli Tjupurula, himself destined to become a ritual leader, to a great gift-exchange meeting at Pilini-nyanu site, a complex of hills and rock holes west of Mount Singleton. They carried with them a variety of items for gift-exchange, including the famed stone knives of Minyana’s country. This was an exciting happy time.

In the decade that followed, Minyana and his family continued their travels whenever possible, but again much of the time was spent in the Mount Singleton to Treuer Range area of country. When all other waters failed, the spring called Pikilyi in the Treuer Range still flowed and Minyana, through his Kangaroo totem affiliation, had strong rights here.

The decade from 1925 marked the beginning of great changes. Pastoralists and miners began travelling the Warlpiri lands, with **W (Billy) Braitling** inspecting the country in 1926 and taking it up as a property in 1932, and prospectors in considerable numbers at Mount Singleton and The Granites goldfield (to the north) in the 1931–33 period. Minyana and his family were treated well by the first white people they met—prospectors, who gave them damper, sweetened tea and meat. Although this created a good impression, they were still intruders, and as the white people’s presence became stronger and more permanent, Minyana found himself both drawn to and repelled by them. They had goods that appealed, but in their ignorance they cut down the tall sacred tree at Inter-Amoru

Rockhole, and their trigonometrical marker was seen as a white men's pointing bone sending evil to the Wallaby Ancestor. There was always this two-edged side to the white people: a distant government promoted the taking up of vacant crown land—Minyana's home country, not at all vacant to him!—but then the station-owner's wife baked bread for many Aborigines and the station-man killed goats for meat-food for everyone, when the drought times prevailed.

In 1946, with another terrible drought on the land, the government established a ration depot at Yuendumu, 270 kilometres from Alice Springs and near one of the great ritual centres of the Warlpiri Snake Dreaming for which Minyana was a major figure. The Aborigines were removed to this locality, at times against their will, to allow the government officials to assist in giving them regular nutritious food and generally to 'civilise' them. However, the community soon came to be an established Baptist mission, with the Reverend Tom and Mrs Pat Fleming as the missionary couple who found that, amongst others, they had to win the respect of Minyana to give effect to their major endeavour.

Throughout the late 1940s Minyana remained a great traveller of his country, and a great ritual leader. He and the other Warlpiri elders perceived the value of reliable and permanent food and water supplies and used these to hold major extended ceremonies—a counter to the overall pressures of the government policy of assimilation.

Minyana's great knowledge now meant that not only was he in demand as a ritual leader and a medicine man in the Aboriginal community, but also as an assistant to Europeans. Anthropologists, filmmakers and other travellers sought his assistance. All acknowledged him as 'a wise dignified man' and 'undoubtedly... the most powerful influence in the tribe'.

Eventually, though, his eyes began to fail him and he grew more frail, and yet, as the anthropologist M J Meggitt commented, even in 1955–60 when he was blind he remained 'greatly respected for his vast ritual knowledge and was loved for his personal charm'. By 1967, he was old and very frail as well as blind, yet his intellect remained unimpaired and he was still interested in whatever happened at Yuendumu. He spent many hours as a great storyteller, explaining to his grandsons the details of the mythology as well as talking of the events of his own life. And in April, when all of the other elders had spoken in favour of allowing an area of land to be set aside for a church, it was Minyana who gave the final blessing: Mr Fleming asked the old men if any wished to speak, and noted that Minjina Jagamara... wanted to say something. He was old, weak and blind, but supported by one of his grandsons he stood, and in a strong authoritative voice said, "In my country here we are. For the Father the country belongs. This is his home here, the home for me and my ancestors, the Juburula who kept it at the camp. Yes, here I now give it for the whole family".

His authority, his graciousness, and his willingness to compromise for the well being of all were all reflected in this speech. A year later, the new church was completed and one of Minyana's grandsons, Harry Nelson Tjakamara, read the lesson from the New Testament.

Minyana Tjakamara died on 2 January 1969 and was buried in his own country. He was but one of a group of respected elders of the Warlpiri people, yet he was exceptional for his and for any age. He was as one with the heroic figures of myth and legend and, in that he was a great warrior, ritual leader and medicine man before ever white people settled in his country, it is true to say that there can never be another like him.

J Bjerre, *The Lost Cannibals*, 1974; J Cawte, *Medicine Is the Law*, 1974; B Dean and V Carell, *Dust for the Dancers*, 1955; D Lockwood, *We, The Aborigines*, 1970; M J Meggitt, *Desert People*, 1968; C P Mountford, *Australian Aboriginal Portraits*, 1976; T Fleming, 'A History Of The Aboriginal Missions', 1981 [unpublished]; R G Kimber, unpublished records 1970–87.

R G KIMBER, Vol 1.

MINYANA: see [MINYANA, TJAKAMARA](#)

MIRA (MIRY) (?-?), an elder of the Woolna people of the Adelaide River region, was one of the unsung Aboriginal statesmen whose efforts prevented a great deal of bloodshed, both European and Aboriginal, during the early days of permanent settlement. Mira was a leader in the region where the abortive settlement was attempted at Escape Cliffs (1864–66). Relations with the Aboriginal people were extremely bad at Escape Cliffs under the commandancy of the paranoid [Finniss](#), but on his removal, Finniss's deputy, [J T Manton](#) and Mira developed an amicable working relationship. Mira diplomatically guided an exploration up the Adelaide River with J W O Bennett as interpreter. Mira defused some potentially dangerous situations and peace was preserved until the end of the settlement in October 1866.

Mira (now sometimes spelt Miry) turned up again at Port Darwin shortly after the arrival of [Goyder](#) and his survey team in 1869. In a courageous and compassionate act, Mira had rescued two shipwrecked Southeast Asian fishermen from the Aborigines, who had already killed their comrades, and delivered them to Goyder. Subsequently, Mira was a frequent visitor at the survey camp where he was helpful in giving directions and guiding exploring parties. On another occasion, it was almost certainly Mira's intervention that saved the life of John Packard from a large armed band. Mira's statesmanship and peacemaking often put him in personal danger, particularly from Aboriginal people not of his own group. He was very distressed at the death by spearing of Bennett, and asked to be shown the spearheads, apparently failing to recognise their owners. He was present when Bennett's companion, William Guy, was having his wounds dressed by [Dr Robert Peel](#), where he 'cried bitterly'.

Margaret Goyder Kerr, Goyder's granddaughter, described Mira as 'a peaceful old fellow with an obvious liking for whites, often to their embarrassment and inconvenience. He had many an altercation with his tribesmen when they felt moved to aggression.'

MIRANDA (?-?) was an elder of the Larakia people at the time of Goyder's survey at Port Darwin in 1869 and the subsequent European settlement of Palmerston in 1870. Palmerston was sited on Larakia land and modern Darwin occupies virtually all of that relatively small territory.

Miranda and his people are said to have welcomed the settlers with songs. Miranda was soon dubbed 'King Miranda' and was the spokesman for his people in early dealings between them and the white settlers. In 1873 William Wildey described Miranda as 'much respected by his subjects', the Larakia. They were, according to Wildey, 'most happy and contented', 'rigidly correct in their behaviour' and 'knew not the taste of alcoholic liquor'.

Nine years later, the more racist **William Sowden**, after the South Australian parliamentary visit to Darwin, scoffed at Wildey's impressions of the Larakia. To Sowden and so many like him they were considered little better than animals. Sowden made King Miranda a figure of ridicule. It is true, however, that Wildey met Miranda not long after European settlement while Sowden met him well over a decade later. Those years of exploitation and degradation of the Larakia by the whites had had disastrous effects and by 1882, they were suffering dreadfully from venereal and other imported diseases. Miranda and his people were championed, however, by the Jesuit missionaries at St Joseph's, Rapid Creek, between 1882 and 1890. The Jesuits were publicly scathing about Sowden and other visitors who from limited knowledge spoke so derisively about the Larakia, but even the Jesuits gave up the battle against 'unscrupulous and lustful' whites and moved their mission to the Daly River.

King Miranda and the friendly Larakia were not to know that when they welcomed the whites with a song, it could mark the end of all their singing. In all those years of change which Miranda could not have foreseen, the Larakia never harmed a white person, nor were any massacres perpetrated against them, yet European diseases and traumatic social disruption, the price of their friendly acceptance of the invaders, came just as close to destroying them.

In 1979, the Larakia gained title to Kulaluk, a tiny strip of beach and swamp on Darwin's northern foreshore. In an ultimate irony, however, their most sacred place, Goondal, is forbidden to them, enclosed behind the fences of the army barracks that bears their name—Larrakeyah.

W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory As It Is*, 1982; W G Wildey, *Australasia and the Oceanic Region*, 1876; G J O'Kelly, 'The Jesuit Mission Stations in the Northern Territory, 1882-1899', BA (Hons) Thesis, 1967.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

MIRY: see **MIRA**

MITCHELL, SAMUEL JAMES (1852-1926), politician and judge, was born on 11 May 1852, at Mount Barker, South Australia, the son of John and Lydia Mitchell. He was educated at Mitton's Academy in Adelaide before working at Mount Gambier, Melrose and thence at Port Augusta, where he became an auctioneer, a district councillor and later mayor for two years.

Returning to Adelaide as a draper, he married Eliza Ann Gardiner at Trinity Church in North Adelaide in September 1875. He then pursued his long-term wish to become a lawyer and was articled to H E Downer, later graduating at the University of Adelaide in 1889. Admitted to the Bar, he practised with P Nesbit QC and R Ingleby QC and became one of Adelaide's leading barristers. He was first president of the South Australian Electric Telegraph Association.

Mitchell turned to politics in 1900, stood unsuccessfully in that year, but in 1901 won the House of Assembly seat for the Northern Territory at a by-election. He was re-elected in 1902 and 1906, being a persistent advocate of transcontinental railway construction between Adelaide and Darwin. From June 1909, he became Attorney General in the A H Peake ministry for six months. Mitchell resigned from Parliament in January 1910, when the Federal transfer of the Territory was imminent and became Government Resident and Judge in Darwin, as C E Herbert had been before him, but he first travelled to India and Southeast Asia. As the new Government Resident in Darwin, he tried to revive the Northern Territory economy, by introducing a public works program and encouraging mining investment and prospecting. His efforts to awaken further government interest in favour of this great and neglected constituency were highly regarded by local Territorians at that time. With his legal background, he was well placed to effect the transfer of control to the Commonwealth in the transitional period and remained as Acting Administrator under the Federal system until the appointment of **Dr J A Gilruth** in 1912, a system which could not, however, guarantee independence of his judicial office.

Mitchell returned to South Australia as a stipendiary magistrate, firstly at Port Pirie, later in Adelaide, at the Police Court. He was then promoted to Commissioner in Insolvency, a title altered to Judge in 1926. He became ill during a police bribery case in 1926, died of pneumonia on 3 October 1926 and was buried at North Road Cemetery. His wife, son and two daughters survived him. Dame Roma Mitchell, Australia's first woman judge and Queen's Counsel, was a granddaughter of Judge S J Mitchell.

H T Burgess, *The Cyclopaedia of South Australia*, 1907; J J Pascoe, *History of Adelaide and Vicinity*, 1901; *Public Service Review*, SA, February 1918; *Adelaide Advertiser* and *Adelaide Register*, 4 October 1926; Government Residents' Reports, SAA.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

MONTAGU, GEORGE (1843–1904), policeman, was born in Ireland on 14 February 1843. After marrying, he migrated to Australia and joined the South Australian Police Force on 16 July 1868 as Third-Class Trooper. He served at several locations in South Australia between 1868 and 1872. He was posted to the Northern Territory on 8 August 1873 and was stationed in Darwin for twelve years.

Montagu was promoted to Corporal on 1 August 1884. The manner in which he carried out his first major assignment as Corporal gained him notoriety. In August–September 1884, Aborigines in the Daly River region killed four miners, Harry Houschildt, Thomas Schollert, Johannes Noltenius and John Landers. It is a persistent belief among Aboriginal people of the region that the murders were in retaliation for assaults on Aboriginal women. The immediate response in Darwin and Adelaide was of outrage and indignation and newspaper editorials called for revenge. Corporal Montagu was placed in charge of an official police party in ‘pursuit of the Daly River Murderers’ and the South Australian Minister of Justice approved two other ‘unofficial’ reprisal parties.

The actual number of innocent Aborigines shot by these hunting parties will never be known, but unlike many other reprisals, the extent of the killings did become public knowledge. Robert Morice, one-time Protector of Aborigines for the Northern Territory, who was ‘got rid of for doing his duty in defence of the blacks’, wrote to an Adelaide newspaper stating: ‘It is difficult to say how many natives have been killed for the Daly River outrage, but from all I have heard from different sources, I should say not less than 150, a great part of these women and children...’ Morice’s allegations were hotly denied in the South Australian Parliament and there the matter may have rested if it were not for the fact that Corporal Montagu’s official report was tabled in Parliament on 17 November 1885. This report described the destruction of ‘a camp of natives on the east side of the McKinlay’ (about 200 kilometres from the site of the Daly River killings). The women and children were said to have escaped while between 20 and 30 men ‘retreated to the water’. Montagu estimated that ‘none of these who took to the water are known to have got away’ and that one of the results of the expedition had been to convince him ‘of the superiority of the Martini-Henry rifle, both for accuracy of aim and quickness of action’.

There was an immediate about-face in the southern press. Justice was called for and an inquiry demanded. An ex-Northern Territory policeman, James Smith, who had been in the barracks when Montagu’s party returned, gave their descriptions of the massacre to an Adelaide newspaper. ‘MacDonald... was regarded as about the worst shot, and he cut fourteen notches on the butt of his carbine...’ Darwin newspapers vehemently defended the massacres. Corporal Montagu ‘was entitled to the thanks of the community’. ‘As to the shooting of blacks, we uphold it defiantly.’

The controversy raged in the southern press and finally an inquiry was held in Darwin. The *Register* labelled it a sham. Chaired by Baines, a member of one of the unofficial shooting parties, it included relatives and friends of the implicated Darwin officials. Behind closed doors they discovered that Montagu’s report was ‘incorrect and misleading’, that those Aborigines who took to the water had, in fact, escaped and that Montagu was mistaken in his presumption that he and his party had shot any.

Thus, a brutal massacre received the seal of official approval. The perpetrators were heroes and Aborigines and their supporters had good cause to believe that, if there had not been before, there was in the Northern Territory after 1885 a licence to kill.

Shortly after these events, Corporal Montagu was posted back to Adelaide from the Northern Territory. He served in several police stations in South Australia until his resignation on 31 October 1902. No reprimands are recorded on his police file. Upon retirement he went back to live in Victoria where he carried on a business as auctioneer at Lilydale. He died in 1904 in Fitzroy, a suburb of Melbourne.

A Markus, *From the Barrel of a Gun*, 1974; Montagu’s Report, SAPP (HA) 170/1885; *Adelaide Register*; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*; *North Australian*.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

MOO, KENNETH (KEN) (also GIM NGYEN) (1927–1980), medical practitioner, was born in Darwin on 12 March 1927. He was a third generation Territorian, the youngest of 14 children born to Chinese parents Moo Tam Bing (known as Pompey Moo Bing) and Heung Shui Geow (known as Heung See). Kenneth’s paternal grandfather, **Moo Yet For**, came from the lower Yellow River region in Northern China to the Northern Territory in the early 1880s to work on the construction of the railway line from Darwin to Pine Creek. He had married Wong See in Hong Kong. His wife gave birth to their first son Pompey Moo Bing in 1878. Pompey and his mother came to Darwin in about 1888. The family lived in Brock’s Creek for some years. Pompey Moo married Heung See in 1904 following a traditionally arranged matchmaking. Heung See’s family also came to Hong Kong from northern China. Their four eldest children were born in Brock’s Creek. After moving to Darwin in 1911, 10 more children were born, Kenneth being the youngest. Pompey Moo was a carrier in Darwin with a team of 24 horses. Not until the 1930s did he own an International one-ton truck.

Kenneth Moo attended Darwin Primary School where he attained the highest mathematics score recorded from that school. His brother Clarence (12th child) won a scholarship from the Darwin Primary School in 1937 to All Souls School in Charters Towers, North Queensland. His sister Mavis (13th child) became a boarder at St Margaret’s Girls School, Albion, Brisbane, also after winning a scholarship. No doubt the excellent teaching of the headmaster of Darwin Primary School, **Ern Tambling** (father of Senator Grant Tambling) must have prepared good students for scholarships as Kenneth Moo (the 14th child) also won a scholarship to All Souls.

The family lived at that time in Gardens Road, Darwin. The father, Pompey Moo, suffered a stroke in 1941 and was bedridden. With the threat of a Japanese invasion, some of the family were evacuated in the ship *Zealandia* to Townsville and then travelled by train to Longreach where they set up a market garden. Pompey Moo died at their

home near the Thomson River in 1947. The mother, Heung See, then moved to Brisbane. Kenneth matriculated at All Souls having had a distinguished final year being a prefect, dux of the school and captain of rugby and cricket. He was a star player in the school's rugby union team, playing at full back. During the war, he was in the North Queensland all-schools team chosen to play a service team stationed in the area.

Kenneth entered the University of Queensland to study medicine. Following graduation as Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery in 1955, he worked at Brisbane General Hospital for his Resident year. During the post-war years, Katherine Hospital was frequently without permanent medical staff. Doctors were flown down from Darwin for a weekly clinic. Matron Ruth Fisher and her staff ran the hospital. Dr Moo was appointed to the Katherine Hospital in 1957, the year of the 'big flood' when the hospital was cut-off from the township of Katherine. On 11 March 1957, as the flooded Katherine River began to inundate the hospital grounds, Dr Moo acted quickly to transfer all patients to the doctor's residence, where the piers allowed two metres of safety. The flood rose to the floorboards of the hospital. The patients spent four days in the doctor's house until transferred back to the hospital.

Sister Vona Stephenson came to Darwin in May 1957 and transferred to Katherine Hospital some months later. She had trained as a nurse at St Vincent's Hospital in Melbourne. She met Kenneth and returned to Ulverstone, Tasmania, for their marriage on 29 August 1959 in the Anglican Church there.

During 1959, Kenneth Moo studied at Sydney University and graduated with the Diploma of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. He returned to the Katherine Hospital. **Father Frank Flynn**, ophthalmologist, and Dr W D Refshauge, Commonwealth Director of Health, recommended that Kenneth Moo have the opportunity to study ophthalmology under Professor Gerald Crock at the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital in Melbourne. From 1961 to 1963, he studied this discipline. Father Frank Flynn assessed his work as brilliant. Kenneth Moo returned to Darwin and took charge of the eye clinic from 1964 until his death. As the only eye specialist in the Territory, he was confronted with a large trachoma problem among Aboriginal communities. Dr Moo travelled extensively and conducted regular clinics at the other three main hospitals in the Territory. At the time of his death in 1980, he was the Senior Ophthalmology Specialist in the team at Darwin Hospital. **Dr Charles Gurd**, Northern Territory Director of Health, said in 1980, 'The respect earned by the late Dr Ken Moo, who had for 15 years led the fight against eye disease in the Top End could be a model for the perseverance, political and racial impartiality and medical competence for the localised trachoma program'.

In 1978 Kenneth Moo was the first appointment by the Commonwealth Government to the prestigious position of Chairman of the Northern Territory Ethnic Council.

Kenneth and Vona Moo had three sons who all attended and matriculated from Darwin High School. Kenneth did not live to see the academic achievements of his sons. In 1995, all sons—Stephen Kenneth Moo (Bachelor of Business in Accounting), Gregory Francis Moo (Bachelor of Aeronautical Engineering, Bachelor of Computer Science) and Andrew Moo lived and worked in Darwin. There were by then six grandchildren: Corinne, Olivia, Letecia, Daniel, Elise and Chloe.

Kenneth Moo died on 26 July 1980 in the Darwin Hospital of a malignant paraganglioma. Bishop **Kenneth Mason** and Bishop Clyde Wood officiated at a memorial service at Christ Church Cathedral in Darwin and he was buried in McMillans Road Cemetery. A ward at the Royal Darwin Hospital was named in his honour. A memorial bust is housed in the Board Room at the Hospital and a Ken Moo Memorial Fellowship is awarded annually in the field of medicine and/or nursing.

Dr Kenneth Moo will be remembered as a great family man who enjoyed outdoor life such as fishing. His contribution to the improvement of eye disease in the Northern Territory was enormous.

E Kettle, *Health Services in the Northern Territory*, 1991; M Moo, *The Moo Family History*, 1995.

VALERIE ASCHE, Vol 3.

MOO, LINOY: see **WONG, LINOY**

MOO, SUE CHING: see **YUEN, ESSIE**

MOO YET FOR (1847–1927), carpenter and market gardener, and **MOO WONG SEE** (1860–1938), homemaker. Moo Yet For was born in the Canton region in 1847 and his wife Moo Wong See was born in Hong Kong in 1860. This husband and wife team were the ancestors of the large Moo clan that originated in Darwin and has now spread throughout Australia. The Moo family, who were of the Hakka dialect, had originally lived in northern China but over the years they moved to the Canton area where they then settled. The Hakkas had been persecuted in their own provinces and so over the centuries they drifted south into the Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces where they were never totally accepted. They were given the name of 'guest families' and were always considered 'outsiders'. The men were known to be hard working but the Hakka women differed from other women in that they were often found to be working alongside their men in the fields doing manual labouring work. Foot binding, which was a custom as far back as the Sung Dynasty (960–1126AD) for women from wealthy families, was banned among the Hakka women.

Moo Yet For came to the Northern Territory, initially on his own around 1879, and found work at **John Lewis'** station at Port Essington as a carpenter and cabinet maker, a trade at which he was most proficient. In 1889 after working in Palmerston (now Darwin) for a few years, Moo returned to China to bring out his wife Moo Wong See and their son Pompey who was born in 1878. Apart from their eldest daughter, **Lino Wong**, who was born in Palmerston in 1891, the rest of their children were born in Brocks Creek. Their second son Con Moo Fatt was

born in 1889, Sue Quen Lee in 1897 and [Sue Ching Essie Yuen](#) was born in 1902. Two other sons died in infancy. They were to adopt another son, Soon Fook who although he remained in Hong Kong with Wong See's parents, was very much part of the family. As Wong See was an only child, she left a son to help care for her own parents. Their youngest daughter Essie was to keep in close contact with her adopted brother until her death in 1991.

Moo worked on the Darwin to Pine Creek railway, which commenced in 1886 and was completed in 1889. Wages at this time were approximately two Shillings and six Pence per day. He also carted timber from Port Essington and went into market gardening. He was a quiet unassuming man, working hard to provide for his family. As was the tradition of the early days, the men were the providers and left their wives to raise and discipline the children. Although food was not plentiful, they managed to raise their family in a loving environment where respect, honesty, and caring and sharing for others were all important. Their mother Wong See taught these values to them. It mattered not that they were not rich momentarily; the close family unit was of greater importance. A mealtime was the ideal time to teach children respect and manners. In a Chinese family, children would not begin eating until grandparents and parents were first seated and had commenced eating. In the Chinese custom of eating with various dishes of food placed in the centre of the table, it would not be polite to reach across another person to pick a particular piece of food that you would find appealing. Elbows on the table would bring a frown from parents as would arguing and fighting. A meal table was a special time for the family to get together and share news of the day's activity, a quiet time. These were some of the values that Wong See taught her children. She was a strict and stern parent, with very high morals and values and she would not tolerate anything less. Her daughters in particular instilled these same values into their children and I as a granddaughter have tried to pass on these same values to my own children.

Although she had very little money, she was renowned for her honesty. Acting as a go-between, bearing gifts between the bride and groom's family in a Chinese wedding, always resulted in a gift of a red packet containing a small amount of money as thanks. Acting in this capacity on one occasion, Wong See was mistakenly given the wrong red packet. On discovering that she had been given the red packet meant for the bride's family, which contained many gold sovereigns she immediately returned it. Once it had been given to her, she would have been at liberty to keep it, but her honesty prevailed, as she knew that a genuine mistake had been made.

On the completion of the Darwin/Pine Creek railway and after trying his luck on the gold fields and various mining camps, Moo Yet For moved back to Darwin where they established a vegetable market garden in the locality of the Darwin Golf Club in the Gardens area. Here they were able to provide a home for their young family as well as establishing themselves as gardeners. Moo built their modest home with his carpentry skills and together with his wife was able to supply their own family as well as some of the European population with fresh vegetables and tropical fruits. They were later to open a bakery in Chinatown with the help of their second son Con. This bakery was called the Yean Ying Bakery and was situated in premises owned by [Yuen Yet Hing](#) a prominent Chinese merchant, known as Yet Loong. Rental was approximately 10 Shillings a week. The Moos' youngest daughter, Essie, was to marry Yet Loong's eldest son Charlie.

Moo Yet For died in 1927 in Darwin at the age of about 80. His wife Moo Wong See continued as the matriarch of the Moo clan until her death in 1938. She was deeply mourned by her children and grandchildren.

Discussions with some of the grandchildren who knew her brought tales of a very loving grandmother. Mabel Hee, her eldest granddaughter, daughter of Linoy spoke of her honesty and of her patience in spending time in teaching the children to cook and sew and of always being ready to help a friend. She helped deliver many children and then continued to help the mothers to care for their babies. Mabel particularly remembered her aged grandmother with a leg crippled with arthritis, walking nearly a mile to the gardens where she lived to deliver bread and cakes for them each week. Lily Ah Toy, another granddaughter, recalled her grandmother beckoning her after school every day, spoiling her with a spoon of Chinese malt sugar. This was a real treat, and then providing her with her speciality, a bowl of black grass jelly. This is the same texture as jelly and topped with syrup. It entailed a long process of boiling certain grasses, retaining the water and processing and setting it into a black jelly-like substance. It was a skill that not many had mastered, but it was one that she had perfected and in turn taught to her daughters. It was a skill that I remember my own mother doing. Her grandson Leslie Yuen remembered with love the attention bestowed on him by his grandmother. Each Wednesday night she would bake a sultana butter cake in a long narrow cake tin two feet six inches long. It was to sell for one penny a slice, but there was always a slice of freshly baked cake for him. There was also rice and salt fish and corn beef and cabbage, which brought back memories of a dear grandmother.

The Chinese New Year period is a time of major importance for all Chinese, and for the Moo family as well as many others, there were certain customs that had to be adhered to. All outstanding accounts had to be settled, a major spring clean of the home was a must, there were new clothes for all members of the family and the rice bins had to be filled. This was to ensure that there would always be food to eat throughout the coming year. There was also the making of special New Year cakes. This was a tradition that has been passed down through the family and even today the special cakes made by grandmother are continued to be made by her daughter Essie's grandchildren and great grandchildren. Many of the recipes have been simplified now that rice flour (which is the main ingredient in the cakes) can be purchased. This once had to be pounded and ground by the women, a very tedious and time consuming chore. It was time consuming in both the preparation, which often required kneading for an hour or more, so as to obtain the right texture, or in the case of the small individual cakes, banana leaves had to be cut to size and oiled before the steaming.

These customs were important to the Chinese first coming out from China. It was their link with their motherland and the Moo grandparents would no doubt be surprised that these traditions are being continued by some of their descendants. But while being able to retain their culture, they have also been able to blend into the Australian

way of life and contribute to society in various areas. In Darwin, one grandson [Dr Ken Moo](#) was a respected ophthalmologist for many years at the Royal Darwin Hospital. A great grandson was an orthopaedic and hand surgeon, while others were in the fields of law, accountants, teachers, pharmacists, engineering, the trades and as successful business people. They were able to combine two cultures, appreciating and receiving the best of both.

Moo Yet For and Wong See as poor immigrants from China would not have foreseen the bright future they were giving their descendants in having the courage in leaving their homeland. Their descendants had much to be grateful for.

J Gittens, *The Diggers from China*, 1981; Personal information from L Ah Toy, M Hee, E Yuen and L Yuen.

GLENICE YEE, Vol 3.

MOREY, EDWARD HERBERT (TED) (1902–1982), policeman, cattleman and writer, was born at Mannum, South Australia, on 5 March 1902, the fourth child of Sidney Edgar Morey and his wife Ellen, *nee* Sobey. Sidney Morey was a businessman, painting contractor and Councillor—a civic-minded man. Ellen was a gentle, active lady, of character and intellect.

Morey attended the little Mannum School until the family moved to Adelaide, where his education continued at the Flinders Street State School. His parents instilled in all their children—there were nine—that no matter what their chosen vocation may be, it did not matter to them so long as they strived and worked hard at it and brought dignity to their profession.

In his itchy-footed knockabout years, Morey toiled variously at clearing mallee, grubbing yackas, working on farms, cattle and sheep stations and in shearing sheds throughout South Australia. He handled and drove teams of horses, bullocks, camels and donkeys in that state and in New South Wales. Then, for a number of years, he was a professional colt-breaker. He grew into a strapping six-footer, lithe, agile and with a strong steady personality.

In 1924, Morey paid his own fare to England after being one of four roughriders selected in Australia to compete in the First International Rodeo to be held at the Wembley exhibition. He was the only Australian to compete in an open event. Morey rode well for the three weeks of the Exhibition and was invited to an afternoon party in the gardens of Buckingham Palace. He had, regretfully, to decline, for he did not possess the required morning dress’.

After returning to Australia, he joined the South Australian Mounted Police. He resigned after disagreeing with the conduct of a fellow constable. Superintendent Lean asked Morey to reconsider his future with the force, but Morey declined. When the superintendent mentioned the Northern Territory Mounted Police, Morey showed interest and after a stint with the South Australian Fire Brigade, he applied to join that force in 1926, was accepted and sailed for Darwin early in 1927. Mounted Constable Morey was soon seconded to the rough, temporary town of Emungalan, the railhead on the north bank of the Katherine River, where massive bridgework was in progress. The construction workers were rough hard men and, on occasions, downright dangerous. When a crew was having a long session in a boozier, Morey would sit on a hitching-rail across the street to let them know that they were under surveillance—they had little respect for the law at any time, even less when inebriated. It soon became known that Morey could handle himself exceptionally well and his distant presence assured an orderly departure from the pub at closing time.

He was successful in his application for the outpost police station at Borroloola in 1929 and he patrolled that lonely and rugged area for two years, under [Sergeant Bridgland](#).

Early in 1932 he was officer-in-charge of the Victoria River Police District, an area of 129 500 square kilometres. The police station was situated on the western bank of Timber Creek.

In early July Morey received a directive from headquarters by the monthly packhorse mail to investigate the alleged murders of three Japanese shark fishermen—Captain Nagata and crewmen Owashi and Yoshida—on the coast between Port Keats and Treachery Bay. Members of the Chulamak tribe were responsible: [Nemarluk](#), Minmara, Maragin, Mankee and Lin. A rider to the directive stated that Mounted Constable [Jack Mahony](#) was already en-route to Timber Creek to assist him.

The patrol left the lonely outpost with non-perishable rations for a month. Their native trackers were Charlie, Splinter, Bogey and Mick. A month later, they were still on the lower reaches of the tidal Victoria, Morey and two trackers having been ferried across the river in the tender of *Maroubra* to investigate more permanent Aboriginal camps on the wide plains of Legune. After four days, they were back on the river with four prisoners, witnesses and accomplices. There followed a perilous crossing by raft of the crocodile infested Victoria. More than four months after leaving Timber Creek, the patrol reached the Daly River police outpost. All entrained at Brocks Creek siding a few days later for Darwin. The patrol had covered an estimated 2 000 kilometres, 400 of which had been on foot for surprise raids through the nights on bush camps. Although they did not get the leader Nemarluk (because neither officer would shoot him in the back as he struggled through a boggy, open marsh, even though called on repeatedly to stop) they returned with five Aborigines subsequently found guilty of murder, their accomplices and witnesses.

Within two days of reaching Darwin, Morey and Mahony were ordered to sail with the [Reverend T T Webb](#) on the mission boat *Marie* to Arnhem Bay and carry out a foot patrol across the large peninsula to Caledon Bay where there were reports that the Balamumu people had murdered five Japanese trepang fishermen. The *Marie* could wait only ten days for them at Arnhem Bay, which meant that the patrol could only do a brief reconnaissance of Caledon Bay because of the distance and time factor involved. The terrain was parched and water was a real problem with sweat pouring from them all even as they tried to sleep at night. No tracks of Aborigines were found. On the return to Arnhem Bay Mahony’s ankle—an old injury—began to break down. Mahony with his always

cheerful grin would decline any assistance. But they found water, almost at the end of their tether—a brackish black pool, fouled by rotting leaves, but life sustaining; and they safely rejoined *Marie*.

In the following year, Morey organised a land and sea patrol to the Gulf of Carpentaria to apprehend members of the Balamumu. He was to lead the patrol to the police station at Roper Bar. With him would be Mounted Constables Jack Mahony, Albert Stewart McColl and **Victor Charles Hall**. The latter two officers were to proceed by the Groote Eylandt Mission lugger *Holly* and rendezvous with Morey's and Mahony's horse patrol at the mouth of the Koolatong River on the Gulf at a pre-arranged date.

Hall and McColl transferred at Groote to the launch *Hope*, a most unsuitable craft for the wild waters of the Gulf. They found the engine dismantled and the hull stove in. Missionaries **Port** and **Perriman** hurried to make the craft seaworthy, but five weeks elapsed before the officers, with trackers Menikman, Roper Tommy—an outstanding tracker and man, and considered so by both black and white—Dick and an islander, Reuben, embarked for the mainland. With a sou' Easter gale blowing, the crew were forced to heave to for more than two weeks. By the time they rendezvoused with the mounted patrol on the mainland, they found them to be in a half starved condition.

The combined police parties boarded the launch and headed for Isle Woodah. Penetration of the thick jungles of the interior was delayed until the morning when, tragically, McColl was speared through the chest as he pursued a lubra into a prepared ambush, dying within seconds. Meanwhile Mahoney, in another confrontation, had a spear tear the puggaree of his hat and, out of ammunition, was saved by the arrival of Morey and Hall. They remustered on the beach where McColl failed to answer the recall signal. An armed search was made for him until 10 o'clock that night, when, exhausted, a retreat was made to the beach and sentries posted. They found McColl's body the next morning—2 August 1933—in a very small clearing within the jungle. Hall repeated the burial service while his fellow officers and trackers kept wary watch.

All of Morey's patrols were conducted in a bushmanlike and humane manner. They were neither equipped (there was but one rifle, though each officer had a revolver) nor were they under orders to fight a defensive or offensive action. The party retreated to the mainland where Morey wrote a telegram to be conveyed by Hall in the launch to Groote Eylandt for transmission to headquarters in Darwin. When the horse patrol arrived at Roper Bar, they were ordered to mount a peacekeeping force at the mission on Groote Eylandt, where an Aboriginal attack was expected.

The end of the year found this contingent of the Mounted still guarding the mission and so, for the second time in a year, Morey and Mahoney missed their chance of 'getting their man'.

Morey then went down to the Barkly Tableland country and Lake Nash where he was to be officer-in-charge for some four years. Here he met his bride-to-be, Kathleen Reilly, of Camooweal. They were married in that bustling cattle town on 20 April 1935.

The outbreak of the Pacific war found them established at Newcastle Waters police station where Kathleen had her hands more than full coping with two young Moreys and terrific volumes of military and road construction telegraphic traffic, night and day. The police force soon released Morey for army service. Kathleen, daughter and son went to Adelaide to be with Morey's mother, and their third and last child, another daughter, was born there nine days after Darwin was first blitzed.

Morey was sent to Officers' Training School, Tallarook, Victoria. Soon he was back in the Territory, only to be first posted to Mount Isa and, later, to Rockhampton, Queensland. The unit was disbanded there and he joined the 2nd Pack Transport Regiment where there were 1100 Queensland horses to be broken. He was back in his element. Just before embarkation, a signal ordered Lieutenant Morey to Darwin forthwith, to supervise the formation of an Aboriginal Pioneer Regiment. Disappointed at not remaining with his company and going overseas, Morey was entrained to Mount Isa and thence by army transport to Darwin, only to find himself Darwin's acting Town Major. He was able to save some of the Territory's mining records and the land survey datum peg (the peg from which all Territory surveying was initiated) from destruction.

Demobilised in 1945, Morey returned to the Northern Territory police and in November of that year was ensconced at the police station, Pine Creek, with his family. In 1947, he attained 20 years' service with the force (including war service); but looming promotion threatened to take him away from the bush service that he loved. He resigned, taking up a buffalo-shooting block on Nourlangie Creek and the Wildman River block in the hopes of making his fortune by shooting buffalo and crocodiles for their hides and skins. But 1948 saw a worldwide slump in prices for both. **E J Connellan** approached him about accommodating guests and taking them out on shooting safaris for a fortnight a time. Morey, a shy man, agreed rather reluctantly. Connellan Airways flew the guests in and picked them up. An airstrip was levelled and Connellan's famous Silver Ghost Rolls Royce possibly became the first 'safari' vehicle in the Territory, and Wildman the first 'safari station'.

In 1949, Morey sold Wildman to Connellan, with all equipment, and managed the Darwin Club for 12 months. At this time (October 1950) he was offered the management of Beswick Station, and he and his family had a happy six years there. In December 1956 he assumed the management of Coolibah Station, near Timber Creek, his old haunt of 25 years ago. Because of the isolation and the need for a Justice of the Peace in that remote area, he at last accepted that office.

He wrote many articles on Territory characters. All his writings had historical significance. His 200-page manuscript of the Namarluk and Arnhem Land foot, horse and sea patrols was not, however, published. Some of his short stories appeared in the *North Australian Monthly* magazine, edited by Glenville Pike in the 1950s. More appeared in the *Territory Digest*.

In 1957, he suffered a kick from a horse in the lower leg. When the leg began to lose feeling, he sought medical advice. After months with no appreciable improvement, he was advised to go south and seek specialist treatment. The limb was worrying and so, late in 1958, he and Kathleen semi-retired to Adelaide. He wore a brace on that leg

for a couple of years while it healed, even as he tended the famous South Australian police 'greys' at the stables, Thebarton Police Barracks, Adelaide—his place of residence more than thirty years before.

He resigned his position as stable master to break-in for trainer Bart Cummings such young thoroughbreds as Light Fingers, Galillee and Zieme, all champions. At the age of seventy-seven his doctor suggested nicely that it was about time he acted his age and left colt-breaking to the younger ones. Morey reluctantly agreed.

Thereafter, until the last months of his life, Morey was a midday bank-guard at a Glenelg bank. He and his wife had not long returned from a stay with their youngest daughter and her husband in New York and Connecticut when Morey had a fall at Glenelg. Within days, he suffered massive chest pains, beginning late one night. Twenty-seven hours later, an aortic aneurism was diagnosed. He was rushed to Queen Elizabeth Hospital for emergency surgery, but died just as daylight was breaking, without recovering consciousness, on 24 April 1982 aged 80 years.

He was cremated at Centennial Park Crematorium with Church of Christ rites.

His name is perpetuated in a street in the township of Jabiru, and another thoroughfare commemorated him at Palmerston.

V Hall, *Outback Policeman*, 1970; E H Morey records, diaries and manuscripts, held by Mrs K A Morey and Mr P Morey.

PERRY MOREY, *Vol 1*.

MOSS, HARRY (1907–1990), aviator, was born at Geelong, Victoria, on 21 March 1907. Educated in Geelong and later in Melbourne, he gained work in a private company and was able to save enough for a motorcycle, which gave him the independence he would retain for the rest of his life.

Harry's introduction to aviation was on 26 December 1930. He had ridden to Inverloch a popular resort some 150 kilometres south west of Melbourne, where he saw a biplane on the beach. Paying the 10 Shillings fee to pilot Horrie Beeston, he enjoyed a brief flight aboard the Sports Farman aeroplane, marking down in his mind that he 'would like to command such an aerial laundry basket', referring to the structure of the Anzani powered aeroplane.

By the mid-1930s, Harry was working at the Ford Motor Company plant at Geelong. Weekends were spent, as the weather allowed, at the town common to watch the joyriding aeroplanes and gliders. He met up with Percy Pratt and his brother Charlie and joined the Geelong Flying School. Percy was a gliding specialist and the brothers ran the school with two de Havilland Gipsy Moths. Urged on by Charlie, Harry studied the theory and practice of aeronautical engineering and in 1936 was issued Aircraft Engineer Licence No 865, after having passed the engines and airframes exams by the Civil Air Board in Melbourne.

In 1938, the Pratt brothers bought out Matthews Aviation and moved the business to Essendon aerodrome with Harry joining them as engineer. Harry was paid seven Pounds and seven Shillings on joining the company at a time when the basic wage was three Pounds and three Shillings. Top engineers were being paid around five Pounds per week and Harry was the subject of some envy among the engineering fraternity. In his spare time, Harry studied flying and gained his private pilot's licence in 1938, but maintained a desire to become a commercial pilot. Aviatrix Gert Mackenzie took him under her wing teaching him navigation and passing on her considerable experience. After intensive study, Harry passed the commercial theory exams before the flying tests under Arthur Affleck, a former pilot with the fledgling Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services (QANTAS) and by 1941 the Department of Civil Aviation (DCA) examiner.

Harry joined DCA in late 1941, working as an aircraft mechanic on a variety of aircraft. In late 1942, DCA was authorised to ferry aircraft to New Guinea for use on the rough, high altitude airstrips in evacuating the wounded to Port Moresby, flying mostly from Myola some 1 700 metres up in the Owen Stanleys. Arthur Affleck test flew a de Havilland DH 50 in preparation for a ferry trip on 19 November 1942. A long-range fuel tank was installed and on 23 November Affleck, with Harry Moss accompanying him as mechanic, set out for Port Moresby. After an eventful journey which including tipping the DH 50 on its nose on the beach at Kareema near Moresby, the aeroplane was delivered to Squadron Leader Jerry Pentland, a pre-war planter at Lae, who was then commanding Number One Rescue and Communication Flight, Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF).

Returning to Melbourne Harry was tasked with returning a Northrop Delta aeroplane to service after its use in the Ellsworth Expedition to the Antarctic. He was then tasked with bringing a de Havilland DH 75 Hawk back to service before its transfer to **Eddie Connellan** and his Connellan Airways in Alice Springs.

Following an engine overhaul and major servicing the Hawk was test flown and the required DCA paperwork completed. In May 1943, Harry took off from Essendon with his Irish Setter dog 'Paddy', heading for Adelaide on the first leg of the journey to Alice Springs. From Adelaide Harry flew along the railway line north to Farina, then northwest to Oodnadatta across the southern end of Lake Eyre and on until spotting the MacDonnell Rangers. Harry landed the Hawk at Connellan's base at the old Townsite Aerodrome in Alice Springs after a 2, 300-kilometre journey from Melbourne. He stayed on with Connellan, on leave from DCA, taking over from Eddie's usual engineer, Jack Pennington. Connellan and Harry were the flying staff at the time, flying two Percival Gull aircraft on the long mail runs through the Territory, extending as far as Wyndham on the north west coast of Western Australia. Connellan was also contracted to the Royal Flying Doctor Service at the Alice Springs base, monitoring some 100 outpost radio sets.

Harry's introduction to medical flights was in late 1943, with a flight to Rose Hill Station. He flew Dr Bob Elix the 400 kilometres from Alice Springs across the South Australian border to tend the station owner's wife Mrs Fuller. After an eventful trip, which included having to change spark plugs at the station and at Kulgera, Mrs Fuller was transferred to hospital where she was relieved of her appendix.

Christmas 1943 saw Harry dressed as Santa Claus to attend the Country Women's Association children's party. After some initial problems associated with his whiskers slipping over his eyes and some alarm for the toys,

Harry's camel ride through the streets of Alice Springs was hailed as 'the finest piece of camel riding ever seen, (though) I never found out just what did happen'.

The next two years saw Harry fly the length and breadth of the Territory on mail runs, supply flights and medical evacuations. At war's end, he joined up with his nephew, John Anderson, a motor engineer. Between them, they bought six three-ton army trucks at the post-war Disposals sales in Darwin and later sold them. The profits set John up in the motor trade and allowed Harry to stay on in the Top End and purchase two aircraft, a de Havilland Fox Moth and a Percival Gull.

Harry's first commercial venture was a fish run from the Daly River to Darwin. Leaving at first light and loaded with food, spares for trucks, refrigerators or boats, mail and fishing gear, the Fox Moth would fly to the Woolianna airstrip on the Daly River. There Harry would unload while Tom Vigar, the fisherman, would arrive in his Chev truck to load the fish. Back in Darwin, Vigar's partner 'Brother Woods' as he was generally known, would take the fish away to supply the army and RAAF messes.

A part of Harry's air charter business saw him flying supplies and mail in to the 'battlers' working the tin mines at Mt Finnis and Bamboo Creek among others. Supplies were also flown east from Darwin to the buffalo and crocodile shooters around Lake Finnis and the Wildman Plains. Flights were also made to the Church Missionary Society stations at Groote Eylandt, Rose River and Roper River, and to the Methodist Overseas Missions' establishments at Croker, Elcho and Goulburn Islands and at Yirrkala in far east Arnhem Land. Missions at Nguuu on Bathurst Island, Port Keats and Daly River were also frequent stops for Harry in his extensive travelling throughout the Top End. **Bill Harney**, the right hand man for the Director of Native Affairs, Vin White, and Ted Evans were frequent passengers as they roamed far and wide in their efforts to stabilise the Aboriginal population following extensive dislocation during the war years.

The year 1948 proved to be a busy one for Harry as he decided to accompany a friend, Ken Hewitt, on a voyage to deliver an ex-disposals RAAF bomb scow to the Roper River. The sea voyage over some 1 200 kilometres proved an eventful one. The trip aboard the seven metre flat-bottomed scow saw the crew endure varying weather and sea conditions as they passed by the coast. Stopping at Cape Don, Port Essington, Goulburn Island (where they took aboard Jacky Marloo, a Cape Stewart Aborigine who had finished his service with the RAAF), Cape Stewart, Elcho Island, Yirrkala, Trial Bay, Groote Eylandt and Rose River, they pushed on to their destination, the Church Missionary Society's mission on the north bank of the Roper River.

Returning to Darwin, and flying, Harry was engaged to fly supplies from Darwin to Oenpelli for the members of the **Charles P Mountford** Australian-American Scientific Expedition. Comprising Americans Charles Setzler, an anthropologist from the Smithsonian Institute, Bob Millar, an ichthyologist, and Dave Duigan, an ornithologist under Mountford's leadership they had started the expedition at Groote Eylandt. Working through Arnhem Land the scientists travelled back to Oenpelli. The expedition was recorded by well-known *Life* magazine photographer Howell Walker; Bill Harney had provided technical advice.

Later that year Harry was engaged to fly a Department of Information camera team to Timber Creek for a series of documentary features on aspects of life in the Territory. Harry also met up with many of the former well known policemen of the Territory including **Tas Fitzer**, **Ted Morey**, Sandy McNab and others. Often during his trips, Harry was requested to bring in sick or injured people from remote stations to hospital. He sold his Percival Gull and purchased a Tiger Moth, retaining the Fox Moth, which could accommodate a stretcher. Eventually, in late 1948 he sold his aircraft and joined the Commonwealth Department of Health, Northern Territory Aerial Medical Service (NTAMS) flying DH Dragon aircraft on medical flights from Darwin and working with noted identities **'Doc' Fenton**, Dr Bruce Cumpston, policeman **Jim Mannion**, Mick Nudl and **Jack Slade**, the Chief Pilot at NTAMS.

In July 1949, Harry was asked to fly to Alice Springs where he flew Syd Turnbull, a senior dental officer, through central Australia on a comprehensive dental survey of communities there. Acting as pilot, mechanic and nurse, Harry witnessed the extractions of some 1 100 teeth over a fortnight, along with many hundreds of fillings using amalgam mixed by himself. Following this Harry was involved in medical flights covering thousands of kilometres throughout the Top End and as far south as Tennant Creek. In late 1949 and into 1950 Harry flew with Dr Bertram Welton, a new arrival from Cheshire in England. From July 1951, he commenced deployments to Alice Springs each six weeks and from 1 July 1952, Harry and his DH Dragon VH-ASL were based permanently at the RAAF aerodrome south of town, the 'Seven-Mile', which was also being used by the airlines.

On 1 March 1952, Trans Australia Airlines (TAA) took over the operations of NTAMS aircraft on behalf of the Department of Health, and both Captains Slade and Moss became TAA employees. The year 1952 also saw the purchase of three DH (Australia) Drover aircraft. Equipped with three Gipsy Major engines they were a considerable improvement on the older Dragons. Harry was sent to the Bankstown base of de Havillands' for refresher training, accompanied by his second wife, Eleanor, a trained nurse.

In 1957, NTAMS replaced its Drovers with DH Dove aircraft, the last, VH-DHK going to Alice Springs with Harry Moss in late 1961.

Some months later Harry was forced to consider his future. He would turn 55 years old on 21 March 1962 and would be automatically retired. He recalled that, 'Eleanor and I sadly decided to shake the dust, and I mean dust, of the centre off our feet. We disposed of most of our possessions, packed the rest in our utility, and loaded it on a flat top to come south on the Ghan'. Travelling to Port Augusta the couple unloaded their Holden utility and travelled via the Eyre Peninsula, Port Lincoln and Coffin Bay before working across to Sydney.

Harry's retirement brought many messages and letters of appreciation, including the award of a Membership of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his 10 years' work at Alice Springs. Ironically, he had to be replaced

by a pilot and engineer at the base. Flight Officer Keith Goedheer became the first TAA pilot posted to the 'Alice' and Ted Priest was posted from Adelaide as Station Engineer.

Harry and Eleanor did not settle in Sydney long however. Soon after, Harry secured a job as pilot for Jack Masling at Cootamundra in southern New South Wales where the couple settled down. This position lasted until 1963 when Harry accepted an offer to fly for an old friend, Laurie Crowley in New Guinea, operating an air service from Lae. Harry flew a DH Dove for Crowley, operating as Megapode Airways and flying a service from the Solomon Islands capital, Honiara to Auki twice daily on Tuesdays and Fridays. Megapode widened its activities to include the entire Solomons, Santa Cruz Islands, Guadalcanal and Bougainville.

In 1965, Harry purchased a half share in a motor vessel *Coral Queen* that was lying in disrepair at Tulagi. After considerable work, the vessel was made seaworthy and Harry, Eleanor and a small crew sailed her south to Cairns. From there the couple travelled by road to the Gosford area where they settled down 'to the extent that I had several Christmas dinners in the same place other than the cockpit of an aeroplane,' Harry recalled.

Harry's retirement was complete. Over some 35 years of flying, he had amassed 11 249 hours, 15 minutes in the air. He calculated that, at 160 kilometres per hour, he had travelled some 1 799 880 kilometres. Harry Moss MBE died on 16 November 1990, aged 83 years.

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BOB ALFORD, Vol 3.

MOUNTFORD, CHARLES PEARCY (1890-1976), anthropologist, the son of Charles Mountford, was born at Hallet in South Australia on 8 May 1890. At the age of 11, he left school to become a farm labourer. Mountford subsequently was employed in a variety of jobs such as a travelling salesman, blacksmith's assistant, conductor of horse drawn trams in Adelaide and telephone mechanic before seeking a further education.

In 1925, his keen interest in Aboriginal Australia prompted him to take a degree at the University of Adelaide and later at Cambridge University where he studied Aboriginal folklore and history. Mountford's primary concern was to gain a better understanding of Aboriginal art.

Between 1937 and 1960 Mountford led 12 scientific expeditions to Central Australia, Arnhem Land and Melville Island. This resulted in the publication of more than 20 books and numerous articles. He was a keen observer of human behaviour and achieved the praise of his colleagues for his ability to interpret the material culture of the Aborigines. It was partly due to his dissemination of informed data that the study of Aboriginal culture has developed in Australia. He also won fame for his use of innovative techniques in filming and photographing Aboriginal art and ritual, and proved to be a leader in this field. Mountford produced six documentary films that have been acclaimed as art in their own right. Geographical societies in both Australia and the United States of America bestowed him with honours.

During the years of his expeditions, he served as Honorary Ethnologist to the South Australian Museum and Honorary Adviser on Aboriginal Art to the South Australian Art Gallery. As a foundation member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra, he was able to influence public policy.

In 1973, the Council of the University of Melbourne admitted Mountford to the Doctor of Letters Honoris Causa for a lifetime of contribution to the study of Aboriginal art and mythology. He married twice, first in 1914 to Florence Judge Purnell, with whom he had two children and who died in 1925. He married again in 1933 to Bessie Ilma Johnston. Once described as 'a self educated academic', Mountford belonged to a generation who were conditioned to divide their energies between earning a living and pursuing academic achievement. Dr Mountford died in Adelaide on 16 December 1976.

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ROBYN MAYNARD, Vol 1.

MOY, FRANCIS HERBERT (FRANK) (1913-1982), teacher, patrol officer, soldier and public servant, was born in Broken Hill, New South Wales, on 8 May 1913, the son of a mining engineer. He was educated at Bundaleer Forest School and Jamestown High School, South Australia, and he was dux of the school and Head Prefect and excelled at sport. His father having died in a mining accident, his mother remarried and it seems that a female relation, possibly an aunt, played an important part in his upbringing.

At the age of 19 Moy applied for a position as a Cadet Patrol Officer in New Guinea along with 2 000 others but it was not until May 1935 that he was invited to take up duty there. Meanwhile he had spent two years as a teacher with the South Australian Education Department. After two probationary years in New Guinea, Moy was sent to the University of Sydney like other cadets at the time to complete **Professor Elkin's** short course in anthropology, before being promoted to Patrol Officer and posted to the Sepik district.

When the war reached New Guinea, Moy joined the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) as a Lieutenant in March 1942. During the Japanese invasion, Moy for a time manned a key observation post above Salamaua and in September led a small party of soldiers in a successful withdrawal on foot and by canoe, eventually reaching Port Moresby after five weeks of arduous and dangerous travel. A year later Moy accompanied the American landing on Bougainville and for some months led patrols through and behind enemy lines 'with infinite resource, courage and efficiency.' For this work and his part in the evacuation of the people of Green Island

before the American landing there in February 1944, and in the May occupation of Emirau, he was later made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) Discharged in February 1946, Moy resumed work as Acting Assistant District Officer in the Sepik district and in May was posted to Manus Island as Acting District Officer. He was on leave from New Guinea when, in early November, he was appointed Director of Native Affairs in the Northern Territory, succeeding another New Guinea hand, [E W P Chinnery](#).

The Native Affairs Branch was under-staffed and under-funded in the post-war years, but the first four Cadet Patrol Officers had been appointed and Moy was able to develop a small but effective patrol service on the New Guinea model. Between 1947 and 1950, seven Patrol Officers took Elkin's six-month course at the University of Sydney. Moy maintained a correspondence with Elkin and helped arrange his annual field trips to the Territory. By September 1950, Moy was able to achieve his aim of terminating the appointments of many police officers as 'protectors of Aborigines' and relying primarily on his own trained staff. He supported the move to establish a training post at the Liverpool River by Patrol Officers Kyle-Little and Doolan in 1949 and the development of new reserve settlements at Hooker Creek (Lajamanu), Yuendumu, Snake Bay (Milikapati) and Beswick Creek (originally at Tandangal) and cattle training projects at Haasts Bluff and Beswick Station.

One of Moy's first initiatives was to convene a conference with pastoralists in Alice Springs in January 1947 to negotiate agreement on improved pay and conditions for Aboriginal workers on the cattle stations. After new regulations finally became effective in July 1949, the inspection of employment on the stations became the main task of the Patrol Officers.

Moy insisted on the return of the people of mixed Aboriginal descent who had been evacuated from the north during the war and had to weather some sharp criticism and press publicity on his handling of this issue. He convened the first conference between the Administration and the missions in August 1948, under the chairmanship of Professor Elkin, and was able to offer greatly increased government support for mission work in health, education and welfare.

In 1947, the Northern Territory Legislative Council was established and Moy was appointed as one of the Official members and had to deal with the criticism by elected members of the administration of Aboriginal affairs. The Aborigines Ordinance remained essentially unchanged since the 1930s and people of mixed descent in Darwin, especially ex servicemen, chafed under the controls imposed on the 'half castes'. With some tacit encouragement from Moy's branch, their leaders campaigned for full citizenship rights and early in 1951 organised an Australian Half-Caste Progressive Association. When Moy in January 1953 was able to introduce amendments to the Ordinance, which had the desired effect, this reform was greeted with general enthusiasm in the Legislative Council and in the community.

Meanwhile Moy had to deal with an embarrassing outbreak of strikes by Aboriginal workers living in the settlements near Darwin in the 1950 and 1951 Wet Season, encouraged by union officials who supported the principle of equal pay for Aboriginal workers. When in January strikers marched towards town, the police were called out and Moy himself addressed the strikers. Charges were laid against the supposed instigators of this and another strike in February, and Moy then used his powers under the Ordinance to have [Fred Waters Nadpur](#), a Larrakia Aborigine and strike leader, removed to the remote Haasts Bluff Reserve. The North Australian Workers' Union (NAWU) saw to it that this action was widely reported in the press and condemned by many southern unions: in Melbourne activists were moved to set up the Aboriginal Rights Council. The NAWU also challenged the action in the High Court, which dismissed the application and ruled that Moy had acted neither illegally nor irresponsibly. The protests had their effect, however, and Waters Nadpur was returned in March after less than six weeks away from Darwin.

Soon after [Paul Hasluck](#) was appointed Minister for Territories in May 1951 he initiated action to amend legislation in order 'to cease using a racial classification for Aborigines' and to replace the Native Affairs Branch with a Welfare Branch, which would provide services to all who needed them. Moy then spent much time working on the drafting of a Welfare Ordinance and new employment legislation. He disagreed bitterly with Hasluck's insistence that the term 'Aboriginal' be completely removed from the draft bill, regarding this as misleading and impractical. When the Legislative Council saw that anyone deemed to be in need of 'special care' could be declared a 'ward' of the Director, both Official and elected members of the Legislative Council fiercely criticised the bill when Moy introduced it in January 1953. A formula was devised to ensure that in fact only Aboriginal people would be declared but, by the time the amended bill was presented and passed in June, Moy had already been transferred to Canberra and an Acting Director appointed. That Hasluck continued to hold a poor opinion of Moy was reflected in his book *Shades of Darkness: Aboriginal Affairs 1925-1965* published in 1988.

Moy's career was effectively stationary in the Department of Territories for years after this. In 1954 and 1955, he took time out to serve as a member of the United Nations Military Observer Group in disputed Kashmir. Minor promotions and reclassifications came his way in the 1960s but after the 1967 referendum he was made available to the Prime Minister's Department to help establish the Office of Aboriginal Affairs and the Council which were to advise Prime Minister Harold Holt. He served as Assistant Director of the Office under Barrie Dexter from 1967 until 1972 and then as First Assistant Secretary in the new Department of Aboriginal Affairs from 1973 until his retirement in 1977.

Moy was again in the national headlines when, on 28 February 1974, he and three other officers of the department were held at gunpoint in his office by an angry young Aboriginal demonstrator for some hours. Aboriginal activists had seized the occasion of the Queen's presence in Canberra for the opening of Parliament to demonstrate in support of land rights and of Charles Perkins, who had been suspended from his post in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs because of his persistent public criticism of the government that employed him. Perkins eventually intervened and the incident ended without further violence.

Moy died suddenly in Canberra on 5 July 1982, aged 69, survived by his wife and son. He had married Nancy Gregory Ryan in 1941 and they had a son and daughter born in Darwin, where the daughter had died. After the death of his wife in Canberra, he married again, his second wife being Mamie Merlin, who in July 1955 had been appointed the first woman Welfare Officer in the Welfare Branch. A half brother and a half sister also survived Moy.

P Hasluck, *Shades of Darkness*, 1988; D McCarthy, *South West Pacific Area First Year*, 1959; P Read, *Charles Perkins*, 1990; T Wise, *The Self-Made Anthropologist*, 1985; *Canberra Times*, 1 March 1974, 7 July 1982, 12 July 1982; Australian Archives, Canberra, A 518/852/1/512 Francis H Moy; Australian War Memorial 54 80/1/2 ANGAU Correspondence with Captain Costelloe & Captain Moy Bougainville 1943/44, 88 AMF 0/A35, AWM Official War History Index Cards 1939/1945.

JEREMY LONG and JULIE T WELLS, Vol 2.

MUIR, WILLIAM DANIEL (BILL) (c1918–1974), soldier and jack-of-all-trades, was born at Willeroo Station in about 1918, the son of Robert Andrew Muir and Nellie Namarwood. Robert's brother was Ernest Clare Muir, alias Jim Campbell, who was a colourful Territory figure, a well known poddy dodger in the Borroloola area where nearby Campbell Springs is named after him. He was eventually speared by Aborigines at Guion Point and is buried at King River.

When Bill was at the age of six or seven Nellie Namarwood became ill and rather than have her son taken from her, as was often the case at the time, she gave him to Sarah and Jim Scully who were working at Willeroo. The Scullys already had eight children of their own but they took Bill and raised him with the rest of their family.

The family lived there until Jim finished fencing and when Bill was about 10, Jim went to work for Vestey's fencing. The police got word that the Scully children were not going to school so they spoke to Mr and Mrs Scully and they were brought back to Darwin so the children could get some education. Bill lived with the Scullys until he was an adult.

Bill got a job as a deck hand on a pearling lugger and during this time met Hilda Rogers, who had been born at Borroloola, but taken from her mother at the age of eight and raised in the old Kahlin Compound in Darwin. At 14, she was chosen to join two other girls for training at the old Darwin Hospital where she 'lived in' and was paid 13 Shillings a week, which went into a trust fund. Although there were restrictions about 'compound girls' mixing with anyone outside their 'restricted' area, Bill and Hilda managed to meet and see each other. One morning Bill was caught in the girls' dormitory and sent to jail. Before his release, the authorities sent Hilda to Katherine to work to separate her from Bill. Hilda was heartbroken and after a few months returned to Darwin where she gave birth to Bill's child. Despite the initial disapproval of Bill's foster parents, who did not want their son to marry a 'compound girl', the young couple were married in 1940. Eventually Hilda became a favourite daughter in law of Mrs Scully, who loved to have Hilda and her family visit her in her Brisbane home.

Bill and Hilda lived with the Scullys for a while after their marriage until they managed to get a house for themselves in Schultze Street while Bill was working for what was then called Native Affairs. After Pearl Harbour was bombed in December 1941, Australian authorities began evacuating most women and children from Darwin. Vin White, the warden for whom Bill worked, decided Hilda and the children should be evacuated too. Bill's foster mother had already gone to Brisbane with a foster brother who needed specialist eye treatment, so in January 1942 Hilda and the family flew out of Darwin in an aircraft to join them.

Bill, who along with many of the other boys of Aboriginal descent had joined the Darwin Mobile Force when they arrived in 1938 and 1939, stayed behind. When the Japanese launched their first devastating raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942, Bill was called into the Army as a soldier. In March 1942, he asked to be transferred to Brisbane because Hilda and their then three children, Cecilia, Harold and Billy, were there. The Army let him transfer to Brisbane where he joined the Second Ninth Battalion, which was leaving almost immediately for Milne Bay in New Guinea, making Bill's stay in Brisbane with his family very short.

Bill spent the next 20 months in New Guinea seeing action in the Milne Bay campaign, and serving on the Kokoda Trail, the Owen Stanley area and the Buna Trail. During any recreation time, he was an active sportsman in the Army. He was recommended for a bravery award following his saving of a man under heavy fire on the front line. Bill was a platoon commander and was offered the rank of Sergeant but declined it, as he did not want to be seen to be 'above' his colleagues. Eventually he was sent back to Australia to train young recruits at Kapooka in New South Wales and ended the war as a Corporal.

During the war, Bill was able to get to Brisbane twice, once from New Guinea on leave and once when he returned to train the recruits. By war's end, Hilda had two more children and when Bill got his discharge in about August 1946, he decided to return to Darwin ahead of his family to make sure they had living accommodation.

He got back his job with Native Affairs and for a while he and Vin White were sent to Alice Springs to meet all the children who had been sent south during the war, and escorted them back to Darwin. Later Bill was sent to Delissaville (Belyuen), where the family was allowed to join him. However, Hilda did not like the isolation, having lived in Brisbane for several years, and so the family moved across the harbour to Darwin. Bill was sent to Berrimah first, where accommodation was available but not very pleasant and, again, very isolated for a young mother with a growing family. Bill was sent away a great deal, particularly to Gove, where the Native Affairs Branch was taking over as much war surplus as it could find. Eventually Bill left the Branch and got a job as an electrical linesman with the Works Branch and the family moved into a Sidney Williams hut in Stuart Park.

Bill was also active after the war in trying to get a better deal for Aboriginal people, joining others like Jack McGinness in fighting for their rights. They formed a Half Caste Association and sent delegates to Canberra to voice their opinions and improve their lot in life.

When land became available in Fannie Bay, and two blocks were reserved for ex servicemen, Bill obtained one of them and built the family home in McColl Street. He worked in a variety of jobs—as a bridge carpenter with McGinnes and later with the railways. He also helped the Forestry Branch plant trees at Howard Springs, Gunn Point and Garden Point, a backbreaking job. Hilda recalled that Bill excelled in everything he did and that this trait carried over to the children.

By this time the Muirs had 10 children, one of whom, Patrick, died as a youngster. The others became prominent in sporting activities, some winning several diving titles, others excelling in cricket, darts, water polo and Territory football, particularly rugby.

When Cyclone Tracy devastated Darwin on Christmas Day 1974 Bill was killed and Hilda and several of the family were injured. When Hilda discovered that Bill's war medals and ribbons had been lost in the cyclone, she asked local historian Peter Spillett to help her get replacements so that she could pass them on to her children as a reminder of the contribution Bill made to his country during a time of national crisis. Following the cyclone Hilda went to Brisbane for a while but returned to Darwin in 1976. She still resided there in 1992, with Bill's medals amongst her most cherished possessions. She was writing her own story to ensure that her unique heritage and her family's history were passed on to future generations of the Muirs and other Territorians.

Article by D Lawrie in *Palmerston Herald*; personal family interviews and notes.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

MUIRHEAD, JAMES HENRY (JIM) (1925–), barrister, Supreme Court Judge, Royal Commissioner and Administrator, was born in Adelaide, South Australia on 24 April 1925, son of Henry Mortimer Muirhead, for many years the Senior Magistrate in South Australia. His maternal grandfather was Sir Richard Butler who had been Premier and Treasurer of South Australia in 1905 and Treasurer again in 1909–1910; in an interesting family connection, Sir Richard was also the Minister responsible for the Northern Territory in 1905 and again in 1909–1910, when the Territory was administered by South Australia.

The Muirhead name was brought to Australia from Glasgow by Henry MacKinnon Muirhead, who established himself as a jeweller in Adelaide in 1850 and was later a member of the first Municipal Council for Glenelg. Henry Muirhead also had an early connection with the Territory. He had purchased a preliminary land order, which entitled him to a 0,2 hectare town lot and 128 rural hectares. When the selections were made in 1870, he became the registered owner of lot 311, Cavenagh Street, later part of the site of the Don Hotel. He sold it and the rural block to **Thomas Reynolds** in 1874 for 150 Pounds, a very handsome profit, given the purchase price of 60 Pounds, three Shillings and 9 Pence. He was one of the few absentee owners who ever made anything out of their Northern Territory speculation. One of his sons, Charles Mortimer Muirhead (Jim Muirhead's grandfather), began the family association with the Law, being a prominent South Australian barrister and Justice of the Peace as well as being well respected in yachting circles.

James Muirhead, following the family tradition, was educated at St Peter's College, and spent one year at the University of Adelaide studying for his Bachelor of Laws degree before he was old enough to join the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). He saw active service from 1943 to 1946 as an infantryman and signaller with the 57th/60th Battalion AIF in Bougainville, New Guinea, and with the 37th/52nd Battalion in Rabaul, New Britain. Upon demobilisation he returned to four more years of university studies at the University of Adelaide, concurrently serving his Articles of Clerkship in a Waymouth Street office. He served as a Judge's Associate in the final year of his training and was admitted to the South Australian Bar in 1950. He practised in the partnership of Thomson, Beatrice, Ross and Lewis, and was appointed Queen's Counsel in 1967.

On 4 February 1950, he married Margaret Hamilton Frayne from Adelaide, and they have four children—a daughter and three sons. Jim Muirhead first served as a Judge of the Local and District Criminal Court of South Australia in 1970–1972 and then went to Papua New Guinea for five months as an Acting Judge of the Supreme Court in 1972–1973, under Chief Justice Sir John Minoghue. In 1973, he was seconded to establish the Australian Institute of Criminology in Canberra, being appointed Acting Director of that Institute. In 1974, Muirhead was appointed as the second residential Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, alongside **Sir William Forster**. Upon the setting up of the Federal Court of Australia, Jim Muirhead also served concurrently as a Judge of that Court from 1977 to 1986.

It is in the former capacity however, that Muirhead is often most remembered, as the Northern Territory Supreme Court Judge who presided over the trial of Michael and Lindy Chamberlain, who were convicted on 29 October 1982 after the case had been re-opened by the Attorney-General, **Paul Everingham**. Of this case, Muirhead has said: 'As to the trials of Mr and Mrs Chamberlain, I have always declined to comment in public. I must be one of the few who have not written a book about it. I sometimes wonder what the jury who assisted me at that trial think about it all. The crown case was well conducted—as was the defence. I believe the trial was a fair one. The full court of the federal court found it to be so, so did the High Court of Australia. The convictions have now been set aside by the processes of a Royal Commission and a special Act of Parliament'.

Whilst in the Northern Territory, he was twice called upon to be sworn in as Acting Administrator, once in 1980 and again during the absence of the Administrator in late 1982. On 4 February 1983, he was appointed Acting Administrator with a Dormant Commission, empowered to administer the Government of the Territory when neither the Administrator nor Chief Justice (who held the first Dormant Commission) was available, and he acted in that capacity on a further two occasions. Jim Muirhead remained in Darwin until September 1985 when he moved to Western Australia, there to enjoy his retirement years. He later recalled that until this time, 'life had been a bit wearing and I felt as if I had been a Judge forever. By coincidence, I read the words of a Chinese philosopher

Lao Tse, “If you do not resign in time, you will not only lose your fame but, unable any longer to perform your duties adequately, you also betray your trust”. Whacko, that’s just what I needed. “We’re off” I said to my wife’. After just three months of freedom, however, he was asked by the Commonwealth to continue on as a resident Judge of the Federal Court of Western Australia.

He returned to the Northern Territory, again at the behest of the Commonwealth, in April 1987 as Acting Judge of the Supreme Court. He served until October of that year when he was requested by the Prime Minister to be Commissioner of the joint State-Federal Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody—which he has described as ‘one of the saddest and most difficult tasks of my life’. Initially appointed to inquire into the deaths of some 39 Aboriginal people over the preceding decade, he soon found that there had in fact been approximately 100 deaths. Seeking assistance, four further Commissioners were appointed with Jim Muirhead at the helm and, in December 1988, he issued an interim report designed to minimise continuation of custodial deaths and to bring to the attention of governments practices and procedures that required immediate attention. After making these 56 interim recommendations, dealing with practices rather than philosophies, he resigned from that position in April 1989.

On 1 July 1989, he took up a two-year appointment as Administrator of the Northern Territory, this being extended by the Commonwealth Government in 1991 for a further 12 months. In mid-1992, Jim Muirhead sought, and was granted, a further extension until 4 December 1992, on which date he chose to retire. The Territory’s 14th Administrator, and third since self-government, Muirhead took a distinctive approach to this office. He used Government House extensively for official engagements and courtesy calls, and he opened the house to the public on four occasions for the National Trust. He was also responsible for instituting a Government House Advisory Committee to advise on and oversee continuing improvements and renovations to the house to maintain its historic charm and significance. He expressed his reasoning as follows: ‘We take the view that Government House, that unique old building known as “The House of Seven Gables”, with such an interesting history, belongs to the people of the Territory—it is their house and should be utilised as such. It is to the credit of Governments of all persuasions that the old place has been repaired and reinstated, not demolished, despite severe damage resulting from both war and cyclone’.

During Jim Muirhead’s term as Administrator, he was Patron of 74 organisations, and held appointments as Deputy Prior of the Order of St John in the Northern Territory, Chief Scout in the Northern Territory, and Chairman of the Nugget Coombs Forum for Indigenous Studies at the North Australia Research Unit. He was also the second Honorary Colonel of the North West Mobile Force (NORFORCE), a unit some 500-strong responsible for surveillance in the Northern Territory and the Kimberley region of Western Australia.

In comparison with earlier administrators who held power in the Northern Territory in their own right, Muirhead said of the modern office of administrator, ‘I observe the Administrators I have known have performed their tasks well—yet all differently. The exercise of constitutional responsibilities within the Territory, presiding at meetings of Executive Council, is not normally a difficult exercise. But my predecessors saw their role in much broader perspective, a perspective inevitably influenced by the destruction of Darwin in the cyclone, rebuilding processes and legislative changes. Since self-government the constitutional role of the Administrator in the legislative process has probably reduced. But the people of the Territory, as a whole, have seen more of their Administrators and I suspect this will continue’. Referring to his frequently called upon role as a public speaker, Muirhead often drew attention to the fact that, as a vice-regal representative, he was expected to remain mute on political or controversial issues: ‘I can’t speak even vaguely politically (at least in this Territory) as many of the great issues confronting society today are issues principally because politicians have made them so, I am virtually muzzled—the classic stuffed shirt—a squeaker of meaningless clichés—robust no more’.

This, and other statements notwithstanding, Muirhead drew headlines in the Territory print media on Anzac Day 1992, and great support from the populace, when he referred to attempts to distance Australia from its British heritage. Addressing an audience in Katherine, he said: ‘Those of us today, who served in the Second World War and recall the history and progress of that war, may be rather perplexed by some of the utterances we hear from those who do not remember those days. I certainly am. We hear criticisms today which seem to be politically inspired and directed largely at England. Complaints which suggest that the British left us in the lurch in times of need, that Australia’s contribution to the Middle East war and other areas were undervalued and placed our country at risk. I think it better not to take too much to heart. I hope it is a temporary phenomenon. Those who so speak, do so for their own reasons. They seem to have no concept of the then competing demands of total global warfare, of fluctuating exigencies. Such statements tend to disregard the courage of the British Armed Services and England’s civilian population under air attack in those critical days when the future of the free world, including Australia, depended almost entirely on the capacity of the people of the United Kingdom to fight almost alone and to endure when the odds were well and truly weighed against them. So let us leave history to the historians, but never turn our back on old friends’.

He often spoke on the topic of the Australian Aborigine, a subject on which he became an authority from his long association with the relationship between the Aboriginal people and the law. One of his earliest associations was as a party to the now famous decision of the Northern Territory Supreme Court in the case of *Regina v Anunga* in 1976, which lay down guidelines (the ‘Anunga Rules’) for the interrogation of Aboriginal suspects.

For his service in the Second World War, Jim Muirhead received the 1939–1945 Star, Pacific Star, War Medal and Australian Service Medal, while in 1977 he received Queen Elizabeth’s Silver Jubilee Medal. In 1989 he was appointed a Knight of Grace of the Order of St John (KStJ) and on Australia Day 1991 he was appointed Companion of the Order of Australia (AC) in the General Division, for public service and for service to the law.

James Muirhead's lifetime of service was summarised by the Chairman of the National Crime Authority and Federal Court Judge, John Phillips, as follows: 'Throughout his career, His Honour's conduct of his judicial responsibilities has been distinguished by his learning, unfailing courtesy and strong sense of duty... So, four times a Judge, then Royal Commissioner and Administrator. Six appointments under the Crown and a lifetime spent in the honourable discharge of them'.

J H Muirhead, 'Discharge the Jury?', Menzies School of Health Research Oration, 1989; J H Muirhead, 'The Australian Aboriginal and the Law', First Victorian Institute of Forensic Pathology Oration, 20 October 1990; J H Muirhead, Anzac Day Address, Katherine, 25 April 1992; Personal correspondence and conversations with Hon J H Muirhead, 1992–1994 and various public addresses, 1989–1992; Northern Territory Land Titles Office records; P A Rosenzweig 'The Retirement of the Honourable J H Muirhead, AC QC', *Sabretache*, XXXIV, 1993.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, *Vol 3*.

MULDOON, PHILIP FRANCIS (1897–1979), clerk, mounted policeman and gaol governor, was born at Mount Barker, South Australia on 3 May 1897, son of John Joseph Muldoon, born County Meath, Ireland and Mary Jane, *nee* Peake, of Mount Barker. Philip was the tenth of 13 children, there being four females and nine males.

Educated at the Hahndorf College, he left school at 14 years of age and initially worked for a short time on the family mixed farm at Mount Barker named 'Butterfield', and as an assistant to a local blacksmith. The year 1914 saw Philip employed by the Post Master General's Department (PMG). As a postal delivery boy he first worked at Mount Barker, then following his father's death in 1914 his mother moved to Adelaide where Philip worked as a clerk in the stores section of the PMG and from there he was sent to Mount Gambier. Philip then accepted a transfer to Darwin where he arrived on the steam ship *Mataram* on 4 April 1918. An early Darwin experience was to witness the riot that culminated in the removal of Administrator Gilruth from office.

On the 19 May 1919, Philip Muldoon was appointed to the Northern Territory Mounted Police. After two years service in Darwin he was transferred to Timber Creek as assistant to Mounted Constable (MC) Tom Turner, already a legendary figure of the force. Back in Darwin in 1923, Muldoon was sent by motor launch to Borroloola in order to escort five white prisoners back to Darwin on a charge relating to cattle duffing. One of the accused was **Bill Harney**, whose charge was eventually dismissed. In later years, Harney became a patrol officer, the first ranger at Ayers Rock (Uluru) and author of 14 books of great Northern Territory interest.

In 1924, MC Muldoon was relieving officer in Katherine. A short time later, he was sent to relieve Senior Constable (SC) **John Lovegrove** at Newcastle Waters. As SC Lovegrove had been promoted to Sergeant he was transferred to Rankine River and MC Muldoon remained at Newcastle Waters until 1929.

He took leave in 1928, during which time he met, became engaged to and married Bertilla Williams. The marriage was celebrated at The Queen of Angels Catholic Church at Thebarton, South Australia, on 12 May 1928. Early in 1929, Mrs Muldoon went to Adelaide for the birth of their first child. While she was away, MC Muldoon went on a long car patrol with Chief Stock Inspector Bishop to cover the cattle stations of the Barkly Downs regions. During the trip, Muldoon became very ill and was flown from Brunette Downs to the Camooweal Hospital by the newly established Flying Doctor Service. The diagnosis was black water fever (dengue), which proved to be most serious and near fatal. Eventually recovering but still not well he returned to Newcastle Waters then travelled to Alice Springs in time to greet his wife and new son, Brian Vincent, on the first passenger train to arrive in August 1929.

In May 1930, Muldoon was offered a transfer to either Canberra or Alice Springs owing to his continued ill health. The family chose Alice Springs but because of a problem with the Central Australian Government Resident, V G Carrington, he was first sent to Arltunga then Barrow Creek. A little later, he was transferred to Alice Springs for two years. Early in 1933, Muldoon returned to Barrow Creek, but as there was increased mining activity at Tennant Creek, he was required to combine his police duties with that of mining warden. By 1935, there was need for a warden closer to Tennant Creek so he set up his office in the old Telegraph Station, 12 kilometres north of the present township. With the appointment of a fulltime mining warden at Tennant Creek, Muldoon's police duties increased again and his mining warden's role was confined to the wolfram fields of Wauchope and Hatches Creek.

His second child, Patricia Anne, was born in Adelaide House, Alice Springs in 1937 and by then his health was still far from good. Mounted Constable Muldoon resigned from the police force to become Keeper of His Majesty's Gaol and Labour Prison in Alice Springs. He served in this position from 1 November 1938 to 11 October 1958. The prison complex being new, Muldoon took it over from the builders and then had the major task of fitting it all out, the building cost having been 15 888 Pounds and 17 Shillings. Until other staff were appointed he was on call 24 hours a day. The gaol complex became a maximum-security prison and the grounds the showplace of Alice Springs. Citrus trees flourished, as did native shade trees, vegetable gardens and magnificent arrays of flowers. The first town tennis court was built within its confines, for recreational purposes for the inmates during the week; the weekends for reasonable town use.

Officer Muldoon treated all prisoners alike, from Aborigine to European. A strict code of work ethic was maintained. Huge dumps of firewood were established for prison use as well as for other government instrumentalities. A most humane and dedicated Christian man thus created a model prison system.

Many are the stories circulated by ex-inmates, townspeople of the era and media alike. All tell of a kindness exhibited by this man who treated all people as equals. However one story is true; the time when **Olive Pink** was ordered by the court to serve a few days in prison, or pay a small fine, for some misdemeanour. Being something of an eccentric anthropologist and 'do gooder', she refused to pay the fine and chose the short prison sentence. Alarmed at having Miss Pink as a guest, Officer Muldoon paid the fine from his own pocket and suffered much chagrin from the lady in question for quite some time to follow. Throughout Philip Muldoon's time in charge of

the Alice Springs Gaol, he showed a genuine and personal interest in the overall running of the complex as well as the gardens, and towards the well being of his staff and especially his inmates.

Failing health from his earlier bouts of malaria and Blackwater fever caused Philip Muldoon to retire on 11 October 1958 at the age of 61 after 40 years of Northern Territory employment. On retirement, he received an Imperial Service Medal from the Queen.

The Muldoons initially retired to 53 Bath Street, Alice Springs. Some six years later, they decided that a move south to the Adelaide area would suit them better. A home was purchased in Henley Beach, South Australia, and they departed Alice Springs on 8 July 1964, Philip having been resident for 46 years in the Northern Territory and Bertilia Muldoon for 36 years.

Philip Muldoon, like other early Northern Territory police officers, was most respected by everyone. His duties as first mining warden in the earliest days of the Tennant Creek gold rush make him one of the 'Founding Fathers' of this sizeable and progressive town of today. However, he is most remembered for his 20-year term as keeper of the first modern prison in Alice Springs.

Philip Muldoon, a man of high Christian principle, dedication to work, good citizen and family man, died on 9 June 1979 survived by his wife and two children. Bertilla Muldoon followed him on 12 June 1990, their son Brian having died in October 1985.

Information from P Davey; B Elverd; K Mooney Smith; C Muldoon; P Muldoon, 'Memoirs', unpublished manuscript; personal knowledge.

MAX CARTWRIGHT, *Vol 3.*

MULHOLLAND, PATRICK JAMES (JACK or MULL) (1911–1982), bushman and publican, was born in County Kerry in Ireland in 1911. When Jack was 14 years old, he and his brother were involved in political trouble in his hometown. His brother was captured and executed. Jack's well off family hid him and one night put him aboard the first available ship leaving Ireland. He worked in the Royal Navy and had no further contact with his family. He arrived in Australia in 1932. On reaching Sydney, Jack Mulholland quickly made his way overland to the Northern Territory.

During the Second World War, he established a camp in a swamp on Muckaty Station, which was owned by **Fred Ulyatt**, whose wife was an O'Shea. Mulholland was a conscientious objector and lay low, leading a simple life. He saved old batteries and taught himself the complete workings of the radio. This was a skill that would stand him in good stead the rest of his life. In 1927, Tim O'Shea had started the McArthur River Hotel in Borroloola and his brother John ran it for him. Jack Mulholland was known to have acted as chauffeur for the O'Shea brothers on occasion. He would drive them to Birdum and Katherine so they could transact their business. In their outstretched hand would be their calling card, a bottle of rum! John O'Shea died in 1944 and Jack Mulholland arrived in Borroloola to run the hotel for Tim. The hotel was up on stumps and constructed of corrugated iron. It had wide verandahs and there was a saddlery shed to the rear of the building.

As the war ended the Army encampment outside Borroloola disappeared and hotel patron numbers dwindled. Jack took his wages in cigars and rum. Life was quiet and he spent his time reading 'penny dreadfuls' and repairing valve radios. The drovers who plied their trade used to sit the Wet out 'in the Loo'. They would bring their Marconi sets in for Mull to repair. This often meant giving them a good clean to remove the dust or tightening the glass valves into position. Grog and beef was the usual method of payment.

In October 1948, Jack married Andrea (locally as Jemima) Amorlerah, daughter of Ban-Joe (Banjo) and Judy from Borroloola. Her brother, Mussolini Harvey, later lived in Darwin. Andrea bore him five sons: Alexander Frederick (1945), Patrick John/James (1949), Francis John/Steven (1951, deceased), Kevin Edward (1955) and Victor James (1957). Andrea suffered from anaemia and was unable to carry girls. Two daughters are buried under the tamarind trees.

The children were brought up in the Aboriginal camp until they were removed to Darwin. Mull complained to the Roman Catholic Bishop, who interceded and had the children returned to Borroloola. Some time later the Bishop asked Mull's permission for the church to raise the children. Mull consented and the three oldest went to Melville Island to be educated. Victor and Kevin went to Darwin and were raised by Mary Swan. Andrea died in November 1961.

Jack was a short, stocky fellow with a thatch of dark hair. He was fit and a strong walker. He was a quiet person when sober and he did not talk about his past. Unlike many residents of the time, he did not attempt to grow fruit or vegetables. He survived on food brought to him from the Aboriginal camp.

During the 1950's the police impounded his T model Ford which had a Bedford rear axle to give it good traction. An Alice Springs store put a lien against his property because of an unpaid debt. The Ford sat in the Welfare yard for two years but no one wanted to buy the vehicle so it was returned to Jack. In 1961, David Attenborough made a film entitled *The Hermits of Borroloola* that featured Jack Mulholland. In it, he displayed a strong Irish accent and a laconic sense of humour. During the 1950s and 1960s, Jack spent time on local cattle stations, such as Spring Creek. There he carried out dingo baiting, prospecting and crocodile shooting.

After Tattersall's Hotel closed in 1960 after suffering cyclone damage and fire, Mull moved into the post office. It had been the saddlery shed. Branding irons hung from the wooden pegs that once held saddles. The wooden floor showed adze marks and the planks did not meet properly. Mull became the Post Master and when he up-ended the mailbags lots of letters would fall through the cracks in the floor onto the ground below. He would send kids under the building to collect the stray letters. The mail came in fortnightly. Mull also served a useful purpose safe keeping important items for people passing through and returning them to their owners.

In about 1962, he moved to look after Dick Pepper's store. Dick had purchased Mrs Marshall's store which on the north side of Rocky Creek, and moved it to the current site of the Borroloola Inn. Initially Jack was employed to drive a Thorneycroft truck to Darwin to get the store supplies. In the wet season, the truck would invariably bog on the dirt road from Daly Waters to Borroloola. Jack would walk into town, returning with packhorses to the vehicle to unload perishable items. Whilst caretaker at the store Jack liked to party with Arthur Mawson and Ron Kerr. Jack's favourite song was 'Me and Bobby McGee'.

In 1966, a group of Borroloola citizens, including Jack, formed the Borroloola Amateur Race Club. The racecourse encircled the pub and tamarind trees and the starting post was at Pear Tree Creek.

With the construction of the sealed beef road in 1968 Jack, who did not like crowds, moved to the Two Mile and lived simply in a little caravan with a tin shed beside. There was a little spring nearby. He kept a pet goanna and a King Brown snake as pets. He enjoyed the company of bushies. Ron Kerr often rode out to visit Jack and give him meat. He would leave it to become flyblown, then trim off the maggoty bit and eat the rest. In the 1970s, he went onto the old age pension. He would walk into Borroloola to buy some rations: flour, sugar, tea, onions, potatoes and chocolate were put into a hessian bag and put over his shoulder.

In 1982, Bill Barrett was working in the bar of Borroloola Inn when a visitor came asking for Jack. The bloke hadn't seen Jack for 11 years. Bill gave him directions to Jack's camp and sometime later, he returned saying, 'A nice bastard you are, there's only a hand left'. Jack had died sometime during the humid March of 1982 and was not found until sometime later. His outstretched hand was near a bottle of heart pills. The body was sent away for autopsy but the cause of death could not be determined. Rumour has it that one of Jack's pet King Brown's bit him. He is buried to the west of the Borroloola and a concrete cross marks the grave erected on 4 April 1982, the date of his interment.

D Attenborough, *Quest Under Capricorn*, 1963; J A Whitaker, *Borroloola*, 1985.

JUDY WHITAKER, Vol 3.

MURAKAMI, YASUKICHI (1880–1944), businessman, community leader, inventor and a pioneer of the cultured pearl industry in northern Australia, was born on 19 December 1880 at Tanami, Wakayama Prefecture, Japan. He was the second son of Jebei and Yasu Murakami. His father was a prosperous farmer and fisherman. Yasukichi Murakami completed his education at the Wakayama Teacher Training College, graduating with an education diploma. Shortly after completing his education he accepted an invitation from his brother-in-law Asari Masutaro to visit the pearling ground of northern Western Australia. He was one of many young Japanese men who had left their towns and villages to seek their fortune in the Australian pearling industry. Murakami was able to find work as a labourer on his arrival at Cossack, Western Australia on 8 August 1897. However, this slight, good-looking youth soon caught the interest of a wealthy childless Japanese, Tomasi Nishioka who, with his wife Eki, became his patron.

Murakami learned to speak fluent English, taught himself bookkeeping and studied areas of maritime law relevant to the pearling industry. Amongst Nishioka's many business enterprises was a photographic shop run by his wife. This was to kindle Murakami's lifelong interest in photography. The few examples of his work that remain are a useful historical record of the Japanese pioneers of northern Australia.

It was not difficult for Japanese men of Murakami's quick wit and intelligence to succeed in northern Australia in those days. Although there was some animosity toward them because of their racial origins it was well recognised that the pearling industry depended on them and even the politicians accepted that they made excellent settlers. During 1876–77 the South Australian government that administered the Northern Territory had unsuccessfully negotiated with the Japanese government to encourage the establishment of a Japanese colony in the Territory.

When Cossack began to wane as a business centre Murakami and the Nishiokas transferred their businesses to Broome, Western Australia. Murakami branched out on his own and when Nishioka died, he managed the Nishioka enterprises for Eki for some time.

In 1904, Captain Ancell Clement Gregory arrived in Broome. He was an excellent mariner and an astute businessman. He was an extraordinary man, with the air of a swashbuckler but noted also for his courtesy toward women and his ability to mix in 'polite society'. Although quite different in appearance and background to Murakami, they both were adventurous, ambitious, young and eager to succeed. These two men must have appeared an odd pair but they became lifelong partners and friends.

Serious race riots occurred in Broome in 1920 during which the local police inspector died from a heart attack and four Koepangers and two Japanese were killed. Murakami and Gregory played a significant part in the peace negotiations that followed; indeed Murakami became well known for his ability to mediate with the various races living in Broome. Later he was accepted, not only amongst the pearling fraternity, but also within the general community. Dr Tadashi Suzuki, whose Japanese hospital was staffed by sisters from the St John of God Convent, and the Australian Dr Haynes became his close personal friends.

Murakami married an Australian girl of Japanese descent, Shigeno (Theresa) Murato at Cossack on 10 January 1920. Nine children were born of the marriage, Kathleen, Francis, Margaret, Richard, Bernadette, Joseph, Michael, Peter and Paul. Theresa Murakami was a Catholic. Murakami, a Buddhist, was to later become a Catholic, too.

In the year of his marriage, Prince Fushimi Hiroyasu on behalf of the Japanese Industry Association presented Murakami with an award. The Japanese diplomatic corps in Australia had recommended the award in recognition of his services in promoting friendship and trade between Japan and Australia.

Murakami became increasingly concerned with the tragic loss of life amongst the divers. The diving dress was heavy, restricted movement and depended on air being pumped from the lugger. There had been few improvements made to it since its adaptation by Augustus Siebe in 1863. When Murakami's brother-in-law Asari drowned in a diving accident, Murakami set about trying to improve the dress. His only previous experience as an inventor was with surgical instruments that he improvised for the Broome doctors. He took out three patents on his improved diving suit which included air tanks, thus lessening the likelihood of drowning through the air pipe being fouled or severed.

Murakami and Gregory became involved with experiments in cultured pearl farming, an unpopular venture with the pearlers, who saw cultured pearls as a serious threat to their industry. Murakami visited the Mikimoto pearl farms in Japan where he was invited by Mikimoto to stay and study the industry. However, Murakami declined the offer because he was anxious to return to his family and businesses in Australia.

In 1934 or 1935, Murakami with his family settled in Darwin. Captain Gregory already had become established there and both men anticipated a secure and profitable future. The town was only a few hours sail from the Aru and Taninbar islands which were considered suitable areas for cultured pearl production, there were plans to base the pearling fleet in Darwin where fuel could be purchased from the navy tanks for less than half the price of fuel in Broome, there were to be facilities for packing pearl shell and Darwin had a safe harbour for the luggers to 'lay up' during the cyclone season.

Murakami opened a photographic shop, which was very successful due to the large number of troops in the area who wanted photographs taken to send home. He gave Japanese language tuition to some of the troops and indeed some worked for him occasionally.

Murakami assisted visiting scientists by photographing their specimens and assisted the local police during a murder investigation through photographing forensic evidence.

The younger Murakami children attended St Mary's Convent School and their mother became involved in church and school affairs. Murakami had brought his Sunbeam motorcar with him, so there was transport to picnics and other entertainment.

Although there was some resentment against the local Japanese because of Japan's war with China, to this day old residents speak well of the Japanese residents of Darwin who were there until 1941.

Murakami became a member of the Darwin Japanese Club. He had been a committee member of the Broome Japanese Club for 17 years and had been presented with a valuable gold cup for his community service. Because of the close liaison between the two clubs he was able to renew old friendships and to make the acquaintance of some of the European community such as [Xavier Herbert](#), who also frequented the club. Through his association with the club, he again became counsellor and mediator to some of the lugger crews. Crews of the luggers who were sick, injured or who had completed their indentures were sometimes helped financially to return to Japan. The divers, probably because of their dangerous work, were not always noted for their frugality or sobriety and it was through the efforts of Murakami and the other Japanese residents of Darwin that riots similar to those in Broome did not occur in Darwin.

As the threat of war increased the older Japanese who had spent almost all their lives in northern Australia became increasingly concerned for the future. Although Japan was their fatherland Australia was their home. Some had Australian wives, children and grandchildren. Resentment against them increased but the Japanese believed they would receive fair treatment if there was war with Japan.

Two of these Japanese were Iwumatsu John Nakashiba and Jiro Muramatsu. Nakashiba had lived Darwin for over 40 years and was a 'free man with the Commonwealth'. He was the Darwin agent for Japanese vessels using the port, arranging necessary customs documentation and acting as an interpreter. He had played a leading role during the negotiations to base the pearling fleet at Darwin and it was through his efforts that Japanese who died at sea could be buried in Darwin. It is against Japanese custom to be buried at sea, thus until Nakashiba's efforts, Japanese dead had to be taken to Java. Nakashiba had a European wife and an adopted European son.

Jiro Muramatsu was another well-respected member of the Darwin community. He arrived at Cossack with his parents in 1890. His father Sakutaro became a successful businessman. Jiro completed his education at Xavier College, Melbourne, and became a naturalised Australian. In 1901, certain Australian states disenfranchised 'aboriginal natives of Australia, Asia, Africa and the Islands of the Pacific'. Muramatsu was deeply hurt and appealed against the loss of his citizenship to the High Court without success. With the decline of Cossack, he moved to Darwin and continued to operate a successful business. During the Depression, these men convinced many people who were planning to try their luck in America to stay in Darwin where there was a sure future for them when good times returned.

By 1940 military intelligence staff were preparing dossiers on the Japanese and their families, albeit with some difficulty, because according to local intelligence there was nothing of any consequence to report. Plans were made for their arrest in the event of war with Japan. When Pearl Harbour was bombed the plan worked quickly and efficiently. Guards were stationed outside the Japanese homes and the children were removed from their school under armed guard. It was understood by the Japanese that this was done to protect them. They were removed to Adelaide River for almost two weeks, a long truck journey for those who were old, sick or pregnant and for the babies and young children. On their return to Darwin, they found their homes looted; in one instance even a child's tricycle had been stolen.

The Japanese with their families were taken to HMAT *Zealandia* and sailed south along with Darwin evacuees on 20 December 1941. *Zealandia* was later sunk during the first Japanese raid on Darwin in February 1942.

The old men, women and children were interned at Tatura Internment Camp, Victoria. Families were broken up when men over sixteen years of age were reclassified as prisoners of war. Some, including one of Murakami's sons, were for some time imprisoned in the maximum-security prisoner-of-war camp at Hay, New South Wales.

Captain Gregory left Darwin after the first Japanese raid. He died in Perth, Western Australia, on 23 December 1942.

Murakami died at Tatura Camp on 26 June 1944; his friend Muramatsu also died in interment.

Theresa Murakami with her children and grandchildren were released from internment in 1947. Destitute and unable to return to her home in Darwin she settled in Perth, Western Australia. She returned to Darwin in 1957 where she died on 25 April 1981. She is buried in the Darwin cemetery.

Yasukichi Murakami was later re-interred at the Japanese cemetery, Cowra, New South Wales. He was never formally charged or convicted of any offence against Australia nor was any compensation given to his widow for her loss of freedom and property. No official attempt was ever made to restore their honour.

Perhaps modern Darwin, with its ready acceptance and tolerance of people of all races owes something to the example set by those Japanese pioneers of the Northern Territory.

M Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 1982; D C S Sissons, *Episodes*, nd; AAO, CRS A 367-c 70167; AA, Darwin, CRJ F1, 41/438, 37/360, 38/540; Australian Parents Office Records, NT State Reference Library, 1525/26, 1661/26, 9538/27; NT Register of Deaths, 155/51/11/1899; NTA, Oral History Records, 1981/162, 1984/11, 1987/11; SAA, PRG 456/19; Letters to author from X Herbert, T Millner, T Prourt, DCS Sissons.

FAY KILGARIFF, *Vol 1*.

MURRAY, RENNISON JAMES (RENN) (1944–1993), draftsman and community worker, was born on 23 August 1944 at Elsternwick, Victoria, son of Donald Buchanan Murray and Edythe Victoria Hope, *nee* Powell. He was educated in Melbourne, served an apprenticeship as a motor mechanic and trained as a mechanical and structural draftsman at night school.

He arrived in Darwin in January 1981 at a time when a considerable building programme was underway in Darwin. He worked as a freelance draftsman on such projects as the naval patrol boat base, West Lane Carpark, Highway House, Palmerston, Tracy Lodge extensions and the restoration of the Administrator's office on the Esplanade.

He married Tricia Ann Fourro, *nee* Wust, on 23 August 1985 at Christ Church Anglican Cathedral. They had lived together at Stuart Park from the end of 1982. They met soon after Renn came to Darwin when both were living at the Red Shield Hostel. Both were single parents; Renn rearing two sons and Trish three children and their home quickly became a refuge for destitute people. From the time he arrived in Darwin Renn had been concerned about the plight of the 'drunks, the destitute, the long grass people' and the reasons why many refused to accept orthodox help. He established ANSTI—A New Start Towards Independence—in June 1982. It was founded on the theory that people should be responsible for their own actions. As he put it, 'If a youth decides to walk out on a home environment simply because of a dislike for discipline or similar, they should not be encouraged to exploit welfare and public sympathy... to help them... The last thing any society needs is a continuous supply of newcomers learning how to exploit the system'. He continued drafting at night and during the day spent his time talking to 'his people' trying to find out what they would accept as help in order to get their lives together. With Tricia's help, they would make sandwiches and walk through the gardens and along Mindil beach dispensing conversation, first aid and food.

In 1983 Renn and Tricia moved to Trower Road, Jingili, to a house which became known as 'ANSTI house' in order to provide better facilities for a 'live-in opportunity centre'. At the same time, clinics for the homeless under the auspices of ANSTI were held twice a week at Christ Church Cathedral. By then Renn had given up drafting so he could help people on a full-time basis. But the routine was the same: mornings given to handing out sandwiches, first aid and comfort and the rest of the day helping people living in ANSTI house. With only Tricia's income from the Sunrise Centre, they soon became short of funds. On 4 September 1984, ANSTI became incorporated so government help could be sought. Although their early work was done on foot, about 1985 they put a 'coffee bus' on the road so that more people could be reached.

The value of their work was recognised by government and a 15-hectare block of land was granted to them at Bees Creek; ANSTI Initiatives was born. Renn, with the help of long grass people, set about building huts for them and other destitute people to live in while they got their lives sorted out. Rehabilitation and training schemes were put into operation with the help of relevant professionals. The complex was opened on 6 December 1988.

In 1990, more funding was sought from Territory and federal sources and Edythe Lodge was built as a hostel for Alcohol Related Brain Damaged people. As the Northern Territory's first 'dementia hostel' its opening on 25 September 1991 was hailed as a 'landmark' and much praised by interstate experts. In terms of social welfare, Renn Murray was something of a maverick, as he had no time for those who spent money without achieving anything. As the Chief Minister, Marshall Perron, was later to say: 'He was outspoken on his self-developed theories on alcohol abuse and dependence generally, and this did not make him popular in the more orthodox welfare circles but that was just fine with Renn Murray. He was far more interested in delivering practical care to a long grasser than he was in being welcomed into the growing welfare establishment'. Renn Murray did not believe there was any such thing as an alcoholic 'only people who could not handle their liquor or the problems which crop up in life'. As he put it, 'People should be encouraged to develop their abilities, not to dwell on their failures'. He never judged need by colour, race or creed—he only saw the need of the person.

Renn became a member of a number of ministerial advisory committees and in 1986; ANSTI won a Northern Territory Peace Award 'for services to the homeless in Darwin, particularly with rehabilitation of people with alcohol-related problems'. In January 1994, Renn Murray was named 1993 Citizen of the Year but he had died

of cancer on 1 September 1993. He was survived by his widow, Tricia, and two sons, Rennison and Carl and stepchildren Jo-Ann, Rodney and Peter. A service according to the rites of the Anglican Church was held at Christ Church Cathedral, Darwin. He was cremated at Thorak cemetery and his ashes returned to Melbourne. A memorial was erected at the Bees Creek property where his work still continues.

During the sittings of the Legislative Assembly on 21 October 1993 the Chief Minister, Marshall Perron, paid tribute to Renn's work, saying: 'He had personal knowledge of what alcohol abuse can do to a person and a family... He did not start with a round of community consultation leading to yet another submission asking for a government grant. Renn Murray used whatever money he could earn to offer a cup of coffee, food and a caring word to people whom most of us do not choose to pass the time of day with. He was that rare human being, a man who did not lecture and did not censure. He cared genuinely about people and realised the value of a kind word and a little caring and sharing to those who really need it'.

Centralian Advocate, 9 December 1988; family information; *Northern Territory News*, 9 December 1986, 7 December 1988, 13 December 1988, 9 June 1990, 21 June 1990, 3 September 1993, 15 November 1993, 3 April 1995; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 14 October 1993, 21 October 1993; *Sunday Territorian*, 24 March 1985.

TRICIA FOURRO-MURRAY and HELEN J WILSON, *Vol 3*.

MURRAY, WILLIAM GEORGE (1884–196?), policeman, was born at Yark in Victoria in 1884, the son of William Henry Murray and wife Mary Jane, *nee* Mills. He served in the Australian Imperial Force during the First World War, winning renown as a marksman at Gallipoli and being discharged in 1919 as a Sergeant. He joined the Northern Territory police in 1919, being posted almost immediately to Rankine River. In subsequent years in postings at Lake Nash and Arltunga he built up a reputation of being tough and effective. Tall and powerfully built, he enjoyed the often harsh outback life.

In 1926, he was appointed Constable in charge of the Barrow Creek police station, a position that carried with it the title of Chief Protector of Aborigines.

In August, September and October 1928 he led three patrols to bring to 'justice' Warlpiri Aborigines who had killed the pastoralist Fred Brooks on Coniston Station. Thirty-one Aboriginal people were later officially acknowledged as being killed during these expeditions but the real number was at least twice that figure. Men, women and children were shot without discrimination. Wounded Aborigines were chained to trees and left to die. Two Aborigines Murray arrested were later tried in Darwin and acquitted.

On 13 December 1928, following widespread national criticism of what became known as the 'Coniston Massacre', the federal government appointed a board of three to inquire into Murray's actions. The board concluded on 7 February 1929 that the patrols and shootings were justified. Murray was hailed among some as 'the hero of Central Australia', but there were many other observers who condemned the board's methods and findings.

Soon after the inquiry, Murray was posted away from Barrow Creek 'for further training'. He died in Adelaide during the 1960s, survived by his wife. An admiring Sidney Downer wrote in his history of the Northern Territory Police that 'he successfully conducted the final war between white men and Aborigines in Central Australia'. Among the Warlpiri, however, Murray was vividly recalled as a vicious murderer. For them the 'Coniston Massacre' is the 'time of killing'.

J Cribbin, *The Killing Times*, 1984; S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; J & P Read, 'A View of the Past', 1980, Northern Territory University Library.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 1*.

N

NADPUR, FRED WATERS: see [WATERS NADPUR](#)

NAMATJIRA, ALBERT KINGWARRAYE (1902–1959), bush worker and artist, was born at Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission in Central Australia to Namatjira and Lijutka of the Aranda people on 28 July 1901. His parents converted to Christianity and took the names Jonathon and Emelia. At Christmas 1905, at the age of three, the child was baptised Albert by Reverend [Carl Strehlow](#). For more than 30 years, Albert was known by that name alone until he took Namatjira (which means ‘flying ant’) as a surname. He was educated at the mission and initiated into the Aranda. After he finished school, he worked at the station and was considered a good blacksmith, carpenter, shearer and stockman. He travelled with the ‘Afghan’ camel teams between Oodnadatta and the stations up north.

When Albert was about 17, he married Ilkalita, daughter of Wapity and Mambata of the Loritja. Although tribal law did not initially sanction this marriage Albert and his wife, who was baptised Rubina, were Christians and eventually the marriage gained acceptance within the Aboriginal community. Albert and Rubina were to have nine children together although three of them predeceased Albert. Sons Enos, Oscar and Ewald all achieved fame as painters.

In 1934 two watercolourists, [Rex Battarbee](#) and John Gardner held an exhibition of their work in Hermannsburg. Upon seeing their work, Albert expressed a desire to paint and [Pastor Albrecht](#) bought him some watercolour paints and encouraged him but he found the technique difficult. Albrecht believed that it was better for Namatjira to work in the western style as he felt Aboriginal crafts had only a limited market. Albert concentrated on craftwork, burning designs in wood with heated wire. His most famous piece was a poker worked boomerang made in 1935 depicting the installation of the water pipeline from Kaporilja Springs to the mission. Battarbee returned to Hermannsburg in 1936 and for eight weeks taught Albert watercolour techniques. This was the only instruction Albert received. Battarbee continued to support Albert and in 1937 included three of Albert’s works in an exhibition of his own paintings in Adelaide. In the same year, Pastor Albrecht took a collection to the Lutheran Conference in South Australia where six were sold.

At the end of 1938 Albert Namatjira, as he now signed his paintings, held his first solo exhibition at the Fine Arts Society Gallery in Melbourne. The 40 watercolours were priced between one and six Guineas and sold out almost immediately. The following year he held his second solo exhibition at the Royal Art Society’s Gallery in Adelaide, which again sold out. The National Gallery of South Australia purchased ‘Haasts Bluff (Ulumbaura)’ for its collection. Namatjira did not exhibit during the war years in 1939 to 1944 owing to shortages of materials. In 1944 the success of the Melbourne exhibition at the Mural Hall of the Myer Emporium showed he was a national figure and could sell everything he painted. In this year also [C P Mountford](#)’s *The Art of Albert Namatjira* was published by the Melbourne Bread and Cheese Club. In 1946, Namatjira exhibited again in Adelaide and was again a sell out. During this year, Mountford made his film of the life and work of Namatjira. In 1947, Namatjira successfully exhibited in Alice Springs and Brisbane.

Despite his success in the art world, some of the problems that were to eventually consume Namatjira became apparent at this time. The western diet, high in meat protein and saturated fat, gave Namatjira a weight problem and angina. [Vic Hall](#) recalls seeing Namatjira eat a ‘pound of butter’ (half a kilogram) at a meal. At the same time, the Australian government demanded tax from Namatjira’s not inconsiderable earnings, despite the fact that he did not hold citizenship and that his money was spent in support of his large family. At this time, Namatjira did not control the sales and exhibition of his work. Initially it was handled by the mission and then later by the Aranda Arts Council under the chairmanship of Rex Battarbee. The council was an attempt to regulate the sale of paintings and stop the plethora of Namatjira forgeries flooding the market by authorising ‘official’ Namatjira works.

Nonetheless, in 1948 Namatjira held his third successful Melbourne exhibition. With the capital, he applied for a Northern Territory grazing lease. It was rejected although Namatjira travelled to Darwin with [Bill Harney](#) to appeal against the decision in 1949. In 1950 Namatjira held a successful exhibition at Anthony Hordern’s Gallery of Fine Art in Sydney and with the proceeds he and Rubina purchased a caravan to use on painting excursions. In 1951 Namatjira decided to purchase land in Alice Springs and build a house. This step was opposed by the Native Affairs Branch and a meeting of the ‘Arunta’ Arts Council, which suggested that by such a move Namatjira’s painting would suffer and leave him prey to ‘unscrupulous whites’ and ‘a retinue of not-so-desirable tribal friends and relations’.

Disappointed by his inability to purchase and build in Alice Springs, Namatjira camped at Morris Soak just out of town but returned to Hermannsburg. Despite the difficulties throughout 1952, he continued to paint and exhibit both solo and with other Aranda artists in Sydney, Adelaide and Alice Springs. In 1953, he attempted to visit Western Australia but as a non-citizen, he needed permission before travelling out of the Territory and the visit did not proceed.

In 1953, Namatjira was awarded the Queen’s Coronation Medal and was invited the following year to Canberra to be presented to the Queen. It was decided that his first flight out of Alice Springs would include visits to Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Although the presentation and tour were considered a success, Namatjira found life as a celebrity tiring and he was on duty to the public for most of the time. He did not return to the southern capitals until two years later in 1956 when he and his son Keith went to Sydney to collect a gift of a new truck donated by Ampol. Namatjira was presented the truck by the ‘King’ of radio, Jack Davey, and sat for painter William Dargie, who

won the Archibald Prize that year for his portrait of Namatjira. Namatjira was taken sailing, to Taronga Park Zoo, where Vic Hall noted the animals reacted to the presence of ‘a full-blooded native... a descendant of the hunters of the primeval jungle’, to dinners, parties and morning tea with the Olympic athletes. Loaded up with gifts, useful and not so useful, the party drove back to the Territory in the new Dodge truck. Artist Charles Blackman who met him during this visit commented that Namatjira had the saddest eyes he had ever seen in a man.

Controversy erupted at about this time over Namatjira’s lack of status as a tax-paying non-citizen. **Frank Clune** wrote an article for *Truth* ‘From Hero to Untouchable’ pointing out the disparity between Namatjira’s Sydney and Alice Springs experiences. In April 1957 Namatjira visited Perth and shortly after his return was, with his wife Rubina, granted full citizenship and now allowed to vote and buy and drink alcohol. Namatjira had already spent a night in jail in 1956 on a charge of drinking alcohol although the case was dismissed. Colleagues such as Rex Battarbee and John Brackenreg, Namatjira’s Sydney agent, feared that he would be under pressure from members of his family to supply them with alcohol. Throughout 1957 and 1958, Namatjira’s health deteriorated and he spent periods in hospital but eventually returned to paint at his camp at Morris Soak.

In 1958, a young woman was found dead at Morris Soak and her husband charged with murder. Namatjira was blamed for supplying alcohol to the camp where they lived. The incident shattered Namatjira who returned to Hermannsburg. He did, however, continue to call in at Morris Soak on his way to town and after one of those visits was formally charged with supplying alcohol to Aborigines. The trial took place in October 1958 and, despite appeals, Namatjira was sent to an open detainment at Papunya for three months on 18 March 1959. Although he was released two months later, he was depressed and broken by the experience. He moved to Hermannsburg and then back to Papunya where he suffered a heart attack. Namatjira was brought to Alice Springs Hospital but he developed pneumonia and died on 8 August 1959. He was buried the next day at Alice Springs. His old friend Lutheran Pastor Albrecht conducted the service.

Although Namatjira’s art was recognised by his fellow painters such as Lloyd Rees, William Dargie and Charles Blackman and he achieved enormous popular success in sales, Namatjira did not achieve total recognition from the mainstream arbiters of art in Australia. The state galleries under Sir Daryl Lindsay and Professor Joseph Burke in Victoria and Hal Missingham in New South Wales did not appreciate Namatjira’s work. The influence of the European modernist artists from the 1930s, particularly Paul Klee, after reproductions of Aboriginal bark paintings in European magazines, created a focus in the art world on ‘traditional’ painting. Namatjira’s work was considered too western and not ‘primitive’ enough. John Brackenreg, however, points out that in the heightened consciousness in the 1980s of Aboriginal land rights and sacred sites, Namatjira’s paintings won renewed popularity as they could be seen ‘as a way of reaffirming his tribal territorial knowledge... [we can] sense a general spirituality in his work.’

It is a much-stated cliché that Namatjira was ‘torn between two worlds’ and from a 1990s perspective it is clear that nothing could be further from the truth. It was Namatjira’s Aboriginality, his relationship to the landscape and his feeling for kinship that Australians could not cope with in a legal and judicial system that did not acknowledge Aboriginal rights. Australians attempted to heap honours on Namatjira in the form of money, citizenship and consumer goods but could not accommodate an Aboriginal heritage that was not about throwing boomerangs but about a love of his country and his family. It is fortunate that the heritage of his painting remains to remind us of the legacy of Albert Namatjira—Australian artist.

F W Albrecht, ‘The Story of Namatjira’, address at funeral, 1959; N Amadio (Comp.), *Albert Namatjira*, 1986; J D Batty, *Namatjira*, 1963; V C Hall, *Namatjira of the Aranda*, 1962; C P Mountford, *The Art of Albert Namatjira*, 1944; *Centralian Advocate*, 23 March 1951; R H Croll Papers, Latrobe Library, Melbourne, MS 8910 1200/1(a).

MICKEY DEWAR, Vol 2.

NELSON, HAROLD GEORGE (1881–1947), engine driver, trade union official, politician and agent, was born on 21 December 1881, at Botany, New South Wales, the son of Scottish-born John Nelson, a shopkeeper, and his wife, Elizabeth Anne Nelson, *nee* Tighe. Very little is known of his early years and nothing of his education. As a young man, he was an engine driver in Queensland, where he mainly lived at Gympie and Mount Perry. He was married with Presbyterian rites at Mount Perry on 17 March 1904 to Maud Alice Lawrence, who had been born in Maryborough, Queensland, the daughter of William Henry Lawrence and Isabel Lawrence.

He travelled with his wife and five children to Pine Creek in 1913. There he was an engine driver and organiser for the Australian Workers’ Union (AWU). In July 1914, he became the AWU organiser in Darwin and in 1917 first Secretary of the union’s Darwin Branch. An able administrator and a fiery orator, he was largely responsible for a substantial increase in the AWU’s Northern Territory membership. In 1917, he was also elected to the Darwin Town Council. He was a dominant figure in the campaign of boycotts and strikes which forced Vestey Brothers to raise wages for meatworks’ employees in Darwin, he called for Northern Territory representation in the Commonwealth Parliament and he argued for removal of the Administrator, **J A Gilruth**, who had often clashed with the trade union movement.

On 17 December 1918, in an incident later described as the ‘Darwin Rebellion’, Nelson marched with a few hundred supporters to Government House and demanded that Gilruth leave. Continuing agitation resulted in the Commonwealth Government recalling the Administrator in February 1919. A subsequent Royal Commission, which investigated Gilruth’s administration generally, supported Nelson. However, the Royal Commissioner, Justice Ewing, was criticised for using Nelson’s paid assistance with commission hearings.

In April 1921, Nelson stood down as AWU secretary. He was briefly jailed in June that year after refusing to pay taxes as part of a campaign for a Northern Territory member of the Commonwealth parliament. This resulted

in the Territory being allowed one non-voting member of the House of Representatives with limited rights. Nelson was elected narrowly as the Territory's first federal parliamentarian in December 1922. He stood as an independent candidate but had trade union support and after his election joined the Australian Labor Party parliamentary caucus.

Nelson's maiden parliamentary speech was reprinted in full in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* a month later. It was a long speech, covering a wealth of topics of interest to his constituents. The government could hardly have failed to realise that here was a knowledgeable and articulate advocate for northern development. Indeed it was made clear that in Nelson's view the Northern Territory needed an extension of its railway system and a better rail service, a tightening of the land leasing regulations, more bores, an increase in mining activity and oil and coal exploration with a requirement that holders of mineral leases be forced to work their claims, markets for small cattlemen, a subsidy to develop the cotton industry, a Workers' Compensation Act, better housing for public servants and better police conditions, an improved medical service, a return of trial by jury and modification to the extradition laws and an end to wastage and corruption in the administration, to be achieved partly by the introduction of an elected Administrator's advisory board.

What could have sounded like a list of demands served on the government was couched in such a way that it really sounded like an attempt to alert the honourable members to the reasonable needs of fellow Australians. It was presented as a message from one who knows to those who care, and it contained a lot of colour and precise information. Thus, it was unfolded that Nelson had information that would facilitate the development of markets in Java for small cattlemen, and the difficulty of overcoming Vestey's self interest was alluded to. So also was a depressing picture painted of a 500 000-square-mile (1 295 000 square-kilometre) state serviced by one doctor. The answer lay in attracting women doctors who would marry into the community and be less likely to be attracted away. On the issue of flouted conditions of pastoral leases, he told the wonderful story of arriving at Eva Downs early and seeing the cattle being brought in from elsewhere to impress the minister, who was called on to corroborate the facts. Attention was also drawn to Nelson's desire to guide more parliamentarians through the Territory.

In August 1923, Nelson took up the cudgels on behalf of some of the Territory's most underprivileged—Aborigines, half-castes and lepers. He gave in graphic detail accounts of the sufferings these people, not technically his constituents, endured, but as yet there was insufficient knowledge of conditions and that his revelations produced little if any improvement is evidenced by such examples as the Coniston Massacre and its subsequent inquiry and the plight of lepers as late as the Second World War. Nelson placed the blame for poor Aboriginal conditions on the Northern Territory administration. 'Any official in the Northern Territory who has the courage of his convictions, and dares to condemn the prevailing order of things soon finds that he has lost his position.'

Nineteen twenty-four was the centenary year of European settlement in the Northern Territory. The government had 'failed to make adequate land laws and to provide reasonable transport facilities', but was 'persisting in a policy of administration which proved a failure a hundred years ago'. With characteristic thoroughness he then set out the year's budget estimates for the Northern Territory and highlighted the marked decreases which these represented in comparison with figures for 1923, before requesting funds 'for conveying honourable members through the Northern Territory' and a tax holiday for Territory-based secondary industries. (He had won this concession for primary producers in 1923.) Of more lasting impact was his decision that the Northern Territory needed a developmental slogan. 'I suggest ... we should adopt the slogan, "The Territory every day and every way". Until we secure some redress I intend to hammer away in order that the Territory shall be given at least a fighting chance.' Such slogans retain a high profile in contemporary Northern Territory politics.

Late in 1925 Nelson had to defend his seat in a general election. His opponent was C B Storey, denigrated by the *Northern Standard* for declaring his profession as 'gentleman' rather than 'unemployed', but supported by the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*. Nelson's platform of 49 points contrasted sharply with Storey's vague policy statement. When the votes were counted, Nelson had gained over 61 per cent. While this represented a vast improvement for Nelson over the 1922 result and must be seen as a vote of confidence, the size of his majority was probably partly due to a sympathy vote for the candidate who had nearly perished in the desert while campaigning. It is also obvious that Storey was not a strong opponent and that the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* campaigned less stridently than it previously had.

Before the election, a North Australian Commission had been mooted. Nelson had opposed it. After the election, the North Australia Bill was resubmitted. This time he gave it grudging support by arguing along the lines that any development of the north was both generally desirable and of specific defence importance. However, his support was limited. He saw that Central Australia was in danger of becoming the poorer of the new territories and argued that the North Australian Commission should be duplicated in the Centre. He further suggested that the real need was for a developed transport infrastructure and yet more expenditure. In the event the bill was passed. The North Australian Commission proved disappointing and Nelson supported its dissolution in 1930 by the ALP government.

Nelson's support of the interests of his constituents is evident in almost all of his speeches. He was a conscientious ambassador. However, it was naive to believe that just by alerting Parliament to the needs of the Northern Territory it would be sufficient to enable these needs to be met. His advocacy occurred at a time when Australia had many pressing needs and a worsening economic climate. By the time the Australian Labor Party had gained office in 1930, the Depression was severe. Although one might expect that the Northern Territory may have gained more when its Member of the House of Representatives sat on the government benches, that was not the case. Indeed, it seems that his two years on the government benches were quite trying for him. While in opposition, he had been free to complain in all areas and with great eloquence on behalf of his constituents. In government, he was forced

to modify his criticism and in fact he spoke few times and rarely at length during 1930–31. With Nelson thus effectively muzzled, the Northern Territory was unlikely to see much growth. The electorally more sensitive south dominated the government's thinking during the Depression.

He still tried to keep Territory issues before the Parliament but chose those areas that involved little cost and therefore had more chance of success. Thus, he championed the cause of four Aborigines sentenced to death for a killing constrained upon them by tribal law. He also spoke out for the Northern Territory's welfare when the budget was introduced. With fervour reminiscent of his maiden speech, he slated his own party for its lack of commitment to mining in the Northern Territory. The case was well documented with comparative figures. He noticed that 'the Government is appropriating only 50 Pounds for the development of mining in Central Australia! This is making a farce of the matter. It would be far better if the estimates contained no such provision at all, and the Government frankly declared that it did not desire that the mining industry should develop.'

Thus far it has appeared that Harold Nelson played the part of the energetic ambassador for all Territorians, and that his advocacy was constant, even if somewhat muted during the years of the Labor Government. There does appear, however, to have been another less complimentary aspect of his character; malice against those whom he perceived as his enemies, malice which blossomed into bitter attack under parliamentary privilege. Gilruth was a particular target and Nelson attacked him regularly during his entire parliamentary career.

In 1934, Nelson's opponent at the polls was the surveyor [Adair Macalister Blain](#). It seems that after 12 years of federal representation by Nelson, Territorians were again disillusioned. The man who tried 'to make himself a big enough nuisance to get something done for the Territory' had run out of time. In his last speech before the election recess, Nelson was still hammering issues that he had raised in his maiden speech. The Northern Territory had certainly developed during those 12 years but not at the rate Territorians had anticipated. Blain's campaign speech was a blend of mild criticism of Nelson's lack of achievement and a restating of the need for development. The Northern Territory had been 'shamefully neglected'. He would secure a vote in Parliament and 'make the representations necessary to secure the prosperity and progress that is rightfully ours'. Although he gave no indication of how he would achieve what Nelson had not, the voters gave him the seat. The new approach by the member who was 'somewhat alarmed at the prospect of making what might be called a maiden speech' was no more successful than that of Nelson. Nelson fought his last election campaign, again without success, in 1937. Once more Blain was returned.

Nelson later moved to Tennant Creek, where he took a prominent role in agitation for more government services, and then to Alice Springs, where he worked as an agent. He died there of heart disease on 26 April 1947, survived by his wife and all five children. A son, [John Norman Nelson](#), was to become a member of the House of Representatives and Administrator of the Northern Territory.

Nelson's appearance was unimpressive—of medium build, he was quick to put on weight. His spirited speeches nearly always aroused great passions. Trade unionists often saw him as a hero in their struggle for economic and political rights while many others viewed him as a dangerous revolutionary. He was certainly as a trade unionist prepared to threaten violence but for the most part believed in a steady accumulation of gains for working people, rather than great leaps forward. As a parliamentarian, his real achievement was in bringing before the Australian public a notion of the hardships and problems that typified Territory life.

D Carment, 'Nelson, Harold George', *ADB*, vol 10, 1986; M Maynard, 'Harold Nelson: The Parliamentary Years', *Northern Perspective*, vol 9, no 2, 1986.

DAVID CARMENT and MURRAY MAYNARD, *Vol 1*.

NELSON, JOHN NORMAN (JOCK) (1908–1991), bush worker, soldier, contractor, cattleman, agent, politician and Administrator, was born on 28 May 1908 at Mount Perry, near Bundaberg, Queensland, the son of [Harold George Nelson](#), an engine driver and later a union official and politician, and his wife Maud Alice, *nee* Lawrence. At the age of five, he moved with his family to Pine Creek in the Northern Territory and later to Darwin. He was educated at the Pine Creek Public School and Darwin Public School before moving in 1926 to Central Australia, where he obtained employment as a jackeroo.

After varied work on Central Australian cattle and sheep stations, he moved to Tennant Creek in 1934 to join the search for gold there. In the same year, he married Margaret Caroline Bloomfield, member of the well-known Central Australian pastoralist family (see [Lewis Bloomfield](#)). They later had two daughters. During the period from 1936 until 1942, Nelson worked as a boring contractor and agent in Alice Springs before joining the Australian Imperial Force, in which he served until 1945 and rose to the rank of Sergeant. After the end of the Second World War, he acquired ownership or part ownership of three Central Australian cattle stations, Harper Springs, Mount Skinner and Utopia. He also became an active member of the Northern Territory Development League. At the first general elections for the Northern Territory Legislative Council on 4 December 1947, he was returned for the electorate of Stuart, which he held until his election to the federal parliament two years later.

Nelson contested the Northern Territory electorate as an Australian Labor Party candidate at the federal elections on 10 December 1949. To the surprise of many observers, he defeated the long time incumbent, [A M Blain](#). This was in spite of Labor's national defeat at the election and the frustration caused by the Chifley Labor government's policies in the Territory. However, as the historian Peter Donovan later concluded, 'this result simply underscored the personal, rather than the political nature of politics in the Territory at the time.'

He served as a Member of the House of Representatives until his retirement from parliamentary politics in 1966. He was a member of the Select Committee on Voting Rights of Aborigines in 1961 and the Select Committee on the Grievances of the Yirrkala Aborigines, Arnhem Land Reserve, in 1963. Between 1956 and 1966, he was

Secretary of the Parliamentary Labor Party. Like his father many years before, Nelson argued strongly but without much impact that the Territory's sole federal parliamentarian should have more than the very limited role allowed. He was in 1959, though, successful in obtaining the right to vote on Territory matters brought before the House. Ironically, full voting rights were granted shortly after his retirement and the Country Party's **Sam Calder** had won the Territory seat. He also pressed for an improvement in the position of the Territory's Legislative Council, achieving some concessions from the federal government. He was regarded as an effective local member so far as 'parish pump' issues were concerned and remained popular among his constituents.

He continued to be politically active following his departure from the national parliament. On 25 June 1971, he was elected the first Mayor of Alice Springs with a very large majority. He brought a wealth of experience to the position and was successful in persuading the federal government to provide funds for the town's new swimming centre. Between 1968 and 1972, he also served as Northern Territory delegate to the Labor Party's Federal Executive.

Nelson resigned as Mayor on 8 December 1973 to become Administrator of the Northern Territory, the first Territorian to hold the post. 'In this', Donovan observed, 'there was a certain irony because it was his father, Harold Nelson, who had been so implacably opposed to Gilruth, the first Administrator.' He served with distinction in the post, especially in the difficult period following Cyclone Tracy when parts of Government House in Darwin were badly damaged.

In November 1975, the Labor Party persuaded him to step down as Administrator to contest the Territory's House of Representatives electorate at the poll held in the following month. He did so only because of his 'deep sense of shock and outrage at the events in Canberra... in which the leader of a majority elected Government... has his commission withdrawn.' Most Territory voters, though, did not share his anger, with Calder soundly defeating him. Following the election Nelson retired to Alice Springs, where he died of cancer on 20 June 1991, survived by his wife and daughter. His funeral at the John Flynn Memorial Uniting Church in Alice Springs was well attended. Numerous tributes were made to him at sessions of the Northern Territory and Commonwealth parliaments.

Despite the rather sad end in 1975 to his otherwise distinguished career, Nelson deserves recognition for his continued advocacy of Territory interests over a long period. A genial personality and, unlike his father, a political moderate, he lived long enough to see many of the policies he advocated being implemented.

P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984, *Alice Springs*, 1988; A Heatley, 'A Long Hard Road', in *Northern Perspective*, vol 4, No 1, 1981; *Almost Australians*, 1990; A Powell, *Far Country*, Revised Edition, 1988; J Rydon, *A Biographical Register of the Commonwealth Parliament 1901-1972*, 1975; NT Parliamentary Record, no 4, 1991.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

NEMARLUK (c1911–c1942), Aboriginal bushranger, was a leading member of the group who put to death three Japanese seamen of the lugger *Ouida* at Treachery Bay near the mouth of the Fitzmaurice River on 10 August 1931. **Ion Idriess** wrongly claimed that this incident took place in September 1932 following a similar killing reported at Caledon Bay on the Gulf of Carpentaria. The predilection of the Japanese crew for Aboriginal women—used in this instance to gain the strangers' confidence—was motive enough. By May 1932, police patrols from Timber Creek were out in search of Namarluk and his companions. Gradually all were arrested. Namarluk was detained twice. Taken to Fannie Bay Gaol near Darwin, he escaped and was later recaptured. His last days were spent at Fannie Bay.

According to Ion Idriess the territory of Namarluk's people was in the Moyle River area bounded to the east by the Daly River, to the south and west by the Victoria River, and to the north by the sea coast. Idriess identified Namarluk's tribe/language group as 'Cahnmah', most likely the Kamor of the central Daly River described in N B Tindale's catalogue. Both popular writer and research scholar identified neighbouring groups such as the Brinken and Wogait. Tindale does not give the Kamor a seacoast. However, when Namarluk lived the Aboriginal peoples of that region were experiencing a thoroughgoing disruption from European pressures shootings, sickness including venereal diseases and leprosy and changes in eating habits—and individual and group movements throughout the region were frequent.

In physical appearance Namarluk was described as 'a magnificent young savage ... six feet two inches tall, broad-chested with a springy quickness of body, he was a picture of youth and strength, and of muscle and sinew in rippling relief. He was probably more than twenty years old because Idriess's picture is clearly that of an initiated man with chest, shoulders and thighs deeply cicatrised, long hair tied back with a head band, and wearing a human hair belt'. Photographs support this general description. Idriess first met him in the early 1930s; hence Namarluk was born probably a few years either side of 1911.

Idriess met and talked with Namarluk 'on more than one occasion' at Fannie Bay Gaol. His accounts, then, appear to be originally Namarluk's, but they are interpreted and heavily romanticised by Idriess in his two books that cover Namarluk's story. Moreover, they cover only the last three years of Namarluk's life. Idriess's Namarluk is a noble savage, and the books are full of other cultural stereotypes. The Aboriginal characters are alternatively laughing, glaring, sullen, low browed, cunning. They grunt a lot. It is not a helpful basis upon which to reconstruct something of Namarluk's character.

What we can learn about Namarluk from other sources mostly treats of his resistance activities against the whites. Such accounts are likewise filtered largely through European perceptions and practices and in this regard some of Namarluk's associates receive virtually equal weight. The Western Australian press of 1932 named two men, Monkey and Menegan, whom Idriess tells us were part of Namarluk's group. Mary Durack, in an article attached to that press report, also outlined the activities of another man called Devon (Deven). These three men

were identified as leaders among ninety-five ‘criminals’ who were at that time ranging the Northern Territory/Western Australian border engaged in cattle and horse spearing, sporadic attacks on lone travellers, and the pursuit of blood feuds against other Aboriginal groups. Sidney Downer gave Namarluk a little more prominence in a police account of Langdon’s work. Langdon was the officer who arrested others in Namarluk’s group (Chugulla and Tiger) and barely missed catching Namarluk himself by one or two days.

In the eyes of white police the Blunder Bay people had an especially bad reputation. Blunder Bay is located near the mouth of the Victoria River and is not far from Legune cattle station where several Aboriginal language groups regularly held meetings for ceremonies and cultural exchange. It is a place that Idriess tells us Namarluk also visited frequently.

There is an Aboriginal viewpoint recorded about these activities. Grant Ngabidj, a Gadjerung man of the tidal coasts was often a participant at Legune station ceremonies when he would himself have been about twenty-eight years old. In his memoirs, he mentioned the two men Namarluk and Deven. Deven was regarded as ‘the best runner’ of their hunting group. He once tracked and speared a horse which was eaten experimentally, an account that appears to be in accord with Idriess’s observation: ‘One notorious blackfellow called Deven... used to spear the horses and cut the tongue out just as a dainty morsel, disdaining the remainder of the carcass.’ Grant also told of an incident in which a white policeman’s fingers were chopped by a hatchet, attributing this to Namarluk, incorrectly it appears, for Idriess recounted in his two publications the same incident naming both the Aboriginal concerned (a man called Pundek) and the policeman (a Constable Kenneth /Kennett). There appears to be a wholly authentic present-day Aboriginal version too in *The Story of Nimalak* (1983), a roneoed booklet written in Nanggikorongo illustrated with simple but quite evocative line sketches. Pye’s *The Port Keats Story* must be today the definitive historical account of Namarluk, in contrast to Idriess’s versions. As well as containing photographs of some of the principals (Bull Bull, Smiler, Fitzler, Mankee and others) the book shows two Aboriginal bark paintings of the attack on the lugger that may well be unique. In his summation, Pye suggested that Namarluk’s heroic image belied the reality and that the man was in fact unpopular among many of his Aboriginal contemporaries. Many of the men imprisoned were released around 1942 (some were told to kill any Japanese they found on the coast) and Namarluk may have been among them. This is not clear.

Taken together, but leaving out the racial stereotypes, these sources offer a range of factors that must have been dominant not only in Namarluk’s world view but also in the lives of other Aborigines of the time. Interactions between ‘bush blacks’ and ‘station blacks’ involved the exchange of trade items and information ranging from tobacco, cloth, iron and other European tools to warnings about police movements. The distinction between these two categories of Aborigines in practice was often blurred in view of what was in reality an informal and effective spy network. Aboriginal society of the time consisted of relatively small groups that were ‘intensely loyal’ within themselves but harboured also antagonisms against other groups and carried out retributive killings against them. Namarluk was aware of this divisiveness and is credited with stressing on many occasions the importance of showing a united front against the white men.

Namarluk and other Aborigines (and the whites certainly) were aware of the relative isolation of European settlements and the targets they presented for surprise attacks. There were no illusions on either side that the prime cause of these disputes was the white settlement and exploitation of Aboriginal lands (though plenty of white apologists justified frontier violence with ‘survival of the fittest’ arguments).

There is finally a whole range of Aboriginal resistance practices including the use or potential use of firearms (Namarluk appears not to have done this), the killing of station livestock not always for food, and the successful ambush and killing of lone whites and other non-Aborigines.

The year of Namarluk’s death was probably around 1942. In *Man Tracks* (1935) the author’s closing words read: ‘When I saw him last in Fanny Bay gaol he was laughing again, with his hair cut and his beard shaved off, and good solid flesh on his ribs.’ In sharp contrast the last words of the book *Namarluk* (1946) state briefly, Namarluk died, only recently. Died of a broken heart.’ Pye’s note about the release of Aboriginal prisoners in 1942 may imply Namarluk’s death by this time in its failure to mention him specifically.

Aboriginal bandits are not usually described at length in the popular histories and outback travel stories of the first half of this twentieth century. If it were not for Idriess’s pen and the relatively full account given by Pye, we would know precious little about Namarluk. It is evident too that an oral tradition remains concerning his exploits.

In the Darwin suburb of Bagot and close to the Bagot Aboriginal Community is Namarluk Drive. Other streets there are named after Aborigines, one for Bul Bul the tracker who arrested Namarluk. And in the same block bounding the Community is Fitzler Drive named after Mounted Constable **Tas Fitzler** who was an associate of Langdon at Timber Creek during patrols in search of Namarluk and other outlaws. That is how Europeans remember people like Namarluk.

S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; V Hall, *Outback Policeman*, 1970; I Idriess, *Man Tracks*, 1935; I Idriess, *Namarluk*, 1946; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; B Parry, *The Story of Nimalak* (transcribed and layout by Nick Reid, drawings by Alan Ariyu), 1983; J Pye, *The Port Keats Story*, 1973; B Shaw, *My Country of the Pelican Dreaming*, 1981; W E H Stanner, *White Man Got No Dreaming*, 1979; N Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, 1974; B Cummins, ‘The Black War’, *Walkabout*, September, 1973; M Durack, ‘Outlaws of the north’, *Daily News*, 1 October, 1932.

BRUCE SHAW, Vol 1.

NGAPUNUN, (SPIDER) (c1905–1977), Bamyili tribal elder, was born at Bulman River in the Northern Territory into the Ngalkben tribe. His father was Gojok of the Rembarranga tribe and his mother, Wamutjan of the Ngalkben/

Mayali tribe. Before Spider's birth, his parents had moved from Arnhem Land to Maranboy where his father sought work.

Spider grew up in an area that was to become a small but thriving tin mining community. Spider had four wives and eight children. Minnie and Dolly were the better known of his wives and many of his children, upon reaching adulthood, moved to town centres where they assumed positions in the work force. Others such as Max, who was one of the Bagot community leaders for a number of years, have helped to attain rights for Aborigines in the European dominated centres.

Spider is remembered for his contribution of good leadership in his community and for his skills as an artist. In the later part of his life, arts and crafts councils all over Australia sought his artefacts and paintings and he received the constant support of Mrs Dorothy Bennett, who was seen as an expert in this field.

Spider is also remembered for his connections with '[Tiger Brennan](#)', who later became a well-known political figure. Tiger had been one of the first prospectors for tin in the Maranboy area and his early ventures were in the company of Spider and his son Max. According to Minnie, Spider's second wife, the quest for new mining sites took the three men as far east as Cairns and as far west as Port Keats. They also made a trip to Indonesia for what Minnie believes was a search for oil. Spider is credited with having found new mines in the Jim Jim area, although there is no record of a date for this discovery.

In the latter part of his life after his mining adventures were over, Spider worked as a cook in the old community kitchen at Bulman River and as a gardener at the pre-school. He was never idle and continued to be a leader who held the respect of the younger members of his tribe. In his latter years, he became a Christian.

Murranga, September, 1977; Biographical Index Files, AIAS, Canberra.

ROBYN MAYNARD, Vol 1.

NICHOL, (TERESA) MERYL: see [SLADE, \(TERESA\) MERYL](#)

NICHOLS, JOSEPH WESLEY (1890–1968), public servant, was born in Brunswick, Victoria, on 4 April 1890. His father, Thomas Nichols, a Baptist minister from Devonport in England, married Betsy Alice Yates of Tarnagulla, Victoria, on 2 May 1888. Joseph was their second child. A daughter, Emily, died in infancy. Joseph Nichols served with the Light Horse infantry during the First World War. In 1925, he joined the Commonwealth Public Service.

On 2 May 1925, Nichols arrived in Darwin and commenced duties as Police Clerk of the Courts. His wife, Ruby Veretta Nichols, *nee* Gidding, and their three sons, Lindsey Gordon, Thomas Spurgeon and Robert Stanley, later joined him. The Nichols family lived in a house on Myilly Point.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Nichols was responsible for an array of duties associated with the legal administration of the Northern Territory, at one stage having 28 statutory or official roles to fill. After 1933 his appointments included Clerk and Bailiff to the Local Court, Clerk of the Supreme Court, Registrar of Bankruptcy, Registrar General, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sheriff Marshal of the High Court, Assistant Marshal of the High Court of Australia, Librarian of the Supreme Court Library, and Returning Officer of the Northern Territory. Amongst the sobriquets applied to Nichols were the 'legal Poo-Bah of the Northern Territory' and 'Lord-High-Everything-Else of the Law Courts'. The situation could have been chaotic at times if it had not been for Nichols' extraordinarily tidy mind. It is said of him, that in order to keep records straight, he often had to write letters to himself in one capacity or another, and then frame suitable replies reflecting the official view of another of his appointed positions.

One of Nichols' tasks during the early part of his career was to accompany Justice Mallam on a Court circuit that covered the whole of the Northern Territory. At the time the travelling was undertaken by car, and the judicial party often had to cope with the problems of becoming bogged, or cut off by flood-waters, during the wet season. Nichols was later appointed a Special Magistrate, and during the 1940s he and Stipendiary Magistrate Crang covered many thousands of miles by car and air, and heard several thousand cases. In his capacity as Special Magistrate, Nichols tempered the law with a generous leavening of humanity and understanding, always seeking the underlying causes for the crimes of the offenders that appeared before him. He often concluded matters with a homily to the accused on the error of his ways, and the words 'I don't want to see you here again'.

When the women, children and non-essential civilians were evacuated from Darwin in 1941 due to fears of Japanese invasion, Ruby Nichols went south. Nichols remained in Darwin and, when the first Japanese bombs rained down on Darwin in February 1942, he took on himself the responsibility of protecting the valuable collection of books housed in the Supreme Court Library. He also took care of the Court records, the loss of which would have been a serious setback to legal administration in the Territory. Loading the books and records onto a truck, he took them south to the police Station at Pine Creek, where they were stored in safety until the end of the war.

Nichols served under Justices [Roberts](#), [Mallam](#) and [Wells](#) during his career. When he celebrated the anniversary of his 25th year of service in the Northern Territory the *Northern Standard* of 28 April 1950 carried a special feature on Nichols, praising his service to the Law Courts and the community, and mentioning the fact that Nichols was renowned for his capacity for hard work which 'he seems to absorb like a sponge absorbs water!' Commenting in honour of the occasion, Mr Justice Wells said that: 'I have never known a man to work like him. Nothing is ever a trouble to him and he has always been of the greatest assistance not only to me but to anyone who sought his help'.

Nichols retired in 1955 and moved from Darwin to Alice Springs. As the Nichols were keen musicians, Nichols played the cornet and his wife the piano, they may have hoped for time to pursue their love of music. However, shortly after arriving in Alice Springs Nichols was asked if he would operate a post office from his home

in Undoolya Road, east side. Nichols did so. He also continued with his duties as a Special Magistrate, despite the fact that a piece of shrapnel which had lodged in his leg during his war service made it difficult for him to move around in later years. His increasing weight also impaired his health—he was said to have weighed 139 kilograms at one stage. He overcame this problem by frequently holding court hearings on the verandah of his home, saying that, ‘If Mahommed can’t go to the mountain, then the mountain will have to come to Mahommed’.

Despite his heavy load of official duties, Nichols was always active in community affairs. In recognition of his service as secretary of the Darwin Sub-Branch of the Returned Services League (RSL) he was made a life member, and was later Patron of the Alice Springs Sub-Branch. He was also a member of the Federal Executive of the League. He was actively involved with the Northern Territory Football League (NTFL) for many years and was made a life member in 1934. The Nichols Medal for the Best and Fairest Player was awarded by the NTFL each year. Nichols also served as Chairman of the Central Australian Racing Club, as Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Alice Springs, was Vice-President of the Alice Springs branch of the Australian Red Cross, a trustee of the John Ross Memorial and an active member of Legacy. In Freemasonry, he was the first member of the League of Remembrance that was founded in Darwin, a Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Director of Ceremonies. Nichols’ community involvement was such that a letter addressed simply to Mr J W Nichols, ‘Everything’, Alice Springs, in the 1950s reached him promptly. On 13 June 1964, Nichols was made a Member of Order of the British Empire (MBE) in recognition of his services to the Northern Territory.

J W Nichols, MBE, known to many as simply ‘The Judge’, succumbed to deteriorating health in 1968 and, after two weeks in the Alice Springs Hospital, died on 31 May. An RSL funeral was held in the Flynn Memorial Uniting Church, and the pallbearers represented the many organisations, the RSL, Red Cross, Legacy, Masonic and Buffalo Lodges Nichols had served during his lifetime. The Magistrates Court in Darwin, completed in the 1980s and named Nichols Place, is a monument in stone to the dedication shown by Nichols during his long years of service to the legal administration of the Northern Territory.

Centralian Advocate, 6 June 1968; *Northern Standard*, 28 April 1950; Northern Territory Place Names Committee; Office of the Solicitor General, Darwin; T S Nicholas, family information.

EVE GIBSON, *Vol 3*.

NICHOLS, NORMA CATHERINE: see **PITCHENEDER, NORMA CATHERINE (BILLIE)**

NICKER, SAMUEL FOREMAN (SAM) (1863–1930), butcher, drover, shearer, bush worker, miner, farmer, hawker, ‘bum boat’ (grog cart) runner and pastoralist, and **NICKER, ELIZABETH, nee ELIOT** also **DOOLAN** (1871–1951), cook, bush nurse and midwife, farmer and pastoralist. Sam Nicker was born at Eaglehawk, in Bendigo, Victoria, in 1863, the son of Samuel Foreman Nicker and his wife Margaret Houston, *nee* Thompson, who were married in 1860. He was the second of six children. The family name was originally the Swiss French Necker, but in the nineteenth century was transformed to Nicker.

Young Sam received a good, basic education and was to remain an advocate of the value of education for the rest of his life. Apprenticeship as a butcher resulted in him becoming ‘an artist with a knife’, as one friend put it.

As early as 1873, when only 10 years old, he had taken jobs to do with sheep. Eventually he became a drover and shearer, and at times owner, of sheep in New South Wales and far west Queensland. The towns of Windora, Camooweal and Boulia were to know him, and for a time in outback New South Wales the legendary H H ‘Breaker’ Morant was a good mate.

An early marriage resulted in two children, one of whom died when the entire family ‘did a perish’. During a summer journey the two wagon horses died: Nicker struggled on and obtained help, but it was too late for the youngest child and the trauma of it all destroyed the marriage. Nicker’s first wife took their surviving daughter Marie and went out of his life.

Some time later, he met Elizabeth Doolan, *nee* Eliot. Her husband, it transpired, had been a bigamist, and when ‘the law’ caught up with him she was left to fend for herself and daughter Anne Jane (1893–1968). A younger daughter, Leah Clara, was cared for by an aunt, who accepted an adoptive role.

She was working in the Neve River district, Queensland, as a shearer’s cook, and had learnt, by practice and necessity, bush nursing and midwifery, when Nicker came to know her.

One of Australia’s worst droughts meant that Nicker, like many a bushman, was left with no sheep and few job opportunities. He decided that Elizabeth, eight-year-old Jane and he must make a fresh start. In what was to be an epic journey, they left Jundah in southwest Queensland in a buggy pulled by two ponies and followed the Strzelecki Track into South Australia. For a brief time in 1901 and 1902, he worked at Port Pirie but then, hearing that the Arltunga goldfield east of Alice Springs was booming, he decided that the family should try for its fortune.

At this stage, in 1903, Elizabeth was pregnant so it was decided that she should stay with friends at Quorn while Nicker pushed on to the Centre. He was able to obtain work, shearing the Overland Telegraph Line stations’ sheep, and other stations’ sheep, as he travelled north.

Nicker was in on the rush early enough to be, as he put it, ‘fairly successful at gold-mining at Arltunga.’

When news arrived that a son, Samuel Claude (1904–1949), had been born, Nicker returned to Quorn and, once the son was a strong little baby, the family travelled north. The same little buggy, with the same two ponies pulling it, was used as it had been on the Strzelecki Track. It was loaded with family goods, their ‘nap’ (bedding), some ‘chooks’ (live poultry), packets of seeds for a garden and Nicker’s shearing equipment. The Webb family travelled, in its own buggy, with them and the two families reached Arltunga on 6 December 1904.

By now the gold was increasingly hard to win so, instead of battling directly for gold, Sam and Elizabeth Nicker established a garden and a 'chook pen' (a yard for their poultry), purchased a milk cow and were soon supplying the miners at both the Arltunga and Winnecke fields with fresh milk, eggs and vegetables. The miners paid in gold for the produce, and the Nickers' patch of land gave The Garden Station its name.

As the gold became more difficult to find, prospectors and miners left the field. Sam and Elizabeth now had two more sons, Eugene Foreman (1906–1967) and Benjamin Esmond (1908–1941), and as their produce was barely paying enough to make ends meet, they moved into Alice Springs. Jobs were not easy to find so Nicker decided to purchase various goods and become a seasonal hawker and 'bum boat' (grog cart) runner. The family moved to Newcastle Waters, where Nicker kept a number of pigs. He butchered them for sale to the passing drovers, who of course were not averse to the other products on offer. The family returned to 'The Alice' when 'the Wet' set in.

In 1910, Margaret Elizabeth Nicker was born in Alice Springs, in a tent near the gum tree by what was later the Memorial Club. Nicker obtained work on contract, clearing the route along the Overland Telegraph Line of anthills, scrub and tree growth and any other obstacles. It was this travel that suggested to Nicker that the Ryan's Well area could be developed as a station. (He also inspected country as far west as the Lander River, but preferred the advantages of a locality on the direct north south line of communications.)

Although they did their best to assist, the parents were aware that the children were missing formal education, so Nicker became a key figure in agitating for a school. In 1913, when in Adelaide for treatment for a severely infected eye (which he lost), he had a meeting with a federal Minister about the matter. **Ida Standley** was appointed first teacher, and the first school in Alice Springs opened in 1914. However, later in the year, using a large wagon and the old buggy, the family started north—news of the commencement of the First World War came on the way. When, in late August, the waggon broke down near Ryan's Well, the point of break down became the site for the family home. At first, it was makeshift.

'Their home is a very dilapidated shanty—bags, stray iron, and promises making up most of the building material', noted the travelling padre. However, the promises were real and with hard work, the cooperation of the Hayes family of Undoolya Station in walking Nicker cattle to the railhead at Oodnadatta, and good wool prices, the family prospered. Eventually a stone building, which also acted as a store, was constructed. Because it was built beside the Overland Telegraph Line, the homestead also had a telephone.

In 1928, Nicker suffered a stroke and Ryan's Well homestead was sold. The family moved to Alice Springs, but his progressive deterioration meant that he had to go to Adelaide for care. He died there in 1930.

Elizabeth Nicker was, as previously mentioned, a very capable cook, and a practical bush nurse and midwife. Despite the setbacks in her early life, she had a strong Christian belief, which was to influence the family in attitudes towards others and to life in general—although Sam rejected the formality of it. Initially, after the move to 'The Garden' near Arltunga, it was her work as much as Sam's that provided the produce for the miners at the goldfields. Their life together was always a good team endeavour, and when Sam was away on the rounds of the district, she cared for the children and tended the garden.

After their move to Alice Springs, she became well known for her midwifery role. The camel travelling padre **R B Plowman** has left an account of her endeavour: 'In the lonely places of the vast Australian continent there are women whose names and deeds are worthy of record in these annals. One such is Mrs Sam Nicker.

It was nearly dark when she got the message begging her to go to the assistance of the mother and babe in their terrible plight. Her husband was away from home. There were no horses at hand. The night promised to be very dark, and there were fifty miles of rough travelling over a mountain road, with many dangerous places. Calling an Aboriginal boy, she sent him to look for horses. Night had fallen and the dark had come when she set off alone in her buggy on her responsible mission.

All through the night of constantly recurring perils, the heroic middle-aged woman drove and arrived at her destination in the early dawn. Meanwhile the mother and babe lay at death's door. For two days and two nights, the mother had been unable to feed her babe, or to obtain suitable care and nourishment for herself.

It seemed an impossible task that faced the unselfish bush-woman...

In spite of her careful and self-sacrificing efforts, the baby gradually faded away and died. With the mother's life still in danger, the great-souled woman laboured on, denying herself rest and proper food as she struggled to win the desperate battle. There was no doctor within four hundred miles, and no means of communication within fifty; but gradually the mother's strength returned, the strain relaxed, and the battle was won.'

As a brief complement to this, the next travelling padre was to report, when the family was newly established at Ryan's Well: 'She is a fine woman—she tries her hardest to teach the children Christian truth.'

After the years at Ryan's Well, and following Sam's death, Elizabeth was to spend most of her life in Alice Springs. As her daughter Jane had married into the well known Hayes family, and through her own deeds and personality, she had a strong supportive group of friends.

Eventually she decided to invest the money from the sale of Ryan's Well into purchase of Redbank Station, a property nearly 150 kilometres west of Alice Springs, on the northern side of the ranges. Skulduggery and legal difficulties meant that she was soon to lose the property; fortunately, she had her Christian faith, friendships and spirit to pull her out of this disaster.

The Second World War commenced and her son Ben enlisted. As with almost all Australians, the war was to bring changes for Elizabeth, but the rest of her life has been well summarised by Eve Pownall: 'When the Japanese bombs fell on the north in the Second World War, elderly civilians were offered free passage south, but Mrs Nicker refused to go. Droughts, floods, bad seasons and hard times had not driven her from the Territory; she was not going to let the Japs do it, she said.

So she stayed and lived out the rest of her 81 years in the land of her choice—almost half a century of life and action in the land where the overland buggy and the clopping hooves of two horses had brought her.’

She died in Alice Springs in 1951.

C Barnard, *The Last Explorer*, 1987; D Carment, *History and the Landscape in Central Australia*, 1991; A Grant, *Camel Train and Aeroplane: The Story of Skipper Partridge*, 1981; R B Plowman, *The Man from Oodnadatta*, 1934; E Pownall, *Mary of Maranoa*, 1959; Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Report Together with Minutes of Evidence Relating to the Following Proposed Railways:- Northern Territory Railway..., 1922; R G Kimber, interviews for over a decade with various people, especially M Hall (*nee* Nicker), J Robinson (granddaughter of Nickers) and senior members of the Webb family.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 2*.

NIXON, ALBERT (BERT) (1906–1990), farmer, was born on 10 July 1906 in Forsbrook, England. He originally named his farm on the northern bank of the Katherine River in the Northern Territory Oasis but later called it Forsbrook after his birthplace. He came to the Katherine River from Western Australia in 1931 and later that year took up a farm block up river from the Katherine township.

Nixon later took up further land and had some cattle but made his money growing and selling all his vegetable crop to the Army during the Second World War. The Army took his complete crop, which included tomatoes, pumpkins and cabbages.

Nixon employed local Aborigines to help him and at one time employed up to 11. These included Barramundi Charlie, Topsy, Nellie and Minnie. He supplied his Aboriginal workers with beef, milk, fruit, eggs and vegetables as well as accommodation, which was checked on a regular basis by the Native Affairs Branch.

As happened in other areas, the Army began to interfere and gave orders in relation to the housing and treatment of the Aborigines employed. He often had a large group (including their families) living on his block.

Some Army officers were visiting the farm one day and Nixon complained that there were no bees. He had to get up very early every morning and pollinate the pumpkin flowers by hand and it was very difficult. It was Nellie and Minnie’s job to help in this area. The Army arranged bees for him. ‘They flew a hive up by bomber to Adelaide River’, he later said, ‘and brought them down to me by truck.’

The Army took everything he grew and he supplied the Royal Australian Air Force. It flew its perishables to bases by Catalina aircraft. On one occasion, he supplied 10 tons of tomatoes in 10 days. He was getting three Pence per pound for cabbages and four and a half Pence per pound for tomatoes.

After the war, he continued to grow vegetables, fruit and peanuts and commenced pasture improvements.

In February 1947, Nixon married Ruth Gertrude Haslam in Adelaide, South Australia, and by the end of March, the couple was in residence on the farm. Ruth’s stove in her new home came from the Army.

They had a daughter, Janet, and the family remained on the River farming and raising cattle. Nixon passed away in 1990 and his wife in 1988. They were buried at Forsbrook on a spot that overlooks the River.

Information on A Nixon in files of National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), Darwin.

PEARL OGDEN and PENNY COOK, *Vol 2*.

NOBLE, JAMES (1876–1941), Aboriginal missionary, the first Aborigine to be ordained in the Anglican Church, was born in Normanton, western Queensland, in 1876. As a youth, he drove cattle to Scone, New South Wales, where the Doyle family of Invermien Station befriended him. He stayed with them for some years, became well educated, and was baptised and confirmed at St Luke’s, Scone, in July 1896.

A sincere young Christian man, Noble travelled to Queensland, first to assist Canon Edwards of Hughenden, and then to a position at the Yarrabah Mission in 1896. There he began a life-long association with the Reverend Ernest Gribble, an Anglican clergyman and outspoken critic of the mistreatment of Aborigines. At Yarrabah, Noble first married Maggie, who died shortly afterward. He then married Angeline and they had four children.

Around the turn of the century in the Roper River region of the Northern Territory, there was large-scale killing of Aboriginal people, particularly by the hunting gangs of the Eastern and African Cold Storage Company. The oppression and neglect of Aboriginal people led the Anglican Church to decide to establish a mission on the Roper River.

From Victoria, the Reverend **F Huthnance** and Messrs **R Joynt** and C Sharp were appointed to found the Roper River Mission. Journeying there via Yarrabah they called for volunteers to accompany them. Three Aboriginal people, James and Angeline Noble and Horace Reid, responded. The party of six arrived at the Roper River on 27 August 1908.

The remaining 200 Aboriginal people of the district, remnants of eight large language groups, perceived that the mission was a safe place, and gathered there immediately. Noble made a particularly outstanding contribution to the founding of the mission and its continued acceptance. Described as a good scholar and an impressive speaker, he was also a tall and gentle man who rapidly gained the confidence and affection of the local people. Of all the six missionaries, it is Noble to whom they gave the credit for bringing them the gospel.

After several dedicated years at the Roper River Mission, the Yarrabah Aboriginal missionaries returned home in 1910. In 1914, James and Angeline Noble went to join Ernest Gribble at the Forrest River Mission (Umbulgurri) near Wyndham, Western Australia. They worked there for many years, often finding themselves in confrontation with local pastoralists over the killing of Aborigines, particularly the brutal massacre by police in 1925 at Nulla Nulla Station.

Noble's dedication, faithfulness and gifts were formally recognised on 13 September 1925 when he was ordained deacon at St George's Cathedral, Perth. 'The black parson' became a well-known figure throughout Australia, widely respected and much sought after as a speaker.

The Noble family returned to north Queensland in 1932. Within a year, Noble's health deteriorated and he remained ill until his death from a fall on 25 November 1941. He is buried near Ernest Gribble in the cemetery at Yarrabah. At his funeral, it was said that he had given 'a lifetime of devoted service to God and to his own race'.

Australian Encyclopaedia; E R Gribble, *Forty Years with the Aborigines*, 1930; E R Gribble, *The Problem of the Australian Aboriginal*, 1932; G Higgins, *James Noble of Yarrabah*, 1981.

JOHN HARRIS, Vol 1.

NOBLE, MALACHI or MALACHY (JACK or JOHN) (1886–1966), bush worker, prospector and hotel owner, was born in Queensland on 5 April 1886. There is nothing known about his parentage and early life but he seems to have found employment on various north Australian cattle stations. At one stage, he married, as there is a record of his divorce from Kathleen Maude Noble in October 1946.

According to his friend Margot Miles, he was a legend in the Kimberley district of Western Australia. 'He was', Miles wrote, 'the greatest rough-rider in the country and would round up the wild horses and yard them—no mean feat. He would then break them in for various stations'. Noble also worked for a time as a 'bullocky'. In about 1927 he was photographed, bearded, tall and wiry and wearing a large hat, riding a bicycle westwards from Victoria River Downs in the Northern Territory. He later recalled that he went on to Newry for a few weeks and then left for Bullita. His bicycle fell apart and he finished the last part of the journey on foot.

He arrived at Tennant Creek in 1932 and was there towards the end of the year when an Aborigine, Frank Juppurla, found gold near the telegraph station. With Ralph Hadlock and Bill Garnett, he worked the Wheal Doria lease during the following year. Noble sank holes until he found a rich reef of gold. The original parcel of ore was sent to the Peterborough battery in South Australia for crushing. He partnered other Tennant Creek miners, including **William Weaber**, who provided Noble with finance. Noble subsequently claimed that he and Weaber found and pegged Nobles Nob, Weabers Find, Kimberley Kids and the Rising Sun mines all on the same day. The Rising Sun and Nobles Nob both proved to be particularly rich deposits. There is, however, some doubt about Noble's claim. One of Weaber's sons, Kevan, later insisted that his brother Owen found Nobles Nob and the Rising Sun.

Noble appears to have sold his interest in the mines about six months after they were opened. Geoffrey Blainey stated that he bought a hotel in the town and 'returned to his native Queensland for a spree... He was soon penniless'. Margot Miles said that he purchased the Tennant Creek Hotel, where he had two camels pegged at the back 'When things got dull', Miles remembered, 'he would jump on a camel and take off into the bush'. He only had one eye but was at home in the bush, where he spent much time studying the habits of ants. He was also known when bored, Miles continued, to 'tie two feather dusters to his waist and spend the whole day being an emu, stalking around emitting loud squarks (*sic*)... and frightening the hell out of poor drunken blokes'. It is generally thought that Noble did not own the hotel for long but while he may have sold the actual hotel to Alexander B Scott before the Second World War, he owned the non-hotel buildings ('Billiard room, shop, lean to, cordial factory, bulk store and washhouse') until at least 1949 and leased the land on which the whole complex stood until about 1947.

He spent most of the rest of his life in 'the Tennant'. **Hilda Tuxworth** recounted that he was unsuccessful in his application for an old age pension as he was unable to give evidence of his date of birth and birthplace. Australian Development NL, the owners of Nobles Nob, put him on the pay roll and he prospected and did various jobs in the mine area. The company arranged for him to enter the Old Timers' Home in Alice Springs, paying for his accommodation and pocket money. It was not long before he returned to Tennant Creek. 'It was like being in a concentration camp', he said. He then stayed with his old friend **Con Perry** at the former telegraph station, which was used as a homestead for Perry. In later life he was at last able to receive the pension and he moved to 'Noble House', an old timers' home built at Tennant Creek and named in his honour. It was opened on 22 October 1960. There he spoke to Hilda Tuxworth at a 1964 Christmas Party of his regret that he had written nothing about his life and encouraged her to begin work on a history of Tennant Creek.

He died in the Tennant Creek Hospital on 1 June 1966. His funeral was well attended and the pallbearers included many local pioneers. He is buried in the Tennant Creek Cemetery under a headstone erected by the Australian Development Company and which describes him as 'Prospector-Bushman-Gouger Founder of Nobles Nob Mine'. Whatever the truth of the last claim, he was a great Territory character. In a published obituary he was described as 'one of Australia's greatest old-time prospectors' who had spent most of his life in a swag. It was said of him that he had more fingers in mining pies in the area than any other man though once an ore body was found he was off to prospect for another. Perhaps the loss of the sight of one eye affected him greatly as his estate was left to institutions in Queensland, which had the 'care of deaf dumb and blind children'. His will is dated 27 April 1947; Noble was in hospital at the time and he clearly expected to leave a large estate. When his will was probated, however, five institutions shared a total of only 26 Pounds.

G Blainey, *The Rush that Never Ended*, rev ed, 1993; D Carment, *Australia's Depression Gold Rush*, 1991; *Centralian Advocate*, 9 June 1966; M Miles, *The Old Tennant*, 1988; Northern Territory Archives Service E113/1, E104 2836/1966; H Pearce, 'Tennant Creek Historic Sites Study', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1984; H Tuxworth, *Tennant Creek*, 1978; H J Wilson, 'The Heritage of Tennant Creek', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1995.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

NOTT, ROGER BEDE (1908–), shearer, farmer, pastoralist, politician and Administrator, was born on 20 October 1908 in Gulgong, New South Wales, the son of H Nott of Dunnedoo, New South Wales. His grandfather was a pioneer wheat grower of the district in 1856 and Nott was raised with a farming and shearing background.

After education at the Dunnedoo School, Nott worked as a shearer and although he never reached the ringer stage, he earned enough money to buy a farm in the Dunnedoo area. Having learned the lesson about shearing, he made sure that all his sons were qualified wool classers. On 13 January 1936, he married Mary Rope, with whom he had three sons. In 1941, he stood for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly as a Labor candidate for Liverpool Plains, a ‘blue ribbon’ Country Party electorate that he managed to win narrowly and then hold for 20 years. He attained cabinet rank, holding the portfolios of Mines, Agriculture and Lands. He was responsible for the state government’s soldier settlement scheme, which placed 400 veterans on the land. When Nott resigned from parliament in 1961, the Country Party promptly won back Liverpool Plains, a testament to his popularity with the electorate.

The Minister for Territories, **Paul Hasluck**, appointed Nott Administrator of the Northern Territory in 1961. This was the Menzies non-Labor government’s second appointment of a Labor man to the position, the first being **Frank Wise** in 1951. Nott had visited the Territory in 1958 and 1960 when he served as a cattle judge at the Darwin Show and had become convinced of the Territory’s potential. He later said of his appointment: ‘The development of the North was a real challenge. The Territory needed someone with vision and I was keen to get things moving.’

Nott moved quickly in a manner that made him immediately popular with the locals. At his first formal function he removed his coat jacket and there and then decided that ‘Darwin rig’ was to be official wear in future. Following a local uproar over what exactly constituted ‘Darwin rig’, he finally defined it as, for males, a white long sleeved shirt, tie or bow tie, long trousers and dark shoes. As Keith Willey later observed in the *Bulletin*, ‘socks, presumably, were optional.’ He confirmed to everyone that the new custom was indeed official when he wore ‘Territory gear’ to meet the King and Queen of Thailand.

In his first year Nott made a distinct effort to get to know the outreaches of the Territory as well as the urban areas, travelling to the Brunette Downs races, cattle stations on the Western Australian border, Melville and Bathurst Islands, Arnhem Land and many other remote regions.

The convivial Nott also made a particular effort to invite Aboriginal guests to Government House and had special empathy for Aborigines who suffered from eye diseases as he himself had a glass eye, leading to the nickname of Roger One Eye. Following a visit to the Melville Island Aboriginal Mission, he met many residents who had lost eyes and he later sent them glass new ones.

Nott’s term was also marked with some controversy, most notably in August 1961 when three Malay refugees, Jaffa Madunne, Dabriss bin Sairis and Zainal bin Hashim, were ordered to depart Australia and more than 1 500 Territory residents signed a petition asking the government to cancel the order. Several hundred people marched on Government House where Nott as Administrator agreed to see a delegation of six on the verandah. The President of the North Australian Workers’ Union, Bert Graham, spoke to him on behalf of the people and Nott promised to tell the Minister of the feelings expressed. Eventually the government allowed the three Malays to remain. In December of the same year he faced another crisis when three Portuguese seamen asked him to arrange political asylum, an action the government eventually endorsed.

Nott also developed a strong interest in Territory history, particularly the history of Government House in Darwin, about which he began collecting photographs and documents. He was responsible for having produced the first Government House booklet and, along with his wife, initiated quite a lot of renovations to the residence, particularly in preparation for the visit of the Queen in 1963. The interior was repainted using a white, turquoise and mauve theme; the grounds were re-landscaped and an oval fishpond and birdbath were built. Dressed in Darwin rig, the Notts actually lived aboard the Royal Yacht *Britannia* during the Queen’s stay.

Nott left the Territory in 1964 and until 1966 served as Administrator of Norfolk Island. He later retired to a property near Gulgong in New South Wales. In 1977 he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE).

P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984; *Who’s Who in Australia*, 1964; various newspaper reports held in the National Library of Australia biographical section.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

NUGENT, THOMAS BRIAN (TOM) (c1848–1911), stockman, station manager, bush worker, bushranger and pastoralist, was born at West Maitland, New South Wales, in about 1848. Known as Holmes, he came to the Northern Territory from north Queensland and the Gulf country with another stockman, Jim Fitzgerald.

Nugent, still known as Holmes, worked at Lake Nash as a stockman and then Manager in the early 1880s until John Costello bought the station in 1882 and installed John Farrar as his Manager. In late 1885, Nugent left Eva Downs with Barney O’Neil and Bob Anderson when news came of the Hall’s Creek gold rush. At the same time, after a race meeting at Alice Springs, Sandy Myrtle MacDonald, Hughie Campbell (a sailor from Port Augusta), Jack Dalley, Wonoka Jack and his brother George Brown came north along the Overland Telegraph Line and joined in with the Nugent group.

At Johnston’s Lagoon, north of Newcastle Waters, **Nat Buchanan** and son Gordon travelled north to Katherine and Nat had noticed the group of 13—the Devil’s number. A man named Cashman, trying to locate ‘the 13’ with ‘Tommy the Rag’ in it, dubbed it ‘the Ragged 13’. Another version has Steve Lacey as coining the name after one of the gang who was described as ‘that little ragged fellow’. The group went on to the newly formed Victoria River

Downs and with Manager **Lindsay Crawford** out on the run, storekeeper Lockard was approached and whilst busy talking to Nugent, horseshoes and stores were acquired and the 13 moved on to the Ord River in Western Australia. There they asked Bob Button to provide them with a bullock and left a lot of worthless cheques with the storekeeper, Lucanus, at Wyndham. Lucanus had been a Mounted Trooper at Yam Creek in the Northern Territory. Also termed the 'Saddle Strap Bushrangers', the 13 plagued the Hall's Creek goldfields with their petty larceny.

During the days when the 'Ragged 13' were busy between 1885 and 1887, Bob Anderson and Nugent returned to the Territory and eventually set up pastoral enterprises at Tobermorey and Banka Banka. Nugent worked for a time on the Overland Telegraph Line and got to know about Radford Springs on the early pastoral plans. Radford Springs, probably named after **Harry Readford** of Corella, was the early name of a spring that Nugent finally acquired in 1895. He called his main lease (Pastoral Lease 1704) Banka Banka, two later leases being added in 1907. The Aborigines called the area 'Parnkurr-Parnkurr'. He held Banka Banka for 16 years.

The *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* of 16 March 1900 refers to Nugent having 'formed a nice station at Banka Banka, a small garden at the homestead yielding an ample supply of all kinds of vegetables of remarkable size and quality'. **J A G Little** of the Overland Telegraph in August 1901 referred to the 'considerable additions to his [Nugent's] compact little station.'

Jack Woods of the '13' paid him a visit from the Coolgardie goldfields in 1900 before going on to England. **Billy (Miller) Linklater** worked there in 1902 and in 1941 wrote an account of the 'Ragged 13' and of the team led by Nugent. In September 1904, Prentice had sold Renner Springs to the north and Nugent had sold all surplus stock at Banka Banka.

In July 1911, Nugent came in from Buchanan Downs and was ill for some time at the Tennant Creek Telegraph Station. He died there on 11 August from dropsy. He left a will in favour of his brother William to hold his Territory assets. Two nephews and two nieces later carried on until the two nieces, Mrs P V Ambrose and Mrs D M McNamara took over in 1919. Later Phil Ward and his wife **Mary** took over Banka Banka in 1941. Nugent was buried near the Tennant Creek Telegraph Station by the Station Master, Mr Dixon, facing what was to be named the Stuart Highway.

Nugent, like his younger colleague of 'the 13' Anderson, had left pastoral enterprises which atoned for earlier indiscretions. At least two members of 'the Ragged 13' left a mark on the Territory's pastoral development.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; B Miller, 'Unpublished True Account of the Ragged Thirteen', 1941; various references in *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, from Debham index in State Library of the Northern Territory; V T O'Brien, *Pastoral Summary of Banka Banka*, 1990; Death Certificate, T Nugent, 1911; Newcastle Waters Mortuary Return, 1911.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

O

O'BRIEN, JACQUELINE MOYA (JACI) *nee* SEALE (1926–), nursing sister, nurse educator and writer, was born in Darwin on 10 May 1926, to George Seale and his wife Mary, *nee* Weedon, of Parap, Darwin. Jaci began her schooling at the Parap and Darwin Primary Schools and in 1938, with limited opportunities in the Territory, she considered herself fortunate to be able to attend the Presbyterian Ladies' College at Pymble in Sydney. She was returning home at the end of 1941 when the aircraft was returned to Sydney from Gladstone due to the escalation of the Second World War. Darwin was bombed on 19 February 1942 when she was 15 years old. Shortly afterwards Jaci's mother, Mary Seale, died in Sydney. Left in the care of a guardian whilst her father was serving overseas, Jaci decided to pursue a career in nursing.

Jaci commenced her nursing education at the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital in 1944. She realised, with her usual attention to detail, that in order to specialise she should be appropriately educated and she saw her immediate future in nursing children. Consequently, in 1948 she undertook a post certificate qualification in the nursing of children at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, Sydney. She then proceeded to the Queen Victoria Hospital in Launceston where she obtained her midwifery nursing certificate in 1949. As a Territorian Jaci was aware that these qualifications would be valuable to her when she returned to the Northern Territory.

In January 1950, Jaci returned to Darwin and its re-established hospital following its wartime bombings. At that time, the hospital was under the auspices of the Commonwealth Department of Health. She was employed as a Charge Sister in what was then Ward Three, which was a segregated 'Native Ward'. Whilst employed at the Darwin Hospital, Jaci implemented the nursing students' clinical nursing education program. Simultaneously, she strove to improve the health treatment of Aboriginal people.

From 1951, she spent two years as a Staff Nurse and Nurse Tutor at the Westminster Hospital in London where she worked in medical and thoracic wards. After a period of private nursing in England, Jaci returned to Australia and occupied the positions of Ward Sister and Tutor at the Repatriation General Hospital (RGH), Concord, New South Wales. It was at this time that Jaci and those in authority recognised her talents as a nurse educator. Within a short period, she was promoted to Principal Tutor at RGH, Concord. Her duties involved supervising six full time nurse educators and the prime responsibility for the education program for general nurses and enrolled nurses. In addition, Jaci and her staff were involved in the medical officers education program. Jaci encouraged her staff and students to pursue extra-curricular activities. To this end, she established the Student Nurses Musical and Dramatic Society.

During her 11 years in New South Wales, nursing Jaci was active as a curriculum developer in the Royal Australian Army Nursing Corps (Citizen Military Forces). She was also an examiner of both oral and written examinations with the New South Wales Nurses Registration Board and for a term she lectured in clinical teaching at the New South Wales College of Nursing. During this period, she also obtained her Diploma of Nursing Education at the New South Wales College of Nursing.

In Sydney in July 1964 Jaci married Vernon (Vern) O'Brien, a surveyor who became Surveyor General of the Northern Territory in 1966. The wedding was held at St Stephen's Presbyterian Church in Macquarie Street Sydney. As a tribute of the high esteem in which Jaci was held, student nurses from the Repatriation General Hospital, Concord, formed a guard of honour.

In 1965, Jaci was appointed Nurse Educator at the Darwin Hospital. She was the first person who had a Diploma in Nursing Education to be appointed to this position. Jaci was responsible for the complete re-organisation of the nursing education program and the introduction of a scheme, which was designed to develop the practical skills of nursing students. During this period, student nurses were required to undertake clinical work whilst studying.

Jaci O'Brien was cognisant that the Darwin Hospital School of Nursing was very small. To ensure that the hospital's nursing graduates were eligible for Australian registration, Jaci supported the concept that the Nurses Board of the Northern Territory secure an outside body to assess its nursing students. The New South Wales Nurses Registration Board agreed to act as external examiners for Northern Territory student nurses. This action not only ensured that there was no criticism of a parochial or second rate nurse education program but also enhanced the credibility of the nurse graduates.

Lyn Sullivan (*nee* Hillman) and Jill Schoolmeester (*nee* Dunkley) indicated that if it had not been for the high academic standard expected by Jaci, many nurse graduates of Darwin Hospital would not have been eligible for registration. In addition, the overall standard of graduates rarely fell below credit level in the New South Wales examinations.

Ena Lobley (*nee* Rose) first met Jaci Seale in 1960 when she commenced her general nursing at the Repatriation General Hospital, Concord. Ena was to later transfer her nursing education to Darwin Hospital where she once again benefited from Jaci's nursing knowledge and skills. Ena recalled that as Principal Nurse Educator, Jaci's presence in the school and wards commanded respect not only from students but all of her colleagues. This respect was not only reflective of the traditional era that nursing occupied but also the high esteem in which Jaci was held as a person.

Throughout her association with Jaci, Ena always thought of her as being a 'lady' and mentor. This view was endorsed by Carol Goodhand (*nee* Schoolmeester) and Jill Schoolmeester. Patricia Magee recalled the first time she lectured in a classroom environment Jaci met her prior to the occasion, chatted informally thus ensuring that she was relaxed. As an educator, Jaci always gave encouragement and inspired self-confidence in Patricia.

In addition, Jaci always treated colleagues as an equal and ensured that teaching facilities were as required. At the conclusion of each teaching session, Jaci readily provided the lecturer with constructive feedback.

In 1974, Cyclone Tracy demolished Darwin. A period of upheaval followed. Jenny Francis (*nee* Gordon) was a third year student nurse at Darwin Hospital when Cyclone Tracy made its presence felt on Christmas Eve 1974. Jenny recalled that within a week of the cyclone, **Gwen Mahaffey**, Senior Nurse Educator, Darwin Hospital, seconded Jaci O'Brien to conduct the finalist block. This action and Jaci's expertise and ability to encourage students to learn ensured that all the finalist candidates excelled in the New South Wales Registration Board Examinations.

In 1976 Jaci attempted to upgrade the Nurses Act. This activity was not to come to fruition until 1984.

Throughout the years, Jaci was active in helping aged and handicapped people. In addition, she was a foundation member of the Royal College of Nursing (Northern Territory Chapter), worked as a representative of the Australian Nursing Federation (formerly Royal Australian Nursing Federation) as well as being a representative of the Office of Women's Affairs in Canberra.

Jaci was active in upgrading nurse educating qualifications within the tertiary sector. As a member of the Nurses' Board of the Northern Territory, Jaci was proactive in the development of a Diploma in Applied Science (Community Health Nursing) at the Darwin Community College. Furthermore, in the years prior to 1987, Jaci was a member of the Advisory Committee involved in the transfer of the general nursing education program from the then Darwin Hospital to the Darwin Institute of Technology, later the Northern Territory University.

Jaci O'Brien was a member of the Nurses' Board of the Northern Territory from 18 March 1976 to 10 March 1990. Until 1988, she was the Board's representative on the New South Wales Nursing Final Examination Committee. In this role, she was involved in reviewing and writing questions for state registration examinations undertaken by general nursing students in New South Wales and the Northern Territory. As a member of the Board's Registration Assessment Committee, she was involved in assessing all applications for registration and enrolment. Based on these assessments she advised the Board on an applicant's registration and/or enrolment as a nurse in the Northern Territory. As the Board's nurse educator, she interviewed overseas applicants and assessed their education curriculum in relation to registration and enrolment. She was an appointed member of the Nurses' Board Inquiry Committee that investigated and determined complaints received regarding nurses. From time to time, she was seconded to be a member of various sub-committees and workshops formed to identify and develop appropriate strategies for a range of issues and to formulate appropriate policies and guidelines. From March 1990 to April 1995 Jaci was employed under contract by the Nurses Board of the Northern Territory to assess applications for registration or enrolment and to make recommendations on them to the Board.

The award of the Order of Australia Medal (OAM) to Mrs Jacqueline O'Brien of Howard Springs for 'services to nursing especially nursing education', was announced on Australia Day 1984. Jaci received the insignia of her Award from the Administrator, Commodore **Eric Johnston**, at Government House on 25 June 1984.

Her lectures on the history of nursing in the Territory given to students acknowledged the harsh conditions early matrons and nurses worked under in the Territory. Her article on 'Looking Back on Nursing' outlines the primitive beginnings of nursing in the Northern Territory. These bring to account the hard won achievements in nursing over the years in which Jacqueline O'Brien herself made a significant contribution to nursing and specifically nursing education. In a profile, 'The Lighted Candle', Val Dixon wrote of Jaci's award recognition as fitting for the Territory girl 'whose commitment to nursing, the Territory and its people is undeniable'.

To a degree the life of Jaci Seale is one which has shown her determination to succeed in her chosen profession after the death of her mother, a determination which she inherited from her grandmother, **May Seale/Brown**. May came to the Territory in the 1880s as a 16 year old and made a success of her Territory ventures.

Over many years, Jaci was very supportive of Territory nurses. Those indebted to her are too numerous to name. The following lines by Lisa Konigsberg personify the effect Jaci O'Brien had on nurses and her contribution to nursing in the Northern Territory. 'To Someone Special—You! You live life with vigour and honesty, and stand up for what you believe. You meet challenges with eagerness and curiosity, and make the best of every situation. You have been an inspiration in my life. You have taught me how to find the best in myself... Thank you for being my friend and showing me that I can achieve my dreams'.

V Dixon, 'The Lighted Candle', 1987; J Docker, Registrar, Nurses Board of the Northern Territory, profile data; B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989; *Northern Perspective*, vol 2, No 2; Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory research files; J O'Brien, 'Looking Back on Nursing', 1988; personal information from registered nurses, C Goodhand (*nee* Schoolmeester); J Francis (*nee* Gordon); S Green; E Lobley (*nee* Rose); P Magee; J Schoolmeester (*nee* Dunkley); L Sullivan (*nee* Hillman); Women's Advisory Council, Darwin, correspondence, 1986.

JUNE TOMLINSON and CECILIA BATTERHAM, Vol 3.

O'BRIEN, JOHN FRANCIS (1850–1925), Jesuit priest, was born in Adelaide on 4 October 1850, and his family moved in 1856 to Sevenhill, near Clare, South Australia, where his father became the first postmaster. Sevenhill was also the first foundation of the Jesuits in Australia and O'Brien attended school at St Aloysius' College there. On 5 March 1868, he was received as a Jesuit novice at Sevenhill, and until 1878 was engaged in his noviceship, rhetoric and philosophy studies there (his Master of Novices and Professor of Philosophy being Father **Anton Strele** who, in September 1882 was to become the founder of the Jesuit Mission Stations in the Northern Territory). O'Brien also taught as a Jesuit scholastic at the college at Sevenhill, and in October 1878 left for Europe to undertake his theological studies at Innsbruck where he was ordained in August 1880. After further studies, he returned to Sevenhill in 1882 and in September of that year left with Father Strele and two other Jesuits

as the founding group of the Northern Territory Mission. The first foundation was on a newly granted reserve of 130 hectares at Rapid Creek, highly unsuitable because of its closeness to Palmerston, some eleven kilometres away, a position too close to prevent the disintegration of the tribal culture of the Larakia and Woolna, the first Aboriginal groups with whom the Jesuits came into contact. (The missiology and history of the four Jesuit stations in the Northern Territory, based on the model of the famous Reductions of Paraguay, has been alluded to in the entries on Anton Strele and [Donald MacKillop](#)).

O'Brien worked at Rapid Creek for four years, learning the language and establishing the farm whose later produce was to be used to stock the stations on the Daly River. In 1885, a new reserve was granted on the Daly River, with an eight-kilometre river frontage and extending west 30 kilometres to the Serpentine Lagoon. The Jesuits were the first permanent white settlers on the west bank of the Daly, where the killing of four white prospectors in September 1884 and the subsequent punitive killing raids by other whites had given the region a frightening reputation. The Jesuits deemed, however, that total seclusion from the whites was necessary if they were to succeed in their efforts to develop small colonies of Christian Aborigines. O'Brien was appointed founding superior of this station and a party of four Jesuits set off in September 1886 on a journey that took three weeks to traverse the 240 kilometres, as they had to make their own track for the second half of the journey, and it was an ordeal of exploring, unloading and reloading as they encountered gorges, and wagons that broke under the strain.

The second station, known officially as Holy Rosary, but popularly as Uniya, lasted from October 1886 until July 1891, and like its predecessor at Rapid Creek, was doomed to failure, as nowhere on the reserve was there land suitable for agricultural settlements, the fertile area being under water in the Wet and the high land being stone or sand. Strele had not inspected the site before he agreed to the proposed reserve, and there was little knowledge of the Daly at that time. The four men underwent intense privations and were plagued with boils, malaria and eye infections; those who could see wielded the hammers and those who could not held the nails! They called their station 'Hungerberg' as supplies frequently failed. Strele insisted that rice be sown as the staple crop, even though O'Brien and others knew it was unsuitable; as crop after crop failed they resowed, out of obedience. Despite these hardships, a certain amount was achieved with the Mollok (Mulluk Mulluk) people who gathered around the station and began to work with the missionaries and allow their children to attend the school. From Uniya there was established a further station at Serpentine Lagoon, but this also was an unsuitable site.

In December 1890, Donald MacKillop was made superior of the whole mission in succession to Father Strele, and set about a total reorganisation, attempting to repair the eight years of maladministration. He closed the existing three stations at Rapid Creek, Uniya and Serpentine Lagoon and concentrated the four priests and seven brothers at the 'new' Uniya, on several hundred acres of suitable agricultural land, about thirty kilometres downstream on the east bank. O'Brien was transferred to New Uniya where he worked on the Station until May 1898, when he was transferred to Palmerston to succeed Father Strele as Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Port Victoria, as the ecclesiastical district of the Northern Territory was termed then.

The role of an Administrator Apostolic is to tend to needs of an area that has not yet received a bishop, or from which the bishop is absent for a prolonged period. O'Brien fulfilled this role, buying properties for future churches, establishing a school in Palmerston and acting as itinerant parish priest for the Top End until 1902, when he was transferred south by Jesuit superiors. He worked in parishes in Sevenhill and Norwood, taught at St Aloysius' College, Sydney from 1908 to 1912, and was then stationed in the parish at Sevenhill until his death on 18 March 1925.

Father John O'Brien was a man of great strength, spiritual and physical, very jovial and popular. The Illustrated Testimonial presented to him when he left the Territory contains the signatures of all the notables. Of the nineteen Jesuits who worked under most rigorous conditions in the Territory, he was there the longest (twenty years, seventeen of them in active missionary work) and he was one of the very few who emerged unscathed in health.

Diaries and records in the Jesuit Provincial Archives, Hawthorn, Victoria. G J O'Kelly, 'The Jesuit Mission Stations in the Northern Territory, 1882-1899', BA Thesis, 1967.

G J O'KELLY, Vol 1.

O'BRIEN, (THOMAS) ALLAN (1935-), public servant, was born on 6 June 1935, the son of Mr and Mrs J O'Brien. He graduated Bachelor of Engineering with Honours from the University of Sydney and Bachelor of Laws with Honours from the Australian National University and was admitted to the New South Wales Bar in 1965. On 3 May 1957, he married Diana, daughter of Mr and Mrs S B Dickinson; they had four children.

O'Brien rose quickly through the ranks of the Commonwealth Public Service; by 1968, he had been promoted to Assistant Secretary in the Department of Air and, in 1969, he became a First Assistant Secretary in the Department of Defence. In 1971, he was appointed Deputy Administrator in the Northern Territory Administration, effectively the most influential locally based public servant. That position had been newly created largely because of the need to manage conflict between the two Assistant Administrators. Arriving in the Territory at a time of considerable ferment on the subject of further constitutional development that had generated a hostile attitude towards senior officialdom from the local political elite, O'Brien found it difficult to secure wide acceptance. Moreover, although it was conceded that he was a competent administrator, his aloofness, his authoritarian disposition and his undisguised ambition did little to endear him to either his subordinates or to the community. One close colleague referred to O'Brien as 'an unlovable bloke'.

When Labor came to federal office in December 1972 and decided to create a new Department for the Northern Territory (DNT), O'Brien was made Secretary. The Public Service Board on the grounds of his comparative youth and inexperience opposed his elevation but, apparently through the influence of Kep Enderby, the responsible

Minister and O'Brien's academic mentor at the Australian National University, that opposition was overcome. He remained as Secretary, primarily located in Darwin, until June 1975 when, with the subsuming of the DNT into a broader Department of Northern Australia, he was based in Canberra, again as its inaugural Secretary. During the latter part of 1973, O'Brien also acted as Administrator while Canberra was debating the future of that position; his conjunction of the two roles proved politically controversial. His relationship with his successive ministers—Enderby, **Rex Patterson** and Paul Keating—was generally cordial.

Organising the DNT, defining its precise role and interfaces with other instrumentalities and defending its position, occupied a lot of O'Brien's time as Secretary. In such matters, he demonstrated skilful bureaucratic politics and resourcefulness; a particularly good example was his success at preventing the dismantling of the DNT after Cyclone Tracy had devastated Darwin at Christmas 1974. Another time-consuming task for O'Brien was his involvement in planning for political and administrative change in the Territory; he played pivotal roles in advising the Joint Parliamentary Committee which examined constitutional development of the Territory between 1973 and 1975 and in the Interdepartmental Committee, set up in mid-1975, to study implementation. Indeed, his broad recommendations formed the basis of the conclusions of the Joint Committee. It has been conceded, even by **Goff Letts**, the Majority Leader of the Legislative Assembly, that O'Brien was a supporter of a limited form of self-government and that, considering his sensitivity to Labor's position and his own misgivings about the Territory's readiness, he made a reasonable and realistic contribution to Territory aspirations. The form which self-government ultimately took, however, bore little resemblance to that which O'Brien had charted.

In December 1975, O'Brien was dismissed from his position; it was generally held that he had rather too openly associated himself with Labor personalities and policies to be acceptable to the new Coalition government. He was later assigned to other and less prestigious duties, notably the Presidency of the Murray River Commission.

Constitutional Development in the Northern Territory: Reports from the Joint Committee on the Northern Territory, 1974 & 1975 and transcripts of evidence, 1973 to 1975; A Heatley, *Almost Australians*, 1990; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1988.

ALISTAIR HEATLEY, Vol 3.

O'KEEFFE, OLIVE (KEEFFIE) nee HARVEY (1907–1988), nurse, was born on 14 May 1907 at Montville, Queensland. She had always wanted to be a nurse and as a young woman spent four years at Brisbane General Hospital undergoing general training. She was then a Staff Nurse before doing midwifery.

Her move to the Northern Territory occurred in 1936. A close friend, Sister Morrison, had been in the Territory for several years and wrote frequently to Olive Harvey asking her to come as well. Harvey finally took up a vacancy on the staff of Darwin Hospital and arrived on *Marella* on 19 November 1936.

Harvey did not stay long in Darwin for by 1937 she had been appointed to the Pine Creek Hospital. There was no doctor stationed at Pine Creek but **Dr Clyde Fenton** would fly from Katherine every Sunday and would also come if there were emergencies the Sister could not handle.

A short time later, another move was made to the hospital at Tennant Creek. Sister Morrison was also stationed at Tennant Creek at the time. However, by the beginning of 1938 Harvey had been moved to the Katherine Hospital. It was here that the now famous Dr Fenton was stationed.

He had arrived in 1934 and immediately saw the need for an aerial ambulance. He bought a De Havilland Gypsy Moth and formed the Northern Territory Aerial Medical Service. Harvey recalled: 'At that time Dr Clyde Fenton was Resident and myself and one other nursing Sister worked twenty-four hour shifts and were on call in an emergency. A young girl was employed to attend to the washing up and kitchen duties. Dr Fenton's aerial ambulance covered a lot of territory. Often when he had a call-out he would take off about 3 am. One of us would give him a cup of coffee or thermos to take with him and perhaps a bit of toast. I would then drive him to the airstrip, although I had no licence then. I wasn't game to tell him I hadn't. Dr Fenton had no radio or radar and would get out on a flight usually by himself; however if he needed help one of us, usually the other Sister, would go with him. If he was returning late we would light the beacon, which was behind the house, to guide him in. He was a clever doctor and a marvellous pilot and took enormous risks to help the sick and injured.'

Not long after her arrival in Katherine Harvey met her husband, John O'Keeffe. He had been born in Ireland but migrated to Boston in the United States in the 1920s. He was a pastry cook by trade and worked on the ships sailing from San Francisco to Sydney. He came to Katherine to visit **Tim O'Shea**, who was a cousin, and decided to stay on and work on the railway in 1929. In 1937, he won the government contract to supply the town with meat and had a butcher's shop on the south side of the town. He later worked at the Sportsman's Arms Hotel and Store. John and Olive were married in September 1938. The reception was held in Clyde Fenton's house.

O'Keeffe, as she now was, resigned from nursing and left Katherine with Johnno, as he was always called, very soon afterwards. They went south to Birdum, which was, then at the end of the railway line, to run the pub, which was owned by Tim O'Shea.

After the bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942, all civilians located north of Larrimah were to be evacuated south. Although Birdum was only a few kilometres south of Larrimah, virtually everything closed up as far as civilians were concerned. O'Keeffe did not work for the Northern Territory Medical Service at the time, but there was a request for her to travel on an Army convoy from Larrimah to Alice Springs with three pregnant part Aboriginal women. One of the women was delivered 20 minutes after their arrival into Alice Springs.

The O'Keeffes were to remain in Alice Springs for about 20 years. This was broken by six months in the small town of Balaclava about 80 kilometres north of Adelaide in South Australia. Johnno and Olive were the Superintendent and Matron of a home for part Aboriginal children. These young people were moved from various places in the Territory, including from missions on Bathurst and Melville Islands.

Upon their return to Alice Springs, the O’Keeffes undertook similar roles at the Aboriginal community of Jay Creek. A further move was made in much the same roles to the Bungalow near Alice Springs, the former telegraph station that had become a home for part Aboriginal people. John’s job was to order and distribute rations to the Aborigines and Olive O’Keeffe not only nursed in the traditional sense but also attended to a range of human care activities. After some years work at the Bungalow, O’Keeffe was offered a job at the Alice Springs Hospital. Her task was to start a ‘Native Ward’, which she ran for many years.

The ‘Native Ward’ was a large corrugated iron and flywire (with canvas blinds) structure that held up to 70 patients. It was a recycled Army building. ‘Keeffie ran it with great aplomb’, according to Win Snodgrass who first worked with O’Keeffe in Alice Springs. ‘She virtually decided on admittance and the Aboriginal people had great respect for Keeffie. It was not unusual for patients, possibly with a broken arm or leg, to come to the back door and ask for Keeffie.

There were people from all over Central Australia in the ward. During the day, they would mix but at night they separated into tribal groups.

There was a great need to care for kids. Sometimes we would receive a plane load of small children suffering from pneumonia or diarrhoea. We could lose three to five during the night. In the late 1950s there was a severe drought which had a dreadful effect on Aboriginal people. TB was also a problem and these patients were placed on the verandahs.’

Snodgrass also commented that O’Keeffe was very independent and would fight with the Matron. ‘One day Keeffie packed her basket and left and all the patients went too!’

By the early 1960s, O’Keeffe and Johnno had a yen to return to the warmer climate of Katherine. They essentially decided to retire. In O’Keeffe’s words, ‘We intended to just settle here and do anything we could to help the old place along.’ Not long after they returned to Katherine they purchased what is now known as the O’Keeffe Residence, a mainly corrugated iron structure in Riverside Drive. A National Trust property after 1988, it was originally built during the Second World War as an officers’ mess. Johnno set about building some more furniture, repairing the house and doing all the handyman tasks he enjoyed so much. There were no furniture shops in Katherine then and a good day out was finding some relic that could be made into something for the house. Johnno also painted everything once a year—he hated cleaning so would paint instead.

The O’Keeffes were very hospitable people. The numerous visitors were fed on the cakes and bread that Johnno made. Pies were Olive O’Keeffe’s specialty.

O’Keeffe had a great love of her garden and she devoted a lot of time to its development. Numerous plants, including bulbs, were ordered from Brisbane. There was a great array of ‘pots’ for the delicate plants. From kerosene tins to old bedpans.

O’Keeffe also went back to work. Win Snodgrass, who was then the Matron at the Katherine Hospital, came to visit one day. A life long friendship had been formed between them at Alice Springs and Snodgrass had a staff shortage at the Katherine Hospital. For many years thereafter O’Keeffe was in charge of the Outpatients’ Department. In 1976, Johnno became ill and O’Keeffe resigned from her position to nurse him. When he had recovered, there were pleas for her to return to her work at the hospital. She gave in to these pleas and reapplied for her old position. It was at this time that the authorities discovered her true age and thus ended her formal working life.

O’Keeffe was not just a nurse. She was also an extremely compassionate, caring person who gave an enormous amount of help to many people in the Katherine area. She died in Katherine on 16 November 1988, several years after her husband passed away.

O’Keeffe was honoured with Membership of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for her contribution to nursing, particularly in Alice Springs for her work in caring for Aborigines with tuberculosis.

P Cook (Compiler), O’Keeffe Residence Katherine, 1992; information from P Dermoudy, W Snodgrass and Katherine Branch, National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory).

PENNY COOK, Vol 2.

O’LEARY, KEVIN FREDERICK (1920–), lawyer, educator, author, Judge and second Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory was born in Sydney on 19 February 1920. His father, Frederick James O’Leary, was an engine driver with the New South Wales Government Railways. His mother, Louisa Maria, *nee* Leader, cared for the family.

After attending Christian Brothers School, Lewisham, New South Wales, O’Leary commenced his legal studies at University of Sydney in 1941. Between 1940 and 1942, he served in the Army but managed to complete the first year of his law degree in 1941. In October 1942, he was discharged from the Army to enable him to join the Royal Australian Air Force, in which he served until 1945. He reached the rank of Flying Officer. Thereafter he resumed his law studies and graduated Bachelor of Laws with Honours from the University of Sydney in 1948. After completing articles, he was admitted as a solicitor to the Supreme Court of New South Wales on 29 May 1949.

Between 1949 and 1957, O’Leary practised as a partner in the firm of Colreavy and O’Leary in Sydney. On 15 April 1950, he married Patricia Mercedes Burt. There are eight children of the marriage (Catherine Anne, born 1951; Brendan Joseph, 1953; Elizabeth Mary, 1955; Cecily Margaret, 1957; Anne Patricia, 1959; Clare Frances, 1962; John Kevin, 1962; and Jane Louise, 1965). In 1957, he left the firm and was admitted as a barrister, practising mainly in country District Courts (New South Wales) and in the Supreme Court of the Australian Capital Territory. In May 1963, he moved from Sydney to Canberra and joined the firm of Martin, Crossin, O’Leary and Barker. He practised as an ‘in-house counsel’ in the Australian Capital Territory and as a

barrister in New South Wales. In 1969, he left that firm, took up chambers in Canberra, and practised solely as a barrister, mainly in the fields of common law civil actions and criminal law.

Between 1965 and 1967, O'Leary served as Vice-President of the Australian Capital Territory Law Society, and as President between 1967–70. During the period of his presidency, the Law Society suffered open hostility from the Commonwealth Attorney-General, Nigel Bowen, (later to become Chief Justice of the Federal Court of Australia) over law reform issues and in particular over the provisions of a new Legal Practitioners Ordinance which would introduce a divided profession into the Territory. In 1969, the Ordinance having been signed by the Governor-General, despite the opposition of the Law Society, O'Leary and his predecessor, B C Meagher, persuaded the Senate to disallow the Ordinance. A new ordinance organising the profession on a divided basis was reintroduced in 1970 but was again disallowed by the Senate. In the same year, the government relented and the Legal Practitioners Ordinance (No 2) 1970, which provided for a fused profession, was finally introduced.

From 1969 to 1977 O'Leary was a member of the Executive of the Law Council of Australia, serving as Vice-President between 1972–1974 and as President between 1974–1976. Following Cyclone Tracy, in 1975 he organised the establishment of a fund to assist members of the Northern Territory legal profession who had lost property as a result of the Cyclone.

From 1961 to 1981, O'Leary served as a member of the Faculty of Law of the Australian National University and lectured part-time in Practice and Procedure (1971–1981). Between 1972 and 1982, he became the first Director of the Legal Workshop at the University. This innovative course provided for a means of practical teaching as an alternative to articles of clerkship before admission. In this period he also visited, lectured, assisted or advised in a number of other countries and cities which proposed to set up similar courses (Papua New Guinea; Toronto, Canada; Birmingham, United Kingdom; Harvard, United States of America; Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Ireland; Dublin, Eire). In 1976, he was elected an Honorary Member of the American Bar Association; served as an acting judge of the National Court of Papua New Guinea and as a Counsellor for both the International Bar Association and Lawasia.

Between 1977 and 1981 O'Leary served as the first Chairman of the Australian Legal Education Council, the purpose of which was to rationalize legal training, both academic and practical, at a national level, and to encourage continuing legal education for practitioners.

In 1982 and 1983, O'Leary served two terms as an Acting Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory. In 1983, he was appointed a permanent Judge of the Court. Following the retirement of the first Chief Justice, **Sir William Forster**, he was appointed as the Court's second Chief Justice on 12 September 1985. It is fair to record that he was not the first choice for this position. **Justice Muirhead** had been Acting Chief Justice for seven months following Sir William's retirement in February, but he declined the position as he also wished to retire.

At the time of O'Leary's swearing in as Chief Justice, the **Tuxworth** government announced its intention to bring into operation dormant statutory provisions establishing the Court of Appeal and Court of Criminal Appeal. Forster, who had argued that the Court was still too small to establish its own appellate courts, had resisted this step. The first sitting of the new courts of appeal was held on 28 April 1986. In the meantime, efforts were made to draft new rules of court not only to modernise the existing rules, but also to provide rules of the new appeal courts. The new rules came into force later the following year, and were largely the result of the O'Leary's influence.

As a Judge and Chief Justice O'Leary was hard working, respected as a jurist, and above all, courteous. He maintained good relations with the legal profession. As Chief Justice, he saw himself as first amongst equals. He did his best to ensure that the appeal courts were seen as of equal quality to the Federal Court of Australia and other State Appeal Courts. A number of important decisions affecting the interpretation of the Criminal Code, which came into force on 1 January 1984, were decided whilst he was a Judge of the Court. As an administrator, he sought to curb delays in hearing cases, encouraged the Law Society to introduce an effective system of continuing legal education, and to simplify rules relating to legal costs.

On 31 July 1987, O'Leary retired on medical advice and left the Northern Territory to live in Perth. He was appointed Queens Counsel on 1 August 1987.

O'Leary was the co-author of two books on civil procedure, namely, *Principles of Practice and Procedure* (with Alan Hogan) (Butterworths, Sydney 1976) and *Supreme Court Civil Procedure. New South Wales* (with Mr Justice PW Young and Alan Hogan) (Butterworths, Sydney, 1987). His other main interests were reading and music. He was a competent pianist. His wife was a violinist who played first violin in the Canberra Symphony Orchestra, and with the Sydney and Melbourne Elizabethan Trust Orchestras formed to play with the Australian Ballet. After arriving in Darwin, she made a significant contribution to the Darwin String Orchestra, which was eventually to form the nucleus of the Darwin Symphony Orchestra.

(1972) 46 *Australian Law Journal*, 49, 157; (1978) 52 *Australian Law Journal* 117; (1985) 59 *Australian Law Journal* 638; *Northern Territory News*, 12 September 1985 & 31 July 1987; personal information; Transcripts of Ceremonial Sittings of Supreme Court of the Northern Territory 12 July 1982, 12 September 1985 & 31 July 1987; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1988; S M W Withycombe, *Ethos and Ethics*, 1993.

DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

O'LOUGHLIN, JOHN PATRICK (1911–1985), Roman Catholic priest and Bishop of Darwin, was born at Brompton, South Australia on 25 July 1911, second child of Michael O'Loughlin and his wife Mary Florence, *nee* McGee. Educated at first by the Sisters of St Joseph he completed his secondary schooling at the Christian Brothers Rostrevor College in Adelaide. Straight from school O'Loughlin joined the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and he took his permanent vows on 26 February 1933. He was ordained priest on 30 November 1935. He was later to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Gregorian University in Rome.

O'Loughlin was appointed to the staff of Downlands College, Toowoomba, in 1937 and he soon became Prefect of Studies. He remained there until 1945 when the Army took over the college buildings to convert them to an 800-bed hospital. College staff and students were evacuated to Dalby where available accommodation was scattered over a kilometre or more of the town. **Father Frank Flynn**, a close friend and life-long colleague recalled O'Loughlin during this period as being one of the pivotal figures in the dramatic changeover 'when at some unexpected point of emergency, there he was, sitting on the top step of an outdoor stairway with his push-bike parked below, calmly smoking his pipe while evolving a plan to restore harmony. This type of scene was the forerunner of many I was to witness in Darwin crisis situations over the years'.

In 1947, Father John O'Loughlin was appointed Director of Catholic Education for the Diocese of Rabaul on the island of New Britain, Papua New Guinea. About 500 schools were administered catering for about 17 000 children. The wartime devastation wreaked upon the province of Rabaul was extensive, and during his service there, O'Loughlin became widely known and admired for his seemingly tireless devotion to duty. He would often spend weeks at a time visiting and often teaching at various local Catholic schools. It was whilst visiting a small village school in Vavu on the north coast of New Britain that Father O'Loughlin was to hear the news that would shape his whole life. It is recorded that the Bishop of Rabaul made a special trip by launch to see him to bring the news that he had been appointed Bishop of Darwin on 13 January 1949.

John O'Loughlin was consecrated on 20 April 1949 in the Cathedral of St Francis Xavier in Adelaide. He was 38 and in the ensuing 36 years, he became known as one of the finest church leaders in the Northern Territory. In succeeding the Most Reverend **Francis Xavier Gsell**, Bishop O'Loughlin faced another Diocese still recovering from the shattering effects of the Second World War. Housing was almost non-existent and all the pre-war freehold land in the town had been resumed in 1946, the intention being that the central business district be moved to Daly Street and everything else would be moved accordingly. It is largely due to the efforts of Bishop O'Loughlin that this did not happen. Bishop Gsell had been outraged that a secular authority would deprive the church of its freehold land. He wrote pastoral letters, preached sermons and lobbied the federal government. O'Loughlin continued the fight which culminated in the minister of the day (without reference to the town planners in Darwin) deciding that the Roman Catholic Church precinct could stay where it was. It had already been decided that neither the Shell terminal nor the Hotel Darwin were to be moved but with this decision the plan was doomed.

It had been an unusual decision by the church authorities to raise one of such relative youth to the Bishopric but as Senator Bob Collins (while serving as Leader of the Northern Territory Opposition) was to comment 'a brave and correct one'. He continued: 'After the war the Catholic Church made a courageous decision. It appointed a very young man as Bishop of the Northern Territory... It was what the Territory needed. John O'Loughlin's devotion to his job was unparalleled'.

The Bishop made massive improvements to the lives of Aboriginal people in all parts of the Northern Territory and he is regarded as being a key figure in the push for the development of such fundamental services as Aboriginal education, housing and health. He was outspoken on the need for voting rights for Aborigines and publicly deplored the segregation of the races. In the 1960s, O'Loughlin believed that the means to solve the 'native' problem were 'jobs, schooling and social acceptance by whites'. The main thing holding back assimilation, he believed, was the attitude of Europeans, not Aborigines. At the same time, the Bishop was also aware of and warned against the dangers in pushing the process of assimilation too far and/or too fast. He believed that 'in the Territory Aboriginal or Part-Aboriginal tradesmen were accepted by their white colleagues, made a sufficient family wage and had self-respect The skilled artisan is the first step to aim at, rather than getting them through universities, that can be left for their children'.

He had a personal, long and close association with the people of Port Keats, Daly River, Melville and Bathurst Islands. In 1955 for example, he re-established a mission on the Daly River, and continued the pioneering efforts of Bishop Gsell in supporting health and education services at Bathurst Island and Port Keats. These services were to become an integral part of the overall development of these settlements. When the Leprosarium was moved from Channel Island to East Arm in 1955 Bishop O'Loughlin, because the sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart were to run the establishment, was among those to approve the new site. He took a keen interest in the medical developments that allowed it to be closed in 1983. He was known as a kind friend and father confessor to many of the patients and regularly said mass at the Leprosarium.

It was at the Leprosarium that the concept of the Aboriginal Health Worker was developed. It was strongly supported by Bishop O'Loughlin who, not being one to wait for government initiatives, quietly worked to ensure that this concept of self-care became a reality. In the years preceding his death, he focused his activities upon the Church's initiative in relation to alcohol awareness in remote Aboriginal communities. He also actively encouraged the work of the St Vincent de Paul Society. Not concerned solely with just the physical well being of the Territory's Aboriginal community, he was instrumental in the establishment of various Aboriginal village councils to encourage Aborigines to assume greater responsibility within their communities.

His work in the field of health was not restricted to merely an administrative role, however, as former Minister for Health, Ray Hanrahan, recalled: 'He was involved personally in the care of the sick. For many years, Bishop O'Loughlin was a familiar sight each Sunday in the wards of the old Darwin Hospital visiting not only his parishioners but also the sick and lonely of all denominations. He had a kind and cheerful word for all and did much behind the scenes to ensure the welfare of those in need'.

Bishop O'Loughlin concentrated much of his effort in ensuring that a good education based on Christian beliefs was widely available throughout the Northern Territory. He played a very major role in furthering the development of Northern Territory Catholic education in particular, and the non-government school systems in general. With his guiding hand Catholic education in the Top End developed from post primary classes at St Mary's and St Joseph's

primary schools in Darwin to high school level with the opening of St John's College in 1960. This College pioneered the provision of boarding facilities for isolated students and today the Catholic education system in the Territory embraces excellent mission schools in Aboriginal communities and numerous urban primary and secondary schools in both Darwin and Alice Springs. To achieve this O'Loughlin always maintained 'close and harmonious co-operation' with government. He also supported the development of independent schools as a member of the Northern Territory Finance Committee of the Commonwealth Schools Commission.

During his years as head of the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory Bishop O'Loughlin oversaw the formation of many Catholic parishes and congregations throughout the north. These included St Joseph's parish at Katherine, St Paul's Parish at Nightcliff, the Holy Spirit parish at Casuarina, the Holy Family parish of Sanderson and churches at Nhulunbuy, Batchelor and Jabiru. In Central Australia, the Arltunga Mission was relocated to Santa Teresa in 1952.

Perhaps the most well-known and substantial building project undertaken by the Bishop was the erection of the St Mary's Star of the Sea Cathedral in Darwin, which was begun in 1957 and completed in August 1962. It was constructed largely from local stone and the Bishop took a personal interest in the work of the stone masons, sometimes choosing suitable material himself at the quarry site. Chief Minister [Ian Tuxworth](#) was later to recall that 'in his own wily and canny way Bishop O'Loughlin maintained and supervised a massive building program right throughout the Northern Territory. If we were to look around at the many and significant institutions operated by the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory, we see that most of the buildings were constructed during his time'.

Already highly regarded for his efforts in rebuilding the 'Catholic Diocese' after the war, Bishop O'Loughlin became further respected as a dynamic force during the reconstruction of Darwin after its almost total devastation by Cyclone Tracy in December 1974. Among many other roles he served on the Cyclone Tracy Fund Committee. His activities often took him outside the strict confines of the church. He was quietly supportive of people trying to seek asylum in Australia when they were threatened with deportation and he performed the marriage service for Gladys Namagu and Mick Daly once it was established they were free so to do.

In the last few years of his life, Bishop O'Loughlin's health began to fail. An old back injury sustained in a fall from horseback caused constant pain and irritation and in early 1985, he had an operation to alleviate a weakness and pain in his right leg. Through this infirmity it seemed, however, that very little would or could change the pace of the Bishop's busy schedule, much to the concern of others. Nothing stopped his enthusiasm and support of the St Mary's football team and he attended their matches as often as possible. He was also not averse to a little gardening around the Cathedral when the need arose as Terry Smith, a former member of parliament, found to his embarrassment. When he asked the 'gardener' how he might arrange to see the Bishop the reply was, 'The Bishop is busy right now but, if you come back around three o'clock, I am sure he will see you then'. Needless to say, the gardener was the Bishop.

On the evening of Wednesday 13 November 1985, whilst visiting a parishioner's home, Bishop O'Loughlin collapsed. He was rushed back to St Mary's Cathedral and on to the Royal Darwin Hospital. Diagnosed as suffering from a cerebral haemorrhage the Bishop died in the early hours Thursday 14 November without having regained consciousness. He had been a priest for just on 50 years.

As a tribute to the strength, purpose and dedication, of this quiet unassuming Territorian Bishop O'Loughlin was given the first state funeral in the Northern Territory on 22 November. It was attended by well over 2 000 mourners from the scattered corners of the globe, and the last respects were paid in an appropriately combined traditional Aboriginal and Christian ceremony. The Bishop's casket was interred in the crypt of St Mary's Star of the Sea Cathedral, Darwin. In delivering the eulogy the Auxiliary Bishop of Brisbane, the most Reverend E J Cuskelly echoed the feelings of all present, 'He was a man with a gift for friendship who enriched the lives of many. He was a friend to the Northern Territory and to everybody who knew him. He was a man of calmness, unperturbed and with the ability to put aside problems of lesser importance. He was a man of great courage, undaunted in the building of the Darwin Diocese. He was a friend to all men'.

Earlier that morning in a special sitting of the Legislative Assembly called specifically to move a motion of condolence, the first of its kind in the Territory, homage was paid to this 'man of wit, of vision, and above all a man of the people'. Members from both parties paid their respects in a manner that leaves little doubt as to the high esteem in which the Bishop was held. The Chief Minister, Ian Tuxworth, noted that justice could never possibly be given to the Bishop's numerous achievements or of their effect upon the Territory. 'In the areas of Aboriginal Health and Welfare, Catholic Education and the building and maintenance of religious and educational facilities his work was always as ever marked with excellence and distinction.' Bishop O'Loughlin's personal motto was *Vinculis Dilectionis* Trahere, 'To draw together by bonds of love and kindness', to which credo he adhered all his life.

Bishop John Patrick O'Loughlin during his many years service to the Territory was awarded numerous civic and religious citations for his service to the community through the Roman Catholic Church and in 1979, he was made a Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG). In early 1985, he became the recipient of the highest award Rotary International can bestow, the Paul Harris Fellowship Award. In the January following his death Bishop O'Loughlin became the first to be posthumously named Territorian of the Year. He had first been named in 1984 but the honour had been held over as it was intended to be presented during his retirement year. His name was remembered in the O'Loughlin Catholic College.

Fr A Bolt, MSC, 'St Johns College Silver Jubilee', 1985; 'Brotherhood in Mission, MSC', Kensington Archives, Sydney; F Flynn, *Northern Frontiers*, 1968; *Northern Territory News*, 14 November 1985, 15 November 1985, 22 November 1985, 26 January 1986; Northern Territory

O'SHEA, TIMOTHY (TIM) (1878–1958) and **O'SHEA, CATHERINE** (1880–1930), pioneers. Timothy (Tim) O'Shea was born in Tonavarn, Tralee, County Kerry, Ireland, on 29 April 1878. He was one of four sons and five daughters born to Patrick and Johannah O'Shea, *nee* Barrett. Patrick O'Shea, a farmer, was a retired professional soldier, having enlisted in the British Army to serve with the Dublin Fusiliers in 1848, which was the year of his wife Johannah's birth. During the Indian Mutiny in 1857, Captain Patrick O'Shea's regiment took part in the Relief of Lucknow. Seeing his commander disarmed and menaced by a sepoy, Patrick killed the Indian with his sabre. For this deed, Patrick O'Shea received the Star of India medal.

After working at his trade as a bricklayer, O'Shea left Ireland to seek a better life in Australia. He promised to keep in touch with a pretty girl named Catherine O'Keeffe whom he met at his send-off party. When his ship berthed in Brisbane in 1900, O'Shea went ashore with seven Shillings and six Pence in his pocket—his first purchase was a pineapple! Finding a scarcity of work in Brisbane, he made his way north to Townsville where he practised his trade, brick making for the construction of the court house, post office and the well-known Queen's Hotel.

While in north Queensland, he accepted a job with a plate-laying gang in the Northern Division of the Queensland Railways. Wages were low and the cost of living high, so O'Shea, with a strong young back, broad shoulders and enormous capacity for hard work, took a job cutting cane, becoming one of the first of the white gangs to work in the cane-fields. Until this time, sceptics believed that cane cutting was the monopoly of the imported Kanaka labourers, and that white men did not have the endurance or stamina for work of that kind in those climatic conditions.

Hearing of fortunes being made and lost in mining, O'Shea made his way to Herberton where, at a mine which he named 'The Maid of Erin', he made a substantial tin strike—enough, in fact, to travel back to Ireland and marry the girl who had kept in contact with him for nearly seven years.

On 12 February 1907, at Friars Church in Gerah, Eire, Timothy O'Shea married Catherine O'Keeffe. Dark-haired, brown-eyed and bonny, Catherine ('Kate' or 'Kitty') was born on 2 February 1880, and worked as a postal clerk in the small township of Farranfore until her marriage. She was one of a family of three daughters and five sons of John and Mary, *nee* Donlevy, O'Keeffe.

After their marriage, Timothy and Catherine sailed for Australia, which was to be their adopted homeland forever. An indication of some measure of O'Shea's prior success in Australia is that he paid passage for many other members of his family: his widowed mother, two brothers, five sisters, one of his brothers' wives and their three children—a total of 12 besides himself and his new bride. On arrival in Queensland O'Shea saw them all suitably settled—a great effort for a young man who had arrived virtually penniless in Australia only seven years before.

The young O'Sheas settled in Irvinebank where O'Shea continued mining and the first two of six daughters were born: Kathleen in 1908 and Johannah in 1909. News of new mining fields and a rich tin strike at Pine Creek in the Northern Territory lured the family and they travelled by boat to Darwin in 1909. Accompanied by O'Shea's mother, who lived with the family until her death in 1925, they travelled by train from Darwin to Pine Creek where they settled until 1918. O'Shea joined the 'tin rush' to Umbrawarra, west of Pine Creek, and soon had a very productive and profitable little lease of his own to work. In 1910, he and a man named Paddy Kelly went to Bulman in Arnhem Land to inspect the silver-lead reported to be there. Travel by packhorse was slow and arduous and they were away for three months. Travelling to Bulman, they passed over an area with obviously great mining potential. O'Shea identified tin as the predominant ore and became the discoverer of the Maranboy mining fields. At this time he still intended returning to Queensland so did not bother to establish any claims in the area. Instead, when he returned to Pine Creek, he gave what information he had to an acquaintance named Jim Schaber who became the man to put Maranboy 'on the map'. On their return journey, Tim and Paddy travelled back to Pine Creek via Katherine Gorge. In 1911, the Commonwealth took over control of Northern Territory administration and the northern railway was extended farther south to stop at the wide and deep Katherine River in 1917. After the 1914–18 war, the nation's economy was in a depressed state, so the river was not bridged until 1925 and the terminus moved from Emungalen to Katherine on the southern bank of the river in 1926.

The O'Shea family lived in Pine Creek until 1918 and during this period five more girls were born, though one died soon after birth. During the First World War, O'Shea and his brother-in-law, Bill Lucy, worked a tin-mining lease nine kilometres from Pine Creek. The ore was carted to Mount Wells and crushed in the old Commonwealth battery. They also mined molybdenum, though deposits were not significant. As his family increased, O'Shea mined less and stayed in town, working for a time in Schunke's blacksmith shop. When work commenced on the extension of the railway line from Pine Creek to Emungalen, he worked for a while on this, for he was one of a very few experienced construction workers in the Northern Territory. He took a contract for sculling bolts, which entailed taking the nuts off large bolts that had to go through the railway sleepers. Deciding that a better future lay in the destination of the railway, O'Shea in 1918 moved his family to Emungalen, which was to be a temporary settlement until the Katherine River was bridged.

Emungalen township consisted of a boarding-house and general store owned by Mr Dick Gillard, Ron Brumby's saddler's shop, a combined bakery and store with a Chinese proprietor named Ah Fong and a blacksmith's shop belonging to Irish Tom McCarthy. There were several family homes and the O'Sheas reconstructed their Pine Creek

home, settling in for some of their happiest years together. O'Shea's daughters said of their father: 'Dad always kept a roof over our heads and plenty of food in the pantry.'

Catherine O'Shea set up a boarding house as there was a demand for accommodation for train passengers and people coming in from the outlying properties. She often gave compassionate lodging free of charge to the needy and many times had up to eight fever-ridden patients to nurse back to health. These were usually sick men from outlying areas who had come to town to get the once-a-fortnight train to Darwin where the only doctor in the Northern Territory was located. The next nearest medico was in Indonesia, this being nearer than Adelaide. In 1919–20, soldiers returning from the Middle East after the First World War brought back many sicknesses, one of which was a sleeping sickness, *pansomiariis*, which was very severe. Though many people in the north died of fever, Kate O'Shea never lost a patient in her care.

O'Shea and Bill Lucy built a blacksmith shop, mainly to cater for their own several wagons which plied freight from the railhead. Vestey's meatworks opened in Darwin in 1917 and there were herds of cattle brought to Emungalen to be railed to Darwin. Consequently, there were always accompanying wagons and buckboards needing attention of some sort. O'Shea's expertise was always much in demand as he was able to do all repairs—even complicated wheelwright duties which involved making spokes and wooden wheels and shrinking red-hot rims around them. Some station folk came from as far as Helen Springs in the south 580 kilometres away to collect their supplies which arrived only once a year, by boat to Darwin then by rail to Emungalen. Pressure and demand on northern facilities eased somewhat with the arrival of the railway in Alice Springs in 1929.

There was no school in Emungalen and O'Shea persevered with requests to the Education Department until a teacher was sent in 1919. She was a Northern Territory girl named Marie Elliott who had graduated from the University of Adelaide. Unfortunately, facilities provided by the department were far from adequate, and when she arrived with her elderly mother, their home consisted of two rooms in the three-roomed railway waiting rooms. The middle room was used as the school during the day and a rest room for Miss Elliott and her mother after school hours. There was no kitchen, so Mrs Elliott cooked out in the open on a ground fire with a camp-oven. In 1920 a school was built but with only a male toilet. O'Shea prefabricated a toilet and one moonlit night he quietly set it up for the ladies.

In 1922, work commenced on the railway from Emungalen to Birdum. O'Shea with a horse and scoop helped form some of the high railway embankments, and he also turned at his forge some of the iron needed for the Katherine railway bridge, which was commenced in 1924 and completed in 1926 without any fatalities.

During the 1930s Depression years O'Shea and his family were virtually the only people in Emungalen with sufficient means of support and never claimed the 'dole'. He was always an excellent provider for his large family, quick to risk new ventures and to pit his strong back against hard physical work. Catherine had a keen Irish wit and sense of humour, and though she suffered severely from rheumatism, her happy laughter was often heard as she went about her busy boarding house routine. Clothing was all hand-washed with starched white pinafores for her daughters. O'Shea's clothes, though clean and darned, never had patches on the seat, for it was said that only a lazy man wore patches on the seat of his trousers.

The family moved to Katherine after the completion of the bridge construction and opened a fully licensed hotel named 'O'Shea's Railway Hotel' which was operated by family members for nearly 50 years. O'Shea and his family went on a world trip back to Ireland in 1928. Two years later, on 26 June 1930, Catherine died of rheumatic fever. O'Shea, a devoted and loving father, sheltered and protected his daughters until one by one they left to marry. He delighted that they all settled in the north, as he had enormous faith in the future of the Northern Territory.

After establishing a hotel in Katherine, O'Shea also established one in Borroloola in 1927 and installed his brother John as licensee. When the railway reached its final terminus at Birdum, some 200 kilometres south of Katherine, he built another hotel, which thrived until 1952, when he moved the licence to Larrimah six kilometres away, on the Stuart Highway. His second-youngest daughter, Noreen, and her husband Bartholomew ('Bat') Kirby ran this hotel for him until 1957 when his eldest daughter Kathleen and her husband, a retired mounted constable, **John ('Jack') Mahony** took over the licence. O'Shea and the Kirbys then went to Katherine, to the hotel where O'Shea ended his days. Timothy O'Shea died on 30 March 1958.

In Katherine, O'Shea Terrace has been named for Timothy and Catherine and in 1960; a drinking fountain was unveiled in their memory.

Tim O'Shea in his life never transgressed the law and never depended on charity. He never debated Irish problems, maintaining a loyalty and gratitude for his adopted land. Many were the people he assisted with charitable acts that he never spoke of. He paid his way in full.

At the time of his death, his six daughters and eleven grandchildren survived him.

Family information.

MIRIAM A HAGAN, Vol 1.

O'SHEA, MARY: see [ULYATT, MARY](#)

OLD TIM: see [MAMITPA](#)

ONE POUND JIMMY: see [TJUNGURRAYI, GWOJA](#)

ONGOO: see [WONGGU](#)

ORKNADINJA: see [ERLIKILYIKA](#)

P

PANANGA, ALURRPA ('Cold Weather') also known as **SANDHILL BOB** (c1870–c1940), Aboriginal leader, was born at Urringa, a good Eastern Aranda water soakage on the Plenty River in the northern most part of the Simpson Desert. Here the Perenty monster lizard was associated with the carrying of fire—a key Dreaming for 'Sandhill Bob', as Alurra was to become known. His father's country was on the Marshall River, and Snake Dreamings linked him both further north to the Alyawarra people and south into the Simpson Desert. Through his mother, he was linked to the Wangkonguru of the 'inside' and southern Simpson Desert country.

He was the oldest of six children, and as a result of good seasons in his childhood years, the family travelled widely and deeply in the northern Simpson Desert. They went at least as far west as the Hale River, travelled east across the sandhill country to the Plenty River (and also travelled back and forth on that river to its flood out areas), further east to the Hay River, and almost certainly well towards both Boulia and Birdsville in Queensland. The eastern travel was invariably to obtain pituri, a narcotic highly prized over a wide area.

At about the age of eight years Alurra first heard of white people; his father and his father's brother had seen them and their strange 'monster' animals, horses. However, the family remained substantially without contact with Europeans until the late 1880s. At this time, following the discovery of gold at Arltunga in 1887, many Aborigines were attracted to the area by stories of strange people, animals and goods.

A consequence of the various movements of people was that, of the six of the group of brothers and sisters, only Sandhill Bob knew in intimate detail the location of the sites that were deep in the desert. (In fact, early in the twentieth century one of his brothers, chosen as a guide, almost 'perished' the prospector Simon Rieff and himself, and did 'perish' many of their camels, because he knew of the sites more by stories than by actual recalled visits.)

As with most Aborigines who became intrigued by the miners and their activities, Sandhill Bob was quick to learn—about minerals, processed foods, livestock of all kinds, and so on. In 1904, he acted as guide to [Walter Smith](#) and an uncle during a prospecting trip down the Hale River. A good season in about 1910 saw him as a participant at ceremonies at a claypan water well into the Simpson Desert. Hundreds of people attended in what, unknown to all, was to be the last great 'corroboree' gathering at this site.

It is likely that, as a result of the movements of people into centres of population, Sandhill Bob's parents in law came to live at Boulia in Queensland. Certainly, he travelled there on several occasions, at first on foot and later on camels with his younger mate, Walter Smith. In 1915 he was a key figure in 'carrying'—travelling and performing—the famous Mulunga corroboree from Boulia to the Marshall River country.

The terrible influenza epidemic of 1919 to 1920 killed many, many Aborigines, and the truly great gatherings, involving several hundred people at favoured places in and about the Simpson Desert, ceased. Fortunately for Sandhill Bob and his wife, they were unharmed, and on occasions still managed some journeys.

By the middle to late 1920s, the oldest men of the Hale River country and further east were greatly troubled. None of their surviving children were greatly interested in the 'inside' desert country, and they were too old to again travel the sandhills. However, in 1929 they determined that they should do their best to ensure the survival of their knowledge, and if possible locate gold or copper that would allow them to be independent. They chose, as their fittest representative, Walter Smith Purula. And so, in the cooler time of 1929, Sandhill Bob guided Walter Smith across the sandhills, visiting sites and teaching him the songs. At times Smith felt sorry for his old mate, who from time to time searched for signs of smokes that would tell of people hunting as they had in his youth. Always, though, he was disappointed. The people had substantially lost the fine, detailed knowledge and now, although still prepared to follow down the Plenty or other rivers in a good season, rarely ventured beyond the second sandhill on either side of the banks. Sandhill Bob put up his own travelling, signal smokes, but none came in reply. He was the last great traveller of the sandhill country.

As he grew older Sandhill Bob was increasingly obliged to stay on the well defined tracks between such as the Plenty and Marshall Rivers. His wife accompanied him, carrying her digging stick, a billycan of water and other items.

In about 1940, during an intensely hot spell of weather, they paused briefly at one soakage, and then decided to push on. They were found dead, along with their perished dog and an empty billy can, not far from Bob's father's Marshall River country. It was a tragic ending for all, made even more tragic by the fact that Sandhill Bob was the most knowledgeable of all active people about that area.

Much as others remained who retained good knowledge of the language and myths, Alurra Pananga's death marked the end of an era. He was the last person to have grown to young manhood in the northern Simpson Desert before the great disruptions occurred with the coming of the Europeans.

R G Kimber, 'Mulunga Old Mulunga', in P Austin, R M W Dixon & I White (eds), *Language and History*, 1990, *Man from Arltunga*, 1986; J Stead, 'Simpson Desert Land Claim Area II', unpublished, 1991; tape recordings of discussions about Sandhill Bob with W Smith, recorded by R G Kimber 1981–1983.

R G KIMBER, Vol 2.

PARER, JOHN JOSEPH (PA) (1856–1930), publican, was born in Victoria in 1856. By the time he came to Darwin, he had been a publican in most Australian colonies. In the 1890s during the early gold rush days,

he conducted hotels at Kalgoorlie, Boulder and Meekatharra. He ran several hotels in the city of Melbourne, including the Imperial, opposite Parliament House. He also ran hotels in country Victoria and New South Wales.

Parer came to Darwin in 1916 just after all the Northern Territory hotels were resumed, to be run by the government. On 1 November 1921, he was granted a lease for 10 years over the Terminus Hotel, then in Cavenagh Street. Outside stood a large banyan known as the Tree of Knowledge; it still stands in the courtyard of the Civic Centre, which is built on the Terminus Hotel site. Parer also had the lease of the Club Hotel (the Darwin Hotel is now on this site), which he continued to run for a short time after the Terminus was closed in 1931.

Parer was a very keen sportsman and he is credited with the foundation of the Wanderers Football Club 'under the old banyan'. In its early days, it was a very successful team. In 1927, Parer gave a trophy at the Rifle Club prize giving.

After the closure of the Vesteys meatworks in 1923, the Top End economy declined markedly for the balance of the decade. Parer played a prominent role in trying to draw the attention of others to the Territory's resources and their prospects. In December 1921, he convened a public meeting 'to discuss the advisability of sending delegates to America to place before the financiers (*sic*) of that country the vast resources of the Northern Territory'. The proceedings of the meeting were reported in full in the local press. Among the recommendations were that the railway was essential. The Northern Territory Progress Committee was formed with Parer as a committee member, along with such luminaries as **H G Nelson**. In 1922, he published a booklet entitled *The Northern Territory, Its History and Great Possibilities*, which was designed to give information to prospective settlers. Details of the various land tenures are given and there are many attractive photographs. Interested persons were also invited to join the North Australian White Settlement Association.

On a visit to London in 1924 Parer made arrangements to see that a group of investors was offered 8 000 hectares in the Hundred of Howard, not far from the Adelaide River, for cotton growing. Despite what appear to have been good terms, such as no rent for 21 years but 200 hectares to be cleared and cultivated in the first three years, nothing came of the project. On 4 October 1927, Parer wrote to the local newspaper complaining about the neglect of the Territory by the Commonwealth Government, confident that he had much support locally. He increasingly became disillusioned with the Territory, however, and left about 1933.

He died in Toronto, New South Wales, in October 1936 aged 74, survived by his wife, two sons and three daughters, one of whom married the policeman **Jack Stokes**. At the time of his death, he and his wife were preparing to celebrate their 47th wedding anniversary, which fell on 31 October.

Northern Standard, 16 December 1921; 4 October 1927; 20 October 1936; Northern Territory Archives, F5 P192A; J J Parer, *The Northern Territory*, 1922; H J Wilson, 'The Historic Heart of Darwin', 1994.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

PARSONS, JOHN LANGDON (1837–1903), clergyman, politician and administrator, son of Edward, a farmer, and Jane, *nee* Langdon, was born at Botathan, near Launceston, Cornwall, England, on 28 April 1837. Educated for the Baptist ministry at Regents Park College, London, he was twice married, first to Marianna Dewhirst, then to Rosetta Angus Johnson (the granddaughter of George Fife Angas, one of the founders of South Australia). A son of the second marriage, Herbert Angus Parsons, was later to become a judge of the Supreme Court of South Australia and a member of the South Australian Parliament.

Parsons arrived in South Australia in 1863 and, after four months, left for New Zealand and a ministry at the Baptist Church at Dunedin. On his return to South Australia four years later, and after a short term at Angaston, he became pastor of the Tynte Street Church, North Adelaide. During his time at the Tynte Street Church, he was also president of the local Evangelical Alliance. After a few years, he resigned his ministry to enter into business as a broker and agent.

He was elected to the South Australian House of Assembly as member for Encounter Bay in April 1878, a seat he held until March 1881. He then became the Member for North Adelaide and held that seat from April 1881 until March 1884. As the Member for North Adelaide the active part he played in a movement several years previously, which resulted in the adoption of a new educational system, qualified him for the position of Minister for Education in the government formed by Sir J C Bray. Included in his portfolio was responsibility for the Northern Territory. His appointment as minister, as well as marking the beginning of his interest in the north, was also to begin twelve years of official connection with the Northern Territory.

The time spent by Parsons as minister responsible for the Northern Territory was short but active, and during his tenure of office the Northern Territory Land Act 1881 (for the leasing of the Herbert River country), the Sugar Cultivation Amendments, the Indian Immigration Act, Customs Acts (for increasing duties on articles chiefly consumed by Chinese), the Crown Lands Consolidating Act and the Palmerston and Pine Creek Railway Act were passed. The need for the construction of the railway was to remain a life-long conviction and one that dogged him throughout his Residency.

In 1882, prompted by mounting curiosity, Parsons led a parliamentary party to the Territory. Enthused by what he saw, to the extent of asking an accompanying natural scientist, Professor Tate from the University of Adelaide, to change or omit his unfavourable report on the agricultural prospects of the country, and later admitting to the charge of writing 'rose-hued reports' and making 'tropical speeches' himself, he severed his connections with the ministry to become Government Resident at Palmerston in 1884. The appointment was popularly received and moved one resident to proclaim 'that the Territory was... in... good hands; and [had] a ruler whose sympathies [were] entirely with the country'. Parsons's period as Resident, begun with such optimism, was however to end with despondency, plagued he believed, by 'petty, contemptible economics', a government in South Australia,

(itself a fairly new and relatively impecunious colony), 'where ministries were in and out with flagrant frequency', and almost immediate loss of support by the South Australian administration. Parsons had to preside over retrenchments and his administration was soured by continued backbiting amongst factions in Palmerston. His own popularity suffered due to what were perceived by local residents as the delays and the mistakes of South Australia. Parsons himself said that 'the Northern Territory was not forgotten, but was left unattended'.

As Government Resident of the Northern Territory, Parsons, a man of the imperialist and Eurocentric times, found his own cultural values confronted and challenged by the conditions over which he presided. His attitude to racial groups other than European was that of assumed superiority and his belief that the 'white man was unfitted' for work in the tropics was a continuous thread in all his proposals for development. This prompted his championing of the Indian Immigration Act as a source of cheap coloured labour for the construction of his much vaunted transcontinental railway line. So suspicious was he of the motives of the Chinese that, whilst maintaining the necessity of their labours for the development of the Northern Territory, his view that they should be repatriated to their homelands on the termination of their employment was definite. The paradox of the man and perhaps his vision is best demonstrated by his conviction that 'Australia geographically belongs to [the Asians] for Australia is South Asia'. However, in the context of the times it also led him to believe that the Northern Territory was 'the white man's burden'.

Whilst believing the question of Chinese and Indian immigration to be easily solved, he was increasingly to find that the question of Aboriginal-white relations was not. One of his first dealings with Aboriginal people, and no doubt the most infamous, occurred shortly after arriving in Palmerston in 1884. His implicit official involvement in the punitive expedition against the murderers of four Daly River miners, where as many as 150 Aborigines were rounded up and shot, earned him the official and documented condemnation of the government surgeon and Protector of Aborigines in Palmerston, Dr Morice, who Parsons subsequently dismissed from office. Irreconcilable with these actions, yet indicative of a growing awareness of the magnitude of the values and mores inherent in European occupation of the Territory, were Parsons's subsequent reports to the South Australian Parliament. The tenor of these reports acknowledged Aboriginal ownership of land and the problem arising from the conflict of interests between pastoralists and Aborigines. From the Aboriginal point of view he saw the coming of the white man as being an 'act of invasion' or a 'declaration of war'. While not committed to vigorous personal advocacy of Aboriginal reserves he recommended that it was the 'first duty of the State to declare reserves, and within these reserves to give native tribes absolute rights and sole control', stating that 'the bullocky and the blackfellow cannot live and drink at the same places'. While holding the popular view that the fate of the Aborigine was eventual extinction, he questioned the lack of legislation regarding their treatment and advocated that special provisions be promulgated for their giving evidence before a court and for being brought to trial, as well as those relating to employment conditions and payment by Europeans. The rationale for Parsons's thorough, ongoing and often expensive endorsement of development projects in the Territory can be seen in his belief that 'use... was the only justification for a white race to retain tropical land'. However, the projects that Parsons so enthusiastically supported often ended as fiascos. The Delissa Sugar Company, after capital investment of 20 000 Pounds produced only 12 tonnes of sugar before being abandoned, and the railway which was to open the land to development financed by the land grant system, lost money and was never completed. While Parsons cannot be entirely blamed for the failures it can perhaps be said, as did the *Northern Territory Times*, 'that his word paintings... were the superficial and glowing presentiments of an imaginative mind, rather than a clear, penetrative and logical summing up of the probabilities as deduced from actual facts and figures', although others hold the almost contradictory view that Parsons was an 'extremely good administrator', one 'whose reports show a grasp of the problems equalled by none of his predecessors'.

Parsons's period as Government Resident in the Northern Territory ended in January 1890, when he and **V L Solomon**, a prominent Palmerston merchant, were elected Northern Territory representatives to the South Australian House of Assembly. Parsons assumed his seat in April of that year and held it until April 1893, following which he was appointed commissioner to inquire into the prospects of establishing trade relations with Japan, China and the Philippines. In 1896, he was appointed Consul for Japan (a position subsequently held by his son, H A Parsons), and in 1901, he was elected to the Legislative Council as Member for the Central District of South Australia. He successfully introduced another Transcontinental Railway Act in 1902, though his proposals for the introduction of indentured coloured labour into tropical areas were rejected. Parsons held both his consular and Legislative Council appointments until his death in August 1903 at Kensington, South Australia.

H T Burgess, *The Cyclopaedia of South Australia*, 1903; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; A Grenville-Price, *The History and Problems of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1930; W H Marcus (ed), *South Australia*, 1878; H A Parsons, *The Truth about the Northern Territory*, 1907; J L Parsons, *The Northern Territory with a Glance at the East*, 1901; C Price-Conigrave, *North Australia*, 1936; W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as It Is*, 1982; *The Northern Territory of South Australia: A Brief Historical account Pastoral and Mineral Resources*, 1901; J L Parsons, *Papers Read Before the Royal Society of Australasia*, SA Branch; P F Donovan, 'Land of Promise', MA Thesis, 1976; Northern Territory Commission, Minutes of Evidence, February 1895, June 1895; Northern Territory of South Australia, Government Residents' Reports 1884-1889 inclusive.

MARY DORLING, Vol 1.

PARTRIDGE, KINGSLEY FOSTER ('SKIPPER') (1892-1976), Presbyterian minister, was born on 1 June 1892 at Bulga, near Singleton, New South Wales. His father's family had migrated from Craigford in Kent and settled in the Hunter Valley as builders and carpenters. His father Peter was born in 1859 in Singleton. His mother Amy Hilton, *nee* Clark, came from a family with strong links with Yorkshire and Scotland and especially with the land and horses. She was a woman with a strong personality and she had a profound influence

on her son. Partridge grew up in the small rural community of Bulga developing a great love of the bush and the ways of country people. He became a first-class horseman. He attended primary school at Bulga and Singleton but when he was in his teens the family moved to Sydney to enable him to undertake further education. His father wanted him apprenticed as a cabinet-maker but his mother had her heart set on him entering the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. She ensured that he matriculated and attended the University of Sydney where he graduated Bachelor of Arts with Honours in history in 1913. He was awarded his Master of Arts in 1915. He attended the St Andrew's Theological College and was awarded a Travelling Fellowship for overseas postgraduate studies, but because of the First World War and other developments affecting his life he never took up the Fellowship.

In 1913 at a Student Christian Movement Conference at Brown's River in Tasmania, Partridge met [John Flynn](#), then beginning to establish the Australian Inland Mission (AIM). That meeting had a determining effect on Partridge's future. On the completion of his theological studies, he was ordained and settled in the parish of Lake Macquarie, New South Wales, on 14 November 1916. He was released on 31 July 1917 to enable him to undertake work with John Flynn in Central Australia. He travelled by train to Oodnadatta arriving there in September 1917. There he took over the camels and camel 'boy', Dick Gillen, from [Bruce Plowman](#), a lay missionary who had pioneered a patrol ministry under the direction of Flynn, using camels as the sole means of transport. The patrol extended as far north as Tennant Creek and Partridge did two major patrols north in 1917 and 1918 as well as shorter patrols south and west of Oodnadatta. It was during this period that he began to formulate a philosophy of the church's role in the bush and to understand the problems caused by isolation and distance. He considered that ministry should be expressed in practical terms and transcend denominational boundaries. During this period, he conducted the first funeral at Hatches Creek and assumed the role of coroner. He was in Alice Springs when the Armistice was signed in November 1918 and shared in the relief the news brought. He established a close relationship with stockmen, miners, overland telegraph staff and the police, which was to prove of tremendous value in future years.

This period was followed by a short but successful ministry in Scone, New South Wales (1919–23), but he then returned to the family farm at Bulga until Flynn again presented him with the challenge of the inland that he answered in 1930. Flynn had him go first to Western Australia where he was to deal with some problems, particularly at Carnarvon, and in the AIM hospitals at Port Hedland and Marble Bar. He intended to continue to Darwin and then travel south to Alice Springs. The Wet, with flooded roads, made this idea unworkable so Partridge returned to Perth and after an adventurous flight to Adelaide was provided with a motor car and other supplies to patrol through the area he had known in 1917–18.

Partridge was a reserved self-effacing man usually content to stand in John Flynn's shadow. However, this quality appealed to the people of the bush who were down-to-earth, practical people and made a shrewd assessment of newcomers. Partridge did not readily permit people to use his Christian name. His ministerial brethren knew him as Kingsley while his immediate family called him Foster. It is not clear when or how he became known far and wide within his huge patrol and beyond as 'Skipper', but this was an appellation which he permitted and welcomed.

While he was in Western Australia he had renewed an acquaintance with the widow of a former New South Wales colleague, the Reverend Arthur Torrens and thus he met their daughter Gertrude Rose who was working in the taxation office in Perth. A romance blossomed and the two married in Adelaide on 23 March 1933. His mother had not wanted him to marry at all and this had been a matter of tension, but John Flynn also tried to dissuade the couple, thinking that marriage would lead to the loss of a valuable inland padre. The couple paid no heed, especially as Flynn himself had married a few months earlier. Flynn need not have worried for 'Gertie', as Skipper's wife was a tremendous asset, giving her time and talent to the growing number of women living in the Centre, and helping out in the AIM nursing homes within the area. Even after the birth of their daughter Grace in 1936 she and the baby travelled with him on the track.

On patrol, Partridge combined his work as minister providing pastoral care, regardless of denominational background, with other duties not generally associated with the clergy. He took staff members of the Royal Flying Doctor Service (RFDS) with him to install or service transceivers. He surveyed the need for the strategic location of transceivers to ensure the widest coverage of the outback. One example was the siting of a set at Coober Pedy, thus providing communication in the only place between the east-west railway and Alice Springs at that time. Between 1932 and 1939, the radio medical service of the RFDS was based in Cloncurry, Queensland. Partridge took [Alfred Traeger](#) from Farina in South Australia into the southwest corner of Queensland, down the Birdsville track to Maree, then to Mount Eba, Oodnadatta and on to Hermannsburg. Servicing and installing transceivers they travelled north through Tennant Creek, Rockhampton Downs to Borroloola and Victoria River Downs. The following year (1933), again with Traegar, they covered some of the same ground but also provided sets at Elkedra and then the first break in the silence at Groote Eylandt. Following the visit to Groote, they were in Cloncurry when a first part of a message telling of the ambush of police at Woodah Island and the death of Constable McColl came through. However, the transmitter at Groote Eylandt broke down leaving a vital part of the message out. Knowing the folk at Groote would be able to hear, advice was given on the probable cause of the trouble until after some hours they were successful in restoring communication and the significance of the tragedy was revealed.

It was while on patrol with Traegar that Partridge came to see the value to him of radio on the track with the result that he secured the first licence for a portable wireless ever issued. In later years, he did similar extensive patrols, not only with Traegar but also with Maurie Anderson who installed and opened the RFDS base at Alice Springs in 1939 and later with Graham Pitts of that base.

Partridge was active in the establishment of the Welfare Club in Tennant Creek when that mining field opened and he paid regular visits to the town. This was a type of activity he had advocated from early days and one that was important in frontier situations. When the Inter-Church Club was opened in Darwin in June 1940, he attended along with several other patrol padres and he was asked to offer the prayer of dedication of that building. The club proved to be of tremendous value in the period of the Second World War and after. His dream for an inland home for 'Old Timers' of the bush was realised when with the assistance of **D D Smith**, resident engineer, he secured the site near Mount Blatherskite, Alice Springs, for this purpose. He personally supervised the erection of the first 'hut', planted the first citrus and saw to the fencing and the sinking of a bore on the site.

When John Flynn died on 5 May 1950 and his ashes were flown to Alice Springs for burial, Partridge conducted a most moving service for the interment of the ashes at the foot of Mount Gillen. There was a large gathering of inland people and the service was broadcast over the RFDS network to all the stations in the bush and through the Australian Broadcasting Commission to the rest of Australia. Following Flynn's death the decision was taken to build a church in Alice Springs as his memorial. Partridge was keen for this and raised the first funds to ensure that this idea came to pass. However, before construction began the AIM was in financial difficulties in relation to its general mission program. Decisions were made for economies and these included the closing of the Central patrol and the hostel in Alice Springs. Partridge was to do promotional work in New South Wales and Victoria. Partridge opposed this shut down of the Centre and when the decision was known, he resigned in protest but with tremendous sadness. He retired to Arckaringa west of Oodnadatta in the land he loved and among the people he knew. While there in 1957 he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his services to the inland, an honour well deserved and which some considered belated. After the marriage of Partridge's daughter to Ronald Reid, a farmer near Victor Harbour in South Australia, Skipper and Gertie settled in that town where he lived in quiet retirement until his death on 2 September 1976. His wife lived for another year, dying on 29 September 1977. Their ashes are interred in the grounds of the Old Timers Home in Alice Springs. His daughter Grace (Reid) of Victor Harbour survived him.

A W Grant, *Camel Train and Aeroplane: The Story of Skipper Partridge*, 1981; Australian Inland Mission files, NLA; Partridge Diaries, in possession of G Reid; personal interviews and information.

A W GRANT, Vol 1.

PASCOE, NADIA previously **IVANETZ** (1915–), farmer, was born in Estonia, then part of Russia, on 16 September 1915. She later moved to Harbin in China, where she married **Ivan Antonovitch (John) Ivanetz**. She then travelled from Harbin to Nagasaki in Japan and from there to Thursday Island, Queensland, where she boarded *Marella* and arrived in Darwin in 1936. Her husband had lived in Katherine, Northern Territory, since 1929, where he owned a farm on the river.

The Ivanetzs lived down river on the farm, growing peanuts. Nadia had two children. Her home, a corrugated iron dwelling, was fairly primitive. She cooked over an open fire and there was no running water.

After the Japanese bombed Darwin, they bombed Katherine. Then the police went to all the farms to tell the women and children that they would have to go. She prepared a small swag and case of clothes for the children plus a billy can, pannikin, enamel plates and knives and forks. As she was preparing a chicken to take on the trip, aeroplanes flew over and she recognised the sound as Japanese, having heard them before. She and the children took off for a creek, where they hid.

Evacuations took place immediately and Nadia and the children travelled to Birdum in a train, which had hard wooden seats and no toilets. Water was from a bag that was hung outside of the carriage to keep cool. From Birdum they went by military truck to Alice Springs. They spent the nights in Army camps where they slept in their swags in tents. All up, it was a four-day trip. In Alice Springs, they were billeted at the Australian Inland Mission Home and she met George and Lorna Lim, also from Katherine, who gave her some money and food, as she had neither.

From Alice Springs, they went by Army train to Adelaide, another four to five day trip. The Army fed them all very well and when they stopped everyone boiled their billies besides the train. Many of the women complained about the tinned food and threw it away, so Nadia collected it and by the time she arrived in Adelaide, she had two bags of tinned food. She was shocked at their wasteful attitude. The Red Cross looked after the Ivanetzs in Adelaide, gave them clothes, toys for the children and food and placed them in accommodation.

Nadia spent 12 months in Adelaide before returning by Air Force aeroplane to the Katherine River farm, where she helped John, who had been growing vegetables all through the war and selling them to the Army. The military took all their vegetables and on occasions, they also bought their poultry and goats. The Americans were very generous with their rations and Nadia enjoyed American food, particularly the nuts and chocolates. Her third child was born in the military hospital at Manbulloo in 1945.

After the war, she and Ivanetz were divorced and she married Fred Pascoe, moving to his farm up river where she continued to work as a farmer's wife. They grew peanuts at first and Nadia had a further four children. They sold the farm in 1966 and moved into town where they established a garage before leaving Katherine in 1968.

Although they retired to Maitland in South Australia, the Pascoes returned to live in Katherine during the 1970s before retiring south once more. They were regular visitors to the Top End where much of their family still lives. Fred passed away on 4 March 1990 in South Australia.

Family information.

PEARL OGDEN, Vol 2.

PASPALLEY, NICHOLAS (NICK) (1914–1984), master pearler, was born on the Greek island of Castellorizo on 14 November 1914, son of Theodosios Paspalis, a merchant, and his wife Chrysaфина Stamboli. Castellorizo is one of the islands of the Dodacanese in the Aegean Sea. It is very close to Turkey and many Castellorizons left during the unrest of various Balkan wars and the First World War. Young Nicholas was about five when his parents and his four siblings left their island home and made their way, by tramp steamer, to land eventually at Cossack on the northern Western Australian coast. In 1919, the family settled in Port Hedland where a third sister was born and where he received his education. His father soon died but his mother ran a family store that had been established.

Pearling was an early love and in the 1930s at Cossack he built his first pearling lugger named *Pam*. About 1937 Nicholas came to Darwin to join his brother, **Michael**. To avoid confusion Nicholas adopted the Greek pronunciation of the family name and Michael retained the traditional Greek spelling. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, among a variety of jobs, he drove a taxi and commenced the pearling business that he was to make his life's work.

During the Second World War, Nicholas served in the Royal Australian Air Force and on 26 August 1944 he married Vivienne Lavinia Barry. There were three children of the marriage: Roslynne (born 7 April 1945), Nicholas (born 28 April 1948), and Marilynne (born 25 April 1952).

The family returned to Darwin at war's end and in 1952 Nicholas founded Paspaley Pearling Company Pty Limited and established a farm at Port Essington on the Cobourg Peninsula. By 1960, he had thoroughly surveyed the waters of the Northern Territory and in November received approval to 'take live pearl shell for the purpose of experimental rafts'. In 1961, government approval was given for 10 Japanese pearl specialists to come to Australia to assist with the operations. In 1965, he obtained a Special Purpose Lease over an area at Knocker Bay, Port Essington. In the years following Nick Paspaley became an acknowledged authority on all aspects of pearls and pearling. He took delivery of the mother ship *Paspaley Pearl* in 1972 and the fleet has been regularly added to since then. After Cyclone Tracy *Paspaley Pearl* was 'found deep in isolated mangroves above the tidal line'. *Paspaley II* was added to the fleet in 1981 and the company obtained a 40-year lease at Port Bremer, also on the Cobourg Peninsula.

Although he was frequently away from Darwin, Nick found time to become involved in community affairs. He was a foundation member of Darwin Rotary Club and in 1983, on the club's 25th anniversary, was awarded 'a rare international Rotary honour, the Paul Harris Fellowship'. In the Queen's birthday honours in June 1982 he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his services to pearling and to the community. The coffers of Christ Church Cathedral and the Red Cross Society and other organisations benefited significantly from his philanthropy.

Nicholas Paspaley died suddenly in his office at Roslyn Court in the Smith Street Mall on 20 March 1984, aged 70, having returned only the previous evening from a regular visit to the pearling beds. He was buried at McMillans Road Cemetery according to the rites of the Anglican Church, and was survived by his wife, children and grandchildren. A 'quiet achiever', one writer called him. Chief Minister **Paul Everingham**, believed that he 'typified the north Australian image, tenacious, determined and generous'. His pearling company, run by his children, now has a significant place in the world's markets.

D Muddimer, 'Darwin Loses a Pioneer', *Northern Territory News*, 21 March 1984, 'Nick Paspaley, Master Pearler', *Northern Territory News*, 22 March 1984; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 12 June 1984; family information.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

PASPALIS, MICHAEL THEODOSIOS (1914–1972), businessman, was born in Castellorizo, Greece, on St Gregory's day 1914. He was one of four children, two boys and two girls. His early childhood was unsettled because of the outbreak of the First World War; his family lived in a village which was close to the Turkish border. The Paspalis family was forced to leave their island home in a small sailing boat and were subsequently picked up by a tramp steamer. They were transported to Singapore and finally to the northwest coast of Western Australia in 1918.

Paspalis arrived with his family in Port Hedland in 1919 where his parents set up a small general store. The Paspalis children attended school at Port Hedland. During this time their father died and their mother continued to run the store.

In 1927, Paspalis came to Darwin with his brother **Nick**. Both had been involved in the pearling industry in Port Hedland, a profession that Nick Paspaley pursued with eventual success along the northern coastline. Michael Paspalis turned his attentions to the building industry and eventually to real estate.

Paspalis built his first two cottages in 1933 and his first home in Smith Street in 1937. He completed Roslyn Court in Smith Street in 1942. His achievements during this early period are probably best recognised in terms of his contributions to post-war reconstruction. After the evacuation of Darwin in February 1942 and the return of civilians in 1945–46, he played a vital role in rebuilding the town and rebuilding confidence in its future.

After the war, Paspalis was involved in the building or renovation and extension of a number of well-known retail shops and public venues such as the Hotel Darwin and the Drive-in Theatre. Paspalis had two daughters. Phynea was born in 1943 and Helene in 1945.

Throughout his life, Paspalis maintained an interest in sport, specifically football in his younger days and later he took an interest in cricket. He was also a member of the Rotary Club. In the latter part of his life, Paspalis was described as a considerable philanthropist who gave substantial donations to the Heart Foundation, the Greek Church in Darwin, the Nightcliff Youth Centre and St John Ambulance. In 1964 Paspalis was made a

Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his services to the building industry. He died in Darwin on 17 October 1972.

Northern Territory News, 18 October 1972, 20 October 1972; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October 1972; *Australian*, 18 October 1972.

ROBYN MAYNARD, *Vol 1*.

PATERSON, MARTHA SARAH ELIZABETH: see **SHAW, MARTHA SARAH ELIZABETH**

PATTERSON, REX ALLAN (1927–), Air Force serviceman, public servant and politician, was born in Bundaberg, Queensland, on 8 January 1927, the son of R Patterson. He was educated at Bundaberg High School, the University of Queensland, from which he graduated Bachelor of Commerce and Master of Science, and the University of Illinois in the United States, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Agricultural Economics. He also attended the Australian National University and the University of Chicago and served in the Royal Australian Air Force during 1945. He married Eileen Nelson in 1950 and had a daughter.

From 1949, Patterson served on the staff of the Commonwealth Bureau of Agricultural Economics, working in north Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia. He became well known for his expertise concerning and strong support of north Australia's economic development and in 1964 and 1965 was Director of Northern Development in the Department of National Development. He resigned from the Commonwealth Public Service in protest at what he claimed was the Menzies government's lack of commitment to effective policies for the advancement of Australia's north.

Immediately following his resignation, he was selected as the Australian Labor Party candidate for the federal electorate of Dawson, based on Mackay in north Queensland, which he won on 26 February 1966 following a by-election campaign in which 'northern development' was the principal issue. The electorate had previously been held by the Country Party and Patterson achieved a large swing to Labor. He was almost immediately elected to the Labor Party's Parliamentary Executive, on which he served until 1972. As part of his parliamentary activities, he strongly criticised the federal government's treatment of Northern Territory demands for constitutional reforms, arguing that Labor would bring in 'a step by step progressive and accelerated policy.'

He held several ministerial positions in the Whitlam Labor government: Minister for Northern Development, 5 December 1972 to 6 June 1975; Minister for the Northern Territory, 19 October 1973 to 6 June 1975; Minister for Northern Australia, 6 June 1975 to 21 October 1975; Minister for Agriculture, 21 October 1975 to 11 November 1975. He lost his parliamentary seat in the election of 13 December 1975 and subsequently retired from public life.

While initially popular with Northern Territory residents, Patterson came under mounting criticism from 1973 onwards. His efforts to assume some responsibility for mineral development in the Territory in opposition to the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Rex Connor, were ineffective. He did attempt to advance the Territory's constitutional status, on 22 May 1974 announcing that it would have a fully elected 19 seat Legislative Assembly. The decision, though, was widely regarded as precipitate because there was no clear definition of the Assembly's powers and role. 'A peppery, forthright individual', the historian Alistair Heatley later wrote, 'he also strained personal relationships with Territory politicians on several occasions.' Further concern, Heatley continued, 'was expressed at Patterson's infrequent visits to the Territory during 1973–74 and the almost clandestine manner in which he organised and conducted them.' He also came under concentrated attack for his handling of the 'post Tracy' situation. He was, nevertheless, far more effective and influential in representing Territory interests in the federal cabinet than his predecessor as Minister for the Northern Territory, Kep Enderby. His decision to introduce the fully elected Assembly, in spite of its deficiencies, marked a significant stage in the development to self-government in 1978.

P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1984; A Heatley, *Almost Australians*, 1990; C A Hughes, *A Handbook of Australian Government and Politics 1965–1974*, 1977; J Rydon, *A Biographical Register of the Commonwealth Parliament 1901–1972*, 1975.

DAVID CARMENT, *Vol 2*.

PEARCE, JOAN EDITH: see **TURNOUR, JOAN EDITH**

PEARCE, OLIVE MAY: see **EUCHARIA, SISTER**

PEARCE, THOMAS HENRY (1862–1952), a man of many occupations, including overlander, teamster, well-sinker, publican and storekeeper, pastoralist and horse-breeder, was born in December 1862 at Blackwood in the district of Strathalbyn, South Australia. Pearce's father, Francis Pearce was a gardener at this time and probably worked at Blackwood Farm. In the early 1880s, he was manager of Mount Eba Station. His mother, Margaret Warne had arrived in South Australia with her husband and their first child, William, from Redruth in Cornwall, England, in May 1854. Pearce received no formal schooling but in his early twenties taught himself the fundamentals of reading and writing.

Pearce arrived in the Northern Territory in the early 1890s during a time when interstate investors were taking up great portions of land and pioneers such as **Alfred Giles** and **Nat Buchanan** were being installed as managers of fledgling stations. He had already gained much experience in the pastoral industry, firstly as a station hand at Mount Eba sheep station in South Australia, and later as a drover in Central Australia. Before deciding to look at country further north, he had been with a South Australian government working party building a road to

the Musgrave Ranges. Pearce usually travelled alone and overland in preference to travelling known routes or following the overland telegraph line and thus he ventured hoping to reach the Katherine River some 1980 kilometres distant.

Upon arrival at the Katherine, he headed toward the Victoria River Downs country of which he had heard from drovers he had met in his travels. When about 149 kilometres from the Katherine he came across a 'rounded hill' (now called Augusta Crown) and climbed to the top for a better view. He was so impressed with the well-watered grassy country that he bought a pastoral lease of 100 square miles (260 square kilometres) in 1897, the beginning of his own cattle and horse station, known as Willeroo.

Returning to Katherine the manager of [Philip R Allen](#) and Company of Darwin (general storekeepers), who had recently taken ownership of the Sportsman's Arms Hotel, persuaded Pearce to take over the management of the hotel from his predecessor Bernard Murphy. Pearce held the publican's licence for 13 years until 1907 during which time he became involved in many other activities. He had bullock teams on the road carting much needed supplies to outlying stations. He was secretary and treasurer for the Katherine River Turf Club, which ran two race meetings a year. It is perhaps not surprising that he held this position considering his great interest in, and respect for horses. It was a tradition that all bets after the meet were settled in the pub. Pearce was a Justice of the Peace and regularly corresponded with the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, usually about matters of local interest. In June 1905, in the *Adelaide Advertiser*, Pearce responded to the Postmaster-General's view that an inland mail service for the pastoral districts of the Northern Territory was not required. Pearce obviously felt differently.

Pearce met with [Jeannie Gunn](#), the author of *We of the Never Never* early in 1902. Aeneas Gunn brought his new wife Jeannie to Katherine on their way to Elsey Station. It was the wet season and the river was in flood. Already having crossed the flooded Fergusson and Edith rivers, Jeannie, a native of Melbourne, might have been almost glad to see Pearce, a 'burly 6 foot bushman... with a flashing smile', row a small boat across the swift-flowing river from the opposite bank to meet them. Pearce made his own quarters, a modest three-roomed cottage surrounded by deep verandahs, available to the visitors. As it appeared there would be a woman guest at the pub for some days owing to the weather, Pearce issued an edict limiting the number of daily drinks per man. Considering the main purpose of stockmen and drovers patronising the pub was not merely for socialising, the edict was a brave thing for Pearce to suggest. However, most bushmen of this time held a high regard for women who braved the outback and the edict was adhered to (or the bushmen avoided the area!).

As the Gunns left Katherine, Pearce generously presented Jeannie with a few items to make her stay at the Elsey more 'civilised'. These included some potatoes, a rare commodity in this part of the country, a couple of china cups and a flat iron. When Aeneas Gunn went to settle the account at the end of their stay at the hotel, Pearce would not accept payment for Jeannie's board and lodging and thus he was dubbed 'Mine Host' in her book.

On 27 April 1903, Pearce married Mary Jennings at Christ Church, Palmerston. The next day they travelled by train to the terminus at Pine Creek where they were met and congratulated by leading residents of the district. The *Northern Territory Times* reported their arrival as 'heralded by a regular fanfare on the two whistles of the loco'.

Pearce and his wife left Katherine to live at Willeroo about 1907. He had begun restocking the station by the turn of the century with cattle from the Bohemia Downs Station in the Borrooloola district and by 1905 Willeroo was declared restocked with 1500 head of cattle and 420 horses. A new homestead was built comprising a six-roomed house, kitchen and pantry. Improvements on the station included two large paddocks, three wire stockyards, a new branding yard and a dam built across the homestead creek. It was at Willeroo that Pearce put into practice his theories on horse and cattle breeding.

In 1904, Pearce imported two purebred Arab stallions and a Suffolk Punch stallion in an effort to produce a saddle horse better suited to the Territory country. This was a revolutionary move in those times, particularly as he paid 200 guineas for one horse. The old hands of the Territory certainly thought him a little deranged but in the *Northern Territory Times* in March 1906, he reported on the success of breeding new Arab and Suffolk Punch foals. Within twelve months the herd had increased by a hundred, fifty of which were the progeny of the Arab or Suffolk Punch stallions. In all, Pearce imported twenty stallions at different times over a twelve-year period.

He followed a similar practice with cattle breeding. No new blood had been introduced to Territory cattle since Buchanan brought in a mob of 20 000 in the early 1880s. Small numbers had arrived at Darwin but all had died of Redwater Fever or cattle tick before they reached the inland country. Pearce began by importing fourteen bulls and fourteen heifers from Lammermore Station in Queensland. Each was vaccinated twice with blood from a bullock originating from tick-infested country at the coast before transportation to Willeroo. Pearce was very proud to state that although the cattle often picked up ticks, not one beast had died up until the time he sold the station.

Aborigines with a number of murders accredited to them at this time were inhabitants of the area where Willeroo was located. In keeping with his character, Pearce approached the situation with trust and patience in his quest for harmonious coexistence. Pearce came to regard the young Aboriginal boys and girls in his care at the station as 'useful and trustworthy'. A few of the boys continued in stock work and were among some of the best stockmen in the Northern Territory.

Gold was first discovered at Tanami near the border with Western Australia in August 1900, but it was not until June 1909 that a government geologist was sent and produced a favourable report upon the prospects of payable gold in the area. The Government Resident, Judge Herbert, felt Pearce 'would do anything for the advancement of the Territory' and approached him to establish a track from Pine Creek to the Tanami field, including sinking wells along the way. In the latter half of 1909, Pearce left Pine Creek with six well sinkers, a cook, a camel drover, three Aboriginal boys and a large plant of horses. Pearce's outward journey went via Mucka, 83 kilometres south of Wave Hill Station. By going direct to Wave Hill on the return journey, the trip was shortened by 41 kilometres.

The party sank three wells en route to Tanami, two of which remained unfinished in their haste to reach Tanami owing to the urgent need for water there. Pearce named Turner's Gum Creek, (at which he sunk his first well, 50 kilometres from Mucka) and Frog Valley on the Wilson Creek about 125 kilometres from Tanami. The party reached Tanami in mid-December 1909 and began working on a well with three shifts of men to keep operations going night and day. A private party digging in a likely site selected by Pearce struck the first water in early February. On 22 February the government party struck good water at forty-three metres. Ironically, five days later 3 425 millimetres of rain fell in three consecutive days! A second well was sunk by Pearce's party that then left Tanami amply supplied.

In 1915, Vestey Brothers purchased Willeroo, then some 6 475 square kilometres, 8 000 head of cattle, and 300 horses including the 20 stallions Pearce had imported over the years. Apparently, Mary Pearce did not especially like the station life and the couple moved to Sydney where they lived for three years. It was the only thing Pearce regretted having done during his life. He said on leaving the Territory, 'I have since found I was leaving the civilised people with kind hearts and thoughts for others.' Mary died in April 1919 in Sydney, victim of the influenza epidemic of the time. There were no children of the marriage.

Pearce felt he could not live in the city without ending up in the 'Nut Factory or the Cemetery' and returned to Central Australia. He bought into the Crown Pastoral Company including Allandale and Crown Point stations that he managed for about 10 years before returning to Adelaide. At Walkerville, he established a Wattle Bark factory that extracted dyes for tanning from the bark. A lack of importing embargoes and the Depression forced him out of this business.

In 1946 Pearce wrote and donated a manuscript to the Mitchell Library, Sydney that describes his driving experiences through Central Australia to the Northern Territory, his involvement with Victoria River Downs and the death of a friend [Henry Peckham](#), 'The Fizzer' of Mrs Gunn's book.

Pearce retired to a small cottage at Scotts Creek in the Adelaide Hills continuing to live the bushman's lifestyle to which he was accustomed, chopping huge gum trees by hand for firewood, and even using his stockwhip to round up his chickens! It would seem he never lost his sense of humour during his 89 years.

Pearce died on 9 January 1952 at the Royal Adelaide Hospital and was cremated the following day. He wished to be buried at the Elsey Cemetery 'amongst my friends', characters of the book *We of the Never Never*. Although there is no memorial to him in the Elsey Cemetery, it can only be assumed that his wishes were carried out.

Pearce Street in Katherine is purported to have been named after him and probably Mount Pearce, which lies near the northern boundary of Willeroo. Mount Pearce first appeared on the 1910 pastoral series map during the time that Pearce held the Willeroo leases.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1965; J Gunn, *We of the Never Never*, 1908; P F Donovan, *A Land Full of Possibilities: A History of South Australia's Northern Territory*, 1981; *Place Names of the Northern Territory*; SAPP, vol 3, no 45, 1902; Government Resident's Reports, vol 3, no 45, 1906; vol 3, no 45, 1908; vol 2, no 31, 1911-12; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 8 May 1903, 17 June 1904; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 7 June 1905.

SUSANNE L HEWITT, Vol 1.

PEARSON, KATHERINE MAUD MARY (KITTY) nee WORLAND formerly BERNHARD (1882-1963), cook, boarding house manager, storekeeper, publican and pastoralist, is believed to have been born in Hobart, Tasmania, in 1882.

Katherine's first husband, John William Bernhard, was born to Pieter Gerardus Bernhard and his wife Emily Martha, nee Woodhaus, at Custon, South Australia, where Pieter Bernhard was the railway station master on 13 March 1888.

Nothing is known of their childhoods or education, but John and Katherine are believed to have met in Western Australia, where John had been working with his large team of horses. By 1918, they were both living and working in Pine Creek, Northern Territory. For a time John worked on the railway that was being extended south from Pine Creek to the Katherine River, using his horses and scoops to undertake clearing and embankment work. A Church of England minister married them at the Pine Creek Hotel on 19 February 1919.

By October 1920, the couple had moved to Victoria River Downs Station. John Bernhard became a fencing contractor on the Killarney fence line and Katherine accompanied him as the camp cook. The cooking and living conditions in the camp would have been much rougher than those she had previously experienced at the Pine Creek Hotel. From there, they moved to Emungalan and by 1922, John held an Occupational Licence on two blocks of land. It was at that time that he formed a business partnership with Reuben Redmond Rundle. Katherine was always called Kitty; her husband was called Jack and their partner Reuben was known to all as Charlie. Kitty ran a boarding house at Emungalan and when the auction was held in 1926 for blocks of land in the new town of Katherine, on the southern bank of the river, both Rundle and Jack Bernhard were successful bidders.

Rundle and Bernhard used local cypress pine and corrugated iron in the construction of their new store and employed Jim McDonald, a returned soldier, as their builder with Windy Allwright undertaking any plumbing work required. They moved into 'residence in their store on Block 16 in March 1927 and were granted lease on the land in March 1928.

Within three years, Rundle and Bernhard had a disagreement and Jack and his wife decided to take over McAdam and Gill's store at the other end of town and set up in opposition. The exact date on which this occurred is unclear, but J W Bernhard was the Licensee of the Sportsman's Arms Hotel in 1930, just three years after it opened. Presumably, Jack and Kitty took over both business houses owned by McAdam and Gill, situated side by side in the main street, around the same time.

Kitty and Jack became known for their generous hospitality and their contribution to community affairs. At a ball held during a very successful sporting weekend in Katherine in April 1930, Jack and Kitty were crowned 'the King and Queen of Sports'. A keen racing man, Jack was the Honorary Secretary of the Katherine Amateur Race Club, at Emungalan and Katherine for many years. He was described as a striking, good-looking man with dark hair and thick moustache, whereas Kitty, who was of slim build with dark hair, was considered very plain.

On 6 January 1931 John William Bernhard, who was a very heavy drinker, died and Katherine Bernhard became the Licensee of the Sportsman's Arms Hotel. It was around that time that Kitty's nephew arrived from Tasmania to assist her in running the hotel. Financially Kitty was apparently having a difficult time, for in February 1936 she and Robert McLennan, the local mail contractor, entered into a partnership in the store.

Although it is unclear when the Bernhards entered into an agreement regarding the hotel and store, Kitty Bernhard purchased the four adjoining freehold blocks from James William McAdam on 13 December 1937, for a total consideration of 5 250 Pounds. By that time, McAdam was living on Springvale Station, near Hall's Creek in Western Australia, his partner Herbert Gill having died in 1936.

It was during 1938 that Kitty became the Plaintiff in an action against **E V V Brown**, who was the Executor of the Rundle Estate. Her late husband's money was still in the Rundle store and seven years after his death Kitty was endeavouring to claim what was hers. Brown made it difficult for her but she was successful in her action on 10 November 1938, when she was granted over 1 215 Pounds. The costs to both parties came out of the Estate.

Edward Henry Pearson from Yorkshire, England, arrived in Katherine in 1933 and commenced work at Kitty's hotel. He and Kitty, who was nine years his senior, enjoyed a quiet wedding in Katherine on 28 October 1938. Unfortunately, for Kitty, her second husband was also a heavy drinker and she had been married less than a year when he died, aged 51 years, on 2 July 1939. Both of Kitty's husbands were buried in the Katherine cemetery and there were no children from either marriage.

Except for a period of just over two years in the mid 1930s, Kitty continued to hold the hotel Licence until the restrictions of the Second World War were imposed. On 27 March 1942, she, like most women and children, was evacuated from Katherine after the bombing of Darwin. The military took over and used both the hotel and store during the war.

By June 1946, Kitty had returned to Katherine where she initially leased the hotel for three years, but ultimately it was sold in March 1947. The store was apparently disposed of in 1948 and the freehold land was sold in 1951. In 1992, the hotel and store, having had various owners and facade changes over the years, were still operating in the main street of Katherine.

Although she had semi retired, Kitty branched into a totally different area of business when she purchased Jindare Station, near Pine Creek. She and her partner, Alfred Edward Hawker, took over Pastoral Lease 136N on 15 November 1948. They lived on the station for some time but by August 1949, they were arranging the sale of the property.

It was after then that Kitty retired to her home on Block 48 in First Street, Katherine. Although there was a large house on the block, she lived very simply in a corrugated iron hut, sleeping on an army cot, cooking over an open fire and looking after her poultry.

Kitty was known as a very hard worker who gave extended credit and helped everyone. She was articulate, astute and always had legal representation. A businesswoman in the Katherine area for over 20 years and continually dealing with the public, Kitty still managed to remain a very private person. She had a reputation for being a first class cook and running an excellent boarding house. She had very few close women friends and did not appear to be popular with a lot of women, a fate that sometimes befalls women who run hotels.

In late 1963, Kitty became ill and was taken to Katherine Hospital, from where she was transferred to Darwin Hospital. Katherine Maud Mary Pearson passed away in Darwin on 20 September 1963, but almost three decades later, she was still referred to by Katherine old timers as Kitty Bernhard. The contribution the Bernhards made to the growth of the Katherine region is recognised in Bernhard Street, which is named after them.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, April 1930; Australian Archives, Darwin, F1 53/412 Commercial Hotel, Katherine, F 630 PL136N (Part 1); Registrar General's Department, Adelaide and Darwin, A 192 (a) Auction Sale of Town Leases, Katherine River; Registrar of Probates, Law Courts, Darwin, no 7 of 1938; author's personal files.

PEARL OGDEN , Vol 2.

PECKHAM, HENRY VENTLIA (1872–1911), drover, stockman and mailman, was born on 28 February 1872 in Geraldine, in the south island of New Zealand, the son of Henry Peckham and Mary, *nee* Shute, a twin brother to Susan Carol, and younger brother to Mary 'Tot', Dolly and Agnes. The family later moved to Adelaide. Henry left home at the age of 16 and headed for the north of Australia to 'make his fortune'. In 1894, he returned to Adelaide for his twin sister's wedding.

Early work in the Territory included cattle droving and working as a stockman at Renner Springs. Records at Timber Creek police station indicate that in 1900 and 1901 Peckham worked at Auvergne Station.

To Territory history he is best remembered as a mailman. As a mailman he was punctual, obliging and, of extreme importance, honest. He was considered to be jovial, hearty and full of fun by those whose paths he crossed.

Henry Peckham became immortalised as the 'Fizzer' character in **Jeannie Gunn**'s book *We of the Never Never*. Mrs Gunn travelled to Elsey station in 1902 to join her husband, then the manager. The same year Peckham took over the lonely and remote mail run between Katherine and Anthony's Lagoon for a man named Prentice after the previous mailman, Fred Stribe, perished on one trip. The name 'the Fizzer' came from the word 'fizz' being used to get the horses up and the term 'fizzing' to describe his mode of travelling. In Mrs Gunn's words: 'The Fizzer is unlike every type of man excepting a bush mailman. Hard, sinewy, dauntless, and enduring, he travels day after

day and month after month practically alone—“on me Pat Malone”—he calls it—with or without a blackboy according to the circumstances, and five trips out of his yearly eight throwing dice with death along his dry stages, and yet at all times as merry as a grig and as chirrupy as a young grasshopper...

‘A thousand miles on horseback,... into the Australian interior and out again, travelling twice over three long dry stages and several shorter ones, and keeping strictly to the government time limit, would be a life-experience to the men who set that limit—if it wasn’t a death experience. “Like to see one of ‘em doing it ‘emselves”, says the Fizzer. Yet never a day late, and rarely an hour, he does it eight times a year, with a “So long, chaps”, and a “Here we go again”...

‘At all seasons of the year he calls the first two hundred miles of this trip a “kid’s game. Water somewhere nearly every day, and a decent camp most nights”. And although he speaks of the next hundred and fifty as being a “bit off during the Dry”, he faces its seventy-five mile dry stage, sitting loosely in the saddle, with the same cheery, “So long, chaps”...

‘Five miles to “get a pace up”—a drink, and then that seventy miles of dry, with any “temperature they can spare from other parts” and not one drop of water in all its length for the horses. Straight on top of that, with the same horses and the same temperature, a run of twenty miles, mails dropped off at Newcastle Waters, and another run of fifty into Powell’s Creek, dry or otherwise, according to the circumstances.

“Takes a bit of fizzing to get into the Powell before the fourth sundown”, the Fizzer says—for, forgetting that there can be no change of horses, and leaving no time for a “spell”, after the “seventy-five mile dry”—the time limit for that one hundred and fifty miles in a country where four miles an hour is good travelling on good roads, has been fixed a three and a half days. “Four, they call it”, says the Fizzer, “forgetting I can’t leave the water till midday. Takes a bit of fizzing all right”, and yet at Powell’s Creek no one has discovered whether the Fizzer comes at sundown or the sun goes down when the Fizzer comes’.

The mail left Katherine for Anthony’s Lagoon via Elsey, Daly Waters, Newcastle Waters, Powell’s Creek, Brunette Downs every six weeks. It was a route with long stretches and dried out waterholes. Peckham was haunted by an ever-present fear that he would die of thirst, somewhere on the Downs, as had the pioneer of the route. Once, with his horses lost, he crawled on hands and knees to water. He continued to do this mail run until at least 1904 when contract was then taken over by someone else.

Peckham then visited his twin sister and family back in New Zealand about 1905 for a holiday, during which he also planned to take a trip to India, but apparently missed the steamship. Peckham soon returned to the Territory.

In 1907, the *Northern Territory Times* lists Peckham as being the successful tenderer for the contract to carry mail from Katherine to Victoria River Police Station via Delamere, Willeroo and Victoria Rivers Downs Stations. His run included Springvale Homestead and included carrying goods such as leather, whisky, rum, calico, matches, cartridges, medicine, and of course, mail. The route was 800 miles though trackless bush and was undertaken every six weeks.

In April 1911 Peckham set out on the by now routine mail run. When he arrived at Victoria River Downs, the station manager’s wife, Mrs Townshend, was seriously ill. A letter was posted in his canvas bags, calling for a Darwin doctor.

When Peckham’s team arrived at the Campbell’s Creek crossing, 19 kilometres away, he found it too high to cross, so they waited. Knowing the letter seeking help for the sick woman was urgent, Peckham and the boy tried to cross again the next day. They put all the packhorses in, and tried to drive them across on their riding horses. Two horses with packs on crossed, and two other horses with their packs on got back on the same side. Peckham came off his horse, and both were swept downstream. The boy got across and unpacked the two that had crossed, swam back, and unpacked the other two. He then looked for Peckham, but could not find him, so returned to Victoria Downs Station.

Mr Townshend and several others went back to the crossing. They found Peckham’s riding horse drowned with saddle and bridle on, about a mile below the crossing. On the following morning, the body was recovered floating in the river, some distance from the crossing. As Peckham went down, he had shouted to the boy ‘Save the mails! Can’t be helped if I drown.’ Tragically, the sick woman had died even before they had tried to cross the flooded river. The date of his death was 17 April 1911.

The Fizzer, like many others before him, had given his life for the mails. He was buried on the riverbank where he had perished and later his body was moved to lie near those of other characters from Mrs Gunn’s books, in the special Never Never memorial cemetery south of Mataranka, under a gravestone made at the Adelaide School of Art and commissioned by his sister, Agnes Hambley.

The Peckham family remains strong in the Territory, as descendants survive Henry Ventlia Peckham from his son, Henry Peckham, born to an Aboriginal woman near Newcastle Waters around 1902. He has surviving relatives elsewhere in Australia and New Zealand.

Mrs A Gunn, *We Of the Never Never*, 1908; H T Linklater, *Echoes of the Elsey Saga*, 1980; Northern Territory Archives Service, Timber Creek Police Journals; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, various issues; family information.

PENELOPE MCDONALD, Vol 3.

PEEL, ROBERT (1839–1894), surgeon, was born in England in 1839, came to South Australia as a young man and spent most of his working life there. He was best noted in the Territory as the doctor who accompanied **George Goyder** to Darwin in 1869, assisted the survey party and later was Protector of Aborigines.

He was registered as a medical practitioner in South Australia in 1864 and appears in the earliest *Blue Book* (1866) of appointees to the Colony of South Australia as Assistant Colonial Surgeon. He transferred to Mount Gambier on 25 October 1866. His reasons for joining Goyder’s party in 1869 are unknown.

On arrival at Darwin in February 1869 Goyder and Peel discovered fresh water supplies below the cliffs of the proposed town. The bulk of water to service the men of the expedition came from a well in the 'Gully', presumably named by Goyder, as it appears in his diary. Surveyor W Harvey, recording the first survey of the area near Daly Street shows the feature as 'Doctor's Gully' and the well as 'Peel's Well'. Water was taken by longboat to the camp and later by wagon. Later this well, one at the camp (below Government House) and one at Cavenagh Square appear to have formed the main supply for the town.

Early residents of Palmerston remembered Dr Peel with gratitude for the antidote to malarial fever so prevalent in the Territory which he prescribed whilst there, and which was known as 'Peel's mixture'.

Peel's journal of daily events in Darwin recorded details of the progress of the survey from September 1869 to January 1870 and a similar diary by [Dr James Stokes Millner](#) continued the record after Peel's departure with Goyder.

When he returned to Adelaide, he resumed his practice, occupying a cottage in North Terrace. In 1876 and 1877, he represented the Hindmarsh ward in the City Council.

Dr Peel was associated with the founding of the Adelaide Children's Hospital in 1876 as House Surgeon under Dr Moore, visiting England in 1877, and resigning from the hospital in 1880. In 1879, he qualified as a licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, Ireland.

Sometime before 1883, he moved to Mount Gambier, and was a Past Master of the Mount Gambier Lodge of Freemasons. After a time in Melbourne and England, he returned to Adelaide, and died at General Havelock Hotel on 11 January 1894.

J B Cleland, *Medical Names in Australian Nomenclature*, 1974; M J Kerr, *The Surveyors: The Story of the Founding of Darwin*, 1971; *Blue Book*, 1866, 1867, 1868; *Register*, Adelaide, 29 October 1866; *Observer*, Adelaide, 13 January 1894; Robert Peel, *Diary*, SAA; James Stokes Millner, *Diary*, SAA; Adelaide Children's Hospital, Report, 1877.

JACQUELINE M O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

PERKINS, (VICTOR) BRUCE (VB) (1913–1992), shipowner and company director, was born on 4 March 1913 at Torpoint, Cornwall, the son of Alfred Claude Wilson Perkins and his wife Edith Amelia, *nee* Squance. He obtained an engineering apprenticeship in the Royal Naval Dockyard at Devonport, England, and in 1937, he was sent to the British Naval Base at Seletar in Singapore. He then joined the Army and in 1941 served with the rank of Captain with the 2nd Battalion, Malay Regiment. After Malaya fell to the Japanese, he spent four years as a prisoner-of-war (POW); six months in Changi and three years on the infamous Burma to Siam railway. After the war, he held a responsible position supervising the repatriation of some 35 000 POWs and displaced persons. On his return to England, he discovered that he had been listed as 'killed in action'.

After business management and further technical studies he returned to Malaya and joined a company where, for over two years, he was responsible for the operation and maintenance of a fleet of coastal and river vessels. He then joined Remunia Bauxite Company in Johore where he was in charge of maintenance of the mine equipment and the logistics of transferring the ore to ships anchored two miles offshore. In 1955, Alcan brought him to Australia as field manager to start its prospecting program that extended throughout Cape York and the gulf company into Arnhem Land. In 1958, he moved to Darwin as agent for Timor Oil, having persuaded the company to use Darwin as the operational base for the landing craft servicing its exploration work in East Timor. When the company had difficulty using the vessel in Timor he offered to buy it and operate it for them. Thus began the V B Perkins Shipping Line.

Perkins set up his operation in Frances Bay and gained more land by reclaiming mangrove swamps. The only tenure available in Darwin in the post-war years was comparatively short-term leasehold that no bank would accept as collateral for finance so for many years his own home was mortgaged. Only after self-government was he granted a formal lease of the land; further legislative changes in 1982 allowed conversion to freehold and security of title.

For many years, Perkins employees were not unionised but eventually in order to stave off the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) they joined the Miscellaneous Workers Union. The WWF persisted and the matter came to a head in April 1973 at the height of *Konfrontasi* when a shipment of containers destined for Freeport, Indonesia (now Irian Jaya) was declared black. The result was that Freeport moved their supply base from Darwin to Singapore. Perkins lost the Freeport transshipment work and VB determined to beat the WWF, as he knew that to do otherwise would be to put his whole operation at risk. As his daughter, Mandy, wrote, 'having once worked under the threat of being shot up by Communists, that element within the organisation did not appeal'. In the campaign that followed, he had the loyal support of his own employees. Barely a day passed during April 1973 that the *Northern Territory News* did not carry a headline about the small ships' issue. Such headlines as 'Darwin Supply Work Lost by Black Ban' and 'Barge Dispute – A Nail in Port Coffin', were supported by letters from [Tom Milner](#), Chairman of the Northern Territory Port Authority. In a 'postscript', several Perkins' floats followed the May Day Parade that year and very pointedly made their opinion known. Perkins, with a halo round his head, drove a black Ford. With a federal Labor government in power, no help was forthcoming from that direction. Eventually with the help of Tom Pauling (later Solicitor General) a loophole was found in the Stevedoring Industry Act. The Act provided that businesses described as 'Industrial Undertaking' were exempt but it meant that in order to make the point all Perkins' vessels were sent overseas, and Aboriginal communities were therefore not receiving their usual regular supplies. Not until the Aboriginal settlements began to lobby Canberra did the federal government listen. Within seven days VB Perkins and the other landing crafts operators, were each classified as an Industrial Undertaking. Perkins had won his battle with the WWF.

In the early years the regular barge service he provided to island and coastal communities, many inaccessible by road from Darwin or cut off in the wet season, made an appreciable difference to the life style in those areas. For 20 years, each ship in the Perkins' fleet was an adaptation of or an evolution from Army landing craft. As mining developments expanded at Gove and on Groote Eylandt, so did the company. In the 1970s, Perkins was involved in the revival of the live cattle export trade and in 1978, the company began regular services to Singapore that were extended later to Indonesian and New Guinea ports. In 1992, the pride of his fleet was the 3 200 tonne *Coringle Bay*. By that year the company had offices Gove and Groote Eylandt and major agencies in Singapore and other ports, worldwide. The company employed 150 people in operations which included marine workshops, a slipway and road transport. There were then four ships in the fleet.

During Cyclone Tracy, the company lost none of its ships though the shore establishment was badly damaged. The Royal Australian Navy, as part of the cleanup operation, chartered several of his craft for several months. The facilities available in Darwin are also of considerable benefit to Darwin, particularly in times of adversity. This was amply demonstrated in 1974 when Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin. Perkins was declared an essential service facility because of the utilisation of machinery for the clean up, the ship's electricity generating and food storage capacity and the company vessels to ship to shore transport and supplies.

His contribution to the development of the north was recognised in a 'Big Country' segment filmed by the Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1978 and entitled 'Perkins Navy'. Bruce Perkins was most amused some weeks after it had been aired to receive a letter addressed 'The Admiral, Darwin' which the Post Office had placed straight into his box.

Over the years, Perkins had many other interests besides ships though he never put any of the company's money into his pet projects. In 1972, he was a founder shareholder and director of Darwin's Channel 8 television station and he was still a director when he died, though Packer interests then owned the station. At one time, he was something of a land baron. In partnership with Kerry Manolas and Richard Morris, he owned Manbulloo, Gorrie and Dry River stations. As the major shareholder in partnership with Kerry Ambrose Pearce and architect, Gary Hunt, he developed the Desert Springs Country Club in Alice Springs. The golf course was brought up to international standard and the adjoining residential estate that they established allowed the construction of private homes to a high standard. Perkins was also on the board of the short-lived government enterprise Northern Airlines.

His love of the sea was reflected in his membership of yacht clubs in Singapore and Malaysia, and he was a member and patron of the Darwin Sailing Club. Bruce Perkins served as Chairman of the Northern Territory Museums and Art Galleries Board from 1988 to 1991. When asked whether he would become chair he asked the Minister flippantly whether he was to become an exhibit. He was the Territory delegate to the national Trade Development Council. He also had an active commitment with St John Ambulance Australia (Northern Territory), serving (as President from 1988 until his death) on St John Council since 1977 and President from 1988 until his death. In December 1989, he was appointed a Commander Brother in the Order of St John. In June 1989, he was awarded Membership of the Order of Australia (AM) 'for service to the transport industry, particularly shipping'.

On 20 February 1954 in Singapore, he married Barbara Joan Smith and there were two children, Shauna (Mandy) and Antony. The marriage was dissolved and on 13 November 1979 he married Jocelyn Marie Strickland, their daughter Penelope being born on 3 February 1981. He became an Australian citizen on 26 January 1981.

Bruce Perkins died suddenly on 2 November 1992 survived by his wife and three children. At his memorial service, held in his own shipyard, the eulogy was given by the Administrator who said that Bruce Perkins had 'not only left his mark, he had maintained a constant vision... that Australia's future was in the north'. Fred Finch, Minister for Transport and Works, recorded that 'Bruce Perkins' faith in the Northern Territory is well reflected in his local and international successes' but he was very much a man of the community'. At the next sittings of Parliament Chief Minister Marshall Perron, in a detailed celebration of Perkins' contribution to the Territory, noted particularly the value of the introduction of the 'international shipping line'.

In 1993, Perkins Shipping began to sponsor the annual Darwin to Ambon Yacht Race and the Bruce Perkins Memorial Trophy is also given for line honours. In association with St John Ambulance, his company also sponsors the Bruce Perkins Memorial Scholarship, an award that encourages current or past members of St John to undertake full-time study in a medical, nursing or allied health field.

Family records; *Northern Territory News*, 3 November 1992, 4 November 1992; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 17 November 1992; P A Rosenzweig, For Service, 1995.

JOCELYN PERKINS and HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

PERMIEN (also PERMAIN), THOMAS HANBURY (c1815/1820–1874), surveyor and explorer, is believed to have been born in Ireland between 1815 and 1820 but in the 1990s his Australian descendants were still trying to glean facts on his origin.

Permien's father was Joachim Christopher Permien (1773–1841), who was born in Hamburg, Germany and had served in the Bengal Artillery in 1795 in India. As a young man, Thomas, his son, had served with the East India Company in India as a surveyor in various locations between 1835 and 1852. Contracting jungle fever, he was discharged from that service. He moved to Victoria during the gold rush period of the mid 1850s and appears to have married Mary McDonald there. A daughter was born in 1855.

Permien then seems to have travelled to Rockhampton, Queensland. Between 1860 and 1870, he was a 'valued resident' of that town. He undertook the first survey of the lands in the Dawson and Mackenzie Rivers, 'a very dangerous undertaking in consequence of the hostility of the blacks to white people.' Permien also surveyed and

laid out North Rockhampton, giving the name 'Kalka' to a portion of it. The meaning of the word in India is 'village'.

Although it is possible that after leaving Rockhampton in 1870 Permien as an 'eccentric explorer' travelled to various parts of the world seeking to place monuments at the mid point of each continent, this is not verified. He appears again in early 1874 on a schooner *Twins*, sailing from Koepang, Timor, to Port Darwin in the Northern Territory with an Arab servant, Abdoolah, who worked eventually with [Dillon Cox](#). His visit to the Territory was 'in quest of the opening up of the land of Carpentaria' and perhaps the finding of the mid point of Australia.

'Permain', as recorded in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, brought with him buffaloes, 14 sheep and coconuts. Living with Robert Caldwell, an importer of stock, in his Palmerston store, Permien tried to find a companion for his proposed expedition. In early 1874 Villeneuve Smith, a barrister, provided a reference to the Government Resident, [G B Scott](#), about an Edward Borradaile, aged 29, who had worked on the Launceston and Western Railway as an engineer and draftsman and who had come north for a position. He was persuaded to accompany Permien on his proposed journey to Port Essington and beyond.

They set out in June 1874 with five horses, intending to be away for two months. Government officials had warned the men about insufficient supplies. By October 1874, four months on, some concern was expressed and a contact by a schooner to Port Essington was made that month with no word of the explorers. In December 1874, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* was expressing concern about an old and eccentric explorer and his young companion and that there had been no search instigated. Finally, [John Lewis](#) set out in January 1875 and the Government Resident contacted Borradaile's father in England. The Wet Season, however, was too advanced for much progress to be made.

Filtering back from Aborigines at Port Essington in March 1875 was the story of Alligator River Aborigines killing the two white men, who had reached Tor Rock. [Gilbert McMinn](#) and [Inspector Paul Foelsche](#) set out in March in *Flying Cloud* to clear up the mystery. Searching with ponies, they reached Tor Rock but encountered hostile Aborigines and found no evidence that the explorers had reached the site. The South Australian government to Borradaile's family in England and Australia conveyed the result of the searches. His brother eventually erected suitable memorials in Christ Church of England, Darwin, in 1904. Surveyor General [George Goyder](#), after representations from a Mr Sawtell, named Mount Permain and Mount Borradaile in the Tor Rock area after the explorers. The Royal Geographical Society in London supported this and the location of the mountains was recorded in the Stanford maps of Australia in the United Kingdom in 1879.

The sad events of 1874 in the early formative years of the Territory's development provided a lesson to later explorers to be well provided for in their journeys and be wary of Aborigines. The early nomenclature of South Australia's Northern Territory had been ascribed two new features, Mount Permain and Mount Borradaile, which should, of course, have been Mounts Permien and Borradaile. Permien's descendants are still seeking further information about him.

P G Spillett, 'Mounts Permain and Borradaile', in *Northern Perspective*, vol 5, No 2, 1982; G W Goyder, 'Naming of Mts Permain and Borradaile', 1875; correspondence with S Edwards, N Permain, B Kitson and E M Radcliffe.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 2.

PERRIMAN, (HARRY) LESLIE (1883–1987), engineer and missionary, was born at Dunedin, New Zealand, on 6 September 1883, the eldest son of Henry and Mary Ann Perriman. When he was three years old, the family moved to Victoria, living for a short time at South Melbourne and then at Essendon. He was educated at the State School in Essendon until he reached the age of 14 years, when he became an apprentice to an engineering firm. After his six years' apprenticeship, he became Foreman of J Clarke's engineering workshop in Melbourne, a position he held until his acceptance as a Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary in 1919.

Perriman was unable to start his work in north Australia in 1919 as he contracted Mediterranean influenza that swept through Australia after the First World War. After two years' convalescence he was fit enough to travel north. In 1921, he accompanied a comparatively large missionary party that the CMS sent to erect the new mission on Groote Eylandt. Among these was Norman B Tindale, a 20-year-old scientist from the Adelaide Museum, who had permission to go to Groote not as a missionary but to study the Aboriginal people and their culture. The arrival of the new mission party at Roper River was a very sad affair. The influenza epidemic had struck down many of those at Roper, including Josephine Warren, who died just before the party arrived.

Perriman was one of the first missionaries to work for any length of time at the new mission on Groote. [Hubert Warren](#) started the mission at the Emerald River on 1 August 1921 and in October that year, Perriman and [Dyer](#) were placed in charge. Perriman worked there until November 1923. Earlier that year the tiny mission had been completely destroyed by a flood and the missionaries had the task of building a new one several kilometres upstream above flood level. This was the site of the Emerald River Mission until its transfer to Angurugu in 1943.

Soon after his return from furlough, 35 part Aboriginal children were brought over from the Roper River. The girls were under the immediate care of Misses [Cross](#) and [Dove](#), who were given instructions to make the work as self-supporting as possible. Emphasis was placed on gardening, logging, carpentry and domestic science as well as formal lessons.

About this time, Perriman began to be tormented by a conflict of loyalties that remained with him for several years. He was a bachelor and his mother was a widow who always turned to him for help. At the same time, he felt called by God to work among the Aboriginal people, but he did not find mission work easy. He had a number of problems with discipline in connection with the older part Aboriginal girls and over reacted against them on

many occasions. The answer to this dilemma was resolved by the fact that he was unable to leave Groote until October 1926 because of a severe shortage of staff. Dyer and his wife had been transferred to Oenpelli in 1925 to start the new mission there. Other missionaries had their furlough to take. All this meant that Perriman could not be spared. He had by now determined, however, that he would resign at the end of that tour.

On his return south in 1926, he put his resolution into action and resigned from the CMS. He purchased a house for his mother so that she could have a permanent home and settled back into an engineering job for what he thought was a permanent stay in the south. But this was not to be as within a year he found himself back on Groote in the work, which although beset with many difficulties, was one that still lay very close to his heart.

Perriman returned to Groote initially on a year's term of service that came as the result of a staffing crisis that had arisen. Perriman accepted the invitation to accompany a new missionary, [Ernest Wynne Evans](#) and help him settle into the work on the island. After doing this, he returned south, but in 1929 once again became a CMS missionary for work among the Aborigines. The Society had now changed its policy from care of the part Aborigines on Groote to that of all Aborigines there. This was more in line with Perriman's views and he did not have to face problems of discipline with young part-Aboriginal people he could not control. Warren had been recalled and Perriman was placed in charge of the Emerald River Mission for the next three years. He was not a leader, but was faithful and meticulous in what he did. During this time, the Roper River Mission went through a very difficult period, culminating in a government board of enquiry in 1933.

Perriman's fourth tour of service in Arnhem Land was highlighted by the CMS Peace Expedition of 1933 to 1934 (see [Warren](#)). This term of service demonstrated more than ever his continued faith and painstaking efforts in the looking after of the Groote Eylandt mission in the face of great difficulty. On his return, he found that Wynne Evans had been placed in charge. The latter, however, was killed on Central Hill on 15 November 1933 and Perriman was once again appointed Superintendent. The CMS supplied the mission with a pedal radio at this time because of the tense situation connected with the Aboriginal killings. The use of this radio broke down the isolation of the mission but also gave Perriman many extra hours of work. The arrival of Philip Taylor and his wife in July 1936 enabled Perriman to take a well-earned furlough.

Perriman's final term of mission in Arnhem Land lasted from October 1937 until October 1941. He spent about half of this time at Oenpelli and the remaining half at Roper River. He was not in charge at either of these places, but the contribution that he made as a mechanic, builder and general helper was of the greatest significance in maintaining the ongoing life of these two places. Yet they were not easy years for him and he still experienced that tension of obeying his calling to be a missionary and his personal obligations to his mother, with whom he had a special relationship.

He resigned from the CMS on his return south. In its extensive minute of appreciation, the Society recorded its deep appreciation of his 20 years' faithful work 'for the Aborigines and Half-castes in North Australia.' It went on: 'The contribution he made to our missions was of a unique character, for as a mechanic he possessed remarkable skill which enabled him to render invaluable service at the three stations not only in the maintenance and repair of all kinds of machinery, but also in building design and construction, and by means of the reliable advice he supplied when occasion required...

But his ability was combined with a manner and personality which won for him the confidence and affection of both Aborigines and Euralians [part-Aborigines] who profited greatly from his scrupulous honesty and fairness in his dealings with them, as well as his never ending patience and cheerfulness.'

Yet his long service with the CMS was not undertaken without frequent frustration and continual personal conflict. He referred to these tensions in his almost daily letters to his mother. His faithfulness to the task with the ever-present burden of inward struggles is perhaps one of the major contributions that he made in his service in the north, indicating the very human side of missionary work and the personal problems that missionaries usually have to face.

Perriman married Rotha Mann in Melbourne on 18 December 1943 and from that time until his death in 1987 continued to have a deep and an abiding affection for the Aborigines of Arnhem Land.

K Cole, *Perriman of Arnhem Land*, 1973; records of the Church Missionary Society of Australia; personal papers of H L Perriman.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 2*.

PERRON, CHRISTABEL JOHANNA: see [RODERICK, CHRISTABEL JOHANNA](#)

PERRY, CONSTANTINE (CON) (also KHAN-PERI) (1900–1986), miner, businessman, pastoralist and entrepreneur, was born in December 1900 at Tibilsa, Georgia, Russia, son of John Joseph Khanperi. Little is known of his early life. It is said he jumped ship in Adelaide in 1919 after an argument with the bosun and was gaoled as an undesirable alien. He was to have been deported but managed to evade the authorities. He worked as a road worker, fettler, and shearer and at any other job he could find. There are two stories about his arrival in Tennant Creek. One says that he came from Ceduna, in far western South Australia, where he had been a professional fisherman for some time. The other story is more romantic; it was claimed that he arrived in the Tennant Creek area as a bullock wagon driver, carrying beer and supplies. It is said that the town of Tennant Creek was founded where a bullock wagon broke down, 11 kilometres south of the Telegraph Station. In his obituary published in the *Tennant Creek Times*, the writer claims that Perry was the driver. Such is the fabric of Territory legends.

In 1930, Perry married Ellen Marion Bennett in Adelaide. By 1934 when the gold rush in Tennant Creek was beginning they had three children and the family settled at the Three Thirty Mine, not far from what later became

Peko. Until 1945, he was solely concerned with ‘mining promotions’. During the Second World War, he was seconded to the mica mines in the Harts Range near Alice Springs, perhaps as an interpreter.

In 1945, he rented the old Telegraph Station north of the town at one Pound per week, it no longer being required once the Post and Telegraph Office had been established in the town. The Reserve was revoked in 1954 and Perry obtained Pastoral Lease No 556 over part of the area, the balance being held by Grazing Licence 1279 issued on 17 September 1947, the whole being converted to Pastoral Lease No 1958 in 1957. A slaughterhouse and a bore, all fenced, were completed by 1950. Perry also ran pigs and had a small dairy. The family established a home in the old telegraph station buildings that by 1954 had been thoroughly renovated. It is recorded that Perry had ‘done a very good job’ and ‘restored these buildings which are of considerable historic value’.

In February 1947 he purchased a butchery business from H V Gorey and the following month obtained Grazing Licence No 1262 adjacent to Kelly Well for yards for the butchery business. In August 1947, he had 108 cubic metres of freezer space at the butchery.

A number of drought years in the late 1950s curtailed pastoral activities and Perry went back to mining. In 1970 took up a lease to work the Eldorado mine. At other times, he had an interest in the Irish Emblem, Pannikan and Brolga mines. He also won wolfram at Hatches Creek. He began to obtain land in the town and became something of an entrepreneur. What was later an ice cream shop in Paterson Street was the centre of his activities.

Con Perry was noted for his hospitality and at the fanaticism with which he played bridge partnered by **Jerry Maloney**. He was known to have a heart condition by about 1955, but he was 85 in December 1985 and a big party was held to celebrate his 55th wedding anniversary. He was already ill and died on 28 February 1986 in Tennant Creek Hospital. He was survived by his widow and two daughters and is buried in the Tennant Creek cemetery.

Centralian Advocate, 7 March 1986; Northern Territory Archives, F28, NTRS 246; *Northern Territory Government Gazette*, No 22 of 8 April 1954; *Tennant Creek Times*, 7 March 1986, 6 May 1988; H J Wilson, ‘The Heritage of Tennant Creek’, Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1995.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

PETT, CATHERINE nee COOPER (1864–1926), school teacher and community organiser, was born on 17 November 1864, the second of eight children of James Cooper and his wife Eliza, nee McCarty, at Moonta, South Australia. James, who was born in Scotland in 1833, arrived in South Australia in 1855 on *Rodney* and married Eliza in 1860 in Moonta, where Catherine was raised.

Catherine trained as a schoolteacher and joined the South Australian Education Department in 1865. On 14 May 1887, she married William Pett, a 28-year-old bachelor who listed his profession on their marriage certificate as Minister of the Bible Religion although there is little information available to determine whether he ever practised in such a position for any length of time.

In November 1888 Catherine, who was Assistant Head Mistress at the Grote Street School, was appointed to take charge of the school at Palmerston, Northern Territory, after residents had lobbied the South Australian government to replace the male teacher there, E P Kitchin, with an ‘efficient female’. Catherine and William arrived in the township by *Catterhun* in January 1889. Catherine’s initial salary was 175 Pounds per annum—45 Pounds less than the amount received by Kitchen, who had been appointed in 1879.

It is not clear whether or not William Pett found work or, if he did, what type of work it was, but there are indications that he spent quite a lot of time away from Port Darwin. As early as March 1889 Catherine had written to the Government Resident requesting permission to take in boarders, giving as her reason, ‘As Mr Pett is leaving the company will make the house less lonely.’

Nevertheless, Catherine tackled her job with enthusiasm and immediately began to endear herself to the school students and the community by arranging for regular school picnics and outings for the children, a task she seems to have undertaken single-handedly, drawing some mild criticism from the press. While local newspaper editorials praised her initiatives, which continued throughout her more than 20 years’ teaching in Port Darwin, they also complained that she did not let others know of her plans so that they could provide support.

By June of 1889, she was causing concern of another kind amongst some members of the local school board when she requested that the school be closed for two weeks, the time to be deducted from her future holidays. The board granted the request and recommended that certain repairs be carried out to her premises, including that ‘a bathroom be built for the schoolmistress.’ However, J J Lawrie, on behalf of the board, added the following comments to the South Australian officials: ‘While recommending that the request of Mrs Pett as to leave be granted he would strongly point out the great mistake of sending to the Northern Territory a married lady, who, in all probability will bear children. 1st. The physical strain upon a woman bearing children in this climate is so great that she should not be burdened with any other occupation than the care of her family, as such occupation is certain to be a secondary condition. 2nd. The moral effect of the schoolmistress conducting her duties up to the day of her confinement is likely to be very prejudicial in a mixed school of boys and girls.’

On 10 August 1889, Catherine gave birth to a son, William, and duly took her requested leave. The following year the local paper again praised her efforts in organising a picnic for the children at Mindel (now Mindil) Beach, but again suggested, ‘It would be a wise plan if Mrs Pett contrived to secure the aid of the School board when arranging for future picnics for the children. A great many people who would readily subscribe towards sport and pleasure for the young ones never hear of the picnics until they are over and done with.’ After Catherine organised a similar event in January 1891 it was clear that she had invited several of the parents as well and the paper pointed out that, ‘The whole of the expense of this entertainment was borne by Mrs Pett who really deserves the greatest credit for the liberality which she displayed and for the endless trouble she took to give pleasure to the little ones of

her school.' Again, in 1892, the paper commented that, 'Mothers and fathers should feel very grateful to Mrs Pett for the trouble and the expense which these school picnics must cost her.'

In May 1894 Catherine and William suffered a personal tragedy when their otherwise very healthy son, William, known locally as 'King', suddenly died from an attack of 'mock coup'. The newspaper expressed the sympathy of the community on their loss.

By the following year Catherine's salary had been increased to 200 Pounds per annum, the figure it would remain for the next 15 years.

In January 1897 Catherine (it was not clear whether William was resident in the town at the time) experienced another tragedy when, along with the rest of the Port Darwin community, a cyclone ripped through the township devastating most buildings and killing several people. Both Catherine's residence (which was provided as part of her employment package) and the school building suffered substantial damage. In a newspaper report of the cyclone, [Alfred Searcy](#), then a former Sub Collector of Customs, wrote, 'The schoolhouse is a large and substantial stone building surrounded by a 10 foot verandah [and] the schoolmistress's building is a four-roomed house, detached kitchen and partially sheltered by the schoolroom... The schoolhouse, schoolmistress's residence and all but two rooms of my... quarters have gone.'

In April Catherine, who had successfully applied for a month's paid leave and a fare to go to Adelaide following the cyclone, asked the government to pay her return passage to Port Darwin. In support of this, she pointed out that she had served as teacher for more than eight years and as most of her furniture had been destroyed, she would be put to the extra expense of refurnishing her cottage. After getting [V L Solomon](#) to lobby on her behalf, the request was granted and she returned to Darwin via SS *Taiyuan* on 7 May. Two weeks later, she reopened the school in its new premises, ending the children's 'enforced holiday'.

Another outcome of the cyclone was the resulting death of Mrs W G Stretton, who had given birth to 10 children, the youngest, Dorothy Mabel, only a year earlier. It would appear as if Catherine Pett became a guardian, or at least very friendly companion, of Dorothy shortly after Mrs Stretton's death, as there are many references over the remainder of Catherine's time in the Territory to Miss Stretton accompanying Mrs Pett to various local events and on trips south.

In December of 1898, Catherine gave birth to another son, Ronald, although she continued with her duties as schoolmistress. It is not clear when or why some concerns about her teaching capacity began, but by February 1900 she found herself embroiled in the middle of a controversy that took up substantial space in the local newspaper. A petition had been organised by a Mr Williams who requested that a male teacher be sent to Port Darwin allegedly on the basis of believing that Mrs Pett was about to ask for a transfer or resign her Territory position.

Prominent local resident Charles Herbert chaired the public meeting called over the issue and claimed there 'was not the slightest grounds for the rumours which had been circulated that the object of the petition was to disparage or injure in any way the present schoolmistress Mrs Pett. There was not a dot of truth in that suggestion. The aim of those who had moved the matter was to have made available a higher standard of education than was to be obtained under present conditions. Mr Herbert then entered at length into the origin of the petition and after reading a copy very warmly maintained that there was not one word to justify the feeling which had been shown.'

[W G Stretton](#), however, leapt to Catherine's defence and 'maintained that the phrase in the petition as read... that education obtainable in Palmerston at present was of a very low average was a slur upon the present schoolmistress Mrs Pett.' Herbert 'denied the imputation and argued that it was impossible for Mrs Pett or the best schoolmaster obtainable in SA to competently teach 45 children of various ages and in different classes.'

A debate ensued as to Mrs Pett's status and duties with both sides reiterating their points. One of the organisers of the petition, Williams, claimed he thought Mrs Pett was going away and had been told that Mrs Pett wanted an assistant. He said he had been given an undertaking that the petition would point out that under the regulations a school having a regular attendance of 40 children was entitled to an assistant. He said he had 'not the slightest intention to injure Mrs Pett'. Stretton said that the 'false representations made respecting Mrs Pett's intention of going away was the chief reason why a counter petition had been got up but at the same time he thought the educational requirements of Port Darwin were being fully met by Mrs Pett and at the present time we were in no want of another teacher.' Eventually the meeting resolved that the government be asked to allow Mrs Pett a qualified certificated assistant and that it should provide a male teacher of 'the best qualifications possible for the boys of Palmerston Public School and that Mrs Pett remain as at present to teach the girls.' In the continual search for more control over their own affairs, the residents also resolved that the government be asked to appoint a school board of advice and that no government employees be upon it. Reference was also made to Asiatic and European children mixing at the school and comment was made on the 'undesirableness of such promiscuous association.'

Catherine meanwhile wrote to the South Australian government objecting to any proposal to remove her as teacher at Palmerston. Her lobbying was successful. In July 1900 a letter from the relevant Minister rejected the request for a male teacher, saying that he had been informed by the Government Resident that it was not Mrs Pett's intention to ask for a transfer or to resign her present position and that he had been advised by the Chairman of the Board of Inspectors of Schools that the appointment of an assistant of 'the necessary status' would be impossible as junior to Mrs Pett. He concluded with a reminder to the residents of Palmerston that 'on two previous occasions a male teacher was appointed to the school and that ultimately a female teacher was appointed at their request.'

In December of this year, Catherine was reassured of the esteem in which she was held by most when she was presented with a 'purse of sovereigns subscribed by her many Port Darwin friends.' [V V Brown](#), who made the presentation at the Town Hall, referred to her 'justly earned popularity with both the youngsters and their parents', a remark that was heralded with 'three ringing cheers' by the school children present. By this time

also Catherine was no longer the sole Territory teacher as in January 1900 the South Australian authorities had appointed Mabel Bell as Headmistress of the Pine Creek District at a salary of 120 Pounds per annum.

In 1901, when the next census was taken, Catherine and William and their son were all residing in Port Darwin, with William's occupation listed as gardener. However, William appears to have left the Territory in late April of that year and there is no evidence that he ever returned, although he and Catherine remained married. Ronald appears to have remained with Catherine in Port Darwin.

Over the next 10 years, she took an active part in both the educational and social activities of the community. She was particularly known for her fund raising efforts for the Church of England bazaars of the community in which she and Mrs Pott used to earn substantial sums for their Bran Pie and Fish Bond stall, most proceeds going towards the building of a church, which was completed in 1902. Catherine was also known for her foundation and continuing work on the committee of the Agricultural, Horticultural and Industrial Society as well as for her entries in several of the exhibits.

One of her most constant companions appears to have been the widower W G Stretton, who had defended her reputation so enthusiastically in 1900. One reported incident in 1903, when an inquest was held into the causes of a fire at the retail premises of **Edwin Luxton** suggests that she and Stretton were often together. Luxton gave evidence that they had come to his store at 8.30 p.m., just as he was closing and he had supplied Catherine with the articles she required and had a whiskey with Stretton.

Another reported incident a few months later indicates that Catherine Pett was regarded as a thoughtful and humanitarian person who often put others' needs ahead of her own. The news item told the account of Catherine often visiting an apparently lonely woman called Hannah Woods who had been ill for some time. When one day Catherine discovered that Hannah had died in her sleep, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* singled out Catherine as deserving 'special mention for her constant kindness and unremitting attention.'

Catherine also continued arranging annual children's picnics and worked with a group of women to organise special Christmas street fetes each year, arranging for each child to be given a present by Santa. She was also credited for organising a highly successful children's fancy dress ball in honour of His Excellency the Governor of South Australia, Sir George Le Hunte, when he visited the Territory in June 1905. In December of that year, when she arranged the usual close of school presentation night, the newspaper described her as a 'born organiser' and referred to the beautifully decorated schoolroom and abundance of refreshments. In 1908, she was still being referred to as 'that kindly and energetic lady' who inaugurated the Christmas parties for the children.

Finally, in December 1909 she took a six month holiday in Adelaide, where it was reported that she would spend time studying 'the more modern educational methods now in vogue in South Australian State schools.' Travelling with her were her son Ronald, whom she planned to enrol in a southern school, and Dorothy Stretton. During her absence, the government appointed Mrs H K Carruth to act in her position in Port Darwin.

Catherine returned in June 1910 on the steamer *Guthrie* accompanied by her old friend W G Stretton and Dorothy Stretton. During her trip south she apparently decided to return to South Australia to work and in October the townspeople gave her a farewell social at the Town Hall. An extract of the newspaper report of the event indicates the esteem in which she was held: 'During the years that have flown since its erection many bright and happy gatherings have taken place in the Palmerston Town Hall in connection with one event and another, but we do not remember to have witnessed any local function more enthusiastically or numerously attended that the children's dance social on Sunday evening last, organised as a farewell demonstration in honour of Mrs C Pett prior to her departure for Adelaide after 22 years' residence in the Territory in the responsible position of teacher in charge of the Palmerston public school.' It added that the crew and some passengers of *Guthrie* joined in the celebrations and the commander of the gunboat *Challenger* placed the vessel's 'fine brass band' at the disposal of the committee for the evening. During the evening, Percy Kelsey made a speech and presented Catherine with a purse of the quite substantial sum of 36 Sovereigns that had been collected from the residents within a few days of Catherine's departure.

A group of Chinese children, who were described as being 'picturesquely garbed' then presented her with a farewell address and parting gift on behalf of the Chinese community. The paper reported that 'Mrs Pett, who was visibly affected, acknowledged the presentations in a few brief words in which whilst admitting that she had doubtless often made mistakes, she claimed that she had always tried to do her duty. She had now resided here for so many years that she regarded Port Darwin as her home and whilst grateful and proud for the farewell demonstration organized in her honour, she was very sorry indeed at having to leave both the place and the people.'

Catherine Pett went to Gawler in South Australia where she taught at the Sandy Creek School for another 15 years. When she died in January 1926, she left her estate, sworn in at 1 400 Pounds, to her son Ronald and her wearing apparel, jewellery and 20 Pounds to her friend Dorothy Mabel Stretton. Her husband, who was apparently still alive in South Australia, was not mentioned in the will.

Although she had been gone from the Territory for many years, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* and *Northern Standard* reported her death in Darwin with 'much regret'. One resident wrote a letter about the positive influence she had on the community, recalling that during his first trip to Darwin he had found Catherine Pett 'in charge of the school with ninety pupils all well under control and without any assistance. Many of the former scholars of the deceased lady are the successful businessmen of the Territory today.'

B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1888–1914; Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory, records; Northern Territory Archives, correspondence to Minister Controlling the Northern Territory, 1888–1903.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

PHEGAN, HILDA ELSIE (BIDDY): see **[TUXWORTH, HILDA ELSIE \(BIDDY\)](#)**

PHILLIPPS, HELEN also MILNER (1918–1973), medical practitioner, was born at St John's Wood, London, England, on 19 August 1918, the daughter of Royal Cecil Phillipps and his wife Ellen Hillman, *nee* Robinson. Her parents were Australians who had been living in England while her father saw service during the First World War. The family returned home in 1920 and Helen was educated by correspondence until she was 13 when she became a boarder at Frensham School in Mittagong, New South Wales.

In 1936, she enrolled at the University of Sydney intending to study Science. The following year she transferred to Medicine and graduated Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery in 1941 with a Distinction in Preventive Medicine. During her undergraduate years, she had earned her blue for hockey and was active in other student activities. The next four years were spent in Melbourne as a Resident Medical Officer, first at the Children's Hospital and then the Queen Victoria Hospital. From 1945 until 1949, she gained additional experience in a variety of general practices as a locum.

On 29 June 1942, she married **[Thomas Milner](#)**, a master mariner, and in what would have been an unusual situation at the time, between 1949 and 1954 they were both employed in their respective professions by the Gilbert and Ellice Islands administration.

In 1954 she accepted an appointment with the Commonwealth Department of Health as a medical officer charged with the task of establishing a school medical service in the Northern Territory and began work on 25 October, for many years the only member of her unit. She was gazetted Medical Inspector of School Children on 14 July 1960. She was the first female medical practitioner in the Northern Territory but the position was part of the temporary establishment of the Commonwealth Public Service and it was not until July 1968, after a 12 months' 'probation', that she was finally appointed as a permanent officer. She received promotion to Medical Officer Class Two in October 1971.

Phillipps was granted a World Health Organisation Fellowship in 1970 and studied developmental paediatrics in England and Europe, becoming one of the very few doctors in Australia to specialise in this field. Preventive medicine was always her special interest. As a member of the Child Welfare Council, she was influential in the development of policies to improve the condition of all children. She was responsible for the introduction of vaccines for diseases such as poliomyelitis and rubella. A particular interest was children with hearing difficulties, particularly Aborigines. With assistance from the Commonwealth Acoustic Laboratory, she established a system of audiometric screening that extended to the remotest areas. Intent always on giving all Territory children, no matter how remote or handicapped, the best possible opportunities, she was also involved in the foundation of the Specific Learning Difficulties Association and educational facilities for slow learners and a sheltered workshop were established under her auspices.

She also had a number of community interests, being an active member of the Quota Club in Darwin, for which she served a term as President. She was also a member of the Graduates Association in its drive to have tertiary education facilities established in the Northern Territory.

Her colleagues held her in high esteem and she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in June 1968. But her years of 'dedication, drive and inexhaustible patience' took their toll and she died of cancer on 14 May 1973 at the age of 54, after years of ill health. She had resigned only two weeks earlier but in a letter acknowledging her resignation the Commonwealth Director of Health confirmed that 'for many years you carried on the struggle on your own and it is only recently that your planning has borne fruit.' There were many epitaphs, not least the statement that the School Medical Service 'which you have truly pioneered, will remain a tribute to your endeavours.'

Phillipps had no children but was survived by her husband.

The Medical Journal of Australia, vol 2, 1974; *Northern Territory News*, 15 May 1973; *Commonwealth Government Gazette*, no 31, 24 July 1960; Commonwealth Department of Health files.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

PHILLIPS, JESSIE SINCLAIR: see **[LITCHFIELD, JESSIE SINCLAIR](#)**

PHILLIPS, ROY REID (1892–1922), bookkeeper, journalist, schoolteacher and poet, was born on 29 October at Hay, New South Wales. He was the youngest child of John Phillips, civil servant, and Jeannie, *nee* Reid. John Phillips was of English descent, and both his father and grandfather were emancipist landholders in the Wellington district of New South Wales, while Jeannie, of Scottish ancestry, was born in Melbourne, the daughter of well-educated Melbourne booksellers. Jeannie's parents instilled into her a deep love of literature, and she in turn passed this on to her children. They all recorded their feelings in prose and poetry in autograph and notebooks. Roy's older brother, Boyne Samuel, had died at the age of seven and a half months due to an epidemic caused by the insanitary conditions existing in Sydney in 1882. Phillips's older sister, **[Jessie Sinclair \(Litchfield\)](#)**, was born in 1883 in Ashfield, Sydney, while his younger sister, Nancy Wood, was born at Hillston in central New South Wales in 1885.

Phillips's parents could possibly have decided to move out into the country to ensure the survival of their children, although the decision may have been a necessary one because of the deepening depression at the time. From Hillston the family moved to Deniliquin in 1888 and then to Hay where Phillips was born. By 1895, the family had moved back to Sydney where Jessie was attending the Neutral Bay School; it is possible that Roy Phillips attended his first school there also.

Phillips and his sisters were greatly influenced by their mother and her parents and they were regular attendees at the Methodist Church in the Melbourne suburb of Richmond during visits there.

Shortly after the turn of the century, Jeannie moved herself and her three children permanently to Melbourne. Young Jessie kept in contact with her father and his family while Nancy rejected him. Young Roy Phillips would have been too young to be greatly influenced by his father. The major part of his education was gained in Melbourne.

Phillips began writing stories and poems at an early age, and contributed to the *Bulletin* magazine on a regular basis. He was not earning much, and when he met the girl he wanted to marry, he felt he needed to do something about it. Since his sister, Jessie, was then living in the Northern Territory and often wrote praising its potential, Phillips decided to go north to try his luck.

Phillips arrived in Darwin early in 1915 and visited his sister, who was then living at Brock's Creek mine with her husband, Val Litchfield. Soon afterward, he found work as a teacher at a small government school on Thomas and Robert's farm near Woolianna on the Daly River. There were 11 children of school age but often only eight attended, and these were scattered over four or five classes. Phillips had to teach them all at once, a hard task but he loved it, and the children loved him. He learned to love the Territory and its people in the short time that he was there.

When word of the Great War reached the Daly River Phillips decided to join up and fight for his country. He packed his belongings and rode a horse into Darwin. With many other men on the same mission, he had to journey to Melbourne by ship before he could enlist. He joined the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) at Melbourne, 24 January 1916. He was 23 years and four months old.

On 4 April 1916, he embarked on HMAS *Euripides* with the Seventeenth Reinforcements, Sixth Australian Infantry Battalion. Phillips served in the Middle East and France with the Second Australian Training Battalion and the Fourth Australian Pioneer Battalion. He was wounded in action at Pozieres on 30 July 1916 and returned home to Australia on 12 May 1917. He was discharged on 23 June the same year, having reached the rank of Sergeant.

Returning to civilian life while his mates were still fighting did not suit Phillips and the girl who had promised to wait for him had married someone else. He was shattered. He also missed the comradeship at the front so he re-enlisted, this time in the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force at Brisbane on 19 November 1917, but did not go overseas again. He was issued with the British War Medal and the Victory Medal.

After the end of the war, Phillips moved to Bedford Park, Adelaide. He still suffered from the stomach wound that eventually sent him to an early grave. He was firstly employed as an accountant but later worked as a journalist for one of the city newspapers. He continued to write articles for the *Bulletin* magazine under the pen name 'Ishmael', and wrote many poems about his war experiences. Many of his poems told of his increasing pain, and his wish to reach eternal peace where he would be free from pain at last.

He finally became an inmate of the Bedford Park Sanatorium and died there, of pulmonary tuberculosis, on 16 April 1922 aged twenty-nine years. He is buried in the AIF cemetery, West Terrace, Adelaide.

After Phillips's death, his hand-written book of poems was sent to his sister Jessie in Darwin. She preserved them carefully, and dedicated a literary award to Phillips that was awarded annually at the Darwin Public School. None of his verses have been published.

Unpublished family documents in author's possession.

JANET DICKINSON, *Vol 1.*

PIKE, ALAN WILLIAM (1945–), Army officer and first Officer Commanding the 7th Independent Rifle Company (7IRC), was born on 1 June 1945 and commissioned as a Second Lieutenant on 10 December 1966. He was an Infantry Corps officer who had gained his early experience as a platoon commander with the 1st Battalion, Pacific Islands Regiment (1966–1969). Pike then served at the Papua New Guinea Training Depot (1969), at the Infantry Centre at Singleton, New South Wales in 1970, and as a staff officer on the Headquarters of the Sixth Task Force. He then saw service in South Vietnam with Headquarters First Australian Logistic Support Group from July 1970, serving as a Liaison Officer with the United States Army at Headquarters Saigon Support Command. Returning to Australia in 1971, he was a company second in charge (2IC) with the 8th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, an Instructor at the Papua New Guinea Joint Staff College from 1972 to 1975 and then a Staff Officer at headquarters, 11 Task Force from 1975 to 1977.

Cyclone Tracy destroyed the assets of Darwin's two Army Reserve units, so they were temporarily de-activated while plans for a new surveillance unit were analysed. Three years later, the 7th Independent Rifle Company was raised and commanded by Pike from 30 June 1977 to 9 January 1981. He arrived in Darwin in June 1977, and by October had his complete Regular Army staff present in Darwin, including Warrant Officer Second Class (WO2) Bill Fisher as Company Sergeant Major (CSM). They completed their preliminary organisational work quickly enough to enable the first intake of 35 recruits to attend a 16-day recruit course in October; the unit was to have a ceiling of 200 personnel. The company was initially organised with Company Headquarters, two rifle platoons and other elements including a Pioneer Section based in Darwin. A rifle platoon was established in Alice Springs in May 1978, and a fourth rifle platoon was raised at Nhulunbuy in April 1979. By July 1979, the total posted strength was 166, with an effective strength of 141, including a Regular Army cadre of one officer and five non-commissioned officers.

The Company was a Field Force Command unit, although with the Commander 7th Military District (7MD) (Northern Territory) his local representative, and it is a tribute to Alan Pike that he was able to effectively raise and command his unit despite the often conflicting requirements brought about by an unclear command status.

The Company was given the Freedom of Entry to the City of Darwin on 7 July 1979; other highlights at this time included a two-week exercise in the Victoria River valley in August 1978 and a nine-day patrolling exercise in the upper reaches of the Fitzmaurice River involving extensive use of Army helicopters. In another nine-day patrolling and survival training exercise, conducted on Croker Island and the Cobourg Peninsula, small parties lived with Aboriginal outstation communities under the instruction of a tribal elder. The Company used a variety of methods of patrolling and insertion, including vehicle, helicopter and even horses, with an Animal Transport Section being raised to help it achieve the specialised reconnaissance and surveillance tasks it was expected to perform. A remount area was established beside a riding school at the 12-Mile south of Darwin, and the school's owner was hired to train soldiers to ride. During 1980, the Animal Transport Section had undergone a training camp in the Daly River area, and a civilian horse-breaker demonstrated techniques to the soldiers. The men were then given unbroken horses and were required to break them in and then carry out an exercise using those horses. After further training exercises and patrols, the men came to develop standard kit and procedures and, at the height of training, some 35 horses were in use.

During the 1970s and particularly after Cyclone Tracy, the Army was developing a concept for an increased representation in north Australia, not so much quantitative at that time but qualitative, determining an Army component the size and composition of which could be deployed and sustained in a time of financial restrictions. Pike's 7IRC was the beginning of a concept which, given the tyranny of distance in northern Australia, recognised the consequential need for mobility at the expense of offensive capability and the need to utilise the local knowledge and expertise of local residents. The 7IRC was very much a precursor to the raising of the regimental-sized North West Mobile Force in 1981, and was never viewed as 'the final solution'. The tremendous success of NORFORCE in its first two years came about largely because it had a solid foundation of members who had served with Pike's 7IRC. He was described by one of his contemporaries at Headquarters 7MD as a 'long, lean, laconic individual who not only epitomised the archetypal Australian soldier but had the ability and enthusiasm to motivate his troops into actually enjoying life as they trained in infantry tactics'.

During Pike's command of the company, a detailed history of the wartime 2/1st North Australia Observer Unit, AIF, was published, and Pike recorded that this work contained the role which he hoped to be authorised for 7IRC, that of strategic reconnaissance and surveillance. By the end of Pike's incumbency, the company had a strength of 192 all ranks and was, he claimed, becoming 'the most successful army reserve unit in the Australian Army'; 7IRC was subsequently expanded and upgraded to a specialised surveillance regiment on 1 July 1981. Succeeded by Special Air Services Regiment veteran **Major Zoltan ('Zot') Simon** in early 1981, Pike subsequently served as a Staff Officer (Operations) at Headquarters Field Force Command, from which he oversaw the implementation of the regional forces concept and the raising of both NORFORCE and the Pilbara Regiment. He later lived in Queensland, maintaining his military commitment as an Army Reserve Ground Liaison Officer.

The Army List of Officers of the Australian Military Forces, vol 1, 31 July 1970; *Defence Force Journal*, 14: 15–30; *NORFORCE Newsletter*, various editions 1981–1983; personal correspondence and conversations with Lieutenant General Sir D B Dunstan AC KBE CB (ret'd), Lieutenant Colonel N N Forbes AM, Lieutenant Colonel A J George OBE (ret'd), Major P Herden, Lieutenant Colonel G Pound (ret'd), Major T Smith, Captain I Tibbits; Major A W Pike, records and press clippings (NORFORCE Museum); 7IRC Newsletter, 1977–1979; A Vane, *The Surveillance of Northern Australia*, 1979.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

PING QUE (c1837–1886), merchant and miner, was a native of Canton, China. Whether he came as headman with the first group of Chinese immigrants in 1874 on the ship *Vidar*, or as an independent merchant, is not clear. He was about thirty-seven years of age at the time.

He began mining operations at Union Reefs late in 1875, in partnership with a European miner, but later on his own account. By 1877, Ping Que had his headquarters and store at the Union. There he worked five separate mines, one, No. 5 South Union, being 45 metres deep, with hoisting done by a horse whim—by far the deepest mine on the Union at the time. Over the years, he seems to have averaged over one ounce of gold per ton.

When a labour shortage developed in 1877, **J G Knight**, Goldfields Warden, consulted Ping Que and included his recommendation in a report. This was the first reference to a Chinese merchant in an official report in the Territory. Whilst Ping Que was friendly with Knight, he was equally friendly with the leading miners of the time, such as Adam Johns and Charles Tennant. In fact, Johns once referred to him as 'the whitest man in the Territory'. In the event, Ping Que went to Singapore and engaged men on his own account. His scale of operations was considerable, exemplified by a joint venture with Tennant in which 200 Chinese were engaged to travel a considerable distance (on foot) carrying all necessary tools and supplies to the Driffield, a considerable distance from Pine Creek. As it transpired, little gold was recovered and while on the way back all the stores were lost in a flash flood—overall a disaster, but Ping Que's resources were more than sufficient to stand the loss.

Whilst his main headquarters were at the Union, as new fields were found or opportunity offered, Ping Que set up temporary headquarters at other places—Pine Creek in 1879, where he bought or leased the old telegraph battery, thence to the Margaret in 1880. Here he had two reefs, one very rich, yielding at one time 500 Pounds worth of gold from one bucket of stone. Returns were so good that in 1881 he took a year's holiday in China.

Ping Que's activities seem to have reached a peak in 1882–83. He then had mines extending from the Margaret and Union Reefs to Pine Creek, some of which he let on tribute to lesser Chinese merchants, managed a number of mines for W G Griffiths, and had several joint ventures going with miners such as Johns. He regularly employed sixty men at his No. 5 South Union mine, now 85 metres deep. Apart from mining, he operated stores and butcher's shops. With other residents on the goldfields, Ping Que depended on European teamsters to cart in their supplies from Southport, 160 to 240 kilometres away. When their charges soared to 45 Pounds a ton, Ping Que engaged one

hundred of his countrymen to cart loads up to 50 kilograms on their backs over the same route. This had the effect of lowering freight rates to more reasonable levels.

During 1882, **W J Sowden**, a journalist, accompanied a parliamentary delegation to the goldfields and recorded that Ping Que received the party with full celestial etiquette. He also referred to another merchant, Quong Wing Chong as ‘second only in wealth and power to the almighty Ping Que’. In 1883, Ping Que was a committee member of the Port Darwin Camp Progress Association and was appointed a member of the mining board.

All the evidence points to an assessment of Ping Que as an extraordinarily competent and astute businessman whose integrity was well known. Chinese and whites alike, miners and officials respected him. An official report records that after a year’s holiday in China in 1884, Ping Que was consulted by Government Resident **Parsons** about the likely trend of future Chinese immigration and his answer later proved to be remarkably correct.

Ping Que died suddenly in 1886 and was the subject of an obituary in the *Northern Territory Times*, the first obituary of a Chinese merchant in its pages. It concluded, ‘Ping Que will be missed by many who have profited by his experience and advice. For ourselves we can only express sorrow at the unexpected death of one of the pluckiest and straightest men it has been our lot to meet in the Northern Territory.’

Ping Que had applied for naturalisation in 1883. It was approved in October 1885 but he died before the formal certificate was issued.

T G Jones, *The Chinese in the Northern Territory*, 1988; W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as It Is*, 1882; SAPP, 72/1877 & 53/1886; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 1875–1886.

T G JONES, Vol 1.

PINK, OLIVE MURIEL (1884–1975), artist, planner, anthropologist and naturalist, was born in Hobart, Tasmania. Her parents appear to have instilled in her an interest in nature, intellectual honesty and a puritanical streak. By giving her the wonderfully improbable name Olive Pink, they almost certainly gave her a minor cross to bear and ensured a degree of eccentricity.

A good formal education was followed by training as an artist at the Hobart Technical College, where a fellow student was Harold Southern. At this time, too, she came to know the family of Admiral Sir Frederick Bedford, probably as a result of her parents’ associations. Shortly before the First World War she moved to Perth. By this time, Sir Frederick Bedford was governor of Western Australia and she spent some time in his household, possibly in an artist-teacher capacity. Coincidentally Harold Southern had moved to Perth, where he had become a chemist and it is evident that they had a warm friendship. However, when he enlisted at the outbreak of war and, as Captain Southern, was killed at Gallipoli, she was left with but a photograph and memories: she remained faithful to his memory throughout the rest of her life, self-contained and with no feelings of romantic love for any other man.

Harold Southern’s death, although no doubt a great blow, in a sense freed her to become more completely an independent spirit. At the same time, she needed an occupation and it appears that she did a course in draughting or town planning. She moved from Western Australia and was employed as a tracer with the Public Works Department and the Railways Commission in New South Wales. Her willingness to question and inquire seems to have led to her first clashes with red-tape-bound bureaucrats at this time. However, Sydney was also a very stimulating place for her. There is a possibility that Ellis Rowan’s flower paintings and her independent travels had appealed to her in both Western Australia and New South Wales, and it is certain that accounts of Daisy Bates’s work with Aborigines in remote areas had intrigued her. She attended lectures in anthropology and, as her attendance was via the Workers’ Education Association, it is possible that, in at least an intellectual way, trade unionism and the ideals of communism had an appeal to her. That her interest in anthropology was considerable is indicated by the fact that, for a time, she became secretary of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales.

In 1926 and 1927, she travelled to Ooldea, on the Nullarbor Plain to visit Daisy Bates. The latter’s work with Aborigines was already legendary and, given her anthropological leanings, Olive Pink must have expressed interest in Aboriginal life. Daisy Bates’s only recollection of her, though, was of a ‘jolly little artist called Miss Pink’.

There can be little doubt that her own formal studies in anthropology and this visit to Daisy Bates stimulated Olive Pink’s interests still further. She travelled to Alice Springs in 1930 and applied to the Australian National Research Council (ANRC) to do research in social anthropology in Central Australia. **Professor A P Elkin**, chairman of the Anthropological Committee of the ANRC, agreed to the proposal and requested that she study ‘the local and totemic organization of the northern division of the Aranda tribe’. This she did, over a fourteen-month period in 1933 and 1934, both in bush camps and whilst convalescing from illness, and in addition was the first anthropologist to make similar studies of the Ilpirra Warlpiri in their own country. The work was scientifically presented—an important point with her—extremely well received and published in a respected journal of anthropological science, *Oceania*, in 1936.

Every indication is that she was intellectually brilliant—a person capable of gaining a grasp of languages quickly and crystallising her observations and perceptions into scientific papers of genuine merit. And yet, at the same time, there was the counterbalancing force of her own prickly personality and an honesty that, while laudable, caused her problems. A fellow member of the Anthropological Society, of which Professor Elkin was president, recalled her in unflattering terms: ‘Miss Pink was one of those crosses generous academics like Dr Elkin had to endure, for the eccentric lady had been a student of his, and trailed him devotedly. Sometimes mistaken on College Street for Daisy Bates, she affected the same dust-dragging Edwardian skirts, starched shirt fronts, poke bonnet and, of course, a pink parasol. We were all much relieved when she took off for Alice Springs.’ Even allowing for a degree of bias and exaggeration, there is a strong element of truth in the image, for it remained with her for the rest of her life, and was part of her initial impact in Central Australia.

During her time in the Ilpirra country, she became very ill, and had to be assisted back to Mount Doreen Station, some 350 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs, and eventually into Alice Springs and then to her home to recuperate. She managed, during this trying time, to find fault with Paddy Tucker, the cameleer who had done a great deal to assist her. At the 1935, Science Congress she gave a lecture entitled ‘Camouflage’ on culture contact which, although not stating names, referred to a well-known station family as one of her illustrations of people who were exploiting Aborigines. This did nothing to help her in her relationships in Central Australia for the station people had gone out of their way to assist her in her studies of the Ilpirra and had used their vehicle to transport her when she was very ill, to the point where she had stated that they had probably saved her life, and had at all times been courteous and helpful.

As a result of her lecture and an appeal at the 1935 Science Congress, widespread support by scientists was initially given to her proposal for a large reserve for the Warlpiri Aborigines. However, mining and cattle station interests, and a strangely dismissive report by the linguist T G H Strehlow, caused the reserve to be put aside. Olive Pink continued to fight for the reserve but, despite a degree of publicity until 1938, hers was eventually a lone voice on behalf of the Warlpiri.

Her ‘landowners’ and ‘culture contact’ papers were to be followed by ‘further accounts’ of both her Aranda and Ilpirra Warlpiri investigations, but these were never published. Her early enthusiasm was suddenly stilled, almost certainly because she took a strong moral stance over the need for the Warlpiri reserve rather than that she lost interest. Whatever the case, she cut her ties with the anthropological world after first clashing with many who had formerly been supportive of her. As time passed her reputation was to suffer, not because of the actual content of her papers or the nature of her studies, but because of wildly exaggerated and inaccurate accounts of her Warlpiri investigations hedged around with more accurate accounts of her relationships with government and other officials. Her fellow member of the Anthropological Society Committee wrote: ‘[She] became the bane of patrol officers, especially when deciding to study Warlpiri tribal life which, while investigating their copulation on a night of full moon, led her to be all but fatally clubbed. Thereafter, denied entry to government reserves, she scrawled endless letters of abuse to Canberra, Professor Elkin and our committee.’

Miss Pink, as she was to be known to most people throughout her adult life, was as determined and intellectually able as ever. If the government and other anthropologists abandoned the Warlpiri people, she did not. Throughout most of the Second World War, she based herself approximately 450 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs at Thompson’s Rockhole, doing her best to assist the Warlpiri of the area and generally appreciating the Tanami Desert country. However, despite the remoteness of her locality, tensions developed with her nearest white Australian neighbours; she was not on speaking terms with the miners 120 kilometres to the west or with the cattle station men 300 kilometres east!

In 1946, with the Aborigines of the Tanami Desert and fringe country suffering malnutrition and other ailments because of a severe drought and the inability of government agencies to service the various remote localities, the majority of Aborigines were trucked in to the Yuendumu area 280 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs. Miss Pink, with no reason now to stay at Thompson’s Rockhole, was also assisted in to Yuendumu and then to Alice Springs. The Alice now became her home and, for the rest of her life, she exercised her rights as a citizen in a democracy to the fullest. Her ability to achieve what she wanted was legendary, if at times at the expense of the nerves of those who had to deal with her, including the police who called her ‘Public Nuisance Number One’. Visitors whom she appreciated were treated with ‘graciousness and charm’, and she had the patience and organising ability to draw support for worthy projects that included the establishment of a museum and also of the Australian Arid Regions Native Flora Reserve. However, an unswerving adherence to her own perception of things often alienated people and, in addition, the museum (which eventually closed) and the flora reserve were in many ways ahead of their time. Her interest in native plants, for instance, which was the basis for the flora reserve, was only casually shared by some people. On one occasion a man who had the job of driving her 1000 kilometres joked about the appearance of some scraggly gums soon after leaving Alice Springs-, for the remaining 950 kilometres Miss Pink averted her head and refused to talk to him.

She fought for the rights of Aborigines appearing in court when it was unfashionable to be interested in their rights but, by interrupting court proceedings to indicate that the court was not taking sufficient account of tribal law, drew the ire of presiding magistrates. She was fined for contempt of court on one occasion but decided to make a stand and go to gaol instead; the head gaoler was so worried at the prospect of having her under his care that he paid the fine—much to her chagrin. Another senior government official, legend has it, had frosted glass erected and a back exit door especially constructed so that he could escape her attentions when she called—which was often. She had a remarkable ability to get under the thickest of bureaucratic hides, partly by her extreme persistence and partly by appealing to federal government officials in Canberra at the same time as appealing to local officials, thus ensuring that her letters went on file and that pressure was exerted. Her correspondence on file in Canberra is believed to be ‘feet thick’ and its diversity must be amazing. Although many of her comments and criticisms were reasonable, they were not always so, and the more extreme and exaggerated accounts of her tend to prevail. It was reasonable to request assistance from the Director of Animal Industry to help eradicate rabbits from the flora reserve, but not necessary to write to the Minister for Territories in Canberra and the Administrator of the Northern Territory beforehand. Some doubt must exist over the need to request the Minister for Territories for a fence about the flora reserve, despite her animosity toward the chairman of the Northern Territory Reserves Board, whom she considered a ‘lime-lighting squanderers of Government money’; and to have aeroplanes reroute their flights on the basis that the pilots were voyeurs deliberately flying over her unroofed bathroom, or the Government Resident acting on her behalf over the incorrect size of a bottle of sauce received in her weekly grocery order

(with the threat of involving the Governor-General of Australia), made wonderful true stories, but display a degree of perversity.

When she died in 1975 and, at her request, was buried in an unmarked grave in the Alice Springs cemetery, as interesting, colourful and controversial a figure as has ever lived in Australia was 'laid to rest'. And yet, although her pen and her voice were stilled forever, her spirit lives on. Her records assisted the Warlpiri to gain title to their traditional country and, in 1985, the Olive Pink Flora Reserve was officially opened.

Olive Muriel Pink—Miss Pink—was an intelligent, complex person. Her interests in art, town planning, anthropology, Australian arid flora and the democratic rights of citizens were deep interests and involved some excellent work. Unfortunately, a great deal of her anthropological work remains unpublished, so that a true perspective is not possible. In fighting for her right to express herself she often intruded on the time of others to the point of irritation and, in her means of expression, undoubtedly filled the role of eccentric—a very sane, intelligent eccentric who usually achieved what she desired.

G Farwell, *Rejoice in Freedom*, 1976; M Hazzard (Introduction) & H Hewson (Notes), *Flower Paintings of Ellis Rowan*, 1982; G Michael, *A Man from Plahgoman*, 1983; F O'Grady, *Francis of Central Australia*, 1977; O Pink, 'The Landowners In The Northern Division of the Aranda Tribe, Central Australia', *Oceania* vol 6, 1936; J Toohey, *Land Claim by Warlpiri and Kartengaruru-Kurintji*, 1979; *Canberra Times*, 1938; *Sunday Mail*, 13 November 1983; *Centralian Advocate*, 13 February 1985; R G Kimber, Unpublished notes and tape-recordings; AA Darwin, CRS 8, Item 8/30; IA 1070, CRS F1, Item 36/577.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 1.*

PITCHENEDER, NORMA CATHERINE (BILLIE) nee HARRIS also NICHOLS (1916–), shop assistant, manager, driver, cook, caterer and community worker, was born in Fremantle, Western Australia on 16 May 1916, the second child and only daughter of James Arthur Harris and his wife Lillian May. Her parents ran a contracting business supplying ships at the port of Fremantle with food and other requirements. Norma attended primary school and high school in Fremantle and then took her first job in the shoe department of a large store in Perth, Boan's Emporium. It was there that she acquired the nickname Billie, which she happily adopted. Billie changed jobs several times, working in various shoe departments in Perth, commuting from Fremantle daily.

Finding the routine of a city shop assistant rather dull, Billie was attracted to a newspaper advertisement for someone to manage a miners' mess at Marble Bar, in the north of Western Australia. With encouragement from her father, who believed that experience was the best form of education, Billie applied for the job and, despite a total lack of experience, was successful. In Marble Bar, she met her first husband, whom she married in May 1939. However, the marriage lasted only briefly and soon Billie, then Billie Nichols, moved to Port Hedland, Western Australia, where she helped to run the Pier Hotel. There she met commercial travellers who told exciting stories of a more exotic life in Darwin and the Top End of the Northern Territory. So interested was Billie that she spent a holiday in Darwin from October to December 1941, unfortunately on the eve of the Pacific war. In mid December she was advised to leave the town, so she flew back to Perth via Broome. Nevertheless, her time in Darwin had already persuaded her that 'if I was ever to settle permanently it would be in Darwin.'

But in the meantime there was a war on. In June 1942, Billie joined the Australian Women's Army Service as a transport driver, training and serving in Melbourne. However, the climate did not suit her and her health suffered. After a short stint picking peaches and apricots at Cobram in northern Victoria, Billie returned to Perth and received her discharge. She then worked in a friend's shop, but again disliked the routine and hankered after tropical Darwin.

She returned to Darwin on 18 February 1948. Billie found a job at **Snell's** contracting company, working in the mess, helping to cook for about 90 men each day. A local Buffalo Lodge asked her to cater for a function, which was a successful venture. Several catering jobs for various other lodges followed. Out of this grew the idea of a catering business. Billie ran her own business for 12 years from a small house she purchased and a small van. A major responsibility was supplying food for the infant, primary and high schools in Darwin, catering for approximately 300 to 400 children per day. At the same time, she continued to work at the mess, which meant very long and tiring working days.

In addition to her paid employment, from the early 1950s Billie gradually took on various kinds of fund raising and charity work. She helped to raise funds for the Darwin Primary School by means of a 'Children's Frolic' and she worked for the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Because she was blind in one eye, Billie's mother in Western Australia was involved in the Braille Society; as a result of this connection Billie undertook to sell badges on a corner in Darwin for the Braille Society, which developed into an annual appeal for the Society. She also raised money for a guide dog for a blind Darwin man. The many other community groups for whom she worked included the Country Women's Association, the Red Cross, the Lions and Lionesses Clubs, the Pensioners' Association, the Salvation Army and the Girl Guides. Among the many fund raising activities she organised were a beer barrel rolling contest, which involved several bank managers rolling kegs down Knuckey Street, a lawn mower derby in Smith Street, a broom and rolling pin throwing contest and a tug-o'-war in Raintree Park. These were all successful in providing enjoyment and entertainment as well as in raising funds for various causes. As a result of Cyclone Tracy in December 1974, the Chinese temple in Bennett Street was ruined. Billie stood outside Woolworths collecting donations to the Chung Wah Society to allow the temple to be repaired. In 1987, she raised thousands of Dollars to enable Vietnam veterans from Darwin to attend a victory march in Sydney. Over many years, Billie became a familiar figure outside Woolworths or alongside the highway, selling raffle tickets or collecting donations. She was popularly known as 'Auntie Billie'.

In 1961, Billie met her second husband, Peter Pitcheneder, who worked as a ship's cook. Peter had become friendly with Billie's relations in Western Australia, who sometimes asked him to deliver parcels to Billie. On one

occasion, Peter's ship was delayed by a strike and Billie offered to show him the sights of Darwin. By the end of the week, they had decided to marry. Billie found her husband a job as a cook in a hospital, where he worked for 16 years in positions of increasing responsibility. Peter insisted that Billie give up her catering business on marriage, but she continued her charitable work. They moved to Howard Springs, taking up a 0.2 hectare block.

Peter died suddenly of a heart attack in March 1977. Feeling her loss deeply, Billie decided to accept the advice of friends to move from Howard Springs into town where she would be nearer the people she knew and could become more involved in community work again. In 1981, Billie moved into a new flat off Parap Road. The Housing Commission built the block, which was named Pitcheneder Court in recognition of Billie's contribution to the community.

For her work, Billie Pitcheneder received many honours and acknowledgements. Popular recognition of her efforts was shown in 1961, for instance, when large crowds attended her wedding. **Jim Bowditch**, Editor of the *Northern Territory News* commented: 'They came because Billie has becom[e] a legend in her own life through unflinching kindness to others. They came to wish well a person who has never wished anything but good for all others. So many people have been touched by the untiring kindness of this woman; the blind, the poor, the ill and the weak. Her ample generosity [w]as given freely to all.' Official recognition came in 1977 with a British Empire Medal (BEM) and a Queen's Jubilee Medal. In acknowledgement of her long membership and energetic contribution to raising funds, she also received Life Memberships of the Braille Society, the Country Women's Association, the Legion of Ex Servicemen and Women, the German Club, the Guide Dogs for the Blind Association and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In 1980, the Darwin Australia Day Committee named her Citizen of the Year. In the following year, she received a Citizen Award. In 1990, she received the Prize for Outstanding Voluntary Community Service from the Casuarina Community Foundation.

While her health was good, Billie kept up with an exhausting round of community activities, in spite of an increasing weight problem. However, in 1988 she fell in her flat and badly damaged her leg, necessitating several operations and long stays in hospital. This of course restricted her activities, but even within this much-reduced ambit, she continued to work, from home, for charity.

Northern Territory News, 10 October 1961, 13 June 1977, 29 January 1983; interviews with B Pitcheneder, 16 June 1990, 12 February 1992.

CHRISTINE DORAN, Vol 2.

PLAYFORD, (EDWARD) COPLEY (COP) (1864–1950), surveyor, Special Magistrate, public servant, and acting Administrator of the Northern Territory was born on 22 March 1864 in Adelaide, South Australia. The second son of Thomas and Mary Jane Playford, his father (1837–1915) served twice as Premier of South Australia (1887–1889 and 1890–1892) and was a Senator in the first federal parliament (1901–1907) and Minister for Defence in the second Deakin ministry (1905–1907). Thomas Playford's grandson, Sir Thomas Playford, was Premier of South Australia for a record term (1938–1965).

Playford (known throughout his life as 'Copley' or 'Cop' to his many friends) was educated at Prince Alfred's College. After completing his training as a surveyor, he was employed as a government surveyor by the South Australian Department of Lands and surveyed the towns of Copley (Leigh Creek) and Ediacara in northern South Australia in 1891, before transferring to the Northern Territory branch of the Surveyor-General's office.

On 4 July 1888, he married a distant cousin, Emily Sarah Tomlinson Welbourn. There were three daughters, Daisy, Ruby and Marjory, each of whom married and had large families.

Playford was very tall and thin, big-boned, angular, tousle-headed, moustached with a long bushy beard and a wild unkempt appearance. He was unconventional, enjoyed male company and consuming copious quantities of alcohol, and cared little for appearances and conventions. He was a fine horseman, and a man with a reputation for being scrupulously fair and honest. An intrepid bushman, he was reputed to have been able to find his way in any part of the Territory, and to have personally travelled over its whole length and breadth. He was a renowned raconteur and bon vivant, and was possessed of a sardonic sense of humour.

On 22 July 1896, he was appointed Chief Warden of the Goldfields and surveyor at Burrundie, Northern Territory. On 27 July 1898, he was appointed a Special Magistrate, having earlier been appointed a Justice of the Peace. On 20 September 1898, he was appointed Inspector for the Central Board of Health. On 8 September 1909, he was appointed Chief Warden in and for the Northern Territory. He maintained each of these positions after South Australia handed over the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth on 1 January 1911. Thereafter he held a number of other positions including Director of Lands and Mines (1921–1925), Director of Mines (1927–1930) Deputy Administrator (1925) and Acting Administrator for the Northern Territory (1926–1927). At the time of his retirement (1 October 1930) he still held the positions of Director of Mines, Chief Warden of the Goldfields and Special Magistrate, and was described by the Government Resident, **Lieutenant Colonel R H Weddell**, as having 'displayed conspicuous ability, and integrity and tact,' and to 'have set a standard of wisdom, honesty and courtesy in (his) dealings which is an inspiration to all'.

In 1907, Playford travelled to China, Japan, and Hong Kong with his parents. In 1913, he travelled to Toronto, Canada, where he presented a paper on the geology of the Northern Territory of Australia to the International Geological Congress that he had prepared jointly with **Dr H I Jensen**, the Territory's Chief Geologist and later Director of Mines.

Playford was not only a popular man, he was a great survivor. He avoided being embroiled in the problems of the **Gilruth** administration and was the only judicial officer to receive a favourable comment by Justice Norman Ewing in the 1920 Royal Commission into Northern Territory Administration. His reputation for fairness was such that in 1918 he was appointed by the Director of Mines, TG Oliver, to chair an enquiry into complaints concerning

the management of the Government Battery at Maranboy because Oliver wished to avoid any suspicion of bias on his own part. He noted that ‘the equity of [Playford’s] verdicts, either as Warden or Special Magistrate, have never been questioned. The parties in any case brought before him for decision, go there with a feeling that justice will be given without fear or favour’. Yet **Justice Roberts** thought little of his judicial skills, observing in 1923 that ‘he was never a good magistrate and is gradually becoming impossible’. Nevertheless, the community perception was otherwise, and such of his work that remains indicates that, for a layman, he had a sound grasp of legal principles and was not afraid to reach unpopular conclusions if the evidence warranted it. Playford was involved as a magistrate in hearing a number of very unpopular charges. In 1919, he heard charges against the union leaders **Harold Nelson** and Robert Balding for assaulting **Inspector Waters** at the time of the Government House riots in 1918. The charges were clearly politically motivated. Playford dismissed the charges (quite correctly) on technical legal grounds. Subsequently further charges were brought differently based. Playford this time convicted and imposed small fines instead of committing for trial to the Supreme Court, despite warnings in the Parliament (published in the *Northern Territory Times*) that Nelson could face 60 years’ gaol. The Supreme Court also on technical legal grounds later set these convictions aside. In 1921, he was involved in the gaoling of protesters involved in the ‘no taxation without representation campaign’ and in 1930 with the conviction of protestors involved in the sit-in at Government House.

After his retirement, Playford returned to Adelaide, travelling overland. For a time he amused himself writing laconic articles for *The Honorary Magistrate*, but his spirit for adventure soon called and he sailed to England as a passenger in a windjammer via Cape Horn, later remarking that he was never happier than when in a storm at sea in a sailing ship. He died, aged 86, in Adelaide on 17 September 1950.

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DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

PLOWMAN, ROBERT BRUCE (1886–1966), Presbyterian patrol padre, administrator, businessman, public servant and author, was born in South Melbourne on 25 October 1886, the eldest son of William and Margaret Plowman. He left school at the age of 11 to help support his mother and the younger children. At the age of 23, he enrolled at Scotch College, Melbourne, to study the subjects required to commence training for the Ministry of the Presbyterian Church. At the end of the second year, his funds were exhausted and having applied to the Home Mission Committee for acceptance as a ‘Home Missionary’ (lay pastor), he was appointed to Balmoral, a parish in the Western District of Victoria.

On 26 September 1912, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia appointed **John Flynn** Superintendent of a ‘Special Home Mission Area’ to include the Northern Territory and adjacent regions, soon known as the Australian Inland Mission (AIM). Plowman was present at the historic launching of the Mission and heard the appeal for a volunteer for a new type of ‘nomadic ministry’, later known as ‘Patrol Padre’. Plowman was so stirred by what he believed was the answer to his dream that he sought out Flynn and offered himself for immediate appointment. Flynn was impressed by his eagerness but the Mission Board was seeking an Ordained Minister. It was the Treasurer, a shrewd Scot, who clinched the appointment when he suddenly asked: ‘How many senses are there? Six. What’s the sixth? Horse sense. You’ll do.’ Plowman’s offer of his services in a voluntary capacity for five years was accepted with the proviso that he would receive all his expenses.

For the first year he acted as Flynn’s locum with the Smith of Dunesk Mission, a semi patrol from the northern Flinders Ranges to Maree and beyond in South Australia. While Plowman was exercising his ‘horse sense’ seen in the sensitivity of his initial contacts with the copper miners and pastoralists, Flynn had freedom to plan his mammoth assignment. In January 1913, Flynn set out from Oodnadatta by mail coach to Horseshoe Bend and then with ‘Texas’, the next mailman, by camel to Alice Springs. After conferring with **Sergeant Stott**, **Ida Standley** and many others, Flynn returned ready to establish the groundwork of his ‘Mantle of Safety’, a bush hospital and a padre as the boundary rider patrolling the area served by the ‘Nursing Hostel’, the title he later used.

In 1914, conjointly with the appointment of Nurse Jean Finlayson, Sister Bett’s replacement at Oodnadatta, South Australia, Flynn inaugurated his first Patrol Ministry with Plowman. Plowman’s patrol area stretched from William Creek, Arkaringa and Granite Downs in the south to Tennant Creek Telegraph Station in the north, encompassing the area served by the Oodnadatta Hospital and the future one at Alice Springs. The previous November Flynn had sent Plowman to Oodnadatta with 160 Pounds to buy camels, riding and packsaddles and all the equipment needed for months on the trail. Harry Gepp, an experienced bushman and local storekeeper, selected five good camels and initiated Plowman into the basic skills needed to handle them.

Plowman arrived back in Oodnadatta on 13 February 1914 from his first annual leave in Melbourne, and 10 days later set out on a ‘trial’ patrol with a local stockman, Billy Gregg, visiting stations between Oodnadatta and William Creek. All went well and on 10 April, he was back in Oodnadatta to make final plans for his first trip north. Having formed a friendship with **Bob Purvis**, a well-known Centralian bushman and later cattleman who was heading north, Plowman suggested that they travel together. Purvis, who became his life long friend,

remained with Plowman on this patrol until the last week. Plowman began this patrol on 27 April and arrived back at Oodnadatta on 14 September ‘both self and camels very tired.’

They had travelled via Hamilton Bore and Federal Station, Blood’s Creek Store, Mount Dare Station, Charlotte Waters, New Crown Station, Old Crown Store, Horseshoe Bend, Alice Well Police Station, Maryvale Station, Mount Burrell Station, Henbury Station and Erldunda Station, then backtracked to Alice Springs via the Hugh River, Old Owen Springs Station and Heavitree Gap to the small township of Alice Springs (still known officially as Stuart). The patrol then continued to Arltunga and north, visiting the stations along the Overland Telegraph Line to the Tennant Creek Telegraph Station.

On his 1915 patrol, he extended his northern boundary with the inclusion of Hatches Creek wolfram miners and his western with the inclusion of Hermannsburg, Tempe Downs, Umbeara and Tieyon, the 1915 limits of white settlement.

Plowman’s diary demonstrates how he interpreted his role and set a pattern he developed with increasing sensitivity. He arrived in Alice Springs on Monday 15 June 1914 on his first northern visit and immediately ‘visited all the folk’ including Bond Springs and the Telegraph Station. On the Wednesday evening, he ‘put on a Magic Lantern picture show in the Old Store’ and at a Saturday picnic at Heavitree Gap, he gave the children camel rides. On Sunday 21 May, he conducted the first church service ever held in the township.

It was in Sandy Myrtle’s Glencoe Hotel on Sunday 28 June that he conducted the first church service ever held in Arltunga. An elderly character, Arthur Evans, who confessed that it was 40 years since he had been to church, produced an ancient phonograph with some cylindrical records of hymns. The first, ‘Son of my Soul’, scratched and crackled its way through with dubious aid to the singing, but the second, which turned out to be ‘Flannigan’s Wedding’, was greeted with ‘a roar of laughter which shook the room’.

It was also Sandy Myrtle who, when questioned about the yellow powder on the goat meat, said: ‘Insectbane! Holy Smoke! That’s for killing flies. That’s why I put it on. It keeps the flies off.’ The following week, at their cottage at the Arltunga Police Camp, Plowman baptised Mr and Mrs Ben Webb’s three boys, aged four, two and six weeks. The eldest boy was born at Oodnadatta and the other two with the help of an Aboriginal ‘midwife’. After the birth of the eldest boy, Mrs Webb did not see another white woman for three years! Her three boys lived to make a notable contribution to the Centralian cattle industry.

Plowman was aware of Sandy Myrtle’s complex character as a vindictive yet generous man—when it suited him. His real name was MacDonald, a member of the notorious ‘Ragged 13’ gang and a self confessed cattle duffer and horse thief whose ‘Glencoe Pub’ came under the scrutiny of the authorities from time to time. It was to Plowman’s credit that knowing this he had a remarkable capacity to accept each man as he found him and win mutual respect. He recognised the hard life that shaped each man’s character and by his acceptance drew a response from many to their better nature, seen in an unpretentious diary entry on his return to Alice Springs: ‘Tuesday 18th. August. Went to Alice Springs. Also found that “Texas” [Jim Carter] had a fall from camel fortnight previously & was still very bad. Went and camped with him in old kitchen “Myrtle Villa”. Suffering from shock, broken arm & drink, but made courageous rally, gave up the drink and pulled himself together. End of Alice Springs Tennant Creek trip. 680 miles, 5 weeks, 25 men met. Saturday 22nd. Still attending Texas. Monday 24th. Spent most of time with Texas who was making good recovery.’ His deepest compassion was with the few, and often lonely women, who like Mrs Webb, Mrs Bloomfield and Mrs Edward Hayes, found new hope and comfort in his visits.

Plowman’s unpublished handwritten diary is not only a day to day account of his journeys but records the names of every white man and the few white women who lived between Oodnadatta and Tennant Creek Telegraph Station in the years 1914 to 1917. He was a layman who conducted a simple ‘church’ service when asked, as he did with baptisms, marriages and funerals. He taught children and some adults how to write and read and answered letters. He could give ‘first aid’ and ‘doctor’ a sick or saddle sore camel, tune a piano, cut hair, mend harness and soon learned how to be useful in the cattle muster and camp: ‘Wed. 5th May, [1915] Dinnertime Well. Made up Taylor’s accounts for Income Tax purpose, hard job. Married John Hamilton Reid, 34 yrs to Zoe Ross, 21. Wedding took place under bough shed.’ Though serious by nature, his sense of humour is evidenced by the relish with which he recounted his experience when conducting the first church service ever held at Arltunga.

Plowman’s longest patrol lasted six months. His permanent ‘camel boy’, selected on the recommendation of Mrs Ida Standley, was Dick Gillen, a part Aboriginal lad whom he claimed ‘was the best friend a man ever had.’ Again and again, ‘my tender footed Kabool’ or ‘Ameer’ became footsore, and he and Dick took turns at walking long distances. During his four years at Oodnadatta, he pushed himself relentlessly. He sought out every battler trying to make a living on the utmost fringes of settlement. Though entitled to annual leave, he remained on his patrol for two years without a break in 1915 and 1916.

Several of his diary entries in 1917 indicate the strain resulting from the long years on patrol with little rest and no medical or dental attention: ‘August 1st. [Hatches Creek] Intended leaving, but not well decided to rest for few days. 4th to 6th. resting & visiting. Was appointed by Hatches Creek miners special representative to visit Minister for Home Affairs to put before him claims and needs of the wolfram miners. Also given a letter of authority to Minister signed by all the men. Agreed to do so. Tuesday 7th. Got up before daylight and away before sunrise.’

Plowman finally broke down at Bonney Well. His diary ended there with these last scribbled entries, and a footnote added later at Oodnadatta: ‘Saturday 11th. [August]. Left [Tennant Creek] after breakfast. Dick riding Ameer sulky and gave lot trouble. Reached Kelly Well sundown water unfit use full of birds. 30 miles. Saturday 12th. Rough day threatening storms. Pushed on to Bonney Well & camped about 2 miles up Bonnie [sic] Ck. from well. Rigged fly no rain. 35 miles. Unable to finish diary owing to getting nervous breakdown, accompanied by insomnia. **Rev. Kingsley Patridge** came North to Blood’s Creek and we travelled back to Oodnadatta together.’

Plowman had previously arranged to meet Partridge, his successor, at Blood's Creek to initiate him into the handling of the camels. He had travelled part of the way from Bonney Well with Harry Brookes the mailman. After returning south, he stayed with friends in South Australia for a time, during which he wrote to Flynn with an account of his journey back from Bonney Well and assuring him of his restored health.

He was not only Flynn's first Patrol Padre, but also set a standard and demonstrated a sensitivity to the task that convinced Flynn that his concept of a 'nomadic' ministry was justified.

Plowman and Jane Lillian Sinclair, a member of the Malvern Presbyterian Church in Melbourne, were married on 18 June 1918. They moved to Tasmania, where he took up appointment as Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Secretary at Queenstown. After moving to Bendigo in Victoria, he worked at a relative's newsagency. Some time later, he joined a real estate firm, a business that set the pattern for much of his later life.

While his children were still young, he had a complete physical collapse attributed to the long-term effect of an abscessed molar and arthritis. His medical treatment included a long period in bed, which appeared to have had an adverse effect, but, whatever the cause, he suffered a long and painful paralysis in his movements. During this time, he began a disciplined daily use of his hands by writing. With his strong will and the wonderful support of his wife he gradually recovered and returned to work.

It was during his recovery that he commenced writing the four published books relating to his experiences in Central Australia: *The Man from Oodnadatta*, *Camel Pads*, *The Boundary Rider* and the novel *Larapinta*.

Professor Walter Murdoch of the University of Western Australia wrote, 'inter alia', in his 1933 foreword to *The Man from Oodnadatta*: 'For my part, I find that my imagination does not respond very readily to statistical statements... but I have not ridden very long (on Kabool or Ameer) in the padre's company before becoming vividly aware of the brooding immensity of the scene. But the greater wonder is the little company of men and women to whom he introduces us... who are, taking them as a whole, singularly free from the meaner vices, and singularly rich in the root virtues of hardihood, courage, generosity and loyalty to one another... "The Man from Oodnadatta" will then be an historic document of great value, because of its unswerving fidelity to contemporary fact.'

Plowman was elected an Elder at Saint Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Bendigo, and resumed his honorary work as a lay preacher. He was President of the Bendigo Musical, Elocutionary and Literary Society from 1937 to 1938 and 1939 to 1940.

At the outbreak of war in 1939, he was appointed by the Premier of Victoria to work with the State Evacuation Committee. This was followed by his appointment to the Victorian Housing Commission staff, where he was responsible for country land acquisitions for Commission homes. Plowman died on 26 August 1966 in his 80th year at Lumeah Private Hospital in Melbourne.

W S McPheat, *John Flynn*, 1963; R B Plowman, *The Man from Oodnadatta*, 1934; Plowman's diary, Australian Inland Mission records, National Library of Australia; family records held by Plowman's daughter, J Whitla.

GRAEME BUCKNALL, Vol 2.

POIGNANT, AXEL (1906–1986), bush worker, photographer and author, was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1906. His father was Swedish and he grew up in Sweden. However, he was eligible, through his English mother, to migrate to Australia under one of the last schemes to recruit British boys to work on the land. He arrived in Sydney in 1926 and for the first four years, the young migrant's energies were absorbed by the mechanics of survival as he moved between the city and the backblocks of New South Wales. He soon learnt at first hand the harsh realities of the bush worker's life, but, gradually, he turned to photography as a way of making a living.

His formative years as a photographer were spent in Perth, Western Australia, where he tried to extend the range of his work beyond commercial portraiture, and he became deeply absorbed in nature photography, an interest he shared with close friends Norman Hall and Vincent Serventy. He quickly rejected the pictorialist aesthetic in favour of the 'new' or 'modern' vision, which was technically enabled by the development of small, manoeuvrable cameras such as the Leica. This was an approach he shared with Hal Missingham, and they exhibited together in 1941 in a show they called 'New Directions in Photography'.

The following year, after the bombing of Darwin, it was decided to repair the wells along the Canning Stock Route in case it was necessary to move the cattle south. Poignant joined the working party for a time and it was in the photographs he took on that journey that his sensibilities and skills coalesced in a singular directness of vision. The portraits of the Aborigines met along the way are witness not only to their positive social role as pastoral workers but also to moments in personal lives. Yet it was to be five years before any of these photographs were shown publicly. In 1947, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Newcastle, New South Wales, the portrait of the 'Aboriginal mother and newborn baby' was awarded a gold medal for photography.

His first experience in the Northern Territory took place in 1945 when he was seconded from the Army to join the camera crew of the Ealing Studios' film, 'The Overlanders', directed by Harry Watt, which, coincidentally, was a re-enactment of the shifting of cattle from the north, under the threat of a possible Japanese invasion. The following year he returned to film '[Namatjira](#), the Painter' for the Commonwealth Film Unit. He and the director, Lee Robinson, travelled by camel to Uluru (Ayers Rock) and Katatjuta (The Olgas) with the artist and his family, including an elder called Nosepeg who had guided [Spencer](#) and [Gillen](#) at the turn of the century. It was a silent and non-intrusive way of travelling and, from their elevated position, the landscape was 'read' by Nosepeg and Namatjira. It was under this tutelage that Poignant came to understand the Aborigines' special relationship with their land. It was this knowledge which informed the way in which he photographed Aborigines thereafter, whether as station hands, fringe dwellers or, later, in the bush. In 1947, at a time when his monumental portrait

of the 'Aboriginal Stockman' taken on the Canning Stock Route in 1942 was being published for the first time, he was taking the sombre portrait of 'Paddy King of Ord River' against the background of his country. Neither this photograph or others like 'The Ration, Wave Hill', or 'The Gurindgi Stockmen's Camp, Wave Hill', which documented the harsh realities of Aboriginal life on the pastoral stations were published for some years. Poignant's photographs of Aborigines which found a market in magazines like *AM* were those that portrayed them as happy mission Aborigines or emphasised the exotic aspects of their culture—for instance his 'Cockatoo Totem Man, Melville Island.'

Back in the Territory in 1951, while working as an assistant to the *Life* magazine photographer, Fritz Goro, Poignant overflowed the Liverpool River area in Arnhem Land, and learnt of plans to establish a government station there. Believing that this would make a profound change in the lives of the people, he obtained permission to go there. In 1952, after many delays, and with the hot season already approaching, he and three Goulburn islanders, **Lamilami**, Winungoj and Little Mangkudja, were dropped by *Derna* on the west bank of the Liverpool River, near its mouth. He later recalled that 'I quickly sensed a change in our relationship—I was a guest in *their country*.' There was a freshwater well at Nakalarramba and within a short time some 60 people from the Kunibidji, Maung and Kunwinjku on the west bank, and the Nakkara and Gorrioni on the east bank were encamped there. Contrary to official opinion about what to expect, a rich traditional life was soon in full swing, and towards the end of his stay a *Rom*—a ceremony of diplomacy—was performed because 'somebody had come to photograph the people.' This self-defined assignment was probably Poignant's most important work.

Poignant was picked up by mission boat and taken to Milingimbi where he photographed a children's story. **Raiwalla** (who a decade earlier had been attached to **Donald Thomson** provided the storyline and Beulah Lowe, the teacher, translated it. First published as *Piccaninny Walkabout* (1957) it pioneered the form of the photographed narrative children's story; it won the Children's Book of the Year Award and a UNESCO commendation for promoting understanding between peoples. It was redesigned and republished as *Bush Walkabout* in 1972. A selection from the main body of his Arnhem Land work was exhibited in the group show, 'Six Photographers', held in Sydney in 1955 and a number of the photographs were reproduced in F D McCarthy's *Australia's Aborigines* (1957), but interest in his work done in Arnhem Land was limited. Poignant continued to make educational films; his filming of the kangaroo for the Department of the Interior won first prize in the children's section at Venice, Italy, in 1954 as 'Down in the Forest'.

In 1956, he returned to Europe, where until his death in 1986 he worked with his wife, Roslyn, from London as a base, at first filming for the British Broadcasting Corporation and then working as a freelance photojournalist. Thereafter he returned to Australia only irregularly. Together the Poignants made several more children's stories. In 1982, the first retrospective exhibition of his work was curated by Gael Newton for the Art Gallery of New South Wales. It subsequently toured the majority of Australian states, London and several cities in the United Kingdom. In 1986, a portfolio of his early work was included in 'Aspects of Perth Modernism', curated by Julian Goddard. In 1988, 'Some Connections' was shown at the Royal Society, London, and 'Axel Poignant—Australia—Land and People', was shown in Stockholm, Sweden; Roslyn Poignant curated both.

Poignant's close association with the Northern Territory took place in the immediate post Second World War decade. Working mainly on self-generated assignments, he set out to document not only a way of life that was beginning to pass, such as the last police patrol by camel in 1945 or the old prospector who lived on in the abandoned mine office at Arltunga in 1946, but also the new ventures such as Tuit's Tours and the Wildman River safari. But it is in the great many aerial views he took on Connellan Airways flights that perhaps best epitomise his personal response to the land itself. One of the first of these images to gain wide currency was 'The Artesian Bore, Gordon Downs', first published in *Fortune Magazine* in 1951 to signify Australia's wealth. Poignant was one of several artists and writers drawn to the Territory immediately after the Second World War as a locus for their explorations of the national psyche.

M Harpley, 'Axel Poignant', in D Bromfield (ed), *Aspects of Perth Modernism 1929–1942*, 1986; L Lamilami, *Lamilami Speaks: An Autobiography*, 1974; H L LeGuay (ed), *Australian Photography*, 1978; H Missingham & A Poignant, *New Directions in Photography*, 1941; G Newton, *Silver and Grey*, 1980, *Axel Poignant*, 1982; A Poignant, *Bush Animals of Australia*, 1948, *Piccaninny Walkabout*, 1957, *The Improbable Kangaroo and Other Australian Animals*, 1965, *Animals of Australia*, 1967, *Bush Walkabout*, 1972 & 1974; A Poignant & R Poignant, *Kaleku*, 1972, *Children of Oropiro*, 1976; O Zeigler, *Australian Photography 1947, 1947*.

ROSLYN POIGNANT, Vol 2.

POLICE BOB: see **ARRARBI**

POLICEMAN JACK: see **KWALBA**

POPE, CUTHBERT JOHN (1887–1959), was born at Tring, Hertfordshire, England, on 2 March 1887, son of the Reverend A F Pope and his wife Katherine, *nee* Rose. He was educated at Winchester and served on HMS *Britannia* as a Naval Cadet from 1902 to 1903. Until 1914 he had various postings, including HM Ships *Euryalus*, *Fantome* and *Torch*. In *Euryalus* Pope first served on the Australian station in 1904–05. In January 1914, Pope was loaned to the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) for duty at the Naval College and other shore service. In October 1914, he went back to sea as navigation officer on HMAS *Sydney* and held that post when *Sydney* destroyed the German merchant cruiser *Emden* in November of that year. Pope married Leslie Grant, daughter of Grant Cooper, in September 1918.

After five years on loan from the Royal Navy, Pope transferred as a Lieutenant Commander to the RAN in March 1919.

Between the two world wars, he held a variety of shore and seagoing posts, gaining promotion to Commander in 1921 and Captain in 1929. He was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War. In October 1939, he saw service again with the Royal Navy, commanding HMS *California* in the north Atlantic from November 1939 to December 1941. Returned to Australia when the Japanese entered the war in December 1941, he was promoted Commodore and appointed Naval Officer in Charge, Northern Territory, in place of Captain **E P Thomas**. Pope arrived in Darwin on 20 February 1942, to find it devastated by the heavy Japanese air raids of the previous day. He took up his command on 23 February. The navy had borne up well during the raids but Pope found himself forced to send some shore-based personnel south with what he called ‘anxiety neurosis’. He also had to cope with the disorganisation caused by the wrecking of the Darwin wharf and the sinking of eight ships, exercising firm control in the cause of restoring order. During 1942, under imminent threat of invasion, his only significant seagoing force was the slow, lightly armed corvettes of the 24th Minesweeping Flotilla, used mainly on escort duty for convoys between Thursday Island and Darwin; and, as Pope complained, he never knew when one or more of his ships might be detached for more urgent duty in New Guinea waters. Ships from the 24th Flotilla and a few smaller vessels also took part in short-lived attempts, in July–September 1942, to occupy the Kai and Aru Islands and carried out support missions for Australian Independent Companies engaged in a guerrilla war on Japanese-occupied Timor.

In the latter cause, Pope became involved in controversy at the end of 1942. Only destroyers had the speed to stand off the Timor coast out of sight of Japanese reconnaissance aircraft during the day, run in at night, unload supplies and men, load again and be beyond reach of aerial attack by morning. But when, in September 1942, the destroyer *Voyager* went ashore at Betano Bay, Timor, Pope had no replacement and took the risk of sending two corvettes on the resultant rescue mission. Both escaped unscathed. Still, without a replacement for *Voyager*, Pope attempted to repeat his earlier success by sending two corvettes and a smaller vessel to take off 2/2 Independent Company and Portuguese civilians at the end of November. But Japanese aircraft found the corvette *Armidale* on 1 December and sank her with the loss of 87 lives. Pope’s decision came under scrutiny at the resultant board of inquiry. Pope wrote in defence of his action: ‘We took many naval risks and incurred great losses in supporting the garrisons at Tobruk and Malta and passing convoys to Russia under incessant air attack. I considered this operation, though on a much smaller scale, as a similar operation comparable in importance and accepted all known risks.’

The Naval Board endorsed his view. Yet, only four days after *Armidale*’s end, Pope asked for and received a destroyer for the rescue mission. She was the Dutch vessel *Tjerk Hiddes*; and, in three high-speed Darwin–Timor runs between 10 and 19 December, she completed the mission without sustaining a scratch.

At the end of 1942 Pope left Darwin for a new appointment, as commander of the Western Australian shore base, HMAS *Leeuwin* and Naval Officer in Charge, Fremantle. There he remained until July 1946. On 26 September 1946, he went onto the retired list with the rank of Rear Admiral. He died at Sydney on 4 August 1959, survived by his wife and two daughters.

O Griffiths, *Darwin Drama*, 1943; A Powell, *The Shadow’s Edge*, 1988; ADB file; AWM index, 1939–45 war personnel; Officers’ Records, Navy Office, Canberra.

J HAYDON, *Vol 1*.

PORT, STANLEY CLIVE (STAN) (1899–1986), missionary, was born at Prahran, a suburb of Melbourne, on 12 January 1899. He was a twin son of Herbert and Charlotte Port and was educated at Prahran, where his parents regularly attended St Matthew’s Anglican Church. He was a keen athlete; in his youth, he played football with the church team and ran with the East Melbourne Harriers.

He began work as an accounts clerk with the then Gas Company where he met Marjorie Heath Edwards. They were married in 1923, and had one child, Stephani Heath. Marjorie Edwards was born at Maldon, Victoria, on 9 July 1901, and was the daughter of George and Hannah Helen Edwards.

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) Victorian Branch accepted Stan and Marjorie Port as missionaries in 1928, and they were located to the Northern Territory. They were unable to take their small daughter with them and throughout their missionary service, she was left in the care of her grandparents.

Stan and Marjorie Port commenced their missionary service at the CMS Groote Eylandt Mission in May 1929. During the next 15 years, they gave invaluable service to the CMS missions there and at Roper River and to the Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal people whom they were serving.

The Ports were involved in four major crises affecting the CMS missions in the Territory at this time. The first concerned the change in mission policy on Groote Eylandt in the early 1930s. From its inception in 1921, the Groote Eylandt Mission had been concerned primarily with the care of half-caste children and adults brought over from the Roper River Mission to take them out of the reach of ‘troublesome whites’. In the early 1930s, the CMS decided to repatriate the half-castes and concentrate their activities solely on the full-blood Groote Eylandt Aborigines. This move created a lot of turmoil among the missionaries and their charges. The Ports were a steady influence on Groote Eylandt during this traumatic time.

In 1933, the government held a board of inquiry into the CMS Roper River Mission because of reports of irregularities and neglect on the station. The CMS did not follow the recommendations of the inquiry and close the mission. Instead, they transferred the Ports from Groote to take charge of the work there. The couple soon revived the rundown mission, which from that time did not look back. This was the second crisis that they faced.

The third major crisis involving the Ports was the massive 1940 flood that swept away the entire Roper River Mission. The Ports, several other missionaries and the Aborigines were able to find refuge on higher ground, but the mission lugger, *Holly*, was destroyed. The Ports and their helpers had the arduous task of rebuilding the new mission on a new site eight kilometres upstream.

Their fourth major crisis concerned the evacuation of the part-Aboriginal women and children from North Australia in 1942 because of the imminent Japanese attack. The party from Groote Eylandt and Roper River, with Mrs Port in charge, made the arduous journey by truck, rail and military convoy to Sydney via Alice Springs and Adelaide. They were cared for by the CMS at Mulgoa, New South Wales.

The Ports resigned for family reasons in 1944. The Society accepted their resignations with genuine regret, stating that they 'had given invaluable service at Groote Eylandt and Roper River'. By their painstaking supervision, thoroughness and spiritual fervour, they have made a very definite contribution to the Society's missionary activities among the Aborigines of north Australia.

On their return to Melbourne Stan Port became superintendent of St Hilda's Training Home where missionaries and deaconesses were trained. In his later years, he joined the Department of the Navy as a clerk. During this time, until his death on 12 February 1986, he developed considerable skills in watercolour painting, and had several paintings accepted for art shows and competitions. Marjorie Port suffered ill health in her later years and died on 1 August 1980.

K Cole, *Roper River Mission 1908–1968*, 1969; K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; CMS Records, Melbourne.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 1.*

PRESLEY, VILLIERS CLARENCE MURRAY (c1859–1934), miner, businessman, prison guard and politician, was born in about 1859 on the ship in which his parents were emigrating from Argyleshire, Scotland; the birth apparently being registered at Brisbane, Queensland. He was well known in Blackall and Croydon in Queensland and on Thursday Island before coming to the Northern Territory with his wife, Emily Edna, whom he married in about 1888. They arrived in Palmerston, soon to be renamed Darwin, in 1908 with four children. Presley tried his luck in the tin mines at Umbrawarra Gorge, out of Pine Creek, while his wife opened a 'European refreshment room' in Cavenagh Street, Palmerston, with a 'gorgeous assortment of confectionary'.

In 1914, Villiers had joined his wife in a general business that included a fruit shop. In December of that year, he advertised the business in his own name, advising all that he was also a 'maker of rubber stamps'. In June of the following year, he installed a 'first class up to date' soda fountain, the establishment soon becoming a 'mecca' for the juvenile population. Two weeks later a circulating library, books, magazines and school requisites had been added. By 1920, he and his wife had moved to a store at the Two and a Half Mile, on the main road out of Darwin, opposite the Emigrants' Home. Here they ran a general store, which had a telephone connection, selling confectionary, fancy goods, aerated water and hop beer, as well as a catering business, until Emily died on 23 February 1924, aged 55.

Presley also followed a political ambition. He was Secretary of the Umbrawarra Progress and Political Association but was unsuccessful in his bid for Labor preselection for the South Australian elections in 1910. When the Australian Workers' Union was formed in Darwin in 1911, he took the minutes and then was elected to the committee. For a period in 1912, he acted as Town Clerk of Darwin and was elected to the Town Council in July 1914, having been unsuccessful at a by-election in January. When the elections were held for a reconstituted Darwin Town Council in November 1915 he was again unsuccessful and this pattern continued until 1919.

He was extraordinarily tenacious and nominated again in 1920, campaigning for a return to the owner/occupier franchise that had been the prerequisite prior to the introduction of the 1915 Act. The 1915 changes had also made provision for government nominees on the Council, one of whom was the Inspector of Police, **Nicholas Waters**, and Presley's platform included a fully elected Council. He had enlightened town-planning views and wished to see minimum standards maintained for housing, but the electors were not convinced.

In the elections held in November 1921, under amended legislation that had removed the nominees, Presley, again a candidate, was the first eliminated at the count. He had won himself few votes for advocating the modernising of the road from the Daly Street Bridge out to the Two and A Half Mile, near his store, when the properties fronting the road were leasehold and held to be unrateable at the time. The election in 1922 was an even worse humiliation. Presley fell victim to the Ratepayers' Defence Association and received only one vote, presumably his own. He did not stand in 1923.

Still he persevered and 1924 was a different story. He was one of four Councillors elected unopposed for the period 1 July 1924 to 30 June 1926. He was elected Mayor on 20 July 1926. Presley was always his own man. He had his views and he stuck to them. In March 1927 during his term as Mayor, he led a deputation of Councillors to the Administrator (as was his right) while at the same time distancing himself from the views of the other Councillors. The Northern Territory Administration had decreed that the Medical Officer, who had always been provided with accommodation, should now find his own. Presley disagreed but other members of the Town Council, particularly **D C Watts**, argued that the doctor was entitled to government housing, notwithstanding that he owned a house in the town. Any popularity he may have enjoyed was fleeting; Presley was unsuccessful when he stood again in 1927 and 1928, the last time he contested a place on the Council.

The Presleys were typical of many small battlers of their day and they never made their fortune. In 1914 a town Lot, 837, which they had leased from the Administration, was forfeited for non-payment of rent. The Lot was one of a number, now in the Larrakeyah Barracks area, which was selected by land order holders in 1870, the vast majority of whom remained absentees. Eventually, when the Commonwealth government took over, some were offered for lease.

On 9 August 1920, Presley appeared before the court to answer a charge of 'possessing a quantity of beer on which excise duty had not been paid'. The summons was dismissed, but according to **Douglas Lockwood**, was overturned on appeal on a technicality which eventually found its way to the High Court, and which had nothing to

do with the facts of the alleged offence. In August 1923, Presley was charged with selling beer containing a certain percentage of alcohol, without a licence. On this occasion, he was sentenced to six months in jail. An appeal was again successful.

Presley continued to run the store for a short time after his wife died and sustained himself on an old age pension until his own death on 14 July 1934 aged about 75, survived by three sons and a daughter. He left a small estate to his children but a debt due to his son in law left nothing for his sons.

At one time, he was Secretary of Darwin Hospital and he was a prison guard for a short period during **Gilruth's** administration. It was as a result of an incident during this time that he gave evidence at the 1920 Royal Commission. A street in Stuart Park in Darwin is named after him.

D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; *Northern Standard*, 29 February 1921, 4 November 1921, 17 July 1934; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 23 October 1908, 26 March 1909, 14 January 1910, 18 February 1910, 29 December 1911, 10 June 1915, 24 June 1915, 10 June 1920, 11 August 1923, 27 June 1924, 20 July 1926, 11 March 1927, 28 June 1927; *Government Gazette*, 12 December 1913, 4 June 1914; Northern Territory Archives Service, E103 8/38.

HELEN J WILSON and EDNA NEILSON, Vol 2.

PRICE, EDWARD WILLIAM (1832–1893), magistrate and Government Resident, was born in Dublin in 1832. He appears on the muster of HMS *Ajax* on 9 July as a midshipman from Queenstown (now Cobh), County Cork, in Ireland. While on *Ajax* in later 1852, his commander, Captain Quin, was concerned at the misconduct of the 20-year-old Price and reported this to Admiral Sir Thomas Briggs of Portsmouth; but Price continued to serve with *Ajax* through 1851 to 1852 and was discharged as sick to Haslar Hospital, and appointed to HMS *Simoon*.

Price entered HMS *Simoon* on 28 November 1852. During the Crimean War, the ship sailed for the Black Sea. Price served until the end of the Russian War (in 1856), for which he received the England and Turkish medals. On 4 September 1856, he was discharged from naval service at his own request.

He sailed for South Australia in 1859 and entered the Civil Service there in 1860. For two or three years, he was clerk of the local court at Gawler. He received a promotion to clerk of the Adelaide Police Court under Magistrate S Beddome. Price had married Mina Hamilton, from Ireland, the sister of E L Hamilton, who held the office of Protector of Aborigines in South Australia. In 1873, he was sent to the Territory with his family as Stipendiary Magistrate. In February 1875, Mina Price embarked with her five children, en route to Adelaide, on *Gothenburg* to arrange for the education of the family. She and the children (Undine Mina Josephine, 12, Edward Cromwell, 10; Ida Lilian Kate, seven; Juanita Berge, two; and Ethel, 10 months) drowned near Bowen in Queensland when the ship foundered. The tragedy of the loss of his whole family was a terrific blow to Price and this affected his health.

Nevertheless, he took up the task again as magistrate and commissioner of the circuit court and was able to put lucid points before the jury in his court work. In 1876, on the departure of **G B Scott**, Price became Government Resident and embarked upon pushing the country ahead in this formative period up to 1883.

In 1876, he visited the gold reefs and ordered road improvements. He was impressed with the idea of a rail link to Pine Creek and this eventuated after his departure. He reported on A W Sergison's exploration to the Fitzmaurice River in 1877. He visited the **Lewis-Levi** buffalo operation at Port Essington in that year, provided the impetus for development of a school in Darwin and began to renew old buildings of **Goyder's** time with timber cut at Indian Island. He encouraged the erection of a steam sawmill in Darwin to help construction. He also encouraged plans for plantations of sugar cane and Liberian coffee in 1879 and in 1881 and 1882; pressed for a temporary hospital at the goldfields and arranged for 350 men to work at Fannie Bay on the experimental nursery under **Maurice Holtze**. Price also saw the first cattle mobs arrive from Queensland—Travers with 1000 head in 1878, Abraham Wallace to stock Elsey in 1880. Price's period of administration was one of consolidation for South Australia. Despite the fact that he suffered from impaired eyesight and chronic rheumatism, he travelled around the north and was well accepted by all, including the Chinese in the community. He saw the opening of the new Town Hall designed by **J G Knight** in 1883 (which survived later as the Museum until Cyclone Tracy) before he took his departure in SS *Bowen* in 1882, after nine years in the north. He returned to England on retirement in 1884 and died in London on 14 November 1893.

P Mennell, *Dictionary of Australian Biography*, 1892; *Adelaide Observer*, 23 December 1893; ADM, 38/2342, 2/1281, 38/9033; Government Resident's Reports, 1876–1883, SAA 790/1876/453, CRS A1640, 1879–1883.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

PRICE, FREDERICK ALFRED (FRED) (1867–1924), post and telegraph officer, and **PRICE, ISABELLE VIOLET nee HESKETH** (1877–1957), pastoralist. Fred Price was born at Norwood, South Australia, on 22 July 1867. His father was a schoolteacher at Whyte Yarcowie, South Australia, when, at the age of 14, Fred started working there as a post boy. However, like **F J Gillen**, it would seem that he secured a transfer to Adelaide and attended night classes at the School of Mines to study telegraphy. In 1891, he was posted to Palmerston as one of the Overland Telegraph staff receiving and transmitting the overseas cables.

Isabelle Hesketh was born in England on 25 April 1877. At the age of 17, she sailed for Australia to visit two married sisters, one on Thursday Island and the other in Palmerston. First, she went for a two-year stay with Mary, who was married to Tom Clarkson, a Thursday Island pearling fleet operator. However, her time there may have been shorter for on hearing of the other sister's serious illness she returned to Palmerston to care for her and the children. In this outpost community, she soon met Fred Price. They were married in the Port Darwin Church of England on 5 March 1898.

In 1901, Isabelle, whose health had been seriously affected by a poisonous spider bite, was advised to go south. Fred, unable to secure a transfer, agreed that his wife and children should go to Adelaide without him. On his return to Adelaide in 1903, he resumed work in the General Post Office and purchased a family home. He served for a time in Maree, South Australia, prior to his appointment to Alice Springs in March 1916 as Post and Telegraph Station Master. Isabelle and the four youngest children, Mollie, Pearl, Alf and Ron, joined him early in the following year, but Hilda, the eldest girl still living, then working as a milliner, remained in Adelaide. The three-day train journey from Adelaide to Oodnadatta was followed by a 12-day five in hand buggy ride with **Gerhardt Johannsen** as driver. Mother and children slept in a tent with spinifex and gum tips for a mattress. Pearl afterwards remembered their first experience of waking to the sound of dingoes howling—a strange contrast for Isabelle with memories of her English childhood.

They arrived in Alice Springs during a six-year drought to find that the government cattle, maintained to provide meat for the Overland Telegraph Line staff, were either dead or dying. Like the rest of the minute population of the township of Stuart, as Alice Springs was officially known until 1933, goats' milk, goats' meat and home made cheese were essential parts of the diet until the drought broke. During the 1919 post war influenza epidemic, the Prices' daughter, Hilda, was one of Adelaide's fatal victims. The isolation of Alice Springs did not prevent an outbreak, but it was the Aborigines who suffered most. Mesdames Price, Stott and **Standley** gave compassionate help with soup and food for the sick Aborigines. There were only two white women at the Telegraph Station, Isabelle Price and a Miss Fitzpatrick, who cooked for the Telegraph staff, and three in the township, Mrs Stott at the Police Station, Ida Standley, the school teacher, and Mrs Browne, wife of the hotel licensee.

One night an Aboriginal stockman from Bond Springs Station galloped into the Telegraph Station with news that the Manager's baby boy was very ill. Isabelle Price, riding sidesaddle, found her way along a dark bush track through the ranges but arrived too late to give more than comfort.

As the Price children had a four kilometres walk down the Todd River to school, they attended only during the cooler months. The schoolroom was at the back of the Stuart Town Gaol. In 1923 the South Australian Governor, Sir Tom Bridges, and his party visited Stuart. The jail cell was cleaned out and decorated with gum leaves for the reception. The Price family piano was shifted down by wagon for a musical evening with Fred Price as pianist. The Price and Stott girls sang several duets. Fred was not only a good pianist but also an outstanding photographer who recorded much of the town's visual history between 1916 and 1924.

By 1924, Fred Price had been in charge of the Telegraph Station for eight years without a holiday. In April 1924, the Price family set out by horse and buggy for Oodnadatta to connect with the fortnightly train to Adelaide. Long hours of work and years without a break had affected Fred Price's health. Their Adelaide holiday included a return sea trip to Sydney, which none of them enjoyed much. Nor did it benefit, as the family doctor hoped, Fred's ill health. He died of peritonitis on 24 August 1924 at the age of 57.

Before leaving Alice Springs, the Prices' growing love for the district led them to purchase two unimproved pastoral leases about 200 kilometres north east of the town. One of these, Harper's Springs, is now part of the Mount Skinner Station. Following her husband's death, Isabelle Price made the momentous decision to make their joint dream a reality. In achieving this, on two unimproved leases without buildings or stockyards, she became the first lone woman to establish a Centralian station. Having purchased 200 sheep from McBride Station near Burra in South Australia, she arranged for them to be trucked by the same train on which she and her children travelled to Oodnadatta. There she collected her buggy and horses, purchased three camels and a horse and dray, and set out for a new homeland without a home!

The camels were loaded with the wire netting used for yarding the sheep each night. Syd, an Aborigine who worked for the Price family, handled the dray and camels. Usually the two teenage girls, Mollie and Pearl, set off after first light with the sheep, while their mother packed up camp and followed driving the buggy with her two young boys. After the midday meal together, their mother went ahead to organise the sheep enclosure and set up camp. After passing New Crown Station a thunderstorm gave the girls such problems moving the sheep that it was nightfall when they reached a fast running creek where they finished carrying and urging the animals across in darkness illuminated by lightning flashes. When they finally reached their mother, it was to learn that she had experienced a near fatal disaster. Frightened by lightning, the horses bolted along a fence surrounding a water bore, ripping out fence posts and enmeshing the buggy with a smashed pole in the wrecked fence.

It was a wet bedding night but there was the comfort that no one was seriously hurt. The family remained there several days while the children cut and fitted a new buggy pole from bush timber. The incredible journey on the old bush track to Alice Springs and Harper's Springs to fulfil her husband's dream provides evidence of Isabelle's courage and fortitude. She recognised the discipline that the hazardous terrain imposed on travellers and proved her strength by coping with near disaster without panic.

When they left Adelaide, the children's ages ranged between nine and 16 years. Pearl had her 14th birthday while she was walking the sheep from camp to camp. They left Adelaide in mid October and arrived back in Alice Springs in time for Christmas 1924!

After a rest with friends in Alice Springs, the Prices collected their household effects, domestic animals and pets and set off on the final 200 kilometres' sheep drive to Harper's Springs. With the help of a neighbour to be, **Bob Purvis**, this journey took three weeks. They arrived to find that the only 'improvements' consisted of a well, a 'whip' for drawing water and a hollowed out log water trough. There was not even a rough bough shed. Purvis helped with the unloading but had to get back to his own station, leaving Isabelle Price with four children and two Aborigines 65 kilometres from the nearest neighbour.

With the help of the two Aborigines, the sheep and goats were shepherded every day and yarded each night, while the children, with some Aboriginal help, set about building a bush house. This was constructed with log walls,

thatched roof and a floor from crushed anthills, making a cool house in hot weather but damp in the infrequent rain. Cooking was done in a camp oven under a bush shelter. It was seven months before Isabelle Price saw another white person other than her children, a man who came to shear the sheep. At the same time he taught 14-year-old Pearl to shear, a skill she continued to use with good effect. When we consider the conditions under which this small droving feat was completed, and the initial establishment of her bush home, this lone woman, Isabelle Price, surely deserves a place in Australia's pastoral history.

Her relations with the small group of local Aborigines were mutually friendly and supportive. When she suffered acute pain from a scorpion bite on the foot, one of the Aboriginal men made a hot mud plaster and bound her foot, replacing the poultice throughout the night until the pain eased. The Aboriginal children were her own children's only playmates. Crows, particularly when the ewes were lambing, proved more troublesome than dingoes, but these were not the only sheep killers. One day an Aboriginal shepherd ran to the house with the alarming news that a bull camel (probably on heat) was running sheep down and trampling them to death. As Pearl later told the story: 'Mother could not climb a tree and an Aborigine could not use the gun so the task fell to me. I rode my horse out to where the camel was feeding, and without dismounting tied my horse to a fairly tall mulga which I climbed from its back. I then waited for the camel to come over to the horse. I think I fired about six shots into it before it staggered off and fell. Afraid that it might get up and come at me, I got back on my horse and galloped off. When we got back some time later it was dead. So life went on.'

Due to lime dust in the wool, Isabelle Price sold Harper's Springs in 1926 and moved west to the second block. Good rains enabled the family to camp with the sheep in different areas until Isabelle was confident that the best place to build a permanent home was beside the only well on the block. She named it 'Woola Downs' as sheep were the first introduced animals to graze its grass and herbage. Mail could be collected from Stirling Station at six-week intervals, a horse ride of at least two days' return. Flour, tea, sugar and onions (potatoes would not keep) were the basic supplies purchased. The Aborigines taught the Prices the value of good bush tucker, which with onions, prevented scurvy.

The new house was an improved version of the first one as it had a large tent under the thatch in the bedroom! The goatherd, now quite large, provided not only meat and milk but also goatskins to cover the crushed anthill impacted floor. As noted in the 1933 Pastoral Inspection, goatskins mats on ant bed or stone slate floors were almost universal in the homesteads of the Alice Springs Pastoral District. Two homesteads, only, had any timber flooring! The greatest improvement at Woola Downs was the semi-detached kitchen with a wood-burning stove installed in a galvanised iron chimney. By 1927, Isabelle Price had almost 3 000 sheep. The wool was transported to Oodnadatta by Afghan pack camels. Alf and Ron had turned 14 and 12 respectively and by then Alf was doing a man's work. The boys sank three more wells on Woola Downs, of which each had a distinct medicinal quality, aptly named 'Walk', 'Trot' and 'Gallop'.

First Pearl, then Mollie, married and left home, leaving Alf and Ron to assist their mother. However, the problems associated with the need to shepherd and yard sheep finally induced Isabelle to sell the sheep and restock with cattle. Meanwhile the improvements made to the house by Alf and Ron were evident in the 1933 Pastoral Report on Woola Downs: 'Isabelle Violet Price first ran sheep, now 309 cattle.

HOUSE 24 feet by 12, ant-bed brick construction of two rooms with 8 by 12ft. rough stone walls room at end. A 9 ft. foot verandah at front and 8ft. foot verandah at back. Ant-bed floor throughout, and 9 foot roof on bush frame.

The buildings are very primitive. The Lessee is a widow with two sons, struggling to make a start, the building is in keeping with her position. They are weatherproof. Estimated value, Sixty Pounds.'

After the outbreak of war in 1939 Alf enlisted in the Army, and months later Ron was killed in a car accident. In 1940, the courageous Isabelle Price sold Woola Downs and retired to Alice Springs. In 1946, to further her children's education, Pearl moved to Adelaide. The following year, her mother moved from Alice Springs to live in Woodville, an Adelaide suburb. Not surprisingly, Isabelle Price, whose rare affinity with the bush was such that she never spoke of loneliness, now experienced loneliness in the city. In 1954, she made her last move to live with Pearl. She died in 1957 at the age of 80. Isabelle Price is buried with her husband, and two of their first three children, in the Payneham Cemetery.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory Office; Price family records and information provided by P Powell.

GRAEME BUCKNALL, Vol 2.

PURKISS, LEONARD HUNTER (LEN) (1900–1965), miner and politician, was born at Ebor, New South Wales, son of William Alfred Purkiss, who worked in the insurance industry, and Harriet Sophia Emily Purkiss, *nee* Mowle. He married Amelia Cranston in Sydney about 1923 and there were two daughters of the marriage. He worked in the mines at Lithgow, New South Wales before coming to the Territory in 1946 to settle in Tennant Creek. Like most residents of the day, he held a number of mining leases, among which were the Maple Leaf and Black Cat mines.

Purkiss was first elected to the Northern Territory Legislative Council as the member for Tennant Creek on 28 April 1951. By the time the elections were held on 20 February 1960 the electorate name had been changed to Barkly. As might have been expected he was a Labor member, a lifetime supporter, and a great personal friend of J B Chifley. Purkiss was one of six rebel members (the others Paddy Carroll, **Tiger Brennan**, Bill Petrick, **Dick Ward** and Neil Hargrave) who resigned from the Council in 1958 to protest against the government's failure to grant constitutional reforms. Concessions were made shortly afterwards. More than any other member, he was responsible for the passage of legislation to licence betting shops in the Northern Territory. He introduced the Bill

and persevered with it in the face of several vetoes by the federal government. As a miner, he also fought for the introduction of legislation for better safety standards in mines and compensation for miners affected by silicosis although he died before this piece of legislation went through. W J Fisher (a mining man) was greatly supportive of him in these efforts.

Even though he was frequently away from Tennant Creek, he retained his interest in the community affairs of the town. On 3 April 1956, he was nominated by the Tennant Creek Development Association to be one of the trustees of the recreation reserve, the public hall and the tennis courts. He was a member of the Town Management Board that first sat in April 1962. In 1961, what had been the Tennant Creek Youth Club was formed into a Scout troop and he was president at the time.

Purkiss stood for re-election on 30 October 1965 in what Fred Walker, then Clerk of the House, described as ‘the roughest campaign in the history of the Legislative Council’. Although Purkiss was seriously ill, he comfortably held his seat and was much admired for campaigning when he was so obviously in poor health. Until that time the Administrator had been President of the Legislative Council but with legislative changes, the next sittings were to see an elected president. It was generally agreed that that member would be Purkiss but he died on 24 November 1965 before the sittings commenced, and the honour then fell to **Harry Chan**, who created history in his own right. In his acceptance speech, Chan acknowledged that he had not been first choice as elected president and continued, ‘I cannot give you the knowledge and experience that Mr Purkiss had but I can promise to try... to emulate his sense of justice and fair play’. A formal motion of sympathy was moved in the House on 15 December 1965 and as a mark of respect, the sitting was suspended for four hours.

At the time of his death, Purkiss had been a member longer than anyone else and was held in respect by those on both sides of the House. Bernie Kilgariff, later to represent the Northern Territory in the Commonwealth parliament, said, ‘Over many years Mr Purkiss spared neither himself his time nor his pocket in a sincere effort to improve conditions in the Northern Territory which he loved so fiercely. The fact that he was in indifferent health for a number of years did not lessen the tenacity with which he battled for what he considered right. Len Purkiss was in every sense a man and his passing could well be regarded as a personal loss by every Territorian’. The *Northern Territory News* published an obituary as an editorial, which noted that, his ‘greatest quality was an immense, almost overpowering, physical and mental courage’.

His funeral was the largest ever seen in Tennant Creek and was attended by people from Alice Springs, outlying mines and stations and Darwin, including eleven members and staff of the Northern Territory Legislative Council. Leonard Hunter Purkiss was buried according to the rites of the United Church and in the Tennant Creek cemetery he lies close to his wife who died on 23 September 1958. His married daughters and their families survived him.

The ‘Purkiss Memorial’ sporting complex that caters for football, baseball, basketball and tennis and includes the swimming pool, bowling greens and the townfolk for his contribution to their welfare name clubhouse for him in a tribute.

Australian Archives, Darwin, CRS F1 1955/1332, 1960/1602; *Centralian Advocate*, 2 December 1965; Northern Territory Archives NTRS 615; *Northern Territory News*, 25 November 1965; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, vol XIII, 1965; H Tuxworth, *Tennant Creek*, 1978; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council for the Northern Territory*, 1986; H J Wilson, ‘The Heritage of Tennant Creek’, Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1995.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

PURVIS, ADELA VIOLET nee ZIMMERMANN (1907–1972), musician, governess, teacher, pastoralist, author and community worker, was born on 28 February 1907 at Lyndoch, South Australia, the youngest of three children, two boys and a girl, of Paul Ferdinand Zimmermann, a farmer and hotelier, and his wife Anna Marie Otilie, nee Liebelt. She was educated at Saint Peter’s Girls Collegiate, Adelaide.

She could play the organ at six and started to win singing competitions from 10 years of age. She was tutored in music—piano, organ and voice—until the age of 20. Adela had a beautiful singing voice.

In 1928, she was the governess at Witchelina Station near Farina in South Australia. She came to Alice Springs in 1929 and for a while was a governess at Undoolya Station.

From 1922 to 1936, she taught music, singing and drama in Alice Springs. On 29 April 1936, she married **Robert Henry Purvis** and went to live on what was then known as Woodgreen Station, a small cattle property to the north east of Alice Springs on the Sandover Highway. Their only surviving child, who was named after his father, was later the powner/manager. The station then became known as Atartinga.

Adela Purvis was plagued with ill health for much of her life. During a long stint in hospital, she became interested in the collection of history and maps of Central Australia that her husband had put together over many years.

In the ensuing years, she wrote numerous articles on Centralian history that were published in many magazines and newspapers. Some of her information was not always strictly correct but her work stimulated an interest in local history. Her most epic work was an unpublished manuscript entitled ‘Heroes Unsung’.

She was a foundation member of the National Trust in the Northern Territory and was instrumental in having the John Ross/Pioneers Memorial constructed in Alice Springs.

Adela Purvis died in Adelaide on 16 November 1972 after an operation and was cremated. Her ashes are buried next to her husband at Atartinga.

Biographical Index of South Australians, vol IV; family information from B Purvis.

BRUCE STRONG, Vol 2.

PURVIS, ROBERT HENRY (BOB) (c1885–1965), sports instructor, bush worker and pastoralist, was born at Aberdeen in Scotland in about 1885. Little is known of his education but he commenced though never completed a Law degree. A younger brother, Lou, was to join him for a short period in Central Australia.

He came to Australia for Shorthose, Weaber and Rice, who apparently ran several gymnasiums in Melbourne and elsewhere. Being a sportsman, Purvis worked for them as an instructor in gymnastics, boxing and wrestling. In Melbourne, he smashed his right hand during a title fight. He refused to have his hand amputated and returned to England where a Harley Street surgeon removed two knuckles and reset the hand at an odd angle.

He returned to Melbourne but unable to get work with his crippled hand carried his swag to Tarcoola in South Australia. He continued north along the Central Australian line to Irrapanta siding where he obtained work shovelling sand for six Shillings a day.

Eventually Purvis was able to use his hand to grasp tools such as an adze and could take contract work repairing yards and wells. He helped to rebuild Purple Downs homestead (north of the present day Woomera) in South Australia in about 1906.

Purvis was also a horse lover and learned to drive a horse team and to handle camels. His first major experience with camels was as an assistant to a camel team on a trip from Oodnadatta to Daly Waters in the Northern Territory. Charles Bagot and Fred Marsh of Oodnadatta, who for a number of years ran a camel transport business, owned the team.

Purvis worked for Bagot and Marsh for about three years and earned enough to purchase his own string of about 20 camels. He struck disaster on his first trip with these camels when they ate *Gastrolobium* (a poison bush) near Murray Downs and most of them died.

It was during this period of time that **Bruce Plowman**, an Australian Inland Mission padre, was operating out of Oodnadatta. In his book, *The Man from Oodnadatta*, Plowman recorded a meeting in about 1915 with Purvis, whom he referred to as ‘Scotch Bob’. With his brief description of ‘Scotch Bob, with the drinking capacity of a camel’, the padre revealed one of Purvis’s well-known traits.

It was probably soon after this that he started gouging for wolfram at Hatches Creek (Purvis’s Claim—‘The Ace of Spades’.) When the Director of Mines, T G Oliver, visited the field in October 1916, he reported that Purvis was ‘getting fair ore.’

In this period, before 1920, Purvis made a track from Burt Well (66 kilometres north of Alice Springs) direct to Murray Downs. He had a narrow escape on this track, while being accompanied by Jim Glynn, when their camels bolted during a dry storm at night. Glynn, carrying water, went on foot up to 80 kilometres retrieving the camels. He returned with them on the third morning but both men went short of water.

On another occasion Purvis and Alf Turner, who had 700 cows and calves spelling at Ti Tree Well, had to walk the cattle to Turner’s property, Alcoota. With the onset of warmer weather the water supply at the well dropped and being unable to obtain more men for help the two set off alone with the cattle. The two men had water for themselves in neck waterbags and food in saddlebags. There was no water for the cattle on the 175 kilometres journey but water for the men and their horses was obtained at two rock holes and a soak. The latter was known as Harper (or Harper’s) Spring, a small permanent water supply.

With Dan Pedlar, the man credited with discovering the Hatches Creek wolfram field, Purvis sank Blue Bush Well on Murray Downs. He later sank wells at Harper Springs soak, to start the station of the same name for Tom Turner, Woola Downs for Dick Turner and Adnera and Woodgreen for himself. He spent two years looking for water on the Adnera block, sinking 21 wells and hand bores with depths from nine metres to 55 metres.

In 1919, Purvis applied for some land to the east of Barrow Creek. At the time he described himself as ‘a teamster at present engaged on contract work on Messrs. Scott, Weldons, Stirling Stn. I have a large box wagon working 20 horses in addition I have also 50 horses... a flock of goats... a full plant such as is required by a station contractor.’ In 1920, he was granted Pastoral Lease 2412, but later threw it up.

About this time, Purvis became seriously ill from tetanus infection after having a tooth pulled with fencing pliers by **Sergeant Stott** of Alice Springs. An Aboriginal woman, unconscious and strapped to the back of a horse, brought him into town. Townspeople, including Stott and **Fred Price**, the Postmaster, could not work out what was wrong with Purvis. There was no doctor in town in those days but contact by telegraph with a doctor in Adelaide revealed the problem—lockjaw or tetanus. Purvis was taken to Oodnadatta by buggy, then by train to Adelaide. During the journey, he had to be fed through the side of his mouth.

Purvis recovered and in about 1924 he returned to the Centre. He was granted Grazing Lease 402 over a block of land from which he built up the station that was to become Woodgreen. In 1925, he was granted Pastoral Lease 163 over the Adnera block but this, as noted above, he threw up because of lack of water.

While establishing Woodgreen Purvis worked on the Overland Telegraph Line repairing wells from Burt Well to Kelly Well. From 1926 to 1928, he had a contract to sink wells on the Sandover Stockroute from Alcoota to Argadargada. As Purvis worked further to the east, the wells became deeper and deeper until the project was abandoned at the sixth well when it reached 82 metres.

Purvis married **Adela Violet Zimmermann** on 29 April 1936. Before 1940, he defended people in the Alice Springs court who could not afford a lawyer. He was responsible for establishing the Barrow Creek Racing Club. He was a good judge of horses and officiated as a judge at shows.

Purvis was well known for his healthy appetite and earned the nickname of the ‘Sandover Alligator’. Some of his gastronomic feats included the eating of a small goat complete with soup made from the head; 60 boiled eggs; and most of a pie made for 10 railway gangers. He usually undertook these feats as bets and he lost the bet over the

pie because the cook included a piece of soap that made the pie difficult to eat. However, he recovered most of his money the next day by eating half a case of apples.

Purvis had great strength and could demonstrate it by getting under the stomach of a horse and lifting it off the ground on his shoulders.

He had a small booklet published, apparently titled *100 Graves (Lonely Graves of Northern SA)* but it is not known if any copies survive.

Bob Purvis died in September 1965 and is buried at Astartinga Station (formerly Woodgreen).

R B Plowman, *The Man from Oodnadatta*, 1940; T G Oliver, 'Report of Inspection on Hatches Creek Wolfram Mines', in *Northern Territory Bulletin*, no 21, 1916; Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Transcript TS 259; family information from B Purvis.

BRUCE STRONG, Vol 2.

R

RAIOLA: see [RRAIWALA](#)

RAIWALA: see [RRAIWALA](#)

RAIWALLA: see [RRAIWALA](#)

RAGGATT, FRED (1860–1946), teamster, storekeeper and pastoralist, was born in Gloucestershire, England. His family were farmers in Somerset.

Raggatt left England for South Australia in 1872. Upon his arrival, he was employed as a teamster on the Overland Telegraph Line, carting metal poles that were used to replace existing timber poles. Eventually, Raggatt formed a team of his own, continuing to work for the Overland Telegraph on a contract basis.

When the Overland Telegraph re-poling was completed, Raggatt settled in Alice Springs, opening a general store on the corner of Parsons and Todd streets. It was described as ‘a little log cabin store’, and, under different ownership, was still in use in 1936.

When gold was discovered at Arltunga, Raggatt was quick to open a second store there. For the short time of the ‘rush’, he did a roaring trade and, as a result, was able to acquire a sizeable portion of Wallis Fogarty and Company. The company eventually took over Raggatt’s stores, at the turn of the century, as he moved into the pastoral industry, taking up Glen Helen in 1901.

Although Raggatt was not experienced in the pastoral industry, a combination of good seasons and strong cattle saw twenty very prosperous years on Glen Helen.

The 1927–30 drought caused the downfall of Raggatt’s operation. He had gone into partnership with George Tucker, and together they bought approximately five hundred breeding cattle, and some sheep. Raggatt incurred several expenses through breaking his leg, and as a result, could not afford to provide necessary water improvements. The sheep venture subsequently failed, and Raggatt decided to sell. The cattle, which remained on the property, formed the nucleus of the present-day cattle herd on Glen Helen.

Raggatt was married at Adelaide in 1902, but his wife Anne Beatrice, *nee* Cluney, died of typhoid in 1903, six months after the birth of their only child, Molly. She was buried in the George Crescent cemetery in Alice Springs. Raggatt was noted for his peculiar habit of keeping tin cans, because he ‘didn’t want the blacks getting hold of them and then coming back for more’. After 30 years, there was quite a collection of tin cans to his name!

Raggatt was very set in his ways, and had a frugal nature—the homestead, which he built against advice from others, including the builder, only just outlasted his stay on Glen Helen.

Fred Raggatt died on 28 August 1946 at his home in Strathalbyn, South Australia, aged 86. His daughter Molly survived him.

B Bowman, *The Glen Helen Story*, 1985; A V Purvis, *A Town Named Stuart, Now Alice Springs*, nd; J Petrick, *Street Names Tell History*, nd.

JOSE PETRICK, *Vol 1*.

RAWLINS, THOMAS HENRY (TOM) (1897–1978), stockman and bush battler, was born on 29 December 1897 to Edwin Rawlins and Margaret, *nee* Oliver, at Cockburn, South Australia, the sixth of nine children. He left school at 13 to work as buggy-boy for mailman Andrew Smith. In Queensland, at 18 years of age, he became head stockman of Tallawanta, an outstation of Lorraine. He drove cattle down the Diamantina, Coopers Creek and the Birdsville Track, first with a station plant, later as contract drover.

At Mt Eba in South Australia he met Dorothy Headon of Adelaide. They were married at Cloncurry in 1935, and bought Minetta, a small farm near Adelaide. Their only child, a girl, was born in 1936. In 1938, they moved to Tempe Downs in Central Australia to manage for F A (Arthur) Hince, taking over from [Bryan Bowman](#). In 1940, they spent a year on Mt Peake Station, owned by the widowed Mrs Mary Adams (later to become Mrs C V Stevenson), a daughter of the original [Hayes](#) family of Undoolya.

The year 1941 found them at Renners Rock with its owners, [Bob Buck](#) and Alf Butler, financing the setting up of Mt Quinn. Here Rawlins sank a well and built a log cabin that was later to be much photographed by tourists travelling between Alice Springs and Ayers Rock with [Len Tuit](#). Then came the death of Gus Elliot, who had named Rawlins as preferred manager for Horseshoe Bend. The family lived there until Mrs Elliot decided to marry Claude Golder.

Rawlins enlisted for armed service in 1942 and served at Adelaide River until discharged in mid 1944 to manage Willowra for Wickham and Davis, who faced court charges. Next came Wilbeah, a grazing licence between Angas Downs and Curtin Springs. When a formation of salt resembling cotton wool appeared on the sides of a well he was sinking, Rawlins decided to leave Wilbeah, selling the cattle he had agisted on Mt Connor to S Stanes of Erldunda. The family returned to Ti Tree Well by camel wagon in 1946 and obtained a 1.2 hectare block north of the old store to build a mud walled home. With Wickham, who had sold Willowra, Rawlins applied unsuccessfully for pastoral blocks offered for ballot. Wickham later drew Ooratippra block with K M (Rex) Hall.

Rawlins worked yard building at Stirling Station, where [W S \(Stan\) Brown](#) offered him a share-farming deal on an area near Mt Tops. In 1948 Rawlins sank a well to over seventy feet, built a yard and the mud walls of a

proposed homestead, but the delayed agreement stated that he must move from site to site well sinking rather than remain permanently at one place.

The family spent a year at Woolla Downs, owned by **W J (Bill) and Frieda Heffernan**. Next came two years managing Anningie for James Davey of Granite Downs in South Australia. The men had been boyhood friends. Davey encouraged Rawlins to take a grazing licence over Windajong, which bordered Anningie to the north. Davey financed two bores on Windajong and pastured cattle there in time of drought, only to accuse Rawlins of stealing equipment he had instructed him to use at one of those bores. Rawlins left; the grazing licence was added to Davey's holding, which already covered the original Mt Peake, Anningie and Mt Esther leases.

Rawlins managed Kurundi for H V Leonard from 1952 to 1954. Leonard's brother-in-law, R M Williams, contracted for Leonard to buy cattle from Bohemia Downs, west of Halls Creek in Western Australia. Rawlins surveyed the stock route and found it too dry to move cattle. To avoid litigation, Leonard bought Bohemia Downs, which Rawlins managed until late 1956.

The Rawlins family returned to the Ti Tree area and took up Numagalong, a grazing licence down the Hanson River north of Stirling, where sheep were tried first, then a small number of cattle. The homestead well, 24 metres deep, its sides reinforced with bush timber where necessary, was washed in and the corrugated iron homestead flooded after heavy rains in 1962. Undeterred, Rawlins moved his building part way up the side of the nearby sand hill, a new bore was sunk, the windmill, tank and trough shifted. Numagalong became part of Stirling after Tom and Dorothy Rawlins retired in 1966 to a block between the present Ti Tree Well store and the police station. Here Rawlins constructed a brick house and in 1969, at 72 years of age, dug his last well. He died at Ti Tree on 22 November 1978. Dorothy died at The Old Timers Home in Alice Springs on 20 January 1993.

In managerial positions, Tom Rawlins believed in paying a fair wage to Aboriginal workers, often being the first 'boss' at certain places to do so. He was rewarded by loyalty and respect. He was greatly moved by the tears of Aboriginal stockmen saying farewell, as he was about to leave Bohemia Downs to return to Central Australia. Throughout his life he believed in hard work, leading his team: he could never be a 'veranda manager'. After a season's stock work was finished, he led the way in fencing jobs, repairing yards, building new windmills, tanks, troughs, and amenities. He combined positions of manager and head stockman, and ran each place economically without being mean.

His lifelong ambition was to own 'a little place', a station of his own. That this consistently failed was due to lack of finance, misfortune and various interventions of fate, rather than lack of hard work. A kind man, a dreamer and visionary, he remained undeterred and optimistic to the end.

Family information.

ROSE (RAWLINS) COPPOCK, Vol 3.

RAYNEY, RUTH SABINA: see **HEATHCOCK, RUTH SABINA**

READFORD, HENRY ARTHUR (1841–1901), pastoralist and stock thief who over landed the first cattle to Brunette Downs in 1883 and became synonymous with the folk hero 'Starlight', was born on 12 December 1841 at Mudgee, New South Wales. He was the youngest of the eleven children of Thomas Readford Snr and his wife, Jemima, *nee* Smith, a 'currency lass' of Sydney Town. Thomas, a Yorkshireman, was transported to Port Jackson in 1814 to serve a seven-year sentence for stealing four hides of leather, and by 1841 was the owner of the 'Woolpack Inn' and adjacent property at Cunningham's Creek, South of Mudgee. He also owned land at Agnes Banks, Emu Plains and Kurrajong.

Henry Readford attended the Episcopal Parish School at Windsor, New South Wales, during his youth and later engaged in pastoral work on the family properties, one of which was Guningeldry on the Macquarie River, the site of present-day Warren. He became an experienced stockman, drover and bushman, but unlike his father and elder brothers showed little business acumen or sense of responsibility. The latter traits were exacerbated by the deaths of both his parents in mid-1860. He then sold his share of inherited land and livestock at Cunningham's Creek to his brother and became a cattle dealer and drover. Within a few years, he had lost his money and began stealing cattle in the north of the colony and selling them at southern markets close to the goldfields. After three serious brushes with the law in connection with the theft of hundreds of cattle, he moved to Queensland in mid-1868 where he stole horses for subsequent sale along the Darling River.

The apogee of Readford's career began in late 1869 and early 1870 when, during a heavy wet season, he stole several hundred cattle (official estimates varied between 500 and 1300) from Bowen Downs, a large property in central Queensland extending southwest along the Thomson River. Most likely, he assembled the herd just south of present day Longreach on leasehold land belonging to two of his mates from the Hawkesbury River. Then, with the help of a stockman recently arrived from South Australia via the Strzelecki and Cooper's creeks, Readford and at least three others moved the herd south-west. After a circuitous journey to avoid floodwater, Readford, using the alias Collins, sold a white bull and a few cows to the owners of a store and shanty near Artacoona Native Well on Strzelecki Creek in South Australia. The main herd was sold at Blanchewater, a property further southwest, owned by the Honourable John Baker, a former premier of the colony. Then Readford and his men rode south to Adelaide where he cashed a discounted promissory note for an undisclosed amount and sailed to Melbourne in July 1870. A protracted series of investigations was undertaken in the latter part of 1870 in both Queensland and South Australia, and although Baker continued to frustrate these, the Bowen Downs management in January 1871 posted a reward of 300 Pounds for the arrest of the culprits. Meanwhile, a nonchalant Readford, thinking that the theft had passed unnoticed, returned to New South Wales and married a young widow, Elizabeth Jane Snell, *nee* Skuthorpe,

whom he had known since childhood, at Mudgee in April 1871. By the following September the newly married couple were the owners of the Criterion Hotel at the Three Mile Diggings, Gulgong.

In November 1871, Readford was arrested as an accessory to the burglary of a store at Gulgong. He did not stand trial but was extradited to Blackall, Queensland, from where he was moved to Roma. Here, after many delays during which the white bull was recovered from South Australia and witnesses were assembled at considerable expense to the Bowen Downs management, Readford was tried for 'the great cattle theft' on 10 February 1873. He was found not guilty and an astonished Judge Charles Blakeney said to the jury, 'I thank God that verdict is yours, gentlemen, and not mine.' Readford returned to New South Wales and an embarrassed Queensland Government cancelled the criminal jurisdiction of the Roma court from March 1873 to January 1874.

Within a few months, Readford returned to southern Queensland and during the next five years engaged in many episodes of cattle and horse theft on either side of the border. He and his associates frequented such provincial towns as Walgett, Armidale and Tenterfield in New South Wales and St George, Toowoomba and Warwick in Queensland. During several escapades made more confusing by his cunning use of aliases, Readford sought refuge south of St George where his brothers-in-law, the Skuthorpes, had extensive leasehold. With several warrants out for his arrest in connection with stock theft, he was finally captured at Brighton Downs on the Diamantina River in April 1877. He was tried at Toowoomba two months later for stealing a horse and served an 18-month gaol term in Brisbane. He was released in September 1878. Subsequently Readford moved to north Queensland and the Gulf country where his brother had leasehold. He engaged in droving large mobs of cattle to markets in New South Wales and stole the odd horse when opportune. However his halcyon days of stock thieving were over; he was prematurely grey, going bald and was overweight.

Readford's introduction to the Northern Territory was in April 1881 when he overlanded horses to Elsey Station, returning to Queensland by ship from Palmerston two months later. Then in 1883 Captain Charles Smith and his partners, John Donald Macansh and John Kerr McDonald, began stocking Brunette Downs. Macansh moved a herd of some 3 000 cattle north along the Diamantina River from his lease Albilbah on the Barcoo River but just south of present-day Boulia, he broke his leg. He was taken north to Burketown in a dray while his teenage son, Tom, followed with the herd. Readford, hired near Burketown to take the herd on to Brunette Downs, moved the mob down the Gregory River, through Gregory Downs and Riversleigh, along the Nicholson River to Creswell Downs and then south to their destination.

Readford managed Brunette Downs for at most 12 to 18 months and tradition has it that the Armchair Waterhole there took its name from Eliza Cook's well-known poem 'The Old Armchair' which he used to recite in his camp of an evening. Early in 1885, he brought another 1200 cattle and two thoroughbred stallions from Burketown to Corella for his employers and later that year he developed Buchanan Downs with the assistance of Tom Macansh. At that stage, he adopted his second prename possibly to distinguish him from his nephew, Henry Readford, in New South Wales. About 1886 he became associated with Corella Downs that included Corella Creek and Corella Lagoon. E A McPherson owned the lease and Readford might have supplied some of the finance to stock the property. Supposedly, he won 1800 Pounds at the Tennant Creek races in June 1886 under dubious circumstances when his hand-fed 'Brumby Filly' won five races for grass-fed entrants. He never owned Corella Downs and his ill-gotten gains were probably lost with the 26 000 Pounds McPherson had invested by 1890 without gaining a return. To add to the confusion it has also been suggested that Readford had an interest in Corella Creek, a lease on a tributary of the Rankine River further south.

In 1886, Rolf Boldrewood's newspaper serial 'Robbery under Arms' was published in book form. With suitable literary licence, the novelist used the theft of the Bowen Downs cattle in 1870 as the setting for its opening chapters and Queenslanders and Territorians were able to identify Readford with Starlight, leader of the cattle thieves of Terrible Hollow. Later in the book, shades of many bushrangers, including Frank Gardiner and Thomas Laws, alias Smith ('Captain Midnight'), were incorporated into the mythical character. As a result, Readford, gaining notoriety that he neither sought nor deserved, became 'Starlight', and fantasy fused with fact to make him a folk hero.

After 1886, only glimpses of Readford can be gained as he roamed the Northern Territory and the Kimberleys. Known as 'The Dodo', he was the friend of Tom Holmes, alias **Nugent**, the reputed leader of a band of stock thieves known as 'The Ragged Thirteen'; however there is no evidence that he was one of them. Possibly, he drove cattle to Western Australia in the early 1890s and he may have explored the Wolf Creek meteorite crater about 1893. In the latter part of 1896, after the failure of the Pine Creek goldfield, tradition has it that he guided Chinese diggers south across the Barkly Tableland toward Camooweal. In 1898, he was again camped at the Armchair Waterhole waiting for tick quarantine to be lifted on cattle travelling between the Kimberleys and the eastern part of the Northern Territory. By October 1899, he was managing McArthur River Station for Amos Brothers of Sydney and between then and June 1900, he moved several thousand cattle east to the meatworks at Burketown. In January 1900, he was sued successfully for 20 Pounds in wages in civil action at Borrooloola, Northern Territory, in what was to prove his last legal encounter. During successive wet seasons Readford and his mates used to prospect for minerals around Limmen Bight and he encouraged the mining of copper and galena on the McArthur River.

By mid-November 1900, his employment at McArthur River had been terminated and during the monsoon rains, he rode south with his packhorses to Brunette Downs. He left there on 9 March 1901 to travel to Wallow Downs and the overland telegraph line intending to visit Tom Nugent on his property Banka Banka, 96 kilometres north of Tennant Creek. James Hutton, the Brunette Downs manager, rode to the Corella Lagoon four days later to inspect the flooding. In the old hut beside the flooded lagoon he found Readford's bedding, saddles and other gear and, suspecting that he may have been drowned or injured while swimming to reach his horses, Hutton began a search. He found Readford's badly decomposed body the following morning and with the help of stockmen from

the station homestead he buried it near the hut. The Brunette Downs personnel refurbished the grave, incorporating the original roughly etched headstone, in 1981.

Readford, who could not live down his colourful past, should be remembered rather as an early pioneer of the Northern Territory who followed closely in the footsteps of **Nat Buchanan**, the first and arguably the greatest of the pathfinders.

E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; M Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1959; M Durack, *Sons in the Saddle*, 1983; P H McCarthy, *The Man They Called Starlight*, Sydney, 1987; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 6 April 1957; *North Australian Monthly*, vol 6, no 2, September 1959; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 2 & 9 March 1900, 12 March 1901; *Warren Herald*, 20 April 1901, 8 July 1948; *Weekend Australian*, 15–16 September 1984; *Registers of Northern Territory Leases*, 1872–1915, NTA 1973/13.

P H McCARTHY, Vol 1.

REDMOND, (LEONARD) GEORGE (1913–), civil engineer, was born on 3 October 1913 in Charters Towers, Queensland, the eldest son of Edward Vernon Redmond, mining and civil engineer, and his wife Christina, *nee* Bell, a school teacher. The family moved numerous times over the next two decades as the elder Redmond, who in 1922 qualified as local government engineer, was engaged on engineering projects in north and northwest Queensland. The children attended such schools as were available and studied by correspondence. In 1926, when 12 years of age, young George saved a man from drowning in the South Johnstone River, and as a consequence was awarded the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society. He attended Townsville Grammar School through Junior Certificate level and, as he grew older, worked on engineering projects in his father's consulting engineering practice. Private study enabled him to gain matriculation to the University of Queensland and he was awarded a Bachelor of Engineering degree in April 1939. A year later, he passed the examinations for the Certificate of Competency to practise as a local government engineer.

When the Second World War broke out Redmond was managing his father's tin mine near Cooktown. He tried to enlist and receiving no response to his written requests, in December 1940, he went to Brisbane and presented himself at Victoria Barracks; a month later, he was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the Active Citizen Military Forces, and was selected to attend the School of Military Engineering. However, before he could report to the school, he was seconded to the Works and Services Branch of the Department of the Interior to help build flying training schools at Sandgate, Maryborough and Bundaberg. Although initially the secondment was to be for three to six months, increasing need for defence construction meant that his repeated requests to rejoin the Army were consistently refused.

On 22 November 1941, he married Hester Adelaide Smith, daughter of a Babinda cane farmer, and was at once posted to Thursday Island as Resident Engineer for the Torres Straits Islands, where the Horn Island airport and many defence installations were under construction. In January 1942, after the Japanese entered the war, non-essential civilians, including Mrs Redmond, were evacuated, but Redmond stayed on and experienced the bombing and strafing of Horn Island, which was an important base during the battle of the Coral Sea. In July 1942, he was transferred to Townsville and was based there until late 1944, during which time he was involved in the design and construction of urgent defence projects in most of north Queensland. This period also saw the birth of a son and a daughter.

In November 1944, he was transferred to Brisbane as the first Roads and Aerodromes Engineer for the Queensland Branch of the Allied Works Council, and in 1946, he became Senior Civil Engineer for the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing. In this latter post he had responsibility for designing projects for Papua New Guinea, and in March 1950 he was promoted there as Principal Engineer, later Acting Assistant Director of Works. During the next eight years he was involved in the design and construction of major port facilities at most coastal centres, hydro-electric power stations for Port Moresby, Goroka and Aijura, new diesel power stations for most other important centres, hundreds of kilometres of gravel roads and over 3 000 linear metres of bridges, as well as government building, schools and urban subdivisions.

He went to Canberra in April 1958 as Principal Engineer and Acting Assistant Director of Works; he was given responsibility for the construction of Scrivener Dam, the Kings and Commonwealth Avenue bridges, the Government Printing Office and general engineering services for the rapidly growing city. The dam and bridges were not completed when, in March 1962, his career took a new turn, one for which, after 21 years of experience living in and designing works for tropical conditions, he was uniquely qualified: Director of Works for the Northern Territory.

Of the Darwin of that time, he notes: 'Conditions in the Northern Territory for public servants and, indeed, most citizens, were deplorable. In Darwin, with the exception of the Post Office and the Legislative Council Building, Government offices were in the main converted, unsuitable wartime buildings, many with galvanised roofs and walls and partitions... Throughout the Territory offices, schools, hospitals, hostels, housing etc. were entirely inadequate. Power was rationed and unreliable, reticulated water, where available, was rationed, and Darwin the only town which had any sewerage. No bitumen country roads and only one bridge had been constructed since the war.' Such conditions had much to do with the then current practice of posting public servants to the Territory for a limited term; indeed, Redmond was the ninth Director of Works since 1946.

It may be fairly said that over the next 15 years George Redmond had the responsibility for planning, designing and building a substantial share of the Territory's public works. Included were more than 8 000 government houses, over 30 schools, several hospital and hostels, as well as providing reticulated water and sewerage for a rapidly expanding population. New power stations in all centres raised the output from 47.6 million kilowatts (KWh) in 1961/62 to 357 million KWh in 1975/76.

Roads, however, were his real enthusiasm, and certainly they were needed, for the state of the Territory's roads was legendary. He oversaw the construction of 2 500 kilometres of new bitumen-sealed roads, including beef roads, 5 000 linear metres of bridges and upgrading of the Barkly and Stuart Highways. No desk-bound bureaucrat, his tall (193 centimetres) well-built figure became familiar striding around construction sites throughout the Territory. It was a matter of no small pride when, in 1979, the new causeway at Newcastle Waters, embodying 18.4 kilometres of road and three bridges was named the George Redmond Crossing. Even earlier recognition of his services came when, in 1970, he was made a Companion of the Imperial Service Order (ISO).

Cyclone Tracy, which devastated Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974, presented Redmond with his ultimate challenge. Neither he nor his department were unprepared, for a comprehensive cyclone disaster plan had existed for some years, and parts of it had been reviewed shortly before Tracy. As a result, Redmond and his men were out at first light on 25 December, and by nightfall main access streets had been cleared sufficiently to permit traffic, while at the hospital emergency repairs had been made, water restored and two generators had been installed. That day set the pattern for what was to be Redmond's role: the rehabilitation of Darwin.

Over the next six months he co-ordinated and oversaw the more than 3 000 men, many from interstate, who restored the city to some semblance of normality. Essential public buildings and more than 4 000 dwellings were weather proofed, water and electrical services were restored to meet demand and all streets and most allotments were cleared of debris. The fact that by 30 June 1975 some 30 000 people could be adequately, if not always comfortably, housed, both at home and at work, was proof of his department's success. The task was not made easier, either personally or professionally, by the virtual exclusion of the Department of Housing and Construction from the planning and operations undertaken by the Darwin Reconstruction Commission. In addition, Redmond was responsible for the normal planning and construction of public works in the Territory at large.

For the whole of his sojourn in Darwin Redmond was deeply involved in town planning for the Territory as a whole; from 1967 to 1977 he was Chairman of the Town Planning Board. He also served on the Planning Advisory Committee of the Darwin Community College, and from June 1971 to December 1973 was a member of its Interim Council. A keen golfer and even keener fisherman, he contributed much to both sports and was an active member of Rotary.

In July 1977, he returned to Canberra as Director Operations in the Central office of the Department of Construction, and on 29 September 1978, he retired, having reached age 65.

Northern Territory Archives Service, oral history interviews; personal information.

F H BAUER, Vol 3.

REID, JOHN WARD (?-?), seaman, hotelkeeper and shady character of the Borroloola district, was known as 'Blackjack' to everyone other than the courts. Reid was involved in 'blackbirding' for Queensland sugar planters. His schooner was named, aptly, *Smuggler*. After government authority confiscated the boat, Reid had another boat built. This was christened *Good Intent*, which suggests that he may have had a sense of humour.

Reid first shipped goods into Borroloola in the *Good Intent* in 1884, without paying duty upon them. Unfortunately, for Reid, **Alfred Searcy**, the customs inspector, arrived unexpectedly, and forced William Hay, who purchased the 'duty-free' goods, to pay the duty. Searcy impounded the vessel and towed it back to Palmerston also taking Reid and his wife Henrietta for sentencing.

A year later Reid and his wife were back in Borroloola operating the Royal Hotel. It seems that Reid had the idea of supplying passing drovers and overlanders with liquor and general stores and thus making his fortune.

In October 1886 the Borroloola police station was moved into the Royal Hotel, until the completion of the new police station in 1887. By November, Reid had sold the Royal. His later movements are unknown.

Blackjack and Henrietta are remembered today by Reids Rocks near the junction of the McArthur and Carrington rivers.

J Whitaker, *Borroloola*, 1985.

JUDITH WHITAKER, Vol 1.

REYNOLDS, THOMAS (1817-1875), grocer and politician, was born in England and brought up by an uncle as a grocer. He immigrated to South Australia in 1840, opened a grocer's shop and later was one of the first jam-makers and establishers of sultana grapes and the dried fruit industry. He married a Miss Litchfield, sister of Mr F B Litchfield, the stationmaster at Salisbury.

In 1854, Reynolds was elected Alderman of the Adelaide City Council and, shortly after, a member of the Legislative Council. He was active in politics from then until 1873, occupying several senior posts including Commissioner of Public Works, 1857-58; Premier and Treasurer, 1860-61; Treasurer for varying periods between 1861 and 1868; and Commissioner for Crown Lands (which included Northern Territory matters) in the Ayers ministry, 1872-73.

In early 1873, Reynolds visited Java, Macassar and Singapore to explore the possibility of importing Chinese coolies to work in the Territory's mines. On the return journey, he spent 66 days in the Territory, making a thorough investigation of the affairs of the colony. He authorised some bridgework on the road to the mines and completion of a jetty at Port Darwin, settled many grievances and restored some order to government affairs. He found many of the public service staff, including **Bloomfield Douglas**, the Government Resident, more interested in their mines than their duties and could not ascertain the costs of anything from official records, or how the staff had been employed. In a full report, he recommended that the entire control of the Territory be vested in one local responsible head, that an experienced secretary be appointed, and that Douglas be replaced.

Unfortunately, perhaps, Reynolds did not remain in his position to follow through his observations and recommendations, although, as events proved, his successors did put his main recommendations into effect. He resigned shortly after his return from the Territory, an act that helped to break up the Ayers ministry. Attracted by business opportunities in the Territory, he went back and opened a store. This was not successful and in February 1875, he and his wife embarked on SS *Gothenburg* for the return journey to Adelaide—and went down with the ship off the Queensland coast.

Reynolds was described as a man of naturally restless mind, sanguine temperament and vigorous constitution. His name is not connected specially with great measures but his influence was felt in the general course of legislation from the time he entered Parliament until 1873.

His main contribution to the Territory was his report on the state of affairs there and the action that flowed from it, including the removal of Douglas and his replacement by **G B Scott**, an experienced official. Scott's instructions delegated to him the entire control of all official establishments in the Territory and as soon as legislation could be passed, the administration of crown lands, charge of the police and the general promotion of peace, order and good government. The appointment of **J G Knight** as secretary to Scott was also a direct result of Reynolds's report. Knight was to exercise a significant influence on Territory affairs for many years to come.

Reynolds also supported the introduction of Chinese labourers to the Territory and correctly forecast that before long the Territory would have a large coloured population.

Two sons, both in business in the Territory, survived him.

E Hodder, *The History of South Australia*, 1893; J Lewis, *Fought and Won*, 1922; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 27 March 1875; *Adelaide Register*, 8 March 1875; SAPP, 55/1873; Lewis papers and diaries, SAA.

T G JONES, Vol 1.

RICE, PHILLIP JOHN (1927–1991), barrister and Judge, was born at Adelaide, South Australia on 20 May 1927. The son of John Vincent Rice and Lorna Nilpinna, *nee* Giles, his father was a stationmaster for the Commonwealth Railways, and his mother taught piano and was well known for her interest in riding camels and horses. Rice grew up with his parents in the country and attended state primary schools at Oodnadatta, Quorn, Cook and Tarcoola and the Hartley Street School in Alice Springs. As there was no secondary schooling then available at Alice Springs, he was boarded with relations in Adelaide to attend Adelaide High School. In 1944, he started work as a clerk with a firm of solicitors and commenced his law studies at the University of Adelaide. At the end of 1944, he enlisted in the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and saw service in Australia and overseas until 1946. In 1947, he resumed his legal studies and commenced articles of clerkship. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of South Australia on 18 December 1950, and graduated Bachelor of Laws from the University of Adelaide in 1951, having qualified for the degree at the end of 1950.

In January 1951, Rice returned to Alice Springs, which he regarded as his hometown, and went into practice on his own account. On 28 April 1951, he married Marjory Helen Mitton. There were four children, two born in Alice Springs Ian Dareus (1953–1954) and Sharon Joan (1956–1975) and two in Adelaide (John Fraser, born 16 January 1959 and Helen Marie, born 22 May 1960). He practised in Alice Springs mostly as a sole practitioner, and was active as a member of the Federals Football Club and as president of the Alice Springs Memorial Club. In 1958 at the invitation of Sir Harry Alderman, QC, he joined the Adelaide firm of Alderman Brazel Clark and Ligertwood. Eventually he became senior partner of the firm. On 8 October 1970, Rice was appointed a Queen's Counsel, and moved to the independent bar.

During the period of his practice in Adelaide, Rice served on a number of committees for the Law Society of South Australia, as President of the South Australian Bar Association (1976–1983) and Vice President of the Australian Bar Association (1980, 1983). He also lectured part-time in the Law of Evidence at the Adelaide University. (1970–1973). He also served for many years as a legal officer in the RAN Reserve (1971–1987) rising to the rank of Commodore (1983) and became Judge Marshall in 1985.

On 7 May 1983, he married Prudence Holmes. There were no children of this marriage.

On 15 December 1983 he was appointed a Judge of the South Australian District Court, a position he held until his appointment as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory on 8 March 1985. Rice served as a Judge of the Court until he was forced to retire due to ill health on 31 January 1991. He also served as Regional Chairman of the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust in the Northern Territory and as a member of the National Executive.

Physically, Rice was about 175 centimetres tall, portly, with grey hair, a well-lined but oval face, and prominent eyebrows and clean-shaven. A great raconteur and bon vivant, he was a popular figure, a man of presence and dignity, and had an infectious sense of humour. Always cheerful, with a capacity to cause cheerfulness in others, he was possessed of a large vocabulary of out-back metaphors, Australian idiom, and *bon mots*. Nevertheless, he was insistent on high standards of personal behaviour even at informal gatherings.

As a barrister, Rice was equally comfortable in both civil and criminal jurisdictions and appeared regularly in the Supreme Court of South Australia and the Northern Territory with occasional briefs in the High Court of Australia and the Privy Council. As an advocate, he was regarded as formidable and wily. His most famous case was as counsel for Michael and Lindy Chamberlain during the first inquest at Alice Springs into the disappearance of Azaria Chamberlain at Ayers Rock that resulted in findings by Denis Barritt SM that the child had been taken by a dingo but there was human intervention in the disposal of the body. As a result of this case, he earned the nickname 'Rumpole of the Rock'.

His only weakness was a dislike for paperwork which often resulted in long delays before written opinions were provided, and later, as a judge, before reserved judgments were written. Otherwise, he was well regarded as a diligent hardworking and capable judge. He wrote with clarity and simplicity of style, and neither indulged in prolixity, and nor did he seek to impress with unnecessary shows of great learning. He conducted his court with courtesy and was considered particularly expert at the criminal law and the law of evidence.

Whilst living in Darwin he contracted melioidosis, (Nightcliff Gardener's Disease), a tropical disease which led to his premature retirement and ultimately to his death. He died at Adelaide on 4 June 1991. His body was cremated.

The Advertiser (Adelaide), 16 December 1983; *Northern Territory Law Reports* v, vii–ix, 1994; *The News* (Adelaide), 15 December 1983; *Northern Territory News*, 9 March 1985; personal information kindly supplied by Mrs P Rice & H Rice; P J Rice, Biographical note, undated; Rice J 'The Court As It Was', 1986, 2 *Australian Bar Review* 50; Transcript of Ceremonial Sittings of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, Darwin, 8 March 1985, Alice Springs 15 April 1985; Transcript of Memorial Sittings of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, Darwin, 11 June 1991, Alice Springs, 12 June 1991; Transcript of Proceedings of the Central District Court, Adelaide, South Australia, 15 December 1983; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1991.

DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

RICHARDS, ARCHIBALD EZRA (ARCH) (1915–1989), bookkeeper, station hand, public servant, was born in Greenslopes Hospital, Brisbane, on 6 March 1915, second of four sons of William Robert Richards and his wife Clementine *nee* Hern. Arch's father had served with the Australian forces in France in the First World War and won the Military Cross (MC). His mother had a small shop at Maroon in southern Queensland.

Arch was educated at Wallaces Creek School and Boonah High School. He would have liked to continue with his education but there was no money to allow this. After leaving school, he studied bookkeeping by correspondence. He tried selling for Gilmores, and worked as a farm hand at Coolin Coolin Station which was quite well known for the many famous visitors who were welcomed by the Bell sisters, among whom reputedly was the then Prince of Wales and the writer Agatha Christie. In 1939, Arch was offered a job travelling with four pedigree bulls, by sea to Darwin, and then to Wave Hill station. The Second World War was declared while the ship was at sea. He worked as a station hand at Wave Hill for nearly 12 months but became very bitter about the treatment of their employees by the owners, Vesteys.

In 1940, he received a letter from a cousin in Tennant Creek inviting him to keep the books and fetch water for the Rising Sun mine owned by **Bill Weaber**. He moved to Tennant Creek and worked for Weaber until he was offered a job as clerk in the Mines Branch at Tennant Creek later the same year. In 1941, he married **Betty Maloney** in Tennant Creek. Four children were born of the marriage.

When Japan entered the war Arch decided to join up as his three brothers were already serving. Initially he was not allowed to leave the mines branch because the mining of wolfram and mica in the Territory was considered part of the war effort and his job was considered necessary. Although the government battery was closed, the mining warden's office was not closed in Tennant Creek until 1943, after which in July 1943 he joined the Royal Australian Air Force. After initial training in Australia, he was sent to Canada as part of the Empire Training Scheme. There he became an instructor for pilots and was made a Flying Officer. In February 1945, he was returned to Australia in preparation for transfer to New Guinea and was based at Archerfield near Brisbane. After peace was declared on 15 August 1945, he returned to Tennant Creek to re-establish the Mines Branch there. After a short period in Alice Springs, he and his family moved to Darwin in 1949. There he served in a number of senior administrative positions, among which was Clerk of the Legislative Council between January and November 1952. The family then returned to Alice Springs. Between then and 1956 when he left the public service, he served in a variety of capacities for the Northern Territory Administration.

In 1956, the family moved to Darwin where Arch joined Jack Coleman (of Coleman's printers) as manager/partner for their store in Mitchell Street west. They lived in a converted Sydney Williams hut until their own house was built. The hut, which stood where the Raffles Plaza was later located, is remembered for the idiosyncrasy of its electrical and plumbing fittings which appeared to function quite independently of the users. Also notable were the cannas that grew through the floor of the elevated shower cubicle.

In 1959, Arch suffered the first of a series of heart attacks but he continued to work at Colemans for several more years. He was optimistic, had a great sense of the ridiculous, and was cheerful though could be tough at times. He was very ambitious to succeed. In 1964, he rejoined the public service in the Welfare Branch. He then contracted tuberculosis, was off work for 12 months, and hospitalised for quite some time. Early in 1975 after cyclone Tracy destroyed their Darwin home he and Betty returned to Tennant Creek where he continued to work in Aboriginal affairs until Arch retired, due to continued ill health, in July 1976. In anticipation of retirement, they had bought a small house at Atherton, Queensland. They built a new house and lived there for 14 years. After several years of improved health, Arch required an aorta replacement operation in 1988 but his health continued to deteriorate and he died in Atherton on 3 September 1989.

Administrator's annual reports, 1949–1953; family information.

ANN RICHARDS, Vol 3.

RICHARDS, BETTY ELEANOR (nee MALONEY) (1918–), homemaker, was born in Westonia, Western Australia, on 21 January 1918, elder daughter of **James Lawrence Maloney** and his wife **Charlotte**, *nee* Martin. She attended Wyndham Primary School and won a scholarship at the end of her primary school years but her father would not let her go away to secondary school. She had lessons after school with the primary school teacher,

Charlie Hilton, and was sure she would go to high school one day. She taught herself to crochet, sew all kinds of fancy work and work the treadle sewing machine.

In 1927, she took ill with an acute appendix and a very young and inexperienced **Dr Clyde Fenton** was her doctor. During the emergency operation, the electric lights failed and he was forced to continue by torchlight. The surgery was not a success. Betty had a bad time for weeks and eventually went to Perth for another operation.

In 1934, the family moved to Tennant Creek and later that year after some weeks' schooling in Alice Springs she and Shirley went with their mother to Melbourne where they were enrolled at Tintern Church of England Girls School in Melbourne. Betty spent two years at boarding school and gained a good pass in the Intermediate Certificate (approximately year 10). She then spent some time at home before returning to Melbourne to train at the Royal Melbourne Hospital. On completion of her nursing training in 1941, she returned to Tennant Creek where she met and married **Arch Richards** the same year. There were four children of the marriage, Ann (born 1942), Bob (born 1948), twins John and Joy (born 1952).

After a few months in Queensland in 1943 waiting with her husband until he was sent overseas Betty returned to Tennant Creek. She convinced the Army authorities that she should be allowed to have her bicycle transported to Tennant Creek to allow her to travel from her place of work to her home. She cited Tennant as her place of work and Hatches Creek, where her father was working, as her home, a distance of several hundred miles.

At war's end, the family remained in Tennant Creek where Arch, on his return, began to re-establish the mining warden's office. In 1948, the family moved to Darwin; 1953 saw them in Alice Springs and they returned to Darwin in 1956. For some years, Betty worked in Coleman's store, then for Barden's Pharmacy until she joined the Lands Branch. After the family home was destroyed by Cyclone Tracy in December 1974 she and Arch returned to Tennant Creek where they lived with her brother **Jerry Maloney** until Arch's retirement after which they moved to the Atherton Tableland in Queensland. She returned to Darwin in 1990 after Arch's death, and now lives close to her children and grandchildren.

Family information.

ANN RICHARDS, Vol 3.

RICHARDSON, LUCIUS LAWRENCE D'ARCY (BILL) (1903–1971), soldier, builder and politician, was born in Rockhampton, Queensland, in 1903. He served in the Army for three and a half years during the Second World War and arrived in the Northern Territory in 1953. He was a master builder and soon established a very successful business. Until 1956, he was engaged on construction work at Batchelor and Rum Jungle. He then settled in Darwin and began building under government contracts.

Having previously been an alderman for some years with the Redcliffe Council near Brisbane, he offered himself in the Mayoral elections for the newly reconstituted Darwin Town Council in June 1957. He was one of four candidates and received 62.4 per cent of the valid votes cast. He was clearly a very shrewd man; where other candidates had made many promises, he told voters that he had none to make, that if elected he would 'carry out the duties of Mayor with the dignity the office demands and at the end of 12 months, give you an account of my stewardship.' He then went on to carefully suggest that there were certain matters that did need attention, among them a new Daly Street bridge. He also suggested that a low Mayoral allowance would keep the position safe for those who could afford to subsidise the allowance.

Richardson completed his term of office and retired. The Administrator, **J C Archer**, paid tribute to his 'very important personal contribution' and noted in particular the 'dignity and ability' with which he had undertaken his Mayoral duties. Although Richardson was considered 'self-opinionated and dictatorial', Alistair Heatley's assessment is that this was not a failing in a brand new Council where leadership was needed. Under Richardson's guidance, an award for Council employees had been negotiated but the complaints of other employers led the Council to resign from the Northern Territory Employers' Association. Dress reform was also on his agenda. At the Mayoral Ball in 1958, he and the incoming Mayor, **John Lyons**, decreed that black bow ties and long sleeved white shirts were appropriate dress for men, with a 'tuxedo' jacket only if owned.

He stood again for Mayor, unsuccessfully, in 1959 and 1963 though he was elected as an alderman in the latter year as the leading Australian Labor Party (ALP) candidate. In February 1964, only seven months into the Council year, he resigned when he purchased the Mataranka Tourist Resort that he and his wife intended to further develop.

In the meantime, Richardson had been elected to the Legislative Council for the new seat of Larrakeyah on 20 February 1960 but he resigned in December of that year. Richardson had, wrote Walker, 'experienced some difficulty in adapting from local government to state-type legislating.' He stood for the Elsey seat at the 1968 Legislative Council elections as an ALP candidate but was unsuccessful.

In May 1969, back in Darwin, he was defeated in the Mayoral elections by **Harry Chan**, who died in September. At the subsequent by-election Richardson was the successful candidate when he topped the poll. He told voters that he looked to the position of Mayor as being similar to a chairman of directors of a business and therefore proper business methods and accountability were needed. Although he saw himself as the 'People's Mayor' and was the first 'full-time' Mayor, his health was failing.

He resigned on 1 November 1971 on his return from Brisbane where he had been treated for lung cancer. He died five days later on 5 November at the age of 68. On his death, a previous Mayor, Harold Cooper, described him as a 'fine mayor, a man fitted for the job'. He was survived by his three children and his wife, Gladys Margaret, *nee* Warnick, whom he had married in Grafton, New South Wales, in 1933. He was buried at McMillans Road cemetery in Darwin according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

In earlier years, he had been Patron of the Northern Territory Rugby League Association and on the Committee of the Police Boys' Club and the Darwin Club. Richardson Ward, a Council electorate within the City of Darwin, bears his name.

A Heatley, *A City Grows*, 1986; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; *Northern Territory News*, 23 May 1957, 25 June 1957, 2 July 1957, 8 May 1958, 13 May 1958, 20 May 1958, 25 June 1958, 10 February 1964, 24 September 1969, 6 November 1971.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

RICKETTS, WILLIAM (1899–), musician, philosopher and sculptor, was born in Richmond, Victoria, in 1899. He had no formal training as a sculptor. His early life was involved with music, rather than art. He took violin lessons in Melbourne and for 11 years earned his living by playing the violin in city and suburban picture theatre orchestras. This life ended with the introduction of 'talking movies'.

In 1935, Ricketts and his mother moved to the Dandenong Ranges outside Melbourne, where they purchased a small area of forest near Olinda. There Ricketts built a bush hut of timber and a primitive oven to bake his sculptures. Working with local clay, he produced Aboriginal figures, native animals, birds and reptiles.

In 1950, Ricketts spent several months living with the Pitjantjatjara people of Central Australia. This was his first direct contact with Aborigines. During the years following, he visited many outlying Aboriginal groups in the Northern Territory and South Australia, returning on four occasions to Central Australia. His works from this period can be seen at Pitchi Richi in Alice Springs, although vandals destroyed many of the works over the years.

Vandals also struck at Olinda. Ricketts's mother died in 1956 and, as Ricketts lived alone after her death, there was no one to look after the sanctuary in his absence. On returning to Olinda from Central Australia in 1960, Ricketts found that most of his sculptures had been either destroyed or stolen. This destruction focused public attention on his work. In 1961, in response to public demands that his sculptures should be preserved and protected, the Government of Victoria accepted Ricketts's gift of his land and his works and in 1964 Olinda was opened to the public. Ricketts continued living there in a modern house the government built for him.

The basis of his work was the belief that all life was one. Rather than standing alone, his sculptures blend into the natural environment, creating a spiritual unity between nature and man. He constantly denied that he was an artist, writing in 1977 that, 'The sculptural works within this forest scene are secondary manifestations derived from the Primary Purpose of this beautiful forest scene. Therefore the idea of artist or sculptor does NOT exist here.' This mystical aspect of Ricketts's work made conventional art critics uncomfortable. John Hetherington wrote in 1965 that he belonged 'in no known pigeonhole; he cannot be presented in terms which fit ordinary men, nor can his work be discussed in the slithery jargon of the art dabblers.' Ricketts has been described as a 'crusader in clay', but in Hetherington's view, he was less a crusader than an evangelist, seeking to persuade people to see the truths in life.

In late 1991, Ricketts was still living and working at Olinda. In 1990, the Pitchi Richi Sanctuary in Alice Springs was taken over by an Aboriginal group that is preserving Ricketts' sculptures there and documenting the Aboriginal legends on which his works are based.

K Scarlett, *Australian Sculptors*, 1980; Olinda Sanctuary, Department of Conservation and Environment, Victoria; Pitchi Richi Sanctuary, Alice Springs, Northern Territory.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

RIOLA: see [RRAIWALA](#)

RIWALA: see [RRAIWALA](#)

ROBERTS, BARNABAS: see [GABARLA](#)

ROBERTS, DONALD ARTHUR (1889–1958), lawyer, and Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory was born at Hindmarsh, South Australia on 26 May 1889. His father, Thomas Goolden Roberts who was a school headmaster, was married to Annie Beatrice, *nee* Chesterman. Roberts was educated at Campbelltown, Aldgate and Minlaton State Schools, Muirden Business College, and Prince Alfred's College, South Australia, before completing the final certificate in Law at Adelaide University on 1 April 1912. He had served five years as an articled clerk to James Leslie Gordon before being admitted to practice as a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of South Australia in July 1912.

On 7 October 1912, he entered into a contract with **John James Symes**, a Darwin solicitor, to work as his employed solicitor, his position to be taken up in Darwin as soon as possible. Roberts was required to pay his own fare to Darwin. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory on 15 November 1912. Roberts' career flourished and after Symes' death in 1915, he took over his practice. He appeared as counsel in many criminal trials, either as prosecutor or for the defendant, as well as in many civil trials between 1913–1921. During this period, there was no Crown Prosecutor's office in Darwin and all prosecution work was briefed out, mostly to Roberts, but occasionally to his only competitor, **Ross Mallam**. He served on the Darwin Town Council between 1915 and 1918 as the Administrator's nominee before losing his seat in the union takeover led by **Harold George Nelson** in the 1918 elections. Roberts attempted to resist Nelson's rise to power, but Nelson saw to it that Roberts lost his seat. Nelson, who was elected to the council in 1917, immediately questioned the legitimacy of Roberts' seat, as he had accepted fees in a Court action against the Council. Roberts counter attacked

by lodging over 200 objections to the electoral roll in order to delay the elections or at least expose malpractice by the Labor candidates. The Electoral Office dismissed most of the objections as frivolous, and Roberts was forced, under threat of heavy penalties, to withdraw the rest.

In 1919, he was briefed by the Administrator, [Dr J A Gilruth](#), and the Commonwealth to prosecute Nelson and Robert Munro Balding, secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners Union, for assaulting [Inspector Waters](#) during the Government House riot in December 1918. Roberts advised against the prosecution, as to do so would make martyrs of Nelson and Balding, the local magistrate was likely only to impose a fine, or commit for trial in the Supreme Court, and trial by jury was ‘unthinkable’. He advised special retrospective legislation to enable the defendants to be tried in Melbourne. However, the Commonwealth ignored this advice and Roberts was forced to lay the necessary informations in February 1919. These were dismissed by [Edward Copley Playford SM](#) as Waters was held not to be performing his duties under the Crimes Act 1914 (Commonwealth). Roberts, acting on instructions from the Minister, laid fresh informations under the Police Act 1869. These prosecutions succeeded, and Playford SM fined both defendants, but Acting Justice Herbert quashed the convictions on appeal to the Supreme Court.

On 11 April 1919, Roberts married Ella Sicklemore (1886–1975) of Launceston, Tasmania, at Christ Church Cathedral, Darwin. He had two sons, Ian Donald (born 1921) and Thomas Chesterman (born 1924).

With the removal of [Justice Bevan](#) from office in September 1920 following the Ewing Royal Commission’s report in April, the Commonwealth publicly advertised the position of Judge, and Roberts (who had also applied for the position of Administrator) was appointed as only the second permanent Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory on 11 November 1921 although he was not sworn in until 1 December. At 32 years of age, he is still the youngest person ever to be appointed as a Judge of any Australian Superior Court.

Although a supporter of the Gilruth administration, Roberts was critical of his predecessor, Justice Bevan, whom he thought gave the impression of lacking judicial independence by appearing to be subordinate to Gilruth. Roberts went to considerable lengths to impress upon the public his own judicial independence, although he did maintain friendly relations with [Urquhart](#), the Administrator from 1921 to 1927, even to the extent of regularly playing tennis at Government House.

Roberts fought the Administration over control of the courthouse and the Supreme Court library, even to the extent of ordering alterations being made to the jury room to provide accommodation for the Territory’s first Crown Law Officer, Algernon Charles Braham, to be stopped, whilst he tried to have Braham evicted. Roberts had no time for Braham, whom he considered inept, and he loathed Charles Barnett Story, the Government Secretary and permanent head of the Northern Territory Public Service. Roberts was privately very critical of the personnel the Commonwealth chose to run the Territory, and of the Commonwealth’s methods of government, and used every opportunity to give voice to his criticisms. Not even a rebuke from the Secretary of the Home and Territories Department, in January 1923, over criticisms he had made of the Commonwealth Railways, made any difference. Although he lost control of the courthouse, he won control over the library, and he succeeded in having Stipendiary Magistrate and Supreme Court Registrar Major Gerald Hogan, whom he also disliked, transferred to New Guinea in 1922.

A number of civil actions during his period of office also became the vehicle to test judicial independence and to voice criticism of Story, Braham, Hogan and Copley Playford SM, although it is fair to say that Mallam made the bullets for Roberts to fire. In 1922, he ordered the Darwin District Licensing Bench, of which Hogan SM was chairman, to receive plans for a publican’s licence at Emungalan. Hogan had argued that there was no jurisdiction to grant a publican’s licence north of the 15th parallel of south latitude, following the government’s nationalisation of the hotels in 1915. Roberts rejected the argument, basing his decision on amendments to the Licensing Act passed in 1921. The decision ultimately led to the abandonment of all government involvement in the hotel industry. In 1924 in a case involving a Board of Inquiry set up by the Administrator to enquire into the conduct of a nurse at the Darwin Hospital, he set aside the Board’s proceedings, and held that Braham, the Board’s Chairman, as well as the other Board members (all appointed on Story’s recommendation) were disqualified by bias. He was particularly critical of both Braham and Story, prohibited the Board from sitting further on the case, and ordered Story personally to pay the nurse’s legal costs.

Later the same year, he heard an appeal from a conviction by Playford SM of a charge brought by Story against an engineer who allegedly assaulted Story on the Esplanade. Roberts allowed the appeal on the basis that Playford, (who was then Director of Lands and Mines, and Story’s subordinate) was precluded from hearing the case, as there was a real likelihood of bias. Story also challenged Roberts’ ability to deal with the case on the basis that Roberts was biased against him, but Roberts dismissed this claim, asserting that he was not biased against Story, (although his private writings would show otherwise) and in any event, there was no other Judge to hear the appeal. Story sought leave to appeal to the High Court, but this was refused. Nelson, who had in 1922 been elected as the Territory’s sole member of the House of Representatives, used the result to criticise Story in Federal Parliament. By this time, any animosity between Roberts and Nelson had gone.

This led Story to resign in order to contest the 1925 Federal Election, but Nelson easily defeated him, and Story left the Territory humiliated. Roberts also made sure that his complaints about Braham reached the ears of the politicians in Melbourne. After Braham had been posted a defaulter by the Western Australian Turf Club in 1926 Roberts predicted that Braham’s appointment would not be extended, and this proved correct. It is fair to say that most of the men Roberts thought little of, with the exception of Playford, had serious personal and professional shortcomings.

In 1926, the Commonwealth divided the Northern Territory into two territories, the Territory of North Australia, and the Territory of Central Australia, by the passage of the Northern Australian Act, 1926. The Act also created

two new courts, the Supreme Courts of North Australia and of Central Australia, although the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory was not formally abolished, and continued its existence in the guise of the new courts. Roberts disliked the Act, and pointed out its unquestionable shortcomings to the Government. He continued to sit as the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, and the new Courts do not appear to have officially operated until after his retirement.

In 1926, acting upon anonymous information actually supplied by Mallam and Barratt, (Darwin's only other private solicitor) Roberts himself caused proceedings to be brought before him to strike Frank Ernest Bateman off the roll for misconduct. Bateman, the first Darwin practitioner to be struck off, holds the record for the shortest period from the date of admission to the date of removal from the roll—a mere 67 days, and is the only example in modern times of the Court moving to strike off on its own motion.

Roberts was also instrumental in reorganising the work of the courts after Hogan's departure. In 1921, **Frederick T Macartney**, the noted Australian poet, was transferred to Darwin to take up a position as assistant to the Government Secretary. At Roberts' suggestion, Macartney, with whom Roberts became friendly, was appointed to hold numerous positions including Judge's Associate, Clerk of the Supreme Court, Clerk of the various lower Courts, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Registrar of Companies and Firms, Sheriff, Public Trustee as well as a number of other minor positions. Roberts found that there was not enough work in the court to keep him busy, and actively sought other work. Although empowered to sit in the Local Court, he was reluctant to do so, because of complications that could arise if there were an appeal, (although he did occasionally sit in the Local Court). He also sat as a Court of Marine Enquiry and took evidence on Commission for the Commonwealth Arbitration Court in matters involving changes to awards.

Roberts resigned from the bench on 8 April 1928, ostensibly because he wanted to move to South Australia to further his sons' education, but there is little doubt that by then he had tired of the position and was looking to advance his own career. He had in 1922 indicated to the Commonwealth his willingness to serve as a Judge in New Guinea if Justice Herbert wanted to return to the Territory, but Justice Herbert was not able to secure his release. Roberts was interested in the position of Administrator—he felt he could adequately hold this position at the same time as that of Judge and had actively sought the dual position in late 1925—and he had canvassed the Commonwealth for a judicial appointment in the Bankruptcy Court in 1925. When none of these positions eventuated, he moved to Mount Gambier, South Australia, where he founded a legal practice that still existed in the 1990s. In 1932, he unsuccessfully sought election to the South Australian Legislative Council. Thereafter, he disappeared from public life, but remained in private practice in Mount Gambier until his death on 5 April 1958.

Roberts was a Freemason, active as a lay reader in the Anglican Church, and was interested in tennis, motoring, card playing and football. He was also a meticulous diarist, prolific letter writer and record keeper, and a collector of photographs. Macartney described him as 'a likeable, full-bodied man with a deliberate manner offset by a quiet sense of humour, a lay reader in the Church of England, not much concerned with the arts or literature, but having that studious devotion to traditions of justice that the holding of judgeship itself inspires'.

Unlike his predecessor, who preferred to deliver oral judgments, Roberts wrote (and even typed up himself) most of his judgments, which, although not particularly well written, showed attention to detail and a sound knowledge of the law. As he was unable to interest legal publishers in reporting them, he arranged for many of them to be reported verbatim in Darwin's union owned newspaper, the *Northern Standard*.

F X Alcorta, *Darwin Rebellion 1911–1919*, 1983; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; F T Macartney, *Proof against Failure*, 1967; *Northern Standard*, 27 June 1922, 4 April 1924, 6 April 1924, 15 September 1925, 31 December 1925, 5 October 1926, 22 July 1932; private correspondence and papers kindly supplied by T C Roberts; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1927–1928.

DEAN MILDREN, Vol 3.

ROBERTS, HENRY (?–c1905), miner, first came to the Territory in 1872, with the Bagot-Chambers prospecting expedition. The party consisted of John Westcott, Johannes Noltenius, Hulbert, Moses Littlefield, W Woods, Henry Roberts, H Houschildt, Pat Hyland and Porteous Valentine.

The party made camp at Sandy Creek, north of the Shackle and commenced prospecting there. Gold was found at the Shackle and the Margaret and was the first alluvial gold discovered by the party. Houschildt and Roberts left Westcott and made to the area later known as Port Darwin Camp.

While prospecting, they discovered what became known as the Priscilla Reef, near Grove Hill. This was the first gold reef found in the Territory. Westcott's party was allowed three claims by government consent.

A Frenchman named Louis then pegged a claim to the south of Roberts. This claim was called the Princess Louise. This was later sold for 5000 Pounds cash and 10 000 shares.

Roberts then left Yam Creek in 1874 and with **V L Solomon** mined at Woolwonga where a sample, crushed in Adelaide, averaged 1240 grams of gold to the tonne. Also, during the year Roberts, together with George Williams and four or five others, bid for and received a tribute on the Princess Louise.

In 1875, Roberts and party pegged out a claim on the John Bull Reef. The claim was called the Albion.

In 1878, Roberts joined Noltenius, Starke, Houschildt and Pickford in operating the Union Extended Gold mine and battery. The mine was sold in 1882 for the sum of 900 Pounds.

During 1882 Roberts was mining in the Spring Hill district.

In 1883, with Houschildt, he discovered Houschildt's Rush (alluvial) and Eureka gold mine on the Mary River. Also, in the same year, again with Houschildt, he discovered the Daly River copper mine.

In 1884, while working at the Daly with Landers, Schulbert and Noltenius, they were attacked by Aborigines and Roberts was the only survivor. Houschildt was speared, while prospecting out from the Daly, at the same time.

In 1886 Roberts worked with Harms, on a silver discovery at Coronet Hill and, two years later, was operating a tin claim at Bynoe Harbour with Granowski.

In 1892, Roberts once again leased the Extended Union Gold Mine and with C C Manner, R Webb, J Thomas and E Tamblyn, formed the Brock's Creek Gold Mining Company to work, among others, Gold Mining Lease Number 313, which later became the Zapopan Gold mine.

In 1901 Roberts was employed by the Northern Territory Goldfields Company as a manager and was sent from the Howley to examine the property of the Eureka Gold Mines Ltd. A year later, he was manager of the Mount Ellison copper mine.

Roberts died in about 1905 and was buried at the Extended Union (date unknown). His headstone was placed in a tree.

Personal information.

SUSAN BALFOUR, Vol 1.

ROBERTS, MERCIA: see **BUTLER, MERCIA**

ROBERTS, PHILLIP WAIPULDANYA (1922–1988), mechanic, medical assistant and liaison officer, was born in the country of the Alawa people, south of the Roper River, in 1922, the eldest son of Barnabas Gabarla, who was then working as a drover and was later a stockman, saddler and evangelist at the Roper River Mission (Ngukurr). Roberts was educated to fifth grade standard at the mission school and had sound instruction in bush skills in school holidays and after leaving school. He was trained in motor maintenance and repair by the mission mechanic, **Les Perriman**, and after Perriman left in October 1941, Roberts assumed responsibility for most of the mechanical work.

In 1953 he went to Urapunga station to repair a submerged marine engine, and on his way back to the mission he called at the Roper Bar Police Station, where he chanced to meet Dr W A ('Spike') Langsford of the Department of Health who was doing health survey work. Soon after this meeting, Langsford invited Roberts to join him as a driver-mechanic on a three-month medical survey of the Victoria River district, along with Mrs Langsford, who was a nursing sister, and in company with Creed Lovegrove, patrol officer, who was making the annual inspection of stations for the Native Affairs Branch. Langsford gave Roberts some instruction in medical matters and by the end of the trip he was working as an assistant as well as a driver. When he returned to Roper River he began to work with the nursing sister there and in 1954 when Dr Tarleton Rayment visited the mission, he employed Roberts as his assistant on visits to Rose River, Angurugu and Umbakumba, and later to Yirrkala, Elcho Island, Goulburn Island and Croker Island. Rayment then asked Roberts to undertake a foot patrol of the Murgengella and Coopers Creek country to locate any leprosy sufferers among the groups living in the bush. Between survey trips with Rayment Roberts worked as a laboratory assistant at Darwin Hospital, broadening his medical knowledge and skills. In 1957 Dr A H Humphry engaged him to help with a malaria research project and he attended a conference in Noumea on hygiene in indigenous communities in the South Pacific.

Roberts went to Maningrida soon after it was established to work on the identification and treatment of leprosy sufferers, under the supervision of Dr John Hargrave and in collaboration with **Ingrid Drysdale**. This work entailed journeys on foot into the country south and east of Maningrida to the camps of people who rarely visited the settlement. He was based at Maningrida for nine months and was joined there by his wife, Hannah Dulban, whom he had married at Roper in 1942, and their four elder daughters.

Roberts and his family then returned to Darwin and occupied a Housing Commission house at Nightcliff. He continued to work as a medical assistant and health inspector, mainly in campaigns to combat hookworm and leprosy. (Roberts' mother and a younger brother, Jacob, had both suffered from leprosy and his mother had died at Channel Island soon after the Second World War.)

Along with almost all other Aboriginal people in the Territory Roberts had been declared a ward in May 1957 under the Welfare Ordinance of 1953, but his record of employment with the Health Department suggested that this status was inappropriate and eventually, on 15 June 1960, he and his wife and daughters were duly declared no longer to be wards in need of special assistance. In 1962 **Douglas Lockwood** published his book, *I, the Aboriginal*, written in the form of an autobiography of Roberts and based on many hours spent interviewing him; two years later **Cecil Holmes** made a film for Australian Broadcasting Commission television with the same title.

In the 1960s Roberts was increasingly active in campaigns for Aboriginal rights, joining the Northern Territory Council for Aboriginal Rights in 1962 and becoming its president in 1965. He took part in a visit to Kenya organised by the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in 1964 and the next year he unsuccessfully stood for election for the seat of Arnhem in the Legislative Council.

In February 1969 Roberts was selected from a large field of applicants as one of three liaison officers for the Council for Aboriginal Affairs that had been established after the 1967 Referendum to advise the Commonwealth Government on Aboriginal policies and programs. Based at Katherine, his area of operation extended across northern Australia. He travelled widely sometimes with Dr H C Coombs and other Council members and staff of the Office, later the Department, of Aboriginal Affairs; and at other times he travelled alone, submitting informative and lively reports on the communities he visited. While in Katherine he served for a time as chairman of the Yulungu Association. In 1970, his work was recognised by the award of Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE). He had earlier been awarded Membership of the same Order (MBE). He left the Department in 1977, returned to Roper River, and unsuccessfully stood for election to the National Aboriginal Conference in November.

Roberts and his family had suffered severe losses with the deaths of his eldest daughter in Darwin and later of his wife in Katherine. In the 1970s, as Phillip was beginning to withdraw from public life, the career of his younger brother, **Silas**, had flourished. In 1983, after Silas' death, he left Ngukurr and for several years lived mainly at Cooida in the Kakadu National Park.

Phillip Roberts finally returned to live again at Ngukurr where he died 24 August 1988.

Aboriginal Biography Index, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra; D Lockwood, *I, the Aboriginal*, 1962; R Levitus, personal communication; *Sunday Territorian*, 25 September 1988.

JEREMY LONG, Vol 3.

ROBERTS, SILAS NGULATI (1925–1983), Methodist lay preacher and Aboriginal leader, was born at Roper in 1925, son of Barnabas Gabarla of the Alawa people. He was a younger brother of **Phillip Waipuldanya Roberts**. He was educated at the Roper River mission school and like his brother had sound instruction in bush skills in school holidays and after leaving school. He married Rosie and there were seven children, five of whom were boys.

For many years employed as launch master at the Roper River mission, Silas moved with his family to Maningrida in 1963 when the Northern Territory Administration was developing a fishing project there. He worked firstly with the Fisheries Branch and later with the Welfare Branch. He soon became a community leader, serving as president of the Maningrida Progress Association and of the Housing Association and becoming a Methodist lay preacher. Broad shouldered and, like Phillip, strongly built, Silas was calm, thoughtful and articulate, and he found varied responsibilities thrust upon him. On 18 September 1974, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace and Special Magistrate, the first Aboriginal person to hold these appointments in the Northern Territory. He served in this capacity at Maningrida until 1981.

When the Northern Land Council was established Silas was elected as its first chairman and he led the Council through its crucial first years when the Land Rights Act was developed and the Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry, presided over by Mr Justice Fox, was effectively determining the future of the Kakadu region. Ian Viner, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs in the Fraser government, was later to say after he met Roberts when he and Roy Marika travelled to Canberra in 1976, 'The people of the Northern Territory should know that Silas and Roy put their case with a compelling sense of justice, a quiet a quiet but determined dignity, and, moreover, as both Territorians and Aborigines, without any sense of prejudice or racism'.

In 1978, he was awarded the Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for 'service in the field of Aboriginal welfare'. He was also a member of the Aged Pensions Homes Trust, President of the North Australia Legal Aid Society and a member of a number of other committees.

In 1981, he returned to his traditional home at Ngukurr and on 31 March 1982 opened the new Roper River police station at the request of the Northern Territory government. He was employed by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and credited with outstanding work in the outstations area of Ngukurr. All these responsibilities took their toll and he was only 58 when he died at Ngukurr on 17 May 1983. Many mourners from all over the Territory were at his burial which was described, during the tributes paid to Silas Roberts in the Legislative Assembly, as a '17—plane funeral'. Canon Barry Butler, with whom Silas had travelled when he visited Arnhem Land and Barkly stations, firstly on foot, then on pushbikes and motorbikes before a motor vehicle was possible, conducted the service. His death, it is recorded, was hastened by self-sacrifice, 'he helped everyone, with disregard for his own life'.

He was survived by his wife, Rosie, and seven children; his brothers Phillip and Jacob and two sisters, **Mercia** and Connie. His name was remembered in the Silas Roberts Hostel in Packard Street, Larrakeyah. Among its residents were women and children from areas outside Darwin who lived there while their children attended the local primary school.

Aboriginal Biography Index, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra; *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* S97, 6 June 1978; D Lockwood, *I, the Aboriginal*, 1962; *Northern Territory News*, 19 May 1983; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 25 & 26 May 1983; press release (unsourced), State Library file; I Viner, 'A Notable leader', *Northern Territory News*, 9 June 1983.

JEREMY LONG, Vol 3.

ROBERTSON, EDWARD ALBERT (TED) (1929–1991), educationalist, teacher and politician, was born in Albany, Western Australia, on 18 March 1929, son of Mr and Mrs Neil Robertson. Ted, whose father left the family home before he was born, was reared in his early years by his mother and maternal grandfather, who was an active railway unionist and Labor Party member. Ted was educated at Albany High School, Claremont Teachers College and the University of Western Australia, matriculating in 1946, monitoring as a student teacher in 1947 and completing his teacher's training in 1948–1949.

It was during this time he decided to go searching for his father, Neil, who had gone to the Northern Territory and become a well-known left wing unionist in Darwin in the early 1930s. Neil, also known as 'Jock', was among the men arrested when riots broke out during a 'sit down' demonstration by the unemployed on the verandah of the government offices in Darwin in January 1931. Born in Scotland, Neil had come to Australia after the First World War and settled in Western Australia where he met and married Ted's mother. When the Second World War broke out Neil was one of the first to enlist from the Territory. He was taken prisoner on Crete and was in a German prisoner-of-war camp for four years, returning to Darwin when the war concluded. It was then that Ted came to Darwin, found his father and reunited his parents. Ted later observed, 'I never really understood why they separated in the first place because when they were reconciled after the war and my mother came to Darwin to

live, they were the most perfectly matched couple you could imagine. From then on I really regarded Darwin as my home’.

Ted continued his education in Western Australia but made frequent visits to his parents in Darwin, learning more about his father during each visit, including the fact that he had spent time gold mining and buffalo and crocodile shooting in the Pine Creek region.

After teaching for a year in Western Australia, Ted got a two-year secondment from the Education Department in 1951 to become an organiser for the Junior Farmer Movement in Armadale, Western Australia. The Movement was aimed at helping young farmers and Ted later described the period as one of the most fascinating of his life. It was during this period that he met his future wife, Audrey, who was the daughter of a conservative farming family. She became involved in the Movement and worked with Ted on the communities, gradually being drawn away from her parents’ conservative politics towards Labor policies. When Ted moved to Perth in 1953 to take up a job as teacher at Perth Boys’ High, Audrey, who by then had also formally endorsed Labor policies, got a job as a stenographer. The following year they were married. For most of the next 10 years, they moved to different teaching positions in Western Australia where Ted was the innovator of the work experience technique in schools. He became a Reserve Officer with the Royal Australian Air Force from 1961.

About 1963 Ted and Audrey moved to Darwin where he became the first appointed officer in the Northern Territory concerned with adult education for Aborigines, a job he found challenging and rewarding. He also joined the local branch of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and soon became Secretary. The family returned to Perth at the end of 1965 to enable Ted to complete a university degree, (he ultimately was awarded Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Education degrees), but they returned to Darwin in 1968 when Ted became a permanent education officer.

By this time, he was actively involved in the Labor Party, having served on the West Australian State Executive for 1966–1967. His move to Darwin marked what many regard as the ‘rebirth of the Labor Party in the Territory’. He and colleagues like **Fred Drysdale**, Harry Bauer and Paddy Carroll worked hard on the party constitution and on re-activating interest in the party. According to many observers, Ted did a great deal to give the party a more respectable and cohesive image than it had for a while. As Senator Bob Collins said in paying tribute to him after his death, ‘he will be remembered with gratitude by the rank and file members of the ALP in the NT because he played an absolutely crucial role in getting the party on to some sort of professional footing’. It was Ted Robertson who almost solely provided the initiative to reform the party in the Territory and he soon became President of the Darwin Branch.

Ted stood for the House of Representatives for the Territory in 1969 and again in 1972, both times unsuccessfully. He became party president from 1970 to 1977 and served on the federal executive. He realised the ALP needed new policies and needed to revitalise its membership, and along with fellow reformer John Waters and others, worked hard to achieve those goals.

During this time, he also became active in community affairs. He served as an inaugural board member of the Northern Territory Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) from 1970 and was a member of the national board from 1980. In 1973–1974, he was chair of the Northern Territory Council of Social Services and vice chair from 1974. In 1974–1975, he served as a member of the Cyclone Tracy Relief Trust Fund and a member of the Darwin Citizens’ Council. From 1975–1979, he was chair of the Northern Territory Chapter of the Australian College of Education and he was involved with Austcare and Apex.

Following the election of the Whitlam Labor Government in 1972, the Territory was granted Senate representation and a fully elected Legislative Assembly and in 1975, Ted stood for the Senate. Along with the Country Liberal Party’s Bernie Kilgariff, Ted was elected and he held the seat until 1987.

He served as the Australian Labor Party Whip in the Senate for seven years, first as Opposition Whip from 1980 and then as Government Whip from 1983, following the election of the Hawke Labor government. As Whip, he was instrumental in having closed circuit television systems introduced into the old Parliament House so that the Whips could see the Chambers and know where people were. He was also active on several parliamentary committees, including those concerned with education and arts, national resources and estimates. One of the jobs he found most interesting was his trip to Zimbabwe as part of the parliamentary delegation that visited that country to officially observe the elections there. He represented Parliament on the Council of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and was a member of parliamentary delegations to the Indian sub-continent, the 1978 of the Constitutional Convention in Perth and as well as the 1980 observer team in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). He also led parliamentary delegations to Thailand and Indo-China.

In February 1984, Ted was elected as the Territory’s delegate to the ALP’s powerful Federal Executive and in July of that year beat Warren Snowdon for the top position on the ALP Senate ticket for the next federal election. Ted’s commitment to the Labor Party was recognised in 1986 when he was made a life member of the Party at a special function in the Northern Territory. In November 1986 Bob Collins, who had recently resigned as Leader of the Opposition in the Northern Territory, defeated Ted in preselection for the Senate. Collins went on to win the Senate seat and become the first Territorian to serve as a federal minister and cabinet minister.

After retiring from politics in 1987, Ted became President of the YMCA and he and Audrey moved to Canberra. Over the next few years, he and Audrey were able to spend time with their son and daughter before Ted died of cancer on 4 January 1991 after battling the disease for three years. A memorial service was held for him in Darwin where he had spent so much of his adult life and contributed so much to the political and educational life of the Territory. In federal parliament his colleagues paid him tribute with Senator John Button, then leader of the Government in the Senate, leading the way with these remarks: ‘We place on record our appreciation of his long and meritorious public service. His election to the Federal Parliament in 1975 as senator for the Northern Territory

was distinguished by the fact that he was one of the Territory's first elected representatives to federal politics. He served admirably for 12 years until his retirement in 1987. In the course of his parliamentary career he served on many committees and led some overseas delegations to Thailand and Indo-China... I worked very closely with him as a Whip and he did that job very well. In some ways he was a traditional, conservative Labor Party man. I use the word "conservative" in the best possible sense of the word. He was conservative in his values which were very decent ones. He described himself as a Depression child. He used to say that his family ate regularly during the Depression but nonetheless it was in those years that the foundations of his beliefs and commitment to social justice came about. Ted used to say that he was born an Anglican and a Labor person. He will be remembered as a modest man of dignity and integrity with a deep sense of duty and honour both to his constituency and the institution to which he belonged'.

His Territory colleague, Senator Bob Collins, said in the federal parliamentary condolence: 'I respected him for his integrity, his dignity and the enormous contribution he made behind the scenes. Ted had a very strong public and private stand on East Timor and a close involvement with the Timorese community in Darwin'. The Leader of the Opposition in the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly, Terry Smith, described Ted as 'the father of the modern Labor party in the Northern Territory in a very real sense. We [all] owe Ted a debt for the trail blazing which he undertook on behalf of us all to ensure that the Territory voice was properly heard in Canberra... he was always interested in helping the underdog.'

His wife, Audrey, and their two sons, Gavin and Neil, and daughter, Lucy Ann, survived Ted.

Australian Labor Party archives; B James, research notes; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, various issues.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

ROBERTSON, (Sir) HORACE CLEMENT HUGH (1894–1960), army officer, was born at Warmambool, Victoria, on 29 October 1894, the son of John Robertson, a Scottish schoolteacher, and his wife Annie, *nee* Gray. He was educated at Geelong College and in 1911 entered the Royal Military College at Duntroon as a staff cadet. Three years later, he graduated as a Lieutenant and immediately joined the 10th Light Horse Regiment. From May 1915, he served at Gallipoli. Though wounded in the eye, he continued to serve, being promoted to Captain in August 1915. He withdrew from Gallipoli with the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) in December.

Promoted to the AIF rank of Major in May 1916, Robertson served in staff posts with the (British) Yeomanry Mounted Division, from June 1917 to March 1918, then with the AIF in Egypt until he returned to Australia in July 1919. In October 1917, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) and was twice mentioned in dispatches in the same year.

From 1919, Robertson held a variety of regimental, staff and instructional posts and spent two years (1923–25) on training courses in England. Promoted Lieutenant Colonel, Staff Corps, in January 1937, he was appointed to the Darwin command in March 1939. His predecessor, Lieutenant Colonel **W W Whittle** had been under the control of the First Military District, Queensland; Robertson was the first officer to hold Seventh Military District as an independent command. The change of status reflected rising government concern at the deteriorating security position in the Pacific as Japan moved closer to the European Axis powers. In the same month that Robertson arrived in Darwin, the small garrison (four officers and 84 other ranks in September 1936) received a major reinforcement with the coming of the Darwin Mobile Force, 11 officers and 220 other ranks under command of Major A B MacDonald. Robertson's command was not to receive any further Regular Force reinforcement; but Robertson, in the words of war historian Gavin Long, proved to be 'a confident commander' and his energetic advocacy, together with the coming of war in Europe, enabled the recruitment of militia volunteers for the Medical Corps, coast defence artillery and what the Minister for Defence called 'a limited number of selected types of half-caste Aborigines' for local duty. In June 1939, Robertson personally inspected the, mainly unmade, track from Alice Springs to Darwin and reported to the Military Board on necessary upgrading measures. By then, he was on his way out of the Northern Territory to take up another post.

Promoted to Colonel, Staff Corps, in November 1939, Robertson transferred to the AIF as a Brigadier in April 1940, commanded the 79th Infantry Brigade at Brandia, Tobruk and Benghazi until March 1941 and thereafter held a Middle East base posting until, with other senior Australian commanders, he was returned to Australia at the outbreak of the Pacific war in December 1941. Until mid-1944 he held divisional commands in Australia, then went as General Officer Commanding to Western Command. In April 1945, he was appointed Commanding Officer, 5 Division, and in July moved to command of 6 Division. In that capacity he received, in August, the surrender of General Adachi, Commander of the (Japanese) 18th Army and Admiral Sato, Commander, Naval Forces, New Guinea.

Robertson, promoted Major General in 1942, emerged from the Second World War with the award of Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) and two further mentions in dispatches. Promoted to the temporary rank of Lieutenant General in December 1945 (made permanent in 1948), he held major Australian commands thereafter until appointed Commander-in-Chief, British Commonwealth Occupation Force, Japan, in June 1946. He held that post until 1950, when he added to it a Korean War administrative post that won him a Korean Order of Military Merit Taiguk in February 1952 for 'gallant and distinguished services during the operations by the UN in Korea'. He was also, in June 1950, made a Knight of the Order of the British Empire (KBE) thus becoming the first Duntroon graduate to be knighted.

Robertson returned to Australia in December 1951 and retired three years later as one of Australia's most distinguished soldiers.

According to the Sydney *Sun*, he was loved and hated by his troops, respected among his fellow officers as a leader and military tactician and deeply suspected as a 'grandstander'.

After retirement, Robertson became commissioner of the State Savings Bank of Victoria and accepted the colonelcy of the Royal Australian Regiment. His wife, Jessie, *nee* Bonner, whom he married in 1916, died in 1956. The couple had no children. Robertson died on 28 April 1960 at Heidelberg, Victoria.

C L A Abbott, *Australia's Frontier Province*, 1950; G Long, *To Benghazi*, 1952; D McCarthy, *South West Pacific Area, First Year*, 1959; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; L Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust*, 1957; *Who's Who in Australia*; R Hopkins, 'Lieutenant General Sir Horace Robertson', in D Horner, *The Commanders*, 1984; AWM biographical extracts; AWM card index, 1914–18 & 1939–45 war personnel; Graduation List of Officers, vol 1, 1946.

J HAYDON, *Vol 1*.

ROBINSON, BESSIE JANET PHILLIS: see **[JOHNSON, BESSIE JANET PHILLIS](#)**

ROBINSON, EMILY CAROLINE: see **[BARNETT, EMILY CAROLINE](#)**

ROBINSON, EDWARD OSWIN (1847–1917), customs officer, trader, buffalo shooter, pastoralist and miner, was born on 23 May 1847 at Oxford, England, the second son of Charles Wyndham Robinson, tailor and his wife Anne, *nee* Harris. He seems to have been well educated, though no details are known. A family legend links his departure from England to losing a bride to his elder brother.

By 1873, he had reached Australia and was pearling, without success, probably in Western Australia. He then joined a Melbourne syndicate with two luggers and sailed, via Rockhampton, to Macassar to recruit fresh divers. After some difficulties, which entailed carrying a cargo of powder to Timor to earn some ready cash, Robinson in *Northern Light* eventually reached King Sound and the two luggers enjoyed relatively successful pearling in what was then a new ground. This ended when the Melbourne secretary of the syndicate absconded with the proceeds from a batch of pearls and Robinson received two spear wounds in an Aboriginal attack. He came to Palmerston (Darwin) for medical attention.

He seems to have first visited Port Essington about April 1874 with a group trying unsuccessfully to sail to Queensland. Later in the year, he took *Northern Light* around from Palmerston to Port Essington to collect **[John Lewis](#)** and party who had travelled overland looking for two men, Borradaile and **[Permien](#)**, who had disappeared in western Arnhem Land. Shortly afterward, he formed a company for trepanging in Port Essington, but this lasted only six months. In September 1875 he led a party in the vessel *Woolner*, looking for gold in Blue Mud Bay. They returned to Palmerston in December richer in experience, but nothing else. Robinson then spent some time on the goldfields and in 1877 visited Melville Island for the first time. In March 1878, he established a station on Croker Island with Thomas Howard Wingfield. Their chief purpose was trepanging, and they grew a little tobacco. When Robinson returned from a trip to Darwin at the end of 1879, he found Wingfield murdered and the station wrecked. Robinson gave up the project, though it left him with 'certain liabilities'. One of the non-financial debts was paid off by bringing the murderer, Wandi Wandi, to trial. In the meantime, **[Paul Foelsche](#)** had engaged Robinson as manager of the Cobourg Cattle Company's station at Port Essington at thirty shillings per week. In this capacity and from his previous experience, Robinson was aware of the activities of Macassan trepangers. He was back at Port Essington in March 1880 and later the following year, in a report to **[JAG Little](#)**, the Sub-Collector of Customs, drew attention to the dutiable goods brought on Macassan praus. Robinson was appointed a provisional and temporary customs officer on 28 December 1881 on an annual salary of 20 Pounds.

By now Robinson was a highly experienced bushman who had tried several ways, all unsuccessful, of making a fortune, so regular income may have been welcome. Though his official position in the government service was lowly, he was obviously accepted as a social equal by senior officers. This acceptance was no doubt made easier as the years passed and his resources increased. His skill with a billiards cue may also have helped.

Robinson collected duties from one Macassan prau early in 1882, but the real basis for controlling this industry was laid the next year in a trip by the new Sub-Collector of Customs, **[Alfred Searcy](#)**, accompanied by Foelsche and Robinson. In March and April 1883, they interviewed several praus, informing the masters of the need to pay duties and purchase a newly instituted licence. In his report, Searcy pays tribute to Robinson, 'who from his knowledge of the Macassar language was a check upon the interpreter and his intimate acquaintance with the dialect of the Port Essington natives was very valuable in gaining information'. The new charges were to be paid to Robinson who, later in the year, was provided with a customs uniform and revolver. In the following season, Searcy was again on hand to help with the first praus and later, in March and April 1884, he and Robinson sailed as far as Melville Bay checking that all praus had paid up. During 1884 also, Robinson left the Cobourg Cattle Company at Port Essington and set up camp in Bowen Strait. Given the level of exactions from the Macassans and his crucial role in this, he was able, after some difficulty, to obtain a salary of 100 Pounds. Over the next few years, the collection of licence fees and duties from the Macassans became regularised and Robinson developed his camp with further government assistance.

All was not, however, plain sailing. In February 1886, coming back to Palmerston in the lugger, *Bertie*, Robinson was caught in a cyclone. The lugger sank, drowning an Aboriginal woman on board; Robinson and the two Aboriginal crewmen had a long swim to shore. Eventually they managed to get back to the camp in Bowen Strait and, coming in later on an old cutter, met a party that had just set off to rescue them. In 1888, the Government Resident, **[J L Parsons](#)**, visited the camp and commended it as a place for the Macassans to call. He praised Robinson as 'the very man for the work, having a thorough knowledge of the coast and having a great influence over native races'.

As the years went by mutual respect developed between Robinson and the Macassans. In 1895, two experienced captains arrived with their crews in canoes after losing their praus in a cyclone in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Robinson treated them as old friends. An old captain in Macassar, reminiscing about the voyages to Australia, recalled Robinson's name, as well as that of various employees and associates, for Robinson sometimes delegated the actual work of dealing with the Macassans.

He finally resigned his position as a customs officer in December 1899 and sold his schooner, his camp in Bowen Strait and the goodwill of the business.

During his years as a customs officer, Robinson had had various other interests. He sometimes obtained rice and other supplies from the Macassans and, apart from feeding his own camp and employees, may have sold some rations to others. In one of his early encounters with the Macassans, he was offered, but refused, a bribe of pearls and, on another occasion, opium. In 1885, he was engaged to carry cargo to a newly opened station on the Goyder River in eastern Arnhem Land, but was unable to locate the meeting point and was nearly taken by a crocodile for his pains.

His main source of income, which came to be considerable, was buffalo hides. He was aware of the earliest buffalo-shooting activity on the mainland at Raffles Bay in 1877 and in 1880 began in a small way in the same area near his camp. In 1884, he 'opened up the Alligator River country' and over the next seven years sent 7 000 hides to the London market. By 1897 he claimed to have exported 20 000 from the mainland, and two years later 'about 40 000'. On Melville Island, he and his men shot 6 600 in 1895 and 1896. Though no mean shot himself and certainly no stranger to the work involved, Robinson's most important role in this industry was as organiser.

He first visited Melville Island as early as 1877 and then at least twice in the 1880s, but his major interest began in 1892 when he took out a lease and began searching for a base. Among his employees at this time was the famous **Joe Cooper**. After a good start, Robinson's men were driven off the island by Aboriginal attacks and, in 1897; Robinson was contemplating withdrawing his interest. However, he still held the lease and was actively involved when Cooper returned to settle in 1905. Some years later, the lease was sold to Vestey Brothers.

Robinson also continued his early involvement with mining. In 1899, he was 'well acquainted with the auriferous prospecting along the river banks and flats' and planned, with others, 'a mammoth dredging scheme' for the Wandie goldfield, east of Pine Creek. He visited Ballarat at this time and two dredges were built, but no substantial results were achieved. In 1899 and 1900, he owned the battery on the Wandie field.

Robinson had several trips away from the Territory. In 1889, he recuperated from an illness by visiting Japan and in 1897 he had a trip to England, where he met members of his family. He visited southern Australia on several occasions and was in Newcastle in 1902, acting as godfather to the son of a family friend.

About 1907, he left the Northern Territory permanently, settling first in Sydney and later in Melbourne. A stocky man with 'trim beard and silver hair, brown face melted into a lace of lines', he joined the Yorick Club and 'never tired of telling of his adventures'. For the last seven years of his life, he lived in the Union Club Hotel in Collins Street, where he died, of cyanide poisoning on 15 November 1917. The coroner could find no evidence of the source of the poison. He never married and had no known children. Robinson was buried in Brighton cemetery with Anglican rites. His estate, valued for probate at 12 461 Pounds, was left to his elder brother.

C C Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege*, 1976; *The Farthest Coast*, 1969; A Searcy, *In Northern Seas*, 1905; *In Australian Tropics*, 1907; *Argus*, 16 November 1917; *The Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 15, 22 September 1899; *Adelaide Register*, 16 November 1917, 27 May 1897, 30 April 1892, 1 June 1897; *Sydney Sun*, 23 December 1910; Correspondence, H B Robinson to C C Macknight, 29 October 1984, 10 January 1985; SAPP, 1888/53, 1905/49, 1900/45, 1901/45; SAA, 1374/A305, 1374/A5175, 1374/A5267, 1374/A6173; 790/1876/74, 790/1880/1, 70, 371, 790/1881/721, 790/1882/346, 790/1883/3 19, 323, 667, 790/1884/ 177/445, 917, 1160, 790/1886/356, 790/1895/17s, 790/1899, 497; SAA PRG 247, series 1, Little to Lewis, 1 March 1878; SAA PRG 247, Foelsche to Brooke, 2 March 1880.

CAMPBELL MACKNIGHT, *Vol 1*.

ROBINSON, HENRY (HARRY) (1890–1966), stationmaster, was born in Preston, England, on 17 April 1890, the son of John Robinson, railway labourer, and Dorothy Robinson, *nee* Salisbury.

Educated in England, Robinson arrived in Darwin in 1913. He worked for the Commonwealth Railways in the Northern Territory and for many years was stationmaster at Pine Creek and Darwin. He retired from this position in 1950. In 1926, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace and at the time of his death in 1966 had held the position longer than anyone else in the Territory. He was a member of the Royal Ancient Order of Buffalos Lodge in Darwin and the Buffalo Rugby League Club, as well as various other organisations.

Robinson was married twice, first in 1918 to Bertha Amelia Gilroy and the second time in 1963 to **Bessie Janet Phillis Johnson**. He had no children. He died in Darwin on 14 June 1966, a much-respected figure.

Family information.

JOY DAVIS, *Vol 1*.

ROBINSON, ROLAND EDWARD (1912–1992), worker in many and various occupations and author, was born of English parents on 12 June 1912 in Balbriggan, Ireland. He migrated with his parents to Australia at the age of nine. His mother, who had literary and musical interests, died soon after the family's arrival in Australia. Robinson's early years were harsh. He left school at 14 and was employed in various poorly paid jobs in rural New South Wales, Sydney and Tasmania. He read widely, however, providing himself with a rich literary education.

A conscientious objector to military service, in 1945 he was sent to the Northern Territory as a labourer in the Civic Construction Corps. By then, he was writing poetry and had already published his first book of verse, *Beyond the Grass-Tree Spears*, in 1944. He was an active member of the Jindyworobak movement, which was oriented

towards the bush and Aborigines. The 'Jindys', as they were known, opposed what they saw as the Eurocentric outlook then dominating Australian literature. Robinson argued that Australian poets ought to remove the 'imported menagerie' of 'satyrs, fauns, nymphs, pans, elves, pixies and fairies' that lived in the imagined Australian bush and 'reinstale the indigenous inhabitants.' During his time in the Territory he met and became friendly with a fellow Jindy poet William Hart-Smith and the author **Bill Harney**.

Robinson worked for some time at Deep Well, a railway fitters' camp 80 kilometres south of Alice Springs. One of his best-known poems, 'Deep Well', is based on his experiences there. John Ramsland later described it as evoking the 'flashing colour images, the isolated spirit and the mystical sensuous beauty of the place.' The poem begins: 'I am at Deep Well where the spirit-trees/writhe in cool white limbs and budgerigar-/green hair along the watercourse carved out/in deep red earth, a red dry course that goes/past the deep well, past the ruined stone/homestead where the wandering blacks make camp... ' He also later described the place in his autobiographical work *The Drift of Things* (1973). In another poem set in the same area, 'Desert Oaks', he dealt with the close links between Aborigines and the physical environment.

During 1947, he spent six months in Darwin, where he was with the Department of Works and Housing. Later in the 1940s, he worked in the Roper River area. Here he composed poems such as 'Black Cockatoos', which were later to be regarded as among his finest work.

His Territory poems were ultimately published in several volumes, including, most notably, *Language of the Sand* (1949) and *Deep Well* (1962). 'Each poem that Robinson produced', Ramsland wrote, 'was sculpted with a deep sense of place which harmonised with the character and texture of its subject. He searched for fresh language that would bring his responses alive on the page: sight, hearing, taste, smell and "the great colour images of this land".' Many of his Territory writings, the authors of *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* observed, explored a 'pantheistic vision of the land and its primal inhabitants, the Aborigines.'

After leaving the Territory, he returned to New South Wales, where he worked in many occupations, including jockey, horse trainer, ballet dancer and journalist. He married twice but had no children. He ultimately settled in Belmont, near Lake Macquarie, in the late 1970s. Several of his prose collections published in the 1950s and 1960s, such as *Legend and Dreaming* (1952) and *Aboriginal Myths and Legends* (1966) contained material on Aboriginal lore he had acquired during his time in the Territory. Robinson was back there briefly in, he later recalled, 'about 1954' and returned once more as Writer in Residence at the Darwin Community College in 1983. The new Darwin amazed him. 'I've seen changes', he stated, 'which I didn't dream about, didn't really think would happen.' He was impressed with the city's natural beauty and its 'blending of races' but expressed deep concerns about mining, especially of uranium, the gradual disappearance of Aboriginal traditions and the activities of multi national companies.

He received many awards and honours, including Member of the Order of Australia (AM) in 1988 and an Honorary Doctorate of Letters at the University of Newcastle in 1991. He died in Belmont on 8 February 1992 and was buried at Belmont Cemetery. A memorial service was held at All Saint's Anglican Church, Belmont.

Robinson's poems and other writings with Territory settings did much to turn many Australian readers towards a greater feeling for their country's unique landscapes and cultural traditions. He was, according to the *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 'the best and most dedicated of the Jindyworobak poets.'

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DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

RODERICK, CHRISTABEL JOHANNA (CHRISTA) nee LITCHFIELD also PERRON (1916–1991), charity and community worker, was born in Pine Creek, Northern Territory on 3 October 1916, the fifth of seven children of Val Litchfield and his wife **Jessie Sinclair** nee Phillips.

Christa came from true Territory pioneering stock. Her parents met on board a ship in 1907 and married in Darwin in 1908 at the Methodist Church in Knuckey Street. The next day they left for West Arm, then one of the most important mining fields in the Territory. Val was a diamond driller and for the next several years he and Jessie travelled to wherever the diamond drills were sent—Anson Bay, Brocks Creek, the Ironblow Mine and eventually Pine Creek, where Val found work on a mine at Union Reefs and Jessie and their growing family settled down in a bark humpy a few kilometres from Pine Creek. It was here that Christa was born, joining three brothers, Val, **Boyne** and Frank, and a sister, Betty.

In 1917, when Christa was about nine months old, the family moved to Darwin, where Val found work with Vestey's newly opened meatworks. They settled down to life in nearby Parap where two more children, Ken and Grace, were born. Christa and her brothers and sisters had a happy and eventful childhood. Their mother, Jessie, was a prolific writer and journalist, and her work brought the family into contact with many interesting people, including most of Australia's early aviators who landed in Darwin during their record breaking flights between England and Australia. Christa had fond memories of those days, which she described in an interview in 1980: 'The first house I remember was at the Two and a Half Mile, then called Parapparap. It was a large house, built of bush timber and corrugated iron, with ant bed floors. I remember when the verandah was built. We collected the ant bed, crushed it and it was then stamped down with a steel stamper which made very hard floors which lasted for years.

We had a very happy childhood. After school and after we finished our chores, we would be taken on bush walks by the Aborigines who taught us how to live in the bush, telling us which fruit, plums and yams were edible and which ones would make us sick. They also took us to the beach and taught us the same things about crabs, fish

and shell fish. They were our guardians and we respected them and they looked after us well, for hours on end, always getting us home safely by about six pm.'

Christa also described many outings to bazaars, sports days, football on the Darwin Oval, movies at the open air Don Picture Theatre, and the occasional vaudeville shows which came to town. The family made its own entertainment and particularly enjoyed fancy dress parties, dances, and playing euchre or crib, card games taught by Val and Jessie. Christa, like many of her generation, had particularly fond memories of Darwin's colourful Chinatown, in Cavenagh Street, and the elaborate Chinese New Year celebrations with the King and Queen, dressed in beautiful Chinese costumes, leading a colourful procession of floats, food and the traditional Chinese dragon prancing and dancing in the rear.

Christa also often spoke of meeting all the famous aviators and aviatrixes who arrived in Darwin in the 1920s and the 1930s. She remembered the unveiling in 1923 of the memorial to Ross and Keith Smith, the first aviators to fly from England to Australia in 1919. One of her treasured memories was of having morning tea in the Southern Cross aeroplane with Charles Kingsford-Smith's co pilot, Scotty Allen. She recalled when the Darwin aerodrome was a huge paddock behind Fannie Bay Gaol, which also doubled as a golf course, where Christa learned to play the sport, which she pursued until her final years.

When Val Litchfield died in 1931, Jessie, who was then editing the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, took over the family reins. Gradually the children grew up and went their own ways. Christa met and married Keith Perron and their home was a favourite meeting place for friends. They survived the cyclone of 1937 but soon found disaster of another kind looming.

In 1941, with war moving closer to Australia's shores, the officials decided to evacuate most civilian women and children from Darwin. Christa, who was eight months' pregnant, and her young son Stan were evacuated to Perth, Western Australia, on a 10 seater aeroplane, having been given half an hour to pack a 14 kilogram bag. A few days after arriving in Perth, Christa gave birth to another son, Marshall, later to become Chief Minister of the Northern Territory.

Keith later joined the family and they spent the war years in Perth. But with war's end Christa longed for the Territory where the rest of her family still lived. So, she and Keith parted ways and Christa and her two sons returned to Darwin, where they lived for a short time with Christa's mother, Jessie, in her self-built Roberta Library at the corner of Mitchell and Knuckey Streets. Soon Christa met and married Roger Roderick and the family moved to Winnellie, where two more children, Margaret and Edward, were born. In the 1950s they moved to a house in McMinn Street, which had been built in 1940 for Darwin Mayor [Harry Chan](#) and where Christa and Roger lived thereafter.

They were there when Cyclone Tracy devastated Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974, and having been through a cyclone already, Christa took all the appropriate precautions, which included wearing a cyclist's helmet on her head all night. Having survived the ordeal herself and with her home largely intact, Christa was motivated to do what she could to help others. Her first concern, as always, was for her immediate family, and after having established that they all survived, she began checking on friends and acquaintances. As the day wore on 17 people moved into their McMinn Street house.

Roger, who was then Manager of the Darwin Truck Owners' Association, arranged for members to get water from the main pipeline and distribute it to the people of Darwin, while Christa began working to help those most in need. She realised that the Red Cross, for which she had been a voluntary worker since 1967, would need helpers. She made a point of checking the old age pensioners and residents of Tuckwell Court, many of whom she found alone and frightened.

She immediately set about arranging meals for them, a task she carried out on her own until other volunteers joined her, and took on the unglamorous job of sorting and drying their clothes. At the end of the first month, Christa transferred to the tracing section of the Red Cross where, for the next two years, she helped trace individuals and families in an effort to ease the anxiety of friends and relatives residing outside the Territory.

Christa later received a letter of commendation from the Australian Red Cross in recognition of her service in the aftermath of the cyclone. In 1980, she was also given an Australian Red Cross Service Award for her work with the organisation, which included being elected as Divisional Councillor in 1975 and as Vice President in 1977. In 1984, she was presented with a Life Membership badge and a certificate from the Northern Territory Council on the Ageing in appreciation of her support over the previous five years. In 1985, she became the first recipient of Telecom's Advance Australia Merit Award for her many unselfish contributions to the community, a just tribute to a woman who shunned publicity and modestly downplayed the value of her constantly caring work. As the close friend who nominated her for the award put it, 'Christa asks for no thanks, never complains and just accepts whatever happens naturally.'

In addition to her Red Cross membership, Christa also belonged to a Quota Club and the Country Women's Association and was an active participant in the Old People's Workshop that provided material and equipment for the elderly to take part in various arts and handicrafts. She was a regular contributor of cooking and craft entries in the Darwin Show and particularly enjoyed making and dressing dolls. As a personal contribution to the Bicentennial celebrations in 1988, Christa taught old time handicrafts to the pupils of Saint John's College. Although in later years she suffered chronic pain, she continued her many activities, including a weekly round of her beloved golf and regular Friday night visit to the Returned Services League Club. For many years, she laid wreaths at every Anzac Day, Remembrance Day and bombing of Darwin commemoration in Darwin.

Another of Christa's most significant but largely unrecognised contributions to the community was her great interest in preserving Territory history and heritage. Her mother, who passed away in 1956, was a prolific collector of newspaper clippings, photographs, stamps, manuscripts, books and memorabilia. Christa not only acted as

a careful custodian of her mother's priceless collection, but also filled countless scrapbooks herself over many years, ensuring that future generations would be better able to understand their heritage. Some of this material was eventually lodged with the State Library of the Northern Territory for the benefit of all Territorians. Ever conscious of the contribution that her own family and many other pioneering families had made to the Territory, Christa worked very hard, over a long period to ensure that the gravestones and surrounds of the old Gardens Road Cemetery in Darwin were maintained in a manner befitting the pioneers who rested there.

Once when asked about the changes she had seen over her time in Darwin, she was questioned about whether she would have preferred it to remain as she remembered it. Christa replied, 'No, I'm quite content to live my old age out in comfort. We have our memories, no one can take them away from us, and we still have the lovely beaches and sunsets. There are not many old Territorians left of my generation who were born here, but those who are are still old friends and I think that speaks for itself. We are as a family.'

When Christa died in 1991 her funeral in Darwin was one of the longest seen for some time. She is buried in the Gardens Road Cemetery in the same grave as her father.

B James, *No Man's Land*, 1989; *Northern Territory Women's Register 1948–1988*, Second Edition, 1991; Northern Territory Archives, oral history transcripts; family records; personal interviews.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

RONAN, TOM (1907–1976), writer and pastoralist, was born in Perth, Western Australia on 11 November 1907, 'the twenty-seventh anniversary of Ned Kelly's execution' to the adventurous cattleman Denis James Ronan (1859–1942) and his artistic, city-bred wife, Minnie. At the time, Tom Ronan's father was managing Napier Downs cattle station and Minnie, who found the isolation and difficult conditions trying, remained in Perth with her two year old daughter, Trixie, for the birth. Tom grew up on a cattle station near Broome. Minnie suffered from diabetes and after six years of living in the bush, returned to Fremantle for medical treatment. After his mother died, Tom was sent to boarding school in Perth at the Christian Brothers College. He left school at 15 and spent a year droving with his father in Western Australia. Some of these experiences are contained in his novels, *Deep of the Sky* (1963), which is a tribute to his father, and *Packhorse and Pearling Boat* (1964).

Ronan served with the Australian Imperial Force in the Second World War and married Mary Elizabeth (Moya) Kearins (born 1917) in 1947. There were 10 children of the marriage, (three daughters, seven sons), but two died in infancy. Ronan and his family moved to the Northern Territory where he managed Newry and then Springvale cattle stations and he worked for the Commonwealth Scientific Industrial Research Organisation at Katherine from 1950 to 1957. While in Katherine Ronan grew vegetables and kept a goatherd. He set up a goat dairy to supply the residents of Katherine with fresh milk but Ronan was no handyman and it is said he could hardly hammer in a nail. The Ronans were a large family and well liked in the community. Locals remember that the Mass at St Joseph's, Katherine, was often late because the priest would wait for the Ronans to arrive before he began! Hugh Barclay, then Director of Lands, described Ronan as 'a tall thin man with a typical Australian drawl and a dry sense of humour. You could not forget the fact that he was a typical cattleman'.

During this period Ronan wrote novels that described the Territory pre-war pastoral experiences including his most famous, *Vision Splendid*, which was arguably his best. Ronan was awarded a Commonwealth Jubilee Prize in 1952 for *Vision Splendid* and later received Commonwealth Literary Fund Fellowships in 1954 and 1963. Other novels published that contained Territory content were *Once There Was a Bagman* (1966) and *The Mighty Men on Horseback* (1977). He said in an interview in 1974 that *Vision Splendid* was his 'favourite' and 'more truthful than truth'. Ronan published 14 novels in his lifetime as a writer. All his novels explored aspects of outback life but he particularly focussed upon the pastoral and pearling industries of northern Australia.

On 29 May 1954, Tom Ronan stood for election for the Legislative Council electorate of Batchelor as Labor candidate against '**Tiger Brennan**' and won by three votes. He resigned on 5 April 1955, unhappy with members' conditions. In the subsequent election, Brennan was elected as an independent with a comfortable majority. Ronan continued to act in public life, however. He was Chairman of the Northern Territory Tourist Board between 1963–1965. Ronan and his family returned to Adelaide in 1968 to further their children's education.

Ronan died in Adelaide in 1976, survived by his wife Moya and eight children. It is said that Moya 'typed, edited, criticised and polished his manuscripts'. She published in her own right but usually under a pseudonym. She was an Honours graduate in English and History from the University of Sydney and in Adelaide she lectured at Technical and Further Education level until her own death in July 1982.

The ashes of Tom and Moya Ronan, together with their two infants, lie under a memorial at Springvale Station.

Tom Ronan, writer and pastoralist, was strongly identified with the Northern Territory through his writing and was, in content and style, the literary heir to Xavier Herbert's *Capricornia*. Ronan wrote that the Territory was perfect for writers. The region, 'has atmosphere, character and a history. What more could a yarn-spinner want?'

H C Barclay, interview, Northern Territory Archives, NTRS 226 TS6; G Dutton, *The Australian Collection*, 1985; L Izod, personal communication, 14 July 1995; *Northern Territory Women's Register 1948–88*, second edition, 1991; T Ronan interview 14 March 1974, H de Berg 749, Canberra, National Library of Australia; T Ronan, *Packhorse and Pearling Boat*, 1964, *Once There Was a Bagman*, 1966; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council for the Northern Territory*, 1986.

MICKEY DEWAR, Vol 3.

ROSS, ALEXANDER (ALEX) (1858–1938), explorer and bushman, was born on 1 March 1858, son of **John Ross** and Rebecca McKinlay, nee Afflack. A brother, John, was born on 17 October 1859. At the time of his

birth, Ross' parents were at Stanley Flat; they were at Gawler when his brother was born and at Willowee in the District of Frome when both the births were registered on 3 September 1860. John Ross' occupation was given as overseer.

In 1869, as an 11-year-old lad, his father initiated Ross into the skills of a bushman and explorer. Due to drought in the Flinders Rangers, John Ross, who was then the manager of Thomas Elder's Umberatana sheep station, set out in April that year with 30 000 sheep to find good grazing along the Macumba River. Alex was included in the party of eight white men and 10 Afghans using two wagons, 40 pack camels, 30 donkeys and 30 horses. That this cavalcade carried the material to erect a station building indicates that Ross had already inspected the Macumba. Ross Junior's account, written in later life, not only records this historic fact but also demonstrates his keen observation of significant events.

The sheep were cut out into several large mobs and shepherded by the Afghans. In October, they were inundated for 13 days with an estimated 508 millimetres of torrential rain. The new homestead of 'Manaria' station was completely washed away, although at the time of building Ross judged the site to be well above high water mark. The stores were moved a quarter of a mile to a high sand hill. After a deluge on day nine only, the chimney was above water. The country both east and west was a sea of water. Some of the Afghans had abandoned their flocks. After days of hard work, the sheep were mustered with an estimated 3 000 missing. The Macumba Aborigines gave assistance in rescuing sheep on small islands. While waiting for the flooding to subside, the elder Ross took Alex and an Aborigine named Winkie to evaluate the country along [John McDouall Stuart's](#) route to Mount Humphries and the Finke River. Having followed it downstream to Crown Point and still unable to cross, they returned southeasterly to Macumba and their camp on the high sandhill.

In 1870, John Ross was recalled to Adelaide. He left McGlip in charge of the contingent's return with the sheep to Beltana for shearing and arranged for his wife and children to move to Adelaide. For the next few years, Alex and his brother John attended the Pulteney Street School conducted by the Reverend William Moore.

Towards the end of 1874, Alex returned north to join his father who had been engaged by Sir Thomas Elder to explore the country west of Lake Eyre. This expedition was soon aborted due to the arid country and Ross' 'distrust of camels'. [Ernest Giles](#), the explorer, on his return from his March 1875 expedition to Fowlers Bay noted: 'At Finnis Springs I met young Alex Ross, the son of another explorer, who was going to join my party for the new expedition to Perth'. Finnis Springs, south of Lake Eyre, would be the camping place where the two parties met in April 1875 when each expedition was returning to report to Sir Thomas Elder at Beltana.

Ross having failed, Elder then engaged Ernest Giles to attempt the desert crossing to Perth 'for which camels were to be the only animals taken'. The party numbered six with [Tietkins](#), who was Giles' 'second' in his 1874 Centralian/Gibson Desert expedition, once more in that role. The others were, Jess Young, a friend of Elders, Alexander Ross, Peter Nicholls as cook, Saleh the camel driver and Tommy Oldham, a young Aboriginal lad. Giles noted that 'Tommy was a great acquisition to the party, he was a very nice little chap, and soon became a general favourite'.

On one of the early occasions when the party divided to search for water, Giles showed his growing confidence in Ross by taking him as his only companion. One morning the camels were not to be found so Ross set out on foot to track them. As the dreary day lengthened with no sign of Ross or the camels Giles recorded: 'I was here alone with the harrowing thought of the camels being lost... But Alex Ross is a right smart young bushman'. Yes, 17-year-old Ross returned with the camels. Giles's warm approbation indicates he regarded him as a trustworthy youth with an engaging charisma.

The whole party had continued their waterless journey for 520 kilometres before they discovered 'Queen Victoria's Spring' with the water that saved their lives. This interesting extract from Ross' recollections illustrates his education standard and descriptive writing: 'On the fifteenth day of our long dry march, Mr. Giles in a joke told Tommie that if he did not find water very soon we would all be dead. Tommie replied, "If we all die could I have the bag of trinkets"'. This shows that Tommie had no idea of perishing... In the morning of the seventeenth day out from boundary dam we sighted a big depression a few miles to the south, and shortly after noting many native and emu tracks all going in that direction, Tommie became quite excited and after a talk with Mr Tietkins he [Mr T] dismounted from the only steering camel we had, and told the boy to have a look in the low valley and if he found anything to fire two shots from the big snider rifle he was carrying. When Mr Giles discovered what had been done he was annoyed and said that the boy would knock the camel up, and if we were going to find water we would ride right onto it. Mr Tietkins was on foot steering and I was beside him, when to our delight we heard two distant reports from Tommie's rifle. Mr Giles called a halt... in less than half an hour we could hear Tommie coming and shouting at the top of his voice, "Water, Water". Mr Giles only said, "Thank God, water at last"'.

This was the only permanent water they found in this great desert and Giles, to use his own words, 'dedicated it to our most gracious Queen, calling it the Great Victoria Desert, and the spring, Queen Victoria's Spring'.

After reaching Perth, Tietkins and Young returned to Melbourne. Giles continued the second stage of this epic journey returning across the Great Sandy Desert with Ross as his 'second', Peter Nicholls the cook and Saleh as camel driver. Ross proved to be a worthy successor to Tietkins and in the Ophthalmia Ranges probably saved their lives. He completed the journey in September 1876 as an 18-year-old mature bushman and explorer, honoured with Giles for their epic crossing via the Gibson Desert and the Rawlinson Ranges.

Alex Ross remained in Central Australia. Undoolya history claims he was there with Benstead as manager and later succeeded him. In an interview with the *Adelaide Register* on 7 February 1925, Ross stated that 'I was manager of Undoolya for the late Mr Andrew Tennant for six years'. He returned to South Australia for his marriage at Norwood to Fanny Blackmore Wallis, daughter of Thomas Wallis, on 3 October 1885. Their first child, Alexander, was born at Hermannsburg in 1886 while Ross was managing the Old Crown Point Station for

the James Cowan estate. The original Crown Point leases had been taken up by Willoby and partners in 1881, cancelled and transferred to James Cowan in 1890 and to Sarah Cowan in 1898. The station was not stocked until after 1885. The Crown Point Homestead was built on the banks of the Finke at Crown Point. It was the only station homestead in the area and well established in 1894 when the Horn Scientific Expedition passed through. **Baldwin Spencer**, one of the anthropologists in the group, noted: 'We were made welcome by Mrs Ross... At the time everything was very green, the verandah overgrown with creepers, was cool and restful; we had fresh vegetables from a garden watered by a well close by the river, and the change from the dust and flies of the camp to the comfort and refinement of the little station home was more than welcome'.

On their 1899 journey north, Doris Blackwell in *Alice on the Line* recorded her recollections of the Bradshaw family's visit to old Crown Point. They stayed several days with 'Mr and Mrs Alex Ross, their son Alex junior and daughter Ruby'. Doris remembered that the Ross' home was built of stone. The Ross family appear to have left soon after.

In 1901, Spencer and **Gillen** made the detour to Sarah Cowan's New Crown head station, a new timber building many kilometres down stream. A man named Taylor was the manager. This building would have been under construction while Ross was still manager of Old Crown. When Spencer and Gillen passed Old Crown Point, the buildings were already falling into ruin. The stone building was later renovated by Ephraim Sommerfield as a residence and bush store.

After the closure of Old Crown, Ross stated that he managed Dalhousie for John Lewis, but for how long is not known. For some time early in the century, Ross sank wells along stock routes assisted by his son, Alexander, who had returned from school in Adelaide.

The Ross family were living in Alice Springs in 1914 when **Padre Bruce Plowman** noted in his diary that he 'visited Mr and Mrs Alex Ross on Thursday June 18th'. They were there in 1926, when Sister Jean Finlayson, the first Australian Inland Mission Nursing Sister in Alice Springs, received word her mother was seriously ill in Sydney. She rode a horse from Alice Springs to Oodnadatta in company with her friends, Alex and Fanny Ross, who were travelling by buggy that carried her luggage and their camping gear.

During the years 1923 and 1924, he managed Stirling station, south of Barrow Creek, for the estate of the late F R W Scott. He returned to Alice Springs and it seems that early in 1925 he was appointed Inspector of Water Supplies for the extensive Alice Springs district. He held this position until a serious accident ended his working life.

In 1926 or 1927, a visiting pastoralist engaged Ross as guide for an inspection of vacant lease country northeast of Alice Springs. Each white man rode a camel while the Aboriginal assistant rode a powerful bull camel loaded with packs, water and rations. During the day, Ross noticed that the Aborigine had developed serious skin abrasions. The pastoralist had the only double saddle so Ross asked him to let the Aborigine ride behind him. The man refused so Ross exchanged places with his Aboriginal companion. On the second day with Ross leading, his bull camel became entangled in a mulga branch, bucked violently and threw him into the air. He fell and injured his back but re-mounted and completed the day's trek. Next morning he was in agony. They were two days from Alice Springs, so Ross sent the other two back, with the Aborigine on the bull camel with the rations. Ross had heard horse bells from a nearby 'dogger's camp and managed to ride there. The 'dogger' took a message to Alf Turner who was then living about 12 miles away at his camp on his new lease.

Turner came immediately and gave Ross what first aid he could, prepared food and tea for him and then rode through the night to Bond Springs Station. The next day he was back with a vehicle and transported Ross to the Australian Inland Mission hospital into the care of Sisters Pope and Small. Ross' severe injuries prevented him from resuming his work and he and his wife returned to Adelaide. Fanny Ross died in Adelaide Hospital on 3 February 1930. Alex followed her on 4 February 1938 at the age of 80.

Ross's early life demonstrated the affinity and trust between father and son and encapsulated events unique for a teenager in Australian pioneering history. His maturity, and leadership in his early life set the pattern of his integrity in bush 'mateship' and compassion to the end of his days. His last act in exchanging camels with his Aboriginal mate was a rare mark of his character. He was one of the great pioneers having a rare affinity with his human environment and with the solitary places of the inland.

D Blackwell & D Lockwood, *Alice on the Line*, 1965; G Bucknall, 'John Ross', *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*, vol 1, *Pioneers of the Old Track*, 1990, *Mantle of Safety*, Second Edition 1993; *Centralian Advocate*, 3 July 1959; E Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889; Northern Territory Archives Service F670; F27; Photos of Old Crown Point buildings; B Plowman, Diary, National Library, Canberra, MS 5574; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1982; *The Register*, Adelaide, 7 February 1925; State Records, South Australia, Alexander Ross, 'Recollections'; South Australian Births, Deaths and Marriage records.

GRAEME BUCKNALL, Vol 3.

ROSS, JOHN (1817–1903), explorer and pastoralist, was born at Bridgend, Dingwell, on the north shore of Cromarty Forth on 17 May 1817, the eldest son of Alexander, miller and farmer, and his wife Sarah. The young John Ross migrated to Australia during 1836–1837, on the brigantine *Earl Durham*. His first landfall was Sydney and, in 1838, he is thought to have travelled to South Australia with Charles Bonney, in an exploratory cattle drive from the Goulburn River. Ross claimed that, during this expedition, he was the first white man to sight Lake Bonney.

After his arrival in South Australia, Ross managed several sheep and cattle stations. He also explored various areas in the north of the state including the Macumba district to the northwest of Lake Eyre. These experiences led one of his employers, Thomas Elder, to recommend Ross to the Superintendent of Telegraphs, **Charles Todd**.

as the leader of the party that was to blaze the trail for the constructors of the Overland Telegraph. Ross was appointed to the job in 1870.

Ross mounted three expeditions for the Overland Telegraph project. In general, he followed **John McDouall Stuart**'s route north except that portion which passed through the MacDonnell Ranges in Central Australia. During the first expedition, between 14 August and 13 October 1870, Ross confined his activities to the east of the MacDonnell Ranges and named the Fergusson Ranges, Phillipson Creek, Giles Creek and the Todd River. He failed to find a suitable route through the Fergusson Ranges even though he crossed that barrier on three occasions.

Starting again on the 16 November 1870, Ross again failed to find a suitable route through the MacDonnell and Fergusson ranges. This time he explored the area to the west of the MacDonnell Ranges, penetrating as far north as Central Mount Stuart and retrieving a message left there by Stuart. Ross returned to his base camp on 26 January 1871.

Both expeditions had been hampered by water shortages and lack of time. Todd, whilst supporting Ross publicly, criticised him privately for not following instructions and for faulty planning.

Ross's third expedition—north to the Roper River—started on 17 March 1871. The surveyor, Harvey, who had been with Ross on his two previous expeditions was, apparently, not satisfied with the provisions that had arrived for the enterprise and refused, in writing, to participate. Instead, Harvey started work on his own section of the Telegraph Line. **Alfred Giles**'s brother Christopher, a surveyor who was involved in the construction of another section of the telegraph line, also declined to be involved in the project after a personal appeal from his brother. Ross's third expedition was, therefore, conducted without the participation of a surveyor.

During this expedition, Ross passed close to the site of Alice Springs and met the party led by surveyor **W W Mills** nearby. Mills later claimed to have discovered the site of Alice Springs. There is no evidence that either Ross or Alfred Giles, who kept a diary of the expedition, made a similar claim. Ross's exact route is difficult to reconstruct—his personal diary was lost and, due to the lack of a surveyor, no accurate map was made.

Ross continued blazing the Overland Telegraph trail north aided only by a compass, a rough tracing of Stuart's map and a pencil. By accidentally following a creek to the west of Stuart's track, he discovered a shortened route to the Roper River, finally meeting with southbound construction teams at the Katherine River.

After considering the idea of returning to South Australia overland, Ross continued north to Port Darwin, becoming the second man to cross Australia from coast to coast through the Centre. He and some of the members of his party were suffering from various ailments, including scurvy, and he had few fit horses left. Despite these problems, they managed to engage in gold panning—with minor success. Ross returned to Adelaide on SS *Omeo*, leaving Palmerston on 1 September 1871.

All Ross's Overland Telegraph expeditions had been plagued by equipment problems. In particular, the canvas water bags, which were supplied by the South Australian government, were not watertight. Because of this, a great deal of time was wasted searching for water.

In 1874, Ross was engaged by Elder to explore country to the west of Lake Eyre and continue on to Perth. He managed to explore 26 000 square kilometres but was forced back from the Western Australian border by the arid nature of the country and, according to his son, a distrust of camels.

After engaging in sheep and cattle farming in Victoria and Queensland, Ross is thought to have lived near Oodnadatta for a period. Ross died, after an illness and a fall on 5 February 1903, penniless and having lost most of his faculties. At the time, he was living at Norwood, a suburb of Adelaide, with his daughter-in-law. He was 85 years old. A newspaper appeal soliciting financial assistance for him came too late.

Ross married twice. His first marriage, to Rebecca McKinlay Afflack, occurred in the early 1850s and produced four daughters and two sons. Rebecca Ross died in April 1869. In October 1869, Ross married Georgina Strongitharm and the union is thought to have produced two daughters. Georgina Ross died in 1880. Ross named various mountains in the Macumba district after four of his children (Sarah, Rebecca, Alexander and John). His elder son, Alexander, accompanied him on his 1874 expedition and accompanied **Ernest Giles** on his expedition in 1875.

In many ways, Ross was the forgotten man of Australian exploration. His achievements were considerable. His exploration was not conducted in the full vigour of youth, but in middle age—he was 53 years old in 1870. During 1870 and 1871, he was in the vanguard of the Overland Telegraph project; exploration in the Territory by John Ross and others opened up vast areas of land to graziers and other settlers. Telegraph operators and maintenance personnel provided an infrastructure of permanent settlement in parts of Australia that would not have otherwise encouraged further development.

John Ross was said to have been tough and resourceful, an accomplished bushman and an excellent shot. His achievements indicate that he possessed all of these qualities plus that of caution. He turned back rather than take unnecessary risks on several occasions. At the time of his employment on the Overland Telegraph, he was experienced in the exploration of arid Australia. His caution, which may have been mistaken for lack of resolution, in situations where speed and, possibly, some risk was required, may have spawned Todd's criticism of his actions.

Ross and his companions traversed some of the most inhospitable country in the world. It is a credit to him that he did not lose a man during any of his expeditions. John Ross received considerably less recognition than he deserved.

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J Stretton (ed), *Biographical Index of South Australia 1836–85*, 1986; G W Symes, 'The Exploration and Development of the Northern Part of South Australia between 1850 and 1869 and the Early Life of John Ross', in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia—South Australian Branch*, vol 56, 1956–57; G W Symes, 'John Ross—a Refutation and a Chronology', in *Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch*, vol 59, 1957–58; G W Symes, 'Exploring the MacDonnell Ranges 1870–1872.' in *Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch*, vol 61, 1960; G W Symes & B J Ward, 'Charles Todd and the Overland Telegraph.' in *Papers of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch*, vol 81, 1980–81.

IAN BROLLY, Vol 1.

RRAIWALA, RAY (GEORGE) also RAIWALA, RIWALA, RRAYWALA, RAIOLA, RIOLA, RAIWALLA, RYOLA (c1907–1965), Aboriginal leader and soldier, of the Bulayn subsection, was born in about 1907 into the Mildjingi (Maljingi) clan in the Glyde River area on the north coast of Arnhem Land. He grew to manhood in the 1920s when Methodist missions were being established nearby, first at Elcho Island (1922–1923) and then at Milingimbi (1923), but Rraiwala was only an occasional visitor to Milingimbi Mission in his youth. The American anthropologist, Lloyd Warner, who was at Milingimbi between 1926 and 1929, in his book, *A Black Civilization* (1937), outlined the complex history of a clan feud and gave a vivid account of how 'Raiola' had successfully defended a friend from attack 'in the interior country', probably in the mid 1920s.

Rraiwala was at Milingimbi in February 1927 when James Robertson, assistant to T T Webb, the missionary in charge, was speared in a murderous attack on the two missionaries during the Sunday morning service. 'Ryola' appeared as a Crown witness at the trial of the three attackers who were each sentenced to three years in jail. Two years later Rraiwala was himself the 'leading spirit' in the killing at the mission of a 'self proclaimed medicine man' reputed to have killed several people by sorcery. With three others he was tried in Darwin in 1930, found guilty by the jury (the first guilty verdict in a Territory murder trial for 12 years), and sentenced to death. The death sentences were at once commuted to life sentences and the four served less than four years in Fannie Bay Gaol before being released in February 1934. This trial aroused official concern about the ways in which the Australian justice system dealt with Aboriginal people who might be under a moral obligation to wound or kill others; **Dr Cook** proposed that such cases might be more effectively dealt with by the Chief Protector removing offenders to another district; and it was later proposed that a 'Court of Native Affairs' should be established.

Rraiwala returned to Milingimbi and apparently helped build the new timber church, opened in 1935. He met the anthropologist **Donald Thomson**, who made his headquarters at the mission in August and September 1935, while investigating the situation of the Aboriginal people in eastern Arnhem Land for the Commonwealth government. Thomson described Rraiwala as having a reputation as the 'greatest single combat fighter in Arnhem Land' and engaged his help for his 'longest and most important patrol' in October from the Crocodile Islands southeast to Blue Mud Bay and the Walker River. Thomson later paid tribute to the 'faithfulness and devotion' of Rraiwala, who for much of the journey was in unfamiliar country: 'When the carriers began deserting at night, leaving us without sufficient men to carry our loads, at considerable personal risk and with very real tact, he always succeeded in persuading sufficient to go just a little further to enable us to replace them, and so to carry on. As they tired and lagged behind, Raiwalla dropped behind with them and often himself carried the bulk of their loads. Throughout the whole of the journey he was always cheerful, keeping the others who were ill at ease away from their own territory, in happy mood, by his cheerful manner and jokes.'

Rejoining Thomson's boat, *St Nicholas*, in Blue Mud Bay, Rraiwala stayed with Thomson on his visits to Groote Eylandt and Roper River and on an overland patrol north to the upper Wilton River, Mainoru Station and Mount Catt in December. When Thomson abandoned his plans to travel to the Liverpool River and turned back to the Roper, Rraiwala parted from him to walk home to the Glyde River country.

When Thomson returned at the end of June 1936 after a long break in the south, Rraiwala was waiting in Darwin aboard *St Nicholas* and accompanied him on a lengthy voyage, visiting Oenpelli, crossing the Cobourg Peninsula on foot, spending a week at Goulburn Island, and calling at Milingimbi and Yirrkala. Rraiwala and his wife were in the party that set out overland to Arnhem Land in mid August in an unsuccessful effort to investigate killings that had occurred during Thomson's absence in the south. They returned to Yirrkala and then sailed to Arnhem Bay and completed the investigation before returning to Milingimbi.

Thomson, probably accompanied by Rraiwala, made two further visits to Arnhem Bay area before the end of the year but most of the period between October 1936 and July 1937 he spent in Rraiwala's territory on the mainland south of Milingimbi. His main base was at Katji (Derby Creek) and Rraiwala spent April 1937 instructing Thomson in the life and techniques of the goose hunters of the seasonally flooded Arafura Swamp.

Thomson left Arnhem Land in September but Rraiwala's association with him was renewed within five years when Thomson returned as Royal Australian Air Force officer seconded to establish an Aboriginal guerrilla unit in the north. Early in February 1942 Rraiwala was formally enlisted as an Army Private (D178), having earlier been picked up from his camp near Derby Creek as Thomson's vessel, the Defence ketch *Aroetta*, sailed from Townsville to Darwin. A week before the first bombing raid, they sailed east for a reconnaissance of the Arnhem Land coast. Rraiwala was landed near Katji to gather together some of his group and rejoined Thomson at the Glyde mouth as *Aroetta* continued its voyage. Thomson wrote that 'valuable service was rendered by Raiwalla, whose loyalty never flagged and who carried on anti-Japanese propaganda in his language'. Thomson appointed Rraiwala leader of 'No. 1 Section', made up mainly of men from the Glyde River to Cape Stewart area; Bindjarpuma, 'long engaged in raids upon his neighbours', led the second section recruited from around Arnhem Bay; and Natjialma, a son of Wonggu who had been imprisoned for the killing of Japanese at Caledon Bay in 1932, led the third section of the detachment. Thomson gave the men some training at Roper River in March for their tasks of 'guerrilla fighting' and 'reconnaissance and scouting'. He took his unit to Katherine at the end of March and left

Rraiwala in charge of the camp there, while he went to Darwin where he was issued with orders for his 'Special Reconnaissance Unit'. After Thomson returned, the unit went back to the Roper River Mission and Rraiwala led the foot patrol to select the site for an outpost at the mouth of the river. Later, as Thomson worked up the coast, Rraiwala was put ashore west of Woodah Island and led a patrol north around Blue Mud Bay to Trial Bay, where he rejoined Thomson in *Aroetta*, after an arduous two day journey. Another outpost was established at Caledon Bay and sea patrols continued but many of the men were returned to their groups. Rraiwala, however, served until April 1943, when the unit was disbanded. He was Thomson's 'constant companion who set an example of loyalty and selfless devotion to duty of a standard few could follow', devoting 'the whole of his energies and influence to the work of undermining and destroying Japanese influence and prestige, and to assisting with the formation and training of the Unit.' Returning from a voyage to Townsville in *Aroetta* in January 1943, Rraiwala learned that 'his wife and two young children had been stolen and carried off into the interior' and Thomson offered to release him but Rraiwala chose to continue to serve until Thomson left.

Nearly 20 years later inquiries of the Department of Defence resulted in 'this fine soldier', being awarded his service medals.

For some years, Rraiwala continued living in touch with the Milingimbi Mission and early in 1949 was the innocent cause of a lengthy search of Arnhem Land when a rumour that he had been murdered reached Milingimbi and Darwin. Patrol Officer **Syd Kyle-Little** and Constable John Gordon crossed Arnhem Land from Milingimbi to Mainoru on foot in the Wet, only to learn that Rraiwala had safely reached Mainoru two months earlier. He had had a hard journey across waterless country and only his wife's success in finding water after he had collapsed had saved the couple. Press publicity given to this incident prompted Thomson to propose, unsuccessfully, that Rraiwala should be sent at government expense to join him in the 1949 Anzac Day march in Melbourne.

Later, Rraiwala, who always seems to have preferred living independently of the missions, lived with his family at the Lee Brothers' timber mill at the eastern end of the Cobourg Peninsula from 1952 until about 1960. On his occasional visits to Darwin, he is said to have often brought in to the Mines Branch a few ounces of gold, which helped him to maintain a sound credit balance in his bank account. After leaving the Cobourg Peninsula, he moved to Bagot in Darwin, where he spent his last years.

Rraiwala died on 25 February 1965 in Darwin and was buried at Rapid Creek. Three wives and two children of his first wife survived him.

D Thomson, *Donald Thomson in Arnhem Land*, 1983; L Warner, *A Black Civilization*, 1937; E Shepherdson, *Half a Century in Arnhem Land*, 1981; Australian Archives CRS A431 49/440, A1 33/6965 & 36/327, F1 46/667, MP 742/1 R1/3617; Australian War Memorial 605/2/3, 54 741/5/9; information from J Burinyila; information from E J Egan.

JEREMY LONG, Vol 2.

RUTHVEN, HENRY FITZPATRICK (HARRY) (c1839–1921), building contractor, carpenter and stonemason, was born in Scotland about 1839. Nothing is known of his family or education but he apparently came to Australia when he was in his early 30s and married 20-year-old Catherine Bell about 1870. She also was Scottish born but came to Australia when she was five. Although seven children were born of the marriage only a little is presently known of them. Two were born in Adelaide, Harry Leslie Ruthven on 15 November 1879 and Clare Adelaide Ruthven on 22 November 1883, the informant being her elder brother Hedley Arthur Ruthven who was probably the eldest child and by then about 13 years old.

Ruthven was associated with the South Australian Public Works Department during which time he is said to have built the hospital at Port Lincoln. He came to the Northern Territory in 1882 to supervise the building of the Town and Country Bank on the corner of Smith and Bennett Streets for the contractor, J Hooker. The bank manager, Jonathan Hillson, commented that the building was 'the first example of architecture in Palmerston (now Darwin) built of stone by private enterprise'. (Only the facade of this building now survives). Ruthven quarried the stone himself, apparently from the cliff face above which Parliament House now stands. So successful was the quarrying that the South Australian government attempted to claim a royalty on the stone which Ruthven was stockpiling for other jobs, but they could not agree on terms so the quarrying was abandoned. He had great faith in the local stone for building (as did his contemporary, **J G Knight**) and believed that a natural cement existed which could be cast by means of cheap boxes into quite serviceable building material.

In 1884, he designed and constructed the government offices that were erected on the Esplanade. The building ran from the corner of Mitchell Street and was built in two sections, Customs and the Lands Office used the first, the second accommodated the Government Resident, the Government Secretary and the 'survey department'. Ruthven earned a total of 1 360 Pounds for these buildings, which were completed in 1885. Of this particular construction the superintendent of buildings commented in 1911 that it gave him 'great pleasure to have the opportunity, at this date, to say a word of praise in favour of the substantial and careful manner these offices were designed and carried out. Mr Ruthven, who is still among us, has reason to feel proud of his handiwork'. The complex was destroyed in the bombing on 19 February 1942 and the new Supreme Court has been erected on the site; the signed and coloured elevations hang on the walls of the search room at the Australian Archives repository in Darwin.

Ruthven also built the Terminus Hotel, which was completed by 10 March 1885 when he became the first licensee. It was an iron building and all the furniture was made on the premises as Ruthven had established his carpentry shop at the rear. The furnishings were completely up to date with kitchen and bathrooms, which 'speak well for the creature comforts of lodgers and others patronising the house', the complimentary press report ran. In 1885 the freehold of the land, lot 306 (now the site of the Civic Centre) was registered in Ruthven's name but he sold the hotel licence in 1886.

He also erected the telegraph station and quarters at Daly Waters. During the years that the town of Burrundie prospered, he built many of the buildings there, including the hospital that was afterwards moved to Pine Creek. Initially he prospered but like many of his contemporaries assigned his estate in 1886. In June, he won a tender to repair the grandstand at the racecourse at Borroloola. The ship that took him there sailed on 20 June 1886.

Ruthven then seems to have been away from Darwin for about a decade as the local press noted his return on 12 February 1897. Readers were reminded that he was 'at one time host of the Terminus Hotel and a contractor of some importance'. He had returned to Darwin under contract to the South Australian government to assist in repairing the town after the cyclone in January. In September, he tendered for, but did not win, a fencing contract for the Palmerston District Council. In 1898, during which he was a member of the Northern Territory Racing Club committee, he had premises at the corner of Cavenagh and Bennett Street and for the next three years he repaired shops in Cavenagh Street which he had leased though was not financially successful. In August 1902, he applied for a return passage to Adelaide, which he had forfeited by staying on after his contract in 1897 expired, as he was concerned that there were few prospects in the north. Despite his apparent anxiety, in October that year he won a contract, in the sum of 150 Pounds, for the erection of an iron smelter shed at the Two Mile railway yards. It was 18 metres by 13 metres and complete by 17 December 1902, the performance bonds posted by [Luxton](#) and [Adcock](#) of 20 Pounds each not being required.

Although he did not build the first Christ Church, in 1903 Ruthven added a vestry to the rear in the same stone as the church at a cost of 105 Pounds. In 1905 he advertised that he was a general carrier to a number of Chinese storekeepers and by 1908 he described himself as an 'undertaker' as well as a carpenter. In March 1911, Ruthven was the foreman builder when the Pine Creek hospital was under construction. The building itself had been removed from Burrundie, along with the doctor's residence. [Tim O'Shea](#), later to be better known as a publican at Katherine was a casual labourer on the project.

Ruthven held to his belief that the Territory had mining resources of considerable value, Sandy Creek being his favourite place for fossicking though he never made his fortune. In 1910, he lived in Smith Street and in 1919, he held Town Lease No 57 over lots 26, 27, and 28 in McMinn Street (now part of the Shell installation). In later life, he became a Freemason and was installed as Tyler on 3 June 1915.

Henry Ruthven died in Darwin on 12 December 1921 at the age of 82 after a long illness through which he maintained 'a cheerful demeanour'. Neither his wife nor any of his children appear to have come north and Catherine died in Adelaide on 13 March 1933 at the age of 83, three of her children having predeceased her.

Administrator's Annual Report, 1912; Australian Archives, Canberra CRS A3 21/2510; *North Australian*, 13 February 1885, 6 March 1885; *Northern Standard* 16 December 1921; Northern Territory Archives Service NTRS, 790: A7773/ 1893, 11809/1902; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 22 November 1884; 14 March 1885; 5 June 1886; 20 June 1886; 12 February 1897; 24 September 1897; 28 January 1898; 17 June 1898; 6 March 1903; 16 December 1910; 3 June 1915; South Australian Births Deaths and Marriage records; P Spillett, *Christ Church Darwin*, 1966; A Welke & H J Wilson, 'Darwin Central Area Heritage Study', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1993; H J Wilson, 'The Historic Heart of Darwin', 1994.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

RRAYWALA: see [RRAIWALA](#)

RYAN, EDWARD (NED) (c1835–1893), stonemason and axeman, of Bowden, South Australia, and Palmerston, Northern Territory, was born in about 1835 in Kilfeakle, County Tipperary, Ireland, the son of Jeremiah Ryan and Alice, *nee* Dwyer. He arrived in Port Adelaide in 1857 as a free immigrant.

Ryan took up residence with his widowed mother, Alice, and two brothers, John and Jeremiah, at Bowden, South Australia. Ned and John secured employment with the government survey department as labourers. Ned was a member of the second government party sent to the first Palmerston established at Escape Cliffs under the leadership of [B T Finniss](#), arriving there in December 1865.

He accompanied John McKinlay on his abortive explorations of Arnhem Land during the Wet of 1866. Ryan and his mate [Ned Tuckwell](#), under the supervision of R H Edmunds, the second-in-command, constructed a craft of saplings and horsehide, which was to carry them all to safety down the East Alligator River. He was mentioned in dispatches when McKinlay returned to Adelaide. He returned to Adelaide when Escape Cliffs was abandoned in December 1866.

With his brothers, he toiled on the southeast drainage scheme, which at that time attracted the personal attention of the Surveyor-General of the colony, [G W Goyder](#), and certainly brought them under his notice.

Ryan was personally selected by Goyder, along with his brothers, as members of the founding party of the second Palmerston, which was to be established on Port Darwin. They departed from Port Adelaide in the barque *Moonta* on 27 December 1868. He was employed as an axeman despite his trade skills. He was present in the doctor's tent when J W O Bennett died as a result of wounds inflicted by an Aboriginal spear.

Ryan remained in Palmerston with his brother [Jeremiah \(Jerry\)](#) and Ned Tuckwell after the main party returned to Adelaide in September 1869. Thus, as the first Palmerstonians, they were to witness the greatest event in the history of Port Darwin, the planting of the first pole to begin the Overland Telegraph Line to Adelaide. The ceremony took place at 4 pm on 15 September 1870 before the whole populace, numbering then about 45 (excluding the working party).

Together with Tuckwell, the Ryans, exercising their various skills, constructed the first two government residences, the second of which was distinguished by its resemblance to a ship; the roof had scuppers rather than spouting to direct torrential downpours away from the building.

In 1873, Ned changed his employment from the Resident Party to the Survey Parties and was constantly working away from Palmerston. When he was sacked in 1878 [even though he was reinstated shortly after by Government Resident [Scott](#)] he decided to return to Adelaide. His brother Jeremiah had died in 1874 and there seemed no reason for him to remain. He returned to Adelaide still working for the government.

In 1885, the Conservator of Water, J W Jones, acting under the authority of the South Australian Government's policy of development of the interior, raised a well-sinking party with Ryan as foreman. Referred to in official reports as 'Ryan's Camel Party', it was responsible for building wells on permanent water, beginning at Cecilia Well just south of Oodnadatta, along the Overland Telegraph Line official stock routes, and goldfields to the north of Alice Springs. Ryan's Well Reserve, 120 kilometres north of Alice Springs, is named in recognition of the efforts of Ned, his nephew [Jeremiah Ryan](#) and the rest of the party. The team was disbanded in Alice Springs in 1890.

After completing the overland well job, Ryan was sent out to the Musgrave Ranges to report on the country, but took ill on the road back and died in the Coward Springs Hotel on 8 November 1893, of appendicitis. He was buried in the Coward Springs cemetery. The township is now abandoned and no trace of his grave remains.

A Ashwin, *From South Australia to Port Darwin with Sheep and Horses, 1870–71*, 1936; F Clune, *Overland Telegraph*, 1955; M J Kerr, *The Surveyors: The Story of the Founding of Darwin*, 1971; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1968; Out Letter Book, Government Resident, Palmerston, 1870–1910, SAA; Out Letter Book, Conservator of Water, 1883–1890, SAA.

J A RYAN, Vol 1.

RYAN, ELLEN (c1851–1920), Northern Territory publican and pioneer, was born in London about 1851 and in 1853 travelled to Western Australia with her parents John and Bridget Freeman. In 1856, the family sailed for Adelaide where, in 1867, Ellen married a 33-old Irish immigrant labourer, William Ryan. Seduced by news of gold discoveries, they ventured to the Northern Territory in June 1873 along with 120 other hopeful people on board *Birchgrove*.

They headed for one of the most promising areas at the Shackle, near Yam Creek, and in September leased the Miner's Arms Hotel there. As it was the only hotel on the field for a year, it did a good business with the miners, who numbered about 1500. A year later another woman, Amelia Traversi, who had previously run a temperance bar in Palmerston, built the British and Foreign Hotel. Ellen later leased this hotel, beginning what would become a lifetime of enterprising wheeling and dealing in the Territory hotel trade.

In 1876, Ellen went to Adelaide, returning a few months later with her sister Mary, and for a short while leased Mr Kelsey's Hotel in Mitchell Street, Darwin. Next, she went to Southport, taking a lease of the Royal Hotel. She also held leases for the Palmerston Club Hotel in Darwin and the British and Foreign Hotel, which she later purchased. Meanwhile the government had purchased her Miner's Arms and renovated it into a much-needed hospital to cater for the miners.

By 1877, Ellen's marriage was ailing and she left William to pursue her own life. Finally, in 1881 she took out a protection order against him for her earnings, accusing him of 'threats, cruelty and drunkenness'. The court granted her application and she authorised payment to him of 50 Pounds to 'clear him away'. He left Darwin a few days later.

By 1889, Ellen had built a new hotel at Union Reefs, on the Palmerston to Pine Creek rail line, a hotel the paper of the day described as 'the best and most commodious north of Townsville'. But following the marriage of her sister, Mary, to Dudley Kelsey (who had been on a vessel which had brought Ellen to the Territory in 1873) the ever enterprising Ellen moved to Palmerston where she began building the 'great lady' of Territory pubs.

In September 1890, after a court battle over architect's fees, Ellen's 4 000 Pounds hotel opened its doors for business as Darwin's first two-storey stone hotel, the North Australian—renamed the 'Victoria' in 1896. Many questioned her wisdom in entering into such an expensive undertaking, but the distinctive hotel is still a feature of Darwin's central business district and is one of the few city buildings to have survived three cyclones, a war and several financial depressions.

Over the years, Ellen secured for herself a reputation as one of the Territory's best hostesses, organising a variety of entertainments for her hotel patrons and local residents—including harbour excursions, picnics, shooting parties and fancy dress balls.

In the early part of this century, she broadened her business ventures to include a dressmaking emporium in Darwin's Smith Street, promising 'civility attention and reasonable charges'.

Ellen also maintained a keen interest in local cricket and horseracing. She owned many racehorses herself, maintained horse stables, and for several succeeding years won the tender for the Northern Territory Racing Club Tattersalls and course privileges.

Ellen's active and enterprising Territory life drew to a close during the ill-fated Gilruth administration when, in 1915, the government took control of the Top End hotels, including the Hotel Victoria. The acquisition, coupled with ailing health, forced her to leave the Territory late that year and she spent her few remaining years in Adelaide, most of it in her own home which she named 'The Shackle'—a nostalgic reminder of her early years in the Territory. Sadly, at least part of the last few years of her life had to be spent in a worrisome and frustrating dispute with the government over compensation payments for the hotel to which she had devoted nearly 25 years of her life.

When Ellen Ryan died in Adelaide in May 1920, she received tributes from her many Territory friends, including her mother-in-law Dudley Kelsey, who wrote: 'Mrs Ryan was one of the very early pioneers of the North and was widely known for her kind and charitable nature and was the most popular and well known person in the Territory.'

The physical legacy she left behind, the Victoria Hotel, remains and is solid proof that women played not only an essential role in the social life of the Top End but also in its economic development.

D E Kelsey, *The Shackle: A Story of the Far North Australian Bush*, 1975; 'An Old Man's Reminiscences', 1939 (Mortlock Library); *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, September 1890 and various other issues; SA Marriage and Death Records; NT Shipping Records (NT Geneological Society).

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 1.

RYAN, JEREMIAH (JERRY) (c1841–1874), blacksmith and axeman of Bowden, South Australia and Palmerston, Northern Territory, was born in about 1841 in Kilfeakle, County Tipperary, Ireland, the son of Jeremiah Ryan and Alice, *nee* Dwyer. He arrived at Port Adelaide on 16 July 1857 on *Navarino* as a free immigrant. He was apprenticed to a blacksmith, Thomas Cahill, who was later to be best man at his brother's wedding in 1867. He married in 1868 to Mary Ambrose Dwyer (c1843–1901), daughter of Denis and Catherine Dwyer.

On completion of his apprenticeship, Ryan apparently joined his brothers John and **Edward** in the South Australian Lands Department where they were employed on the south-east drainage scheme, coming under the notice of the then Surveyor-General of the colony, **G W Goyder**.

In 1868 Jerry Ryan sailed with his brothers Ned and John as members of the survey party under Goyder to the Northern Territory. He was member of one of the survey parties of which J W O Bennett was an officer. When Bennett and the cook, Guy, were attacked by Aborigines and speared, Guy grabbed Ryan's revolver and fired it repeatedly to scare them off. Bennett subsequently died of his wounds.

Ryan remained in Palmerston with his brother Ned and some of their workmates after the main party returned to Adelaide in September 1869. With his skills, he was able to contribute to the material comforts of the residents living then in what can only be described as primitive conditions. As one instance of this, he assisted Charlie Fry in repairing the piano of the Government Resident's daughter, Harriet Douglas. He also assisted Arthur Ashwin to outfit his gold-seeking party by helping to rebuild a suitable waggon.

Ryan died of diphtheria on 17 July 1874 when only 33 years of age. His widow and two babies eventually returned to Adelaide, where she remarried. He is buried at Palmerston Cemetery, Darwin, although his grave is unmarked.

A Ashwin, *From South Australia to Port Darwin with Sheep and Horses, 1870–71*, 1936; F Clune, *Overland Telegraph*, 1955; H Daly, *Digging, Squatting and Pioneering Life in the Northern Territory of South Australia*, 1887; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1968; Out Letter Book, Government Resident, Palmerston, 1970–1910, SAA.

J A RYAN, Vol 1.

RYAN, JEREMIAH ALFRED (1867–1936), cook, butcher, farmer and District Clerk of Virginia, South Australia, was born on 12 November 1867, in Adelaide, the son of John Ryan, labourer, of Kilfeakle, County Tipperary, Ireland. The sisters of St Joseph of Virginia and Christian Brothers College, Adelaide educated him. He purchased twenty-four hectares near Virginia in February 1898. His spouse was Florence Martha Mayes (1872–1961) daughter of Levi Mayes (1849–1919) and Fanny, *nee* Brooks (1850–1936). They were married in 1893 at St Ignatius Church, Norwood, South Australia.

When seventeen years of age Ryan left his father's farm at Virginia and signed on as cook with his uncle **Edward Ryan**, who was foreman of a government well-sinking party in the far north of South Australia and the Northern Territory. Ryan stayed with the party for four years and left to return to Adelaide when Ryan's Well was completed in September of 1889.

Working again on his father's farm after his return he eventually took up retail butchering in 1892, serving local residents from a horse and cart. He bought land opposite his father's property in February 1898 and then expanded his business activities to include that of general commission agent, concentrating on agricultural goods.

Ryan took a keen interest in the public life of the Virginia district. He was elected a life member of the Two Wells Agricultural Society after 40 years continuous association. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1906, a high honour at the time. Other activities included the literary society, agricultural bureau, school committee and the institute committee. Associated with the Munno Para West District Council from 1915 for four years as a councillor and subsequently as clerk of the council until it merged with the Salisbury Council in 1934. He also acted as council's auditor for 20 years, was a member of the local school committee, president of the Virginia Institute for 10 years and secretary of the local branch of the Repatriation Committee since its inception. He was also coroner for the district.

Jeremiah died at his home 'Marylands', Virginia, in 1936.

Civic Record of South Australia, 1921–24; *Virginia, the Garden on the Plains*, 1976; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 1936; Outletter Book, Conservator of Water, 1883–90, SAA.

J A RYAN, Vol 1.

RYOLA: see **RRAIWALA**

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SADADEEN, CHARLIE (c1870–?), cameleer, was the first Afghan, from today's Pakistan, to make his home in Alice Springs. His name is an Anglicised attempt in the case of Sadadeen and was that which came to prevail over another phonetic attempt, Sad-Ud-Din. (Even this was not truly phonetic, as the first part of his name was pronounced Sa[r]id, with the 'i' almost silent.) The name 'Charlie' was probably a play on Sa[r]id. Whatever the case, Charlie Sadadeen was the name that appeared in official correspondence in the early decades of the twentieth century.

He was born in the Baluchistan area of India. His date of birth is not known, but it was probably about 1870. As with all of his family and countrymen, he became a strict Muslim.

Although nothing is known about his early life, or his early experiences upon arrival in Australia, it is likely that he obtained work at Oodnadatta at about the time of completion of the railway in 1890. Certainly, he was involved in work with camel teams by 1902. He was employed by the Wallis Brothers, who had stores at Oodnadatta and Alice Springs and, for a time, a contract to cart stores to Arltunga goldfield, to the east of Alice Springs.

Over many years, he worked for Wallis and Company, later known as Wallis Fogarty. He was extremely reliable and hard working and eventually established his home in Alice Springs, not far from the city's present Civic Centre. This move eventually led to other Afghans moving to Alice Springs, where they formed a community within the community, and where Charlie Sadadeen was a key leader in their worship of the Koran at a small mosque. (The only indications of their community's locality are the date alms near the city's Civic Centre; they were brought to Alice Springs from the Afghan community plot at Oodnadatta by **Walter Smith**, cameleer employed by Charlie Sadadeen, in about 1916.)

Charlie Sadadeen's camelherd, of about 60 animals, was built up as a result of his work for Wallis and Company. He used the area of coolibahs and claypans on the east side of Alice Springs as his holding area, as did Wallis and Company, who usually had a similar number of camels present. This led to the area being referred to as Sadadeen Swamp and the nearby hills as the Sadadeen Range—and later as Sadadeen subdivision and electorate, with Sadadeen Secondary College also commemorating him.

Sadadeen's work involved him in taking loading from Oodnadatta, the railhead from 1890 to 1929, to Alice Springs and beyond, as far as Newcastle Waters on occasions. Sometimes he had loading which involved travel as far south as Marree and then north-east up the Birdsville Track, at other times from Oodnadatta to Arltunga goldfield, and on yet other occasions to various pastoral properties. As with other Afghans he was prepared to work very long hours, from 'Afghan daylight' (much earlier than dawn) to sundown or later if needs be to complete each stage of travel. His ability to learn English quickly and well, and his great reliability, meant that for many years—decades in fact—he was the outstanding cameleer working out of Alice Springs. He had responsibility not only for keeping the camels and their equipment in good condition, but also for the other cameleers hired by Wallis and Company for use in the Central Australian region. Thus Walter Smith, who was hired in 1914, found that he was 'taught the ropes' by Sadadeen. He learned how to work camels, correctly balancing their loading, making and repairing equipment, breaking young camels in to their role as team-camels, doctoring them, and so on. It was hard work and Sadadeen was a hard taskmaster, on occasions leaving the then young Walter Smith alone with a billy of water while he lay suffering from a migraine; maintaining his reputation for reliability prevailed over concern for the young cameleer.

Sadadeen was keenly aware that vegetable foods were important in maintaining good health, particularly avoiding the form of scurvy known as 'Barcoo rot'. He collected native vegetable foods such as munyeroo, bush bananas and saltbush leaf tips and added these to purchased or homegrown vegetables. One of his gardens was in Alice Springs and another at a claypan and creek area some thirty kilometres south of the town. The town garden was also used to grow poppies, from which opium was made—an illegal activity but of such limited scale that no one bothered to tell **Sergeant Stott** of the police force; he, in fact, admired the flowers and remained innocent about their use.

Although strong prejudice against Afghans existed in other centres, in Alice Springs the small Afghan community of the first few decades of the twentieth century generally rubbed along well with the other inhabitants. This was in part due to the smallness of the entire Central Australian community, which necessitated co-operation in many things, but largely because the Afghans knew that their reliability made them more competitive than most people from other races who became cameleers. Sadadeen instilled this need to be considered reliable when carrying loading to remote areas, until he knew that the men who led his and Wallis and Company camel teams could be entirely depended upon.

As he grew older, he focused more on the Oodnadatta to Alice Springs route, directing the younger men on the long travels north and northeast of Alice Springs. The building of the railway to Alice Springs, completed in 1929, coinciding as it did with the increased use of motor vehicles and the Great Depression, meant that the days of the old-style camel teams were numbered. The latter stages of Charlie Sadadeen's life, and whether he had a family or not, are not known. He died in Alice Springs and is buried in the Muslim section of Alice Springs cemetery.

Sadadeen is representative of the many Afghans who came to Australia and assisted in the early post-European years of exploration and settlement. It is fitting that this first Afghan to make Alice Springs his home is recognised in the names of major physical and cultural features of the town and its surrounds.

SALT, FREDERICK (FRED) (1913–), soldier, mental health officer and security officer, was born on 25 July 1913 just outside of the village of Salt in Staffordshire, where the Salt family had lived since the 11th century. He was the eldest son of soldier and miner Frederick Salt, and Gertrude, *nee* Bailey. There were five children, three boys and two girls. Salt was educated at Queen Street primary school, and later Queensbury Road secondary school in Stoke on Trent. At the age of 12 Salt bought a sixpenny copybook and started the life-long habit of keeping a diary. The keeping of detailed records may have been a family trait as one of his ancestors, Sir William Salt, laid the foundation of the Staffordshire Records Office. Salt's mother wanted him to be an Anglican minister, but his father and grandfather insisted that he follow in the long Salt family tradition of military service. In 1930, he joined the North Staffordshire Regiment as drummer boy, and completed his secondary education while serving with the Army.

In 1932, Salt transferred to the Royal Horse Artillery and was posted to India. He served in the Central Provinces and the North West Frontier, and was part of the expedition mounted to hunt down the anti-British Mohmand leader, the Fakir of Ipi. Salt was awarded North-West Frontier medals in 1935 and 1936. In 1938, he returned to England pending discharge from the Army. It was during this time that Salt made his, almost accidental, entry into the field of mental health. His girlfriend, later his wife, Helen, was a mental health nurse. With an important soccer match coming up, the mental health service was short of a player. Salt, a keen soccer, rugby and cricket player was co-opted for the match. He scored two goals, and won the match for the team. The mental health group was keen to retain their new player, and persuaded Salt to begin studies at the Shenley Mental Health Hospital near St Albans.

On 15 June 1939, Salt was recalled by the Army, and posted as non-commissioned officer of Signals with the Medium Artillery Regiment. The regiment was sent to France in October 1939 but, in May 1940, joined the 340 000 Allied troops forced to retreat across the English Channel through the Dunkirk beachhead. Salt was put in charge of training new conscripts for the military build-up. On 6 June 1944, D-Day, Salt's regiment as part of the Allied offensive against Hitler's Fortress Europe landed on the beaches of Normandy. At dawn, the regiment came under attack by a German Fockler Wolf aircraft. Salt did not have time to get to the trenches, so flung himself down in the space under a gun. The spade of the gun, a metal plate designed to prevent the gun from recoiling back on the gunner, took a direct hit, blowing a hole in the plate only inches from his head. Salt served in Europe during the whole of the Second World War and was awarded the France and Germany medals, the Defence Medal, the 1939–45 Star and the Victory Medal.

Salt finished his military career in 1946, and returned to Shenley to continue his mental health studies. He took all three certificates then available on the subject and, in 1951, started teaching mental health care and hygiene to student nurses at Shenley. He also ran a stud farm, providing horses for the Lord Lieutenant of the County. In 1954, Salt was offered a scholarship to Kings College, Cambridge, to further his studies. However, he had also been offered the post of Superintendent of the Sarawak Mental Hospital in Borneo, which he accepted.

The task in Sarawak proved somewhat larger than Salt had anticipated. There was no mental hospital, although the British had allocated land for the purpose. Sarawak had been declared a Crown Colony in 1946, the hundred-year reign of the Brooke family 'the White Rajahs' having ended in 1941 when the Japanese drove out the third Rajah. When Salt arrived in Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, he found 320 mental patients housed in four outbuildings behind the general hospital. These were mainly Chinese, Malays and Dyaks, many with severe problems relating to the Japanese occupation. Not the least of Salt's problems was the language barrier, although he did speak Malay and Hindi. He was also without staff, and had to battle to acquire suitable staff, and even basic equipment for his patients. He organised the building of the new mental hospital seven miles outside Kuching, and trained Chinese, Dyak and Malay nursing staff. Salt also served as officer in charge of the Kuching Port Authority medical facilities. By May 1958, the mental hospital was nearing completion. Salt chose 6 June for the opening. That year finally saw the appointment of a qualified psychiatrist to the hospital as Deputy Superintendent to Salt, and the opening of outpatient clinics. On 11 June 1960, Salt was appointed a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his work in Sarawak.

Salt had married Helen Hunter in the Chelsea Registry Office, London, on 21 July 1940. There were two sons of the marriage, Frederick Gordon and Robin Hunter. Salt's wife did not accompany him to Sarawak. While in Sarawak, he married a Dyak girl called Sanggan. There were three boys and one girl from this marriage. In early 1969 'Doctor' Salt, as he was always called, finally left Sarawak for Australia, arriving in Melbourne in November 1968 with his wife and family. He started work teaching, but soon determined to move to a warmer part of Australia.

Salt wrote to Spike Langsford, the Director of Medical Services in the Northern Territory, regarding a position in the mental health field. Langsford showed the letter to Dr Cowdy, the only psychiatrist in the Health Department. Cowdy urged that Salt be offered a position. However, there was one slight problem in that the only vacancy they had listed in the mental health sector was for a nursing sister. Salt arrived in Darwin in April 1969 and took charge of the infamous Ward One at the Darwin Hospital on Myilly Point as 'Mr Salt'. Although it was supposed to be a psychiatric ward, its residents were often chronic alcoholics, or the overflow from surgery wards. It was always

full to capacity, in particular during the Wet build-up ‘suicide’ month of November, when failed would-be suicides ended up in Ward One.

One of Salt’s many interests in Darwin was the Caledonian pipe band. He joined shortly after his arrival in Darwin, and was the drum major for many years.

When the Northern Territory achieved self-government in 1978, the Territory’s first Chief Minister, **Paul Everingham**, approached Salt to offer him the position of Chief Security Officer of the government offices in the Chan Building. Everingham felt that Salt was ideally suited to the position, as he knew ‘all the bad hats in town’. Salt held the post until his retirement in 1987.

Frederick Salt, MBE, RMPA, SRN, RMW, remained in Darwin, where three of his children and their families also lived. In his 80s he retained his ramrod military bearing, and his famous curled and waxed handlebar moustache. He had a keen and accurate memory of the many events of his long life. Unfortunately, for history, although some superb photographic records of his time in India survived, his diaries, which he had kept throughout his career, were all lost in Cyclone Tracy which devastated Darwin on 24 December 1974.

Interviews with F Salt, 1995; *Northern Territory News*, 25 July 1978, 31 December 1987; *The Spectator*, 5 February 1994.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 3.

SANDHILL BOB: see **PANANGA, ALURRPA**

SAUKURU, KOLINIO NAULAGO (KOL or THE BIG KOL) (1907–1970), missionary, was born to a chiefly line in 1907 at Nailaga in Fiji. Saukuru grew up in a family that had long been associated with the Wesleyans. He attended Methodist primary and central schools and followed the usual course of promising students throughout the region, undertaking technical training—in Saukuru’s case at the Boys’ School at Davuilevu. By his own account he fell into bad company upon leaving school, but was ‘saved... from the life of sin into which I had entered’ by Reverend RA Gibbons. He went on to work for several years as a technical and carpentry instructor at the Methodist Boys’ School, Richmond, Kaduvu. During these years he met Finau Vala, who was teaching domestic arts at a sister school, and they married in 1932. While what follows concerns Kolinio, it is important to acknowledge the equal commitment and unpaid contribution of Finau.

Saukuru’s decision to become a missionary was not easy, taken at the behest of his mother. His parents had themselves volunteered to work as lay missionaries, but illness prevented them from taking up an appointment. They subsequently shared the wish of one of the English missionaries that their son should one day become a minister and missionary. After a good deal of soul-searching and pressure from the church, Kolinio and Finau offered themselves for missionary service and were posted to Goulburn Island off the North East Arnhem Land coast in 1933—a difficult first posting.

Ratu Kolinio Naulago Saukuru, known in the North as ‘Kol’ or ‘the big Kol’ brought with him considerable skills as a pastor, agriculturalist and mariner. Extraordinarily strong, he was invariably described as ‘a cheerful giant of a man’, ‘tall, erect, of gentlemanly appearance’.

The Methodist Overseas Mission (MOM) had a long history of posting ‘South Sea Island’ converts to newly created mission posts in the region—Fijians, Tongans and Samoans, especially. Between 1916 and 1988, the MOM and (from 1972) United Church of North Australia sent 18 Fijian missionaries to Arnhem Land. Early to mid twentieth century mission literature depicts a hierarchy of South and South West Pacific ‘races’ with Polynesians at the top and Australian Aborigines at the bottom. Pacific Island missionaries were expected to bridge the gap between the ‘coloured’ heathen and European mission superintendents. Typically, too, they brought with them horticultural skills vital to the survival of mission stations. A major part of their task was to aid government and mission assimilation policies by teaching the agricultural skills required for self-sufficient settlements supporting a sedentary population.

All Methodist missionaries suffered privation in the field, but the conditions of service and living standards of Pacific Islanders were inferior to those of their European colleagues. In addition, their relatively low status within the mission accompanied by subtle and often-unconscious forms of discrimination, isolation and loneliness far from home made life difficult. So did their unfamiliarity with the protocols of dealing with government officials who were commonly antipathetic to mission work. Under these circumstances the devotion to duty of Saukuru, and many like him, was remarkable.

For more than a decade and a half following the establishment of the North Australia District in 1916, the Mission to Aborigines had been a cause for disconsolation. Compared with other mission fields the number of converts was small, the expense of maintaining stations great. Dry and largely barren Goulburn Island, perhaps more than any other station, struggled. Saukuru served there until 1937. He was primarily responsible for transforming the agricultural output of the station, but was never really given full credit for his work as European missionaries, typically, apportioned the honour amongst themselves.

He was repatriated in 1938 to Fiji with a serious undiagnosed illness, but returned some months later to work at Milingimbi until 1943 as captain of the mission vessel. There he displayed considerable maritime skills and qualities of leadership. Saukuru remained there during the Second World War following the evacuation of most other mission personnel and the commandeering of the station by the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). Seconded to the RAAF, he experienced three bombing raids by the Japanese, rescued an injured officer who crashed on the mainland and piloted the *Admiral Halstead* and its convoy from Townsville to Milingimbi. He made a lasting impact on defence personnel during the war years. As he once recalled, typically down-playing his own role while giving Aboriginal people their due, ‘The men of the RAAF were continually expressing surprise at the strength and

willingness displayed by the aborigines under my leadership in loading, unloading, and carrying munitions of war, and their faithfulness in the smaller services they rendered to the air force men during their stay with us’.

Following a brief appointment at Otford, New South Wales, where the ‘half-caste’ children from the Methodists’ Croker Island Home were housed during the war, he was from 1944 until 1946 in charge of the fledgling Yirrkala station.

Not content to remain a lay missionary, Kolinio Saukuru found time to study for the ministry, and was ordained in 1945. He carried with him to Northern Australia many of the prejudices of a fundamentalist mission—and of the non-Aboriginal population in general—concerning the ‘degradation’ of Aboriginal people. His sense of Christian mission meant by definition that much comprising the lives and traditions of Aborigines had to be reformed as their souls were saved. However, the Fijian, sooner than most of his European colleagues, learned to respect the Aboriginal people amongst whom he worked. He witnessed enough of the foibles of the so-called ‘superior’ races to be able to put Aboriginal customs in a sensible perspective.

His own apparently lowly status within the mission, however, was a cause of eventual regret. Having established himself as an ordained minister in his own right, in charge of a station with white staff, having become fluent in the language, trained a male Aboriginal choir of some renown, and helped transform the Yirrkala station, he learned he was to be transferred to a subordinate position at another station. This followed a period of intensive work on a short-staffed station that was said to have caused his health and efficiency to suffer. Not long before, an air force officer based at Gove observed: ‘This good man cares for 400 natives, 150 of whom are fine fat children; he clothes, feeds, educates and acts as general father confessor and King Solomon to the natives who are extremely fond of him; he has a man-sized job and is doing the work of half a dozen men’. Saukuru protested about the transfer as passionately as his natural decency allowed, but to no avail. Long overdue for furlough, and ill, he was sent south to recuperate and undertake deputation work.

He never returned to the north. He and his family returned home to a parish in Fiji in 1949 mainly because he could not afford to send the older of his four children to boarding school in Australia on the low stipend paid to Pacific Island staff: the mission would not assist.

He died in 1970. A fitting tribute to his work was paid by Reverend Dr JW Burton, the great MOM administrator who, ironically, had done much in his early missionary days to create the mission’s mythical hierarchy of races: ‘I have never known a better Christian, white or brown, than Kolinio, nor anyone quite so unselfish and Christlike’. As early as 1939, following a visit, Burton had described the big Fijian as ‘Capable, ever cheerful, unselfish, considerate and yet firm when the need arises... [who] has won the respect, confidence and affection of the whole European staff and of the native people’. He had done the mission proud but, in the end, was poorly served in return.

Rev H Chambers, ‘A Brown Knight of the Cross’, *The Missionary Review*, vol 58, 1950; J Kadiba, ‘An Account of the Fijian Missionaries in Arnhem Land 1916–1988’, typescript, 1992; M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; Mitchell Library, Methodist Overseas Mission Collection: MOM 451, North Australia correspondence and papers 1929–1947; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 37–63; K N Saukuru, ‘My Life in Arnhem Land, North Australia’, *Journal of Northern Territory History*, no 2, 1991.

TONY AUSTIN, Vol 3.

SCANLAN, MARY: see [COSTELLO, MARY](#)

SCHERGER, (Sir) FREDERICK RUDOLPH WILLIAM (1904–1984), Air Force officer and company director, was born at Ararat, Victoria, on 18 May 1904, son of Frederick Herman Scherger and Sarah Jane Scherger, *nee* Chamberlain.

After education at local schools, he entered the Royal Military College Duntroon on 17 February 1921 and graduated on 11 December 1924 having been awarded the King’s Medal. Although trained as an Army officer he was seconded to the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) and his formal appointment to that Service dated from 21 January 1925. He was an outstanding pilot and flying instructor who served at most of the Australian training stations. Between 1934 and 1936, he undertook further training in England. He received regular promotion and by October 1941 when he was appointed to command the RAAF station, Darwin, he held the rank of Group Captain. He took over from [Group Captain Eaton](#) in December 1941 and then handed over that post to Wing Commander Griffith in January 1942 on his appointment as Senior Air Staff Officer, North Western Area, which had its headquarters in Darwin. Scherger took over in the north when there was considerable animosity between the heads of the various services and with neither the RAAF base in Darwin complete nor the advanced operational bases in good condition.

On 19 February 1942, the Japanese bombed Darwin. Because of Darwin’s apparent ill-preparedness Scherger and his RAAF colleagues, together with his peers in the other services, became the subject of a humiliating Royal Commission chaired by Justice Lowe. As he was afterwards to recall: ‘As a result of that raid the three Service commanders, Wilson and myself, and the two senior Army people, and the two senior Navy people, were removed and I was unemployed for one month, which isn’t very encouraging in the middle of a war’. Although the Lowe report was very critical of the Darwin defences generally, Scherger was highly praised by the Commission which noted that he had ‘acted with great courage and energy’ and whose ‘conduct [was] deserving of the highest praise’. Asked to comment on the alleged civilian panic after the first raid in his evidence to the Royal Commission, Scherger said: ‘I didn’t find it unusual at all. It happened everywhere else in the world and it is still happening today. The civilian population knows nothing of what is about to happen... will be shocked beyond belief when it does happen and the first principle they work on is that absence of body is a lot better than presence of mind’.

It was Alan Powell's opinion, in his study of those dark days, that Scherger 'as so often in his assessments of human affairs, came closest to the truth'.

By July 1942, Scherger was Director of Defence at Allied Headquarters in Melbourne. He returned to operational positions in 1943 and commanded various units in New Guinea and Borneo (Kalimantan). He remained in the RAAF at war's end and in March 1965 was appointed Air Chief Marshal, the first four star airman in the Australian forces. He retired from the RAAF in May 1966 and for the next ten years was a director of a number of major Australian companies. He was, for example, Chairman of the Australian National Airlines Commission (TAA) and from 1968–1974 Chairman of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation.

The author was privileged to show him around on a return visit he made to Darwin not long before his death. He died in Melbourne on 16 January 1984 having long been hospitalised as the result of a stroke. Although many other men had their careers foreshortened by the events of the Darwin bombings Scherger was, as Sir John Gorton noted, 'A politician in uniform'. He received a number of honours in his lifetime including the Air Force Cross (AFC), Distinguished Service Order (DSO), Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) and Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB). He became a Knight of the Order of the British Empire (KBE) on 12 June 1958.

D Gillison, *RAAF 1939–42*, 1967; D Lockwood, *Australia's Pearl Harbour*, 1966; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; RAAF personnel records; H Rayner, 'Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger'; D Horner, *The Commanders*, 1984; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1983.

L J HAYDON, *Vol 3*.

SCHMIDT, RUDOLPH (DOLPH) (1895–1962), pastoralist, soldier and mining entrepreneur was born on 18 March 1895, the son of Johann Carl Heinrich Schmidt, a South Australian born pastoralist of Goolburra Station in western Queensland, and his wife Theodora Acolotha Elizabeth, *nee* Krumel. Educated at Toowoomba Grammar School, Schmidt worked at Goolburra before moving to another of his father's properties, Alroy Downs in the Barkly region of the Northern Territory. He served in the Australian Light Horse during the First World War. Promoted to Lieutenant, he fought in the Middle East.

Following the war, Schmidt returned to Alroy Downs, where he was Manager until 1935. He became widely known as a practical and successful cattleman. In 1933, the Pastoral Investigation Committee described Alroy Downs as 'a very well managed property not excelled by any other property in the Northern Territory.' He also acquired an interest in nearby Rockhampton Downs in 1923, which he retained with other relatives until 1954.

During the early 1930s, he played a significant role in the Tennant Creek gold rush. A company he formed, Central Gold Mining, operated one of the first batteries on the field and he took up several mining leases there. He was also involved in the early search for water, sinking several bores, and donated land that the Australian Inland Mission used for its Tennant Creek welfare hut.

Schmidt departed from the Northern Territory in 1935 when he was appointed Assistant to the General Superintendent of the Australian Agricultural Company, being based in New South Wales. He left the company in 1938 when he acquired Twin Hills, a station in central Queensland, but rejoined it in 1941 as its General Superintendent. He retained this position, the equivalent of the company's chief executive, until his death. Instrumental in the company becoming more involved in north Australia, he was responsible for it acquiring properties in the north of Western Australia and the Northern Territory's Victoria River District which had previously belonged to Connor, Doherty and Durack. It was while on a tour of inspection of these that he died at Argyle Downs, Western Australia, on 10 July 1962.

Schmidt was married in 1922 to Lilian Clara Wendt (1894–1967) of Brisbane. They had two children, one of whom, Trevor, succeeded his father as General Superintendent of the Australian Agricultural Company. The marriage ended in divorce and Schmidt married again in 1938 to Doreen Georgina Dunn (1904–1982), with issue of three children. Although from a Lutheran background, he became an Anglican. He was tall and very strong.

A cousin and the Schmidt family historian, Peter Schmidt, wrote that he 'achieved great recognition from his peers for his lifetime of work in the grazing industries. His ample ability to manage men and properties, as a judge of good country and a good camp drafting horse, are but a few of the areas of expertise for which he is held in high esteem.'

D Carment, *Australia's Depression Gold Rush*, 1991; P Schmidt, *The Schmidt Family of 'Goolburra'*, 1990; R Liddle, 'Historical Survey of European Settlement on the Western Barkly Tableland', Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1991; family information.

DAVID CARMENT and TREVOR SCHMIDT, *Vol 2*.

SCHMITZ, MARIA THERESA (THEA) (1927–1990), librarian, was born in Cologne, Germany, on 28 June 1927. She was the younger of two children of Franz Joseph Karl and Paula Louisa Schmitz. Her father, a lawyer, died while Thea was still in school and her elder brother Paul did not leave Germany.

Her teenage years coincided with the Second World War, and she and her family survived the saturation bombing of Cologne by the Allies. Occasionally she related episodes of her experiences at this time, such as stealing coal from the railway to heat the family home during winter.

She concluded a successful school and university career by obtaining a Doctorate in Philosophy (PhD) from the University of Cologne in 1953. In 1956, she immigrated to Australia, her first job in this country being, as she described it, 'cook-in-the-bush' in outback Queensland.

She successfully undertook study (by correspondence) for the Library Association of Australia's Registration examination (the only library qualifications available in the 1950s and 1960s), and held a number of library

jobs before coming to Darwin. She was with Shell in Melbourne, established and ran the Papua New Guinea Administrative College Library (1961–1966), was Chief Librarian of the South Pacific Commission in Noumea (1966–1970), and foundation Librarian of the Riverina College of Advanced Education, Wagga (1970–1971).

Finally, in 1971, she accepted the position of Chief Librarian of the Northern Territory Library Service, based in Darwin. She reorganised the service, and built up the book-stock from the parlous state into which it had fallen. She battled the bureaucrats for greater recognition of the importance of libraries, and succeeded in obtaining more generous funding and new professional positions.

Whilst she enjoyed and excelled in most library duties, possibly her favourite was the planning of new library buildings. She relished the challenge these presented, and the first public library at Nhulunbuy (1974), and the new libraries at Alice Springs (1980) and Casuarina (1980) owe their existence to her.

After Cyclone Tracy in December 1974, the Northern Territory Library Service administration was transferred from Darwin to Canberra, and for the next two years, Thea continued to manage the Service from Canberra. It was during this time that she embarked on a very ambitious book purchasing policy, buying not only for the existing public libraries, but also for the foundation of the State Reference Library's stock. The State Reference Library was her vision, to provide Territorians with a high quality reference service to avoid, as far as possible, the need to seek help from southern libraries. She commenced this crusade soon after her arrival in Darwin, and finally saw it achieve fruition in December 1980 with the opening of the State Reference Library (now the Northern Territory Library).

Thea was an austere and forbidding figure to strangers, and she did not take kindly to the uninvited use of her first name by acquaintances. However, she was extremely loyal and supportive to her friends, and gained a much-deserved reputation in public service circles for straight dealing and honesty. Her professional knowledge was deep and all embracing, and she shared this generously with colleagues. As a professional librarian, she set herself and maintained the highest standards, and expected (and helped) her colleagues to strive to meet these too. In the early 1970s when the number of librarians in Darwin could be counted on the fingers of one hand, she assumed a high professional profile and added a considerable lustre to her chosen profession.

She was a clever and highly intelligent person, who read widely (in German, English and French). She loved discussing a wide range of topics with her friends. A fine sense of humour, which could not be suspected at a first meeting, always lurked not far beneath the surface.

In 1987, Thea retired on medical grounds, having suffered a stroke. She continued in poor health until her death in Darwin on 22 September 1990. Her mother who died in Darwin about a year later, survived her. The Northern Territory Library's Special Collection of rare books, most of which were purchased by her, was named the Thea Schmitz Collection as a permanent memorial to her.

Northern Territory Women's Register 1948–1988, second edition, 1991; personal knowledge.

MICHAEL LOOS, Vol 3.

SCHULTZ, CHARLES NOEL (CHARLIE) (1908–), stockman, 'battler', pastoralist, drover, and horseman, was born in Charters Towers on 17 February 1908, the son of Charles Frederick Schultz and Bridget, *nee* Larkin. His father was manager of Woodhouse Station for 50 years from about the turn of the century, and Charlie spent most of his early life there. His formal education began at the age of five when his parents sent him to boarding school at Bowen. Later he attended Mount Carmel College in Charters Towers. Of his academic career, Charlie always maintained that he was 'just hopeless' at school, whereas 'cattle and horses were just an everyday job for me'.

In 1925 at the age of 16, he got a job on a ship taking 1 400 head of horses to India 'the youngest that ever did that trip'. These horses were remounts being supplied to the Indian Army by the great horse-buyer, J S Love. The poverty and primitive living conditions in India, especially as it affected children, made a deep impression on young Charlie and in later life undoubtedly influenced his attitude to those less fortunate than himself, including Aboriginal people.

In 1927 he was about to make a second trip to India when a message arrived which was to alter the course of his life—his uncle, Billy Schultz, had been thrown from a horse on Victoria River Downs (VRD) and killed. Billy Schultz had originally gone to the Victoria River District to manage Humbert River Station after Charles Schultz senior bought the property in 1919. Unfortunately, the isolation and loneliness of the Territory took its toll and as time passed, Billy paid more attention to the bottle than the branding. In September 1927, he rode the 48 kilometres to Victoria River Downs to pick up his mail and to enjoy a session on the grog. Although considered a top horseman, on the way back to Humbert his horse shied, threw him against a tree and killed him.

When the news arrived, 19-year-old Charlie and his father loaded a truck with supplies and equipment, and made an epic wet season trip across Queensland and the Territory to Humbert River Station. They found the place in terrible condition—yards and old bark huts were falling to pieces, horses were unbroken, cattle unbranded and gone wild—and there was a massive 8 000 Pounds debt. Charlie took one look at the place and thought: 'I'll be lucky to last a bloody year here'—fate was to decree otherwise.

Father and son immediately began to set the station in order, with a view to selling out. For 10 months they worked together, repairing the yards, counter-lining saddles, breaking in horses and branding cattle. They expected their nearest neighbour, Victoria River Downs, would buy them out, but VRD's offer was too low—1 000 Pounds less than the debt. Charles senior was reluctant to lose that much money, so young Charlie volunteered to run the station alone while his father returned to Queensland and looked for a buyer. Thus began one of the great 'battler' stories of Northern Territory history, an epic of loneliness, determination, hard work—and ultimate success.

In 1928, Humbert River Station consisted of 9 264 square kilometres of poor country, aptly described by one of the original settlers as, 'walls of mountains you can't get up and spinifex—they call this a river—the Humbert—it is only a short creek'. By contrast, Victoria River Downs covered over 19 200 square kilometres of mostly top class black soil country. The 'walls of mountains' on Humbert extended well to the south, west and north—backcountry of VRD and other big stations such as Limbunya and Auvergne. There were still 'wild blacks' in this back country—old renegades wanted by the police for attacks on white men years before, as well as 'station' blacks on extended walkabout.

Charlie's first move was to fence off one of the many cliff-lined valleys to create a bullock paddock. He then set about mustering and branding the wild Humbert River cattle, and any cleanskins that came his way. In those days, there were no boundary fences on the stations. Cattle wandered freely from one station to another, so Charlie mustered cattle throughout the surrounding ranges. To assist these musters he built many yards in the backcountry. In one relatively treeless limestone area he built one with stonewalls instead of the usual posts and wire.

The first seven years were the hardest for young Charlie. More than once he ran out of rations and had to borrow supplies from the Depot Store, or from his neighbour on Bullita Station, **Reg Durack**. Although there was a 'blacks' camp at Humbert, most of the time he was without 'white' company, and loneliness compounded the rough living conditions and financial worries he had to endure. On one occasion, he had a terrifying experience, believing he was about to be attacked by bush Aborigines. Woken in the early hours by his dogs barking and growling, Charlie grabbed his rifle and warned whoever was outside that he'd shoot. His fear and anxiety had reached fever pitch when he was struck on the leg by what turned out to be a fowl, fallen from its perch and wandering blindly in the dark!

In 1930, 1931 and 1933 Charlie hired drovers to take Humbert cattle for sale in Alice Springs. Each of these drovers lost several hundred head (one is believed to have sold them) and the debt on Humbert continued to increase, so Charlie determined to take subsequent mobs to market himself. In 1935, 1937, 1939 and 1941, Charlie became a drover, taking mobs of over 1 000 Humbert cattle along the Murrarji Track and across to the railhead at Dajarra or Kajabbi in Queensland. In spite of the long distances involved, the occasional 'rush' and storms, his losses on these trips were minimal. His usual practice at the end of these droving trips was to continue on to Woodhouse Station to visit his family. While at Woodhouse he bought and broke in up to 150 head of horses, which he then walked over 2 720 kilometres back to the Victoria River district and sold to local stations and drovers.

The year 1941 marked a turning point in Charlie's fortunes. With the onset of the Second World War, cattle prices rose dramatically and in 1941 he was finally able to clear the debt on the station. In addition, in that year he married HESSIE GRAHAM of Ayr. Later HESSIE and Charlie adopted two baby girls, DONNA and BETTY.

In 1947, he obtained a lease over Bullita Station, an outstation of the Durack property, Auvergne, located on the northern boundary of Humbert. Two years later, he acquired the 'up-river block', 400 square miles of rough country on the upper Wickham River, formerly held by VRD. Once he was clear of debt Charlie tried to avoid going into debt again, and any profits he made were ploughed back into the station as improvements—fences, bores, yards, motor vehicles and so on.

In 1962, he acquired the 'Whitewater block', 640 square kilometres of prime black soil country on the southeast side of the station that, in Charlie's words, 'really made Humbert'. He immediately sold Bullita and poured the money into improving the Whitewater block. During the next nine years he built a new homestead complex, fenced many paddocks, put in numerous bores with windmills and turkey nest dams, and built a number of yards on this block.

Throughout his life, Charlie was an innovative and thoughtful cattleman, his drive to improve his station being spurred by the attitude of VRD, which tended to look down on him as a 'battler'. He was one of the first Territory cattlemen to transport livestock by truck, was among the first to use road trains in the Victoria River district and was one of the first to experiment with pasture improvement. In 1951, he became the first to fly cattle into the Northern Territory. A yard Charlie designed so impressed an Animal Industry Branch official that he had scale plans of it made and distributed as an example of how a drafting yard should be laid out. The rails of this yard were of long-lasting lancewood that Charlie trucked in from over 160 kilometres away on the Murrarji track.

Generally speaking, Charlie held attitudes towards Aborigines typical of his day—'you had to show them who was boss'—but in many ways he was ahead of his time. In the mid-1930's, long before it became a legal requirement to provide accommodation for Aboriginal station workers, he built a number of grass-roofed huts for them. He also established vegetable gardens and a milking herd of sufficient size to provide not only the homestead, but the Aboriginal camp as well. When he finally overcame the station debt, he began to provide his workers with pocket money. Charlie regarded the government policy of removing 'half-caste' children from their families as nothing short of 'blackbirding'. He and HESSIE raised and educated several such children to prevent their removal. Native Affairs officers regarded it as 'a pleasure to visit Humbert River Station', and Charlie is remembered today by Humbert River Aborigines as 'hard but fair' and a 'good boss'.

In about 1970, at the age of 62, Charlie suffered a severe fall from a horse while out mustering. Both his knees were badly injured and he was unable to walk or ride for several months. This accident was a primary reason for his decision to sell Humbert River that was put on the market and sold in 1971. After Charlie sold Humbert, the station passed through a succession of owners until 1993 when most of the rough range country was acquired for the new Gregory National Park. The good black soil country of the Whitewater block was not acquired and retained its identity as Humbert River Station.

Charlie and HESSIE retired to a farm near Yankalilla in South Australia where they continued to raise beef cattle. Charlie was also able to follow his interest in horse racing, importing several horses from New Zealand, one of which was quite successful in metropolitan races. HESSIE SCHULTZ died in 1979. Charlie continued to live on his

farm until 1993 when he moved to his home on the stud cattle property owned by one of his two daughters, and her husband, near Proserpine in Queensland.

C Schultz & D Lewis, *Beyond The Big Run*, 1995; D Rose, *Hidden Histories*, 1991; personal communications with C Schultz.

DARRELL LEWIS, Vol 3.

SCOTT, GEORGE BYNG (1824–1886), police inspector, magistrate and Government Resident was born in Gillingham, Kent, in 1824. His first marriage was to Elizabeth, *nee* Taylor, in London on 7 October 1843, there being two children of the marriage.

Scott arrived in South Australia in 1846. In conjunction with his elder brother, Edward B Scott (later superintendent of Yatala Prison), he entered into pastoral pursuits in the Murray River district near Morgan (the north-west bend of the Murray River). Mrs Scott died at Moorundee, south of Blanchtown (the settlement no longer exists) in November 1849. Scott remained in the area until 1850 when he followed others to California for adventure at the goldfields, but the stay was short-lived; he returned to the Victorian diggings at Bendigo in 1852. He had returned to South Australia by 1854 and became Inspector of Police and Stipendiary Magistrate for the South-eastern District, stationed at Penola. He retained his appointment until April 1859 when he became the Stipendiary Magistrate at Naracoorte, having dispensed with his role as Inspector of Police. Shortly after this appointment, the terrible wreck of the ship *Admella* occurred at the southeast coast. Scott was one of the leaders in trying to save the passengers. He married Caroline Ritchie in July 1865 and resided at Penola. His son, James Scott, was born in September 1869. The Scotts had six other children, all daughters.

In August 1873 Scott was appointed by the South Australian government to the position of Government Resident at Palmerston after the resignation of **Captain Bloomfield Douglas**. He sailed on SS *Gothenburg* in October 1873 arriving to take up appointment in November, at a time when mining fever was at its peak on the quartz reefs at Pine Creek. Scott found that Douglas had dispensed justice on the verandah of the Residency and it was not surprising that he regarded reform of judicial procedure as one of his priorities. **Edward Price** was later appointed Magistrate and Commissioner of the Circuit Court. In his reminiscences, Scott noted that he was intrigued by the costumes of the local people in the north—the swarthy barrister, Villeneuve Smith, in particular, in a pair of pyjamas in a most gaudy pattern and a white jacket over them and topped by a helmet. He felt that Smith might have been the son of the Sultan of Borneo.

The new Government Resident came armed with instructions delegating to him the entire control of all official establishments. In the Territory Mining Act, he had jurisdiction to settle disputed claims; it is clear that he had some problems with the local barrister in sorting them out. He visited Melville Island, but saw little of the interior of the island. He journeyed later to Port Essington and met '**Jack Davis**', a leader of the local tribe and 'a dark lady called **Flash Poll**'.

The Circuit court met in early 1875 under Justice Wearing and when it was completed, Wearing and many prominent citizens left on the eastbound *Gothenburg* on her last fateful journey down the Queensland coast. Wearing and his associate Pelham were among the dead when she went down.

During Scott's term, a temporary courthouse had been arranged, a new hospital was opened in 1874 above Doctor's Gully, the jetty was improved at Southport and improvements were made to mining legislation. Scott returned to Adelaide in 1876 and resumed his life there as Stipendiary Magistrate, then at Port Adelaide and in 1880 at Mount Gambier. He died at Mount Gambier on 17 February 1886, survived by his second wife and nine children.

Biographical Index of South Australians, 1986; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 14 November 1873 & 1 July 1876; 'Death of G B Scott—Obituary', *Border Watch* (Mount Gambier), 20 February 1881; Personal communication S86/1046, H S Bennett, grandson of Scott, Cheam, Surrey, UK; G B Scott, 'Reminiscences of Life in NT', 1876 A1100 B10 SAA.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

SEALE, JACQUELINE MOYA (JACI): see **O'BRIEN, JACQUELINE MOYA (JACI)**

SEARCY, ALFRED (1854–1925), customs officer, parliamentary official and author, was born on 4 January 1854 at Mount Barker in South Australia. He was the eldest of the four sons of William Searcy, the town's policeman, who later became the colony's Chief Inspector of Police. All four sons had careers in public employment.

After beginning at a local school, Searcy attended Pulteney Street School in Adelaide until 1869, when he was indentured as a journalist. Four years later, failing to complete his indenture, he joined the Customs Department where he won steady promotion. He was awarded the Royal Humane Society's certificate, for saving a woman from drowning, and became a Captain in the Port Adelaide Rifle Company.

In 1882, Searcy volunteered to go to the Northern Territory as Sub-Collector and take charge of new customs arrangements. A large, active man, well able to look after himself outdoors, he was a vigorous and determined officer. He appears in photographs equipped for the bush with whip and pistol or relaxing in sarong and slippers. The regular work at Port Darwin involved extensive dealings with Chinese and he was responsible for establishing a system of collecting duties and licence fees from Macassan trepanners on the Arnhem Land coast. On several adventurous voyages in company with **Paul Foelsche** and **E O Robinson**, he had extensive contact with the Macassans, to say nothing of Queensland smugglers and a wide assortment of the other villains! In recognition of his varied duties and the excellence of his work, he was promoted in 1888 and became a Justice of the Peace. Within the tiny white community, he was one of a handful of public servants striving to establish orderly administration

over a vast area. In the 1880s, especially, there seemed to a rosy future in many development schemes and Searcy was always an optimist.

In 1890, his wife and family returned to Adelaide for health reasons, but Searcy was unable to find a suitable position until 1896 when he succeeded his brother, Arthur, as Clerk Assistant and Sergeant-at-Arms in the South Australian House of Assembly. In 1918, he became Clerk of the House and in 1920 Clerk of the Parliaments. These positions were well suited to his talents for capable administration and friendly dealing with his fellows.

Searcy's first book, *In Northern Seas* (1905), is a collection of newspaper articles about his period in the Northern Territory. When this was well received, he reworked and extended the material as *In Australian Tropics* (1907). The original manuscript includes printed extracts from his newspaper articles, and his original customs reports bear the marks of his editing for inclusion in the book. Despite these diverse origins, this is Searcy's best book: it is held together by his vigorous style and enthusiasm, tinged with nostalgia for the north. He stressed the tropical nature of the area and looked to its development with non-European labour, preferably Chinese. Two later editions of the book appeared in 1909. Searcy's last book, *By Flood and Field* (1912), is a less successful, fictional version of the same material. Despite his interest in promoting the Territory, which he saw as a form of government service, his vivid prose and narrative skill give all the books considerable literary and historical value.

In 1876, Searcy married Jane Annette Rainsford, daughter of Joseph Rainsford, an early South Australian settler. They had four sons and three daughters. He died on 1 October 1925 in Adelaide.

Adelaide Register, 27 February 1923, 2 October 1925; H T Burgess, *The Cyclopaedia of South Australia*, 1907; C C Macknight, *The Voyage to Maree*, 1976.

CAMPBELL MACKNIGHT, Vol 1.

SECRETARY, BOBBY also **KOOLAMURINEE** (1929–1984), Aboriginal land rights leader, was born in Darwin in 1929, a member of the Larrakia people, which had lived in the Darwin area for thousands of years. His Larrakia name was Koolamurinee. His wife's name was Bessie Murine. In the 1960s there was a rising tide of Aboriginal demands for the right to live on traditional lands. Secretary, who like many Larrakia disliked living on the inland reserves allocated by the white administration at Bagot and Berrimah, lived on a section close to the sea in Coconut Grove. Larrakias were salt-water people and the crocodile was their token.

In 1970, Secretary was visited by Bill Day, a white journalist. When Day asked if the land belonged to Secretary, the latter replied that it did. But the Larrakia had no official right to the land. Secretary decided that the only way in which the Larrakia people could secure its right to live on land close to the sea was to make a land claim for the area on which he lived, known to the Larrakia as Kulaluk, which stretched along the seaward side of Coconut Grove. A major problem, however, was that the Larrakia were scattered throughout camps on the outskirts of Darwin. Another factor was that it was not only the Larrakia Aborigines who were landless. Groups such as the Woolner, Wiget and Brinkins were also willing to fight for land on which Aborigines could live without interference. At Secretary's suggestion the name 'Gwalwa Daraniki' was adopted for the organisation that would fight for the right to own Kulaluk. Translated from the Larrakia language, the name meant 'Our Land'.

The first land claim for Kulaluk was made on 21 May 1971. The white establishment, though, proved unwilling to discuss any possibility of the Larrakia owning such a valuable piece of foreshore. On 4 October 1971, those involved in the land claim held a 'sit in' on Bagot Road to publicise the land rights issue. A petition was sent to the *Northern Territory News* outlining the justice of the Aboriginal claim. With no response from senior government officials, apart from 'talk', the agitation continued. On 7 November the Larrakia flag was raised on the pole outside the Supreme Court in Darwin. If it was good enough for Captain Cook to raise a flag to claim all of Australia, then raising an Aboriginal flag was seen as good enough to claim back Darwin for the Aboriginal people. There were also protests about the living conditions of Brinkin people at their camp and a further Bagot Road 'sit in' was held on 22 November.

In January 1972 Johnny Fejo, a representative of the Gwalwa Daraniki Association, attended an Action Conference on Racism and Education held in Brisbane. Fejo read a paper on the aims of the association and the treatment of Aborigines in the Northern Territory. Met by the police on his return to Darwin, he was asked what he had told the conference. 'That we were treated like a pack of mongrel dogs', was the reply. The actions of Secretary and the Gwalwa Daraniki Association created divisions in Darwin society. Accusations of stirring up troubles were common in letters to the press, and whites such as Bill Day who supported the Kulaluk land claim were labelled as 'militants' and 'southern trouble makers.'

Aboriginal Day on 14 July 1972 saw the biggest Aboriginal protest marches in Australian history up to that time. In Darwin, the Gwalwa Daraniki Association and its supporters marched to Fort Hill, the site of the first meeting between Larrakia Aborigines and Europeans in 1869. Crosses were erected to call attention to the deaths of Aboriginal people since the coming of the white man. On 30 August Secretary led a march to the Iron Ore Wharf to protest the loading of ore on to a Japanese ship. Secretary told the Japanese, 'This is our land in your ship. We have bugger all.'

Two Gwalwa Daraniki demonstrations, which made news in the national and international press, were the 'passport protest' and a petition to Princess Margaret. The 'passport protest' caused severe embarrassment to local white officials. Secretary and his people met flights into Darwin and passengers handed forms asking them to fill in an application to visit Gwalwa Daraniki, the Northern Territory. Embarrassment was also caused when an attempt was made to present Princess Margaret, the sister of the Queen who was visiting Darwin, with a petition signed by over a thousand people from throughout Australia. Despite efforts by the police, who locked

up as many Aborigines as possible, the demonstrations at the entrance to Government House were noisy affairs. The Aborigines were, however, not allowed to present the petition to Princess Margaret.

The election of a federal Labor government in 1972 raised the hopes of many Aborigines regarding land rights. The Land Rights Commission and Justice Woodward visited Kulaluk. The original land claim at Kulaluk was extended from 1.6 hectares to 160 hectares, space that would allow for hunting and fishing. The claim also listed other lands to be returned to the Aboriginal people, including Goondal, a sacred area on Emery Point, Bagot and Old Man Rock. Notices were put up at Kulaluk announcing that the land was under claim. The first lot of notices was pulled down, and several members of Gwalwa Dariniki were threatened with violence. Over the following weeks, developers made several attempts to start laying roads and building at the Kulaluk site. As fast as the pegs were laid down the Aborigines removed them. After a particularly heated confrontation, Secretary, Fred Fogarty and David Daniels were arrested. Secretary was fined 16 Dollars. The violence continued, with the federal government holding off on making a decision.

The battle for Kulaluk was a long one. It was not until 23 August 1979 that a Special Purpose Lease was granted, giving the Gwalwa Dariniki Association rights to the land. Amongst the names of those who endorsed the new Kulaluk lease were Bobby Secretary, Kathleen Secretary and Topsy Secretary.

Bobby Secretary died on 11 November 1984. His wife Bessie, who had been deeply involved in the fight for Kulaluk, had died four years earlier. There were no children of the marriage. On 20 November, Secretary was buried in the traditional burial ground at Kulaluk.

C Buchanan, *We Have Bugger All!*, 1974; *Northern Territory News*, 1971–1984.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

SHANKELTON, AMELIA NELLIE (1902–1990), book keeper and missionary, was born in Marrickville, New South Wales, on 4 June 1902, the eldest of five children of William David Shankelton, a salesman, and his wife Mary Ellen, *nee* Sprague. Her father died when she was 10 years old. After his death, Mary Shankelton, an experienced businesswoman, carried on as sole parent supporting the family as a storekeeper. The family were members of Saint Mark's Church of England, Marrickville, and from an early age Amelia, then known to family and friends as 'Millie', attended the Petersham School in Sydney. She left school in 1916 to attend the Stott and Underwood Business College, also in Sydney, in preparation for a commercial career, chiefly in book keeping.

Her first job after leaving Business College was with the bakery company, Gartrell White. During this period, Shankelton's interest in missionary work found her aspirations turning to China and in her late teens she was attending evening classes in preparation for work in that country. At this time, she also changed her employment and began work at the city markets where she hoped to become better acquainted with the Chinese people and their ways. However, in 1927, when 25 years old, she attended a public meeting in Sydney held by the Aboriginal Inland Mission of Australia (AIM). It was whilst at this meeting that Shankelton 'felt the call of God' to work among Australian Aborigines. She was hesitant at first to pursue this calling as she was aware of the family responsibilities that weighed heavily upon her being the eldest. Her mother, however, was supportive and encouraging of her calling, qualities she retained throughout Shankelton's life in the Northern Territory. Shankelton was accepted as a probationary missionary in March 1927, and later that year began a six-month probationary course at Erambi Reserve near Cowra in New South Wales. After 12 months, she was transferred to Woorabinda Aboriginal Reserve in Queensland where she remained engaged for five years in all facets of church work; organising women's and men's meetings and preaching. In 1932, Shankelton was transferred by the AIM to Cherbourg in Queensland. She remained at Cherbourg for the next five and a half years until 1940. In keeping with the AIM motto, 'Our God is Able', AIM missionaries were guaranteed a field of service but did not receive either salaries or allowances.

In July 1940, Amelia Shankelton and four other female AIM missionaries arrived in Darwin in response to increasing calls for women to work among the 'coloured' women there. They first took up residence in the mission house on, the site of the old aeroplane runway, then later they moved to Berrimah, a suburb on the outskirts of Darwin. Later still Amelia lived briefly at Delissaville, an Aboriginal community across the harbour from Darwin. The missionaries established Sunday schools, organised church meetings among the people of the Police Paddock, a suburb close to the town centre, and at Bagot Compound, built in 1939 to house Aboriginal people transferred after the close of the Kahlin Compound, and at Channel Island, where the hospital for Hansens disease (leprosy) patients was located. Her work in these widely dispersed locations meant on at least one occasion employing the services of an Aboriginal helmsman to cross the harbour in a dug out canoe.

In 1939, the Minister for the Interior, John McEwen, announced his 'new deal' for Aborigines, a policy which abandoned protectionist policies in favour of assimilation. As a result, Shankelton was requested by the Native Affairs Branch to look after six young part Aboriginal women and their children who, for various reasons, could not be placed with the more established missions. Similarly, at Delissaville, and again at the behest of the Native Affairs Branch, she became responsible for the care of twenty children in transit prior to their resettlement at Croker Island.

Later, in December 1941, following the order to evacuate Darwin upon the threat of Japanese invasion, Shankelton and a fellow missionary, Mary Beasley, were requested by the Native Affairs Branch to accompany 87 Aboriginal women and children to South Australia. The party left under military escort by train, bus and truck for Alice Springs, where more women and children from the Alice Springs area joined it. It left Alice Springs by train for Adelaide. The group was accommodated in a farmhouse at Balaklava, about 60 kilometres outside Adelaide. The farmhouse, owned by a Mr Saint, meant that henceforth Shankelton and her group became known locally as the 'Saints of Balaklava'. The group under Shankelton's care arrived back in Darwin in May 1946.

On return to Darwin, those women and children who were in a position to do so resumed residence with husbands and families and Shankelton was left with about 30 of her original contingent. The mission house in Darwin had been demolished during the war years to make room for landing aeroplanes and the group was located initially in ex Army hospital buildings at Berrimah. Then, with the handing back by the Army of the Bagot Compound in 1946, the group was relocated by the Native Affairs Branch to a partitioned portion of the compound. The ex Army Sidney Williams huts and houses were used as dormitories and the home was officially registered as the Retta Dixon Home for Children on 17 December 1947, with Shankelton as its first Superintendent. Bagot Compound was re-established as an Aboriginal settlement after the war and the Retta Dixon Home shared occupancy of the site until December 1961, when construction of the new home, begun in December 1959, was completed. **Paul Hasluck**, then Minister for Territories, officially opened the home on 30 July 1961. It was then accommodating more than 80 residents comprising male and female infants, adolescents and a few mothers. The new Retta Dixon Home for Children operated in eight cottages on the cottage system and Shankelton remained its Superintendent until her retirement from that position on 1 June 1962 at the age of 60. Mervyn Pattmore replaced her as Superintendent and she remained on staff as Book Keeper and Liaison Officer until June 1967. In June 1964, she was created Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE), an honour bestowed upon her for her services to the Northern Territory.

Shankelton remained at the Retta Dixon Home in her retirement years with Marjorie Spohn, a retired missionary colleague and friend. They resided in what had been called the 'clinic' until 1974 when damage caused to the building by Cyclone Tracy forced the evacuation of its residents. Shankelton was evacuated from Darwin on Boxing Day and spent the following six months with her sister Marjorie (Marje) in Sydney. She returned to Darwin in mid 1975 and she and Marjorie Spohn set up residence in two caravans in the suburb of Rapid Creek and, after repairs, in Number One Cottage on the Retta Dixon site. The children remaining at the Retta Dixon Home before the cyclone and relocated in southern states after, then returned to Batchelor, a town some 100 kilometres from Darwin. Spohn died in 1982 and Shankelton stayed on another two years. She finally said goodbye to Darwin and to the Territory in 1984 to live in Sydney with her sister, Anne. Succumbing to illness, she spent the final six years of her life at the Saint George Hospital in Sydney and then the Calvary Nursing Home in Kogarah, a Sydney suburb, where she died on 15 June 1990 at the age of 88.

The Retta Dixon Home, for which Shankelton was largely responsible for founding and to which she contributed 22 years of her life, was officially closed in June 1980. Its closure was dictated by changing government policies that favoured the fostering of children within private homes.

Shankelton saw many changes in government and social policy during her period as Superintendent of the Retta Dixon Home: the change from the dormitory to the cottage system of care; from institutionalised care to private care and the change in policy from the protection to the assimilation of Aboriginal people. As Superintendent of the Home, Shankelton was responsible for fostering many sporting activities and the RDH Team, as it was known, participated actively and successfully in basketball and boys from the home were enthusiastic members of local football teams. Games and 'picture' evenings were routine and the participation of children from outside the Home was encouraged. Shankelton was also responsible for commencing Sunday school activities and other church activities at the Police Paddock, the Racecourse and Winnellie, then inhabited predominantly by Aboriginal people awaiting resettlement following their return to Darwin after the war. In 1958, in association with Mrs J Johnson and Rita Birkett, she commenced the Girls Life Brigade in which she held office until Cyclone Tracy. She established school holiday camps for 'home' children at Coomalie Creek, 87 kilometres from Darwin, and at Casuarina Beach and Lee Point, then both on the periphery of Darwin's suburbs. Shankelton was called and is remembered as 'Lailie', a name that remained when a small child failed to articulate 'Lady', causing great amusement to those who overheard the mispronunciation. Former inmates of the Retta Dixon Home remember her mostly with affection.

Variouly described as a disciplinarian, as benevolent, strict, authoritarian and fair, with an acute sense of duty, she was responsible for caring for a great number of Northern Territory Aboriginal, part Aboriginal and European children and many of their mothers.

Sunday Territorian, 24 June 1990; *The AIM*, vol 14, no 6, 1980, vol 24, no 7, 1990; B Bartels, 'Retta Dixon Children's Home', original manuscript, nd; B Hansen, 'Retta Dixon Home for Children', Bachelor of Education Dissertation, Darwin Community College, 1982.

MARY DORLING, Vol 2.

SHAW, MARTHA SARAH ELIZABETH, nee PATERSON, formerly FOGARTY (1895–1964), pioneer, was born at Boothella Station, Warrego, Queensland, where her father was the manager, on 26 March 1895. Her parents, both born on the Darling Downs, Queensland, were Catholics, as were their five children. Sarah was the second born. Her education was limited, as her father was a brumby runner and the family was often on the move.

On 11 May 1914 at Normanton, Queensland, Sarah Paterson married coach driver Clifford Hunter Fogarty (known to all as Ted). Fogarty was born at Jondaryan, Darling Downs, Queensland, in 1888 and married Sarah according to the rites of the Catholic Church. They had a daughter and then a son whilst living at Cloncurry. In May 1921, the family set out for the Northern Territory by horse and buggy, following all the government bores along the way. Their journey ended at Katherine.

Fogarty obtained work and left to break in horses at Wave Hill Station to the south. Sarah and her two children then departed by train from Emungalan to Darwin, to await the arrival of her third child. In July 1922, she returned to Katherine with her two children and her new baby daughter.

On Fogarty's return, the family then departed in the buggy for Delamere Station to the west, where Fogarty had accepted the position of manager. It was there in August 1923 that Sarah gave birth to her youngest son with no medical help and with aid only from the station Aborigines; her husband had departed for Victoria River Downs

Station to get the Australian Inland Mission sister, but the baby arrived early. The family, suffering with fever, had been taking quinine. Sarah had taken too much, so her milk was bitter, and she was unable to feed her new baby. He was kept alive with sugar and water until Fogarty and the sister arrived.

In December 1924, the Fogarty family moved to Marrakai Station, southeast of Darwin, where Fogarty had accepted the position of buffalo shooter. As her husband had gone ahead to commence the contract, Sarah was left with the task of getting herself and the four children by train to Brock's Creek and then by buggy across the plains during the wet season, to Marrakai Station. There the family led a nomadic life; approximately every ten days they had to move camp and Sarah was cooking for her family over an open fire.

Late in 1926, Sarah and her family proceeded by horse and buggy to Newry Station, west of Katherine, where Fogarty was appointed manager. She had milking cows and a separator, so the family had fresh milk and cream. There was also a large fruit and vegetable garden. Sarah considered the conditions at Newry to be excellent, as all of these amenities were non-existent on Delamere Station. The station stores arrived by camel team, in bulk order, to last at least six months. If there was no cook, Sarah fitted into the role easily. The children's clothes were made from unbleached calico, washed flour bags and rolls of 'turkey red', which was also used to make dresses for the Aboriginal women on the station. A flour bag had many uses. Sarah would unpick them, bleach out the printing and they could then be used as a tea towel; a washed bag would be used to carry bread and cakes out to the stock camp.

An accident to the Fogartys' eldest son as they were leaving Newry resulted in a prolonged trip south and ultimately the family's return to Sarah's immediate family at Dobbyn, Queensland. In 1930, the Fogarty family once again returned to Katherine. They lived in town for a short time and all four children attended school there. They then acquired a share in a peanut farm and moved on to it (block 153 on the Katherine River).

Conditions on the farm were rough. The house was made of bush timber and had an ant bed floor—typical bush housing of that era. Sarah cooked over an open fire and the family ate under a bough shed. On one occasion, they were flooded out. In 1931, Fogarty went brumby running and left Sarah and the children to run the farm alone, she had the experience to take control on any occasion when her husband had to go away. Sarah and the children worked long and hard getting the peanut crop in. A large vegetable garden was established, water for it being carted from the river.

During 1932, Sarah and her family moved to Hodgson Downs, which her husband was to manage. A southern family owned Hodgson, an outstation of neighbouring Elsey Station. While they were there, they met George Shaw, known to all as 'Snowy', who was employed as a dogger.

Sarah had different amenities on each station. If kitchen help was available, she utilised it. If not, then she easily took on the role of station as well as family cook. At Hodgson Downs, she boiled down fat and had a plentiful supply of dripping, which was stored in kerosene tins. She also made her own soap and grew pumpkins of an enormous size. She rubbed her excess supply of eggs with fat to preserve them and then packed them in salt. She shared these things with the nuns at Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Convent in Darwin, where her daughter was attending school, and with a family friend, who was watching over their interests on the peanut farm at Katherine.

On occasions when no male help was available, Sarah would butcher a beast, dress her own fowls and could yoke up the horses into the buggy. The only thing she was not able to do was to shoot an animal or cut its throat—she always asked one of the children to complete the task.

Sarah Fogarty had all the direct plain-spokenness of the bush. On one occasion when the owner was visiting Elsey Station, the Fogarty family were invited to join him for dinner and he stated, 'It's the likes of us who keep you people out here,' to which Sarah replied, 'It's the likes of us who keep you in Melbourne.' As was often the case with absentee landlords, they did not pay Sarah for her cooking, nor her eldest son for the man's work he was doing. For these and other reasons, Ted Fogarty resigned and in May 1933, the family travelled by truck to Mataranka and from there by train to Katherine. Late in 1934, they returned to Marrakai, where Ted Fogarty was to be the caretaker/manager. The following year they moved to neighbouring Mount Litchfield where a bangtail muster was to be held and then the station was to be abandoned. Once again, Sarah was cooking over an open fire, they ate under a rough bough-shed and slept in tents. The job was completed and they returned to Katherine in September 1935.

On 1 December 1935, while the family was picnicking at Springvale Station, Ted Fogarty drowned in the Katherine River. Sarah was left a widow, with two children working and two still at school.

During 1937, Sarah Fogarty finally decided to put some roots down. When she received the money from Ted Fogarty's estate, she purchased a small cottage in First Street, Katherine. At one stage, many years earlier, they had rented the house for a period when they were living in town.

In about 1938, Sarah went to cook at Daly Waters for W T Pearce. He and his daughter Rita had a store there and, as well as selling general stores, Sarah cooked for the aircraft crews based there or passing through during the Second World War. George Shaw was at that time running Montejinnie, an outstation of Victoria River Downs. Sarah Fogarty and George Sloan Shaw were married in Darwin in 1941 and returned to Montejinnie, where they remained for the duration of the war. In 1946, they returned to Katherine.

Sarah Shaw had rented her little house on occasions, but for most of the time, it had been locked up and left. During the war, soldiers broke in, rifled it and destroyed many of her personal papers. This home had a concrete floor, corrugated iron walls and roof and angle iron uprights. She planted several mango trees, had numerous other fruit trees, chooks and once again established a large vegetable garden.

On their return 'Snowy' set up his saddlery business in a shed behind the house. His wife became actively involved with the Country Women's Association, though she had attended her first meeting as a visitor on

29 May 1939. She held office as Treasurer and President. Her days were filled with selling raffle tickets, making cushion covers, mats and anything generally that could be sold to benefit the financial situation of the CWA.

In recognition of her work the unveiling of the plaque inscribed 'Sarah Shaw Hostel' on the CWA Hostel in Katherine, took place on Sunday 24 June 1956, by Mrs Roberts, QCWA State President of Brisbane, Queensland.

A slightly built woman, who always walked quickly, people knew Sarah Shaw for her direct, outspoken approach. She was a very strong, capable person who did not like alcohol and who always put her family first. In many situations where she lived, there were no other Europeans and most of the time, no other white women for hundreds of kilometres. She personifies what many pioneering women did in the Territory fifty years ago. Her death on 27 April 1965 was a severe loss to her family and the district.

P Ogden, *Leg's More Sweeter than Tail*, 1983.

PEARL OGDEN, Vol 1.

SHEPHERDSON, HAROLD URQUHART (SHEPPY) (1904–), and **SHEPHERDSON, ISABELLA (ELLA) nee GRAY** (1904–1989), missionaries. Harold was born in Bunbury, Western Australia, in 1904, a son of George and Elizabeth Shepherdson. His father was a saw miller, an occupation which had been a family tradition for several generations and which Harold was also to learn. He also had some training in mechanics for which he had much aptitude, as his later career would testify.

While he was still a youngster, his family moved to Payneham, South Australia, where he was educated and where he attended the Methodist Church. There he met Isabella (generally called Ella) who was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on 17 March 1904 but whose family had migrated to Campbelltown, South Australia, in 1913. They were married on 8 October 1927, having volunteered to become lay missionaries with the Methodist Overseas Mission.

In preparation for their life of service, Harold had completed a fitting and turning course and had preached regularly while Ella had spent seven months as a nursing aide. They spent their first six months in the Northern Territory in Darwin during which time both suffered dengue fever but in April 1928, they set out for Milingimbi, where they had been posted, in the mission's coastal lugger. Harold's first job was to set up the sawmill. For a year, they shared a home with Reverend **T T Webb** and his family while Harold built their own home of corrugated iron and cypress pine in time he could spare from other duties. In the meantime, Ella discovered that her meagre nursing experience was to be tested on some 500 Aborigines. She brought much relief with the aid of simple remedies such as castor oil and eucalyptus oil and had considerable success with bismuth tartrate in treating the sores with which many Aborigines were afflicted.

They took their first furlough in late November 1930 but it was far from relaxing. Harold began to learn to fly at Parafield and as they were able to obtain a pedal wireless, not only did he learn its technicalities from **Alfred Traeger** himself, but also they both learnt Morse. Harold was later described by the base operator at Cloncurry, Queensland, as the most competent transmitter in the area. To Harold fell the task of informing the police about the infamous Caledon Bay murders and their tragic aftermath.

In March 1932, a small boat was launched at Milingimbi to aid communications along the coast. It was built by Harold and named after his father *George Urquhart*. A new church was built at Milingimbi in 1934 and he spent September to December 1935 erecting the basic structures for a new mission at Yirrkala. In 1938, he gave up part of his furlough to return there to install a large water storage tank.

Harold obtained his flying licence in Adelaide at the end of 1934 but benefiting from the preliminary training he had received in 1930, he had already flown a Heath Parasol single seater aeroplane that had taken him two years in his spare time to build. In 1936, funds were inveigled out of the Mission Board for a two-seater Miles Hawk aircraft. Harold, on his own expense, travelled to Adelaide and flew it back to Milingimbi. This crashed trying to take off from Groote Eylandt after only six months but not before the daughter of a missionary at Goulburn Island had been evacuated to Darwin for treatment after a fall. The aircraft was sent to Brisbane to be repaired but was totally destroyed when fire swept through the hangar. It was not until 1947 that the means were available to purchase another aircraft. The first was a Tiger Moth bought from a disposal store. Thereafter Harold was not without an aircraft, the last being a Cessna.

The outbreak of war brought many changes and in 1942, Milingimbi became a Royal Australian Air Force base so it became necessary to move the mission to a safer place. All the mission families were evacuated, with the exception of Ella Shepherdson, who resolutely refused to leave. A temporary hideout was set up at the mouth of the Wulun River and for a few months until the new settlement at Elcho Island was ready, she lived alone with a few faithful Aborigines. The move to Elcho Island was completed in August 1942, although it had been seen as a desirable situation for more than a decade. Milingimbi was flat and the soil was poor. Elcho offered some slopes, better water and better soil. There they both remained for the duration of the war and only then took a long furlough to the south. It is for their association with this mission that the Shepherdsons are best remembered.

In 1943 Ella began a small correspondence school which she ran until a trained teacher arrived in 1953. She continued to teach older girls some basic nursing and domestic arts and Harold, now in charge of the mission, preached and oversaw the training of the young men in practical carpentry and saw milling. A small prosperous fishing industry was also set up. Once it was firmly established, Elcho Island had a population of about 1 000 Aborigines with 500 of school age.

In the post war years, Harold encouraged the development of a number of 'outstations' so that groups could stay in their own areas while still being associated with the mission. It was thought that these outposts would 'arrest the drift to Darwin', as Maisie McKenzie put it. By then universally known as Bapa, Harold flew to

the remoter areas holding services, taking stores, giving medical aid, trading in crocodile skins and shells and encouraging art and craft work. Supplies were also received in this way. He could take fish to Mainoru Station and return with beef. By the time he retired, he had flown about 5 000 hours in the service of all connected with the Arnhem Land mission stations. Children, in particular, looked for him while singing a song familiar all over Arnhem Land: 'We'll go flying, flying with Sheppy/ With Bapa over Arnhem Land/ Flying over green winding rivers/ With crocodiles lying on the sand,/ Clear the strips, knock those antbeds/ Hear the plane, Sheppy's coming down/ Light the fire, everyone knows/ Bapa must know the way the wind blows.'

In 1954 at the request of his missionary colleagues, Harold was ordained a Methodist clergyman. The consecration was held at Elcho Island in the presence of members of the District Synod. In 1958, he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for outstanding services and work among the Aborigines of the Northern Territory.

Harold Shepherdson officially retired from active work in 1969 though for some years it made no difference at all to the outstation work. In August 1970, a new school was opened on Elcho Island and named Shepherdson College in their honour. Harold and Ella continued to live on Elcho Island until September 1977 when they returned to South Australia. By that time, there had been significant changes in policy, not all in the best interests of Aborigines as Ella was later to write, with the Australian government now taking on the earlier role of the church missions. When the Shepherdsons left Elcho Island, the Missionary Aviation Service was providing the service for so long in the capable hands of Harold.

Harold and Ella Shepherdson were an exceptional example of Christian workers so much a tradition of the twentieth century Northern Territory. For 50 years, they served the people of Arnhem Land. So far as is known Ella was the only white woman who stayed in the far north of the Territory during the war years. She had no children of her own but became Mrs Sheppie to hundreds. As early as 1938 the General Secretary of the Methodist Church paid tribute to the contribution that the Shepherdsons were making in Arnhem Land. He found it 'difficult to imagine how we could get along in North Australia without a man like Mr Shepherdson. He is a mechanic and engineer of no mean ability. He installs engines, repairs and overhauls them, manages the sawmill, builds out mission houses, keeps the three wireless sets in order, repairs the boats... Mrs Shepherdson does her part in a quiet way.'

A small memoir published by them about their lives in Arnhem Land is a practical narrative of lives given in service for others, of hardships endured in a manner quite foreign to the average urban Australian. 'Many problems were encountered', Ella wrote, 'but we managed to overcome them.' This bland statement precedes the information that at the temporary wartime camp at the mouth of the Wulun River their fresh water spring was covered at high tide! A more detailed study of their lives in the north is contained in Maisie McKenzie's *Mission to Arnhem Land* where their contribution to the welfare of all they encountered is testified.

Ella died at her home at One Tree Hill, South Australia, on 30 March 1989, having just turned 85. Harold survived her.

M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; E Shepherdson, *Half a Century in Arnhem Land*, 1981; Northern Territory Archives Service, TS 325, oral history interviews; H Dodd and C Gullick, personal communications.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

SHEWRING, ROBERT VIVIAN (1912–1980), soldier, was born at South Melbourne, Victoria, on 21 October 1912, the son of Frederick Richard Shewring, printer, and his wife Victoria Elizabeth Caroline, *nee* Cay. He came to Darwin in 1934 with the first contingent of the Australian Permanent Army to be stationed there. The men were billeted in the old Vestey's meat processing works on Bullocky Point, later the site of Darwin High School, while they built the Larrakeyah Barracks. They also erected the big guns at East Point. The men of the first contingent were mostly tradesmen. Shewring, who held the rank of Gunner, was a carpenter. He married Jean Drysdale and between 1936 and 1946, they had one son and three daughters.

Shewring served in Darwin until going overseas in the Australian Imperial Force during the Second World War. He received five service and campaign medals and served in the Pacific theatre of operations.

He continued in the Permanent Army after the war and returned to Darwin as Regimental Sergeant Major. He was Master Gunner and Warrant Officer in Charge of the East Point and Emery Point Batteries. He retired in Darwin and lived in Howard Springs until his death of throat cancer in Darwin Hospital on 17 April 1980. He was buried at the McMillan's Road Cemetery, Darwin, with Church of England rites. His wife and children survived him.

Of medium height, he was slim in build and had brown eyes and straight black hair. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge of Darwin, the Returned Services League, the Nightcliff Cricket Club and other services clubs. He received the Queen's Coronation Medal and the Meritorious Service Medal. Shewring Road in Howard Springs has been named in his honour.

Family information.

JEAN HARRIS, Vol 2.

SHIELDS, JULIET ELIZABETH *nee* BAXTER (1932–1992), solicitor, public servant and amateur actress, was born at West Wyalong, New South Wales, on 8 November 1932, the daughter of solicitor Bryan Leo Baxter, and his wife Mary Monica, *nee* Stapleton. She was educated at St Brigidine Convent at Randwick in Sydney, where she became Dux of the school. She graduated with a Bachelor of Laws with honours from the University of Sydney in 1956, the only one of nine women graduates that year (from all faculties) to graduate with honours.

Following her admission to the Bar in June 1956, Juliet left Australia for a three-year extended working holiday in England and Europe. She worked as a teacher and British Broadcasting Commission researcher in England during the holiday.

Upon her return to Australia, she commenced work as a Parliamentary Draftsman for the Commonwealth in Canberra. At the time of her marriage to John William Shields in Canberra on 12 December 1959, she was described as ‘Canberra’s only woman Barrister’. The couple moved to Darwin in 1961 where a son, Alastair John, was born on 17 October 1963. Prior to his birth, Juliet worked for a time with Ron Withnall, then Crown Law Officer while John, a geologist, commenced work with the Darwin Uranium Group.

A keen amateur actress, Juliet was active in a number of productions of the Darwin Theatre Group in the 1960s and early 1970s. A *Northern Territory News* critic observed of one performance: ‘Juliet Shields’ performance confirmed what all regular Darwin playgoers already know—that she is an extremely competent actress who becomes completely absorbed in her role.’ A play produced by Juliet won first prize and two special prizes at the 1967 Eisteddfod in Darwin.

After a long break from the fulltime work force, Juliet joined the Northern Territory Administration of the Commonwealth Public service in 1974, initially as a clerk. When her legal qualifications were discovered, Juliet transferred to the conveyancing section of Crown Law. She quickly became one of the first female section heads in that Department. Following self-government in 1978, Juliet transferred to the newly established Northern Territory Department of Law, where she was responsible for the Commercial Division. At various periods throughout her public service career, Juliet carried out the functions of the Crown Conveyancer and acting Registrar-General. Juliet was a member of the Agents Licensing Board of the Northern Territory from its establishment in 1979, and she served as Chairman from 1985 to 1988. During the difficult first few years following the Board’s creation, she contributed to the establishment of the credibility of the newly created system of registration for real estate agents. As Crown Conveyancer, Juliet was the key adviser to the government on land dealings. As head of Crown law’s Commercial section, she was responsible for handling many of the government’s major commercial transactions, including those dealing with the Beaufort Hotel, the Darwin Performing Arts Centre and the Cullen Bay Marina. Other significant projects that Juliet was also involved with include the 32 square mile acquisition area, the acquisition of the Sheraton Hotel at Ayers Rock, the construction of the casino in Darwin, the Strehlow collection and the gas pipeline. In 1992, she held the position of Crown Counsel.

Juliet, John and Alastair were in their house at Fannie Bay when Cyclone Tracy struck in 1974. Although the house was badly damaged, it was habitable, and both Juliet and John remained in Darwin to assist with the clean up. Alastair was evacuated soon after the cyclone, while both John and Juliet returned to work. Following the cyclone, Juliet was responsible for buying land from residents who wished to leave Darwin.

Juliet was also involved with various community groups. She provided advice to the Australian Bicentennial Authority in the Territory, and she served as a committee member of the Darwin Branch and on the Council of the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory). She was a keen dressmaker, and she sewed most of her own clothes. She had an extensive collection of antique Victorian coloured glass.

Juliet died at home in Stuart Park in the company of her husband and son on 11 March 1992. Despite her enthusiasm for her work and acting, her main love was her family and her role as a mother and housewife. She was also proud to be a Territorian, and of the fact that she and John had arrived for a planned two year stint in 1961, fell in love with Darwin, and made it their permanent home.

During the tributes paid to her in the Northern Territory Parliament Attorney General, Daryl Manzie, said of her, ‘Juliet Shields ranked variously as the most senior female lawyer and the most senior female public servant in the Northern Territory Public Service and was undoubtedly the Territory’s leading expert on Crown land law as well as one of the most experienced commercial solicitors in the Territory’. Another obituary prepared by a colleague emphasised Juliet’s deep and ethical commitment to Torrens principles. He concluded that, above all, she would be remembered for her ethics as a lawyer and said ‘it can only be hoped that her ethical commitment will be passed on through the many young lawyers, students and articled clerks who spent periods of time under her tutelage and who now occupy positions of influence in many Government Offices, judicial offices and legal firms in the Territory and beyond’.

Family records; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, 19 & 20 May 1992.

JOHN and ALASTAIR SHIELDS, Vol 3.

SHU ACK CHAN FONG: see **FONG, NELLIE**

SIMON, ZOLTAN ARPAD MARTON (ZOT) (1946–), Army officer and second Officer Commanding the 7th Independent Rifle Company (7IRC) was born in Austria on 15 April 1946. He graduated from Duntroon on 11 December 1968 and was first posted to 2nd Squadron of the Special Air Service (SAS) Regiment, transferring to the 1st SAS Squadron later the following year. He saw active service in South Vietnam as a Troop Commander in the 1st SAS Squadron from February 1970 to February 1971, leading patrols in Phuoc Tuy and Long Khanh Provinces. He was wounded-in-action (shrapnel wound to the head) in July 1970, and was Mentioned-in-Despatches for his efforts as a patrol commander during 1970.

A decade later Simon was selected as a successor to **Major Alan Pike** as Officer Commanding the 7th Independent Rifle Company in the Northern Territory from 10 January to 30 June 1981. During his short period of command, he laid the groundwork and paved the way for its smooth transition into a surveillance regiment. The momentum with patrolling and survival exercises was maintained and there continued to be much liaison with Aboriginal

communities and tribal elders. The unit developed surveillance and Major Pike had hoped intelligence-gathering role, following closely in the footsteps of the 2/1st North Australia Observer Unit, Australian Imperial Force, of the Second World War as.

Among the activities planned for 1981 by Simon were horse-mounted, vehicle and foot patrols, and a horse-mounted surveillance patrol in the Pine Creek-El Sharana-Jabiru area and an airboat patrol in the Howard Springs/Mary River area, to assess their feasibility in wet season conditions. Restricted to the Northern Territory until this time, the topographical and physical similarity between the 'Top End' and the Kimberley prompted a consideration that 7IRC should also have a responsibility for this northwestern portion of Western Australia. By April 1980, preliminary action had been taken by Reserve Branch to allow Simon to recruit in the Kimberley.

Of the proposal to expand the scope of the unit, having aligned its training towards surveillance, the Chief of the General Staff had been advised in April 1980 that the 7th Independent Rifle Company was 'anxious for this change in role to occur'. There was, at that time, still some consideration being given to establishing a Regular Army presence in Darwin of around company strength. However, the viability of such a proposal was doubtful in view of the manpower restrictions then in force. A proposal was submitted to the Chief of the Defence Force Staff on 13 February 1981, a Warning Order was consequently released by Headquarters Field Force Command in May and then, at 2400 hours on 30 June 1981, the 7th Independent Rifle Company was deleted from the Australian Defence Force Order of Battle and replaced by the North West Mobile Force.

The 7th Independent Rifle Company had always been intended as a precursor for NORFORCE, and that there was a successful absorption of everything that the company had learnt into the *modus operandi* of NORFORCE was a great tribute to the efforts of both Pike and Simon. A subsequent Commanding Officer of NORFORCE reflected that the tremendous success of NORFORCE in its first two years, 'whilst driven by a personality-and-a-half in the first CO, did come about through the fact that many members marched-in to that unit with their knowledge from 7IRC days. [NORFORCE] was already inculcated with the [concept of] independent-type operation'. Major Zot Simon became Operations Officer of NORFORCE until 1983; he also left his mark in the Territory in a tangible way, a small 'Z' in the outer circle of NORFORCE's original stable-belt, worn by members of the regiment until the introduction of the second version in 1987. He is today a schoolteacher in Queensland.

The Army List of Officers of the Australian Military Forces, vol 1, 31 July 1970; D Horner, *SAS*, 1989; *NORFORCE Newsletter*, various editions 1981-1983; personal correspondence and conversations with Lieutenant Colonel A J George OBE, Lieutenant Colonel W N N Forbes AM, and former unit members; Major Z A M Simon, CV and records (NORFORCE Museum).

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

SKELTON, JOSEPH (c1823-1884), businessman and newspaper proprietor, was born in England in about 1823 and arrived in Australia in 1856. He was a draper by trade and profited from a very successful wholesale drapery warehouse he commenced in Gresham Street, Adelaide. During the 1860s, he espoused the cause of protection and worked hard on the establishment of a local clothing industry, to the extent that his own business suffered. He then moved to Fiji, intending to become a planter, but unsatisfactory land tenure and troublesome local people led him to abandon this idea.

Having arrived in Palmerston, Northern Territory, in September 1873 he quickly established himself as a storekeeper and importer. He had stores in both Palmerston and Southport and carried everything from wine to 'best Adelaide flour' and boots guaranteed to satisfy the needs of all who wore them. He quickly leased Lot 414 on the corner of Smith and Bennett Streets (later the site of the Westpac Bank) for five years at an annual rental of 25 Pounds, which lease was renewable for a further five years at 50 Pounds per year but Skelton purchased the freehold in 1879, one of the first Palmerston residents to do so. The home and store that Skelton erected on this site succumbed to white ants in September 1887 when it was described as the first substantial building to be erected in Palmerston. It was constructed 'on piles well saturated with tar' with a galvanised iron roof and board walls and ceilings.

He intended to leave the Northern Territory in August 1874 but was persuaded to allow his name to be included as a foundation Councillor when a petition was sent to the South Australian government in January of that year requesting the formation of a District Council. When the first formal elections were held in July he received the most votes. His election, however, was challenged on the grounds that he was ineligible as he held a liquor licence. This challenge was successful but the legislation was later amended to remove this barrier and he was re-elected to the Council at a by election in January 1879. He served until 1882 and was Chairman in 1879 and 1880.

In 1877 he again intended to leave but stayed on to purchase (with others who have not yet been positively identified) the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, when the South Australian company which then owned it decided to close it down, claiming lack of profitability. He then became Editor. Never slow to give tongue to air any alleged grievance, in 1879 he found himself sued for libel by a policeman whom Skelton had accused of taking bribes. He was convicted and fined 30 Pounds. Skelton's public response was a vitriolic defence of the freedom of the press, which **Douglas Lockwood** felt would 'certainly have put him in gaol for contempt in a later age'. Crime in the town, particularly petty larceny, was an ongoing problem and Skelton was continually critical in the press. In 1881, **Foelsche** complained that it was revenge and was supported by the Government Resident. This complaint coincided with the newspaper's request to have its subsidy to publish the Government Gazette renewed. The Government Resident reported to the Minister that he could not 'speak highly about the way the present paper is conducted' though it was still of 'some benefit.'

Skelton continued to practice what he preached and in June 1881 aroused the ire of some townfolk when he wrote an editorial, under the heading of 'Our Annual Visitation', about Aboriginal women being brought to town for the purpose of prostitution. **V L Solomon** and Foelsche among others were horrified at such matters being aired publicly and withdrew their subscriptions. Others, however, who believed the reaction was hypocritical in a small town where everyone knew the marital misdeeds of all, quickly took subscriptions themselves. It was a storm in a teacup as not only was Solomon to become one of Skelton's executors but he also became Editor and owner of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*.

From the beginning, Skelton was interested in the development of the Territory and in November 1873 called a public meeting to discuss the unsatisfactory mining regulations then being implemented. In the complaints that followed the South Australian, government arbitrarily closed the Mining Warden's Court and Skelton was a signatory to the petition that protested against this action. He also signed a memorial petitioning for a gold escort in 1876. In 1879, he was a member of the Hospital Management Board and was appointed a member of the first School Board of Advice in 1880. His interest in the Palmerston Institute, which ran the library, was in keeping with his newspaper business. He was on the first committee in 1878 and elected President in 1883. The cost of telegrams was a running sore between the townfolk and the South Australian government for years. The government's response was that as the Port Darwin line worked at a loss it could not 'afford to be very generous'. Skelton and his colleagues were told that they should club together to receive news at press rates. Again, in 1884 in a further petition on telegraph rates Skelton was the first signatory.

He was always concerned to foster improvements in the lifestyle of those in the north. He was an enthusiastic gardener and encouraged the planting of trees. His orange trees were the first to bear in Palmerston and he had some success with cotton in his home garden.

Joseph Skelton died in Sydney on 25 April 1884 at the age of 61 from 'general debility'. He had been ill for some months and was eventually induced to travel to Sydney for medical treatment only weeks before his death.

He was one of the most prominent figures of his day and the half column obituary in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* was not stinting in its praise. 'He was', the columnist averred, 'a man possessed of plenty of shrewdness, observance and extremely strong opinions of his own, and was generally respected by all those who really knew him. Invariably honest in public and charitable movements, he both wrote and spoke strongly upon public questions.' On the other hand, **W J Sowden**, who accompanied a parliamentary party to the north in 1882, considered him eccentric. But the editor of any small town Australian newspaper in the late 19th century was the public voice of the hopes and fears of its residents, and any eccentricity was surely a reflection of the stop and go policies of the South Australian government.

He left a comparatively large estate of 1 500 Pounds and by his Will directed that his wife, Maria, be paid three Pounds a week for life by his trustees. She died at Corryton near Magill in South Australia on 9 November 1903. Two children are thought to have predeceased him but nothing else is known of his family. He left legacies of 35 Guineas to his trustees **H H Adcock** and V L Solomon, (together with provision for appropriate remuneration to the latter for any literary work in connection with the newspaper). The Palmerston land was not to be sold for at least 10 years and appears to have been administered by trustees until 1938. One third of his residuary estate went to his wife and the balance to the children of John Skelton, a farmer in Kent, England, who may have been a son.

D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as It Is*, 1882; *North Australian*, 5 September 1887; various issues of *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, particularly 7 November 1873, 15 September 1877, 27 January 1883, 3 May 1884, 11 December 1908; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 April 1884; New South Wales Births, Deaths and Marriages, 84 000783; South Australian Probate Records; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1- 62/1874, 103/1876, 68/1878, 396/1878, 182/1880, 485/1880, 196/1881, 384/1881, 688/1881, 178/1884.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

SLADE, JOHN (JACK) (1915–1990), aviator, was born in Melbourne on 21 June 1915, the only child of a carpenter and his wife. Slade followed in his father's footsteps and studied carpentry at Swinburne College, Glen Iris, Victoria. When war broke out, he joined the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) and trained at Point Cook. He was a big man, both tall and broad.

Flight Lieutenant Slade was posted to the Northern Territory late in 1942. He travelled overland by truck and train to Manbulloo Station to join Six Communications Unit under the direction of Wing Commander **Clyde Fenton** of flying doctor fame. This unit carried the mail and supplies to all the isolated outposts and were often involved in search and rescue operations. The Unit transferred to Batchelor on 25 February 1943 on the same day as the enemy bombed the new RAAF Medical Receiving Station at Coomalie Creek.

In May 1943 the RAAF base at Milingimbi Mission was bombed. A barge loaded with aviation fuel was sunk and the medical centre and the church were destroyed. Slade landed just after the raid and had to race to a slit trench when the bombers returned. After the raid a fitter helped repair the bullet holes in the RAAF Dragon and Slade flew two wounded men to Coomalie Creek. On 24 May 1943, during a flight to Goulburn Island in the Dragon bi-plane, Slade noticed a suspicious looking sampan at the mouth of Sandy Creek on the mainland. He had no radio so, after delivering his load, he came back for a closer look, tipped the top of a tree and crashed. The visitors were Dutch servicemen who had escaped from Timor; they laid the unconscious pilot under the shade of a tree and contacted Darwin on their radio. The operator in Darwin refused to accept any message not in official code. One Dutchman, a sailor, knew an old Dutch navy code and used that; it had to be sent to Melbourne to be decoded. A whole day later Clyde Fenton received the news and made a beach landing to rescue his pilot. Slade had a fractured skull and a fractured leg. He spent the next eight weeks in the Medical Receiving Station at Coomalie Creek before being transferred to a hospital in Melbourne.

Early in 1945, Six Communications Unit transferred to the old airstrip in Darwin (now Ross Smith Avenue). Slade had many long talks with [Dr Bruce Kirkland](#), who told him of the need to re-establish an Aerial Medical Service once the war was over. The RAAF was providing the service even then. The war ended in August but Slade continued the service to the outback until 4 April 1946 when he advised everyone by telegram that the RAAF service had ceased.

Jack Slade returned to Darwin on 21 June 1946 to re-establish the Aerial Medical Service. On his return to Darwin in 1946, Jack Slade acquired two ex-RAAF Dragon aircraft that were taken to Mascot, Sydney, to be refurbished and equipped as ambulances. A third aircraft was retained in Darwin to provide spare parts. These two air-ambulances were in use for another ten years. The first three-engine Drover was purchased in 1952, the first air-ambulance fitted with a transceiver radio. De Havilland Dove aircraft eventually replaced these aircraft; they were comfortable and fast.

Slade was employed by the Department of Health but immediately after the war there was little staff accommodation. He camped in a one-room hut near the Laboratory and dined with the dentists in the hospital kitchen. Some months later he acquired one of the Allied Works Council huts under the Poinciana trees near the entrance to East Point Reserve. When land became available at Fannie Bay Slade purchased a block bordered by East Point Drive and Bayview Street and built his own home from cypress pine milled on Elcho Island. He married [Meryl Nichol](#) on 7 March 1962. There were no children from the marriage. Fannie Bay was an idyllic spot until Fannie Bay Hotel, complete with public bar, was built nearby. By 1974, the Slades had a new home under construction beside the Stuart Highway, a kilometre south of the Arnhem Highway; they were able to move into this when Cyclone Tracy destroyed both the Slade home and the Fannie Bay Hotel.

Immediately after the war, the federal Labor government in Canberra set up a government owned airline Trans-Australia-Airlines (TAA) and from March 1952 the Aerial medical Service came under its control. The company employed the pilots and serviced the aircraft. It also provided relief pilots but did not interfere with the conduct of the service.

Work in the outback was restricted by lack of aircraft fuel. Slade arranged the delivery of fuel to key missions, cattle stations and police stations. This operation proved immensely expensive and as so much fuel was stolen, it was not practical. The aircraft had to carry enough fuel for return trips, which meant fewer passengers. Slade always liked a spare seat for any emergency; he had learned from experience.

In his 1948 report Jack Slade recorded 98 215 kilometres flown, taking 667 hours, 91 of which had been at night. He had made 196 landings on licensed airstrips, 66 on unlicensed ground and four on beaches. When asked about unlicensed ground he told of landing in a peanut patch; the woman patient was so heavy he had to leave the nursing Sister among the peanuts. It was possible to land small aircraft on beaches in emergencies but when bigger, better aircraft were introduced this was no longer possible. Many of Slade's exploits are recorded in Ellen Kettle's *Health Services in the Northern Territory; A History 1824–1970*.

Prior to 1954 when there was no regular mail delivery, Slade would carry first-class mail for the isolated church missions. When an emergency call was received, Slade would phone the respective Mission headquarters in Darwin and someone would deliver the mail to the airport. On the return trip, there was always mail for posting. Slade retired from active flying in June 1970 but continued as the operations manager until June 1980. On retirement he kept his log books and these, in conjunction with his wife's logbooks, have proved an invaluable record.

Jack Slade was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC) during his war service and was later honoured with the award of Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE). He died from a heart attack on 4 December 1990, survived by his wife Meryl. His body was cremated.

E Kettle, *Health Services in the Northern Territory*, 1991; personal communication.

ELLEN KETTLE, Vol 3.

SLADE, (TERESA) MERYL nee NICHOL (1918–), nurse, was born in Tallangatta, Victoria on 27 February 1918, one of a family of five, four girls and one boy. Her parents, Douglas Joseph Nichol (of British descent) and his wife Teresa Elizabeth (of German descent) were also born among the mountains of Tallangatta. They were farmers and all Meryl's siblings continued as farmers in the same beautiful country. The Nichol children were educated at Cascade and on completion of the basic eight years schooling Meryl applied to train as a nurse at the Royal Melbourne Hospital. She obtained her General Certificate in 1942. She was invited to remain on the staff until 1945 when she then undertook the one-year Midwifery Certificate course at the Royal Hospital for Women in Melbourne.

Meryl Nichol was appointed to the staff of Darwin Hospital and arrived by air on 2 May 1949. She worked in the Men's Surgical Ward for two months before filling the vacancy of Aerial Medical Sister in July that year. She was particularly blessed as she was never airsick in spite of small aircraft and wet season turbulence. Staff accommodation was very limited until the new Sisters' Home in Lambell Terrace was opened in February 1952. Meryl Nichol was one of the first three to live in the new building but it was not luxury as there were no shutters and the whole building was awash following wet season storms.

The work with the Aerial Medical Service was strenuous; the small aeroplanes were slow, noisy and not pressurised. Many times both the pilot and nurse had to stay overnight at isolated missions or cattle stations and set out for Darwin at daylight. When a patient's life was in danger, they made the return flight at night without radio or adequate instruments. One such flight was made when [Roger Jose](#) at Borroloola swallowed a kangaroo bone and was choking. It was just on dark when the aircraft arrived and Sister Nichol assessed the urgency; a flare was lit at the end of the airstrip for take-off. The night was cloudy and without a moon and it was Sister Nichol who noticed

the flashing beacon at Darwin airport before clouds hid it again. They landed at 11.15 p.m. having flown nine and a half hours with 10 hours supply of fuel.

As the work increased a second pilot was employed but the Public Service Board in Canberra would not approve the appointment of a second nurse. Apart from annual holidays Sister Nichol was on duty, or on call, 24 hours per day seven days a week. When not flying there were records to be maintained; individual medical records were established for every Aborigine and others in the outback, many people being not literate. Patients brought in by air were taken home again by air, there being no other transport. Sister Nichol kept in close contact with the hospital so no medical aircraft travelled empty.

In February 1950, during a measles epidemic at Umbakumba, Sister Nichol was flown there in a Catalina flying boat and she brought five sick babies back to Darwin. Umbakumba did not have an airstrip. Over the years, there were many hazardous flights and landings on wet, or otherwise unserviceable airstrips; the pilot decided on the weather and the condition of the airstrip while Sister Nichol assessed the urgency of the patient's condition; they worked as a team.

After over 11 years of flying Meryl Nichol felt she could take no more. She retired from nursing and bought a dress shop in Parap; life was much quieter. On 7 March 1962, she and **Jack Slade** were married, followed by a reception at the Don Hotel. She continued the dress shop for some years and as a hobby took up growing orchids, being active in the Orchid Society.

After her husband's sudden death on 4 December 1990 Meryl Slade stayed on in Darwin for a while but she was immensely lonely; she retired to Wodonga in Victoria to be near her kinfolk. Towards the end of 1995, however, it was her intention to return to Darwin when her farm was sold.

E Kettle, *Health Services in the Northern Territory*, 1991; personal communication.

ELLEN KETTLE, Vol 3.

SLIT SCHIN FONG: see **FONG, THOMAS**

SMITH/GADEN FAMILY: SMITH, ALFRED EDWARD (1857–1921) was born in Lochinvar, New South Wales, in 1857. He came from a large family, and by the age of fifteen had 'flown the nest'. By the 1880s, Smith had made his first mark on the Territory as a teamster, working between Burketown and Roper River, servicing such places as Borroloola and Normanton.

In Normanton in the 1890s, he met and married Mary Anne Danvers. The couple had two children, Ada and Frederick. Twins boys were also born, but they died as infants. By this time, Smith had earned the reputation in both Queensland and the Territory as a 'first-class bushman'. While based in Normanton with his family, he continued to make trips to the Territory. He also became interested in buffalo hunting, and was among the first group of people in the Territory to commence buffalo shooting as a commercial interest. The main focus of this industry was in the Kapalga area, and Smith held several grazing licences on the Mannassie Aboriginal Reserve, and the Cobourg Peninsula. Buffalo hunting was not, however, Smith's only commercial interest. He trapped Timor ponies that ran on his Cobourg Peninsula lease and transported them by lugger to Darwin where they were sold.

After the death of Mary Anne, in Kuridal, Queensland, in 1920, Smith based himself in the Northern Territory, maintaining his grazing interests. After becoming ill in early 1921, he left Darwin, and went to Sydney for treatment. He returned in May, though still quite sick, and died in Darwin Hospital that year.

Smith's daughter Ada, who had married Hazel Gaden the year before, inherited her father's grazing licences with her brother Frederick. A year after his death, the Gadens and Frederick Smith left Orient Station in Queensland, which had been managed by Gaden, and went to Darwin. Gaden and Frederick Smith maintained the leases and continued in the trade of Alfred Smith as buffalo shooters. Six of the seven Gaden children were born in Darwin.

In the 1930s, the family settled in Darwin, after having extended Smith's original leases, by taking up bases in the Alligator River region and as far south as Pine Creek.

The family were evacuated from Darwin in 1942, and returned to the Territory two years later. After spending a further two years in Pine Creek, the family returned to Darwin.

The Smith/Gaden family were involved in the shaping of the Territory's history for nearly 100 years. Members of the family were still living in Darwin in the 1990s, indicating they established themselves as true Territorians.

Family information.

EILEEN M COSSONS, Vol 1.

SMITH, DAVID DOUGLAS (1897–1984), Commonwealth Resident Engineer in Central Australia 1928–57, was born in Perth, Western Australia, on 19 November 1897. His father, George Wishart Smith, was a strong-willed Presbyterian from Ecclefechen in Scotland who immigrated to New South Wales in 1888 and worked as a ganger for the Department of Railways. He married Jean Lindsay of Wollongong, New South Wales, in 1894, and immediately moved to Western Australia where he had been offered a supervising job at the Railway Workshops at Midland Junction. There were seven children—George Clifton, David Douglas, Alexander, Hector Archibald, Madeline Jean, Katherine Sarah Lindsay and Ian Wishart. David, the second son, attended the Midland Junction Public School for his primary education. The family transferred to Argly Street, Hobart, in 1911, where the father had won the appointment as Tasmanian Commissioner of Railways. David was then enrolled as a boarder in Scotch College, Melbourne, for the next three years, but his final matriculation years were spent at Scotch College, Hobart, and the Friends School, Hobart, before proceeding to the Engineering Faculty of the

University of Tasmania in 1915. As a schoolboy, he exhibited a natural artistic ability, inheriting the gifts of his mother who was a friend of the artist Norman Lindsay. He always worked with a skilful left hand, and his etched drawings at thirteen years of age were later framed to become family heirlooms. This capacity was to be an outstanding characteristic, along with his expert photography, in his later meticulous survey work and location reports as a civil engineer.

His university course was interrupted after the November examinations in 1917 by his enlistment for war service and, when he was demobilised from the army at the end of the next year at the age of 21, he joined the Tasmanian Hydro-Electric Commission and worked on the diversion of the Ouse River into the Great Lake, and survey work on the Shannon River dam. He then worked with the contracting firm of E G Stone and Company in their construction of the Kellsol and Kempe Woollen Mills, the Shale Mine at Latrobe, the Cadbury-Fry-Pascall Factory at Claremont, the Goliath Cement Works and the Launceston Railway Workshops.

On 16 April 1925, at the age of 28, he married Margaret Grace Murray of New Town, Tasmania.

David Smith was now looking for other fields. An offer came from the Australian Commonwealth Railways to conduct a survey for a railway line between Daly Waters in the Northern Territory and Dajarra in Queensland, and from Dunmarra to Wyndham via Wave Hill. In March 1927, Smith undertook this task, leaving his wife and small baby daughter Margaret Claire, for the time being, in New Town. In July 1928, after completion of this railway survey, he was appointed by the Commonwealth Department of Public Works as Resident Engineer for Central Australia and came to be known throughout the Northern Territory by the popular name of 'DD'. He initially lived in a tent in Hartley Street, Alice Springs, and his wife and baby came from Tasmania to join him there. This area is now dedicated as the DD Smith Memorial Park.

During the Second World War D D Smith was commissioned as a Reserve Officer of the Northern Territory Garrison as well as carrying out intelligence duties, and he made the initial inspections and surveys of the road from Darwin to Alice Springs in preparation for the sealing operation by the Civil Construction Corps. At the age of sixty in 1957, he retired from the Public Works Department and made his home at 1 Chewings Street, East Side, Alice Springs. One of the last things he did was to open up the track to Ayers Rock, expressing his practical belief in the future of Centralian tourism. The family comprised two girls, Margaret Claire and Helen Verity, and three boys, David Lindsay, Douglas Murray and Graham Wishart. D D Smith and his wife were divorced in 1967. He subsequently married Dylis Mary, daughter of James Ernest Hurst and Agnes Alicia, *nee* Wade, of Melbourne on 28 February 1969.

After his retirement he directed his energies to cattle production on a property called Mount Allan of 2 030 square kilometres situated about 290 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs, the lease of which he had acquired in 1949. Fencing, bore-sinking, home construction and stocking with cattle had all to be undertaken with the help of his youthful son, David. D D Smith set out to show that the economic utilisation of Centralian cattle resources lay in the turning-off of weaner-yearling males for fattening in the south. He bought another cattle station in the southeast of South Australia in 1971 and worked on it for six battling years, developing it for his fattening project. He possessed a natural determination to put to practical use for cattlemen in Central Australia his knowledge of transport conditions by rail and road, of harnessing artesian waters, and of facing seasons of drought.

His well-known interests in community developments in Alice Springs were invariably related to the needs of the young and the old. He supervised the contracts for the building of the John Flynn Memorial Church and the Old Timers' Homes. He helped to get the first kindergarten established, to buttress the formation of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and to maintain a vital membership on the Public School Committee and the Race Club. He acted as a Justice of the Peace from 1929 to 1981. He was elected the Member for Stuart in the Northern Territory Legislative Council, 1962–65. On 13 June 1981, he was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) in recognition of his unique services to the Northern Territory.

D D Smith was small in physical stature, measuring 165 centimetres in height, but a man of big spirit, long-sighted brown eyes, and indefatigable energy. He inherited strong Scottish traits of honest pride in his work and of dogged perseverance. In the management of his staff he had the secret of winning firm loyalties and was respected, if not always loved, for his discipline, his open dealings, and his disdain of bureaucratic control. He was basically a reserved personality, sometimes intolerant, but with an inborn interest in the common man and a commitment to old-time Labor ideals. When he campaigned throughout Central Australia for election to the Legislative Council, he 'chatted' to hundreds of people at their work and in their homes about his dreams of development of the Northern Territory, of his fundamental belief in human dignity and equality, particularly in relation to Aboriginal people.

He died on 7 July 1984 in his 87th year in St Andrew's Hospital, Adelaide, having undergone orthopaedic surgery for a broken hip. The government of the Northern Territory honoured him with a State funeral in the John Flynn Memorial Church, Alice Springs, on 11 July 1984, conducted by the Very Reverend Fred McKay, at which a eulogy was also given by Jim Robertson, Attorney General of the Northern Territory. The burial took place in the Alice Springs Lawn Cemetery.

Smith papers, Mrs Dylis Smith, Alice Springs; AIM papers, NLA NT Legislative Assembly minutes, 5 March 1985; George Redman, [D D Smith], Dept of Housing and Construction Journal, September 1984.

J FRED McKAY, Vol 1.

SMITH, JESSIE ADELE (1915–), domestic worker, nursing sister and missionary was born on 10 May 1915 at Kerang in Victoria. She was the third daughter of Harold Walters Smith and his wife Annie, *nee* Russell who were married on 17 September 1901. Her father was born in England in 1874 and emigrated to Australia when he

was 13 or 14 years old. Her mother was born in 1875 at Creswick, Victoria. There were seven children, four girls and three boys. Her father was manager on farms at Kerang and Darraweit Guim before settling at Dandenong in 1923, where he was a market gardener. Jessie went to school mainly at Noble Park, then to Dandenong West when it opened. For two years, she attended the Dandenong High School. As a girl, Jessie had red hair. She had blue/grey eyes, was of medium height and build and wore glasses.

Jessie's mother died on 16 May 1931 when Jessie was 16 years old. She did domestic work for two years at two places in Dandenong before she began Mothercraft training at the Methodist Babies Home in South Yarra and completed that course on 12 February 1936. Following this she took private work for three years. An older sister, who had taken over the care of the family following their mother's death, married, so Jessie went home to take over the household for her father, three brothers and a younger sister. In 1948, another sister came home to care for their father and Jessie was able to leave home to begin her nursing training at the Queen Victoria Hospital in October of that year. She completed this on 9 November 1951. Her father died on 2 February 1952. She completed Midwifery training at the same hospital on 6 June 1953. Jessie then went to the Methodist Mission Training College in Sydney to prepare for missionary service. While there, she was appointed as Sister to Milingimbi.

Jessie left Melbourne on 17 November 1953 in the company of a teacher Dorothy Yates who was going to Elcho Island. They had an eventful trip, commencing with the journey on the train to Adelaide, then on the Ghan to Alice Springs on 19 November. On 23 November they left for Darwin by coach arriving at 6.30 pm the following day. Dorothy flew to Elcho on 26 November. Jessie stayed on in Darwin gaining experience to help her become aware of procedures and the problems that might arise. She made visits to Darwin Hospital, the Health Department and Channel Island Leprosarium.

On 7 December, Jessie met **Beulah Lowe**, a teacher, for the first time, as she passed through Darwin on her way on furlough. They were to work closely together at Milingimbi for many years.

Her journey continued on 26 December in company with the Reverend Gordon Symons and his family on the mission supply boat *Larrpan* in company with another boat, *Phantom*, but a few hours later *Phantom* broke down so they returned to Darwin. Bed on the boat was the hatch cover as Rita Symons and her children had the only cabin. There were eight of them on the hatch, with legs over the edge, feet on the deck! They started out again at 2.00 am on 27 December but two hours later *Phantom* again broke down. This time her passengers (for Croker Island) were taken on board *Larrpan* and they sailed on. Jessie did not enjoy the trip as she is a poor sailor and the stops at Croker Island and Goulburn Island drew it out, but at last Milingimbi! All this in the wet season. The Captain, Billy Wallilibu, was very concerned, as she could not drink the cups of tea he made for her. Finally she arrived at the place she was going to spend the rest of her working life, with the exception of a few months in 1971 and 1972, at 8.00 pm on New Year's Eve 1953.

Jessie was met by almost the entire population of Milingimbi who came to see what the new Sister was like. They had to wade through thick mud for the last 45 to 55 metres as the tide was out and the dinghy could not be rowed any closer to the beach. The staff consisted of the Reverend Edgar and Mrs Nancy **Wells** and their son James; Dr Smith, a retired doctor who had been there a few months, Doug and Hazel Peters (the farmer and his wife). Over a welcome supper, Mr and Mrs Wells and Dr Smith told her a few things she would need to know and then off to a bed that stayed still and was thus very welcome.

New Year's Day 1954 was the commencement of Jessie's lifetime work. Dr Smith showed her the dispensary—a corrugated iron building about 15 feet by 30 feet with a single corrugated iron shutter in lieu of a window (propped open by a length of wood) and a door at one end fastened by a padlock. A sink was at the opposite end, the water for which was obtained from a tap outside. He showed her the medical records (not complete) and introduced her to some patients, the medications and dressings (not plentiful as supplies had not come out with them). Next morning Dr Smith left for Yirrkala on *Larrpan*.

Milingimbi had a population of about 500 at that time. On Fridays, more people would come in from the surrounding islands and the mainland for 'Store'. Employment was available for some men and women in houses, the school, the dairy and the garden. Others brought in craftwork, paintings, carvings, mats and baskets made from pandanus palm leaves. These were bought. All staff members manned the store on Friday afternoons Jessie was only exempted if she had a sick person or woman in labour to attend to. Stores came from Darwin on the Mission's boats every few weeks and from Brisbane about four times a year. After a few weeks, a fortnightly mail plane service commenced.

A medical plane came in about every six weeks bringing a doctor and a sister to check patients and advise on treatments if the weather was suitable to land on the airstrip. An emergency call on radio could bring a plane out if it was necessary to evacuate any patient to Darwin Hospital.

It had been stressed to Jessie that she was to begin to train one or more young women to assist as nursing aides. Bonga was the first, and she stayed with Jessie for some years until her health made it necessary for her to give up. By then her eldest daughter, Bilin had also joined the staff. Over the years Jessie trained many very capable nursing aides who later came to be known as Aboriginal Health Workers. Training started with basic housework, such as washing up and sweeping floors, and at first, Jessie often had to rewash the dishes and sweep the floor again until the skill had been learnt. Over the years, Aboriginal nurses increased in numbers and in their ability to share the work. They were trained to a high standard.

The Dispensary moved from the basic shed in which it operated to a Sydney Williams hut (a common post war feature) divided into two; one half being the living quarters for Jessie and Beulah Lowe, the school teacher and later linguist, a curtain giving each some privacy. This occurred about four months after her arrival and lasted about a year until proper living quarters were available. The remaining section, the larger portion, was divided into a dispensary, and a kitchen with a wood stove. A sink was available in the dispensary but again without running

water, which still needed to be collected from the outside, tap. Jessie thought it was about 1959 or 1960 that a real kitchen and a new ward were built, improving their ability to care for people. Then in 1968 they had money but not enough workers to build a new hospital. So a letter to the Noble Park church in Victoria brought a wonderful response and a party of 28 including three women (to care for the workmen) arrived in April 1968 and in three weeks the new hospital rose on the concrete base that had been put down in readiness. All were very pleased and grateful for the greatly improved facilities.

Jessie tried to learn the local language but never became really fluent. During these years, there was sometimes a second sister. Many sisters were introduced to remote area nursing by Jessie and many remained in this type of nursing for many years after, thanks to the good grounding they received. She was renowned for her hospitality and generosity. She was (and still is) an excellent cook and hostess to the many travellers passing through. For many years she cooked the bread eaten by her own staff, though in later years she presented new female staff with a loaf of bread and a recipe. Milingimbi during Jessie's time remains in the memory of many as a very pleasant place to be.

The range of her nursing services went from minor complaints such as scratches and toothache to more serious problems. An example of the types of cases that presented was a man brought in with a stingray spike deeply embedded in his leg. They could not get a plane in so Jessie removed the spike and sutured the resulting wound. Midwifery cases would report for pre-natal examination, but when it came to labour would not report until the babe was born and brought down to her. It was then accepted that she should provide clothes for the babe and aspirin, tea and sugar to meet the needs of the new mother and her 'djagamirri', usually two women who had cared for her. It was several months before they trusted Jessie to deliver a baby.

Jessie had two special daily clinics for tuberculosis and leprosy. Care of leprosy patients and a continuing watch for new cases was a feature of her work. She designed and made special canvas footwear to cover the bandages on damaged feet. Another area of special interest was family and child health which later when facilities permitted was set up as a separate clinic. For many years Jessie had a feeding program for the 'failure to thrive' children.

Working conditions gradually improved. A kerosene refrigerator was bought in the late 1950s, replaced by an electric one in November 1967. Once refrigeration was available, immunisations could be given, including smallpox for coastal communities, as they had visiting Indonesian fishermen. Jessie was ever vigilant for cases of any infectious diseases that could arrive by boat or aeroplane. During the 1950s and 1960s there were epidemics of measles, influenza, gastroenteritis and sometimes typhoid. Her quarantining suspects greatly reduced the incidence of these outbreaks at Milingimbi. Indonesians found themselves removed by customs and quarantine officials.

Jessie started health work at Nangala (pre Ramingingin) on the mainland but not on a regular basis. This meant a walk at first until she obtained a motorbike though she also travelled by tractor or light plane. There was much untreated leprosy in that area at that time.

In 1971, Jessie was very weary and more nurses were available so she left Milingimbi and after a holiday began to work in Darwin as a Baby Health Centre Sister. After a few months, she went to work in the Children's ward at Darwin Hospital. At the end of 1972, Milingimbi was short of nursing staff and was being serviced by Health Department staff who went out for just a few weeks at a time. Early in 1973, Jessie returned to Milingimbi as a Health Department staff member and remained there until she retired on 11 August 1980.

When Jessie turned 65, she was forced to retire but would have dearly liked to continue to work. The people of Milingimbi asked her to retire there, but family responsibilities again claimed her attention. She returned to Victoria to care for her elder sister. She managed to revisit Milingimbi and continued to have a keen interest in all the happenings there.

On Queen's Birthday 1972, Jessie Adele Smith was honoured by being awarded Membership of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for her services to Aboriginal health. She said that much she was able to achieve was made possible by her supportive work colleagues. She was a Territorian of pioneering spirit.

Personal information.

PHILIPPA REANEY, Vol 3.

SMITH, JOHN HENRY (1868–1940), drover, bush worker, grazier and butcher, was born in Sliding Rock, Victoria, in 1868 and married Catherine Ellen Moffat, born 1876, at Farina in South Australia in 1893. They had four children, the first two, James Alfred, born 1895, and Francis Robert, born 1896, being born in Farina; then Jack went to Queensland droving for a number of years. He returned to Farina and Catherine had the other two children, Eileen, born 1908, and John Henry Jr, who was born in 1910 and died of Bright's Disease at the age of 21.

The family headed north and Jack and Catherine went to work on Undoolya Station in 1910. Jack was employed as a station-hand and Catherine as cook. At the time, according to stories passed down through the family, Catherine was one of only 10 white women living in the Alice Springs area. The family must then have moved around the Central Australian area working on various properties. They acquired Umbearra Station where they ran sheep, plus horses, which were sold, to the army for remounts. Umbearra was sold and Jack and Catherine moved to Alice Springs. Jack supplied meat for the gangs working on the railway line during the construction of the old Ghan line and ran his own butcher's shop in Alice Springs until his death in 1940. Once again family stories state that his was the first butcher's shop in Alice Springs, but this cannot be confirmed. Catherine ran a dairy which (the family presumes) was supplying milk to the residents of Alice Springs; she had been running the dairy in Farina before the family moved north. Catherine died in Adelaide after a long illness at sixty years of age, survived by two sons.

SMITH, MILES STANIFORTH CATER (1869–1934), Acting Administrator of the Northern Territory and Administrator of Papua, was born in Kingston, Victoria, on 25 February 1869, the son of William John Smith. He was educated at St Arnaud Grammar School and the University of Melbourne. He was employed in Melbourne at Goldsborough Mort in 1896 and later that year went to Kalgoorlie as manager of the Reuter Telegram Company. In 1896, he was elected a councillor of the municipality and was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and then as Mayor of Kalgoorlie in 1899–1900.

In 1901, he headed the poll in Western Australia when the first elections for the Commonwealth Senate took place. Elected in March 1901, he was interested in tropical agriculture, touring the Pacific and New Guinea in 1903 and being recognised as an authority on the subject in the Senate, during debate on the Papua Bill. He retired from the Senate in December 1906 and in the following year accepted a position in the Papuan government service as Director of Agriculture and Mines. He acted as Administrator of Papua during the absence of Lieutenant Governor Murray in 1911. His continuing interest in Papua led him to some exploration at Kikori, which was criticised for its futility; but he was granted a Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society (Victoria) for a report delivered in London in 1912, receiving also a Patron's Gold Medal in 1923.

In 1916, he enlisted as a Private with the Australian Imperial Force, having failed to pass the officers' school. He sailed as a Sergeant with the 49th Battalion. He later became a Lieutenant in France and acted for the rest of the war as a Battalion Intelligence Officer, being wounded and mentioned in dispatches. On his return to Australia, he published *Australian Campaigns in the Great War*. He was then appointed Acting Administrator of the Northern Territory 'to smooth over the political turmoil arising over the administration of **Dr Gilruth**. He achieved some 'smoothing over' in the 1919 to 1921 period, introducing handbooks explaining the new direction of the policies of the Commonwealth government. In 1921, he promised the granting of Northern Territory representation in the Commonwealth Parliament, but the bill was defeated in the Senate. He then resigned, taking with him the local nickname 'Soapy Smith'. He then returned to New Guinea, serving as Administrator and Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mines and Agriculture until he retired in 1930.

During this period, he married Miss Marjorie Mitchell, the daughter of an old family of Bunbury, Western Australia, in 1928. When the family retired from Papua, they returned to Western Australia, to a farm at Boyup Brook. He died on 14 January 1934, leaving a widow and four children.

Handbook on Papua, 1908; M S C Smith, *Australian Campaigns in the Great War*, 1919; *Handbook NT*, 1919; Smith Papers MS 1709, NLA; *West Australian*, 15 January 1934; AA, Darwin, Series CRS A3—NT 21/1829.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

SMITH, WALTER, also WATI YURITJA ('Man of the Water Dreaming') and **WALTER, PURULA** (1893–1990), bush worker, was born at Arltunga goldfield, east of Alice Springs, in 1893, the first child of William (Bill) Smith and his wife Topsy. Topsy was of Arabana descent, so in addition to English and the local Eastern Aranda language, Walter became fluent in Arabana too. As there were no schools at Arltunga or Alice Springs, and as Bill Smith could only spare limited time away from the mining, Walter only learnt the rudiments of reading and writing. Informal education through observation, practice and commonsense was more significant to him.

Childhood experiences meant that he learnt a considerable amount about prospecting and mining, how to ride a horse and muster stock, the basis of a blacksmith's work, use of team horses with a waggon, and general bushmanship. In about 1898 he witnessed the arrival of rabbits in the Arltunga area, and in 1905, at the age of 12 years, he rode some 4 000 kilometres with a tough old horseman on a horse-selling journey (with a bit of horse duffing thrown in). Upon his return home to Arltunga Smith was told by his father that it was time he began some real work! For the next few years, he learnt all there was to know about prospecting and mining, and the long hours of hard work gave him a lean, sinewy strength.

When his father died in 1914, just prior to the birth of the 11th child for the family, it was left to Smith to be the main supporter for his mother and the other children, all of whom were considerably younger. He obtained work as a cameleer with **Charlie Sadadeen**, and found that he had an almost instinctive aptitude for the work. For the better part of the next 20 years, he was involved in carrying the loading from Oodnadatta, South Australia, to Alice Springs and as far north as Newcastle Waters, or from Hatches Creek wolfram field to Dajarra in Queensland. However, he also took considerable time off during these years to involve himself in other enterprises, some of them on the outer edge of the law.

No doubt, the famous bushman **Joe Brown** had heard that Smith just happened to be riding along in about 1913 when he caught up on a horse-stealing run across the southern Simpson Desert to Birdsville in Queensland. He and Smith left in 1915 on a similar enterprise which took them to Oodnadatta along the ranges of the Northern Territory and South Australia border and via the Rawlinson Range to the goldfields of Western Australia. The return travel took them as far west as Marble Bar, Western Australia, before they turned back through the Halls Creek country and the Tanami Desert.

Other travels, at various times, involved experiences with Aborigines. He was initiated in Pitjantjara country, but also journeyed extensively in the Simpson Desert. He became a rainmaker, passing through the painful Arabana rites as well as those of the Southern and Eastern Aranda peoples, and he became a noted 'medicine man'.

He found no difficulty in accepting both his European and his Aboriginal background, and involved himself in the distinctive aspects of each culture as well as the interlocking aspects. On occasions he was a drover, helping

walk cattle from the Alice Springs and Arltunga country to Oodnadatta, but he appreciated most the work with camels—on occasion up the Birdsville Track, once to Innamincka in South Australia, and for a time in the early years of the opal discovery at Coober Pedy, South Australia, but mostly north of Oodnadatta or west on a dogging trip.

When extension of the railway line north of Oodnadatta commenced, he and his brother Jim worked their camels, carrying water to the various camps. However, in the South Australia and Northern Territory border region, in 1928, they decided to go prospecting; their brother in law, Arthur Pope, joined them as they travelled and prospected the western and north western parts of the Simpson Desert through to the Hale River country. The next year saw Smith on extensive Simpson Desert travels with [Sandhill Bob](#) as guide. When the drought in summer came he helped his brother Willie save a mob of cattle by digging Little Well—an exhausting day and night task.

A little over a year later found him as part of a ‘[Lasseter’s gold](#)’ expedition, from Oodnadatta to the Peterman Range, then in 1932 he was 500 to 1 000 crow fly kilometres north west of the Alice in the Granites gold rush and through to Halls Creek in Western Australia.

He had married Millie Carnegie (Kaniki) in the 1920s, but they were never to have children. For a considerable time their home base was Oodnadatta, then in the early 1930s Alice Springs. However the long separations and various problems meant that they drifted apart: for a time Millie lived at Jay Creek, west of the Alice, but in the mid 1930s travelled south to live with her own direct family.

The mid 1930s saw the gold rush to Tennant Creek. By now, Smith had as a mate Frank Sprigg, a mechanical engineer whom he had met in 1926 at Oodnadatta, during the early days of the railway line extension. They had acquired a light truck, but Smith retained his camels too. Clarrie, Smith’s younger brother, joined them as they tried their luck at the Tennant and out west.

Prospecting for gold, carrying water on his camel team to the mica miners of Harts Range in the 1940s and also carrying the mica, prospecting for gemstones in the same area and for copper in the Jervois Range, these and other bush work such as yard building occupied Smith for the next decade. Now, instead of criss-crossing the great deserts of Australia, he was more and more settling back into Central Australia. A second wife, Mabel, of Eastern Aranda descent, gave his life stability.

In his early 60s, still an alert and active man, he had taken up a block of land, which he called Plenty River Downs Station. His partner in this venture was Frank Sprigg, and it was country he had extensively travelled over with Sandhill Bob. Aboriginal adults (one a pensioner), in addition to Walter, Mabel Smith and Sprigg, and four children who lived on the block, contributed to the enterprise. It was very much a fringe pastoral property, and they worked it by shifting their camels, goats and cattle from soakage to soakage, without establishing a permanent homestead. By the late 1950s, though, Smith was proud of the fact that some of his cattle topped the market price. And yet, at the same time government officialdom had started to intrude, so the partners sold their stock to long-term friends on Mount Riddock Station. This was most fortuitous, as the ‘Great Drought’ of 1958 to 1965 set in almost at the time of the sale.

Tourism, with gemstone prospecting a significant hobby for many, had been increasing and, although not being interested in tourism itself, Smith’s vast experience in the Arltunga and Harts Range country meant that he was often called upon for a yarn and advice. He, Mabel and other Aborigines still used the camel team, right through into the 1970s, for their own gemstone prospecting. In his old age, it allowed him the open-air living and the independence he desired.

Eighty years of hard work and hard living eventually came to take its toll on his health and mobility, though, and he was obliged to move into Alice Springs. Here, as they had on the many other occasions he had spent in the town, his sisters, Ada and Jean, and other relations, had welcomed him. Old Frank Sprigg, [Paddy Tucker](#) and other old mates had independent camps or homes, but they caught up with one another every week. Younger people, from close family members to distant Aboriginal relations, and complete strangers, yarned with Smith or sought his advice. At times he journeyed widely in his old camel travel and Aboriginal travel country with them—to the country south of Oodnadatta, to Dalhousie Springs and Ayers Rock (Uluru), to the Finke River and the north western portions of the Simpson Desert. Everywhere he went the Aboriginal people came to meet him, for he was legendary even to the oldest of them, and the oldest wanted their children to their great grandchildren to meet him.

In 1983, he suffered a stroke, which necessitated him being moved to the Old Timer’s Home, four kilometres south of the Alice, for care. He died in 1990, almost 97 years of age. One can always make a case for others, but in many ways he was the last of the legendary old time prospectors and miners of Arltunga, the last extensive traveller of the Simpson Desert, the last of the old time cameleers, and one of the last of the legendary old time bushmen.

He was survived by his second wife, Mabel, who lived with her own direct extended family, by scores of his own extended family stretching over at least six generations, and by innumerable friends who knew him as ‘Uncle Walter’.

R G Kimber, ‘Journey to Dalhousie Springs’, in *This Australia*, vol 5, no 1, 1980, *Man from Arltunga*, 1986, ‘Mulunga Old Mulunga’, in P Austin, R M W Dixon, T Dutton & I White (eds), *Language and History*, 1990, ‘Wati Juritja’, in P Smith (ed), *A Ton of Spirit*, 1990; various other articles and 81 tape recordings.

R G KIMBER, Vol 2.

SNELL, (ORMOND) HAROLD EDWARD GEORGE (1892–1949), primary producer, carpenter, miner, soldier, builder and businessman, was born at Glenisla, Victoria, on 31 January 1892, the son of Harold Snell, a grazier of Mooralla in the Western District, Victoria. His grandfather, Richard Snell, arrived in Australia in 1865 as an unassisted immigrant and took up sheep country at Mooralla. Harold Snell Junior assisted his father on his

property until his mother died and Harold Snell Senior remarried. Harold Junior then went to an aunt in Hamilton, Victoria, and trained as a carpenter.

When the Commonwealth took over the Northern Territory in 1911, it was considered the number of public servants was insufficient for its new status; and for the Commonwealth public servants, new houses were built at Myilly Point in Darwin. In 1912, O H E G Snell went to Darwin and was employed in building these houses.

In 1913 Scharber and Richardson discovered good tin at Maranboy, east of Katherine. On the completion of his work on the Myilly Point houses, Snell went to Maranboy to take up mining leases there. He was a partner in Pearce and Party who held the well-known Star of the East mine, one of the better-known tin producing mines in the Territory. This began his lifelong interest in Territory mining. After his war service, he returned to tin mining in Maranboy. Later he was a non-participating partner in a Grove Hill mine. Over the years, he held shares in Pine Creek Enterprise Gold, Golden Dyke Gold Mine, Eleanor Vendor, Fletcher Gully Gold Mine and Eleanor Gold Mine. These shares were financially unrewarding. For all that, by later buying up some mining machinery and buildings, he was able to undertake excavation work in the Territory including the preparation of the oil tanks in the 1920s and 1930s, preparation of the site for the Armidale Street power house and that, in 1992, was a training centre for mechanical trades. As well, the excavation work for the gun emplacements at East Point in Darwin was undertaken. He also at times grub staked prospectors. After his death, his two partners, J Cousin and S Mazlin, were early discoverers of uranium.

Snell enlisted as a Sapper in the Fourth Field Company Engineers, Australian Imperial Force, in 1915, embarking for overseas in March 1916. He served in Egypt and France. While in England in 1919 he married Ivy Mary Allen. As it was not possible to bring all the servicemen back to Australia at once, soldiers were allowed to gain career experience in Britain. Snell chose to work for a shipbuilding and iron company in Jarrow-on-Tyne. This was probably the origin of his interest in steel construction in his buildings in Darwin.

When he returned to the Northern Territory, he continued to work on his Maranboy leases. 'By 1918 Maranboy [was] the premier tin producer in the Northern Territory'. His partner, Pearce, had also recently married an English woman. After two premature sons died and his wife was taken very ill, Snell relinquished his share of the partnership to Pearce in 1922, returned to Darwin, and bought the plant, 'building gear' and good will of James Markey, builder. The house and buildings in Mitchell Street were bought in 1926.

His first known building contract of this period was the 'Soldiers Club Rooms and Memorial Hall', which was built in Smith Street on the present site of Paspalis Centrepoint. This was opened in October 1922. His early buildings included the stone cottage on the Esplanade, which was erected for the British Australian Telegraph (BAT) Company. This building still stands and has received official recognition for its heritage significance. He also constructed extensions to the BAT buildings in Mitchell Street.

Between 1926 and 1929, the extension of the North Australian Railway from Emungalan to Birdum was under construction. 'It was undertaken directly by the Commonwealth using day labour and piece work.' The firm of Snell and Company was successful in tendering for contracts along the line including work on the Katherine River Bridge.

When his wife gave birth to a delicate baby girl and she was again ill, Snell travelled overland to Brisbane by car in 1929 to be with her. While in Queensland he built a bridge across the Dawson River. He returned to Darwin at the beginning of the 1930s.

Perhaps Snell is best remembered for his gradual development of Smith Street as the main business centre of Darwin. The two banks, the ES & A and the Commercial, the Victoria Hotel, the two churches, Christ Church and Saint Mary's, and A E Jolly's general store were already there. The official section of the town was established along the Esplanade and in Mitchell Street. The shopping centre was in Cavenagh Street. Snell bought his first two properties in Smith Street in 1928. He was to build at least 17 buildings in Smith Street including nine in what is the present day Mall.

It was during the Depression years that he began his program of buying the half acre blocks, building two business premises on them, selling or leasing these and continuing the same process. One such example of this was his purchase of a Smith Street block before he left for the south and on which, after he returned, he built the Star Theatre and another commercial building on the same block. The original picture show was the galvanised iron enclosed, open air Don, on the present site of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation building in Cavenagh Street. Snell then purchased this and a hotel was built on the site.

The firm Snell and Company was a partnership of Harold and Ivy Snell. Agencies had always been a sideline of the partnership, but, by the late 1930s, after the sale of the Holmes Estate, this side of the business was expanded. It became Territory Agencies. A third partner, James Cousin, was taken into the business. This business was later sold to Millars and Sandover of Western Australia.

A small number of troops of the defence build up in the north had arrived in 1932. It was not until the second half of the 1930s, however, that there was any perceptible effect on the town. From 1936 to 1939 Darwin 'more than doubled its population'. With the increasing number of defence contracts obtained, tradesmen were brought up from the south so small cottages were built by Snells Contracting for its married men. Snell believed both his business and the Territory benefited from settled families.

The erection of the houses, stores, barracks, wireless transmission buildings, earth works, as well as alterations and extensions to existing buildings were part of the defence build up of the late 30s and early 40s. The Sergeants' Mess built at Larrakeyah Barracks still stood in the 1990s. Civilian accommodation and the renewal or expansion of service buildings were also needed to cater for the expanding community. The new style tropical buildings featured fibro cement louvres that opened the houses to catch breezes, but closed firmly against tropical downpours. Snells

Contracting received its share of this work including the new Kindergarten building, and hospital and post office extensions.

When the bombing of Darwin took place on 19 February 1942 Snell was in the southern states purchasing material for his defence contracts. He immediately returned to Darwin to put his affairs in order and, presumably, to supervise the completion of his defence contracts. He remained there until the early months of 1943. He became, for the rest of the war, a works supervisor in the Engineering (Civil) Section of the Works and Services Branch of the Allied Works Council.

After the war, the federal Labor government planned to rebuild Darwin as a tropical 'Canberra-style' city and to replace the former freehold titles with leasehold titles. To do this the Darwin Lands Acquisition Act was passed in August 1945. When Territorians returned to their war damaged town, they found their former buildings were not available.

After the resumptions were completed on 11 March 1946 'fortnightly tenancies were granted at the will of the Commonwealth of Australia'. It is obvious from notations on documents from the Administrator's office and from that of the Government Secretary that 'instruments' in connection with leases were not yet forthcoming from the Department of the Interior in Canberra. Legislation for five year leases 'would be promulgated at an early date'. 'Tenants who desire(d) to carry out such applications [were] referred to the sub-committee of the Town Planning Advisory Council for advice.' Finally, the Chief Medical Officer gave his approval. 'Where persons formerly owned more than one dwelling they [were to] be given a preference in respect of one residence only. The others [were to] be let independently by the Administration.' This frustrated Territorians who wished to rebuild their town.

Snell attended the war surplus sales in the Top End and invested heavily in vehicles, materials, plant and equipment. Anxious to be ready for the rebuilding of the town, he was able to obtain a longer, more secure lease almost 10 kilometres out of the town at an abandoned Army camp in Winnellie. Joined by a fourth partner, Sid Mazlin, three new companies were organised around the core company, Snell's Contracting. These were Darwin Milling and Trading Limited, Building Removals Limited and Pipes and Denaro Blocks Limited.

A small village named Maranga was quickly built. By 1949, there were four larger houses, eight small cottages, single men's quarters, six single men's huts, a camp manager's residence and canteen, a men's mess and a recreation building where a non-denominational Sunday school and a kindergarten were held. There were reticulated water, electricity, telephones and septic throughout. In the business section of the site were the saw mill, timber shed, the Darwin Milling and Trading building and a store building, a joiners' shop, the motor mechanics workshop and the cement works. Snell was experimenting with pipe construction preparatory to the time Darwin's 'flaming furies' would give way to sewerage. Stan Kennon shortly afterwards took up a lease adjoining Snells.

The main early post war contracts were principally repairs to such buildings as the Hotel Darwin and the Magistrate's Residence. There was work at the Royal Australian Air Force base, for Qantas and the building of Q-type houses. Snells Contracting was erecting the Bovril meatworks at Katherine. These meatworks, like the plan for a 'Canberra style' Darwin, did not survive the change of government in 1949.

A man of principle, Snell was able to reconcile his belief in Masonic ideology with that of socialism. Both, in his view, sought to provide support for those who needed it. Although not a practising member of any church, he supported church activities by discounting his profit on work for any religious or kindred body. The most impressive buildings of this type were the pre war Catholic Presbytery and the post war Masonic Temple.

Snell died on 16 April 1949. His wife, four sons and a daughter survived him. Some descendants of Snell lived in the Northern Territory. His family sold its interests in the complex at Maranga to the other partners. The sawmilling section was sold to Kennon, the cement works to Hume Pipes and the other sections to the Maranga Hotel and others. The area was subdivided into individual leases in 1964. His name is commemorated in Snell Street in the industrial area that Maranga/Winnellie became.

P F Donovan, *Defending the Northern Gateway*, 1989; T G Jones, *Pegging the Northern Territory*, 1987; V Marshall, *We Helped to Blaze the Track*, 1980; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; *Northern Standard*, 24 October 1922, 18 April 1949; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 26 April 1917, 19 January 1918; *North Queensland Register*, 16 February 1935; Australian Archives Northern Territory Office, FI- 1946/602, 46/566, 51/156, 51/138, & CA966, E43; Land Titles Office, Darwin, list of Snell's titles held; various plans and information from Northern Territory Administration Lands and Survey; information from Northern Territory Place Names Committee; information from S Kennon; family records and photographs.

VALERIE FLETCHER, Vol 2.

SOLOMON, VAIBEN LOUIS (1853–1908), businessman and politician, was born on 13 May 1853, in Waymouth Street, Adelaide. He was the third son of Judah Moss Solomon and his wife Rachel, *nee* Cohen. The Solomons were part of a large Anglo Jewish community which had migrated to Australia aboard the ship *Enchantress* in 1833 after receiving good reports of the colonies from two family members who had sailed some years earlier as convicts. V L Solomon's father moved from Sydney to Adelaide in 1847 where he became a prominent public figure, serving as an alderman and a member of the Legislative Council, and from 1869 to 1870 as mayor of Adelaide. V L Solomon was educated at J L Young's Adelaide Educational Institution and later Scotch College, Melbourne. Although Solomon's ties with the Jewish community were never very strong during his adult life, it was under their auspices that he first arrived in the Northern Territory.

With the discovery of payable gold in the Northern Territory in 1870, many wealthy Adelaide businessmen invested in the short-lived boom. Among them were members of the Jewish community who financed the Adelaide Prospecting Venture. When they sent an exploration party north in early 1873 Solomon, at odds with his father over

his engagement to a non-Jewish girl, succumbed to family pressures and joined the party. He arrived in Palmerston in April, just one month before his twentieth birthday.

Solomon appears to have spent only a short time with the prospecting expedition and after a short visit to Adelaide, returned to find employment in his brother's general goods store in Palmerston. He soon became manager and in 1877 went into business on his own account. Solomon's business flourished. He carried a wide range of goods and his large notice in the weekly paper advertised everything from ironmongery to liquor, including bulk and tinned foods and clothes. He and his partners, F P Stevens and [H H Adcock](#), also advertised themselves as shipping agents, auctioneers and mining and real estate agents.

Solomon was also noted as one of Palmerston's leading builders, the first of his constructions being houses for his staff, who had formerly been living in tents. These buildings were followed by the construction of two large business premises, a retail shop and a printing office in Smith Street, both built of cypress pine and corrugated iron with cement floors and fronts 'rusticated to look like cut stone-work'. In 1884 Solomon's own house was reputed to be 'the most complete and substantial private residence Palmerston can boast of. However, the building for which we remember Solomon today was probably not built by him, but for him, in 1885. This building, now known as Brown's Mart, was designed along simple but distinctive colonial lines by architect [J G Knight](#) and was constructed of local stone for use as Solomon's business premises.

Not content with business enterprise alone, Solomon became proprietor and editor of the local newspaper, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*. Although his interest in the paper was not announced until January 1885, it is highly likely that he edited the paper for some twelve months prior to this. Certainly the editorials which appeared during this time bear a strong resemblance to Solomon's clear, flowing and often dramatic style, typical of a man of his class, time and education. These early editorials also echoed the strong political beliefs evident later and for which Solomon became noted.

Before moving into a hiatus period of political disinterest, there was evident in early Palmerston a keenness to participate in local government and colonial government to the extent that it affected Territory administration. Solomon was generally to the fore in political activities. He was an active member of the Northern Territory Reform Association, a body that was formed with the intention of exerting political pressure for changes to legislation affecting the Territory. This association was neither long-lived nor influential and after a few years lost all impetus. Solomon was able to exert more influence through the Palmerston District Council of which he was chairman for many years.

With his wide range of interests Solomon became involved in many facets of political life but devoted much of his time and energy to the achievement of two goals: the restriction of Chinese immigration to the Northern Territory and the development of the Territory through appropriate liberal legislation. Neither problem was as uncomplicated as Solomon would have had others believe but the question of Chinese immigration proved particularly problematic as he, like many other Territorians, believed that development, and more specifically agricultural development, was dependent on imported Asian labour. He also believed that Australia should be developed for the benefit of Europeans and though he advocated the use of coloured labour, he claimed that Asians should be allowed neither the same citizenship rights nor privileges as Europeans. As anti-Chinese sentiment gained momentum in Palmerston, an Anti-Chinese League was established with Solomon becoming one of its leading members. In 1889, he was commissioned by the League to present a series of lectures in the southern colonies on the adverse effects of Chinese immigration and to present petitions to the premiers of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. Time and distance failed to modify his views on this point and to the 1895 Commission of Inquiry into Territory Affairs Solomon advocated only limited and strictly controlled use of Asian labour.

Absences from the Territory did nothing to alter Solomon's views on the development of the Northern Territory and he continued to express an unflinching belief in its potential. Unsuitable land laws were, he claimed, largely responsible for South Australia's failure in the Territory. His editorials in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* expressed an exuberant optimism with each new mineral discovery and fledgling industry being hailed as a bright new beginning.

Nor was Solomon a man of words only. From his earliest days in Palmerston, he showed himself willing to invest heavily in a variety of business ventures, including mining and pearling. The considerable profits from his successful Palmerston business were poured into speculative enterprises, often to his loss. Although known to have had several resounding financial successes Solomon was eventually reduced to poverty and on his death, his wife and family were left destitute.

While still very much involved in business in Palmerston, Solomon offered himself for election when, in 1888, the Northern Territory was granted two seats in the South Australian House of Assembly. He based his campaign on his two principal political interests, development of the Northern Territory and the restriction of Chinese immigration and, when Territorians went to the polls on 18 April 1890, Solomon was returned with over half of recorded votes going to him. With [J L Parsons](#), former Government Resident and the Territory's second representative, Solomon went to Adelaide, bringing to an end 17 years of life in the north.

However, this was not the end of Solomon's interest or influence in the Northern Territory. He held his seat in the House of Assembly until 1901 when he was elected as a South Australian representative to the newly formed Commonwealth Parliament. From 1 to 8 December 1899 he served as Premier of South Australia, heading a minority administration. During his years in the South Australian Parliament, he introduced a number of bills relating to Territory affairs; predictably, most of them concerning the Chinese and land laws. He also introduced the Northern Territory Justice Bill, a much needed piece of legislation and one for which he was highly commended. On his move into federal politics, Solomon continued to promote the Territory and it was he who introduced the motion into the House of Representatives, in 1901, that negotiations for the transfer of the Territory to the federal

government be commenced. He presented his case and continued to argue it in the face of heavy opposition, on the grounds that the evident lack of development in the north had been largely due to the limited financial resources of the South Australian government. He also argued that South Australia had for the past 20 years borne the responsibility of maintaining the north for all Australians and that if the entire land mass was to be kept for white Australians, then all should contribute to the cost of maintenance and development. His unwavering belief in the great mineral and agricultural potential of the Northern Territory struck a responsive chord in a number of fellow parliamentarians although, when the motion was passed in September 1902, it was for a mixture of national and parochial reasons and few were sufficiently optimistic to believe that the road ahead would be smooth.

Solomon left the House of Representatives in 1903 and in 1905 he again stood for the Northern Territory seat in the South Australian House of Assembly. He made a short visit to Darwin for the election campaign, where he was warmly welcomed and given supportive press coverage. He was returned, although this time as junior member, **S J Mitchell** having gained the largest number of votes. Solomon held this seat until his death on 20 October 1908.

Solomon's forthright and open manner won him the affection of his colleagues and the respect of his opponents. He had the reputation of being a tireless worker, although inclined to place himself in unfortunate positions due to his propensity for making not only hasty decisions, but for making them publicly. Generally very serious in his approach to life, the story of an escapade during his early days in Palmerston is retold with a certain amount of incredulity. Solomon and another young man were said to have wagered that they could walk down Smith Street naked without attracting attention. Having stripped, blackened their skins and made the length of the main street undetected they were able to collect their winnings.

His wife Alice, *nee* Cohen, two daughters and a son, survived him. He was also survived by a daughter from his first marriage to Mary Ann Bridgland, *nee* Wigzell, and by a stepson.

T Cohen, 'The Honourable Vabien Louis Solomon', *Australian Jewish Historical Society*, vol 8, 1987; Commonwealth of Australia, PD, 1902; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*.

SUZANNE SAUNDERS, *Vol 1*.

SOMERVILLE, JAMES DUGALD (1869–1960), engineer and historian, was born in Scotland in 1869. His parents immigrated to Australia in 1873 and settled in South Australia. Somerville joined the Engineer in Chief's Department (South Australia) in 1882. He worked on the South Australian south to east drainage plans for several years and then joined the South Australian Railways as an engineering superintendent. He served as Senior Assistant Resident Engineer at Peterborough and as Resident Engineer at Port Lincoln, where he supervised the construction of the first and second sections of the Eyre Peninsula Railway.

Somerville left Port Lincoln on 8 May 1909 to take up a position with the North Australian Railway. He and his wife, Edith, and daughter, Mabel, travelled from Sydney to Darwin on SS *Eastern*, arriving in Darwin on 16 June 1909. Somerville was in charge of the railway from Palmerston to Pine Creek, which had been completed in 1889 to serve the Pine Creek goldfields. He remained in the position until 1911, when the Commonwealth took over the Northern Territory. Railway employees in the Northern Territory were given the option of returning to the South Australian Railways, or transferring to the Commonwealth Public Service and remaining in the Territory. Somerville and his family left Darwin on 4 August 1911 and returned to Port Lincoln.

Somerville retired from the South Australian Railways in 1933. He devoted his retirement to historical writing and research, becoming well known for his work on Australian and South Australian exploration.

He died in South Australia on 17 March 1960 at the age of 91 and was buried at Centennial Park Cemetery. His wife and daughter survived him. Somerville's name is commemorated in Darwin by Somerville Gardens, Parap, close to where the old railway line passed.

Advertiser, 22 March 1960; J D Somerville file, Northern Territory Place Names Committee.

EVE GIBSON, *Vol 2*.

SOMERVILLE, MARGARET ANN (1912–), missionary, was born on 24 September 1912 in Lismore, New South Wales, the only daughter of Methodist minister James Herbert Somerville and his wife Margaret Jessie, *nee* Holbrook. Margaret's education, due to her father's movements as a minister, was fragmented. She attended several schools before completing her education with two years at the Methodist Ladies' College in Sydney.

The young Margaret Somerville had always been deeply interested in the missionary side of the Methodist Church but felt that she lacked the educational qualifications to be a missionary. However a notice in the *Missionary Review* of August 1941 appealing for donations of sewing machines for use at a newly established children's mission on Croker Island in the Northern Territory provided her with the opportunity to broach the subject of her serving as a missionary in such a way that would not create embarrassment when, as she believed would be the case, she was rejected. She purchased a second hand sewing machine and took it to the Methodist Overseas Mission headquarters in Sydney. While there, she asked if she could be of service on Croker Island. To her surprise and great delight, her offer was promptly accepted. Described as a 'small, neat woman with a happy, infectious personality', Margaret Somerville left for northern Australia a short time later, travelling on the last ship to carry civilian passengers from Sydney to Darwin prior to the outbreak of hostilities in the region. On Goulburn Island she joined other missionaries and from there, on 25 November 1941, a group of missionaries and the first group of 44 part Aboriginal children set sail on *Larrpan* to start a new life on Croker Island.

The establishment of special homes for 'half caste' children was the culmination of many years of agitation by the Christian churches to address the problem of caring for the increasing numbers of part Aboriginal children.

Between 1911, when the Commonwealth had taken over the Northern Territory, and 1934 the numbers of children resulting from mixed unions had increased from 58 to 770. While such children had been ignored and left with their 'full blood' Aboriginal mothers in the early days of Territory settlement, the Commonwealth authorities had initiated a policy of separating the children from their mothers, often by force, and placing them in government homes. It was hoped that, given the benefit of white education and trained as domestic servants and stockmen, the part Aborigines could be assimilated into white Australian society. The policy cannot be said to have been a great success. Despite all the efforts of the government administration to control the movements of 'half castes', some became subject to the worst vices in white society. In the 1930s, the situation deteriorated with the massive influx of single servicemen to the Territory. It was common knowledge in Darwin that part Aboriginal girls, although wards of the state and under its protection, were being used for prostitution. The churches continued to press for the establishment of isolated mission run homes for the part Aboriginal children, homes where they could be equipped for a place in Australian life consistent with human self respect, dignity, independence and freedom. In 1940 the Commonwealth government asked three church organisations in Arnhem Land, the Anglican Church Missionary Society, the Roman Catholic Church and the Methodist Overseas Mission to assume care for children of part Aboriginal descent. The government granted the lease of Croker Island to the Methodists and agreed to pay maintenance of one Shilling per child per day.

Conditions on Croker Island when Somerville arrived with the Goulburn Island contingent were somewhat primitive. Due to the imminence of the Wet Season, the group had been moved before the building program started by [Harold Shepherdson](#), [Len Kentish](#) and Phil Adams could be completed. However, despite crowded living quarters, other arrivals having boosted the number of children to 96 aged between one and 18 years, and the rains that started within days of their arrival, the missionaries had great hopes that, given time, they could create a peaceful haven for their charges.

Time was something they did not have. The children had scarcely moved into their half completed settlement when news came of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. On 16 December 1941, the civilian evacuation of Darwin was ordered, and on 13 February 1942 a radio message was sent out along the coast ordering all women and children to prepare to leave the north at once. Within 24 hours, the staff at Croker Island had completed preparations to evacuate the island, but the expected naval pick up vessel never arrived. Darwin was bombed on 19 February, but all naval shipping was needed as carriers for troops to defend northern Australia. On Croker, the staff unpacked and attempted to maintain a normal routine. When, at last, an official message was received from Darwin, it was to the effect that while the wives and children of missionaries would be evacuated, the children would have to wait until later.

Most of the white women and children were evacuated from Croker Island on *Larrpan* in March 1942. Somerville, Jess March and Sister Olive Peake, a nurse, elected to stay with the children until the lugger returned for the second stage of the evacuation. Beryl Adams, who was eight months pregnant, also stayed. Her baby, Rosemary Olive, was born on Good Friday. On Easter Sunday, *Larrpan* returned carrying Shepherdson, Kentish and Jim Harris, an Anglican missionary from Oenpelli who had volunteered his services to assist with the evacuation of the children. On the Tuesday after Easter, the Croker Island convoy set out on the first stage of its journey to Sydney, where arrangements had been made to house the children for the duration of the war. Somerville's practical skills proved an invaluable asset on the journey. She was put in charge of catering for the group, and before leaving Croker organised the baking of 100 big buns, 300 biscuits, five fruit cakes and 75 loaves of bread to carry them through the first stage of the journey. Preparing meals for 100 people, often under appalling conditions, was a mammoth task. The hardship and suffering and the joys and sense of community spirit developed during the epic journey are vividly portrayed in Somerville's journal, published in 1951 as *They Crossed a Continent*.

The group of missionaries and 99 children (other children joined in Alice Springs) reached Sydney six weeks and two days after leaving Croker Island. The travellers had crossed jungle and desert, endured heat and cold and suffered discomfort and sickness but, apart from a child who died of a fall near Oenpelli, all survived. Most of the children were housed together at the Crusaders' Camp at Otford, about 50 kilometres from Sydney. Other children were sent to colleges and a training farm in Victoria.

In 1946, Somerville returned to Croker Island. She was the only one of the original group of missionaries to do so. Eight cottages, each with house parents and housing eight to 10 children, were established. Somerville was the first 'cottage mother' appointed on the island, and for 20 years cared for members of her extended family at Somerset Cottage. An artistic and talented woman, she taught her charges a variety of handicrafts as well as practical subjects. In 1966, with the abandonment of the policy of social isolation for part Aboriginal children, six cottages providing a more broadly based community service were opened in Darwin and the Croker Island Mission was closed.

Somerville retired from missionary service and returned to Sydney to take care of her parents. In 1966, she was made Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for her services to isolated children. Much of her retirement was spent in assisting the fund raising for overseas missions through the production and sale of handicrafts. Somerville visited the Northern Territory regularly and took a keen interest in the development of Somerville Community Services which, named in her honour, provided a wide range of services to the community.

M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; M Somerville, *They Crossed a Continent*, 1951; personal details from M Somerville, Sydney, 1992.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 2.

SOWDEN, (Sir) WILLIAM JOHN (1858–1943), journalist and newspaper proprietor, was born in Castlemaine, Victoria, on 26 April 1858, son of Thomas Sowden, a mine manager. His family were of the Anglican faith. Due

to his father's employment, Sowden attended several bush schools during his formative years. He showed promise and was offered a position as a pupil teacher. But his interests lay in journalism and shortly afterward he sought a position as a printer's assistant on the *Castlemaine Representative* and the *Mount Alexander Mail*.

In 1879, Sowden moved to Moonta in South Australia where he worked as a reporter on the *Yorke's Peninsula Advertiser*. A year later, he became associate editor of the *Port Adelaide News*. When in 1881, Sowden joined the staff of the *Adelaide Register*; his career gained prominence.

Sowden accompanied an official parliamentary party to the Northern Territory in 1882. He wrote reports during his visit for the *Argus* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* and his now famous book *The Northern Territory as it Is*, is an amalgamation of these reports. His descriptions of both the social and physical environment in the Territory came at a time when little was known about life in Northern Australia and scant documentation did little to remedy this.

Sowden was not afraid to air his political views. Although never a member of any political party, his free-trade liberal leanings are readily recognised in his writings. He liked the limelight and his forthrightness brought him enemies as well as admirers. He is described as being ruddy-faced, direct, pugnacious and an engaging speaker.

In 1886, Sowden married Letitia Adams of Melbourne. They had two sons before Letitia's death in 1928. In 1929, he married Margaret Suttie of Mosman, New South Wales. After his expeditions to the north as a parliamentary reporter, he was promoted to the position of the *Register's* chief parliamentary reporter. He became famous for his column 'Echoes from the Smoking Room by a Scribbler' which included reminiscences of his journeys north.

In June 1918, Sowden was knighted for his services to the war effort and journalism. He had been politically active during the Boer War and the First World War. In 1922, he retired from his career in journalism and moved to Victor Harbour, South Australia, where he lived until his death. He died on 10 October 1943 and was buried with Anglican rites.

J Sadler, *Some Annals of Adelaide*, 1933; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 7 September 1886, 3 June 1918, 11 October 1943; Adelaide, *Truth*, 4 December 1916, 8 June 1918; Adelaide, *Observer*, 27 March 1926.

ROBYN MAYNARD, Vol 1.

SPENCER, (Sir) WALTER BALDWIN (1860–1929), anthropologist, biologist and administrator, was born in Manchester, England, on 23 June 1860. His father, Reuben Spencer, married Martha Circuit in 1858 and Baldwin was the second of eleven children. Reuben, an active Congregationalist, became managing director of John Rylands and Sons, cotton-spinners and manufacturers. Upon Reuben's death in 1901, he bequeathed his family a considerable fortune.

Baldwin attended Old Trafford School, followed by a year at the Manchester School of Art. He entered Owens College (Manchester University) in 1879, becoming a committed evolutionary biologist. Winning a scholarship to Exeter College, he abandoned his Manchester course and entered Oxford in 1881. His professor, H N Moseley, had visited Australia as a naturalist on the *Challenger* scientific voyage. Moseley encouraged interest in ethnology and Spencer attended lectures by E B Tylor, founder of British academic anthropology. After graduation with a first-class science degree in 1884, Spencer taught and researched in the biology laboratory; election to Lincoln College Fellowship followed.

Spencer also assisted Moseley and Tylor to transfer the Pitt-Rivers ethnographic collection from London to its new Oxford Museum. His experience of classifying artefacts proved useful in his later role of Honorary Director of the National Museum of Victoria (1899–1928). Both these men were influential referees in obtaining Spencer's appointment as foundation Professor of Biology at the University of Melbourne.

Aged 26 upon his appointment, Spencer married Mary Elizabeth (Lillie) Bowman and arrived in Melbourne before the 1887 academic year. He set about energetically to design and erect the biology building and immersed himself in university life. He encouraged student activities as founder of the science society and as sponsor of a women's club. His sustained promotion of undergraduate sport eventually led him, through foundation presidency of the sports union, to presidency of the Victorian Football League (1919–26). Spencer's department became an important graduate research centre. He linked departmental activities with those of the Field Naturalists' Club of Victoria and the Royal Society of Victoria, on whose committees he was prominent. An exponent of inter-colonial co-operation, he also was associated closely with the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, and was congress president at the 1921 meeting.

Spencer's administrative skills resulted in his election to the then most senior university executive post, chairman of the professorial board (1903–11). During this period, he also arranged building expansion at the National Museum of Victoria. His university role is notable for the fact that his department was the first in any Australian university to which women were appointed to Lecturer and Associate Professor status.

Spencer accompanied the 1894 Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition to Central Australia. Because of friction between members, he acted as both negotiator and editor for all the Horn expedition volumes. His own influential contribution included the definition of the biogeographic distribution of Australian fauna. His meeting with the Alice Springs postmaster, **F J Gillen**, rekindled his anthropological interest and they established an enduring partnership.

In 1896, he joined Gillen for intensive fieldwork at Alice Springs. Their resulting publication of *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899), was hailed in Europe as one of the most important anthropological books ever published. It influenced theories on social evolution and explanations for the origins of art and ritual, particularly those of Sir James Frazer, Emile Durkheim and writers on European prehistoric cave art.

Spencer and Gillen travelled by buggy from Oodnadatta to Borroloola during 1901–02, and made the first use of wax cylinder sound recordings in the field and pioneered movie camera documentation. Their results were published in *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904); *Across Australia* (1912) was a popular version. When the administration of the Northern Territory passed to the Commonwealth, Spencer proposed an expedition by scientists to evaluate its problems and potential. The 1911 Preliminary Scientific Expedition included Spencer and **J A Gilruth**. Spencer returned to Darwin in 1912, as Special Commissioner and Chief Protector of Aborigines. For some weeks until the arrival of Administrator Gilruth, he was the most senior official in the Territory. His decisive actions and the opposition that they aroused anticipated the issues that characterised the Gilruth era. His far-reaching and costly blueprint for Aboriginal welfare was tabled in Parliament in 1913, but was forgotten. Although paternalistic and authoritarian, it advocated the creation of major reserves.

During that year, Spencer's own fieldwork was hampered by a severe leg injury, resulting from an infected accidental spear wound. However, he visited Melville Island and Oenpelli, where he completed significant anthropological research and filming, assembling the major ethnographic collections described in *The Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (1914). Less successful was his 1600 kilometre return drive to Borroloola, as a passenger in Gilruth's car.

Spencer initiated the collection of bark paintings at Oenpelli and he donated them and his entire ethnographic collection to the National Museum in 1917. He accumulated a major collection of paintings by Australian impressionists and his patronage of Streeton, Heysen and Norman Lindsay, amongst others, was an important early factor in their careers. The sale of his first collection in 1919 proved a landmark in the recognition of Australian art. He was awarded the 1926 Society of Arts medal.

Spencer was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS) in 1900; he became a Companion of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (CMG) in 1906 and was knighted in 1916. His honorary doctorates were awarded by the universities of Manchester and Melbourne. He retired from his biology chair in 1919, but he twice returned to Central Australia. In 1923, he reported to the federal government on Aboriginal welfare issues at Alice Springs and Hermannsburg. His recommendations were ignored once again. Another visit there during 1926 resulted in some modifications to his anthropological views. However, *The Arunta: A Stone Age People* (2 vols 1927) largely recapitulates his earlier presentation. *Wanderings in Wild Australia* (2 vols 1928) is a popular rewrite of his previous books.

Spencer and his wife had two daughters; a son died at birth. Lillie Spencer was active on Melbourne social welfare committees and was the second President of the Lyceum Club. Their interests diverged and she spent much time in England. Around the period of his retirement, Spencer suffered from alcoholism. His later association with Jean Hamilton evidently steadied his health. They left Australia for England in 1927 and two years later they sailed to Tierra del Fuego. Spencer intended to compare indigenous belief systems there with those of the Aranda. He died from angina pectoris on 14 July 1929, in an isolated snowbound hut, on Navarin Island. He was buried at Punta Arenas, Chile.

Spencer achieved distinction in many fields of science and the arts, and people called him 'friend', across a spectrum from governors and English intellectuals to unlettered frontiersmen. Late nineteenth century evolutionary theory determined his mechanistic views on Aboriginal society. These are unacceptable today. Within his times, however, his stern, paternalistic welfare policies were far in advance of government or popular opinion.

R R Marett & T K Penniman, *Spencer's Last Journey*, 1931; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1985; W B Spencer (ed), *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, 4 vols, 1896.

D J MULVANEY, Vol 1.

SPIDER: see **NGAPUNUN**

STACK, ELLEN MARY (ELLA) (1929–), medical practitioner, public servant and community organiser, was born in Sydney, New South Wales, on 4 May 1929, the daughter of William and Elizabeth Stack. Her childhood was spent in Sydney where she was educated at the Brigidine Convent at Randwick. At the age of 14, she received an Australian Music Associateship for the piano from the Conservatorium of Music in Sydney.

In 1955, she graduated from the University of Sydney as a Bachelor of Medicine and a Bachelor of Surgery, after which she practised medicine at the Eastern Suburbs Hospital in Sydney, and in 1957, she became a general practitioner at Merrylands in New South Wales.

On 15 June 1957, Stack married **Thomas (Tom) Lawler**, an agricultural scientist, who later established the economic viability of cotton growing in the Namoi Valley of New South Wales. In 1961, Dr Stack and family went from Narrabri to Darwin where the Northern Territory Administration had secured the services of Tom Lawler to oversee and advise on the rice crops grown in the Top End at the time and to determine suitable tropical pastures for the Top End.

The 1960s were predominantly spent raising their three children, Matthew, Damien and Luke, and running a private general medical practice that Dr Stack had set up in 1962. Having maintained a special interest in obstetrics and gynaecology, by the time Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin in 1974, she had delivered approximately 2 500 Territorians.

The private medical practice in the Darwin suburb of Parap and the family home at Fannie Bay were both destroyed by Cyclone Tracy on Christmas Day, 1974. Immediately after the Cyclone, Stack was given the responsibility of caring for the health needs of 11 000 people who went through an emergency centre at Darwin High School before being evacuated from Darwin. After the Cyclone, she remained a community health doctor at the Peel Street Clinic where she was also instrumental in implementing health policies and procedures for

the post-Cyclone community. During this time as Mayor, she was also a member of the Darwin Reconstruction Commission.

Ella Stack had been an Alderman of the Darwin City Council since 1969, and, in May 1975, she was elected to the position of Mayor of Darwin. She was re-elected in 1978 and proclaimed the first Lord Mayor of Darwin in 1979 that also gave her the honour of being the first female Lord Mayor of an Australian capital city. The Darwin City Council noted that when Lord Mayoralty status was conferred upon Darwin in 1979, Dr Stack was measured for the Lord Mayoral robes, which were to be made up in London. Hence, the Darwin Lord Mayoral robes fitted a person 155 centimetres in height.

Dr Stack had become Mayor in order to help fulfil her desire to see Darwin rebuilt after Cyclone Tracy. She was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) in 1979 for her services to the community. In 1980, she retired from Council when she was satisfied that the redevelopment of the city was progressing well. She was made a Freeman of the City of Darwin in 1989.

In 1981, Stack returned to the University of Sydney, where she completed a Master of Public Health degree. After returning to Darwin in 1982, she was appointed to work with the Health Department on Aboriginal Health programs. She was appointed Secretary of the Northern Territory Department of Health in 1985, and in 1987, preferring medical work to administration; she became the Department's Chief Medical Officer.

During her medical career in the Northern Territory, Dr Stack was instrumental in starting the Trachoma Control Committee, the Communicable Diseases Centre, the Aboriginal Ear Health Committee, Banyan House for drug rehabilitation and was involved with the establishment of the Menzies School of Health Research. An initiative for which she remained particularly proud was the Aboriginal Pharmacopoeia project that resulted in an impressive publication from the collaborative efforts of Aboriginal knowledge and scientific research.

Dr Stack was a member of the St John Ambulance Council, 1974–1989, of which she became a Commander Sister; a member of the Medical Registration Board of the Northern Territory, 1974–1989; a member of the Board of the Menzies School of Health Research, 1984–1989; and a member of the National Health and Medical Research Council, 1985–1989. She was a Fellow of the Royal Australasian College of General Practitioners; a Fellow of the Australian College of Occupational Medicine; and a Fellow of the Royal Australian College of Medical Administrators.

During her time in the Northern Territory, Dr Stack was also involved in many community based organisations, and either chaired or was a member of several committees including the National Australia Day Committee, 1979–1989; the Northern Territory Australia Day Council, 1984–1989; the Northern Territory Local Government Association, the Darwin Bougainvillea Festival Committee, the Darwin City Council Building and Reserves Committee, 1972–1975; the inaugural Darwin Community College Council, 1973–1975; the Northern Territory Council of the Australian Bicentennial Authority, 1980–1989; the Northern Territory Anti-Cancer Foundation and the National Women's Advisory Council. During the early 1980s she was also a member of Chief Minister **Paul Everingham's** Territory Railway Action Committee (TRAC) which promoted the establishment of the north–south railway.

Dr Stack wrote about many public health and community issues and often commented publicly about controversial issues. She was notably outspoken in opposition to the use of abortion as a means of contraception. Throughout her life and career, she had stood for the rights of women, having experienced and witnessed the exclusion of women from professional and other opportunities. She was known as a straightforward person with a strong will who worked to get the job done. Her dedication to the Northern Territory, particularly after Cyclone Tracy, gave her national recognition and throughout this time, she maintained a high profile in the community.

In October 1989, she retired with her husband Tom Lawler to a farming property outside of Moruya on the south coast of New South Wales. Her interests included reading, music, golf, the farm, and being near to their children and grandchildren.

Darwin City Council Record of Aldermen and Mayors, 1957–1990; family information; *Northern Territory News*, 10 December 1989; E Stack, *Aboriginal Pharmacopoeia*, Occasional Paper no 10, Northern Territory Library Service, 1988; Transcript of Speech by A Fong Lim, Lord Mayor of Darwin, at a civic reception for E Stack, 27 October 1989; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1991.

GREG COLEMAN, Vol 3.

STANDLEY, IDA (1869–1948), schoolteacher, was born in Adelaide, the daughter of Mr and Mrs H Woodcock, financiers of Kermodie Street, North Adelaide. She was educated at Hardwicke College and Miss Tilley's Private School. She married George Standley of Mount Wudinna Station and from 1897 taught in the Education Department schools at Bootby, Franklin Harbour and then at Gawler River. In 1914, she was lent by the department to go to Stuart (Alice Springs) and was met at Oodnadatta by a police escort, Sonny Kunoth.

The town of Stuart waited 25 years from the time it was surveyed until its first school opened in 1914. Ida Standley was the first teacher. She left her family in South Australia to work in unpromising conditions in a small stone building behind the town gaol. The school was planned initially to cater for white children. However, it was her work with Aboriginal children of mixed descent—in those days called 'half-castes'—for which she would become famed in the Territory.

The Commonwealth government, when it took control of the Northern Territory in 1911, inherited a deep concern about 'the half-caste problem'. So, it was that the Commonwealth Act of 1911 made the Chief Protector of Aborigines the legal guardian of every Aborigine and half-caste, any of whom he could take into his custody.

The government acted, in 1912, on **Baldwin Spencer's** recommendation that half-caste children be separated from their mothers and housed and educated in Darwin's Kahlin Compound; the school opened in 1913. In his report on the Aborigines Department for 1913, **W G Stretton** was 'impressed by the large number of half-caste,

and even quadron, children in the native quarter at Alice Springs growing up without education or any moral control'. He expressed the hope that this would soon be remedied, 'the first step being the establishment of a school with a qualified teacher, who, although primarily required for the white children previously denied a State School education, will also hold classes for the quaddroons and half-castes'.

In 1914, the year Ida Standley arrived to teach the white children of Stuart, an Aboriginal woman, Topsy Smith, came to the town following the death of a miner with whom she had been living at Arltunga. She brought with her a number of half-caste children. Police Sergeant **Robert Stott** accommodated her in a tent and informed Darwin that there was no accommodation for her children. He suggested that two township allotments near the police station should be reserved for half-castes. The Administrator agreed to the building of an iron shed and so the Bungalow was born. Topsy Smith was placed in charge under the supervision of Sergeant Stott. During the following year, the building was extended to accommodate half-caste children from outlying areas. Ida Standley was invited to accept the position of matron with an addition to her salary (150 Pounds plus keep) of 50 Pounds per annum. Topsy Smith stayed on in a house-parent capacity for many years.

For four and a half hours each morning, Ida Standley taught non-Aboriginal children—eleven initially—in a room at the police station. The younger Bungalow children played around the grounds until lunch, while the older children engaged in household duties, and making and mending clothes under Topsy Smith's supervision. After lunch, 14 of the half-caste children attended school for one and a half hours in the same schoolroom as the whites. At night, following a visit from the matron, who lived elsewhere, the children were left in the care of Smith. There were periods, however, when Standley provided evening instruction to adult half-castes at the institution.

Standley herself lamented the shortness of the school day which she said coupled with the children's background, prevented them achieving as much as they might. Numerous early visitors to the institution, however, conditioned to believe the worst of Aboriginal and half-caste children, were incredulous in noting the academic successes of the students and their state of health. They were, it was generally agreed, a credit to the matron. Standley was herself able to note, in 1915, that a boy of Aboriginal and Chinese descent, taught with the white children, was 'head of the school in all round work'.

The conditions under which the children lived, on the other hand, were deplored by visitors. Unfenced, and located in the centre of the town, the three corrugated iron sheds that comprised the Bungalow were poorly equipped for comfort and Central Australia's extremes of temperature. Cooking and bathing facilities were inadequate. The depressing little compound, opposite the prison door, received a good deal of attention from the town's white menfolk, much taken by the presence of the older girls.

Working in these conditions, Standley spent nearly 15 years labouring in the interests of her charges. Imbued, naturally enough, with much of the paternalism of the time, she saw that it was possible to equip the children to take their place in non-Aboriginal Australian society. To this end, and with the earnest assistance of Sergeant Stott, tribal and camp blacks were kept clear of the Bungalow. Mothers could visit their children, but children were kept well away from the camps.

In a report on conditions at the Bungalow in 1923, Professor Baldwin Spencer noted of the educational attainments of the children, 'Under the very difficult conditions the results attained seemed to me to be excellent and to hold forth great promise as to what can be done with the half-castes under more favourable conditions of tuition.' Thirty-six children at that time were taught in a room that 'was far too small'. Spencer also noted that 'every possible care of the half-castes has been taken by the Matron and her assistant'. He went on to recommend the establishment of a new institution—out of Stuart—at which half-castes could be trained in useful industrial pursuits. In recommending a move, Spencer was reiterating what officials such as Stott, numerous visitors, southern newspapers and even government ministers had been urging for years. Strenuous attacks had long been made on the Administration for allowing the poor conditions to continue, though Standley herself appears to have been spared all censure.

Notwithstanding expressed good intentions of government ministers responsible for the Territory, throughout the 1920s bureaucratic red tape and Treasury intransigence forestalled any move until 1929. In that year, the institution was moved to Jay Creek; Standley went too. She had been ill for quite some time and was due for age-60 retirement in January 1929. However, in the absence of a suitable replacement, she was prevailed upon by the Government Resident to move with the children to Jay Creek. The move was rushed—a consequence of the imminent arrival of railway workers in Alice Springs, considered to be a bad omen for the older girls. At Jay Creek the children lived in a tin shed built with materials from the dismantled Bungalow buildings while Standley's living quarters comprised a tent covered with a bough-shelter. In the blazing heat of summer, without an adequate water supply, isolated in bush country and having no means of communication with Alice Springs, Standley laboured uncomplainingly until her health broke down and an official said 'she could no longer carry out her duties'.

At the time of her retirement, Standley was acutely aware of the poor recompense she received. Adult teachers in Darwin were paid 300 Pounds per annum for a normal school day, took public holidays and were entitled to one month's annual leave. She, on the other hand, received a total, in 1927, of 307 Pounds and was unable to take Christmas, Easter and other public holidays. Only once, however, it seems did she seek to leave her position—in 1925 when she applied for a transfer to 'any other position in the south'.

Shortly after her retirement at age 60 she gave an account of her work to the Country Women's Association in Sydney in October 1929 and in November, she went to Melbourne to receive an award—Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE)—for services to child welfare in Central Australia. In 1934, she applied to return to the institution to help the matron who was working under difficulties. Her request was refused. Her son, Clarence Standley, went back to the Territory as a miner at Tennant Creek, but died of appendicitis in Darwin in August 1937.

The 'Beloved Lady', as she became known, shared, as one would expect, many of the attitudes of her time. In particular, full-blood Aborigines were looked down upon and strenuous efforts were made to separate them from the Bungalow children. This was government policy—and something Standley entirely approved of. Indeed, she appears to have been a wholehearted supporter of government policy as it affected half-caste people. She was, on the other hand, one of very few people prepared to work tirelessly in the interests of those people. She displayed a much higher regard for them than was common; believing genuinely that a better future could be created for them. More importantly, perhaps, the scholastic achievements of the children in her charge—with odds stacked well and truly against them—caused other whites to see them in a new, more beneficent light.

Ida Standley died at the Sydney home of her daughter, Mrs Vivian Browne, in May 1948 and was buried at French's Forest.

Centralian Advocate; SAA, Series D5465 (Misc) Scrap Book of Mrs Standley, 1914–1929; AA, NT Series FS 5103 Stuart Town, Series A1–27/2982, 30/1542, 33/7458, 35/2364, 36/6595, Series A3–17/277/E Ashby; Series A659 39/996.

TONY AUSTIN, *Vol 1.*

STANNER, WILLIAM EDWARD HANLEY (1905–1981), anthropologist, was born in Sydney on 24 November 1905. Educated at Parramatta High School and at Sydney University, he graduated in anthropology and economics while he was working as a reporter on a Sydney newspaper.

Stanner's first fieldwork as an anthropologist was carried out in 1932, along the Daly River and in the Tennant Creek area. He then worked in the Northern Territory for four years and continued to return to the Daly River area almost until the time of his death. In 1938, he obtained a doctorate at the London School of Economics and proceeded to carry out fieldwork among the tribes in Kenya. On his return to Australia, Stanner worked with Percy Spender, then Minister for the Army, until the Labor party won power in October 1941.

Apart from his role as an anthropologist, Stanner was best known for his contribution to the defence of Northern Australia in the Second World War. As commander of 2/1 North Australia Observer Unit (NAOU), formed in 1942 after the bombing of Darwin, he led an organisation which was the first of its type to be used for coastal surveillance, scouting and reconnaissance. Stanner's only previous military experience had been serving in a militia signals unit during the 1930s; but at the request of Major General **Edmund Herring**, he selected, trained and moved the 465 men of the NAOU to the Northern Territory in twelve weeks.

Promoted to the rank of Major in May 1942, he commanded a unit that was expected to monitor some 3 000 kilometres of coastline, from Derby in Western Australia to Normanton, Queensland, in the Gulf Country. He monitored from Katherine the largest radio network in Australia. General Blarney is reported to have told him: 'Stanner, you have the best job in the AIF.'

From July 1943, with the reduction in the Japanese threat to north Australia, the role of the NAOU was reduced. Stanner was posted out, against his will, in October 1943. Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, he spent a year at Land Headquarters, Melbourne, with the Research Directorate. From November 1944 until the end of the war, his Directorate activities took him to London, the United States, Brunei and New Guinea.

After the war, Stanner continued his work with Aborigines and to help European Australians understand and appreciate Aboriginal culture. In 1961, he materially aided the establishment of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra and in 1966, he advocated a Gallery of Southern Man. This was to become the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia within the Museum of Australia, Canberra. In 1971, his Australian Broadcasting Commission Boyer Lectures and the subsequent publication *White Man Got No Dreaming* reached many Australians.

In 1962, Professor Stanner married Patricia Williams. They had two sons. Later descriptions portray him as a cultured man, distinguished but a humble scholar with a deep respect for the people he studied. He died on 8 October 1981 in Canberra after a long illness. Because of the time he graciously gave to advising others, he was unable to complete the documentation of a lifetime's fieldwork.

R & H Walker, *Curtin's Cowboys*, 1986; *Australian Army*, 18 August 1977; *Canberra Times*, 9 October 1981; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 1981.

ROBYN MAYNARD, *Vol 1.*

STEELE, ROBERT GEORGE (BOB) (1909–1988), soldier, market gardener, manager and surveyor, was born in Prahran, Melbourne on 12 August 1909, one of four children of George William Steele and his wife Winifred, *nee* Lilly. His parents named him George Ivor John but he later changed his given names by Deed Poll to Robert George. He had a very happy childhood growing up in Balwyn. He was educated at the Mont Albert Central School in Victoria, but left school at 14 to 'help Mum', as he put it. After working with a firm of solicitors, he joined the Permanent Forces on 17 October 1927 and served with the Artillery in Victoria and New South Wales.

Steele first came to the Territory in August 1932 with the Darwin Construction Detachment (Royal Australian Artillery), which began to build the fortifications at East Point and Emery Point, the Australian government having recognised that war with Japan was inevitable. With the rank of Bombardier, he assisted surveyor **A M Blain** in delineating the defence boundaries at East Point. During his time in Darwin in 1932 and 1933, he played centre halfback for the Waratahs (Australian Rules). He was transferred to Hobart in July 1934 with the rank of Sergeant.

He was later posted to Sydney and by 1939; he was an instructor at Victoria Barracks having taken a number of courses, including formal survey/draughtsman training. He was then detached for duty with the 1st Artillery Survey Company and in July 1939 transferred to the Australian Survey Corps and was posted to Brisbane where

he formed the 1st Field Survey Company. Several of his colleagues received a commission and he was much aggrieved not to have been among their number. He served in a number of places in Queensland and in late 1942 was transferred to the 3rd Field Survey Company. After pre-embarkation training, his company left for Papua New Guinea on St Patrick's Day 1943. He returned to Queensland in mid-1944 having suffered from scrub typhus 'and other minor ailments'.

In 1946 having completed an Engineering Instructor's Course, he was posted to Anglesea Barracks, Hobart, where he was foreman of works. By 1948, he was Education officer, Tasmania. Living conditions were difficult so he jumped at the chance of a posting to Darwin. A condition was that adequate accommodation would be available for his wife, Mary, and his children. Between September 1948 and August 1949, he served as Education Officer with 7th Military District at Larrakeyah Barracks. He retired from the Army on 9 August 1949 with the rank of Warrant Officer Class 1 and with medals for long service and good conduct. An Army colleague was later to recall that he was 'quite knowledgeable in Army type surveying; very adept at mathematics and was a clear and purposeful lecturer'. One of his own complaints about Army service was that, having been unable to obtain a commission, he was never comfortable lecturing to officers, especially in subjects like higher mathematics.

After he left the Army he and his family moved to a small holding at Berrimah opposite what is now Kormilda College. The family lived there for 14 years. For the next two years, he worked as an accounts clerk and then survey draughtsman with the Department of Works in Darwin. From August 1951 to August 1952, he grew beans and other vegetables at Berrimah. He sold his beans in Adelaide having taken the trouble of finding a market and arranging the freight before he even planted a seed. He was also one of the first milkmen in Darwin, delivering milk produced by Rupert Kentish at his Berrimah dairy farm. It was a seven-day a week job.

In 1950, he formed the New Life Co-operative Society and was its managing director until it folded in 1961. Its premises, of corrugated iron and arc mesh, were in Cavenagh Street on a concrete slab, which had supported one of Chinatown's businesses prior to the bombing of Darwin. Steele's only concern was to try to provide cheaper fruit and vegetables for the Darwin people, locally during the dry season and imported during the wet season. The eventual failure of the enterprise after much hard work by him and his wife, Mary, was caused by a combination of circumstances not the least of which was, as he himself acknowledged, his lack of experience of legal niceties.

He and Mary were among the moving forces in the establishment of the Maranga and Rural Districts Progress Association which on 1 September 1951 held the first agricultural show—called the Darwin Exhibition—to be held in Darwin for nearly 50 years. It had over 80 members and as Steele was later to write 'was exceptionally active in pressing the government for the solution of a wide range of economic and civic problems'. Members were unimpressed that neither the Administrator, [F J S Wise](#), nor the Government Secretary, [R S Leydin](#), could attend the official opening, though their excuses sounded legitimate enough. The Committee had received little assistance from the business community but the show was a resounding success, the 'magnificent range of agricultural exhibits surprised everyone'. The Association received the Dawn Victory statuette and each member of the committee received a medallion for organising the best civic effort in the Northern Territory for events commemorating the first 50 years of the Commonwealth of Australia. After two successful Exhibitions Progress Association members formed the still vital North Australian Show Society and Steele was on the first committee. During the Progress Association's lifetime, he was its Honorary Secretary.

Between August 1961 and August 1974, his interest turned to surveying. He worked for Gutteridge, Haskins & Davey in the contour survey of Casuarina and adjoining areas and the beef roads programme, principally with the road from the jump-up east of Top Springs to the West Australian border via Victoria River Downs, Jasper Gorge and the Baines River. For a time he worked with Miller & Sandover and was then employed for 12 months as a surveyor with Broken Hill Proprietary when its manganese project at Groote Eylandt was being established. He laid down the grids on all deposits, did extensive levelling and centre line roadwork and assisted in the coastal survey and the boundaries of the Anglican Mission area. His assistant was Nanjiwarra. He also worked with Thiess Brothers at Mt Isa, Queensland, with the Bureau of Mineral Resources in Darwin, with Western Nuclear (Australia) in Arnhem Land, Cloncurry, Daly River, Tennant Creek and the Kimberleys. For six months in 1970, he worked with Mid-East Minerals at Kalgoorlie and Busselton in Western Australia.

He returned to the Territory and between December 1972 and August 1974 investigated the possibility of growing oil-seed crops in the area west of Tennant Creek where sunflowers will grow well. He had tried to obtain land so that proper trials could be established but the bureaucracy of the day was convinced that only cattle could be successful in the north and according to Steele they put every obstacle in the way of people trying to get agricultural type activities established. As he put it 'they raised the rental on that land from ten cents a square mile to a cattleman, to one dollar an acre to me. They made it three thousand dollars a year rent, so that they'd put me out of business for a start'. For a time he planted on land west of Tennant Creek owned by [Con Perry](#), however the accidental death of his daughter, Gay, in 1972 had destroyed his motivation. He left the Territory in 1974 'and went home' to Melbourne, the decision helped by his disillusionment with the Administration. He maintained his interest in sunflowers and became an enthusiastic member of the Sunflower Association, and in March 1982 was an Australian delegate at an international convention in Surfers Paradise.

Bob Steele was always his own man. He described himself as 'a most respectable conservative' in the pre-war years but the discriminatory attitudes he encountered in the Army soured him somewhat. He became a member of the Communist Party but tired of the doctrinaire attitude that would not accommodate another point of view. He later became an Australian Labor Party (ALP) stalwart. At various times he was a member of the North Australian Workers' Union and in 1973 and 1974 was Secretary of the Miscellaneous Workers' Union in Tennant

Creek. In 1978, he won preselection for the Melbourne seat of Balaclava by reducing his age from 69 to 59. He was not successful, the seat being won by the Liberal Party's Ian McPhee.

Steele had four wives; Jean Drew (1935) and Catherine Lonergan (1938) from Tasmania, Mary Heffernan (1946) from Sydney and Irmgard Ingrid Goldman from Melbourne whom he married on 16 January 1977. There were six children; Roger Michael Steele, the eldest of his three sons, became a Northern Territory member of parliament in 1974 and served as a minister with the **Everingham** government and later as the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. His elder daughter, Sandra, became a nursing sister and matron of a large Tasmanian hospital and Ted was a successful academic in the Faculty of Science of the University of Wollongong.

Robert George Steele died suddenly on 7 August 1988 at the age of 79. He was survived by his widow, Ingrid, daughters Sandra and Mignonne and sons, Roger, Robert (Beau) and Edward. He was buried in the Jewish Memorial Garden, Springvale, Melbourne. At his memorial service the celebrant aptly described him, 'Some men live their lives... watching the wheels go round and round. But then there are some, like Bob, who dedicate their lives to fighting and trying to change the direction of those wheels'. For the good of his fellow man, it must be stressed. A street in a new industrial subdivision at Winnellie, not far from where the Maranga and District Progress Association operated, has been named in his honour.

Family records; Northern Territory Archives Service, oral history interview NTRS 226 TS 711; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, adjournment debate, 17 May 1995; A Yates, interview by R M Steele, 1989.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

STEELE, WILLIAM ALLAN BEEVOR (1895–1966), army officer, was born on 4 February 1895, the son of Charles B Steele, in Gympie, Queensland. He was educated at De La Salle College at Armidale, New South Wales, and entered the first officers' course at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, in 1911. Commissioned into the Permanent Military Forces (PMF) in 1914, he transferred to the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) as a Lieutenant in the 2nd Light Horse. A year later, he was appointed Adjutant of that regiment. In March 1916, he was made Staff Captain in the 13th Infantry Brigade. After seven months in this position, he joined 52nd Infantry Battalion. He returned to Australia one year later and his appointment with the AIF was ended in April 1917.

In that month, Steele resumed his appointment with the Permanent Military Forces as Administrator and Instructor of Staff of 1st Military District. In November 1918, he was made General Staff Officer Grade Three of 1st Military District, a position that he maintained for fourteen months. In January 1920, he became Brigade Major of 1st Light Horse Brigade and, in May 1921, transferred to the same position with 1st Cavalry Brigade. He remained in this position until December 1924. From August 1922 until December 1 24 he also acted as Temporary Adjutant and Quarter Master of 11th Light Horse Regiment.

From then until 1936, Steele held various staff appointments, being promoted to Major, Staff Corps in November 1927 and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel in July 1935. In that rank, he attended training courses in England from June 1936, returning in August 1937 to take up a staff post at 6th Military District Headquarters. His rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Staff Corps, was confirmed in July 1938. On 29 April 1940, he was appointed Commandant, 7th Military District (Darwin) with Colonel's rank, in place of Colonel **H C H Robertson**. Steele came to Darwin at a time when Australian confidence in British military capacity and Far Eastern strategy was diminishing and concern for local defence was rising. The growing defence importance of northern Australia was partly reflected in Steele's promotion to Brigadier on 1 September 1940, in extensive upgrading of the road/rail system from the south and in the placing of two battalions of an AIF brigade (the 23rd) at Darwin in April 1941. In that month Steele produced a defence plan for the town that was later to be criticised because it lacked defence in depth. Steele saw the problem; but with only 7 500 troops and totally inadequate logistic support, he could do little more. Two decades of government defence neglect and continued federal reluctance to allocate resources to the north meant that Steele was never able to plan a defence that could repel much more than a raiding party on Darwin itself. He saw the importance of civil defence, giving considerable help to Darwin's fledgling Air Raid Precautions (ARP) organisation. This body performed well during an inter-services exercise in August 1941; but exercises could not still the discontent of the AIF men who saw themselves left in a backwater while their mates were serving overseas. On 29 August 1941, 23rd Brigade men rioted at a Darwin boxing match. The next day part of the town suffered riot and looting. Steele's 7th Military District command ended on 31 August; he could hardly have left the post with great regret. But his successor, Brigadier **D V J Blake** failed to support the ARP or to improve upon Steele's defence plan, despite increased resources.

In December 1941 Steele was seconded to the AIF, serving in administrative posts in south-eastern Australia until March 1943, in New Guinea thereafter until January 1944 when he returned to Australia in the first of three Quarter Master postings which carried him to war's end. In July 1945, he was made Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) for 'continuous good service and devotion in New Guinea Force'. From 17 September of that year, he commanded the 33rd Infantry Brigade that took the Japanese surrender of Ambon. In November, he was back in Australia and held further administrative posts until he went to the retired list on 5 February 1950, with the honorary rank of Major General.

On 20 January 1966, Steele died in the Repatriation General Hospital, Greenslopes, Queensland, survived by a spouse, H M Steele, whose status is uncertain.

C L A Abbott, *Australia's Frontier Province*, 1950; D McCarthy, *South West Pacific Area: First Year*, 1959; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1955; AWM card index 1914–18 and 1939–45 war personnel; Gradation List of Officers, vol 1, March 1946.

J HAYDON, Vol 1.

STEVENS, HILDEBRAND WILLIAM HAVELOCK (1852–1942), law clerk, telegraphist, public servant, pastoralist and businessman, was born at Torpoint on the shores of Plymouth Harbour, England, in 1852, the son of a Royal Navy officer with whom his mother eloped. Her father was also a Royal Navy officer and her mother a sister of Major General Sir Henry Havelock of Indian Mutiny fame. Young Stevens was the eldest of six sons and five daughters. He was educated at various Royal Navy and Blue Coat schools in England and at Bonn in Germany, paid for by his aunt, Lady Havelock. At the end of his schooling, he was sent to Malta to rejoin his family where his father was Governor of the Naval Prison. Initially he was articled to an uncle then practising law in Malta but an opportunity to join the newly formed British Australian Telegraph Company was quickly seized. With a brother, Frederick Percy, he returned to London to be trained in telegraphic communication. They joined the cable layer SS *Hibernia* and arrived in Palmerston on 26 October 1871.

In 1874, Stevens and his brother transferred to Singapore where his brother soon resigned and went to Sydney. The following year he was transferred to Hong Kong, but after a few months Stevens, at his request, was returned to Singapore where he resigned and went to Sydney. Soon afterwards, he travelled north again and joined a government surveying party based at the Roper River. During the next several years, he was to see much of the Top End. For a short time, he became a public servant and in 1880 acted as Government Secretary during **E W Price**'s term as Government Resident.

Thereafter early in 1881 he became Manager of the Territory pastoral interests of **C B Fisher** and was credited as 'the first man to make practical use of the Adelaide, Daly and Victoria Rivers for the purposes of navigation.' **Ernestine Hill** claimed that *Fleetwing*, under Stevens's command, was the third vessel to enter the Victoria River after HMS *Beagle* and **Augustus Gregory**'s *Tom Tough*.

In November 1881, Fisher and Lyons purchased Glencoe Station from Travers and Gibson and Stevens worked hard as Manager to improve their holdings, which included the newly formed Marrakai, managed by **Darcy Uhr** under Stevens's direction. Cattle were also moved into the area of the Daly and Victoria Rivers; in October 1887 79 pedigree Herefords were imported. He also took up land in the Beatrice Hills area, which Stevens considered would have been successful with coffee but increasing pressure for 'white Australia' destroyed the concept. Fisher was mortgaged to the hilt to Goldsborough Mort and Company and when he got into difficulties in 1886, they took over his properties and kept Stevens on as Manager. By then, he had developed quite a reputation for being a shrewd and energetic man. In January 1888 he was described by one of Goldsborough Mort's pastoral inspectors (along with **Lindsay Crawford**) then managing Victoria River Downs) as having 'energy and ability as we seldom meet.'

Stevens was long associated with the waterways of the north. Among many innovations, initially on behalf of Fisher and Lyons, and later Goldsborough Mort, he chartered vessels, among them *Cygnets*, to carry mail and stores to the coastal ports and the Victoria River. By August 1885, this had been operating for over 12 months and was greatly appreciated by others, including members of the Durack family, who were pioneering in the vicinity. Another vessel in the trade was the steamer *Victoria* which was built in Hong Kong in 1885 and which was, it was reported, the first overseas built vessel to be registered in Palmerston. It 'served me well for 12 years', Stevens commented. In 1888, he formed a company, which included Crawford, Sachse, Wood and **E O Robinson** to run the steamer *Adelaide* with **H C Edwards** as Master. The ship cost about 4 000 Pounds and was financed by Goldsborough Mort. The agreement with them was that 6 250 Pounds in paid up shares in the new company would be issued and Stevens was to be paid 1 000 Pounds per annum for five years.

To Stevens must go the credit for the introduction of the first export live cattle trade from Port Darwin. In 1885, he organised a trial shipment of live cattle to Hong Kong, Sourabaya and Singapore. He leased a water frontage on the Frances Bay side of Stokes Hill and erected a yard and jetty at considerable expense in order to get the cattle on board a lighter. When the 'railway jetty is erected, these tentative, tedious and also expensive expedients will be unnecessary', wrote Government Resident **Parsons**. The building of the railway, commenced in 1886, caused something of an upheaval in the town. Houses were built for the railway contractors that interfered with existing access to the port area. The cattle yards and the temporary wharf were disregarded in the building program, although it must be said that the government had told Stevens that this lease would only be temporary.

Having convinced Goldsborough Mort that there was a ready market for live cattle in the adjacent Asian countries the company funded the building of the steamer *Darwin* for the trade in 1891. This ship was built to comply with the requirements of the tender called by the South Australian government in April 1891, so with a government contract, she made 59 voyages to Singapore calling at Batavia on the way with some 12 000 head and managed to pay her way. The mortality rate of the animals was very low and the prospects for the long term were excellent until disaster struck in 1896 in the form of redwater fever. Not only were quarantine restrictions imposed by the Dutch and Straits authorities but they were imposed first by the South Australian government in one of its typically short-sighted actions, despite the fact that they were paying a subsidy for the trade. This service was never restored during the South Australian administration but by 1903, by which time Stevens was based in Singapore, several ships were carrying chilled and frozen carcasses from Palmerston to Singapore and there sold from the Singapore Cold Storage Company which he then managed.

In 1897, with the live cattle export trade in ruins, Stevens tendered for the coastal mail contract using the steamer *Kookaburra* that he owned. The successful tender required four trips a year to Borroloola and the Roper for which the price was 4 000 Pounds plus Port Darwin to Wyndham every eight weeks at 125 Pounds per trip. The contract ran for four years from 1 April 1897. For reasons that suited Goldsborough Mort, all Stevens's enterprises, including management of SS *Darwin* and the mail contracts, were operated in his own name, though the funds came from Goldsborough Mort. In their agreement with him Stevens was precluded from operating any competing business.

Having discovered that he had personally tendered for new mail contracts, his employers promptly accused him of 'flagrant disloyalty' and his services were terminated. It is clear from the correspondence that Stevens regarded Goldsborough Mort's coffers as a bottomless pit. He also had a lease, taken over by [C E Gore](#), over Croker Island that was another interest the company may not have known about.

Stevens completed the mail contracts sailing as Master of *Kookaburra*, but was undercut by A E Jolly and Company for the next contracts. He disposed of his interests and left the Territory in June 1901 in his ship, bound for Brisbane. Despite the fact that Jolly and Company's vessel was wrecked within three months Stevens was unable to regain the contract though there is no doubt that he knew the Northern Territory coastal and river waters better than anyone else of his day. Many, many ships were stranded but there is no record of any vessel under his command getting into difficulties. He was undoubtedly a superb seaman.

His business interests precluded him from playing any other role in the life of Palmerston, and for this he was criticised in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, though he occasionally played cricket and participated in regattas. In 1891, he was appointed Dutch Consul to succeed [V L Solomon](#), who by then sat in the South Australian legislature.

Stevens married Rosy Emma, one of [Paul Foelsche](#)'s two daughters, in about 1885. (There is no direct evidence of the marriage but there are no registrations for the last six months of 1885). Four children were born of the marriage. Rosy Stevens and the children left for South Australia in July 1900. The cyclone in January 1897 had virtually demolished around them a substantial six roomed stone and brick home that was built in 1883. This stood on the Esplanade on Lot 648 and was leased from the South Australian government that bought it, to be used as a residence for the judge, in 1884 for 2 000 Pounds. Stevens only briefly held freehold land in Palmerston. He purchased Lots 665 and 517 in 1884 but the following year they were transferred to the Earl of Rosebery. From 1886 to the end of 1894, he ran his office from Lot 518 on the corner of Knuckey and Smith Streets, a site that for many decades of the 20th century was identified with [F E Holmes](#). Prior to that, his base had been a stone and brick residence on part of Lot 526 at the corner of Smith and Bennett Streets. This is where a bank now stands but which for decades was identified with A E Jolly and Company.

The family settled in Brisbane for the next 12 years, spent three years in Sydney while the children finished their schooling, and then moved to Singapore where Stevens again had business interests and where he remained until his death in early 1942, shortly after being made a prisoner of the Japanese following their capture of Singapore. During that time, he was one of the founding members of the Royal Singapore Yacht Club. In old age, he became something of a notable eccentric around the Singapore waterfront.

He was undoubtedly an adaptable and resourceful man. His early pioneering days in the north were a far cry from the upbringing of his childhood, but apart from commenting in his memoirs that he 'had evidently landed at the wrong end of Australia' he quickly 'became acclimatised and accustomed to the fact that we were cut off from the rest of the world except by an under-sea wire!' His main complaint in fact was that there were so few 'ladies'.

Reverend Julian E Tenison Woods, the redoubtable cleric and traveller, described him as one of the 'leading men of the Territory, a squatter, bushman, a sailor, an engineer, a man ready and fit for any hard work and to whose good sense, courage and coolness one could trust anything.' There was something of the rogue about him. He left a thrilling story about the newly constructed Victoria riding out a typhoon in Hong Kong on her delivery voyage yet according to the press reports he was not on board. Goldsborough Mort who were his employers for so many years get scant mention in his memoirs. Perhaps the title *Reminiscences of a Hard Case* reflected his view of himself, though his advice to young men making their way in a developing country was to 'be good tempered whatever happened'. He was not the first, nor would he be the last, to claim credit not strictly his due but he was the man on the spot and there is no question that the developments which occurred under his guidance were a result of his advice to his employers.

Whatever his personal characteristics, Stevens was, however, a very important figure in the nineteenth century Northern Territory. Men of his energy and resourcefulness were needed for the little which was achieved although almost always their efforts were destroyed or hampered by the dilettante succession of South Australian governments. He certainly had the respect of business colleagues. After he left the Territory, he borrowed at least 300 Pounds from W J Lawrie, who by then owned Marrakai, among other properties. Lawrie died in January 1920 but in his will he made special provision for the money Stevens owed to him. It was to be repaid at Stevens's 'discretion' and he was not to be 'inconvenienced or unduly pressed for payment.'

M Durack, *Kings in Grass Castles*, 1959; I Hepburn, *No Ordinary Man*, nd; E Hill, *The Territory*, 1951; W J Sowden, *The Northern Territory as It Is*, 1882; H W H Stevens, *Reminiscences of a Hard Case*, 1937; *North Australian*, 15 October 1887; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 8 August 1874, 29 August 1885, 14 November 1885, 15 October 1887, 1 January 1892, 25 January 1897, 7 April 1899, 19 October 1900, 24 June 1901, 5 July 1901, 24 September 1901, 27 December 1901, 10 January 1902, 7 March 1902, 29 August 1902, 28 August 1903, 24 June 1904, 17 February 1905, 13 March 1908, 1 October 1909, 29 July 1910, 31 May 1912; Archives of Business and Labour, Australian National University, Goldsborough Mort Papers, Deposit 2; Northern Territory Archives Service, E96/108, NTRS 790, A10164; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1–227/1891, 511/1891, 632/1892.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

STEVENSON, GEORGE JOHN WILLIAM (1839–1893), lawyer and politician, was born on 7 May 1839 in a small pioneer cottage that still stands at 88 Finnis Street, North Adelaide, son of George Stevenson and Margaret, *nee* Gorton. George Stevenson, Stir, had been private secretary to Governor Hindmarsh, first governor of South Australia, and had read the Proclamation at Glenelg on 26 December 1836. He was also the foundation editor and co-owner of the colony's first newspaper, the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*. Throughout his life

a colourful and controversial figure, descriptions of him range from ‘paragon of blackguards’ (Surveyor-General William Light 1839) to ‘the father of horticulture in South Australia’ (Loyan 1883, Blacker 1911).

Young George Stevenson, his eldest son, began his public life on a quieter note. As 23 year old articled clerk, he married Jeanie Miller Davidson, daughter of a Highercombe farmer, Thomas Davidson, on 17 March 1863. Robert Haining, Minister of the Church of Scotland, conducted the ceremony at the bride’s home. From the marriage, there were three children, John, George and Lucy. The family lived at The Parade, Norwood, and Stevenson became a solicitor in the firm of Stevenson and Dearman, Waymouth Street, Adelaide.

The village of Norwood, fast becoming a suburb of Adelaide, formed part of the electorate of East Torrens and Stevenson became one of the two co-members sent to the South Australian House of Assembly after the election of 14 December 1871. The first session of the new Parliament opened on 19 January 1872 and on 4 March Stevenson found himself Attorney General.

To become Attorney General at the age of 32 was a remarkable achievement. To be selected so soon after entering Parliament by so shrewd a politician as Premier Henry Ayers indicates that Stevenson had already been identified as a young man with a future. In South Australia, the attorney-generalship was frequently the stepping-stone to judicial rank. While making no bones about his newness to politics, Stevenson won many admirers by his obvious legal knowledge and the clarity of his speeches. He also voted according to his conscience rather than political expediency and this won him friends such as the Member for Mount Barker, who ‘thought the House fortunate in having an attorney general bold enough to show his own colours (hear, hear), a far better course than attempting by a different line of conduct to bolster up a weak government’. Veteran politician **Thomas Reynolds** pronounced himself ‘perfectly satisfied’ with Stevenson as Attorney General.

It was an exciting time in the history of South Australia and its Northern Territory. The Overland Telegraph Line from Adelaide to Port Darwin was nearing completion; education was a contentious issue, whether it was about the role of the state in a free, compulsory and secular system or the need for a university to cater for higher education. Stevenson joined the debates and on the question of spending a further 100 000 Pounds to complete the Overland Telegraph Line, his position was clear: the government ‘had committed themselves to complete the work and must do it whatever the cost’.

Stevenson served as Attorney General until 22 July 1873, when a new ministry was sworn in, but he continued to represent East Torrens until the election of 10 February 1875. After that, he vanished from public life and South Australia, leaving the colony early in 1876 under interesting circumstances to live in Sydney under an assumed name. There he pursued a career as a journalist, becoming assistant editor of the *Australian Star* until his death from pneumonia at Petersham on 27 August 1893. He was buried at the Church of England Cemetery, Waverley and the death certificate, giving his name as William George Stevenson, contains several major errors.

Geographical features which commemorate his name and his support for the telegraph expeditions are Stevenson’s Peak, Northern Territory, a prominent mountain (named by **William Gosse** on 9 August 1873) situated to the west of the Olgas and Ayers Rock, and Stevenson’s Creek, in the north-west of South Australia near the Northern Territory border, named by Ernest Giles on 28 September 1873. The Stevenson River, South Australia, may have been named by **John McDouall Stuart** in honour of the late George Stevenson rather than his young son; his diary of 30 March 1860 refers only to ‘my friend Mr Stevenson’.

Observer, Adelaide, 2 September 1893; *Australian Star*, 27 August 1893; *Bulletin*, 9 September 1893; SAPD, 1872–75.

IAN STEVENSON, Vol 1.

STOKES, ALFRED (1873–1930), miner, fitter and labourer, was born at Hill End, New South Wales, in 1873 and spent his boyhood in Sydney, where his father was employed at the General Post Office. He came to the north during the building of the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway in 1889. While still a youth, W K Griffiths employed him, later to become a Northern Territory representative in the South Australian parliament but who at the time was pursuing mining interests. Stokes first worked for Griffiths at the Grove Hill battery that was then being erected.

In the ensuing years, he assisted in the erection of other batteries and gold mining plants in the Brocks Creek, Pine Creek and Mount Diamond areas. In the early years of the 20th century, when gold production had fallen off he was employed by the government as a driller in charge of a shift on diamond drilling plants on various old mines between West Arm and Pine Creek.

He spent some years in Pine Creek and while there was an active member of the cricket club. In Pine Creek, on 11 April 1904, he married Mary Mollett, then a widow, who for a short time early that year held the licence of the Club Hotel at Pine Creek. There were no children of the marriage, the report of which was in the press but which was not registered.

In 1914, he went to Maranboy as leading fitter in the erection of the government battery then being installed there after which he was involved in the erection of the government battery at Hayes Creek. While there, he met John Davies, a prospector, and together they took up the leases of the Golden Dyke mine at the Shackle. Here Stokes erected a 10 head battery. It was later said of him that he was always at home among machinery.

About 1918 Stokes moved to Darwin and obtained work as a fitter at Vestey’s meatworks. He joined the Australian Engineering Union and during the next few years, along with most other workmen at the time, expressed his displeasure at decisions taken by the Northern Territory administration and Administrator **Gilruth**. He continued to work at various jobs in Darwin and several days before his death was with a team painting the Residency.

He left the Territory only once during his sojourn and after his marriage his wife accompanied him wherever the work took him. He died on 20 June 1930 of Brights Disease at the age of 56 years and seven months, survived by his wife, and was buried in the Gardens Cemetery, Darwin, with Church of England rites.

Northern Standard, 24 June 1930; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 5 June 1903, 16 March 1904, 1 April 1904, 22 April 1904, 24 June 1930.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

STOKES, JOHN LORT (1811–1885), naval surveyor and explorer, discovered and named Port Darwin, the Fitzroy, Flinders and Albert rivers, and shared in the discovery of the Adelaide and Victoria rivers.

Son of Henry Stokes, a landed proprietor, and his wife Anne, *nee* Phillips, John was born at Scotchwell, Haverfordwest, in the parish of Prendergast, Wales, on 30 July 1811, and he was baptised in St David's church on 3 September that year.

Stokes entered the Royal Navy on 20 September 1824 as a First Class Volunteer—a conventional start for a youth aspiring to commissioned rank—and during the next twelve months he studied mathematics, navigation, composition, sketching and practical seamanship. On 11 October 1825, he joined HMS *Beagle* as a midshipman, prior to her departure with HMS *Adventure* on a surveying voyage to South America under the command of Captain **Phillip Parker King**. Stokes returned to England five years later at the age of 19, tried and matured by arduous service in the Straits of Magellan, having proved himself a steady and reliable hand in a crisis, and a zealous and skilful surveyor.

From 1831 to 1836, Stokes served as Mate and Assistant Surveyor on the *Beagle*'s second expedition to South America under Commander Robert Fitzroy. His work on this voyage earned him the glowing tribute from Fitzroy: 'I know not the man I should prefer to him in a professional way—as a surveyor, or in a private capacity as a staunch and sensible friend... there is far more real anxiety and zeal for the service on which the *Beagle* and himself have been eleven years occupied in Mr Stokes than in any other individual who has been employed in the two expeditions. By far the greatest share of work has been done by him—*much* by him *alone*.' This voyage is renowned for its association with Charles Darwin, and on it Darwin and Stokes became close friends. Stokes received his Lieutenant's commission on 10 January 1837, and on 5 July that year left England on his third voyage in *Beagle*—this time to Australia under Commander **John Clements Wickham**. The purpose of this voyage was to explore those parts of the coast not examined by **Baudin**, **Flinders** and King, and particularly to seek rivers on the northwest coast that might lead to an inland sea. After reaching Swan River late in 1837, Wickham and Stokes spent nearly four months exploring the north-west coast—during the course of which the Fitzroy River was discovered and named by Stokes. The *Beagle* then returned to Swan River and sailed to Sydney, via Tasmania.

In May 1839 *Beagle* left Sydney and, sailing north through Torres Strait, visited the infant settlement at Port Essington. On 7 September 1839, after discovering the Adelaide River and surveying Clarence Strait, Wickham anchored in Shoal Bay. The next day accompanied by one of the mates, Charles Codrington Forsyth, Stokes left the ship in a whaler provisioned for four days, sailing westward along an unexplored coast, on 9 September, he found '... a wide bay appearing between two white cliffy heads, and stretching away within to a great distance'. Stokes had made his greatest discovery. Finding there some talc slate and fine-grained sandstone, he recalled the geological enthusiasm of his former shipmate, and named the harbour for him—Port Darwin. After exploring its middle arm for 30 nautical miles, he returned to the ship, which then sailed into Port Darwin and anchored under a headland that was named Emery Point after her first lieutenant. From 12 to 26 September 1839 Stokes continued his survey of Port Darwin, making notes on the natives, their language, the local geology, fauna, fish, insects, and meteoric activity. On 21 October 1839, sailing by moonlight in *Beagle*'s gig, Wickham and Stokes discovered a 'noble river', for which Stokes suggested the name 'Victoria'. He spent six weeks on the Victoria, piloted *Beagle* up to Holdfast Reach, and in temperatures reaching 44° Celsius, explored the river beyond its navigable limit, to a point 140 nautical miles from the sea. At nearby Point Pearce he was stalked by the Aborigines and received a severe spear wound.

In March 1841 *Beagle*'s captain, Wickham, was invalided and returned to England. The command devolved upon Stokes and gave him the chance of his life. He proceeded to work in Torres Strait and the Gulf of Carpentaria, where *Beagle*'s boats explored 200 nautical miles of coastline, and discovered twenty-six inlets or rivers, including the Flinders and the Albert rivers.

The heart of the continent attracted him like a magnet; from the headwaters of the Albert River he penetrated to within 400 nautical miles of the geographical centre of Australia, and during his exploration of the Victoria, he walked alone to within 500 nautical miles of that Mecca. His enthusiasm on these expeditions sometimes bordered on irresponsibility; he frequently disregarded the dangers of the country, its climate, and its creatures, and on several occasions, while surveying near the Victoria and Fitzroy rivers, his recklessness nearly cost him his life or those of his men. At such moments of crisis Stokes supported his deep faith in God with works; when faced with almost certain death by drowning he 'breathed a short, but most fervent prayer to Him "in whose hands are the issues of life and death"', and turned back to cheer my companions with the chance of rescue'.

As an ardent imperialist Stokes believed that England's opportunities in colonising Australia were great, as also were her responsibilities. He stood out against popular opinion, championing the cause of the blacks, and protesting at their treatment by his countrymen, declaring '... we should consider that in entering their country we incur a great responsibility... at once to establish distinctly the relation in which they stand to the government, the colonists and the soil!... I must say I regret that that page of history which records our colonisation of Australia must reach the eyes of posterity.'

He had faith in Australia's future, and regarded its Northern Territory as a region of particular significance, being the gateway to her eastern trade routes and a future field for rich agriculture. He had high hopes for Port Essington, visited it three times, and urged Governor Gipps to retain the settlement there. To shorten the time of the voyage from London to Sydney, he advocated a regular steamship service between Singapore and Sydney, with a coaling depot at Port Essington. Recognising that its climate was unsuitable for European labourers, he suggested that the 'Christian natives of Amboyna' could fill the need. He also favoured the development of railways to exploit Australia's wealth. Sydney, he believed, needed a proper public transport system—a rail link with Parramatta extending to the rich farming communities around Richmond and Windsor, and another to freight coal and grain from the Illawarra in the south. Other links he suggested should run from Newcastle to Maitland and Patrick's Plains in New South Wales, from Hobart to Launceston, from Melbourne to Geelong and from Adelaide to Port Adelaide and Holdfast Bay.

Stokes was married twice—first in Sydney in 1841 to Fanny Jane Marlay, daughter of the Barrack Master, Major E S G Marlay, and second, in 1856 in London to Louisa French, daughter of R Partridge, and widow of Henry John Garratt. The first marriage produced a daughter, the second a son. No descendant survives.

In 1847 Stokes, then a Post Captain, fitted out the steam paddle surveying ship *Acheron* and undertook a four-year survey of the coasts of New Zealand. In 1854, the Duke of Newcastle offered him command of the North Australian Exploring Expedition but he declined the offer, as the Admiralty would not sanction the time spent as part of his service record. [A C Gregory](#) led that expedition. Stokes was elected a councillor of the Royal Geographical Society in 1856, and in 1877 was promoted to the rank of Admiral, retired.

He died at Scotchwell—the house where he was born—on 11 June 1885 from a disease of the pylorus and is buried a few yards from the church in which he was baptised. Inscribed on his marble tomb are the words, 'They that go down to the sea in ships ... these men see the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep.'

T & W Boone, *Discoveries in Australia*, vols 1 and 2, 1846; L S Dawson, *Memoirs of Hydrography*, 1885; W R O'Byrne, *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, 1849; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol 18, 1909; 'On steam communication with the southern colonies', RGSJ, vol 26; Notes on the coasts of Australia', *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, vol 2, 1846; Obituary, *Times*, 13 June 1885; Stokes Papers, National Maritime Museum.

MARSDEN HORDERN, *Vol 1.*

STOKES, JOHN WILLIAM (JACK) (1910–1995), public servant and policeman, was born on 1 February 1910 in Melbourne. He was the only son and the youngest child of John William Stokes and his wife Therese Wilhelmina, *nee* Dargatz. His mother was born in 1871 in Stolp, Pomerania (then in Germany, now in Poland), the family coming to Australia in 1885–86, where they established themselves as farmers in the Locksley district of Victoria. His father was born in 1855 in North Carolina, United States of America, which he left at the age of 14 to escape the privations following the Civil War. After a successful career with the Calcutta police in India, he arrived in Melbourne in the early 1890s with his first wife. Following her death without issue in 1894, he married John's mother in 1895. They had four natural and one adopted daughters prior to their son's birth.

Jack (so called to distinguish him from his father) was educated at St Matthew's Primary School in Brunswick, and at the Christian Brothers College in North Melbourne. His father was an inspector in the Victorian Police. He was 60 when Jack was born and lived another 14 years. His death in 1924 forced his son to leave school and find work to support himself and his mother.

His first job was as a 'boy labourer' with the Victorian Railways but, realising there was no future in it, he was spurred to study at night school, eventually becoming a clerical officer. He obtained his Leaving Certificate from the University of Melbourne in 1934. During the Depression, he was required to transfer to the State Taxation Office where he languished in boredom until an advertisement for recruits to the Northern Territory police caught his eye.

He was accepted following an interview in Canberra and, at the age of 26, boarded a ship to Darwin, starting to patrol the streets the day after his arrival on 8 January 1937. Training was acquired whilst on-the-job.

On 27 August 1937, he was informed that he was being posted to Elcho Island, off Arnhem Land, under secondment to the Aboriginal Branch of the Northern Territory Administration. He was to deter Japanese pearl divers visiting for fresh water from prostituting the Aboriginal women. He left Darwin on 6 October. Although his diary records that he was to be there 'for three months', he was there a year, receiving provisions on the monthly supply vessel. He left there on 24 September 1938.

As the lone policeman in an extensive remote area, he travelled widely with the local Aboriginals observing their country and culture, helping to resolve disputes and administering first aid. He established an elaborate camp at the site of a freshwater spring near the beach that is now the thriving town of Galiwinku. Journalist Colin Bednall, who visited the camp on the monthly supply vessel, described it as a 'veritable wonder-home' with gardens and sheds around the main tent. An airstrip was cleared with Aboriginal labour just before his departure.

Tall and standing straight as a ramrod, he commanded respect wherever he went. He was a staunch Catholic and was noted for his concern for the welfare of Aboriginals within his custody, always treating them fairly. His final report from Elcho Island was commended by the then Chief Protector of Aborigines, and 40 years later, his fairness and honesty were remembered affectionately by locals such as [David Burramurra](#). In 1982 when his family published his diaries Stokes reflected that they appeared to show that he had arrived in Darwin in 1937 'immature, brash and a prig'. He added that he thought that his time at Elcho Island brought him to maturity.

After leaving Elcho Island, Jack worked in Darwin until a doctor confirmed that his spine had been broken on 31 August 1937 in a riding accident. He had carried it with him for 18 months. He travelled south for treatment on

14 March 1939, returning on 18 October 1939. At the outbreak of the Second World War, he applied for leave to join the Army but was refused because his police work was considered an essential service.

From October 1940 to at least 1943 he was stationed at Maranboy, south of Katherine, then a tin mining camp. Later he was responsible at various times for the police stations in Tennant Creek, Alice Springs and Darwin. His horseback patrols are described in his diaries. The support of his wife, Edna, whom he married in February 1940, was vital to the smooth operation of each police station at which he served. Edna Bowman was the granddaughter of **James Joseph Parer** who owned a number of hotels in Darwin from the 1910s to 1930s. Several of Edna's sisters married into other well-known Territorian families such as the Cashmans and the Allwrights.

In the early 1950s, Jack was instrumental with others in the force in obtaining Government acceptance of the principle of promotion on merit as well as on seniority. By 1958, he had risen to Administrative Inspector and was second in charge of the force. He left then to become the Australian Government's Official Representative on the newly acquired territories of the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and subsequently, in 1960, Christmas Island. Near the end of his life he told his family that he left as he could see no prospect of further advancement following the appointment of **Clive Graham** as Superintendent in charge of the police force. He later said that his Territory time was the most fulfilling part of his career. Reflecting on a brief trip back by Jack in 1977 journalist Alan Wauchope, described him as 'the kindest and gentlest Policeman of them all'.

Both Christmas and the Cocos (Keeling) Islands comprised small isolated multi-cultural communities requiring considerable sensitivity and understanding in their administration. On his departure from Christmas in 1966, the Chinese community drew attention to the harmony among the island communities, crediting him with 'this happy state of affairs... (where he) provided outstanding meritorious service (achieving) much in the fields of welfare and education', and adding that he 'treated all people alike (and was) most kind to them'. Likewise the Malay community said that he could not have done better (and) would be best remembered as a good friend and administrator'.

The final years of his career were spent in Canberra working with the Department of External Territories on issues concerning the Territories and Aboriginal affairs. On his retirement in 1970, he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) 'for distinguished public service'.

Two books have been written about Jack: *The Long Arm* and *The Diary of Constable John William Stokes of the Northern Territory Police Force 1937-42 and other family history*. A review of the first in an Aboriginal journal recommended it especially to younger readers as an example that there 'are some good cops around who really do try to do more than their job'. The prominent singer, Ted Egan, wrote similar words.

He died in Brisbane on 3 August 1995 of multiple myeloma and associated illnesses and is buried at Mooloolah Cemetery in Queensland. He is remembered as a sterling, inspirational and caring leader as well as a responsible and a loving devoted family man. He is survived by his devoted wife, Edna, six children (Judith, Edna, John, Anthony, Christopher and Carmel), 24 grandchildren and two great grandchildren.

The Australian, 2 October 1995; C Bednall, 'Arnhem Land Coast Patrol', *Walkabout*, 1 August 1938; D Bosman (ed), *Christmas Island Police 1958-1983*, nd; R Brown & P Studdy-Clift, *Bush Justice*, 1993; *Canberra Times*, 30 January 1970; *Canberra Voice*, November 1995; H V Clarke, *The Long Arm*, 1974; T Egan, review of 'The Long Arm', *Aboriginal News*, vol 1, No 11, February 1975; C T G Haultain, *Watch Off Arnhem Land*, 1971; *North Queensland Register*, 10 February 1940; *Northern Standard*, 12 January 1940; Northern Territory Archives, oral history interview; review of 'The Long Arm', *Aboriginal and Islander Identity*, vol 2, No 5 July 1975; A Stokes (ed), *The Diary of Constable John William Stokes of the Northern Territory Police Force 1937-42 and other family history*, 1982; J Stokes, 'Coorapinni', *Citation*, December 1965; *Sun-Herald* (Melbourne), 6 October 1995; A Wauchope, *The Star*, 24 February 1977, 'I Remember', *The Star*, 26 August 1981; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1970.

TONY STOKES, Vol 3.

STONE, CONSTANCE (1879-?), nursing sister, was born in July 1879, and first joined the Northern Territory medical service in June 1924, holding both general and midwifery certificates. She had seen distinguished military service abroad, and continued with a course in Adelaide in infant welfare work. She assumed an appointment as matron of the Darwin Hospital in August 1928, relieving Miss O Mansbridge. However, Stone preferred to take on the baby health clinic and to do antenatal work for the next eight years. Her clinic was located in the government offices and police station on the Esplanade. In 1928, she opened an antenatal clinic, and in the first six months, 30 infants were enrolled.

On one occasion, Stone went to the aid of an expectant mother, Mrs Round, at Pine Creek, the wife of a schoolteacher, on a railmotor 'quod' from Darwin with Dr **Clyde Fenton** and two railway employees, A Con, a local Greek, and Harry Matthews. The party reached Burrundie and it is surmised that the front wheel hit a stick, throwing the 'quod' off the line. Matthews sustained a fractured leg, and Stone, being fairly shaken, was taken to the residence of Harry Hardy, a buffalo shooter from Annaburroo. Dr Fenton proceeded with Con to Pine Creek only to find that Mrs Turner, the wife of a police trooper and a nurse, had delivered Mrs Round's child.

Stone was the first Territory nurse to do statistics—birth weights of infants born in the wet season and the dry season. She then commenced to operate clinics for pulmonary tuberculosis and venereal diseases, not only treating patients, but following their 'contacts' for treatment also. Later in 1929, she commenced and became involved in medical school inspections with statistics on children—height, weight, age and sex. Later Stone did tests for worm infestation such as hookworm. The schools involved were in Darwin, Pine Creek, Katherine and Alice Springs. Her work involved going to isolated areas with Dr Fenton of the Aerial Medical Service. Stone also gave invalid cookery lectures, which became part of the confirmed syllabus of the student nurses first undergoing general training at the Darwin Hospital in 1929.

The reunion and social function of 1934 attended by the Acting Administrator, Mr J A Carrodus, justice Wells, the Returned Serviceman's League (RSL) and others paid tribute to this remarkable nurse when she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE). The *Northern Standard* called her 'a true Australian Lady'. She retired at the age of sixty years in 1939, just before the Second World War. In post-war years, the nursing profession sought to have her name included with other Territory nurses in the suburban streets of Moulden at Palmerston: Constance Court now serves as a reminder of her contribution to Territory nursing.

Northern Standard, 30 July 1934; AA CRS A3 27/16863, CRS A1928 25/6698; Administrator's Report 1937–38.

JACQUELINE M O'BRIEN, Vol 1.

STOTT, CAMERON GORDON HEASLOP (1905–1965), policeman, was born on a ship *en route* to Cooktown on 14 January 1905. His mother may have been disturbed by his premature entry into the world but the Chinese crew were delighted, first at the happy event of a birth on the ship and more so when they heard that the infant had been born with a cowl over his face. To them, such an occurrence guaranteed the safety of the vessel.

Stott's parents, **Robert** and Agnes Stott, were stationed at Borroloola during his first years and one of his most vivid memories was that of viewing Halley's Comet, in 1910, from the deck of a ship in the Roper River. The family moved to Alice Springs in 1911 where the children were educated by pioneer teacher **Ida Standley**. At the age of 13, Stott attended Scotch College in Adelaide.

After leaving college, Stott worked for a time on a station near Adelaide and for the South Australian railways at Terowie before joining the Northern Territory Police Force in 1924. For four years, until the death of Robert Stott, father and son served in the force together, the elder in Alice Springs, whilst the young Stott rode on horseback to his first posting at Rankine River on the Barkly Tableland.

In 1928, Stott went on leave to Adelaide, where he met the girl who was to become his wife—but not until 12 years later. After serving for a time at Borroloola and Roper River, in 1934 he was sent to Tennant Creek to join Constable Harold Cameron who had recently opened the first police station on the goldfield. It was not much of a police station—a bough shed served as an office, whilst the men camped in their swags and cooked on an open fire.

Stott was to ride thousands of kilometres in the course of his duties, both on horseback and on camels. One memorable camel patrol, in 1935, was over 2 000 kilometres in three months into the Tanami Desert. Stott developed an affection for the ungainly beasts and he described them as being 'as good as watch dogs' in that they would jump up at the least unusual noise, thus alerting him to any danger. Camels, because of their ability to carry great loads, meant that he could travel in style, with cooking pots and frypans, and so was able to prepare stews and puddings—a wider variety of meals than was possible on horse patrols.

In 1940, Stott married Eileen O'Shea, whose parents arrived from Queensland in the ship *Changsha* in 1909. As the ceremony was scheduled for 7 am because of the long flight to Adelaide for their honeymoon, the wedding breakfast was held the night before. With this back-to-front arrangement, Eileen joined the ranks of 'the loneliest women in the world'; policeman's wives who waited alone at lonely outposts while their husbands were away on patrol for weeks at a time. After their honeymoon, she went straight to Timber Creek and it was two years before she saw another white woman.

After the bombing of Darwin in 1942, Eileen was evacuated to Adelaide but returned in 1943 to Timber Creek. Traffic through the area increased as a steady stream of drovers brought cattle from outlying stations to supply beef to army camps near Katherine. In 1948, Stott was transferred to Elliott.

In 1959 Stott and his wife were transferred to the comfortable station at Daly River where for the next six years till his death, he cruised the river in a boat fitted with an outboard motor, patrolled his 'beat' in a Landrover and communicated with headquarters via a radio transceiver that had replaced the old pedal wireless of former years. He had seen many changes since joining the force, as had the Territory itself in the years since 1883, when the first Stott arrived to take up his duties. The two men served a combined total of eighty-seven years in the Northern Territory Police Force.

Citation, Darwin, December 1965.

O V DIXON, Vol 1.

STOTT, ROBERT (1858–1928), was born in Edinburgh, Kincardine Shire, Scotland on 13 July 1858. As a young man, he and two friends travelled to Australia and settled in Adelaide where he worked at various occupations before joining the South Australian Police Force as a Foot Constable in August 1882. He was transferred to the Northern Territory police in 1883 and arrived at Palmerston in December of that year.

Police at the time travelled widely, by horse or camel, in the course of their duties. In addition to regular six- to eight-week patrols, it was often necessary to mount a special mission. Such was the case in 1884, when he, with **Corporal Montagu** and Mounted Constables Macdonald, Luck and Cox travelled to investigate an attack by Aborigines on a group of miners travelling toward Southport. Similar attacks were reported at other areas. The Daly River was a problem area and by December, residents of the Limmen and Roper rivers also became fearful for their safety and made application to the Minister for Education (whose brief included the police force) for police protection.

In view of the large tracts of harsh, virtually unknown country traversed by police patrols, it was decided to recruit black trackers to assist the mounted police. The original trackers were stationed at Elsey with Constable Cornelius Power in charge. The January 1885 Government Resident's Report stated that difficulties had arisen in connection with blacks and cattle in an area stretching from Newcastle Waters to Katherine and from Victoria

River to the Roper. The presence of the black trackers at Elsey was welcomed and they proved able assistants in the years to come. Tracker 'Roper Tommy' served for forty years at Roper River and, in recognition of his service, Stott succeeded in persuading the government to allow him to draw the old-age pension. He was the first Aboriginal tracker to do so.

In 1885, when Aborigines at a camp near Port Essington murdered a Chinese crewman of a trepanning vessel, Constable Stott proceeded to the scene in the cutter *Larrakeyah* and eventually tracked the culprit after weeks of searching in wild, inhospitable country. In recognition of his devotion to duty, he was awarded a gold watch and the sum of 10 Pounds and was also mentioned favourably in the Police Gazette whilst the minister commented on his 'great courage and sagacity'.

In September 1885, the Burrundie Local Court was established with Mounted Constable Donegan as bailiff. This action removed the necessity of travel to Palmerston to have cases heard and the change in procedure was welcomed by the hard-pressed police, who were no longer required to travel to Palmerston with their charges.

Stott served for a time at Southport as constable in charge of the police station and is reported to have established the first police camp at Katherine. In April 1886, his application for transfer to the Mounted Police was approved by the minister upon the recommendation of Police Commissioner [Foelsche](#), who described him as a 'good and zealous officer'.

Stott reported, from Adelaide River in May 1888, incidents regarding the ejection of Chinese from Maude Creek goldfields. There was much racial tension as miners were 'putting the natives against the Chinese' and he was required to make frequent patrols into the troubled areas. The trouble extended to Roper River-area where a party of Chinese was massacred by blacks soon after.

Government Resident [Parsons](#) wrote to the minister to 'respectfully urge upon you the necessity of authorising establishment of a police station at Roper and sending two extra constables'. This was accompanied by a petition from residents of the Roper River district for police protection. Prior to this, in 1886, Parsons was not backward in pointing out to the minister that 'the Western Australian Government have sent with the Resident to the new port of Cambridge Gulf, in addition to his staff, ... 11 constables and a Sergeant'. This followed a report that showed that there were only twelve police in the whole of the Northern Territory. The petition was successful, however, and resulted in the provision of two mounted constables (one of whom was Robert Stott) and one blacktracker in September 1888.

The Roper River district, during the years Stott was stationed there, included sprawling cattle stations of up to 16 500 square kilometres with crudely built homesteads built of paperbark logs—isolated, and often the subject of attacks by Aboriginal tribesmen determined to drive the white men from their land. Many of these were instigated by Murrimicki, a fierce old warrior whose efforts to unite the local tribes resulted in a spate of killings and general harassment of white people in an attempt to retain their tribal lands which stretched from the Wearyan to the Roper River.

Six years' hard service in the Territory took their toll and in November 1889 Stott applied for three months' sick leave with passage to and from Adelaide. The Government Resident supported his request and in February 1890, he departed for Adelaide on *Chinghi*.

He was back in the Northern Territory in July when a report by Mounted Constable Martin of a skirmish with an Aborigine at the river prompted him to request further assistance at the Roper. He pointed out that if one constable was away on patrol it left the remaining man vulnerable to attack.

In 1897, Stott was promoted to First Class Constable and later transferred to Burrundie. An obituary in the *Northern Territory Times* February 1901 describes the tragic death of his wife, Mary, who had arrived from 'the old country' only fifteen months before. To further add to his grief, his baby daughter, Lily, died in March after having lived for only five weeks.

At the age of 44, on April 21 1902, Constable Stott married Agnes Heaslop of Cooktown, Queensland and was transferred to Borroloola upon the retirement of Trooper Cornelius Power. The couple had six children, Malcolm, [Cameron](#), Robert, Agnes, Malvern and Mavis.

In 1911, the family moved to Alice Springs where Stott was appointed Keeper of the newly built Stuart Town Gaol and clerk and Bailiff of the local court.

Following the acquisition of the Territory by the Commonwealth government, Constable Stott resigned on 31 December 1912 and reenlisted in the Northern Territory Mounted Police as Sergeant in Charge, Alice Springs.

The people with whom he lived and worked held Stott in high regard. Alice Springs was notorious for its wild element and he was credited with establishing law and order in the tough outback town. A resident of Alice Springs at the time stated, 'To see Robert Stott break up a 'free-for-all', not with a gun or truncheon, but with a riding crop, was to witness an exhibition of physical courage rarely equalled. When he told anyone to get out of town, and stay out, they went and stayed.' His status was such that he became known as 'the uncrowned King of Alice Springs'. This caused an aristocratic eyelid to lift in 1927 when visitor Lord Stradbroke asked local children if they could name their King and they replied without hesitation—'Bob Stott'.

On 1 March 1927, the Northern Territory was split for administrative purposes into two sections, with the 20th parallel of latitude as the boundary between the Territory of North Australia and the Territory of Central Australia. Each territory had its own Government Resident and its own police force. In recognition of his 46 years of service, Sergeant Robert Stott was appointed Commissioner of Police, Centralian Police Force. He retired in 1928 and, whilst on final leave of absence, the man who had survived endless hardships and danger in the north was struck by a train at Wayville, South Australia, and died soon after.

Stott Terrace, Alice Springs, and Mount Stott, northeast of the town, were named after him.

M H Ellis & T Fisher, *The Long Lead*; *Katherine Times*, 9 October 1980; *Northern Standard*, 8 May 1928; *Northern Territory Times*, February 1901; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 2 May 1885; Interview with Mrs Eileen Stott, wife of Gordon Stott and daughter-in-law of Robert Stott, Darwin, 1987.

O V DIXON, Vol 1.

STRANGMAN, CECIL LUCIUS (1867–1942), medical practitioner, was born on 1 August 1867 at ‘Lisselan’ near Tramore, County Waterford, a seaside holiday home owned by his family. He was the fourth son in the family of nine children of Thomas Handcock Strangman, a landowner, and his wife Sarah White, *nee* Hawkes. The Strangman family were Quakers who settled in Ireland in 1652 during the Cromwellian usurpation. Cecil’s family lived at ‘Carriganore’, a large farmhouse about eight kilometres from Waterford, and as a boy, he attended the Waterford Diocesan School. The family appear to have been outstanding scholars, for Cecil, his brother and two sisters subsequently graduated in medicine from the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, training at the Meath General Hospital. Cecil qualified as a physician and surgeon in 1888.

In 1889, he served for nine months as ship’s surgeon on the SS *State of Georgia* on the run between Glasgow and New York. During the following year, he immigrated to Australia, registering as a medical practitioner on 7 August 1890 at Port Adelaide. He was 23 years old, tall, fair, grey-eyed and spoke with a soft brogue.

In South Australia Dr Strangman served as a surgeon at the Port Lincoln hospital, moving on to Carrieton in the mid-north as medical officer and two years later to nearby Ororoo, the township established a few years previously. There in 1894 he married Edith Adelaide Moody, daughter of an Ororoo businessman, and there his only child, a son, John Handcock Strangman was born in 1896. He served in the district for 16 years, well loved and respected. When he was preparing to leave in November 1906, the following was published in the local paper: ‘Widespread regret is felt at the removal of Dr Strangman who leaves Ororoo for Port Darwin. For the past 14 years he has resided here and before that practised for two years at Carrieton. During the whole of that time he has worked incessantly and conscientiously at his profession, no trouble has been too much, no distance too great to deter him from attending swiftly to the medical wants of the residents of the district, often without hope of recompense or reward, he has faced the elements at all hours of the darkest nights to ameliorate the sufferings of his fellows. The loss of a clever doctor and a public benefactor must be fully realised by all who have had the pleasure of associating with him.’

Just what inspired Dr Strangman to move to Port Darwin is not known, unless it was the challenge of the appalling conditions that existed in the Northern Territory during the dying days of the South Australian administration. He arrived in Darwin early in 1907 to take up the position of Medical Officer for the Northern Territory and that of Medical Officer to and Protector of Aborigines. In this capacity he immediately set about establishing contact with all local and many distant tribes of Aborigines, this included an extensive trip around the east coast into the Gulf of Carpentaria in the SS *Federal* during which he visited many coastal and river tribes. Arising from this survey, he issued a report in February 1908 under the title ‘Aborigines of the Northern Territory—Condition Of’ which was submitted to the Government Resident, **Justice Herbert**. This detailed, objective, and at times, horrifying report provides a unique record of the medical condition of the Aboriginal people at that time; but by 1909, the office of Protector was no longer coupled with that of Medical Officer.

In Darwin Strangman began a continuing interest in tropical medicine and in entomology. During 1909 and again in 1912 he spent the greater part of the year in postgraduate study at the London School of Tropical Medicine, obtaining the diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. This gentle and humane man of Quaker heritage also concerned himself with other needs of the community, serving as a Justice of the Peace and on the hospital and licensing boards. He endeavoured to improve the hygiene and conditions of the Chinese community, many of whom lived in shoulder-high hovels, and he protested at the chaining of Aborigines in the Darwin gaol when called to treat their injuries caused by chain-chafe.

Dr Strangman was dedicated to prophylactic measures to control disease. Dramatic results were achieved in a malaria outbreak in 1907 at the Daly River smelter by the draining of surface water. He was always busy with his microscope; much time was spent in examining samples for disease-carrying parasites and in the preparation of slides.

Dr Strangman had a great empathy with the Chinese, perhaps because Chinese servants staffed his home. They in turn regraded him as ‘a great healer, a skilled physician and surgeon and a great hearted philanthropist.’ When he left Darwin, the local Chinese sent money to China to have a testimonial banner made. This large banner, 1.6 x 3 metres, embroidered with Northern Territory gold is now in the possession of the District Council of Waikerie, South Australia. The wording on this unique tribute reads:

‘To Cecil Lucius Strangman, Esquire. Government Medical Officer, Darwin NT, a tribute of admiration, respect and esteem from the Chinese community of the Northern Territory of Australia:

Wing Cheong Sing	Chin Yan Yen	Man Fong Lau
Fong Cheong Loong	Wing Wah Loong	P Lee Sucey
Yet Loong	Toey Sing Loong	Chin Kim Kee
Wing Sang Tong	Gee Kee Fou	Cheong Wo
Sun Sing		

Darwin September 1913’

When war broke out in Europe in August 1914 Dr Strangman was living with his wife and son in Adelaide. On 21 September, he enlisted as a Major in a detachment of the Australian Army Medical Corps, serving with a

special force known as the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force. This was the first military force to leave Australia in the First World War and its objective was to capture Rabaul and certain other German possessions in the southwest Pacific area, where vital radio stations existed. By the time Major Strangman arrived in Rabaul in December 1914, the fighting was over, but with the arrival of the wet season a new threat emerged, that of malaria, which spread rapidly through the occupying troops. The arrival of Strangman with his expert knowledge of tropical medicine and proven administrative ability was a godsend and he was made Principal Medical Officer for the Territory and promoted to Brevet Colonel. What happened then is best described in the official history of the campaign: 'During those anxious months when the lives of the whole garrison were in his hands, he delegated nothing of moment, but personally saw each patient every day; when not thus occupied, he spent hour after hour examining blood slides under the microscope. Despite much cause for misgiving, he had a cheery word for everyone and the troops, though they did not like his medicine, liked the man, with his brusque, kindly manner and his trick of plain speaking. They recognised his solicitude for their welfare and felt that he would pull them through.' This he did and by February 1915, the crisis was over and Colonel Strangman could turn his attention to the multitude of other health problems in the Territory under the control of the Australian Military Administration.

In 1917, Strangman took a period of well-earned leave in Australia and was returning from Sydney in the Burns Philp vessel *Matunga* in August when she was captured by the German raider *Wolf* under the command of Captain Nerger. The attack was carried out at dawn with the aid of a seaplane and so complete was the surprise that *Matunga* was unable to send off any radio message. For five months, nothing was known of the ship, its passengers, or crew. Then, in January 1918, information was received in Australia from the British naval authorities in Hong Kong, that it was assumed the passengers and crew were safe, although prisoners on *Wolf*. This information resulted from the finding of a bottle containing a message thrown overboard by the prisoners when the ship was off the Celebes in late August 1917. In the meantime, Strangman and some of the other prisoners had been transferred to another ship captured by the *Wolf*, a Spanish collier named *Igotz Mendi*. After a harrowing voyage, which reached into the coldest parts of the north Atlantic to avoid the British blockade, *Igotz Mendi* ran aground in the Kattegat, on the Danish coast near Skagen, when making her final run for Kiel in Germany. The Danish authorities insisted on the release of the prisoners, who reached London via Norway and the Shetland Islands on 10 March 1918.

Strangman was in poor physical condition when he reached England after the long ordeal of captivity. His fair hair had turned completely white. He spent some time recuperating with his family in Ireland, where his interest was sparked by the pioneer work of his sister, Dr Lucia Fitzgerald, and her husband, John, in the treatment of shell-shocked soldiers by psychotherapy. Preparing to set off on this new direction in his medical career, he undertook further studies in London. He returned to Australia in December 1918 and was discharged from the army in February 1919. For the next two years, he treated patients at major military hospitals throughout Australia, at the same time instructing classes in psychotherapeutic medicine.

He settled in Glenelg, South Australia, in medical practice, later retiring to the Adelaide Hills. He became ill with pneumonia at the time the 2nd Australian Imperial Force returned from the Middle East and were billeted with South Australian families. Staying at his home were five Western Australian soldiers and his niece, Sister Elizabeth Hawkes, an army nurse who tended him in his last illness. He died at Stirling West on 21 April 1942 and was cremated. His widow and son survived Dr Strangman.

Cecil Lucius Strangman traced his ancestry in direct line to William Peregrinus who landed with the Norman Conqueror in 1066. Peregrinus means stranger or wanderer, hence the derivation, strange man to Strangman.

And so, the wanderer came to rest.

Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–18, vol 9; A W Jose, *The Royal Australian Navy*, vol 10, 1935; S S Mackenzie, *The Australian at Rabaul*, 1934; Palmerston Local Board of Health Minute Book, AA Darwin; Report on Aborigines in the Northern Territory, State Library of the NT, North Australia Collection; SA Government Gazette; SA Directory, Public Records Office of South Australia; Departmental Records, Dept of Veterans Affairs; Family papers held by Mrs L A H Pelton, West Lakes, SA.

B J PELTON and L A H PELTON, Vol 1.

STREHLOW, CARL FREIDRICH THEODOR (1871–1922), Lutheran missionary, was born on 23 December 1871 at Fredersdorf in Uckermark, Brandenburg, Germany. He graduated from the seminary at Neuendettelsau and shortly thereafter was betrothed to F J H (Frieda) Keyser. His initial appointment as a missionary was, he thought, to America, so it was something of a surprise when, in mid-1892, he found himself bound for South Australia. He was ordained at Light's Pass and from 1892 to 1894 worked at Bethesda Mission, Lake Killalpaninna, to the east of Lake Eyre. There he assisted Missionary J G Reuther in translating the New Testament into Dieri (the local Aboriginal language).

In September 1894, Strehlow left Killalpaninna to take charge of Hermannsburg Mission, west of Alice Springs, arriving on 8 October. He, fellow missionaries and a member of the Mission Committee found a rundown mission, with no Aborigines initially in sight.

Strehlow immediately accepted the challenge. He dismissed workers who had caused problems, began learning Aranda, encouraged the Aboriginal Christians to return and employed others to restore the garden, ensured that buildings were renovated and cleaned, commenced a school and began regular devotions again. In the first two months of his leadership Hermannsburg was restored to a positive mission force and, with heavy rains in January 1895, the country as a whole flourished. It had been a brilliant start, made possible by Strehlow's 'no-nonsense' hard-working attitude and example.

In July 1895, having welcomed his comissionary J M Bogner, Strehlow took leave, travelled to Adelaide and married his fiancée Friederike (Frieda) Johanna Henriette Keyser, then returned to Hermannsburg in November. The years that lay ahead were to be hard and with mixed blessings. Happiness came for the couple with the birth of five boys and one girl, namely Friedrich, Martha, Karl, Rudolf, Hermann and **Theodor**. Theodor, born in 1908, was the youngest by three years and was destined to become a notable linguist, writer and a very controversial figure.

As the years passed the highly directive role, necessary when Strehlow first arrived and had the task of putting the mission in order, began to cause problems. If strong will and determination resulted in control of workmen, direction to co-missionaries, firmness in dealings with both visiting white Australians and Aborigines, increased church attendance and an increasing number of converts, it also resulted in a blinkered view. In addition, a highly directive role almost inherently has a touch of arrogance about it, and the missionary role of the era was similar, clearly stating that the beliefs and customs of the Aborigines were wrong and implying, in fact, that all people were morally askew if they did not follow the Hermannsburg way.

In 1905 the explorer-surveyor **Captain Barclay** wrote a brief, critical comment about the mission and missionaries on the basis of information he had received from Central Australian residents. He mentioned that 'unpaid native labour' had contributed to the missionaries' 'comfortable homesteads with productive gardens'.

Strehlow leapt to his own and the mission's defence but, while answering the specific questions reasonably well, added his own comment on Barclay's broader observations about the Aborigines as a 'bold, active, intelligent people' who showed 'invariable kindness to children'. In so doing, he made a comment about himself as much as he did about the Aranda people of the mission. This aggressive defensiveness was of the kind that had, before Strehlow's time, resulted in clashes between the missionaries and the population at large. Constructive criticism was undermined by biased comment on both sides. The same forces and pressures were at work in 1910, when Strehlow took leave to allow his ill wife to recuperate and the family as a whole to enjoy the world beyond the mission.

Strehlow, his wife and the children travelled to Germany, visiting relatives and friends. They arranged for all of the children except Theodor, the youngest, to attend school in Germany—understandable given the family support available in Germany and the limited educational opportunities at Hermannsburg. However, the decision was to have repercussions during the First World War and, as a result of long separation, on the family as a whole.

While the Strehlow family was overseas, Hermannsburg went through a trying period. Strehlow's replacement, Missionary G Liebler (who was accompanied by Pastor Kaibel), was a 'new chum' determined to do things his way, but his abrasive manner caused key white workers to leave and he ignored those Aborigines who could have assisted. By sheer chance at this same time, Captain Barclay was, during the course of further travels, surveying the conditions of the Aborigines in northern South Australia and the Northern Territory for the federal government. His reports were critical of the situation at Oodnadatta and elsewhere, but Hermannsburg also received a very tarnished image as a result of his investigations. Pastor Kaibel was able to deflect some of the criticisms but, as Barclay had actually been to Hermannsburg on this occasion, he had been able to see at first hand the problems and had, in fact, been assisted by Liebler; the report was an indictment of the mission. Despite the fact that Liebler was to be blamed by later Hermannsburg historians for the situation, Strehlow could not escape the criticism, for the Hermannsburg that Barclay investigated in 1911 was very largely his creation.

As a result of Barclay's strong criticisms and Kaibel's ability to indicate that some were the result of incorrect information given by Liebler, a further investigation was made. Constable **Robert Stott**, as the result of a study early in 1912, gave a much more favourable report than had Barclay so that, by the time Strehlow returned in April 1912, the dust had settled. Strehlow was able to reassert himself and, dogmatic though his perceptions might have been, he gave a sense of direction and stability—people knew where they stood with the man. When Liebler left late in 1913 a troubled and troublesome element was removed.

At this time in his life, Strehlow was in the midst of his major linguistic studies. Very shortly after his arrival, he had mastered Aranda sufficiently to be able to conduct hymns, sermons and services in the Aboriginal language. Now, in his forties, he applied his undoubted intellect to the task of writing major works about and for the Aborigines. The culture of the Aranda and Luritja people was detailed in *Die Aranda—und Loritja—Stamme in Zentral-Australien*, the volumes appearing between 1907 and 1920. Although this major study received considerable critical acclaim, it was flawed in that, as a missionary, Strehlow had refused to attend what he considered pagan rituals and thus had to rely on hearsay descriptions for his accounts. His religious views had also at times clouded his vision but, in the final analysis, the work did not receive wider acclaim mainly because it was not written in English. His other works, which he considered more important on the basis of his role as a missionary, were an Aranda service book *Galtjindinjamea-Pepa Aranda—Wolambarinjaka* (1904) and translation of the New Testament that, with revisions, took from 1913 to 1921. Strehlow felt that he had done a good job with this last major work and in many ways he had. However, there had been a degree of dissipation of energy for a co-missionary, Pastor N Wettengel, had also been translating the work and relationships were so tense that Wettengel accused him of doctrinal fabrication. A commission of the church's disciplinary committee rejected Wettengel's charge but the episode suggests that, able and effective as Strehlow was when able to dominate a situation, at times his relationships with others were prickly.

Although Carl and Frieda Strehlow retained strong ties with Germany, they had also forged strong links with their adopted country and had become naturalised citizens prior to the First World War. Despite criticisms against the mission and its missionaries, some of which were undoubtedly warranted, there were those who gave strong and independent support. Constable Stott had been one and in August 1914—at the very outbreak of the War—J R B Love was another. He viewed Strehlow and his fellow Lutherans as 'gentlemen, as devoted missionaries,

and as the embodiment of kindness and hospitality'. His further perception was that, although some of the past criticisms had been justified, most were not and some depended on one's perception of Christianity. In his report he undoubtedly accepted Strehlow's approach: 'A little muscular Christianity', he wrote, 'is sometimes an excellent thing in dealing with blacks.'

Love's report must have been something to cherish as the war progressed for Strehlow and his wife, despite being naturalised, were the subject of abuse, accused of spying, made to sign alien registration forms and forced to obtain a police permit if they wished to leave their place of residence. The hysteria caused by the First World War was not confined to Australia and can be understood to some extent in the context of the times, but it understandably hurt the Strehlows, and infringed on the life of their son Theodor.

As always, Strehlow's workload, as missionary with a spiritual role, as administrator, as linguist and as writer, left him little time to do more than that at which he was best—getting on with the job. However, at times the burden increased to almost intolerable levels: from 1917 to 1923 the government eliminated payment of the annual subsidy of 300 Pounds, and from 1914 to 1917 Strehlow had to act as schoolteacher, so the pressures upon him, his wife and others on the mission were enormous.

Despite the workload, the period 1919–1920 was one that Strehlow greatly appreciated. The restrictions of the war years were over; he celebrated twenty-five years at Hermannsburg and then he and Frieda enjoyed their silver wedding anniversary; reports about the mission were favourable; the great task of translating the New Testament into Aranda was completed (apart from minor revisions); and visiting Victorian pastoralists gave a generous donation to the mission. The time of enjoyment was short-lived.

After 10 unbroken years at the mission Strehlow and his wife, who was suffering ill health again, were looking forward to a holiday. They wished to visit their older children, who were still in Germany and well toward completion of their education, and to simply have a break from the pressures of the job. Everything seemed to go against them. The Mission Board, the members of which suggested six months' leave in South Australia rather than in Germany, turned down a request for new clothes. And then Strehlow became ill. His initial reaction, as a man who had always been healthy, was to put it aside, to shake it off. But the illness would not go away and his condition worsened until, in September 1922, he was suffering from dropsy, asthma and pleurisy. Urgent attention was needed but, although the members of the Mission Board were concerned and did their best to arrange assistance, their genuine concern and their attempts to help were only expressed in brief telegrams. Strehlow, his wife and 14-year-old Theodor felt abandoned at their time of greatest need. They had no option but to begin the buggy ride to Oodnadatta in northern South Australia, which was then the railhead. And so a terrible journey began, along the roughest of bush tracks, with Aborigines and rough-hewn white bushmen providing assistance. But the travel and the care were in vain. On 19 October 1922, the small party reached Horseshoe Bend Station, at about the halfway mark. Strehlow was made as comfortable as possible in a bed, and on the morning of the 20th, Pastor J J Stolz, Chairman of the Mission Committee, arrived with a camel-team to assist. He was too late for other than the giving of pastoral care to the dying man. Late in the afternoon Strehlow died. Two bushmen knocked up a coffin out of gum saplings and boards from whisky cases and Carl Strehlow was buried at Horseshoe Bend on 21 October 1922.

Carl Strehlow was very much a man of his times, with great strength of character but also with the biases of his era. His dedication is undoubted, but sometimes the vision he had blinded him. His great labours had, in most instances, a deliberately restricted audience, the Aranda and their Lutheran pastors and other workers at Hermannsburg, so that he is almost certainly known best by his son's work, *Journey To Horseshoe Bend*, which tells of the journey to his death-bed and grave through the land he had come to love.

Strehlow Street in Alice Springs commemorates the man and his family.

E Leske (ed), *Hermannsburg*, 1977; J R B Love, *The Aborigines*, 1915; W McNally, *Aborigines, Artefacts and Anguish*, 1981; T G H Strehlow, *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, 1969; T G H Strehlow, *Songs Of Central Australia*, 1971; E W Wiebush (ed), *Yearbook of the Lutheran Church of Australia*, 1979; H V Barclay, 'The Aborigines of Central Australia, and a Suggested Solution of the Difficulties surrounding the Aborigines' Question', *Review of Reviews*, 20 May 1905.

R G KIMBER, Vol 1.

STREHLOW, THEODOR GEORGE HENRY (TED) (1908–1978), anthropologist, linguist, patrol officer, soldier, university teacher, author and one of Australia's greatest scholars, was born at Hermannsburg, Northern Territory, on 6 June 1908, the sixth and last child of [Carl Strehlow](#), Lutheran missionary, and his wife Frieda, *nee* Keyser. As with many children in isolated communities, with Aboriginal children as playmates, his first language was the local one, Western Aranda. German and English were layered on it, and pervading all was his father's stern, Old Testament, Lutheranism.

In 1910, the family visited Germany; as with many first generation Australian migrants they still regarded their birthplace as home, no matter how much Australia became a second home. All four brothers and his only sister were to remain in Germany, cared for by relatives, so that they could be educated in the Fatherland. Thus, young as he was, Ted Strehlow no doubt suffered a wrench at being parted from his family childhood mates. It probably meant, in fact, that he compensated for their absence by becoming as one, outside the home at Hermannsburg, with his Aranda friends. Without consciously being aware of it, he not only learnt the language but also, side by side with his European heritage, the social rules and gained childhood understandings of beliefs and philosophy of the Aranda.

His father Carl so submerged himself in his work, both pastoral and scholarly, that his mother Frieda must have been a very considerable influence. Ted Strehlow's sense of humour and his charm probably developed out of her relationship with him, along with practical skills such as sewing, mending and cooking—all to be useful skills on his eventual bush travels. However, it was his father Carl who dominated. He set aside hours for the instruction of

his son, and his ‘muscular Christianity’ transferred to muscular home education. German and the classics, Latin and Greek, and learning to play the organ, were both encouraged and thumped into him, with sermons thrown in for good measure should young Ted show any resentment. A competitive love-hate relationship was to be the outcome. Perhaps it would not have been so intense had not the parents, despite being naturalised and having the support of some of the Northern Territory’s most influential people, been made to suffer effective open internment during the First World War. They turned inwards as a family, and Ted felt both the strengths of the family in such a situation, and the resentments and frustrations which in part were released through intense educational instruction.

In 1918 the tensions were somewhat released when the catastrophic conflict ended. However, while Ted was in his most formative years, family tragedy struck. Carl, the Lutheran father about whom stories are still told at Hermannsburg, the man of iron will, was struck down with dropsy and, as his body weakened, with asthma and pleurisy too. In a crisis the family set out late in 1922 in a buggy for help. To Carl it seemed that the Church hierarchy, and even God, had abandoned him. Frieda, young Ted, Aranda and other Aborigines, and the roughest and toughest of bushmen—these were his friends. They gave him support. It was a terrible time, wonderfully retold by Ted nearly 50 years later in *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*.

Despite the help along the way, and despite attempts (unknown to the family) by Lutheran authorities ‘down south’ to assist, Ted’s father died and was buried at Horseshoe Bend on 21 October 1922. If it was a blessed release for Carl, it was a time of anguish for Ted and his mother. And as the years passed and the pain faded, it became almost as had been the albatross around the Ancient Mariner’s neck for Ted. The release of the ‘albatross’ freed him to speak as his own man, yet the ghost of his father was ever present, at times a silent friend, at times a fierce competitor, and almost unknown to both, seeking to express love and to be loved. Frieda, in the meantime, worked to support Ted in his studies. He attended Immanuel College in Adelaide, South Australia, and then the University of Adelaide, and worked during holiday periods to assist pay for his education. At the university, where he was known simply as ‘Strehlow’, he immersed himself in linguistics and English literature but also enjoyed being a member of the university’s senior hockey team and (as was then common) learnt ballroom dancing.

In mid 1931 Ted’s mother returned to the rest of her family in Germany, never to return to Australia. She had lived her life in large part for her youngest son, until he was about to make his own destiny. He graduated Bachelor of Arts with Honours in English Literature and Linguistics at the end of the year. During the course of his studies, he had intended to pursue a conventional academic career, but a senior University friend suggested that Strehlow’s background offered him unique opportunities. It was as though a door had suddenly been flung open. He stepped back into the sunshine of Central Australia.

At this time, there was a widespread belief in the various Australian governments, and the Australian public at large, that the Aborigines were doomed to inevitable extinction. (Tragic statistics tended to support this view until the 1940s, in fact). Strehlow, and many other gifted academics and dedicated amateur students of Aboriginal culture, believed this and, through various scientific institutions, received grants to allow study of certain cultural aspects. A tendency was to parcel out the land and its peoples to the different researchers, and this had the unfortunate consequence of making the researchers possessive. Strehlow was by no means alone in developing this tendency, but develop it he did—particularly if he thought anyone was ‘trespassing’ in ‘his’ Aranda areas. However, contrasting with this jealous protection (which had to some extent also been practised by his father), was a generosity of spirit and hard working assistance if the scientific interest was not in his field, or if he considered the work entertaining but not academic. Illustrative was his support for the University of Adelaide Expedition to Mount Liebig in 1932, which contributed to its success and his later support for [Bill Harney](#)’s writings, and his contributions to books about various artists.

Strehlow had left Central Australia as a boy of 14 years, on the edge of the age for Aboriginal initiation, and returned at the age of 24, when all Aboriginal males in the Centre were ‘full men’. He was therefore a man who was still a boy, and aware of it. By assiduously learning the adult language, the songs and the poetry of the people and land, the myths and rituals and legends, he became a man of wisdom in Aboriginal terms. In time his desire to ‘follow knowledge, like a sinking star’, led him to stand beside another legendary *ingkata*, or Aranda leader—his own father. It was a title rarely given—[Frank Gillen](#) was probably the first to have been accorded the title, in the 1890s, in Central Australia.

Another early travelling companion was his wife Bertha Gwendoline Alexandra, *nee* James (1911–1984), whom he married in Adelaide in December 1935. The daughter of George Pugh James and his wife Rosamond Dehlia, she was an Arts graduate from the University of Adelaide. She perceived him as ‘a man of courage and compassion’ who had ‘a great depth of understanding of, and love for, his Aboriginal friends.’ Bertha had these same qualities. After an early introduction to life at Hermannsburg, she shared a 2 000 kilometre camel trip from Hermannsburg to the Oodnadatta area, then from Charlotte Waters to the Petermann Ranges and return. Thereafter she was rarely involved in other major travel, particularly after nearly losing her life through haemorrhaging on one trip, but instead in the 1930s was his ‘support staff’ at Jay Creek, west of Alice Springs—a community established by Ted for the Northern Territory administration. During this time, Strehlow undertook research of Central Australian songs, dialects and traditions for the Australian National Research Council and between 1936 and 1941 was a Native Affairs Patrol Officer in the Northern Territory.

Strehlow had begun to publish but, much as his early works were well reviewed and rightly praised, they were but preliminaries for much greater studies. Then, as for most of the world, the cataclysmic upheaval of the Second World War intervened in his life. As had been his father and mother before him, so Ted too was attacked for being a German spy. The claim was outrageous, and naturally upsetting, yet with brothers who were among the German forces, perhaps the rumour mongering was to some degree understandable. It is equally certain that disgruntled station owners and other bush workers who had been reported by Ted for illegal relationships with,

and exploitation of, Aborigines started some of the rumours. The rumours were very effectively stopped when, despite being essentially a pacifist, he was drafted into the Army in 1941—shortly after the birth of his first child, also named Theodor. He found being a Private demeaning to the point of contemplating suicide, but cheered up when he was commissioned, and moved to Intelligence. Unfortunately, ‘Intelligence’ lacked intelligence and his abilities were not as well used as they might have been.

During the war years, Ted was based away from the Centre, first at Enoggera in Brisbane and later at the Royal Military College at Duntroon in Canberra. He returned home whenever leave allowed and, by war’s end, a daughter Shirley had been born, with another son John to follow.

In 1946, he was appointed Lecturer in English Literature and Linguistics at the University of Adelaide, where he was employed until his retirement in 1973 and was ultimately appointed Professor of Australian Linguistics in 1970. Almost two thirds of his life, in fact, was spent in Adelaide. Much as he was to hugely appreciate his return journeys to Central Australia, he increasingly became an academic, and over the next 25 years produced some of the greatest books ever written about Central Australia. First rate public lectures, and booklets, generally reached a wider public and often covered a wider range of subject matter—Aborigines’ love of homeland and European history; Aboriginal songs and poetry and an essentially republican perception of Australia’s destiny; the life of the Aranda artist [Albert Namatjira](#) and a view of Australia in the Pacific and Asia rather than Europe; assimilation as opposed to multi-culturalism, but with an enlightened approach which challenged the strict orthodoxy of the assimilation policy. A visit to Geneva, and the ideals of the United Nations, led him to reflect on a world civilisation. Many of his subjects of these brief, erudite statements were to be developed further in his more major works. Of these, *Aranda Traditions* (1947), the prize-winning *Journey to Horseshoe Bend* (1969) and *Songs of Central Australia* (1971) are probably the greatest. However, chapters in *Australian Aboriginal Art* (1964) and *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology* (1970) are illustrative of other influential writings, and for anyone interested in Central Australia’s history no work should be overlooked.

In the process of these endeavours, the son became increasingly as had been the father. He engrossed himself in writings, and discussions with friends about his interests, yet ignored his children’s wishes for similar discussions. He read widely of the works his father, missionary Reuther of Killalpaninna Mission, Spencer and Gillen and many others, yet rarely acknowledged them in other than an aside or back handedly. His father’s ghost became the albatross he could not let go. [Sir Baldwin Spencer](#), for instance, in 1927, had cast a ‘slur’ on his father’s work—yet, more significantly, he and Gillen had published in English to world acclaim whereas his father had delayed and published in German to a restricted audience. For the rest of Ted’s life this haunted him. Even in *Songs of Central Australia*, published 44 years after Spencer’s ‘slur’, Ted criticised Spencer and Gillen for incorrect spellings when they had stated that they were not linguists and would do their best. And he berates them for arranging for the performance of ceremonies that were clearly agreed to by the Aborigines of the time, even if they were latter day dissenters. (Precisely the same criticism could be levelled against Ted, yet it would be equally invalid.)

Why did he not translate and have published his father’s work, upon which *Journey to Horseshoe Bend* rests as much as it does on Ted’s reconstruction? Why did he attempt to dissuade a young historian from research on the background and early history of the Hermannsburgers? Why are bibliographies absent from many of his works? The answer surely lies in the God like shadow cast by his father, and jealousy of his own reputation. He did not substantially plagiarise, yet he was strongly influenced by other works (rarely acknowledged) and ‘mined’ the same material by way of his own genuine research. In the final analysis, though, he did acknowledge the true sources—his Aboriginal friends and informants.

He could be charming and generous, yet friends and friendly acquaintances became enemies overnight if he believed they had transgressed in his or his father’s areas of interest. His criticisms of [C P Mountford](#) and his works on Ayers Rock (1965) and Winbaraku (1968) contain fair comment, but also fail to acknowledge that which is new or unique and are often pedantic and personal. That his father and he wrote of such mythological journeyings as had Mountford, but had not received the latter’s popular acclaim, goes a long way towards such an explanation. And that Mountford received honorary degrees goes a considerable way further. From his childhood, Ted had wished for a father who would reach out and reward him by simply unbending from his stern attitude. He had sought a scholarship, a prize, in his adolescence and had been rejected by a father figure academic. He had been crushed in his rank of Private and elated when the Army, that monolithic ‘male’ exemplified by the famous Kitchener recruiting poster, had rewarded him with promotion. Now the university was his father figure, handing out rewards to the ‘wrong’ people. Even back in 1959 when, in the interests of justice in a democracy, he gave expert testimony on behalf of Rupert Maxwell Stuart (accused of rape and murder), justice turned out to be a stern wide eyed patriarchal male rather than a blindfolded woman. Strehlow angered ‘the Establishment’ and felt, though there appears to have been no truth in it, that the hierarchy of the University of Adelaide cold-shouldered him.

At about this time it seems that tensions began to increase in both his academic world and family life. Three of his assistants felt obliged to resign over his unreasonable demands and actions. And while Strehlow reached out for acclaim from his fellow academics, he failed to unbend and, like his father, did not reach out to share with his children his interests and writings. His grants, extremely substantial, enabled him to do the work that both he and his supporters desired, yet the fruits of the research became personal collections when clearly there had been understanding that the University of Adelaide and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) would directly benefit.

In the late 1960s he was, in the words of one of his sons, suffering a ‘mid life’ crisis—largely self-inflicted. He fell in love with Kathleen Stuart, herself married and with a family, and totally cut himself off from Bertha and his children. He and Kathleen lived together and he acknowledged her as his wife in the corrigenda to *Songs of*

Central Australia (1971), although his divorce was not granted until 1972. Kathleen also being legally free, they married.

He established a scorched earth policy about his previous family, vengeful as the all-consuming fire of his father's Old Testament—or of Lungkata, the mythological blue tongue lizard of 'his' Central Australia. In creating distress and disorder all about him, yet railing defiantly, he was like one of Shakespeare's great tragic figures. And yet the greater sympathy was for those whom he had left.

During this time, in 1971, *Songs of Central Australia* was published. It had been promised for six years, and into it was distilled the essence of his knowledge. There is no doubt that it is a truly great work, a labour of love and of a lifetime. And yet, the father, Carl, still hovers, being elevated by the son who still seeks his approval. And in so keenly wishing to prove to the world his scholarship, Ted's references to ancient Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English and Teutonic texts obscure as much as they illuminate. Thus, he did not, at the time, receive the acclaim he had envisaged, though the book contains wonderful descriptions, masterly translations and erudite discussion of the Aboriginal songs, myths and beliefs of Central Australia.

In certain ways this was his last 'Great Hurrah!' He was, however, reinvigorated in his interests in the Bible and the Lutheran Church, and he and Kathy had a son Carl, named after the boy's grandfather. He retired from the University of Adelaide in 1973.

His retirement years were not always to be relaxed, enjoyable times. He reviled numbers of his friends and supporters, and his extraordinary attacks on the Chairman and others of the AIAS (Strehlow had been one of several people nominated for the Institute Council but not chosen) meant that he was at odds with many people. Given that he had recommended that 'all sacred caves should be declared to be inviolable places, irrespective of where they happen to be' in 1961, his reaction against the AIAS establishment of an authority to record such information, under strict safeguards, can only have been personal pique at not being directly involved.

He had his loving wife Kathy at his side, and they were always to retain friends and supporters, yet for increasing numbers of people it was the man's work, and not Ted himself, which remained respected. Further to this, threats to sell his vast collection of Aboriginal artefacts, films and other materials overseas, after offers of exorbitant prices within Australia had been rejected, raised numerous questions about the collection. And his claims of, in effect, being an Aranda—claims that in many ways Western Aranda people supported—began to lose their impact when it became clear to all that his wife Kathy was having all revealed to her, no matter how secret or sacred. Thus in 1977 at the centenary celebrations at Hermannsburg one of his longest term Aboriginal acquaintances rebuked and slighted him. But this was only a prelude, for in 1978 Strehlow sold photographs of secret and sacred ritual acts to *Stern* magazine, which in turn sold secondary rights to *People* magazine in Australia. Strehlow had betrayed a sacred trust for money and, like Judas, was to live with his betrayal. This was his great personal tragedy. When he shattered his first family there was that about him which was like Macbeth; now he was more akin to King Lear.

He had suffered heart attacks in 1975 and 1976 but, though suffering from blood poison problems, persevered. It seems, though, that he was well aware that his life was ending. In 1978 the Strehlow Research Foundation was formed, its aims being to acquire, properly conserve and display in an educational way 'articles of whatever nature which have at any time been directly related to Aboriginal races and their heritage.' And in the same year, he agreed to a biography being written.

In 1954, he had delivered a public talk, 'One Hour Before Sunset.' Although he referred to his perceptions of Aboriginal culture, it could also have referred to himself. In late 1978 he wrote, 'It is now minutes before midnight, and then will come that oblivion that has no end.' He collapsed and died on 3 October 1978. All members of both of his families survived him.

After years of controversy over his collection, the Strehlow Research Centre, officially opened in 1991, now conserves the collection in Alice Springs. The secret and sacred aspects of large parts of the collection means that access is greatly restricted, and likely to remain so for decades, if not centuries.

Strehlow's works suffer only from a rigidity of perceptions of the past, a failure to adequately recognise that all societies are part of a dynamic continuum, and limitations of which he was aware and which, under the circumstances, were unavoidable. He has left as a legacy a priceless treasure trove of information, much of it unpublished. So long as literature survives in the world, T G H Strehlow's works deserve to be amongst a limited number of vanguard Australian contributions. He was a great, yet tragically flawed, Australian.

R M Berndt (ed), *Australian Aboriginal Art*, 1964, *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology*, 1970; T S Dixon, *The Wizard of Alice*, 1987; W McNally, *Aborigines, Artefacts and Anguish*, 1981; T G H Strehlow, *Aranda Traditions*, 1947, *An Australian Viewpoint*, 1950, *The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies*, 1956, *Nomads in No-Man's Land*, 1961, *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, 1969, *Songs of Central Australia*, 1971; 'The Strehlow Research Foundation', Newsletters, 1978–1992; The Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs (Public Displays). [The above is only a brief illustrative selection of references].

R G KIMBER, Vol 2.

STRELE, ANTON (1825–1897), Jesuit priest, was born in Nassereit in the Austrian Tyrol on 23 August 1825. He was educated at the Jesuit school in Innsbruck and entered the Society of Jesus at Graz on 14 August 1845. Three years later, the Jesuits were expelled from the domains of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and from several other European states in the 'Year of Revolutions', 1848, and Strele completed his Jesuit studies in arts, philosophy and theology at Laval, France, where he was ordained priest on 23 September 1854. By that year, the Jesuits had been readmitted into the Empire and allowed to resume their works. Strele was a scholarly man and taught senior classes and seminarians in the Jesuit schools at Mariaschein, Linz and the 'College of Nobles' at Kalksburg. The expulsion of 1848 had resulted in the first Jesuit foundation in Australia, when two young exiled priests were

attached by the Provincial as chaplains to a group of Silesian Catholics emigrating in that year to South Australia, and it was for that colonial and distant mission that Strele volunteered and was sent, arriving at Port Adelaide on 12 April 1867.

The Jesuit Mission in South Australia was centred on Sevenhill, near Clare, some 110 kilometres north of Adelaide. As settlement in the colony expanded into the north, the Jesuits tended to the sacramental and spiritual needs of the Catholics and constructed numerous churches and schools in the pioneer country towns, covering all the northern and western areas of the colony beyond Kapunda. The foundation at Sevenhill operated as a secondary school, a winery, a parish, a seminary and novitiate, a House of Studies, and as the mission centre for the extensive circuit journeys made by the priests. Some 59 priests and brothers worked on this mission from 1848 until its merger with the Irish Jesuit Mission in the eastern states in 1901. Strele occupied important posts in the Austrian Mission, teaching in the school and professing philosophy to the seminarians, doing pastoral work, and was appointed Master of Novices in March 1868. Among his novices were [John O'Brien](#), later to succeed Strele as Administrator Apostolic for the Northern Territory, and Donald McKillop, later to succeed Strele as Superior of the Northern Territory mission. Strele was appointed Superior of the South Australian Mission twice, 1870–73, and 1880–82, during which time he planned the foundation of the Jesuit Mission in the Northern Territory.

In his autograph *Historia Missionis*, Strele mentions that he had sought permission from Jesuit superiors to establish a mission to the Aborigines from 1867, but the General of the Order refused until the manpower situation improved. In 1880 Father Duncan McNab, a diocesan priest who had worked with Aboriginal communities in Queensland, made a lengthy submission to Holy See urging the establishment of a second Catholic mission, as the Spanish Benedictine Mission in Western Australia had at that date been the only Catholic mission to the Aborigines since 1842. Pope Leo XIII commissioned the Jesuits to undertake such a mission and the letter appointing the Austrians to the task reached Sevenhill, South Australia, in February 1881, with Strele as the founding superior. The Northern Territory was chosen because the blacks were numerous there and the whites few, and there was more opportunity therefore to establish self-supporting colonies of Aborigines, on the model of the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay. All available literature was researched, and a reserve applied for, the first such request for the Northern Territory. Strele, with two other priests and one brother, landed in the 'straggling township' of Palmerston on 24 September 1882, when the whites in the Territory numbered less than 500, and proceeded on 10 October to the reserve granted to them, 130 hectares at Rapid Creek, at a place known as Gorumbai ('elbow'), some 11 kilometres out of Palmerston. The formidable obstacles to their work included the 'dying pillow' syndrome [represented in the forecasts of extinction of the blacks made by government officials and residents such as [W G Stretton](#), [J L Parsons](#) and [C J Dashwood](#), the white violence against 'wild' blacks (as given in Parson's reports) and the corruption of nearby Palmerston ('lust, grog and opium'), a town in which they found 'the number of white Catholics not great, that of the good much less'! The Aboriginal groups with whom the Jesuits first worked were the Larakia and the Woolna, but the closeness to Palmerston meant they could not act as a buffer against the deterioration affecting the blacks. St Joseph's Station at Rapid Creek was doomed to failure from the start, but Strele never admitted that. Effectively it ceased work as a mission station in 1885 and operated as a farm to earn money for the other stations after that, but also without enduring success. It was closed in December 1891.

Through 1885 Strele pressed the South Australian government for a reserve along the Daly River, and was granted a block of eight kilometres' river frontage extending thirty kilometres west, on the left bank. Without inspecting the area first, Strele sent three Jesuits to establish the Holy Rosary Station (Uniya), which they did in October 1886, as a prelude to a main station (Sacred Heart) to be founded later at Serpentine Lagoon, Hermit Hill, on the western boundary of the reserve. Neither of these stations, nor any of the reserve, was suitable for agriculture that, on the basis of the Reductions in Paraguay, was seen as the basic model. Nevertheless, Strele insisted on the foundation of Sacred Heart in October 1889. The planting of rice was a failure, and the poverty and suffering of the priests and brothers very real. The mission had no firm financial backing and depended on individual donations, some help from the Austro-Hungarian Jesuit Province, contributions from a Bavarian Catholic Mission Society, and rare gifts from the Australian bishops who had forbidden begging tours in Australia, causing Strele to travel to Europe and North America in 1885 to solicit funds. Poverty bedevilled the operation and the sufferings and want of the 10 Jesuits in the Territory must have distressed Strele, but he kept them at their stations on land unsuited for their agricultural purposes.

In Catholic terms, the Northern Territory was known as the Diocese of Port Victoria, under the care of the Spanish Benedictine Abbots at New Norcia in Western Australia, though no bishop had actually visited the Northern Territory. In August 1888 Strele was appointed Administrator Apostolic of the Northern Territory, an office for areas not yet declared bishoprics, but responsible for the temporal welfare of the church and the purchase of properties for the establishment of churches. In this capacity, he attended the Plenary Council of the Bishops of Australasia, held in Sydney in 1885. He purchased properties for future churches in Burrundie and Pine Creek, and in 1887 treated Palmerston to its first fund-raising Bazaar, which ran for three days and raised 300 Pounds for the building of the first 'Star of the Sea' church, later destroyed by cyclone and rebuilt, and now the site of the Catholic Cathedral. Strele kept the title of Administrator Apostolic until his death, even though his term of office as Jesuit Superior was completed in December 1890. Aged 57 when he arrived to found the mission, ill health broke him and he was forced to return to Sevenhill, South Australia, in October 1892. He did pastoral work there until his death on 15 December 1897. He was thus spared the anguish of witnessing the closing of his beloved mission in June 1899 when floods over two years devastated the fourth and most successful station, which had been formed in 1891 at Daly River, through the closing of the other three and concentration on the one effort.

In their understanding of tribal territory, their respect for and use of the Aboriginal language on the stations, their permitting of important elements of Aboriginal culture for the blacks on the mission stations, and their great

affection for the people, the Jesuit missionaries were outstanding for their time, and in its openness toward the local culture the Daly Mission stood in line with the great Jesuit Missions in China, Japan and Paraguay. At wit's end for lack of finance and deeply committed to the success of the mission, the kindly Strele refused to admit failures that were obvious to others and he was firm in ordering his men to maintain agricultural ventures that were patently unviable. As a Jesuit, his companions revered him and they did not disobey him. Strele's significance lies in his role of directing men and works influential for the moulding of Catholicism in South Australia, his position as a great nineteenth-century Australian missiologist, and his pioneering work within the Catholic Church in the Northern Territory.

Anton Strele, *Historia Missionis ad Aborigines in Australie Parte qua vocatur Northern Territory MS*, Jesuit Provincial Archives, Hawthorn, Victoria; Records of the Austro-Hungarian Mission in the Northern Territory, Jesuit Provincial Archives, Hawthorn, Victoria; G J O'Kelly, 'The Jesuit Mission Stations in the Northern Territory, 1882–1899', BA (Hons) Thesis, 1967.

G J O'KELLY, Vol 1.

STRETTON, ALAN BISHOP (1922–), army officer and barrister, was born on 22 September 1922 in Elwood, Victoria, the son of William John Stretton and his wife Elizabeth Ellen, *nee* Fitt. He was educated at Scotch College, Melbourne, the Royal Military College, Duntroon, and, later in his career, the University of Queensland, where he graduated Bachelor of Laws. He joined the Australian Imperial Force in 1940 as a Private and was later commissioned. He saw active service in the Pacific during the Second World War, in the Korean War, in the Malayan Emergency and in the Vietnam War, where he was Chief of Staff to the Australian force. He was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1956, an Officer of the Order (OBE) in 1966 and a Commander in the Order (CBE) in 1970. In 1969, he was admitted to the bar. In 1974, as a Major General, he was appointed as the first Director General of the Natural Disasters Organisation, an agency of the Commonwealth government. He married Valda, daughter of W H Scattergood, in 1943 and they had one son and two daughters.

Stretton achieved national prominence following the destruction of much of Darwin by Cyclone Tracy on 25 December 1974. Arriving in the devastated city later that day, he immediately authorised a massive evacuation that within six days resulted in 25 628 people being flown south. He also established several special committees to deal with the emergency he found. He had wide powers and was able to put into effect a permit system to regulate the number of people coming into Darwin. At times his methods were criticised as being authoritarian and on some occasions his emotionalism also came under attack, but most observers admitted that he worked tirelessly to ensure that the armed services, police, government departments and voluntary agencies functioned as a team. In addition to the evacuation, he gave special priority to health, the repair of the Australian Broadcasting Commission radio station, and the restoration of water, sewerage and other public utilities. By 31 December essential services had been restored in some areas, the radio station was partly functional and the population was reduced from 48 571 to 10 638. Just seven days after the cyclone, Stretton handed the rehabilitation of Darwin back to the civilian authorities, though the National Emergency Operations Centre in Canberra continued to coordinate relief measures until 3 January 1975. Accepting his withdrawal, the Administrator of the Northern Territory, **Jock Nelson**, said, 'The people of Darwin have a great debt of gratitude to the General in what has been the biggest national crisis and disaster in Australia's history.'

Stretton returned to Canberra and continued to head the National Disasters Organisation until his retirement in 1978. In 1975 his Darwin work was recognised when he was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (AO). He was also in the same year elected Australian of the Year and Father of the Year. In 1976, he published a first hand account of his time in Darwin, *The Furious Days: The Relief of Darwin*. A controversial book, it pulled no punches in telling of attitudes and pressures brought to bear on him by politicians, public servants and service personnel, and he showed how he dealt with those obstructions. The book was widely criticised, especially by those who felt that his comments on others involved in the cyclone relief measures were frequently unfair. He was attacked under privilege in the federal parliament and reprimanded by his Army superiors. He was prevented from replying publicly to the accusations until his retirement. He finally did so, although not to everyone's satisfaction, in his autobiography, *Soldier in a Storm*, which appeared in 1978. 'It is', he wrote in the book, 'regrettable that my story has to conclude with an account of the viciousness and bitterness that can be expressed when one tries to expose the insincerity and hypocrisy that exists in the top echelons of national life.'

Following his retirement from government employment, Stretton worked as a barrister in Canberra.

K Cole, *Winds of Fury*, 1977; *Debrett's Handbook of Australia*, 1987; A Stretton, *Soldier in a Storm*, 1978, *The Furious Days*, 1976.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 2.

STRETTON, ALFRED VICTOR (1890–1963), clerk and policeman, was born in Borroloola on 13 July 1890, youngest child of **William George Stretton** and his wife Alice Anna, *nee* Arthur. After local schooling, he became a clerk with A E Jolly and Company for several years before joining the police force in 1911. His early appointments included remote postings at Borroloola, Timber Creek (1914), Bow Hills (1915–1916), Pine Creek (1916), Anthonys Lagoon (1918–1922) and Ranken River (1923–1924).

In May 1919, he was appointed to the rank of Acting Sergeant and was promoted Sergeant in 1924. Between 1924 and 1927, he was Protector of Aborigines. He became Deputy Police Commissioner in 1925 during the short time that the head of the police held the rank of Commissioner. When the Northern Territory again became a single entity in 1931 (and the Administrator resumed the title of 'Commissioner') he was promoted to lead the police force with the rank of Superintendent. He held this position until his retirement in 1948. After Darwin

was evacuated in February 1942, he travelled overland to Alice Springs with Les Penhall, Martin Joseph and Jim Pott. During the balance of the war years, he was deputy to [Administrator Abbott](#) and held a number of other administrative positions.

In 1930, he was installed as Worshipful Master of the Port Darwin Masonic Lodge No 41, the third policeman to hold this office after [Paul Foelsche](#) and [Nicholas Waters](#). He was a very big man, ramrod-straight who always wore a deerstalker's helmet.

At one time, he was licensing inspector. After a visit to Borroloola, he had, according to a press report, 'to press for forfeiture of the licence of Borroloola's remaining hotel'. The magistrate commented that Stretton 'might feel traitorous to strip the licence from the town of his birth'. The reply was that although he 'regretted that his old home town had fallen into such a state of disrepair' he had to ask that the licence be taken away.

As Superintendent of Police in post-war Darwin, the Strettons lived in a home on the Esplanade near the Darwin Hotel. (This house was originally built by V L Solomon in 1884; for many years it was the home of the resident Judge; it became the Northern Territory library in the 1960s and was demolished in Cyclone Tracy; the Conference Centre was later on this site). Alfred Stretton displayed there the banner the Chinese people of the north had given to his father. He was very proud of it, as it was a product of his father's lengthy public service in the Northern Territory.

Stretton was awarded a Coronation Medal in 1937 and became a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1942. In September 1925, he married Vera Williams of Brisbane. He retired to Brisbane and died there on 18 September 1963, survived by his widow and two children, Dorothy (Childs) and Bill. A street in Fannie Bay bears the name of the family and commemorates the long police service of William George and Alfred Victor Stretton.

Debnam index 1911–1919; *Northern Territory News*, 21 September 1963; Northern Territory Police records.

V T O'BRIEN, Vol 3.

STRETTON, WILLIAM GEORGE (1847–1919), policeman, storekeeper, miner and public servant, was born at Stratford on Avon, England, on 1 February 1847. He arrived in South Australia in January 1854 and was educated at Baijeauts School, Kensington, and Taplin's School, Salisbury. At the age of 18, on 14 February 1865, he joined the South Australian Mounted Police and saw service at Mount Gambier, Wallaroo and in the Barossa Valley.

In 1869 he was selected to be a member, at a wage of seven Shillings and seven Pence a day, of the first contingent of police then being readied to travel to the Northern Territory. With Masson, Keppler, Board and Smith under Corporal Drought, they reached Port Darwin in *Gulnare* on 4 January 1870. Inspector [Paul Foelsche](#), long to remain at the helm of the Territory's police, arrived later in the month.

Stretton left the police force to work on the construction of the Overland Telegraph and was Chief Storekeeper on the northern section. When this was completed in August 1872, he turned his hand to mining. In May 1873 he was asked to head a mining party, named the Adelaide Prospecting Venture, which had been financed by the Jewish community and amongst whose members was the young [V L Solomon](#). The standing joke of the day, it was said, was that Stretton resembled Moses. Why? Because he led the children of Israel into the wilderness. The prophecy was not entirely fulfilled as the party discovered the Woolwonga goldfield.

In March 1876, he rejoined the Northern Territory police force with which he served until mid 1887, and among other duties acted as the armed escort from the goldfields to Southport. As with many of his contemporaries, he was often called upon to act in other capacities. For two years from 1885 he was, for example, Clerk to the local Board of Health and Sanitary Inspector. In 1879 and for some years thereafter, in his private capacity, he acted as one of the auditors for the Palmerston District Council.

In September 1887, he joined the Customs Department as a landing waiter and was appointed to Borroloola. The following August as a 'worthy and popular officer' he succeeded [G R McMinn](#) in the McArthur River District as Postmaster, Deputy Protector of Aborigines, Warden of the Goldfields for Mining District B, Justice of the Peace, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Commissioner for Affidavits and, when necessary, Harbourmaster. On 8 January 1890, he was appointed a Special Magistrate for Borroloola and he remained there for the next four years. [J G Knight](#), then Government Resident, had a very high opinion of him: 'Mr Stretton is a most zealous and able Magistrate and his hand should be strengthened in every possible way.'

He served as Chief Warden of the Goldfields from November 1894 to August 1896, when he resigned and was then appointed Sub Collector of Customs, after [Alfred Searcy](#) had been promoted to Adelaide. Again, he held a number of commissions, including that of Chairman of the Licensing Bench, Visiting Justice to the Fannie Bay Gaol, Receiver of Public Moneys and Insolvency Registrar. He was gazetted Deputy Harbourmaster on 25 November 1897 and, notwithstanding that Stretton was not a mariner, was appointed to the position in November 1898 after the retirement of [Captain H R Marsh](#). He remained Sub Collector of Customs and Harbourmaster, adding Surveyor of Ships in November 1903, and Protector of Aborigines in June 1908 until he was compulsorily retired on 1 February 1912 at the age of 65. He had completed 42 years of service with the South Australian government and it was said of him that he had 'capably and strongly filled' the different positions to which he had been appointed. But he was far from ready to retire.

On 1 March 1913, he was appointed Chief Protector of Aborigines. During a strike of wharf labourers when public servants discharged the ships, he and his 'black satellites' were commended for their good work. He was appointed a Special Magistrate on 1 March 1914 and from then until his death he regularly sat whenever he was needed. In July 1916, for example, he was at Pine Creek. As a magistrate, he was well regarded by the counsel who appeared before him. A piece in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* on his retirement omitted the detail

of his more than 20 years on the bench and attention was drawn to it by [J.J. Symes](#), long a practising lawyer in the north.

When the Northern Territory was transferred to the Commonwealth in January 1911, Stretton, as one of those longest resident, had the honour of hoisting the flag. Similarly, he read the commission confirming [Gilruth's](#) appointment as Administrator when the latter arrived in the Northern Territory in 1912.

His sporting interests were those pursued by 'gentlemen'. He was an accurate shot and in the 1880s, before he went to Borroloola, frequently headed the lists of results from the Palmerston Rifle Club. He was also a keen racing man and in 1916 was a judge for the annual racing club meeting. In 1903, he was Vice President of the committee that staged one of the first agricultural and horticultural shows, then to become an annual event.

Stretton died unexpectedly on 29 November 1919 aged 73 while at Oenpelli, where he was buried. At his death, he had been a Territory resident for a week short of 50 years, a record then unmatched. He was to have returned to Darwin to give evidence to the Ewing Royal Commission but the usual stores vessel was over two months late and when it arrived he had been dead for six weeks. His family was later to claim that 'lax' communication between Darwin and the coastal settlements had been the reason for his death as medical treatment had been unavailable. During his years of residence in the Northern Territory, he was said to have enjoyed 'splendid health'. Only on long service leave in 1901 had he travelled out of the Territory.

He married Alice Anna, *nee* Arthur, in Palmerston on 31 March 1876 and 10 children were born of the marriage, seven of whom survived him. He was predeceased by his wife, who died on 25 January 1897 at the age of 40 from the effects of malaria. The shock of the devastating cyclone that hit Palmerston the month before was thought to have contributed to her death. Stretton left an estate sworn in at 2 000 Pounds to his children.

D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; *Age*, 29 April 1920; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 4 July 1885, 9 August 1885, 22 September 1887, 25 January 1897, 25 November 1897, November 1898, 22 February 1901, 4 September 1903, 30 October 1908, 14 July 1911, 21 July 1911, 6 May 1913, 12 June 1913, 28 May 1914, 1 June 1916, 6 July 1916, 10 January 1920; *Observer*, 18 August 1888, 15 September 1888; *Register*, 3 January 1911; South Australian Parliamentary Papers, Blue Books (various); Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 790-1749, 436, 437, F438, F440, E106/2/20; State Records of South Australia, GRS 1- 969/1885.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

STUART, JOHN McDOWALL (1815–1866), arguably Australia's greatest inland explorer, was born on 7 September 1815 at the small port of Dysart in Scotland. One of seven surviving children, Stuart was the son of William Stuart, an ex-army captain of modest means, and his wife Mary, *nee* McDouall. The death of both parents before his teens no doubt encouraged self-reliance in the young Stuart, while the civil engineering he later studied at Edinburgh gave him the technical background for an explorer: surveying. Stuart's iron constitution, set in a misleadingly short, slight frame, was to be a further asset.

There is some evidence that Stuart, aged 23, became engaged to a woman who, he wrongly believed, betrayed him; if so, it was the only instance of romantic attachment in his life. Perhaps recoiling from this lost love, but certainly attracted by the greater opportunities in Australia, Stuart left Scotland late in 1838, arriving in Adelaide in January 1839. The settlement was then barely two years old. Surveyors were in strong demand, and for five years, Stuart worked in isolated survey camps, establishing a reputation as a skilled draughtsman. The life was spartan, but Stuart adapted easily to the rigours—and joys—of the bush.

Stuart joined Charles Sturt's Central Australian Expedition as its surveyor in August 1844. No inland sea was discovered, but Stuart found his true calling amongst the interior's remote wastes; Sturt commended his surveyor as 'a plucky little fellow', while Stuart clearly accepted both the environments to be expected and the privations to be endured in Central Australian exploration. He learned much from Sturt's slow, heavily equipped expedition; his own more successful expeditions were to rely entirely on lightly equipped horse parties capable of travelling rapidly between scarce water supplies.

Following the Sturt expedition, Stuart lived briefly in Adelaide before moving to the Port Lincoln area, where he worked mostly as a surveyor. Stuart was more comfortable in the bush than amongst Adelaide's gentry (where his partiality for whiskey was not always appreciated) and, as the limits of settlement moved out, Stuart did also. In 1854, he left the Port Lincoln area, exploring, surveying and prospecting in the northern Flinders Ranges area with William Finke, a man of significant wealth. Stuart's precise activities between 1854 and 1858 are unknown, but he was almost certainly engaged in exploring and surveying in the Flinders Ranges and beyond.

Edward Eyre's discovery of South Australia's salt lakes (1840), Sturt's march to the Simpson Desert (1845), and the disappearance of Leichhardt (1848) combined to dampen interest in inland exploration. However, the mid-1850s saw a resurgence of South Australian interest in the interior, stimulated by [A.C. Gregory's](#) successful expedition (1855–56), the demand for more pastoral land, the hope of finding gold, and the colony's desire to build the proposed (but variously routed) overland telegraph. A number of government-financed, heavily equipped expeditions left Adelaide in the late 1850s. However, they achieved little; on every front they were eclipsed by Stuart's privately financed, lightning dashes.

By now a superbly capable bushman, the years 1858–62 witnessed the culmination of Stuart's career as an explorer. During that time he spent thirty-eight out of fifty-five months travelling, riding over 20 000 kilometres, he was often short of water, hungry and debilitated by scurvy.

Stuart's first documented expedition was his survey of the country to the west and northwest of Lake Torrens. Financed by Finke, Stuart left the Flinders Ranges in May 1858 with two men, covering over 2 000 kilometres in less than three months; Eyre's Lake Torrens 'horseshoe' theory was disproved, and Chambers Creek, the base for Stuart's future expeditions, was discovered. Stuart returned half-starved, but a proven explorer. The Royal Geographical Society awarded him a gold watch, commending his 'most rapid and daring journey', and the South

Australian government rewarded the explorer with a large pastoral lease (later disputed). The 1858 expedition determined Stuart's future: it established the feasibility of crossing the continent, an achievement Stuart committed himself to, in his words, 'at whatever personal cost'.

James Chambers, then South Australia's leading pastoralist, now joined William Finke in supporting Stuart's ventures. In 1859, he made two further preliminary expeditions, exploring the country south and west of Lake Eyre from Maree to beyond Oodnadatta. These expeditions opened a safely watered route to the Centre, for Stuart discovered and mapped the area's numerous permanent artesian springs—the essential stepping-stones for each of his subsequent journeys. **William Kekwick**, Stuart's deputy on the second 1859 expedition, became his permanent and much-trusted second-in-command.

Financed by Chambers and Finke, Stuart left Chambers Creek on the first of his three transcontinental expeditions in March 1860, accompanied by Kekwick, a young bushman, Benjamin Head, and with only thirteen horses. The party moved rapidly northward, passing the MacDonnell Ranges in mid-April. Central Mount Stuart (originally named 'Central Mount Sturt' by Stuart after 'my esteemed commander of 1844–45') was reached on 22 April, but thereafter attempts to push north-west to the already discovered Victoria River met with defeat: impenetrable scrubs, waterless country, diminished rations and scurvy weakened the party. Stuart finally turned back after an almost fatal encounter with hostile Aborigines at Attack Creek (near Tennant Creek) in late June, reaching South Australia's settled districts after a harrowing retreat the following September. The expedition, a feat of remarkable courage, vigour and endurance, secured Stuart's reputation.

Adelaide honoured him as a returning hero: the veil over Central Australia had been lifted to reveal country less forbidding than once feared. The Royal Geographical Society awarded Stuart its highest honour, the Patron's Gold Medal, and the South Australian government—spurred on by the recent departure of Burke's transcontinental expedition—voted immediately to finance a larger party.

Only 13 days after his arrival in Adelaide, the first of Stuart's party of nine men and 45 horses set off. Stuart's second transcontinental expedition started from Chambers Creek on New Year's Day 1861 and travelled steadily northward close to Stuart's 1860 route. The party penetrated 250 kilometres beyond Attack Creek; two exhausting months were spent trying to break through the depressed tracts of Sturt's Plains, and at his furthest Stuart was only some 200 kilometres from the headwaters of the Victoria River. (Ironically, while Stuart was conducting this remarkably skilful and thorough exploration, Burke was perishing miserably, wandering aimlessly along Coopers Creek's prolific reaches.) Newcastle Waters was discovered, but once again virtually impenetrable scrubs, waterless plains and depleted rations forced a bitter retreat. The expedition reached South Australia's furthest outposts in September 1861.

Within days of Stuart's arrival in Adelaide, the government voted to equip another expedition. Despite his own exhaustion, Stuart threw himself into the preparations—and, only a month after his arrival, the main party departed. Stuart himself was delayed until early November by an injured hand, by which time news of Burke's death had reached Adelaide. Stuart then rode rapidly northward, leading 10 men and over 70 horses; once again Sturt's Plains delayed the expedition, but, after numerous scouting forays, an insignificant chain-of-ponds was discovered leading northward. A month later the Roper River was crossed near Elsey Station, and beyond the rugged Arnhem Land plateau Stuart reached his long-sought goal on 24 July 1862: the north coast, at Point Stuart, close to the Mary River.

A more daunting journey than their advance awaited Stuart's party on the north coast: their return over some 2 000 kilometres of now parched country, past Aboriginal tribes angered by repeated incursions, on short rations and with rapidly weakening horses. Half paralysed by scurvy, Stuart was often agonised with pain and at times close to death: 'a sad, sad wreck of former days', he wrote. Yet, at times carried in a litter, he masterminded a four-month retreat.

Stuart reached Adelaide in December 1862, and was immediately lionised. 'Stuart and Stuart alone wrested from the interior its long hidden secret', the *Advertiser* trumpeted. And, on 21 January 1863, the same day that Burke's remains were interred in Melbourne, Adelaide witnessed the greatest demonstration in its history—the public welcome of Stuart and his gaunt companions. But for Stuart himself there was an underlying melancholy; James Chambers, his patron and closest friend, was dead; and, with his goal achieved, Stuart was a directionless and physically broken man.

The public applause, as Mona Webster observed, was 'prompt, loud—and brief. Stuart was awarded 2 000 Pounds for reaching the north coast, but with his health ruined, the future was bleak. He attempted to recuperate in South Australia during 1863, but in April 1864 he left for Britain—already a publicly forgotten man, further saddened by Finke's death a month earlier. In Britain Stuart oversaw the publication of his 'Explorations in Australia' (18(A), and vainly sought a government pension. (The South Australian government grudgingly granted Stuart a further 1000 Pounds in June 1865.) However, Stuart's health never recovered, and—alone except for his immediate family—he died at London on 4 June 1866.

Not a single life, white or black, had been lost during Stuart's explorations. His men, who throughout their lives proudly described themselves as 'Stuart's companions', revered him. One, Pat Auld, was to write: 'There is nothing touches one more than the remembrance of the deeds of a truly brave man. We have had the honour of having served one.' Nor were the tracks of Stuart's expeditions forgotten. He had seen the Centre in exceptionally good seasons, and his judgement of its 'splendid country' was certainly overoptimistic—as his final drought-endangered retreat suggested. However, alone amongst Australia's inland explorers, Stuart had discovered a virtually permanently watered route across the continent's arid heart. 'Stuart's Line' provided the key to the development of the Northern Territory: first through the overland telegraph, and later through the road and rail links between Adelaide, Alice Springs and Darwin.

I Mudie, *The Heroic Journey of John McDouall Stuart*, 1968; J M Stuart, *The Exploration of Australia*, 1864; M Webster, *John McDouall Stuart*, 1958; *Adelaide Advertiser*; SAPP, recording Stuart's expeditions of 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861 and 1862.

EDWARD STOKES, Vol 1.

STUTTERD, LOUIS NORMAN (1880–1953), mine manager, was born on 26 January 1880 at Wynyard, Tasmania, son of Benjamin Gardner Stutterd and Elizabeth, *nee* Borradale. He attended primary schools at Wynyard and Ulverstone in Tasmania and Essendon, Victoria. At 13, he became a pupil of Gurney's Private School in Ulverstone. On leaving school at 15 Stutterd moved to Sydney to take up an apprenticeship as an electrical engineer with Watts & Vernon. He stayed with this company for less than a year before he moved to Hillgrove, New South Wales. There he gained experience in the treatment of gold and antimony ore, beginning a long and successful career in mining.

Returning to Tasmania in 1900, he spent the next 15 years working in a number of silver and tin mining treatment plants throughout the state. In 1903 at the age of 23, he began formal training at the Zeehan School of Mines, Tasmania where he earned a first class Diploma in Metallurgy.

During the late 1890s and early 1900s, Australia experienced a mining boom. Trained mining specialists were in demand as they revolutionised the mining industry throughout the world. Many, like Stutterd, worked in the mining industry by day and studied at night. These specialists were a product of the new efficiency and increased production taking place in an industry that was rapidly moving away from the crude and ineffective mining techniques of the nineteenth century. In May 1914, Stutterd travelled to the Northern Territory to take up the position of mine manager at the newly discovered Maranboy tin field near Katherine.

Stutterd was well experienced as a mining manager, having designed and erected batteries and concentrating plants in both Tasmania and Queensland. He was employed by the Commonwealth Government to redesign and erect the long awaited and desperately needed 10-head stamper and tin-concentrating plant to treat the unusually hard tin ores found at Maranboy. Despite his previous experience, Stutterd was to find that his position as the manager and construction engineer for the extensive plant and infrastructure to be transported to Maranboy from Darwin fraught with obstacles. Rough terrain, climatic changes and distance from the railhead made his first task of moving 260 tons of heavy plant machinery from Pine Creek to Maranboy difficult. After numerous setbacks, the battery and plant were finally completed along with a house for his family. His professionalism and competence in overseeing this huge task prompted the Director of Mines to comment that 'the battery reflects the greatest credit on Mr Stutterd's abilities'. He later designed mills for Hayes Creek and Hidden Valley tin fields and was to carry out much of the Commonwealth's mining construction work in the Territory.

Stutterd, as a product of the new breed of mining managers, often came into conflict with miners over the inefficient and primitive mining methods used by the tin gougers. The miners often made very optimistic estimates of the tin content of their hard won ore and consequently blamed the manager for poor returns from the processing plant. Before the advent of large mining companies, most claims in the Northern Territory and particularly at Maranboy, were owned and operated by individuals or small syndicates working on meagre budgets, often with government assistance. Although Maranboy was the chief producer of tin in the Northern Territory between 1916 and 1954, the field was always a 'poor man's field'. Stutterd received much praise for his professional and technical ability, but sometimes his personality and lack of patience in his dealings with miners both at Maranboy and at Tennant Creek caused hostility and animosity. The Maranboy correspondent to the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* ensured that these criticisms were widely aired. Subsequent mining managers at Maranboy came in for the same criticism.

While stationed at Maranboy Stutterd's duties were many and varied. He continued his work as the mining manager and was also superintendent of bores and was responsible for maintaining government bores on the Telegraph line between Bitter Springs and Newcastle Waters. In 1935, he was briefly acting Director of Mines. That same year he was promoted from manager to the position of Mining Warden and Inspector of Mines on the Tennant Creek goldfield. In 1936 while holding the office of Special Magistrate at Tennant Creek, he was appointed Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Queensland. Stutterd was transferred back to Maranboy in 1940 to continue his duties as manager of the battery.

On 27 July 1905 at St Mark's Church, Fitzroy, Melbourne, Louis Stutterd married Agnes Ethel Keating, the daughter of John Keating and Mary Josephine, *nee* MacMahan, who was born in 1881 in Fitzroy. Ethel (as she was known) was a wardrobe mistress for J C Williamson's theatrical company. She shared her husband's fondness of adventure and the bush. She was independent and accustomed to travelling both before her marriage, and after with her family throughout various mining fields in Tasmania and Queensland. In 1915, on completion of their home at Maranboy, Ethel Stutterd travelled to the Northern Territory with her three young daughters to join her husband. Norma was aged 10, Fay was eight and Audrey three years of age. A son, John, was born in 1923.

Life at the small, isolated community of Maranboy was not easy for the mother of small children. Stutterd's work meant that he spent little time at home and he was often away for long periods checking bores. As the local magistrate, Stutterd also spent time at the police station hearing cases. Nonetheless, like many other women on the mining field, Ethel adapted to her lifestyle and the hardships of isolated living.

Fay and Norma were sent interstate to school in Brisbane in 1916 and did not return to Maranboy until 1923, when their brother John was born. After the girls left an outbreak of malaria devastated the small community. Tragically the Stutterd's youngest daughter, Audrey, died from the disease at the age of four. Another small child and several adults also succumbed. Louis Stutterd lay unconscious for five days. The nearest medical help was in Pine Creek so Ethel was virtually alone with the responsibility of nursing her sick family and coping with the grief of losing her youngest daughter. Some years later Ethel also contracted the disease.

Daughter Fay recalls her mother's self-sufficiency and diligence in organising her family's domestic life, an essential quality for women living a great distance from facilities. Their main stores were purchased once a year from Burns Philp in Brisbane. As a professional dressmaker, and with the help of catalogues and magazines, she could design stylish clothes for her teenage daughters thus keeping up with fashions. Despite Maranboy's remoteness, she enjoyed cooking and entertaining for the many visitors who passed through. In the late 1920s, groups of people from Katherine would make the three-hour drive out for a weekend of parties and to play tennis on the ant bed court at Maranboy. Two young men who enjoyed the Stutterd's hospitality were engineers with the North Australia Commission, George Thornthwaite and Frank Shepherd, who were to marry Norma and Fay Stutterd. Sadly, the fair-headed Frank Shepherd who married Fay and became the Chief Surveyor of the Northern Territory died in 1939 of melanoma, after only eight years of marriage.

Louis Stutterd was a keen photographer and documented the erection of the battery and plant at Maranboy. He enjoyed hunting and fishing in the surrounding countryside, and was considered a good bushman. He is mentioned in several books including Tom Ronan's *Packhorse and Pearling Boat* and HV Clarke's *The Long Arm*. In 1927, the family spent four months on long service leave on a driving/camping tour to Melbourne, Louis' first visit south in 11 years. The Melbourne Argus described the tour and Ethel's enthusiasm for travelling in their T Model Ford overland. However, their teenage daughters did not share their parent's excitement for this mode of travelling.

Due to a stroke in 1944 at the age of 64, Louis Stutterd retired after 30 years in the Northern Territory mining industry. He and Ethel bought the Sportsman's Arms at Katherine, where they lived out the rest of their lives. Ethel Stutterd died on 6 April 1952 and Louis on 3 December 1953. They are buried together at Katherine Cemetery. There is a street in Katherine named after Louis Stutterd in recognition of his contribution to mining in the Northern Territory.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS A3 NT20/1871; G Blainey, *The Rush that Never Ended*, rev ed, 1993; H V Clarke, *The Long Arm*, 1974; Family information from J L Stutterd; S Harlow 'A Social History of Mining at Maranboy, 1913–1962', BA (Hons) Thesis, Northern Territory University, 1992; Northern Territory Archives Service, NTRS 226 TS118; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 15 March 1919; T Ronan, *Packhorse and Pearling Boat*, 1964.

SUE HARLOW, Vol 3.

STYLES, EILEEN MARJORY: see [FITZER, EILEEN MARJORY](#)

SULLIVAN, WILLIAM JAMES (BILL) (1906–1977), local government officer, was born in Toowoomba, Queensland, on 21 February 1906. After a basic education in Brisbane, he worked in a variety of jobs, including a stint as a railway fireman in north Queensland. In 1933, he took up a position as a clerk in the Main Roads Department. Shortly after his marriage to Jean Neville (who resided in Darwin after his death) in 1935, he was transferred to Townsville where he began studies to obtain local government qualifications. He gained his Clerk's Certificate in 1942. Sullivan's long service in Queensland local government commenced in the Hinchinbrook Shire Council in 1938. From 1942 until 1959, he held Clerk's postings successively in Hughenden, Emerald, Camooweal and Cloncurry.

In November 1959 he was appointed the first Deputy Town Clerk in the infant Darwin City Council and in August 1960, following the abrupt departure of the incumbent, became (and without national advertisement) Town Clerk. He was to remain in that position until his retirement in March 1974.

Representative local government had been restored in Darwin only in July 1957; Sullivan joined the Council at a time of considerable confusion and controversy about the Council's functions and structure. Although he played a relatively minor role in the reorganisation and stabilisation process of the early 1960s, by the middle of the decade he had developed a commanding presence. In his last 10 years as Clerk Sullivan virtually dominated the Council's business and identity. Tough-minded and plain speaking he was able to impose discipline on both his staff and the elected members. Through his thorough understanding of Council activities, the advantage of full-time occupancy (as against the part-time status of the elected members) and the close relationships he forged with successive Mayors and pivotal aldermen, he established open control of Council. Sullivan was widely seen as an unelected alderman and the personification of Darwin's local government.

Sullivan's administrative style was autocratic; he was extremely suspicious of delegation and his authority was keenly applied throughout the whole of the Council's management system. But his enormous capacity for hard work and his personal fairness won him general respect from his staff, from whom he demanded equal commitment. Concern for punctuality, albeit sometimes obsessive, was seen as a hallmark of the Sullivan era. In many ways, Sullivan represented the traditional Town Clerk in Australian local government and, by the end of his career, was uncomfortable with the changing municipal context, particularly the moves to more democratic and accountable administration, the expansion of community functions and new management imperatives.

After failing to be granted an extra period of employment (he had served a further year as Clerk after his normal retirement age), he left the Council on a rather sour note. In later newspaper letters and comments, he sometimes expressed his concern at the new (and, to him, misguided) directions in which the Council was heading. Bill Sullivan died on 4 July 1977 at the age of 71.

There is no doubt that Sullivan made a large and valuable contribution to local government in Darwin. During his time as Clerk the Darwin City Council became firmly established and most of its early achievements bore the stamp of the man who still remains Darwin's longest serving Town Clerk.

SUN MOW LOONG: see **KWONG SUE DUK**

SWANNIE, JAMES LESLIE (JIM) (1908–1996), merchant, businessman, barman, storeman, musician and gambler, was born on 19 August 1908 in North Sydney, the youngest of three children born to Archibald Ernest Swannie and Alice Mary, *nee* O'Shea. The name Swannie comes from the Orkney Islands off the coast of Scotland. The family lived in Essendon, Melbourne, in Victoria. Swannie's mother and elder brother died while he was still a child, both from tuberculosis. Swannie was educated at St Monica's Christian Brothers School in Essendon. He had to leave school at age 16 to help his father in his ships' providoring business, the Melbourne Dairy Produce Company.

Always a keen musician, although he had no formal training, Swannie had his own jazz group, the Kit-Kats, which he formed when he was 19. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the group played regularly at pubs and clubs throughout Melbourne. In 1936, Swannie married Doris Eugenie Seymour in St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne. There were two boys and two girls from the marriage. In the lead-up to the Second World War Swannie enlisted, but was not accepted as he was in a reserved occupation. When his father died in 1941, Swannie took over the company and ran it until he sold it in 1952. Several disastrous business ventures followed, including a hotel and a co-operative provisions business with his in-laws. Swannie eventually bought a country store and post office at Darnum near Melbourne. His wife, however, did not like country life, and the family returned to Melbourne. Swannie took a job as overseer on the building of the Great Ocean Road between Melbourne and Adelaide and lived at Eyres Inlet.

In 1960 Swannie decided to 'get as far away from Melbourne as possible'. He left Melbourne in a 1932 Ford and headed north to Darwin, a journey that took him 10 days. He arrived in Darwin in July 1960. His first job was as barman in The Buffs Club, then located in an old house on the corner of the Stuart Highway and Geranium Street. The hours interfered with Swannie's main interests of drinking and gambling, so he left to take a position as storeman in the air freight department at Millars and Sandovers Hardware Store which was located near the Victoria Hotel in Smith Street. In 1962, he started work at the Darwin Hospital on Myilly Point where he remained for 10 years, first as storeman, and later in charge of the maintenance of the gardens and swimming pool of the newly erected Nurses' Quarters. Swannie enjoyed the lifestyle in Darwin in the 1960s. There was good beer and companionship in the pubs and clubs, and music. Saturday night was the night to go and listen to Jim and Dot Dwyer play at the old Returned Services League club in Cavenagh Street, and on other nights, there were groups playing at the Buff Club or Jim Dowling's Parap Hotel. Swannie used to stand in on the drums at times.

In 1972, Swannie was asked to go back to Victoria to look after the father of an old friend. He did not return to Darwin until 1980 when, on having a big win on the horses, he made what was intended to be just a quick visit back to the Territory. He stayed six months, then returned briefly to Melbourne before settling permanently in Darwin in 1981.

Until his late 80s and suffering from spinal cancer, Swannie led an active life. He swam daily at Rapid Creek, and trapped and caught crabs and fish to eat and give to friends. He spent much of his time repairing and renovating discarded electrical devices and furniture to give away or sell. He enjoyed his beer, and his gambling. A slight figure with twinkling eyes, he admitted that he has lost a fortune on backing the horses over the years. He died on 26 January 1996, aged 87, survived by his four children, Josie, John, Paul and Patricia. At his request, his ashes were scattered on the waters of Fannie Bay by his many friends of the Sailing Club.

Interviews with J Swannie, 1995; *Northern Territory News*, 29 January 1996.

EVE GIBSON, Vol 3.

SWEENEY, GORDON (1897–1984), missionary and patrol officer, was born at Springbank, South Australia. His father was Irish, and his mother, though native born, was of Scottish parents. Sweeney attended several schools in his primary years, before attending Adelaide High School. By 1916, he had completed a Diploma of Agriculture at Roseworthy, where he was dux. In 1924, he completed a Bachelor of Engineering, before travelling the next year to the Northern Territory as a field assistant with the Commonwealth Railways, surveying a route for the line from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs. The first route had insufficient water for the steam engines and a second route was surveyed in 1926. In 1927 Sweeney was involved in surveys at Borroloola and through to the railway construction at Katherine. From 1928 to 1930, he was a surveyor with the Northern Australia Commission, planning a road system for the Northern Territory.

During this survey, he visited most cattle properties and police stations and was very concerned over the treatment of Aboriginal people. The missions offered the only opening to do constructive work among Aborigines and in 1931, he joined the Methodist missions. He was in charge of farming and gardening at Milingimbi where he met his first wife, Sister Olive Lambert. They were married in 1932. Later he was the superintendent of Goulburn Island Mission and during that time, he undertook long patrols by boat and on foot on mainland Arnhem Land. On his first long patrol from Reuben Cooper's timber camp at Murgellenella, west to Cape Don, he encountered and reported the depleted number of Aborigines remaining on the Cobourg Peninsula. During 1939, he undertook an extensive survey of the Liverpool River area as far east as Blyth River. He recorded the tribes, total population, obvious sickness, languages spoken and the suitability of the country for agricultural purposes. His report, which

recommended a new mission near the mouth of the Liverpool River, was sent to the Administrator. Sweeney's reports complemented those of the anthropologist [Dr Donald Thomson](#) who had covered the country east of the Blyth River. These showed that the total population of Arnhem Land was greatly depleted from earlier estimations. His mission reports also provide a most valuable record.

Sweeney repeatedly reported the illegal activities of Japanese pearl-ers among the coastal Aborigines. He suspected the presence of naval intelligence officers on the luggers.

At the end of 1939, Sweeney left the missions and from 1 March 1940, he became the first government patrol officer in the northern half of the Northern Territory. In 1940, the army wanted Aborigines moved from Darwin and Sweeney helped to establish them at Delissaville (Belyuen). He cared for a large group of mixed-race boys at Pine Creek until they were sent to Alice Springs. During the war, he was one of the buffers between the army and the Aborigines and also helped locate patients lost from Channel Island. Post-war, he continued as a patrol officer and was able to advise and assist the missions in their liaison with the government. He was a sound practical person who could lend a hand wherever needed. His many reports provide a valuable contribution to history.

During 1945–46 Sweeney undertook several extensive patrols in the Mount Singleton and Vaughan Springs area northwest of Alice Springs and recommended the establishment of an Aboriginal settlement at Yuendumu. In May 1951, he was appointed District Superintendent of the Native Affairs Branch, northern division. In March 1955, he became Public Relations Officer and Census Officer in time for the first comprehensive census of Northern Territory Aborigines.

Following retirement in 1957 and after the death of his first wife, he worked for a few years as a volunteer on the Methodist (Uniting Church) missions. In 1960, he married Sister Cathie Langdon, the nurse at Elcho Island. After thirty-five years in the Northern Territory, he went to Adelaide to be near his family and died at Resthaven, Paradise on 25 September 1984, aged 87 years.

Gordon Sweeney, personal letters to author; Sweeney's reports, NTA; Mrs Cathie Sweeney, letters to author.

ELLEN KETTLE, Vol 1.

SYMES, JOHN JOSEPH (c1855–1915), solicitor, was born at Bridgport, Dorset, England. After formal legal training, he was admitted as a solicitor in the Inner Temple in London. He came to Australia while a comparatively young man and at the suggestion of the Chief Justice of South Australia, Sir Samuel Way, entered the office of Mann, Thornton & Hay of Adelaide. After a few years' practice in Adelaide, where he gained an insight into Australian practice and procedure, Symes came to Darwin (then Palmerston) in 1887 where he conducted a highly successful practice from his arrival until the time of his death, some 28 years later.

He brought with him a retainer from the Millar Brothers who were then constructing the Palmerston to Pine Creek railway. Business at that time was brisk. The Chinese were getting gold. English companies were being floated and capital for the building of the railway was flowing freely. Briefs were plentiful and it was common knowledge that to Symes fell most of the best side of legal practice in Darwin. He had retainers from the banks, the leading business houses, the district council and the pastoralists. He also acted as attorney for a large number of absentee landowners, among whom was Sir William Vestey for whom he held a Power of Attorney. He was so well regarded as a negotiator that many disputes never reached the courts. So much work came his way that he needed to employ other solicitors; [D A Roberts](#) and [R I D Mallam](#), who went on to become Northern Territory judges. Symes prospered and his office had a typewriter by October 1895, probably the first in the Northern Territory, its presence undoubtedly indicative of the volume of work he undertook.

It was said of him that he was an 'omnivorous reader' with an excellent memory. He also had an extensive knowledge of the Territory and possessed an 'inexhaustible fund of interesting reminiscences' of early events.

He died on 6 January 1915, aged 59 after some years of indifferent health, an epidemic of dengue fever having delivered the coup de grace. He never married and left his considerable estate of 8 250 Pounds to his sister Evangeline Olivia Symes in England. In his will, he directed that his jugular vein and carotid artery were to be cut 'due to the expedition with which bodies are buried and the consequent danger of persons being buried alive'. He wanted to be cremated but that was not possible in the Darwin of the day and he was buried in the Goyder Road cemetery according to the rites of the Anglican Church. A headstone now marks the grave. As his obituary writer noted, 'It is not much to say that no man has exercised a more profound influence in affairs in this Territory than the late Mr J J Symes and that influence was thrown solely on the side of integrity, justice and the minimising of difficulties by bringing the disputing parties to a mutual and conciliatory understanding'.

Northern Territory Archives E96/35, NTRS 790/6674; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 14 January 1915.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

T

TACK, JOSEPH TEAR (1857–1901), Chinese Wesleyan Minister, was born in the Kwantung (Guandong) Province of South China in 1857. While he was but a lad, he travelled to the Victorian goldfields and became a convert at the Presbyterian Mission at Ballarat. He subsequently entered the ministry of the Wesleyan Church in 1881 and laboured amongst his countrymen in various places, notably at Tingha, New South Wales, where a Chinese church was erected.

In 1895, he was appointed to Port Darwin to open a Chinese school and a mission that was carried on in premises in Cavenagh Street. He worked closely with the Wesleyan minister, Reverend H Trewren. The work that Pastor Tack was to face was not an easy one. An article published in the *Australian Methodist Missionary Review* in December 1898 which was headed ‘Port Darwin and its Moral Atmosphere’ spoke of the many races in the place, Aborigines, Malays, Japanese and Chinese (in two factions, Cantonese and Macao) as well as people of mixed blood. The article summed up the situation thus, ‘one of the most formidable difficulties in the way of our work there is the luxurious and lax lives of some of the Europeans who show an arrogant disdain of the alien races’. In his study of the Wesleyan Church in Palmerston, **Reverend Arch Grant** commented, ‘Tack entered into the work willingly and while not always happy with the response of his fellow countrymen had his times of satisfaction’. A description of the ‘novel and interesting’ baptismal service held on 24 November 1896 survives. ‘Three Chinese converts were baptised. The service was conducted by Mr Tear Tack in Chinese. The attendance composed of yellow and white faces was good and during the service the Chinese portion of the congregation sang heartily two verses of “Bringing in the Sheaves” which Mr Tear Tack had taught them’.

During his time in the north, Pastor Tack travelled widely and conducted baptisms at Burrundie, Pine Creek and Brocks Creek as well as in Palmerston. His countrymen respected him, probably in part because he had his family with him. Tack agreed with other clergy that the Palmerston Mission was important because of the close proximity of China. At that time there were about 4 000 Chinese in the Northern Territory, about 200 of whom were women and children and there was constant movement between Palmerston and Hong Kong. Tack did, however, have firm views as to why conversion would not always be easy. ‘1. They will not come to the Mission unless attracted by the bait of secular instruction. 2. They are intensely matter of fact. 3. They are indifferent to all emotional appeal’.

Mrs Tack and five children arrived in October 1896. She was a ‘highly articulate and educated woman’ who wrote a long letter to the Mission Board in Adelaide describing the experiences of her family during the terrible cyclone in January 1897. Even though they were in a stone house, it collapsed around them destroying everything they owned. ‘My little children were blown in all directions, their shrieks being heartrending’, she wrote. ‘I fell several times into the water, but by breathing in our dear baby’s mouth, managed by God’s help and will, to keep her alive. The little girl, about six years of age, was found in the morning clinging on to a fence, quite exhausted, and one little boy took shelter under a piece of iron that had blown off the next house. Mr Tack managed to find the other two children and kept them with him until daybreak. He got his legs cut very badly, the children got cut and bruised, and at present Mr Tack is not at all well... At present we are staying with a Manilla family, who kindly let us have two rooms’. The Mission Board sent 20 Pounds to assist them.

The family left the Territory on 16 January 1899 and for some months Pastor Tack acted as Foreign Mission Deputation in New South Wales and Queensland giving publicity to the church’s work in overseas missions. A minister from the Bathurst district noted ‘the story was very interesting, lit up with quiet good humour and was well told. His quiet gentlemanly demeanour won us all. Pastor Tack’s health, however, was permanently impaired.

Early in 1901, he was appointed by the Methodist Conference as ‘Missionary to his Chinese countrymen in and around Cairns’. Within months, his health gave rise to concern and he was ordered south to recuperate but he died in Cairns from heart disease on 3 August 1901. His death was noted in the local press, which described him as ‘intensely practical, straight-forward and earnest in all his work’. Although the modern perception is that at the time there was much racial tension between Chinese and Europeans the obituary concluded that ‘his loss will be felt by both Europeans and Chinese, for to know the Rev Tear Tack was to admire his sterling qualities, both as a preacher and practiser of the gospel’. The *Cairns Morning Post* was also in no doubt that another Chinese pastor would succeed him. It was, however, a different story in Palmerston. More than 40 years were to pass before Reverend **Lo Shui Kwong** came to the north to begin active mission work with the Chinese population.

Australian Methodist Missionary Review, 1898; *Cairns Morning Post*, 9 August 1901, 13 August 1901; A Grant, *Palmerston to Darwin: 75 Years Service on the Frontier*, 1990; B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 17 July 1896, 30 August 1901.

HELEN J WILSON and BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

TAMBLING, ERNEST ALFRED (1899–1970), soldier, teacher and headmaster, was born on 30 October 1899, the son of a Warwick saddler, Alfred Tambling, and his wife Annie, *nee* Tucker. He was raised under the Church of England faith, and received his education at Pratten School in Queensland. In 1913, he began as a trainee teacher there.

When war broke out, he enlisted in 1915 with the Australian Imperial Force and in 1917 served abroad, in England, France and Belgium, as part of the 49th and 19th Battalions. He became a member of the First Australian Royal Guard in 1918, serving under the 9th Battalion of the AIF at Sebourg Chateau, near Avesnes in France.

In 1919, he attended a teacher training school in London whilst awaiting demobilisation before his return to Australia. In 1920, he was discharged from the army in Brisbane. Over the next five years, he taught at Ayr, Cooktown, and Herberton in Queensland, before being appointed to the position of itinerant teacher for the Northern Territory Administration Education Branch. This position involved travelling to all the schools opened between Darwin and Emungalen (now part of Katherine).

After three years, Tambling, who had become known as the ‘Swaggie Teacher’ resigned from his post, and joined the teaching staff of Darwin Primary School, a somewhat more stable position. Quite often he would travel to other towns acting as a relief teacher, saying of this period that, as far as he was concerned, ‘things went smoothly’. In 1939, the Headmaster of Darwin Primary School, **Victor Lampe**, was appointed Chief Censor of the Northern Territory and Tambling stepped into the role of Headmaster of the school, taking charge of some 220 students and 8 teachers. One of those teachers was Edna Williamson, who, two years later, he took as his wife, on 1 August 1941.

In December of that year, Tambling was appointed as welfare officer on the transport ship *President Grant*, which had escaped the Japanese attack on Manila and was acting as an evacuee ship for Darwin residents. Tambling, accompanied by his wife, travelled with the ship down the east coast of Australia to Brisbane, then by train escorting evacuees as far as Adelaide. In 1942, he returned to the Northern Territory to reopen the school at Katherine. He was in charge of 40 students, and had only one other teacher working with him. In early April Japanese planes raided Katherine, and an evacuation was ordered. Tambling took charge of one of the two convoys travelling to Alice Springs, and continued by train to South Australia with the evacuees.

In that year, Tambling rejoined the army and served as a Captain at Army Headquarters in Melbourne. He was then appointed Camp Commandant of the 3rd Armoured Division (Northern Command) on full-time war service in the Citizen Military Forces. This position was based in the area around Cairns, and was held by Tambling for almost five years, until he ceased duty in July 1947. He then returned with his wife to Darwin, serving as acting chief clerk of the Northern Territory Administration, and as chairman of the Town Management Board.

In 1949 he became Headmaster of the newly formed Bagot Aboriginal School, the First Welfare school to operate in the Northern Territory.

In 1963 he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for his services to the community and Aboriginal teaching. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II presented this to him personally on board the royal yacht *Britannia*, on Darwin Harbour on 18 March 1963. He retired from the public service in October 1964.

Tambling’s recreational interests included tennis and golf, and he was a keen gardener. He was a life member of the Darwin Golf Club, and served as its secretary for over twenty-five years. He had a gold badge and life membership of the Darwin Returned Services League.

Having suffered from atherosclerosis for 20 years Ernest Tambling died on 23 March 1970 after a short bout of pneumonia. An official memorial was erected in the Garden of Remembrance in Pinaroo Cemetery at Aspley in Queensland. He was buried at Darwin General Cemetery, survived by his wife, Edna, and their three children.

P Adam Smith, *Outback Heroes*, 1981; *Darwin Star*, 23 April 1981; Personal information.

EDNA M TAMBLING, Vol 1.

TANG, CHIN LOONG (JIMMY) (1899–1979), a prominent member of the Darwin Chinese community, was born in Darwin on 10 February 1899. His father, Chin Mee Lang, had come to Australia from Toy Shan near Guangzhou (Canton) seeking gold. He brought with him his wife Chin Wong See.

One of several sons, Chin Loong Tang was sent back to China when he was four years old. He returned to his father at the age of about eight years. This was not unusual; rather it was every Chinese parent’s dream in the years before the Second World War that his or her sons return to China for a traditional education. Many worked long hours to achieve that dream. Chin Mee Lang was no exception and as well as sending his sons back to China for their early education he became a considerable landowner, not only in Chinatown but also in other parts of Darwin. On his death, this land was divided amongst his sons.

Chin Loong Tang observed Chinese traditions, perhaps because of his birth and upbringing in the isolated north of Australia, in what was a somewhat closed environment. As a young man, he married Wong Yook Hing who was born on 24 December 1899 in Toy Shan. This was probably an arranged marriage and Chin Loong Tang supported her, as was traditional, in Guangzhou and later in Hong Kong until her death on 9 June 1962. She bore him two children, Chin La Fung and Chin Gee Gun, both of whom live in Hong Kong. It was not unusual for Chinese men living in Australia to have more than one wife. Chinese custom dictated that a man should retain a physical link to his family village in China if he were going to seek his fortune in far lands. At the same time Australian immigration laws after 1901 restricted immigrants on grounds of race. Consequently, many Chinese men who stayed in Australia took a second wife. These women often came from Chinese families already established in this country. Chin Loong Tang took his second wife Lizzie Yook Lin, daughter of the late Lum Loy and **Lee Toy Kim**. They were married in 1923 and over the next twenty years, she bore him five sons and four daughters. She died in August 1945 shortly after giving birth to their youngest son.

In the early 1960s, Chin Loong Tang married his third wife Tam Wing Yee, who was born on 25 October 1925 in Guangzhou. She survived him and lived in Darwin.

Chin Loong Tang operated a taxi service and a ‘squash’, or cool drink, shop, Sun Hing Kee and Company in Cavenagh Street, Darwin, at the time of his marriage to Lizzie Yook Lin. Before the war, the shop sold a popular non-alcoholic beverage – Hop Beer—that was brewed by the family in Darwin.

In 1924, Chin Loong Tang moved his family to Emungalan and started a tailoring business and general store with relatives to cater for the needs of the young settlement. When the Katherine River road bridge was built the business moved across the river into Katherine itself.

By 1935, the family had returned to Darwin. Lizzie Yook Lin looked after the four children and the cafe business in Cavenagh Street with the help of her mother, Lee Toy Kim, while Chin Loong Tang visited Hong Kong. In 1938, Chin Loong Tang purchased a block of land at the corner of Henry Street and the Stuart Highway. The war and the bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942 intruded and Chin Loong Tang followed his family, who had been evacuated from the town earlier, to Alice Springs and Adelaide. Undaunted by the disruption of the war he opened a fruit shop in Adelaide's Chanson Street (now Poultry Street) and set about supporting his family. After the eldest son Ronald joined the Royal Australian Air Force in 1944, the family moved to Sydney to be near relatives. It was in Sydney, after the birth of her ninth child, that Lizzie Yook Lin died.

The end of the war saw Darwin in ruins and the family returned to begin again. The opportunity offered by the bombing to start from scratch with a new town plan was seized with gusto by the new civil administration in Darwin and the Australian government. All of the land in Darwin was acquired and steps were taken to see that Chinatown would not rise again. Landowners were compensated block for block but the new blocks were only half the size of the pre-war blocks and were to be held on a 99 year lease rather than as freehold. Chin Loong Tang had therefore lost about half the acreage he had owned before the war as well as some of the buildings on the land. He began again by opening C L Tang's store on the Stuart Highway block, half of which he had retained; the other half was granted to his mother-in-law, Lee Toy Kim, in recompense for her chicken farm at the Police Paddock. The cafe in Cavenagh Street was reopened and served some of the best Chinese food in Darwin well into the 1960s.

Chin Loong Tang was not only an adroit businessman. He was, all of his life, a worshipper at and an elder of the Chinese Temple in Darwin. A traditionalist, he continued to keep an altar in his home and to venerate his ancestors and the gods. With his mother-in-law, he attended the various Chinese festivals and the thirteen gods' birthdays during the year.

Chin Loong Tang died on 23 March 1979, of cancer. He was interred at the Macmillan's Road cemetery. He was survived by his widow Chin Wing Yee and, at the time of his death, 11 children, 33 grandchildren and 16 great-grandchildren. With his death, a link with Darwin's pioneering past and with China was severed. His contributions to the Darwin community were several. He aided the growth of the town as an economic entity through his business acumen and, while nurturing the traditional values of Chinese culture, society and religious beliefs, he also helped to give Darwin residents who knew him a tolerance and cultural awareness of the Chinese community in their midst.

R Chin, Oral interview with A F Hannan, 1985, NTA; *Darwin Star*, 14 June 1979; A K F Hannan, 'All Out! The Effects of Evacuation and Land Acquisition on the Darwin Chinese, 1941-54', Thesis, 1985; *Northern Territory Affairs*, vol 8, no 2, 1974.

AGNES HANNAN, *Vol 1*.

TARKIERA: see **TUCKIAR**

TERRY, MICHAEL (1899-1981), explorer, was born in Gateshead, England, the son of Arthur Michael Terry, army officer and engineer, and his wife Catherine, *nee* Neagle.

Terry served in the First World War as a driver with the Royal Naval Air Service in Russia, before being invalided, and discharged from the army. He journeyed to Australia arriving at Fremantle in 1919. After working for some time as a mechanic in Perth, he left the city, and travelled up the Western Australian coast. After a while, he began to head eastward, picking up work along the way when he needed it. In Sydney he formed a business partnership, under the name of the New State Transport Company, and began servicing the outback areas of New South Wales.

In 1922, he travelled by road from Longreach, Queensland, to Katherine, while his new friends, **Hudson Fysh** and Paul McGuinness, travelled the same route by air. The next year he travelled from Winton, Queensland, to Broome, Western Australia, with Dick Yockney, and so the pair became the first people to travel east-west across the continent by car.

During the next year, Terry travelled to the United States and Britain in a bid to gain sponsorship for a proposed expedition from Darwin to Port Hedland. Success finally came with a commission from the Royal Geographical Society 500 United States Dollars for a piece written for them, entitled 'Across Unknown Australia'. The Society also awarded Terry a Cuthbert Peel Grant, agreed to provide all the necessary equipment for the trip, and arranged for a cameraman to accompany the expedition. Thus, in 1925, Terry's second expedition was carried out and was recorded on film. The same year, his first book, *Across Unknown Australia* was published (not to be confused with the article of the same name, which Terry wrote for the Royal Geographical Society).

In 1928, after receiving further sponsorship from within Australia, Terry carried out a third expedition, up the Western Australian coast, across to the Northern Territory, and then to Adelaide and Melbourne. Over the next seven years, Terry went on 11 major expeditions, many of them in an unsuccessful search for gold. These expeditions carried him well into the Tanami Desert, and as far north as Tennant Creek. In 1932, Terry went on his first expedition using camels as the only transport, followed by a second in 1933. On the first expedition, Stan O'Grady, a member of the three-man party, discovered an ancient man-made well in a corner of Lake Mackay. The well was named O'Grady's Well. The party also discovered **Alec Ross** Range, so named in honour of the last surviving member (at the time) of the exploring parties of **Ernest Giles**. On the second expedition, the party narrowly missed being attacked by Aborigines, and went on to discover what Terry always regarded as his 'Golden

Spurs': Hidden Basin, or Chugga-Kurri. The discovery brought to reality the legend of an oasis in that part of the desert, which he first heard told over ten years previously in a Western Australian town.

In 1938 Terry planned another expedition with Ben Nicker, who had accompanied him on most other expeditions, but had to cancel it in order to undergo extensive dental treatment. By the time the opportunity arose again, Nicker had gone to the Second World War and died in Greece as the result of a gangrenous injury.

In 1940, Terry married Ursula Livingstone-Learmonth. The marriage, unsuccessful from the outset, lasted only four years and was dissolved.

During the Second World War, Terry worked with British Intelligence in Sydney, assessing the communist element in Australia, before taking a commission with the New South Wales Department of Main Roads, to document the role and achievements of that department during the war years, particularly the development of the Stuart Highway. The result of this work was Terry's sixth publication, *Bulldozer*, in 1945.

In 1944 Terry brought a piece of land near Darlinghurst, New South Wales, and by 1950 was completely settled there and earning a living selling timber and firewood from the property.

In 1961, he led a mineral exploration expedition to the west of Alice Springs, into the Cleland Hills. There he discovered ancient rock carvings 'quite different from known Aboriginal art'. After a later expedition to study the carvings specifically, Robert Edwards, Curator of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum, said, 'These staring faces [referring to about sixteen particular carvings] were certainly wearing in their mother stone when the Pharaohs raised the Sphinx at Giza.'

Due to ill health, Terry was forced to retire from life as an explorer in the early 1970s and settled down to recall his adventures on paper. His seventh publication, *The War of the Waramullas*, 'hit the shelves' in 1974.

Terry died in 1981 in a nursing home in Sydney, aged eighty-two. He was writing his eighth book at the time, an autobiography titled *The Last Explorer*. His sister Charlotte completed the book, and it was published in 1986.

M Terry, *The Last Explorer*, 1980; *Australian*, 19 July 1924; *Adelaide Advertiser*, 2 June 1941; *BP Magazine*, December 1929, February 1930; *Adelaide Chronicle*, 10 July 1930; *Adelaide Observer*, 27 February 1926; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September 1981; WA Parliament, *Votes and Proceedings*, 1, 10, 1899.

DUNCAN McCONNEL, Vol 1.

'THE SUBDUED': see [ERLIKILYIKA](#)

THOMAS, EDWARD PENRY (1890–1972), was born on 9 May 1890, at Godalming in Surrey, England, and entered the Royal Naval College as a Midshipman in 1904.

Thomas served with the Royal Navy in the 1914–18 war. He was 'loaned' to the Royal Australian Navy in March 1931. In 1933 he returned to England and the Royal Navy, and retired three years later, with an Officer of the British Empire (OBE) award for his services. However, in 1939, at the outbreak of the Second World War, Thomas was again 'loaned' to the Royal Australian Navy, from the retired list of the Royal Navy. He served with Captain's rank in HMAS *Cerberus*, the training depot in Victoria, before moving to Sydney in 1940, where he occupied a similar position at HMAS *Penguin*.

After seven months with HMAS *Penguin*, Thomas was posted to Darwin as District Naval Officer and Naval Officer in Charge (Northern Territory) with headquarters at the shore base, HMAS *Melville*.

In January 1940, the naval staff decided to raise the level of Darwin's senior naval appointment, then held by a Lieutenant Commander, to that of Captain. Thomas received the appointment and reached Darwin in August 1940 with the title of Naval Officer in Charge, Northern Territory. A martinet with a touch of humanity, Thomas soon became known to his men as 'Uncle Penry' or 'God'. He presided over a steady increase in the navy's Darwin-based fleet of small ships, described by one officer as 'a motley collection of down-at-heel vessels' and clashed with the powerful North Australia Workers' Union over the handling of the Port of Darwin and with the RAAF base commander, [Group Captain C Eaton](#), over inter-service co-operation. Thomas ran a 'tight ship'; but when Japan entered the war in December 1941, the naval staff again decided to raise the status of the Darwin naval command and appointed [Commodore C J Pope](#) to replace Thomas. Pope arrived in Darwin on 20 February 1942, but fell ill. Thomas held the naval command when the Japanese struck on the previous day'.

Thomas received much of the criticism that followed the sinking of eight ships by the Japanese. He had ignored an earlier warning by an American Asiatic Fleet commander that ships in the Darwin anchorage were too closely bunched; he told the Lowe Commission of Inquiry that he had expected an air raid that day, yet allowed ships to double-berth on both sides of the wharf and seventy wharf labourers to work on them. But Thomas could not guess the scale of the attack to come; neither he nor any other allied source knew that there were four Japanese aircraft carriers in the Timor Sea to the north of Darwin. He told the Lowe Commission that he 'was willing to run the risk of raid damage to get [the unloading] done'. He took a calculated risk—and lost.

Commodore Pope succeeded him on 23 February. In April 1942 he took command of HMAS *Moreton*, the Brisbane shore base, and continued to serve there until 12 March 1948, when he retired, remaining in Brisbane. In his retirement, he became Patron of the Women's Royal Australia Naval Service section of the Naval Association of Australia.

Thomas married his first wife, Valerie, at Dunoon, Scotland, on 11 April 1914. The couple had one son and two daughters. Presumably, he married a second time, since, when he died in Brisbane in January 1972, Mrs Beryl Thomas and his three children were listed as surviving him.

H Gill, *Royal Australian Navy 1939–1942*, 1957; H Gill, *Royal Australian Navy 1943–1945*, 1958; O Griffiths, *Darwin Drama*, 1943; T Hall, *Darwin 1942*, 1980; D Lockwood, *Australia's Pearl Harbour*, 1966; A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; RN and RAN Lists of Officers; AWM index of 1939–45 war personnel.

J HAYDON, Vol 1.

THOMSON, DONALD FINLAY FERGUSON (1901–1970), anthropologist, naturalist and photographer, was born on 26 June 1901 at Brighton, Victoria, the second of five children, to Mabelle Alice, *nee* Davies, and Harry Alexander Thomson. His mother, of Welsh extraction, and his father, from Dalkeith, Scotland, were both musicians who had come out to Australia from London. Thomson attended Scotch College before going on to the University of Melbourne where he took parts one, two and three of both zoology and botany, building on his strong childhood interest in natural history, with the aim of becoming a field naturalist working on collection building.

In 1925, Thomson graduated and in December of that year, he married Gladys Coleman, a fellow student from the year behind his. Although he was offered a fulltime post on the staff of the Department of Botany, he chose instead to take a better-paying cadetship at the Melbourne *Herald* while his wife finished her degree. Probably inspired by the way in which both **Sir Baldwin Spencer**, the recently retired Professor of Biology, and Professor Wood Jones, the university's Professor of Anatomy, had combined natural science with anthropology, he applied to the newly created Australian National Research Council's committee on anthropological research for field-work funds, but was told that he would first have to obtain some anthropological training. As a result, he moved to Sydney to become the first candidate for a Diploma in Anthropology, working under Professor Radcliffe-Brown.

Immediately upon graduation in March 1928, Thomson applied for and received funds from the Research Council to work among the peoples of Cape York and set out soon after. This was the first of three Cape York expeditions in which he was to make extensive ethnographic and natural history studies and collections resulting in numerous articles in both fields and his first book, *The Birds of Cape York Peninsula*. On return from his second expedition in 1929 he joined the staff of the Walter and Eliza Hall Institute of Research in Pathology and Medicine in Melbourne for two years to work on an antidote for tiger snake bites, and then in 1932 joined the University of Melbourne as a Research Fellow attached to the Department of Anatomy. With the move to the university and the completion of his Doctorate of Science in 1934, Thomson established his switch from the natural to the social sciences, although he never lost his interest in zoology.

It was while Thomson was at Aurukun on this third expedition in 1932–33 that he first heard of the conflict between Aborigines and outsiders in eastern Arnhem Land. Appalled by the talk of punitive expeditions as a reprisal for the death of three whites and five Japanese in the Caledon Bay area, he offered his services to the Commonwealth government, through the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, to go to Arnhem Land and use his anthropological expertise to establish the causes of conflict and work for its elimination. Although the offer was made in 1933 it was not until March 1935 that Thomson actually set out. A complex of factors delayed the government in taking up his offer, including the presence of the Church Missionary Society's 'Peace Expedition' in the area and a feeling that Thomson was too anthropological in his approach for what was seen as a law and order issue. However, his former employer, the *Herald*, and senior university people gave him strong support. This, combined with the outcry in southern Australia over the bias of **Judge Wells** in dealing with one of the five Aboriginal men involved in the killings, resulted in the government eventually taking up his offer. However, there were difficulties about his status: it was originally proposed that he should be a patrol officer under the Administrator of the Northern Territory, rather than be directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior in Canberra, but Thomson was not prepared to accept this, just as the government was not prepared to make him a Special Commissioner. Nor was he prepared to be made a Protector of Aborigines since this would place him under the Chief Protector whom he might wish to criticise in his reports. The final outcome was that he went under the aegis of the Minister.

Thomson remained in eastern Arnhem Land until October 1935, travelling by foot and boat around the coast making contact with many people, carrying out medical and anthropological work and emphasising the need for peace. In his interim report, he recommended, amongst other things, the absolute segregation of the reserve until a sound policy for Aborigines was established and that a uniform nationwide policy be adopted. On his return trip between June 1936 and September 1937, he carried out his major anthropological fieldwork, concentrating in the area to the immediate south of Milingimbi, but travelling widely. He was much concerned by the extent of the Japanese presence off the coast at this time and their violation of the reserve, but Canberra took little notice of his repeated communications on the topic. On his return, however, they asked him to address cabinet on Aboriginal affairs and, although he felt the government largely ignored his recommendations, they clearly had a substantial influence on the Honourable J McEwen's policy statement on Aborigines in the Territory, issued in February 1939.

By that time, Thomson was in England at Christ College, Cambridge. Early in 1938, he had set sail for England with his wife and twin sons, Peter and John, to take up a Rockefeller Fellowship. While in England he represented Australia at the International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology in Copenhagen and received the Welcome Gold Medal from the Royal Anthropological Institute for his 'application of modern scientific methods to problems of native administration'. In July 1939, he set out for the United States to make a survey of the administration of the North American Indians but the visit was cut short by the outbreak of war.

Thomson was recalled for military service and commissioned as a Flight Lieutenant in the Royal Australian Air Force. After 14 months in the Solomons, he returned to Australia and was appointed as Squadron Leader to plan and organise a Special Reconnaissance Unit of Arnhem Land Aborigines to help defend the eastern flank of Darwin in the event of Japanese landings. Early in 1942 he travelled around the coast in a small boat with four

European personnel and five Pacific Islanders to recruit 50 able bodied Aboriginal men from among those he had met previously, to organise them into a coast watching force reporting to a radio outpost station he later established at Caledon Bay. The men were taken to Katherine for training before being deployed along the coast. By the end of 1942, however, the immediate threat to Australia had gone and the force was disbanded in 1943. Thomson, by then a Wing Commander, was posted in Irian Jaya and charged with establishing the extent of Japanese infiltration of the area to the west of Merauke. During his second patrol in the area, villagers attacked his party and wounded him in his left arm and shoulder, resulting in him being invalided from service as permanently unfit in 1944. For his services in New Guinea, he was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE).

The war not only affected Thomson's health, but also coming on top of the long absences from his family in previous years, eventually led to the end of his first marriage in 1954. On return to civilian life, he rejoined the university and settled down to writing. He produced two long accounts of his time in Arnhem Land, receiving the Cuthbert Peel Grant of the Royal Geographical Society in 1948 for geographical work in Arnhem Land and, in the following year, the Harbison-Higinbotham Prize of the University of Melbourne for his book, *Economic Structure and the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle in Arnhem Land*. In 1950, he received his doctorate in anthropology from the University of Cambridge. In the following year he received the Patron's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, and in 1952 the John Lewis Memorial Gold Medal from the Royal Geographical Society of Australia, both for his contributions to the geographical exploration and knowledge of Arnhem Land; and in 1953 the Rivers Memorial Medal for field-work, from the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Immediately after the war Thomson had become involved in opposition to the Woomera Rocket Range on the grounds of the disruption it would cause to the 1800 or so Aborigines still living out of regular contact with whites. Although the campaign was unsuccessful, it undoubtedly focused his attention on the desert people and he determined to work with them, as they were now the only people living beyond the frontier of European settlement. It was 10 years before he was able to realise this ambition, but between 1957 and 1965, he led three expeditions into the Western Desert to work with a few Pintubi families, documenting their material culture and diet. In 1961, he became a founding member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, serving on its Interim Council and in 1962, he was appointed to a personal chair at the University of Melbourne. At the same time, he was actively engaged as a member of the Aborigines' Welfare Board of Victoria, to which he had been appointed as a special member, but resigned in 1967 after ten years of frustration.

Thomson was a rugged and determined individualist with a somewhat austere nature, a sensitivity to criticism and a tendency to passionate commitments. These traits, combined with a penchant for dealing only with the highest authorities, made him a difficult and demanding colleague to whom few were indifferent. In the absence of a full-scale department of anthropology at the University of Melbourne, for which he was partly responsible, he remained isolated from the mainstream of the profession in the post-war years. It was, therefore, a surprise to the profession to discover, following his death at home on 12 May 1970, the extraordinary richness and scope of the ethnographic and photographic collection he had built up. Its importance resides not only in its size and comprehensiveness—5700 artefacts, 10 580 negatives and 4 500 pages of field notes—but in the superb documentation and the complex interrelationships between all aspects of the collection. It is undoubtedly the single most important ethnographic collection in Australia and an important part of the heritage of both black and white Australians.

His twin sons from his first marriage and three daughters and a son from his second marriage to Dorita Maria McColl survived Thomson. He was cremated and his ashes scattered over Caledon Bay.

N Peterson, 'Donald Thomson: A Biographical Sketch', in N Peterson (ed) *Donald Thomson in Arnhem Land*, 1983; H Scheffler, 'Published Work of Donald Thomson', in P D F Thomson, *Kinship and Behaviour in North Queensland*, 1972; C Hogarth, 'Donald Thomson in Irian Jaya', Grad Dip Thesis, James Cook University, 1984.

NICOLAS PETERSON, Vol 1.

THOMSON, JAMES MILN (JIM) (1921–), scientist and educator, was born in Perth, Western Australia, on 14 March 1921, the son of John Thomson and his wife Lillian, *nee* Speller. Educated at Christ Church Grammar School in Perth and the University of Western Australia, he graduated from the latter institution as Bachelor of Science (Honours) and later Master of Science and Doctor of Science. On 19 February 1944, he married Diana, *nee* Gregg. They had two sons and two daughters. Following his graduation Thomson had a distinguished career as a marine biologist with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation between 1945 and 1963. From 1963 to 1965, he was Director of the Marineland Oceanarium and thereafter until 1986 he held a series of senior positions at the University of Queensland, including Professor of Zoology, Dean of the Faculty of Science and Pro Vice-Chancellor (Biological Sciences). In 1986, he was made Emeritus Professor. He also belonged to various councils and committees concerned with education and science and was the author of many publications.

From 1986 to 1988 Thomson served as Warden of the University College of the Northern Territory, an institution created as the result of a decision by the Northern Territory Government in August 1985 that it would fund a university college that could commence teaching in 1987. The College would initially operate from the former Darwin Primary School and offer Arts and Science degrees from the University of Queensland. He took on the task of establishing the College with great energy and enthusiasm and proved most effective. The difficulties were many. These included hostility both from sections of the staff at the Darwin Institute of Technology and from Commonwealth authorities concerned with higher education.

In spite of such problems, he recruited highly qualified academic staff and supervised the Territory Government's conversion of buildings at the former Darwin Hospital so that they could be used by the University College. Initial student enrolments were higher than anticipated, funding was adequate and before long, the College's work was generally held in high regard. While some local resentment towards the College remained, Thomson worked hard to enhance its image in the Territory. He and his wife were also very active in various community organisations. As an administrator, he believed that academic staff should have as much time as possible to undertake teaching and research. This meant that he made many key decisions himself or in consultation with his two Deans. Most staff members were happy to accept this situation and they strongly supported Thomson. He worked hard at establishing good personal relationships with staff. Although a scientist, he actively supported the humanities and social sciences and had a special interest in history, even to the extent of attending an important academic historians' conference during a period of recreation leave.

As a result of the 'Dawkins revolution' in Commonwealth higher education, by 1988 it was clear that there would be a merger between the University College and the Darwin Institute of Technology. Thomson was heavily involved in the complex negotiations that finally resulted in the establishment of the Northern Territory University in January 1989. To the disappointment of many, he was not appointed Interim Vice-Chancellor of the new institution. Instead, he became Deputy Vice-Chancellor. He worked as hard as he had at the University College but he was obviously less comfortable at the University, with its numerous committees and factions, than he was at the smaller University College. He also had little sympathy for some ways in which Australian universities were now required to operate and made no secret of his dislike of the application of techniques and concepts from the corporate sector in tertiary education. Many staff both at the Northern Territory University and other universities in Australia shared his concerns but they were powerless to change the situation. There was widespread regret when Thomson finally retired at the end of 1990. He and his wife moved to Tasmania but made frequent trips back to Darwin, where they had many friends and where he worked on a history of tertiary education in the Northern Territory.

Thomson received many honours and awards, including Honorary Doctorates of Science from both the University of Queensland and the Northern Territory University. In 1989, he was made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM).

D Carment, personal files, 1986–1995; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1995.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

THOMSON, LACHLAN ARMSTRONG (LACHIE) (1933–), Army officer and first Commanding Officer of the 121st Light Anti-Aircraft Battery, was born on 5 October 1933 and commissioned on 14 December 1955. He saw service with the 111th Light Anti-Aircraft Battery (1958) and the 11th Field Regiment (1958–1960). He was promoted to Captain in 1959, and was an Honorary Aide-de-Camp (ADC) to the Governor of Queensland for a year in 1959–1960. He had recently completed a posting in Thailand as ADC to the South East Asia Treaty Organisation's Chief Military Planning Officer. A notable clarinet player, he was on friendly terms with the King of Thailand who shared 'Lachie' Thompson's enthusiasm for jazz. He was Battery Commander, Headquarters Battery, 4th Field Regiment, at Wacol just outside of Brisbane in August 1964 when he was promoted Major and appointed to raise and command the 121st Light Anti-Aircraft Battery.

In response to the unsettled situation to our near north and particularly following Indonesia's declaration of Confrontation (*Konfrontasi*) with the Federation of Malaysia (FOM), a proposal was made in June 1964 to HQ Northern Territory Command by Lieutenant Colonel **Jack Haydon**, the Commanding Officer of the Command and Staff Training Unit in Darwin, that an independent rifle company be raised in Darwin, capable of conducting low level infantry operations. During a visit to the Northern Territory in the latter half of 1964, the Chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General John Wilton, approved Colonel Haydon's submission. With an escalation of activities to the northwest, however, attention was instead directed towards raising a Light Anti-Aircraft (LAA) Battery to defend the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Radar installation at Lee Point. The Commander Northern Territory Command, Lieutenant Colonel Bob Millar, suggested that Lieutenant Colonel Haydon take command of the battery, but Haydon did not have the time to raise and command a new unit as well as maintain his civilian employment commitments. Thus the 121st Light Anti-Aircraft Battery (CMF) came to be raised in late 1964 by a Regular Army artillery officer, Lachlan Thomson.

The Battery was to have the responsibility of defending the RAAF Control and Reporting Unit (CRU) at Lee Point and, in addition, Thomson was to train all Regular Army and Navy personnel in Darwin so that they could man the guns in the event of a situation arising short of a general mobilisation of the Reserves. Thomson took command of his battery on 16 September 1964, as a temporary Major, and was promoted substantively on 14 December 1965. He had a Regular Army cadre of 22 men with Warrant Officer Class 2 (WO2) 'Sid' Penhaligon as Battery Sergeant-Major. For most of his staff, this was their first visit to Darwin, and they were somewhat surprised at the prevailing attitude amongst the Service personnel—the civilian population was well aware of the threat that existed but amongst the military personnel, the impression he gained was that of 'Sleepy Hollow'. Thomson commented, 'Until the formation of the battery there were no operational Army units and the prevailing atmosphere was one of *Mañana, Mañana, Mañana*'.

Thomson received a full battery's worth of equipment, four International P3 and four Land Rovers, and a host of other equipment taken out of mobilisation stocks, and the battery was armed with twelve 40mm Bristol Bofors guns. By November, the battery had taken 88 recruits on strength, all officers had completed a course conducted by the Air Defence Wing of the School of Artillery, and potential non-commissioned officers (NCOs) had been

identified for a promotion course to be run in early 1965. Following the lessons learnt in the Second World War—that gun pits in Darwin would flood during the wet season—the gun sites were prepared as raised platforms surrounded by 44-gallon drums filled with earth. Bulldozers and graders of the 5th Airfield Construction Squadron RAAF cleared sites and firing arcs. They held their first camp at Leanyer Swamp in May and a Mustang from the Illawarra Flying School towed a drogue for target practice, while three RAAF ground-power units were used to enable continuous firing of the ‘Bristolised’ Bofors throughout the day. The then Administrator, **Roger Dean**, himself a former gunner Lieutenant, visited the gunners in the field and was made an Honorary Member of the Battery.

By the end of 1965, the Citizens’ Military Force officers well understood their role and the junior NCOs were passing their Sergeants’ examinations, and Lachie Thomson considered his Posting Order with mixed feelings. He had the distinction of having played a significant role in Australian military history, commanding an anti-aircraft battery in Darwin during 1964–65, potentially the most explosive years seen in the north of Australia for two decades, with not only *Konfrontasi* but also an attempted Communist coup on 30 September 1965. Thomson was posted to the RAAF School of Languages on 9 January 1966 and subsequently retired from the Army with the rank of Colonel. He was succeeded as Battery Commander in Darwin by Major Des Ireland; a decade later, in the wake of Cyclone Tracy, the 121st LAA Battery was disbanded.

Lachie Thomson later said of his service: ‘Raising the battery and all the drama that went with it, particularly in the early stages, was one of the most interesting periods in my nearly 40 years of service. I learned a great deal about the need for teamwork and above all about the unselfishness of reservists who gladly give up weekends and holidays when others are having fun, to do a very worthwhile job for their unit and the country’.

The Army List of Officers of the Australian Military Forces, 1970; *The Corps List*, 1967; personal communication Lieutenant Colonel L J Haydon MBE ED*; Colonel LA Thomson (retd), address to the Royal Australian Artillery Association (NT), 26 November 1994; personal communication Colonel LA Thomson (retd).

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

THORAK, KLAUS EBERHARD (1921–1960), soldier and veterinarian, was born in Neukolin-Berlin, Germany, on 28 April 1921. He served as an officer in the German Army during the Second World War. He married Edith Huttebraucker of Aachen, Germany and they later had a son, Rolf, born in 1944. After the war, Thorak studied veterinary science in Germany. In 1954, the Thorak family immigrated to Australia, sailing from Genoa, Italy, on SS *Surriento*. The ship berthed in Fremantle, Western Australia, on 10 November 1954.

In 1955, Thorak was employed as a government veterinary officer in the Northern Territory. He and his family moved to Darwin, where they lived in Fannie Bay. Thorak was later promoted to the position of District Veterinary Officer, and was directly responsible for all animal health matters in the Northern Division of the Territory. Apart from routine involvement in the pleuro pneumonia eradication program and the supervision of many small slaughterhouses operating at the time, Thorak played an important role in the revival of the live export trade of shipping cattle and buffalo to Hong Kong and Manila. He also treated privately owned domestic animals, the Darwin area having no practising private veterinarian at the time.

Thorak was a popular character, highly regarded by his fellow workers and members of the community. He was easy going but, if provoked, could use his great physical strength to solve a disagreement. In one incident, a large waterside worker attempted to avoid the footbath, installed for quarantine reasons at the foot of the gangplank leading to the cattle carrier moored at Stokes Hill. Confronted by Thorak, the ‘wharfie’ found himself picked up and carried along the wharf, where he was dumped unceremoniously into the footbath. Thorak took a keen interest in the development of the Northern Territory live cattle export trade, and travelled regularly to Manila and Hong Kong on behalf of the Northern Territory Administration.

The Thorak family also enjoyed travel to Asian destinations. In January 1960, they planned to spend a few days leave in Portuguese Timor. Edith Thorak did not want to make this particular trip but was persuaded by her husband and son to join them. The Thoraks boarded a Portuguese aircraft at Darwin Airport on 26 January 1960. The 14-seater aircraft had nine people on board. The weather off the north coast of Australia during the monsoon season can change rapidly. About 150 kilometres north of Darwin the aeroplane struck turbulence and the pilot reported several large thunderheads approaching. This was the last contact with the aircraft. At about the same time residents of the Garden Point Mission on Melville Island heard an aeroplane flying low over the island. Shortly afterwards the aeroplane is believed to have hit massive turbulence and either disintegrated or plunged into the sea.

A massive air sea rescue was mounted for the missing aeroplane. Royal Australian Air Force aircraft joined local aircraft in the biggest sea search operation in the Territory’s history. At one stage, there were 10 aircraft in the air. The task was difficult, with pilots and crews having to cope with poor weather and almost nil visibility. Two days after the crash a dinghy was sighted several kilometres off Cape Van Diemen by a searching aircraft. The aircraft circled the dinghy until it could be picked up by the schooner *Kypris* and towed to Snake Bay. The dinghy was one of the self-inflating types used on the missing aircraft and would have been the only thing to float if the aeroplane had broken up. It was empty and there was no sign it had been used. Although hopes were held that some survivors might have reached the shore, these hopes soon faded. Apart from some debris washed up on Bathurst and Melville Islands, nothing of the lost aircraft and its passengers was ever found.

As a tribute to Thorak, the quarantine and holding reserve south of Darwin acquired in 1956 to hold cattle for the live export market was named Thorak’s Reserve. The live cattle venture did not flourish and the land was used for various trials and experiments until 1976. In 1978, the area was acquired for other purposes, part of the reserve being proposed as a cemetery. When the cemetery was completed in the 1980s it was named Thorak Cemetery.

TIETKENS, WILLIAM HENRY (1844–1933), surveyor, explorer and prospector, was born on 30 August 1844 at Ball's Pond, Islington, London, the son of William Henry Tietkens, chemist, and his wife Emily, *nee* Dovers. He was educated at Christ's Hospital until June 1859 and immediately afterward left for Australia in the vessel *Alma*, accompanied by his mother's friend George A T Woods. They reached Adelaide in September of that year and in 1860 went to the Castlemaine diggings in Victoria. There he worked as a newsboy, shop assistant and cowherd and came to love the bush.

Soon abandoned by Woods, he moved to Melbourne and worked for three years as ticket clerk with the Hobson's Bay Railway. In 1865, he spent two months with his old school friend **Ernest Giles** assessing the pastoral potential of the upper Darling. Apart from a droving trip to Adelaide, and three months on the Gippsland goldfields, he remained in western New South Wales and northern Victoria, working mainly as a station-hand. However, he did penetrate 320 kilometres beyond the Darling, opening up new country with a party from Corona Station.

In January 1873, Tietkens accepted an invitation from Ernest Giles to accompany him on Giles's second attempt to reach Perth from Central Australia. The expedition left the junction of the Alberga and Stevenson rivers on 4 August with Giles as leader, Tietkens as second-in-command, Alfred Gibson, and an Aborigine, Jimmy Andrews. Following the Musgrave Ranges westward they headed for Mount Olga, which Giles had seen and named on his previous expedition. Having observed the tracks of **W C Gosse** and his party, Giles and Tietkens hurried on in a south-westerly direction to the Mann Ranges, discovered little more than a month earlier by Gosse. Here they skirted the Tomkinson Ranges and later established a depot they named 'Fort Mueller' in Gosse's Cavenagh Range. From here, one degree within Western Australia, the party looked for water to the westward but without success. From a point ninety-six kilometres west of where the Warburton Mission now stands the party had to return to the depot. They later established another depot to the north at 'Sladen Water' in the Petermann Range. While Tietkens repaired equipment in the camp, Giles and Gibson continued westward toward the Alfred and Marie Range and it was here tragedy struck, in that, in an endeavour to get back to the depot after Gibson's horse dropped dead, Gibson strayed from the track and perished in the desert which bears his name. The party had to forthwith return to Adelaide, but such was Giles's confidence in the ability of his old school-friend that he invited him to become second in command on the third and successful journey from South Australia to Perth.

Tietkens came from Melbourne in 1875 to join Giles and his party and on 6 May, they, with Jess Young, Alexander Ross, Peter Nichols, Saleh, an Afghan camel driver, and Tommy an Aborigine, left Beltana via Port Augusta for Perth. On this journey, Tietkens proved his ability as an explorer by mounting difficult trips in search of water while his leader searched in other directions. After some six months, the party arrived in Perth. During the triumphal procession into the city Giles had to lead his camel whilst Tietkens rode at what appeared to be the head of the party, thus receiving the congratulation of the crowd. When Giles decided to return to Central Australia by a more northerly route than the successful east-west crossing Tietkens excused he and returned to Adelaide by sea.

Here he resumed his studies for the South Australian Licensed Surveyors examination, which he completed in 1878. He visited England in 1877 and upon his return to Australia worked as a surveyor in the Richmond and Windsor district in New South Wales. He sought valiantly in 1878–80 to open up pastoral country near Maralinga, South Australia, but was unsuccessful. Louis Leisler of Glasgow, whom he had met in 1877, financed this enterprise. He returned to surveying in New South Wales, and married Mary Ann Long on 14 June 1882 at Richmond. For a time after this, he worked as a station-hand and prospected for silver near the Barrier Ranges.

Tietkens was a foundation member of the South Australian Branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia and in 1886 gave a lecture to the Society, shrewdly calculated to secure command of an expedition to the Lake Amadeus District. He argued that the lake must have a supply channel coming from a chain of hills he had seen to the northwest of it in 1873. This might open a reliable route to the northwest settlements. He secured the position as leader of the Central Australian Exploring and Prospecting Association's Expedition. The party consisted of David Beeton, Frederik Warman, black-tracker 'Billy' of the Alice Springs police, and a small Aboriginal boy called Weei. Twelve camels were to carry the men and their supplies, which were to last four months, and Tietkens had a camera to record prominent features of the journey.

The expedition left Bond Springs homestead near Alice Springs on 14 March 1889 and travelled along the north side of the MacDonnell Range. Two weeks later, the camels were in need of water, and the party was fortunate in finding a permanent soakage at the foot of Mount Sonder. On 31 March, a cattle track led them into Glen Helen Station which had been established in 1882 by a pastoral company called Stokes and Grant, and in which **Dr Chewings** was a partner. While the party rested, Tietkens climbed Mount Sonder to get a better view of the country to the west. He also inspected some silver workings and prospected over a wide area, but found nothing of significance.

On 16 April Tietkens bade farewell to Mr McDonald, the manager, and recorded in his journal, 'Many and various have been the attentions that we have received from this kind-hearted gentleman during our stay near his homestead...' The party headed southwest to Giles's Glen Edith. On 3 May, Tietkens and Weei left the depot to search for water to the southwest. They took eight days' rations, knowing from Giles's diary that water would not easily be found. However, it rained on the first night out and they were trapped in their tent for four days. Tietkens wrote on 5 May, 'I deem myself the most fortunate of travellers to have heard the sound of running water in such a country as this.' They returned at once to Glen Edith and with the whole party set off for some high hills to the

west, which were named Cleland Hills. With the whole country saturated, Tietkens found it safe to travel without reconnaissance ahead. On 18 May he stood on a high sand-hill and saw a high range on the horizon to the north north east, the highest point of which he named Mount Lyell Brown, after the government geologist in Adelaide.

By 26 May, the base of the range was reached and sufficient water for their needs was easily obtained. They climbed the highest peak the following day but were disappointed by the expanse of country that met their eyes. It appeared to be a flat desolation of spinifex and sand. The ranges he named after Lord Kintore, the new governor of South Australia, and a high peak after Mr Louis Leisler of Glasgow. He was bitterly disappointed at not finding better country, and lamented in his journal, 'My wanderings through dreary and desolate regions to find the goal of my long cherished hopes in a still more desolate waste was a sad frustration...' The party packed up to move on to the south, but were halted in camp for two days by heavy rain. The type of country he traversed may have disappointed Tietkens, but no other Centralian explorer travelled with such ease through the usually arid land. Having seen a large salt lake from the top of the Kintore Range, the explorers set off to ascertain its size. They decided to round the lake, which was named Lake MacDonald for the energetic secretary of the Victorian Branch of the Royal Geographic Society. By 8 June the size of the lake was determined, so the party headed for home. Their immediate plan was to explore the western end of Lake Amadeus which until then had not been defined. By 14 June, they were within sight of Blood's Range, named by Giles. In the distance, Tietkens could discern the outlines of Mount Olga. On 27 June, the group reached the western end of Lake Amadeus where it is only about three kilometres wide. The expedition examined the northern and southern shores for about thirty kilometres and determined that the lake as described by Giles was not as large as he had thought; Giles had not noticed the land bridge between Lake Neale and Lake Amadeus when he had tried to reach Mount Unapproachable from the east in 1872. So thorough was Tietkens's examination that his outline of the lakes remained more accurate than other maps until aerial surveys could determine the true outline.

From the southern shore of Lake Amadeus, Tietkens struck south across the spinifex and sandhills for Mount Olga, and the men camped at Gosse's Felix Spring for a week. The party was kept busy prospecting around the domes of the Olgas but found nothing of significance, so on 8 July departed for Ayers Rock. On the following day, they reached the base, where the party gazed in awe at the immensity of the rock, as Tietkens had fifteen years before.

He was able to identify the sites where he and Giles, and before them Gosse, had camped, but regretfully recorded in his journal that the tree marked by Gosse had been destroyed by fire. Within a few days, they travelled on toward Mount Connor, which they reached on 14 July. Seeing some salt lakes to the north, Tietkens deviated from his easterly route to check them out, and to inspect the low range of hills some thirty kilometres from the eastern limit of Lake Amadeus. Having climbed them, and had a good look at the country round about, he named them the Kernot Ranges, for Professor Kernot of the University of Melbourne.

Having gathered the usual specimens of rocks and plants, the party headed for the Erldunda Homestead and were entertained there by **Peter Warburton** and a Mr Tomlin. They were the guests of Warburton for ten days and no doubt, the two explorers were able to compare notes on their various expeditions. As Billy knew the country, in that area very well he was able to guide them to the Overland Telegraph Line and they reached Charlotte Waters Telegraph Station without incident on 15 August 1889.

During his journey, Tietkens had collected many plants. Among them were seven new species and his geological specimens enabled the South Australian geologist to compile a more detailed geological sketch of the country between Alice Springs and the Western Australian border. The government awarded him 250 Pounds for his services and the Royal Geographical Society elected him a fellow.

Upon his return, home he resumed surveying for the New South Wales Department of Lands until he retired in 1909. He lived in Eastwood, Sydney, until he died of cancer on 19 April 1933 and was buried in the Field of Mars Cemetery, Ryde. In his report to the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch, Dr R H Pulleine, the president in 1933–34 said, 'From the time he began his exploration work in 1872 until the time of his death Tietkens was a staunch advocate of the possibilities of immense tracts of Central Australia. During the greater part of the period from 1865 to 1872, he was engaged in pioneering work beyond the Darling River. With Ernest Giles, he penetrated the interior of the Continent and endured many hardships. He also took part in other expeditions, but the last one, which proved of the greatest value in adding to the knowledge of Central Australia, was undertaken by him in 1889. He was held in high esteem, not only in this State, but also in the Commonwealth and beyond its shores.' His most useful work lay in defining the features, establishing the worth, and initiating white exploitation of the country between the tracks of the great explorers. He published numerous papers in scientific and geographical journals, and his *Experience in the Life of an Australian Explorer* (1919) is his chief autobiographical source. He was one of the last of the old school of explorers.

E Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889; E Giles, *The Discovery and Exploration of Australia. Land and Sea Expeditions, 1813–1901*, 1970; L Green, *Australian Explorers: Ernest Giles*, 1963; *PRGSSA*, vol 34, 1933–34.

J R and T J FLEMING, Vol 1.

TJINTJA-WARA: see **TJINTJI-WARA**

TJINTJI-WARA, also **TJINTJA-WARA**, **CHINCHI-WARA**, **CHINCY-WORRA** and **CHINCHEWARAA**, (also known as **ANNIE**) (c1860–c1950), Aboriginal leader and a Mantuntara woman, was born in about 1860 in the Walker Creek and Palmer River Country some 250 kilometres south west of Alice Springs. Her father was Patila. Her totem was Nyarua, Horsefield's bronze cuckoo, a bird with a distinctive and often repeated whistle.

Her earliest memories were of Ilara waterhole, a large spring fed permanent water on the Palmer River. It is possible that her father had decided that the family should retreat to the permanent water during the severe drought of the mid 1860s. Here also, for a time, lived her extended family—her grandparents, her further classificatory father Lunkuta-tukuta (a medicine man), her mother's brother Ngatu who often cared for her, her uncles Ikintapi and Mutu-tani, and their families. It is likely that Tjintji-wara's baby brother was born here.

As with other Aboriginal children she learnt of the evil spirits of the country, the demons of the night, known variously as pankalanga, erintja and mamu.

As she grew older, and the seasons began to improve, the family travelled westerly to various named waters, including Wanmara (Bagot's Creek, not far from the well known Watarrka [King's Canyon]). Tjintji-wara became a skilled tracker and food gatherer, and delighted in her father's hunting skills: at one particular rock hole he invariably speared emus.

However, this was a dangerous period too. Inter tribal guerrilla warfare was being waged, with groups of blood avengers coming like the evil spirits of the night. Her uncle, Mutu-tani, a big man, was a legendary leader of the local blood avengers, and also a powerful medicine man. As with her other medicine man relation, Lunkuta-tukulta, he was able to work both protective magic and evil magic, the latter assisting to overcome blood avenger enemies. It is little wonder that, in this environment, Tjintji-wara also became expert in the use of the woman's pointing bone.

The blood feud raged for several years from about 1875 and claimed between 150 and 200 people. Tjintji-wara's grandfather was the first of her family to die, 'simply riddled with spears'. At much the same time, her mother killed her baby son, an act that greatly angered Tjintji-wara's father, yet which he also understood. In killing her son, she had given the family a greater chance of survival. Then soon afterwards the marauding blood avengers killed her father.

Tjintji-wara and her mother left the places of death and sought more peaceful home country. It is likely that, with the blood letting over by the late 1870s, she now legitimately avoided marriage to her promised husband, Yuna, and instead married Merilkna, who had long been 'chasing' her. Now, though, there were great changes coming. Between 1870 and 1885 the Overland Telegraph had been built, cattle stations had been formed, Hermannsburg Mission was established, and the explorers [Giles](#) and [Chewings](#) had traversed Mantuntara country. The years 1885 and 1886 saw Tempe Downs cattle station established on the Walker Creek, with a man called Thornton as Manager, and 6 000 head of cattle suddenly drinking at and fouling the main waters. The Mantuntara men retaliated by spearing the cattle.

Tjintji-wara was aware of these changes, through stories, her own sightings of white men and their animals, and probably through tentative tasting of some of the strange foods. However, like many of her kinfolk she kept away from the stations for a time. Then one day, probably in 1887, she and her mother suddenly came upon a murdered warrior; he had been killed for seriously transgressing the men's sacred Law. The murdered man resembled her uncle Mutu-tani, and the sight greatly shocked Tjintji-wara. She decided to get away from the place of death by visiting the new cattle station.

By this time Tjintji-wara, who was never to bear children, was a strikingly handsome, blonde haired woman. Thornton, the Manager, gave her 'plenty flour and bread' and, as he did with some other young women, locked her in a room. Thereafter he raped them all but, in the process, became enamoured of Tjintji-wara. She responded to his advances and for a time became his 'wife'.

As the cattle killing increased, police patrols became more frequent, and from 1889 until 1891 Mounted Constable [Willshire](#), was based at nearby Boggy Hole Police Camp. Patrols under his leadership, with upwards of six 'native constables' assisting, resulted in the deaths of Mantuntara men (including Tjintji-wara's rejected prospective husband, Yuna). At this time, he recorded Tjintji-wara's name as Chincy-wara, whereas Mounted Constable South recorded it as Chinchewarra.

When native constables murdered two Aborigines in February 1891, and Willshire ordered that their bodies be burnt, the actions caused revulsion. His fellow officer, Mounted Constable South of Alice Springs, arrested Willshire. One of those who assisted him in his investigations, and later travelled to Port Augusta as a witness, was Tjintji-wara. (Conflicting Aboriginal evidence meant that Willshire was found 'not guilty', but he was not permitted to return to Central Australia. As with other Aboriginal witnesses, Tjintji-wara was returned to her home country.)

A new police station was established at Illamurta in 1893, and a relatively short period afterwards, Thornton left his job as Manager of Tempe Downs. Tjintji-wara returned to her traditional way of life, almost certainly becoming the wife of a man only recorded as 'Friday'. As 'Friday' had become a notorious cattle killer, he enlisted Tjintji-wara's and other people's help in harassing stock and then killed the animals. Constable [Cowle](#) of Illamurta recorded Tjintji-wara's involvement in such cattle killing in a report of May 1896.

Time passed and a kind of truce was established, with but infrequent spearing of cattle over the next two decades. A terrible drought then set in, commencing in 1927. So severe was it that many Aborigines, Tjintji-wara amongst them, migrated to Hermannsburg Mission. Here, in 1929, Geza Roheim, the first psychoanalytically trained anthropologist, interviewed her. He described her as 'a very lively, talkative old woman', and encouraged her to record her dreams and aspects associated with evil magic. He further described her in the following words: 'Old Chinchi-wara is decidedly what we should call a "chief" among the women. Her prestige is undoubtedly connected with her knowledge of evil magic.'

Roheim's perception that this knowledge was 'in full keeping with her personality' and that she rejoiced 'in cruelty inflicted on others' ignores the fact that he had encouraged the stories, which he clearly understood derived from the traumatic experiences of her youth.

When the drought broke, Tjintji-wara returned to her Nyarua totem country. All was well for a time, then she became ill, so the Manager of Tempe Downs arranged for her to be assisted the 150 kilometres to Hermannsburg Mission. A few weeks later, he and other stockmen were astounded to see a determined figure striding towards them. Tjintji-wara had rejected the Mission. 'Too much soup! Too much Jesus!', she declared.

As she grew older her eyesight began to fail, but she remained a handsome woman, with a flowing walk.

Intelligent, active, tough, alert, a storehouse of knowledge of her people's country and history—Tjintji-wara was all of these, with a sense of humour too. It is believed that she died in her home country in about 1950.

R Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, 1987; D J Mulvaney, *Encounters in Place*, 1989; G Roheim, 'Dreams of Women in Central Australia', in *The Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement*, vol 24, Part 1, 1950, *Children of the Desert II*, 1988; T G H Strehlow, *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, 1969; W H Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, 1891, *A Thrilling Tale of Real Life in the Wilds of Australia*, 1895; police journal records of the period; interviews with B Bowman.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 2*.

TJUNGURRAYI, GWOJA (ONE POUND JIMMY) (c1890–1965), Walbiri tribesman, was born in his tribal lands in the region of Coniston Station, Central Australia, probably in the early 1890s.

He was a survivor of the infamous Coniston Massacre following the murder of the dingo trapper Frederick Brooks at Brooks' Soak in 1928. His father was taken prisoner by Mounted Constable **Murray**, but escaped and took his family across what became the Stuart Highway into the Arltunga area in Alyawerra land. From here, One Pound Jimmy gradually moved westwards and settled at Napperby. At Napperby One Pound Jimmy's wife Long Rose Nangala gave birth to Jimmy's three sons, Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri (born around 1929), and Clifford Upamburra (Possum) Tjapaltjarri (born around 1932), with Immanuel Rutjinama Tjapaltjarri somewhere between. The family lived a traditional lifestyle. Though this was not Walbiri country, One Pound Jimmy had many connections to the land through his Mt Allan Dreamings.

In the late 1930s, ration depots were set up, including one at Jay Creek, and One Pound Jimmy and his family gradually gravitated towards Jay Creek. The family trapped dingoes and sold the scalps to the depot. They supplemented their hunter-gatherer diet with food from the government depot, especially during the harsh drought experienced in the late 1930s. It was at this time that Jimmy probably started the carving and sale of boomerangs to whites, and obtained the name 'One Pound Jimmy', which was the price he put on all his pieces.

It was in the 1940s, when the family moved from Jay Creek to the nearby Hamilton Downs Station, that One Pound Jimmy was 'discovered'. He was already sought after by anthropologists, including **Ted Strehlow** and **C P Mountford**, as a guide, since his knowledge of the countryside and of its traditional associations was unsurpassed. In the mid 1940s Charles H Holmes, the editor of *Walkabout* magazine, met Jimmy at the Spotted Tiger mica mine east of Alice Springs. He described Jimmy as 'as fine a specimen of Aboriginal manhood as you would wish to see. Tall and lithe, with a particularly well-developed torso, broad forehead, strong features, and the superb carriage of the unspoilt primitive native'. A *Walkabout* photographer was sent out to capture this 'noble savage' on film, and One Pound Jimmy's photographs appeared in *Walkabout* (also on the cover of the September 1950 issue), and on countless travel posters and brochures that circulated worldwide. The romantic image was an instant success, so much so that Jimmy's photograph was selected for the Australian eight and a half Pence and two Shillings and six Pence stamps, which circulated between 1950 and 1966, and which sold over 99 million during this period.

His second son Immanuel Rutjinama took holy orders to become a Lutheran pastor. The youngest boy has today achieved as great a fame as his father—Clifford Possum's paintings are sought after world wide, and are hanging in the world's most famous art galleries and museums.

One Pound Jimmy died as he lived, out in the bush on 'walkabout', on 28 March 1965. He was probably over 70 at the time of his death. He was awarded a signal honour for an Aborigine of his time, obituaries in both Northern Territory newspapers—front page heading in the *Centralian Advocate*, and page 2 (with photograph) in the *Northern Territory News*.

Centralian Advocate, 29 April, 1965; V Johnson, *The Art of Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri*, 1994; D Lockwood, *We, the Aborigines*, 1963; *Northern Territory News*, 28 April 1965; *Walkabout*, 1 September 1950, 1 May 1958.

MICHAEL LOOS, *Vol 3*.

TODD, (Sir) CHARLES (1826–1910), astronomer, meteorologist and builder of the Overland Telegraph, was born on 7 July 1826 at Islington, London, the eldest son of Griffith Todd, grocer, of Greenwich. He was educated locally. In 1841, he became an astronomical computer at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, and from 1848 to 1854 was a junior assistant at Cambridge University Observatory. At Cambridge he assisted in the determination of the longitude between the two observatories by telegraphic means—a technique he used later in readjusting the boundary, 141st meridian, between Victoria and South Australia, in favour of the latter. In 1854, he returned to Greenwich as Assistant Astronomer and Superintendent of the Galvanic Department responsible for sending time signals throughout England and so began his lifelong interest in electrical engineering and telecommunications.

In 1855 at the request of the South Australian government, Sir George Airey, the Astronomer Royal, nominated Todd to superintend the colony's electric telegraph. Appointed with an annual salary of 400 Pounds, Todd reached Adelaide in the ship *Irene* on 4 November 1855. Todd immediately saw the importance, not only of linking Adelaide with Melbourne and Sydney, but also of linking Australia with England. Despite numerous proposals, however, nothing eventuated until 1870 when the British Australia Telegraph Company agreed to extend the cable

from its terminus in Java to Darwin, provided a landline was constructed from Port Augusta to Darwin by January 1872.

Todd, appointed Postmaster-General and Superintendent of Telegraphs for South Australia in January 1870, was given charge of the construction of approximately 3 200 kilometres of line through virtually unknown country where the main source of topographic information was the journals of **John McDouall Stuart**. Todd divided the work into three main sections on which work was to proceed simultaneously. The southern section, from Port Augusta to the Macumba River south of Charlotte Waters, and the northern section from Darwin to Tennant Creek, were let to private contractors. For the difficult central section, he appointed **John Ross**, leader of an advance exploration party, to blaze a route provided with water and timber for telegraph poles. The central section was completed on time, but the northern section proved more troublesome as a result of the basic supply problem, the onset of the wet season and navigation problems of the Roper River.

By June 1872, the only section of the telegraph not built was between Daly Waters and Tennant Creek, but it was bridged by a pony express, and the first through cablegrams were transmitted on 23 June. The landline, a single iron wire linking ten repeating stations between Darwin and Port Augusta, was completed on 22 August and, after repairs were made to the submarine cable, in Todd's words, 'the Australian Colonies were connected with the grand electric chain which unites all the nations of the earth'.

Todd, who was made a Companion of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (CMG) in November, assumed most of the honour for the telegraph but the excellent and essential field work of explorers like Stuart and the government surveyors, **G McMinn**, **W W Mills**, A T Woods, **R R Knuckey** and W Harvey, who were in charge of the various construction parties, also needs to be remembered and credited to them.

In 1885, Todd attended an international telegraphic conference in Berlin and during the following year, on a visit to England, was made an honorary Master of Arts of Cambridge University. This honour, his election as a fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1889 and his award of Knight Commander of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (KCMG) gave him great satisfaction. He was a fellow also of the Royal Astronomical Society, the Royal Meteorological Society, and of the Society of Electrical Engineers.

In addition to his chief duties as Postmaster-General, Todd also did valuable astronomical and meteorological work, published many scientific papers and was active in the colony's learned societies and educational institutions. Benevolent and good-humoured, he treated his trusting and respectful staff as a 'benevolent autocrat'.

Before leaving England in 1855, Todd had married Alice Gillam Bell (d. 1898), of Cambridge, by whom he had two sons and four daughters; he also brought up three children of a deceased brother. The Todds were a devoted family and regular worshippers at the Congregational Church. Sir Charles Todd died at Semaphore on 29 January 1910 and was buried in the North Road cemetery. He was survived by a son and four daughters, one of whom, Gwendoline, married Professor (Sir) William Bragg of the University of Adelaide who in 1915 with his son, Lawrence, became the first Australians to receive a Nobel Prize.

Todd's name is commemorated by the river which (sometimes) flows through Alice Springs, and the town is named after his wife. Todd Street in Alice Springs also remembers Sir Charles.

Australian Post Office, *The Centenary of the Adelaide-Darwin Overland Telegraph Line*, 1972; F Clune, *Overland Telegraph*, 1955; G W Symes, 'Sir Charles Todd', *ADB*, vol 6, 1976; *Australasian*, 12 October, 16 November 1872; *Adelaide Register*, 31 January 1910.

GERALD WALSH, Vol 1.

TRACKER TOMMY: see **MIJANU**

TRAEGER, ALFRED HERMANN (1895–1980), electrical engineer and inventor of the 'pedal wireless' for communication in the Australian outback, was born on 2 August 1895 at Glenlee, Victoria. His parents, Johann Hermann Traeger and Louisa Traeger, *nee* Zerna, loyal Lutherans, were of German extraction, and following their marriage at Frederickwalde, South Australia, took up a wheat farm in Victoria at Glenlee in the Shire of Dimboola. In 1902, the family of two daughters and two sons, Alfred, aged seven years and Johann, aged five years, moved back to South Australia and settled on a farm at Balaklava where the children attended the local school.

At the age of 12 years Traeger rigged up a telephone line from the homestead to the implement shed 50 metres away, using the prongs of a pitch fork to make the magnet for the telephone, the tops of tobacco tins for the diaphragms, and charcoal for the carbon granules in the microphone. Traeger's father, realising the natural mechanical capacity of the boy, enrolled him at the age of 16 years at the Adelaide School of Mines to do the four-year course in electrical engineering. At the age of twenty, he was awarded his diploma with distinction. For a time he worked with the Adelaide Tramways Trust and in the Telegraph Section of the Post Office before joining the firm of Hannan Brothers where he specialised in making generators and ammeters. At the same time he set up a small workshop of his own in the backyard of the family home in Kensington Gardens, where his parents had now made their residence, and there potted away at all kinds of gadgets, finally building his own 'ham' transmitter. He quickly qualified as a licensed amateur radio operator.

At thirty-one years of age, still a bachelor, he responded with enthusiasm to the invitation of the **Reverend John Flynn** of the Australian Inland Mission to go with him to Alice Springs, in order to carry out further experiments with the bulky wireless gear built by Harry Kauper in Adelaide. Flynn and George Towns had used the wireless, but with no great success, on a trip to Innamincka and Birdsville during the previous year, 1925. So began Traeger's practical involvement in Flynn's work for the next 50 years. The two men travelled by train to Oodnadatta where Flynn had left his Dodge utility. They arrived in Alice Springs by road during the first week of October 1926. Their first task was to install in the engine room of the nursing home (Adelaide House in Todd Street)

a thirty-two volt lighting plant, driven by a Lister engine. On the opposite side of the room, they installed a 50-watt receiving and transmitting radio unit, which was to be the 'mother station' for the field experiments. A 17-metre aerial mast was erected outside. The first trial was a telephone relay to their friend Harry Kauper in Adelaide. The results were satisfactory. On 11 November 1926, Flynn and Traeger left for Hermannsburg Mission in the Dodge utility with a heavy load of Edison copper-oxide batteries and other gear. Hermannsburg was to be their first outpost. They had left a young telegraph operator in charge at Alice Springs. Their host at the Hermannsburg Mission Station was **Pastor F W Albrecht**.

The first test was a complete failure. Flynn and Traeger drove back to Alice Springs, and discovered that the young telegraph operator had put in the wrong coil. With the fault corrected, signals from Hermannsburg came in loud and clear, although pastor Albrecht found it difficult at first to handle his Morse code. But the experiment was a success and on 25 November Pastor Albrecht sent an urgent message from Hermannsburg to his wife in Tanunda, South Australia—the first successful message in a scheme, as yet unborn, which was to transform the social life of the outback. Flynn and Traeger then installed another outpost, at the police station at Arltunga. Traeger then carried out a series of adjustments and within a fortnight, both field stations were communicating with the mother station and with each other. This was the first triumph in the inland saga of Traeger achievements. Flynn's dream, however, was far from fulfilment. The equipment which he and Traeger had so far used was too expensive and bulky while it also required trained operators. Furthermore, the heavy copper-oxide batteries were quite impractical for general use in the bush. But Flynn was sure that Traeger was the man of the hour. Traeger went back to his workshop in Adelaide, on the payroll of Flynn's Australian Inland Mission at 500 Pounds a year.

Though only of medium physical stature and a wearer of spectacles from an early age, he possessed the extraordinary capacity to work early and late at his bench, winding generators and soldering delicate radio circuits. Of an extremely shy and quiet disposition, he shunned clubs and public gatherings, but in personal conversation he had a twinkling sense of humour and a boyish laugh. A typical characteristic was his conservative dress. He invariably wore long, dark trousers with braces and declined to wear shorts even when working in the tropical heat. One of the secrets behind his patience and perseverance was the fact that his work was also his hobby, and he possessed a strong inborn Lutheran doggedness. He immediately tackled the problem of finding an economic source of power in place of his big copper-oxide batteries, which he had used at Hermannsburg and Arltunga. He first experimented with a hand-operated emery grinder fixed to a small generator. With brisk turning, he was able to get an output of about 10 watts, but this was hardly a practical solution because it would take two people to transmit messages. Traeger then tried bicycle pedals to drive the generator. He found that a person, seated, without great exertion, could get an output of about twenty watts at a pressure of about three hundred volts. He then proceeded to enclose the flywheel and gears of the generator in a cylindrical, sturdily constructed metal housing with the pedals outside and with a cast base, which could be firmly screwed to the floor beneath a table. Turning next to the dual receiver-transmitter, he ingeniously built this complete outfit into a rectangular wooden (later metal) box with a master switch separating the crystal-controlled transmitter on one side and the newly improved receiver on the other side.

Thus was born the so-called 'pedal radio set'. On 11 September 1927, Traeger wrote to Flynn: 'I have some great news for you. After numerous disappointments I have at last managed to make a pedal operated transceiver suitable for the job.' Flynn gave him the go-ahead to manufacture ten sets. The cost was estimated by Traeger to be less than 50 Pounds each. Official records show that Traeger was listed on the staff register of the Australian Inland Mission in 1928–29 as 'Chief Wireless Officer' and that during 1928 he custom-built ten complete pedal sets with aerials and accessories, and also a 200-watt telephone transmitter for a mother station. Flynn, in consultation with his medical and aviation advisers, had already selected Cloncurry in Queensland as the pioneering base, and the first flying doctor had been in operation since 15 May 1928.

In April 1929 Traeger and Harry Kinzbrunner, his newly appointed wireless assistant, arrived in Cloncurry with their load of wireless equipment. Their first task was to install the new mother station in the vestry of the Presbyterian Church in Uhr Street, with a Lister engine and generator in a small iron shed in the yard at the rear. By September 1929 Traeger had also completed the installation of eight 'pedal sets' at various strategic points in the Gulf country and western Queensland, covering an area from Birdsville near the South Australian border to the shores of the Gulf in the north, with one station as far away as Mornington Island, about 150 kilometres by sea from Burketown.

Flynn recognised the magnitude of Traeger's achievement and he wrote at the time: 'I must express my deepest gratitude to him. He worked without ceasing and remained cheerful under the most trying runs of bad luck which haunted us always in our preliminary work.'

The term 'pedal radio' became famous Australia-wide and it persisted long after pedals were no longer needed. For many years it became a standard expression for outback people to say, 'I heard you on the pedal!' Traeger set up a permanent workshop at 11 Dudley Street, Marrickville, with selected staff, and year after year manufactured the various models of the 'Traeger Transceiver' for hundreds of people in the outback areas. This became his lifetime work.

In 1933, he invented the remarkable typewriter Morse keyboard that became a regular accessory to the pedal sets, for the succeeding five years enabling operators to type out their messages in Morse code to the mother station. This was a further godsend to bush people during the early 'pedal set years', and until telephony became the regular mode of communication. In the Northern Territory, early models of the Traeger Transceiver, working with the Cloncurry mother station, were installed at Borroloola, Roper River, Milingimbi, Groote Eylandt, Victoria River Downs, Hermannsburg, Elkedra, Eriksdal, Rockhampton Downs, Hatches Creek, Anthony's Lagoon, Mount Doreen, Eva Downs, Nutwood Downs and McDonald Downs.

During the period 1929–36 an estimated 50 Traeger pedal sets were successfully operating, including a few portable models which Traeger designed for the use of patrol padres and travellers on the road. In the second half of the 1930s, radio telephony was a further major breakthrough. Morse keyboards were no longer necessary and two-way voice conversations became the regular mode of communication. In 1935–36 Traeger built the Flying Doctor Radio Bases at Port Hedland and Wyndham. In 1939 John Flynn transferred the Cloncurry network to the newly created national organisation which came to be known as the Royal Flying Doctor Service and Alfred Traeger continued to have contractual arrangements for the supply of transceivers to the various bases of the service until he retired in 1975. The Alice Springs Base, 8US, was officially opened on 10 April 1939, and the first School of the Air in Australia was transmitting from Alice Springs on 20 September 1950. On both of these historic occasions, public tribute was paid to Traeger as the ‘wireless wizard’ whose inventive genius had given a voice to the silent bush.

Alfred Traeger married Olga Emilie Schodde in the Flinders Street Lutheran Church, Adelaide, on 11 September 1932. There were two daughters of this marriage—Pauline Elizabeth and Anne Catherine. His first wife having died, he later married Joyce Edna Mibus, a widow with two daughters, Suzanna Joylene and Glenda Ruth, on 2 August 1956 in the Colonel Light Gardens Lutheran Church. One son, Michael John, was born of this marriage.

Traeger was created an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1944. He died in his home at Kadonga Avenue, Rosslyn Park, Adelaide from cancer on 31 July 1980 and was quietly buried in the Centennial Park Cemetery on 1 August 1980.

‘Traeger Park’ is a permanent and worthy memorial on the Gap Highway leading into Alice Springs.

J Behr, *Radio History of the Royal Flying Doctor Service 1929–1982*; W S McPheat, *John Flynn*, 1963; Australian Inland Mission Records, MS 5574 NLA, Boxes 161–162–163, 199, 200, including series of historic photographs.

J FRED McKAY, Vol 1.

TRAN, MY-VAN (1947–), lecturer, scholar and community worker, was born on 8 August 1947 in Saigon, Vietnam, the daughter of Tran Van Huc, a school director, and Nguyen Thi Marie. An excellent student, she graduated with the equivalent of a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Saigon, Master of Arts in History from Duke University in the United States (where she studied on a Fulbright award), Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language from the University of Papua New Guinea and Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Civilisation from the Australian National University in Canberra. Unable to return to Saigon after its capture by the Communists in 1975, she became an Australian citizen the following year. In 1978, she married in Darwin Frederick Douglas Robins, a British economist whom she had first met when he was working as a diplomat in Saigon. They later had one son, Douglas Tran Robins.

My-Van arrived in Darwin at the end of 1977 as Lecturer in History at the Darwin Community College (between 1984 and 1988 the Darwin Institute of Technology and after then part of the Northern Territory University), which she was offered and accepted. She was later promoted to Senior Lecturer. Between 1978 and 1988, she taught American and Southeast Asian history. She played an important role in the development of a Bachelor of Arts course and did much to promote teaching and research in Southeast Asian studies through a range of Southeast Asian subjects she both introduced and taught. These included ‘short courses’ for public servants and public lectures.

She came to Darwin at a time when many Vietnamese ‘boat people’ were also arriving in the city. Almost immediately, she helped Department of Immigration officials as an interviewer and interpreter and she acted in this capacity for the arrival of 32 boats. My-Van provided much needed help to the refugees with some of their varied social needs. At considerable personal expense and in the face of bureaucratic obstacles, she was able to organise the settlement in Darwin of her mother and her brothers, sisters, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, nieces and nephews. A few departed Vietnam as boat people while the others she sponsored to leave Vietnam legally. Some members of the extended family later left to live in other parts of Australia but those who stayed settled down well into Darwin’s multicultural society.

It was hardly surprising that My-Van should undertake research on the Darwin Vietnamese. Her work resulted in two pioneering monographs, *The Long Journey: Australia’s First Boat People* (1981) and, with Richard Nelson, *A Report on the Settlement of Indochinese Refugees in Darwin, The Northern Territory* (1982). The first study was based on innovative oral history interviews while the second assembled much useful statistical information. She also wrote *Indochinese Folktales* (1982), which was republished in 1987 in both English and Vietnamese and as a Chinese version in China in 1990, and many academic articles, including some for the first volume of the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*.

Actively involved in community affairs, My-Van served on many councils and committees concerned with ethnic affairs and international relations. These included the important National Population Council, which she was invited to join by the Commonwealth Minister for Immigration, and the Council of the Northern Territory Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, the Northern Territory Settlement Council and the Northern Territory Council of the National Authority for the Accreditation of Translators and Interpreters.

My-Van, Fred and, later Douglas, lived for much of their time in Darwin in a comfortable home in Wulagi. They had a large circle of friends from a wide cross section of the Darwin community and an active social life. An excellent cook, particularly of Asian food, My-Van organised many enjoyable dinner parties. She and Fred were also very keen travellers and visited different parts of Australia and the world.

She left Darwin in 1988 to join Fred and Douglas in Adelaide, where Fred had been appointed to an academic position. She continued her own career at Flinders University and the University of South Australia, where she became an Associate Professor. She produced a variety of publications dealing with aspects of Vietnamese cultural history and the Vietnamese in Australia. My-Van also was appointed to several government advisory bodies, including the South Australian Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission and the National Multicultural Advisory Council and she served as a member of the board of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). She revisited Darwin frequently to see members of her family and old friends.

Charming, vivacious, attractive and yet very determined, My-Van made a notable contribution to Darwin that was widely recognised. There were quite frequent stories about her in the Northern Territory media. In 1986, she was awarded the Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for her services to Asian-Australian relations. One of Australia's best known authors, Thomas Keneally, in his 1983 book on the Northern Territory, *Outback*, devoted a chapter to her and the story she told of the first Vietnamese boat people to discover Australia from the sea. A most striking photograph in the lavishly illustrated book is of her dressed in traditional Vietnamese style standing with hands together and with hair blowing in the wind on the edge of the Timor Sea, the stretch of water crossed by so many of her fellow compatriots.

T Keneally, *Outback*, 1983; J Singh (ed), *Austral-Asian Who's Who, 1992-1993*, 1992; T Minh & Minh Hanh (eds), *The Pride of the Vietnamese*, 1995; M-V Tran, personal information to author, 1995.

DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

TUCKER, PATRICK (PATTY, PADDY) (1896-1979), bush worker, was born on Owen Springs Station in 1896 (although some records suggest 1894). His mother, Sharnath, was an Aranda woman of that country, which was first taken up as a cattle property in 1872. She had two sons, Jacky (c1890-1906) and Paddy, by the same stockman, who gave them the name Tucker.

Paddy's earliest recollections were of his mother hiding away in the bush whenever any stranger appeared, as the law then demanded that children of mixed descent should be taken away from their traditional surroundings to a foster home, and of his older brother, Jacky, carrying him about 'piggy back'. Jacky was his constant companion and greatest mate, and Paddy greatly missed him when he obtained work as a stockman on the lower Finke River, and was devastated when he and a young white stockman perished in 1906.

At the age of about 10 years, to prevent him being taken away by a policeman, his mother allowed him to be taken away by a local area stockman who wished to train the lad as a stockman. It transpired, in fact, that he wanted a boy to help him duff cattle from Glen Helen Station: Paddy spent the next four years of his life learning both regular stock work and all there was to know about cattle duffing.

In 1910, the early learning period long over, he joined a droving plant as horse tailer. They rode to the Ord River Station, on the Western Australia and Northern Territory border close to 1 000 kilometres north west of the Alice. From here, the intended route was southeast to and across the Barkly Tableland to Camooweal, Queensland, then to Birdsville, also in Queensland, and down the Birdsville Track to Adelaide. The droving went well at first, with Halley's Comet brilliant overhead each night as they crossed the Tableland.

However, two problems arose, the first being between Paddy and the drovers' cook. The latter, for reasons unknown to Paddy, took a strong dislike to him—Paddy's food, after a long day's work, was always cold and scrappy, and the cook was always abusive about him being a 'half caste'. Paddy survived over 1 000 kilometres of insults, but one day dwelt on the results and, as he came off the droving at the end of the day, rode full gallop into the camp. Everyone present knew, by his yelling and his actions, that he and the cook were going to have it out. Paddy was tall, lean and hard for a lad, and in a rage to boot. He found that he could fight and, after giving the cook a hiding with his fists, dragged him by the hair to the cook's waggon, took some hobble chains hanging there, and thrashed him with them too. 'Now', he said, 'I'm a half caste allright, and I've thrashed you like a white man, and I've thrashed you like a blackfellow. From now on I want the same as everyone else.' The boss drover and all the other stockmen had known all along that Paddy must react at some time, and the cook grudgingly accepted that he had been 'flogged fair': from then on Paddy had the same meals as the others, and was acknowledged as a very able fighter.

A significant event in between this problem and the next was Paddy's discovery of an old school primer, found on the ground blowing in the wind; he picked it up, and practiced the letters of the alphabet on his saddle flap. Another young stockman helped him practice reading jam tin labels. 'I read that old book all to pieces', Paddy was later to recall; it was the difference between remaining ignorant of newspapers and books, and being able to enjoy them and sign his name.

The second problem occurred when the cattle started dropping from 'the pleuro'. Circumstances demanded that the mob be kept moving, yet to keep them moving was to stress them and cause more to fall. 'We was shooting them and burning them, shooting them and burning them, every day. It was like shooting our friends.'

When they reached Birdsville, a telegram awaited the boss drover, who had wired ahead about the trouble. Instead of continuing to Adelaide, they delivered the mob to a property in central southern Queensland. The contractual arrangements meant that the boss drover received little money—after 18 months on the road. He had to sell all but his own riding horse and a packhorse to keep faith with the men, and pay them their due, and after finding Paddy a job in Charleville, Queensland, he rode off penniless. Paddy regarded him, for the rest of his life, as the closest he had to a father whom he knew and respected—the best of men.

Paddy made friends with a few young white men in Charleville, and when they urged him to go with them to coastal Queensland, he joined their group. For a season, he cut cane, but then returned to Charleville. Here he

obtained work as a drover, and for a time walked mobs down the Birdsville Track. Tiring of this he then joined the railway staff at Maree, South Australia, working as a labourer unloading the trains.

By now, he was a man of great wiry strength, with speed and a long reach. Although he did not pick fights, he did not back away from them either. On one occasion, when a man had been offering to take on anyone at the hotel, the regular customers decided to give him what he asked for. They marched him down to the railway yards and offered him a fight with Paddy Tucker. ‘Good God no’, he said, ‘That’s Paddy Tucker. Fighting him is the same as being thrown into a hessian bag with a pack of wild cats.’

Loading and unloading trains was a hard job, and not very inspiring, so when offered the chance of taking charge of a camel string (team) carrying the loading from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs, Paddy decided to accept. He found that the work ideally suited him, and he soon built up his own string. However the extension of the rail line from Oodnadatta towards, and finally to, Alice Springs meant that Paddy increasingly worked his camels further north—invariably taking his dingo traps with him so that the dogging brought extra money.

The year 1925 found him 250 kilometres north west of the Alice, his camels hired by a stockmen hoping to become a pastoralist; Paddy believed that they were the first outsiders to come, by sheer chance, upon the famous and sacred Ngama ‘Snake Cave’ near present day Yuendumu. He followed this with carrying the bagged red ochre from the Rumbalara area ochre deposits, south of Alice Springs, to Oodnadatta. Then came dogging and prospecting out to the Granites and Mount Doreen country, upwards of 500 kilometres north west of the Alice. Here, in 1927 to 1928, he met for the first time the Pintupi people, driven east by severe drought. And also, hearing of the Walpiri people’s red ochre deposit, he inspected their famous site, Karku.

Early in the second week of August 1928, he was in the Coniston country, and Walpiri people whispered to him that Fred Brooks, an old dogger, had been murdered. He urged them to scatter, and spread the word to all others to scatter. ‘We’ll be alright’, they replied, ‘We have worked on the stations. The policemen will only shoot that murderer man.’

But Paddy was worried. It could be different, he knew. And tragically, in the end, he was right. Thirty one were admitted shot, and several careful estimates put the number at over 100. Paddy always believed that at least 200 men, women and children were shot, perhaps even as many as 300.

The severe drought of the late 1920s, the coming of the railway line to Alice Springs in 1929, and the Great Depression of 1929–1933, all meant that the cameleers’ days were numbered. Although he was to continue to obtain some work into the 1930s, Paddy’s last major job was with the CAGE (‘Lasseter’) expedition. He took stores and fuel on his camel string out to Ayers Rock, helped in the early days of construction of an airstrip, and was commended for taking only 11 days on the return to Alice Springs when the initial journey out had taken a month. Later he was to return again to Ayers Rock to retrieve fuel drums and other equipment from the disastrous expedition.

The 1920s and early 1930s had increasingly seen Paddy back in his home country of Owen Springs and Alice Springs. During the course of these stays, he had fallen in love with Topsy Forrester (born 1911), and they were to be married in an Anglican ceremony in the Alice. For a time Topsy joined Paddy in some of his travels with camels, but the death of an infant on one journey, and then care of a son, Bruce, meant that she stayed at home in the Alice.

As the years passed, Paddy took whatever jobs he could find—he was never afraid of hard work. The early 1930s found him at the Granites Goldfield; in the 1940s, he was back droving for a time, then he purchased an old truck and—as he had before—tried a bit of prospecting at Arltunga and elsewhere. He and Topsy came to own a nice, cool home, with a very large yard, in the southern part of Alice Springs. Here, in old age, with the dingo traps rusting and the old truck on blocks, Paddy enjoyed a yarn. At other times, he could be found outside the Stuart Arms, yarning with old mates like [Walter Smith](#) and Frank Sprigg.

By late 1973 Paddy was talking about the possibility of selling the house and, if the [Hayes](#) family agreed, setting up camp on a bore on Undoolya Station. However, by the mid 1970s, after their home was sold, he and Topsy were prevailed upon to take up residence in the Old Timers’ Home, immediately south of Alice Springs.

In mid year 1979 Paddy died. He had lived a long, hard but, as he saw it, a rewarding life. He was survived by his wife Topsy, son Bruce (since deceased), and adopted son Desmond and family.

E Coote, *Hell’s Airport*, 1934; I L Idriess, *Lasseter’s Last Ride*, 1931; R G Kimber, *Man from Arltunga*, 1986; notes and tape recordings of interviews by R G Kimber, 1971–1974.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 2.*

TUCKIAR also spelt as **DAGIER**, **TARKIERA** (?–c1934), a leader of the nomadic Dhayyi-speaking people of the Blue Mud Bay area in eastern Arnhem Land, was probably born in the Blue Mud Bay area, the son of parents from the same region. He had a traditional education from the elders of his tribe. He had three known wives, the first being Djaparri (or Yapparti).

The known story of Tuckiar’s career covers little more than two years, 1933 to 1934. He first came into prominence during September 1932, when a police party was sent to eastern Arnhem Land after the killing of five Japanese at Caledon, which had occurred earlier in September 1932, by the Caledon Aborigines.

Tuckiar and three other Aborigines of his tribe had killed two trepangers, Fagan and Traynor, on the beach at Woodah Island in a dispute over women sometime in the winter of 1933.

It was not until 1 August 1933 that the police party, under Mounted Constable [Ted Morey](#), seeking information about the Caledon Bay killings, but not knowing of the deaths of Fagan and Traynor, arrived at Woodah Island. Tuckiar and Merara, with guilty consciences, thought that the police had come after them and they disappeared,

leaving their women at their camp. When the police found them, they handcuffed the women and, leaving Constable Stewart McColl to guard the women, the remainder of the party set off after the men.

Later, McColl, having heard shots, took the handcuffs off Djaparri and went to investigate the shots, taking the woman with him. She is said to have surreptitiously, advised Tuckiar by stick talk of McColl's location and at the critical moment, she moved out of his line of sight, allowing Tuckiar to spear him with a shovel-bladed spear. He died almost at once.

The other police returned and buried the body in a shallow grave, from which it was recovered and buried on Groote Eylandt, before being reburied in Darwin.

Sometime after the death of McColl, Tuckiar and Merara were persuaded by a Church Missionary Society 'Peace Expedition' to accompany them to Darwin. They sailed on 10 April 1934, in the cutter *Oituli* with the Reverend **A J Dyer**, accompanied by fourteen Aborigines, amongst whom was Tuckiar, charged with murdering McColl, and Merara, charged with murdering an unknown man. Three of these were charged with the murder of the Japanese and others were witnesses.

On arrival at Darwin, Tuckiar and Merara were alarmed at being put into Fannie Bay Gaol, since they had no idea that they were to be tried. The trial was described in a special supplement of the *Proletarian* of 8 August 1934, as 'one of the greatest travesties of a trial in Australia'. There were no witnesses who were capable of giving adequate evidence. On 5 August 1934, Tuckiar was sentenced to death for the murder of McColl, although His Honour **Judge Wells**, did not put on the Black Cap, nor was the sentence translated for Tuckiar.

An appeal was made to the High Court of Australia. This appeal, heard between 29 October and 8 November, resulted in the quashing of the conviction. Tuckiar's discharge was ordered.

On 12 November 1934, Tuckiar escaped (or disappeared) from the compound at Myilly Point. As far as can be established, he was never seen again. Rumour had it that the police had taken their revenge upon him; but no evidence of it has ever come to light.

There is a photograph of Tuckiar and his three wives in Keith Cole's book, *The Aborigines of Arnhem Land* (1979).

K Cole, *The Aborigines of Arnhem Land*, 1979; K Cole, *Fred Gray of Umbakumba*, 1984; S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; V C Hall, *Dreamtime Justice*, 1962; I Idriess, *Man Tracks*, 1935 (1956); M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; G Pike, *Frontier Territory*, 1981; *Commonwealth Law Reports*, 52, 1934; *Northern Standard*, 6 July—24 August 1934; *Proletarian*, 8 August—5 September 1934.

E W PRETTY, Vol 1.

TUCKWELL, ELIZA (1836–1921), Territory urban pioneer and midwife, and **TUCKWELL, NED** (1835–1882), railway worker. Eliza was one of the 'founding mothers' of Darwin. She was on the first passenger ship, *Kohinoor*, which arrived in January 1870 and she remained in Darwin until her death in 1921.

She was born Eliza Hemming in London in 1836, the daughter of a soldier who left Eliza's mother widowed at a young age and Eliza to be raised by an aunt. In 1855, she applied for a berth on the immigrant ship *Norman* and came to South Australia as a domestic servant. After working in various domestic jobs around Adelaide, she met and married Ned Tuckwell, then foreman in the Bowden Railway sheds. They were married on 21 February 1857. During the next 10 years, they had five children, one of whom died early.

In 1864 Ned was sent with the second expedition to Escape Cliffs where he served under the Government Resident, **B T Finnis**, until the latter's departure for Adelaide in the following year. Ned then joined explorer John McKinlay who had been sent to Escape Cliffs to report on the Finnis administration. A carpenter and shipwright by trade, Ned played a crucial role in saving the lives of McKinlay and 14 men when they attempted to return from the Alligator Rivers region to Escape Cliffs at the height of the 1866 rainy season. Ned helped build a raft out of horsehides and safely navigated the frail craft along the shore of Van Diemen Gulf until it reached its destination.

Ned returned to Adelaide when the Escape Cliffs settlement was abandoned at the end of 1866 and two years later joined Surveyor-General **George Goyder's** *Moonta* expedition to Port Darwin as ship's carpenter. When the job was completed, Eliza and their four remaining children boarded the first passenger ship to the Territory and in January 1870 joined Ned in Palmerston.

Within the next four years, Eliza gave birth to two more children. Ned became an overseer in the government workshops and helped to construct the first Government Residency. He later opened his own carpentry business and built a family home in Mitchell Street in the grounds of the Commercial Hotel. Eliza demonstrated her assertive spirit early in the piece when she advertised in the local press that she would 'not be responsible for [her] husband's debts'.

When Ned died in 1882, the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* praised his work and said the government had 'lost a good, honest, and faithful servant and one whom they [would] find difficult to replace'.

With the full responsibility of a young family now hers alone, Eliza—one of the few resident female ratepayers in Palmerston—opened a boarding house, advertising she had 'sleeping accommodation for four steady, respectable young men'. Called Resolution Villa, it became her main means of income for many years, although she was also an accomplished nurse and midwife and her services in this area were always in demand.

Eliza, a stalwart member of the Methodist Church all of her Territory life, needed all the faith and support she could muster. By 1881, her eldest daughter Mary had lost three children and her husband, and seven years later, she herself died of consumption.

Eliza lost her home in the 1897 cyclone which devastated Palmerston. With the help of her son-in-law, **V V Brown**, one of Darwin's most prominent citizens, she was soon back on her feet and again operating her boarding house.

Her Territory-born daughter, Eleanor, died of cancer in 1910, leaving her husband, Tom Styles, to look after their four daughters and a son. The Styles girls all married in the Territory and by 1988 this branch of the family had produced five generations of Territory-born residents.

At about the time of the Commonwealth takeover of the Territory in 1911, Eliza fought an uphill battle to receive the pension, having to argue her case several times because she owned her own home. With the help of the local minister, she won her case.

She was soon embarked on another campaign for help, using her pioneer status as leverage. In 1912, she took her first trip out of the Territory when she went to visit her son and family in Sydney. She told the government that as she was the oldest female resident of Darwin she was entitled to assistance with the fare. The Northern Territory Administrator of the day, [John Gilruth](#), helped to organise a public subscription to pay her fare down, but she still needed the fare back and appealed directly to the federal government in Melbourne. Her persistence paid off in a second-class passage back to Darwin.

In supporting her case, the *Northern Territory Times* paid tribute to the fact that she had been in the Territory for 43 years and yet was ‘as healthy and sturdy looking an old lady for her years as could be found in any part of the Commonwealth. This is something of a record and is calculated to raise doubts respecting the absolute correctness of the theory that white women cannot live continuously in this climate and retain normal health. Add to the above that Mrs Tuckwell has reared a fairly large family here and has quite a flock of sturdy Northern Territory-born grandchildren and it will be seen that she is a good example of the type of hardy pioneer that is essential to the settlement and progress of every new country... Mrs Tuckwell has been a toiler from the day she landed here, under all the disadvantages and discomforts so prevalent in the earlier days of settlement and has often been hard put to make both ends meet. The Territory requires many settlers of the type of Mrs Tuckwell if it is to progress.’

In August 1921, Eliza ‘Granny’ Tuckwell died at her home in Darwin not long after recording memories of her long life in Australia. Appropriately, Tuckwell Court, a Darwin centre for pensioners, is named in honour of Eliza and Ned Tuckwell, true Territory pioneers.

Northern Standard, August 1921; *Northern Territory Times*, August 1921 and various other issues; Genealogical records.

BARBARA JAMES, *Vol 1*.

TUFFIN, EILEEN ROSEMARY: see [JONES, EILEEN ROSEMARY](#)

TUIT, LEONARD ROY (LEN) (1911–1976), driver, businessman, coach operator was born in 1911 at Prospect, South Australia, the son of Clarence Tuit and his wife Olive, *nee* Smith. In 1939, he married Pearl Arthur, *nee* Brandt, whose son Malcolm, by a previous marriage, was adopted by Tuit. Tuit’s first wife had died in Adelaide in 1937 after a long illness.

Tuit went to the Northern Territory in 1935 and got a job with pioneer transport operator [D R Baldock](#) driving trucks carrying perishable freight between Alice Springs and Tennant Creek. In 1938, he purchased a Ford V 8 truck and began carting general freight with it to the Granites and Tanami goldfields and various other places. During the Second World War, he was kept busy carting supplies to the Hatches Creek and Wauchope wolfram fields and he won a contract to transport fuel from Birdum to Tennant Creek. When Darwin was bombed in 1942, many evacuees arriving by train at Larrimah were happy to ride on the back of his truck as far as Alice Springs!

Immediately after the war, he won the Alice Springs to Tennant Creek to Birdum mail contract and as was customary at the time he made it a combined mail and passenger run. The vehicle he used at first was an International K 5 pulling an ex-Army semi-trailer to which had been fitted bench seats, a canvas canopy, and a ladder for the convenience of passengers climbing up to the trailer deck.

As passenger traffic increased Tuit bought a more powerful prime mover, (also an International), and had it fitted with a diesel engine. The semi-trailer portion of this later combination was a stepped deck type with a much lower deck height for passengers than that of the previous vehicle. The centre section (or well deck) between the axles was equipped with bench seats and had doors fitted with detachable Perspex curtains. The raised area above the prime mover turntable and above the rear axle of the trailer portion accommodated luggage, parcels and mails. It was known locally as ‘the butterbox.’

Tuit also had a freight service at this time and it was handled by a conventional semi-trailer combination.

In 1949, Tuit upgraded his passenger service with a 26-seat coach, and a year later, he purchased the Tennant Creek to Mount Isa operation of Cavanagh’s Motor Services. He integrated it with his scheduled Alice Springs to Darwin mail run which he increased to twice weekly.

In 1952, Tuit announced that he and his strongest competitor on the Darwin service, Bond’s Tours, had amalgamated under the name of Alice Springs-Darwin Motor Service. But the ‘marriage’ lasted less than two years; in December 1954 Tuit’s and Bond’s parted company and Alice Springs–Darwin Motor Service was dissolved, putting each operator in competition with the other once more.

Tuit continued to operate his freight service while he developed the passenger business. In 1949, he played a leading role in the formation of the Territory Transport Association and acquired a shareholding in the association’s business arm, Co-Ord, which contracted to the Commonwealth Railways to haul freight between the railheads at Alice Springs and Larrimah in coordination with trains on the Central Australia and North Australia Railway services.

But in 1955, he decided to sell his freight service and his shares in Co-ord and concentrate on passenger transport, both scheduled and excursion. The proceeds of the sale of his Co-Ord interest went toward the purchase of a modern Foden 33 seat coach, built in Sydney, for the Alice Springs to Darwin timetabled service. It pulled a

specially designed four wheel mail and freight van of 16 tonnes capacity. In 1956, he bought A G Bond's Northern Territory interests.

His activity in the tourism field began in the early 1950s when he had bus bodies built on ex-Army 4 by 4 vehicles to carry tourists over the rough bush tracks of those days to such attractions as Ayers Rock and Palm Valley. To accommodate his customers on those tours he established tent camps at Ayers Rock and Palm Valley, equipping them with electric power, hot water and other amenities. He later upgraded to more permanent kitchen, dining, recreation and amenities blocks whilst still retaining the tent accommodation. In this venture, he was greatly assisted by his wife Pearl.

In 1959 the nation wide Ansett Pioneer tour and express group acquired a financial interest in the Tuit operations and for a time the business was run in the name of Pioneer-Tuit. Sensing a big influx of visitors for the Territory's centenary in 1960 the Ansett operation set about improving and expanding the facilities which Tuit had established, including the Mount Gillen Chalet at Alice Springs which had originally been part of an Army staging camp during the Second World War and was later converted to accommodate tourists by Bond's Tours. Tuit had acquired this when he bought Bond's Northern Territory interests four years previously. Pioneer-Tuit also set up a lodge at Serpentine Gorge.

Gradually the Pioneer-Tuit name disappeared. Ansett Pioneer increased service frequencies on the Alice Springs to Darwin route and introduced an express coach service between Adelaide and Alice Springs, connecting with the Darwin service. The company also introduced a variety of tours in the area and in Darwin.

Tuit had established town and school bus services in Alice Springs but Ansett did not acquire these.

In 1975, after appointing a manager for the local Alice Springs bus operation, Len and Pearl Tuit moved to the Queensland Sunshine Coast. On 15 May 1976, Tuit went fishing in a small boat. Later that day the boat was washed up on the beach near Mudjimba, just north of Maroochydore. No trace was ever found of his body. He was 64 at the time.

In April 1982, a block of town houses in Alice Springs was opened by the Housing Commission of the Northern Territory on what was formerly part of the Alice Springs racecourse. The block was named Len Tuit Court and a plaque on the wall of one of the buildings reads: 'This complex is named after Len Tuit, a major contributor to the transport industry in Central Australia. Opened 8th April 1982 by Mr Roger Vale, MLA'.

Tuit was a member of the Masonic Lodge, the Lions Club and the Gun Club at Alice Springs, as well as being a member of the Show Society and at one stage of the Alice Springs Racing Club. He also raced horses in Victoria and South Australia.

J Maddock, *A History of Road Trains in the Northern Territory 1934–1988*, 1988; correspondence with Mrs P Tuit.

JOHN MADDOCK, Vol 2.

TULLOCH, DONALD GORDON (DON) (1924–1991), scientist, was born in 1924 near Brisbane in Queensland. During the Second World War, he served in the Royal Australian Naval Volunteer Reserve (RANVR) in corvettes escorting convoys. After the war ended, he attended the University of Queensland and graduated Bachelor of Science (Agriculture) in May 1952. He then worked as an agronomist and a biologist in two Queensland government departments, Primary Industries and Lands. In November 1957, he moved to the Northern Territory, taking up a newly created position of research biologist in the Northern Territory Administration's Animal Industry Branch.

In order to promote primary production in the Northern Territory the Beatrice Hills and Berrimah experimental farms were established in the 1950s, as was a Primary Producers Board in 1956. In 1959, an enquiry was set up, under Professor HC Forster, to investigate the agricultural potential of the Territory. The same year the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) Coastal Plains Research Station was established at Middle Point near Humpty Doo.

In 1954, a huge rice project, Territory Rice Limited, began, in association with American investors, on the wet tropical coastal plains, about 50 kilometres southeast of Darwin. American and Australian expertise combined in the project. Territory Rice soon ran into problems and the magpie geese that visited the plains seasonally, received heavy blame. In an attempt to make the project succeed, concentrated efforts were made to solve the problems, including that posed by the magpie geese.

Don Tulloch was challenged by new developments in tropical agriculture. First, he worked in researching the behaviour of the magpie goose (*Aseranas semipalmata*), a field already opened by Harry Frith and Stephen Davies of the Wildlife Survey Section of the CSIRO. He learned their techniques. Ultimately the rice project was abandoned, with climate fluctuations and the hydrology of the area blamed for its failure.

At first Don Tulloch's working area in a war surplus Sydney Williams hut at the Berrimah Farm was very primitive, and his facilities had to be built up gradually. Darwin at this time had a quickly growing population and a shortage of suitable buildings.

The coastal plains between Darwin and Arnhem Land had become home to thousands of buffalo descended from Asian buffalo brought to the early British settlements in the 1830s. They were well adapted to the hot swampy environment. During the late nineteenth century, and until the 1950s, they were shot for their hides that were exported. When the demand for hides stopped suddenly, animal numbers began to increase significantly.

In 1958 Don Tulloch commenced the work for which he became most famous, and followed, one way or another, for the rest of his life. Using scientific animal behaviour techniques learned from the magpie geese project he studied the buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*) with the support of both the Animal Industry Branch and the CSIRO. He systematically studied social behaviour, distribution, population density, grazing habits, and reproduction patterns of the buffalo on the coastal plains. His earliest studies formed the basis of a thesis entitled

'The Distribution, Density and Social Behaviour of the Water Buffalo in the Northern Territory', for which in 1967 he received the degree of Master of Science (Agriculture) from the University of Queensland. This was a wonderful achievement for an external student, far from normal supervision and the thesis has become the authority on buffalo behaviour.

When roads were planned across the coastal plains, questions were asked about their intended use, and the future of the buffalo was part of this debate. The buffalo had become an unofficial symbol for the Northern Territory. There were some tourist camps, mainly for sporting shooters. Buffaloes were of interest to other tourists, particularly where they could be observed close to Darwin. The beef cattle industry at this time was still dominated by British breeds that do not thrive on the swampy plains naturally favoured by the buffalo. Cattlemen were against the buffalo in the Top End because they saw them as competing with beef cattle. People identified buffalo meat as tough, forgetting buffalo meat eaten in the past was mostly from adult bulls, killed for their hides after a stressful chase. The few buffalo exported live, were recently captured, difficult to handle and thus costly to load. Later, after some short term attempts at domestication, buffalo became the target of bush slaughtering by abattoirs and shooters, mainly for pet food.

Goff Letts talked of the potential of raising buffalo on the flood plains. Buffalo wallowing, and the creation of wet trails allowing greater access of salt water to the natural vegetation of the plains, concerned conservationists who categorised the buffalo as feral. Many questions about buffaloes and the environment needed to be answered with facts derived from focussed study.

As early as 1958, Don had demonstrated how buffalo could be caught, domesticated and handled easily. This led to a small buffalo industry, at first for pet meat, and later for human consumption on which he collaborated with the CSIRO Meat Research Institute in Brisbane. From 1959 to 1975, he continued his research, concluding that buffalo could survive in conditions not well suited to cattle. Buffalo congregated in certain areas, but not in others, and he set out to understand why, by studying grazing preferences. In one study, he found an 80–85 per cent reproduction rate for grazing buffalo against less than 60% in cattle, many of which were hand fed. He also observed a social system of the 'fostering' of lost or orphaned calves by buffalo 'aunties' which gave the calves a better chance of survival.

By 1960 he had begun visiting buffalo research centres overseas, including Italy, Scotland, the West Indies, parts of South America, Malaysia, Indonesia, South China, New Guinea and Guam, to learn more and to share his knowledge. He visited the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Rome in 1972. From 1961 to 1991, he published about 30 papers that were available in Australia and overseas. Five more papers were in preparation when he died.

In 1975, he transferred to the CSIRO Division of Wildlife and Ecology research station at Kapalga in the Northern Territory, to study the interactive plant and animal ecology of the coastal plains. Though his work centred officially again on magpie geese his interest in buffalo continued. This is evident in the titles of the papers he published until he retired in 1984.

In retirement, Don Tulloch continued his work on buffaloes. In 1984, he was founding Secretary of the Northern Territory Buffalo Industry Council. He was involved in a project to provide tender lot-fed buffalo meat to top restaurants. He was an Honorary Research Fellow at CSIRO, spending a day in their Darwin library each week preparing new papers for publication, until the time of his death.

The researched information on buffaloes and the coastal plains that came from Don Tulloch's studies was invaluable. He showed that, with care and attention, buffaloes could be domesticated and raised productively. Associates involved in this work on the buffalo and the early successes of the buffalo industry in the Northern Territory include Peter Panquee, Jim McCorry, Geoff Cross, Kal Carrick, Charlie Cuff and Keith Waldock.

Later the opening of Kakadu National Park and the growth of tourist interest on the coastal plains led to concern about there being sufficient suitable land for raising domesticated buffalo commercially so new planning was necessary. The early 1990s brought the national tuberculosis and brucellosis eradication programme to protect the cattle industry, leading to the killing of many thousands of buffalo. This raised concern that there might be insufficient 'clean' buffaloes for the new buffalo industry. Don felt that their numbers could be restored. He also predicted correctly that buffalo could be raised in southern Australia, away from the tropics.

Don's reputation continued to spread internationally, with his papers being widely accepted. He assumed the status of a consultant. He was acknowledged as the Australian expert on buffaloes, and so, in 1987 he became Australian representative on the Standing Committee of the International Buffalo Federation. In 1988, he visited buffalo properties on the Nile River when attending a conference in Cairo to deliver a paper entitled 'Buffalo Re-domestication in the Northern Territory'. His untimely death on 31 January 1991 came just as his international status was peaking. Respect for him as a world authority on buffaloes is evident in condolences expressed at the Third World Buffalo Congress held in Bulgaria in May 1991 where he was to have presented a paper.

He was a strong supporter of the Parap School that his children attended. His house was so badly damaged in Cyclone Tracy that his family lived briefly in Brisbane. In 1986, he became inaugural Chairman of the Natural Environment Evaluation Panel of the Australian Heritage Commission on behalf of the Northern Territory.

Donald Gordon Tulloch was a dedicated and practical scientist who lived and worked in tropical northern Australia. His pioneering research into animal behaviour, particularly in relation to magpie geese and buffalo, is of great significance in the Northern Territory and in the wet/dry tropical areas throughout the world. He became an internationally respected expert on buffaloes, their husbandry and economic use. His contribution to the world literature on the topic of buffaloes has been immense.

Don loved to share his knowledge and experiences with friends, workmates and anyone else interested. He had a fine sense of humour. He liked gardening, stamp collecting and car restoration, these hobbies reflecting the same

commitment to detail that typified his research work. He died suddenly on 30 January 1991, survived by his wife Pam and three children, Bill, Linda and Dianne.

Don Tulloch will be long remembered as 'The Buffalo Man'.

W R Cockrill, 'Of Buffaloes and Magpie Geese', World Buffalo Congress, Varna, Bulgaria, May 1991; A Linkletter, *Linkletter Down Under*, 1971; M Ridpath & D Braithwaite, 'Vale Don Tulloch (1924–1991)'; *Who's Who in Australasia and the Far East*, 1991/92.

MA CLINCH, Vol 3.

TURNOUR, JOAN EDITH nee PEARCE (1931–), secretary, clerk, primary producer and teacher, was born on 26 March 1931 in Sliema, Malta to Royal Naval parents who returned to England at the commencement of the Second World War in 1939. She was educated at East Street Farnham State Primary School and graduated from Guildford Commercial College in 1946. In 1952 under the sponsorship scheme, she migrated to Melbourne. She held secretarial positions in Melbourne and Brisbane and at Easter 1955 joined the staff of Heron Island, off the Queensland coast, for that dry season.

At the end of 1955, she moved to the Northern Territory and became Head Typist for the Government Administration. She also acted as relief Hansard writer; assisted Justice Allen who conducted a Royal Commission investigating a prison breakout at Fannie Bay; and taught shorthand and typing to school leavers bonded to the Administration. Later she became Secretary to the Director of Agriculture, **W M Curteis**. During this time, she was a member of the Northern Territory Women's Hockey Team.

In December 1956, she married **John W Turnour**, who was in charge of the government rice program at Humpty Doo. In 1957, she worked as a clerk/typist at the Beatrice Hill Experimental Farm and lived there in a demountable hut. The following year, during the establishment of the Upper Adelaide River Experiment Station at Tortilla Flats, she lived in a tin shed with no facilities except kerosene lamps at night. Because conditions were so oppressive in the tin shed during the day she then worked as secretary to the Mine Manager (Tom Barlow) at Rum Jungle and acted as caretaker of houses for personnel on leave. When a house was built at the 60-mile farm and a generator installed she and her husband moved in.

In 1959 under the supervision of her husband, and with the help of Aboriginal labour, Joan commenced horticulture operations on leases bought at Coomalie Creek. She established five acres of bananas and annually produced tomatoes, watermelons and rock melons. In 1963, she manually produced 10 000 cement house bricks to build a house on the property after her husband resigned from the Administration to obtain a Primary Producers' Loan.

Joan was a founding member of the Adelaide River–Noonamah Primary Producers' Association which successfully lobbied for bushfire legislation and for a school bus from Adelaide River to Batchelor for high school students. She prepared submissions seeking electricity reticulation in the Adelaide River–Batchelor area.

In 1970, Joan and her husband sold the property at Coomalie Creek after years of conflict with the Territory Lands Branch over leases. With their four children, Matthew, Jennifer (married Marohasy), James (Jim) and Caroline, all born in Darwin Hospital, the family moved to Brisbane. Since then she has accompanied her husband on various South East Asian postings, teaching not only her own children by correspondence but she also taught English as a second language. She obtained an Associate Diploma of Arts (Asian Studies) by external study from the University of Southern Queensland (formerly the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education) and between 1986 and 1990 worked as department secretary for the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Queensland. Joan and her family returned to Australia permanently in 1995 and she was later secretary to the family company, Rainmanac Pty Ltd, agricultural and livestock consultants. She was an Elder of the Toowong Uniting Church, on the management committee of Toowong Childcare centre and was a member of the Queensland branch of the Society of Women Writers.

Family records.

J W TURNOUR, Vol 3.

TURNOUR, JOHN WINTERTON (JACK) (1931–), agricultural and livestock consultant, was born on 17 December 1931 at Mooroopna, Victoria, son of Keppel Arthur Turnour and Gay Heron, nee Florence. He completed the Leaving Certificate at high school and commenced work as trainee surveyor with the object of being articled, but switched to agriculture enrolling at Dookie Agricultural College. In 1953, he graduated Dux and Gold Medallist. He joined the Land Research and Regional Survey Section of the Commonwealth Scientific Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) at the Kimberley Research Station working on tropical pasture introductions and variety introduction work with rice, sugar and oil seed crops. In 1955, he was awarded an Industrial Student Exchange to the United States of America and worked with the California Rice Co-operative Growers at Biggs and at the University of California at Davis.

That same year, **F J S Wise**, Administrator of the Northern Territory, visited Biggs because a large American financed rice scheme was envisaged for Humpty Doo. Jack Turnour was offered a position with the Northern Territory Administration responsible for trials and seed production for this rice scheme. Arriving just prior to the 1955–1956 wet season, crops were sown at old Humpty Doo, about 500 metres below the old homestead, under Turnour's direction and at the 'Chinese Rice Gardens' by Rupert Kentish. There was no infrastructure and the area was not able to be drained. In February 1956 floods that extended over the coastal plains from Fred's Pass to the sea, covered the rice fields with three metres of water; with one-metre waves when the wind was up. However, the varieties being grown for seed from the Mekong Delta survived inundation of two weeks, regrowing after the flood

receded, but still yielding from two to three tons per hectare at harvest. Having surveyed the plains by boat during the height of the flood it was decided to establish operations on the plains below Beatrice Hill. (The camp at old Humpty Doo had been inundated during the flood). In the 1956 dry season a road was constructed from Humpty Doo to Beatrice Hill. The original corduroy crossing of the lagoon was replaced with a bridge completed on the opening day of the Olympic Games in Melbourne; hence the name 'Olympic Bridge'. On the same dry season a road to Humpty Doo was built from the 22-mile signpost on the Stuart Highway. Prior to this, all access to the rice operations had been over old Army tracks that were impassable during the Wet Season. In the first wet season, on one section of this road, 34 vehicles were bogged for up to one month.

In the 1956–1957 wet season rice trials were successfully grown at old Humpty Doo and at Beatrice Hill. Adequate supplies of seed were harvested and provided for the exponential expansion of the commercial operations. These commercial operations also moved from the lower poorly drained areas below Humpty Doo to the wider better-drained expanses of flood plain near Fogg Dam, which was constructed the following year. In the 1957/1958 season rice trial crops were only sown at Beatrice Hill. Yields between four to five tons per hectare were obtained and the varieties available for commercial sowings were significantly upgraded. Territory Rice Pty Ltd, in an endeavour to successfully fulfil the very onerous acreage covenants placed on it, delayed plantings in the 1957–1958 wet season. This was an attempt to have adequate subsoil moisture for germination prior to planting. Very heavy rains in December made sowing impossible and in desperation the company tried aerial seeding. By this time the rice bays were weed infested and the seed failed to establish and was cleaned up by magpie geese. Prior to this geese had only invaded the swampy areas of Humpty Doo to nest when the wild rice was flowering. They had only caused minor trouble at sowing but had been a problem at harvest. Now with the attempt at aerial seeding even the Army with Bren guns could not contain the migration from the Goose Camp.

Territory Rice Pty Ltd, in its attempt to justify the failure of this 1957–1958 crop, blamed the lack of infrastructure and background agronomy in the region. Friction developed between the company and the Northern Territory Administration. The Commonwealth Government seconded CSIRO from the Kimberleys where the Ord River Scheme was in abeyance and personnel were available. The initial plan was for Jack Turnour to work with CSIRO at Beatrice Hill but the Director of Agriculture, [W M Curteis](#), decided to move the Administration's rice work to the Marrakai soils on the Upper Adelaide River flood plains. To establish the new experiment station a road was built with farm machinery from the existing 60-Mile farm to the Adelaide River at what is now known as Tortilla Flats. Jack Turnour using a compass and a roll of toilet paper laid out the road.

In the 1958–1959 season, Turnour conducted trials at both Beatrice Hill and at Upper Adelaide River. Territory Rice Pty Ltd was running out of cash and operations were winding down. CSIRO was still developing its infrastructure prior to commencing rice trials on the coastal plains. All the trials conducted by Turnour were successful and rice/pasture rotations were instigated. Spectacular growth of Phasey Bean and Townsville Stylo pastures were obtained under water logged conditions. From 1959 to 1963 Turnour also supported the establishment of a number of small private rice areas in the upper Adelaide River basin helping with irrigation layout and hire of machinery to establish initial crops. Ron Wells, Heinz Mollman and Rob Lawrie owned these farms. In the dry seasons, because Tortilla had the workshop closest to the Daly River, Turnour also helped the early seed growers on the Daly River maintain their machinery to get their Townsville Stylo seed crops harvested. Within a few years the seed industry on the Daly and in the upper Adelaide River region proved commercially viable, producing most of Australia's Townsville Stylo seed. At this time, the Forster Committee was conducting its enquiry into agriculture in the Top End. Because of the success of the rice and pastures on the Marrakai soils the Forster Committee recommended the establishment of pilot farms in this area as well as at Humpty Doo and in the Daly River basin.

In December 1956, he married [Joan Edith Pearce](#). With his wife, Turnour in 1959 bought leases at Coomalie Creek from Bill Wyatt, former owner of Adelaide River Station, and Major WJ Crosby who saw service in Timor during the Second World War. He resigned from the Agricultural Branch in July 1963 in order to obtain a Primary Producer's Loan, which under the Administration's ruling was not available to public servants or their wives. The initial cattle herd was purchased from a contract musterer caught by early wet season rains on the Marrakai Plains. He established a banana plantation and other horticultural pursuits to provide an initial cash flow. He introduced tropical pasture seed, and was the first Territory farmer to grow Siratro seed commercially. Because the cyclones on the vacuum harvesters for Townsville lucerne were expensive to maintain Turnour introduced the first Barrow Linton Blower Harvesters and modified them to local conditions. He set up his own seed cleaning operation to certification standards. In 1964, the property at Coomalie was burnt out including a seed area of 100 acres of Siratro.

In 1967, he was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to study seed production in tropical areas in the United States of America, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In 1970 80 tons of Townsville Stylo seed was sold to Seabring in Florida.

Turnour had helped found the Adelaide River–Batchelor–Noonamah Primary Producers Association and pioneered bush fire legislation. He was a foundation member of the Northern Territory Bush Fire Council and government appointee to the Batchelor School Committee. In 1960 he used his own tractor to upgrade the race course at Adelaide River to re-activate racing there; there were stockmen's races and gymkhana events.

From 1959 to 1970, Turnour and his wife experienced perpetual frustration with the Lands Branch over leasehold land tenure at Coomalie Creek. Although they were making a good living off the 1 500 hectares, they had purchased and had completed the covenants and applied for freehold title, this was refused, as the area was not considered a living area. Permission was denied to establish facilities for caravanners at the road crossing where pollution of the water hole was creating a health hazard. The lease was expanded to 6 000 hectares and lease

conditions were again fulfilled. A further application for freehold was frustrated by an unreasonable valuation put on the unimproved capital value. In 1970, the Turnours sold and moved to Queensland.

Turnour joined a Farm Management Consulting Group in the development and management of intensive cattle production units in the high rainfall belt of southeast Queensland; crossbreeding a Brahman herd with Charolais and Simmental blood using artificial insemination. Between 1973 and 1977 he joined a World Bank Project in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, establishing a 20 000-hectare ranch importing the foundation herd from Northern Australia. In 1977, he returned to Australia and pursued a personal interest in long-range weather forecasting. In 1978, he was invited to lead an agricultural team in Northern Samar; a province in the Republic of the Philippines identified by the Australian Ambassador as worthy of Australian Aid because of the rural poverty. In 1981–1986, he was consultant to the Indonesian Manager of a livestock project in South East Sulawesi. The Asian Development Bank and the Islamic Bank jointly funded this project. He established quarantine facilities and over five years undertook the importation of 7 000 head of Brahman cross breeding heifers from northern Australia. In 1987–1989, he was the Livestock Management Specialist assisting private enterprise producers in Indonesia with dairy importations and feeding, husbandry and the management of smallholder dairy herds in Indonesia. In 1990, he was awarded a Bachelor of Economics, gained by external study, from the University of Queensland. Between 1990–1993 he was Consultant to the Indonesian Transmigration Program in Kalimantan where he travelled in three provinces advising 70 clinics on importation, quietening and the handling of Australian Brahman cattle as draught animals.

From 1993 to 1995, on behalf of the Australian Meat & Livestock Corporation, he joined the Landbank of the Philippines as consultant for their live cattle importations. On his arrival, they were experiencing difficulties in adapting range cattle to village conditions. He trained staff by conducting seminars and gave hands-on training to members of co-operatives importing breeding cattle. During this period the number of cattle imported to the Philippines increased from 30 000 to 200 000 head, most being exported from the Northern Territory.

Turnour later managed a family agriculture and livestock consultancy in Brisbane.

Family records.

JOAN TURNOUR, *Vol 2.*

TUXWORTH, HILDA ELSIE (BIDDY) nee PHEGAN (1908–1994), governess, nursing sister, community worker and historian, was born at Point Clare, New South Wales, on 25 June 1908, the daughter of Herbert Henry Phegan, estate agent, and his wife Elizabeth Ellen, nee Walsh. Educated at the Bondi Domestic Science Public School in Sydney, she worked as a governess and then trained as a nursing sister at the Wollongong General Hospital. She married Lindsay John Tuxworth, miner, in 1935 and they had three sons. From 1940 to 1941, she and her husband lived at a gold mine in the Territory of New Guinea, from which they were forced to flee when the war with Japan started. They returned to Wollongong.

The Tuxworths moved to Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory in 1951. Lindsay worked as an engineer with the Eldorado Mining Company. The family lived at the Eldorado Mine until 1958. Lindsay later transferred to Peko Mines before he retired in 1965. Hilda was a nursing sister for Peko Mines and worked for the Red Cross and St John's Ambulance. Active in the community, she was on various occasions a member and/or office bearer in the Tennant Creek District association, the Tennant Creek School Board, the Old Timers' Home and the Country Women's Association. She taught ballet and painted the local wildflowers in oils and watercolours. In 1969, Her Majesty the Queen appointed her a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for her services as a nursing sister and community work. Very proud of the award, she frequently included 'MBE' in her signature.

Her principal contribution to Tennant Creek was as an historian. She started her work on local history on 6 January 1965, when she visited **Jack Noble** in the Tennant Creek Hospital and took notes as he spoke to her about the beginnings of the Tennant Creek gold rush. She later interviewed many other old residents and collected historic written materials and photographs. Marjorie Fullwood, a close friend, typed all her notes and correspondence and catalogued what has become an invaluable research collection. Their work resulted in Hilda Tuxworth's short booklet on Tennant Creek history that was later expanded to become *Tennant Creek: Yesterday and Today*, published in 1978 and later reprinted. Research materials she and Fullwood gathered were deposited in the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland and the 'Tuxworth-Fullwood Archives' at the headquarters of the Tennant Creek Branch of the National Trust were also established. She researched the story of Helen Springs Station in Central Australia, which the Historical Society of the Northern Territory in association with the Faculty of Arts of the Northern Territory University, published as a book launched at Tennant Creek in 1992. Her oral history interviews were ultimately lodged in the Northern Territory Archives and she contributed articles to the *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography*.

Hilda Tuxworth was a founder of the National Trust in Tennant Creek. She helped form an historical society in March 1968. This remained functional until April 1974 when it transferred its assets to the National Trust and became a branch of what from 1976 was the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory). For many years, she served as Branch Chairman and Vice-Chairman and was a member of the Trust's Council between 1976 and 1983. In 1980, she was made an Honorary Life Member of the Trust, an award she greatly treasured. In 1978, she was instrumental in saving the former outpatients' department of the Tennant Creek Hospital from demolition. The building became from 1980 the National Trust headquarters in Tennant Creek, containing an excellent museum and the Tuxworth-Fullwood Archives. It was later officially known as Fullwood-Tuxworth House.

After her husband's death in February 1981, she moved from the house they occupied to a small but very pleasant home unit. The last few years of her life were mainly spent in a nursing home at Tennant Creek and were marred by serious health problems. Her family were a great source of comfort and support. She was particularly

close to and proud of her son **Ian**, who was prominent in Northern Territory politics, and often stayed with him and his family in Darwin. Her friends in Tennant Creek were numerous and she regularly joined some of them in games of bridge, which she played with great passion. In December 1993, probably aware that her end was close, she moved into a hostel and nursing home in Perth, where Ian now lived. She died there on 19 January 1994. Her ashes were transferred in 1995 to Tennant Creek, where a memorial service took place in the Catholic Church of Christ the King, an historic building for which she had much affection.

Hilda Tuxworth was both formidable and widely respected. Her closest friends called her 'Biddy' but she expected most people to call her 'Mrs Tuxworth', something they usually willingly did. She achieved much for her beloved Tennant Creek and was very determined in pursuit of what she considered worthwhile objectives. Although far from well during the final decade of her life, she maintained her energy and enthusiasm. She had no hesitation in seeking help from people who could be useful to her but did so with such charm and grace that they were nearly always happy to assist. She was at the time of her death a very well known Northern Territory identity. Among her admirers were people from a great range of ages and backgrounds in various parts of Australia.

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DAVID CARMENT, Vol 1.

TUXWORTH, IAN LINDSAY (1942-), miner, field assistant, businessman and politician, was born in Wollongong, New South Wales, on 18 January 1942, the son of Lindsay John Tuxworth, miner, and his wife **Hilda Elsie**, nee Phegan. He moved to Tennant Creek, Northern Territory, with his family in 1951 and was educated at the Tennant Creek Area School and Rostrevor College in Adelaide. Returning to Tennant Creek as a young man, he had various occupations, including miner and field assistant. Between 1962 and 1972, he was proprietor of a Tennant Creek based drink manufacturing and distribution business, Crystal Aerated Waters. On 12 November 1966, he married Ruth, daughter of B Pease and his wife. They had one son and two daughters. In 1972, he built the Eldorado Motel in Tennant Creek, which he owned and operated until 1978.

Intensely interested in politics, he joined the Country Party. On 23 October 1971, he unsuccessfully contested the Barkly Legislative Council electorate as a candidate for that party. He was, however, elected to the inaugural Tennant Creek Town Management Board on 4 November 1972 and elected its first Chairman on 22 November, a position he held until he entered the Northern Territory parliament two years later. The Board was an interim step towards full municipal government and Tuxworth was prominent in discussion about when and in what form local government could come to Tennant Creek.

On 19 October 1974, he was elected to the new Northern Territory Legislative Assembly to represent Barkly for the Country Liberal Party (CLP). He subsequently served as Executive Member for Resource Development, Community Services and Health. He held those portfolios until the achievement of full self-government on 1 July 1978 when he became Minister for Mines and Energy, a position he held until 1982 and again between 1984 and 1986. With his mining background, he enjoyed this portfolio, established good rapport with mining companies and worked hard to attract new investment in Territory mining. He was also Minister for Health from 1978 until 1982, for Primary Production between 1982 and 1986 and for Conservation and Community Development from 1982 until 1984. Articulate and hard working, he was often regarded as a 'strong' minister on the right wing of his party. His ministerial career in all portfolios was for the most part one of achievement though also marked by several well-publicised disagreements with senior bureaucrats. Even his opponents conceded that he was a shrewd political tactician.

Following the resignation of **Paul Everingham** as Chief Minister, on 17 October 1984 a meeting of CLP parliamentarians elected Tuxworth as their new leader. Later that afternoon he was sworn in as Chief Minister, Minister for Mines and Energy, Minister for Primary Production and Minister for Industrial Development and Tourism. On 21 December 1984, he announced a new cabinet in which he was Chief Minister and Treasurer.

Tuxworth's term as Chief Minister over the next two and a half years was marked by increasingly poor relations on a range of matters between his government and the Commonwealth authorities in Canberra. Largely conflict arose over funding, the Commonwealth Labor government being rather less generous in its grants to the Territory than Territorian politicians wished. But there were other matters that resulted in conflict. The most notable of these were differences over Aboriginal land rights, particularly the Commonwealth decision to return Uluru National Park to its traditional Aboriginal owners in October 1985, and the Territory's quest for statehood.

Many Tuxworth government policies were, of course, not contentious and some, such as the construction of a gas pipeline from central Australia to Darwin and the generous funding of community groups, attracted widespread popular support. Other policies, though, were sometimes very controversial indeed. These included government financial support for the casinos in Darwin and Alice Springs, legislation that allowed the Chief Minister to dismiss senior public servants and the decision to create a university college in Darwin. Tuxworth's cabinet was increasingly factionalised as on certain issues some ministers, most notably Tom Harris, Steve Hatton and Jim Robertson, did not provide the Chief Minister with wholehearted support. The CLP party machine became increasingly assertive. By 1985, some of the party's senior office bearers were in open disagreement with Tuxworth. Paul Everingham, the Territory's Member of the House of Representatives, frequently criticised the Tuxworth government's performances and attempted to influence its decisions. Sections of the media by 1985, especially the

Australian Broadcasting Corporation, often attacked Tuxworth. Though the Chief Minister had a well-deserved reputation for being an effective representative of his own electorate, he was less able to ‘keep in touch’ with the Territory as a whole and, in particular, the mood of Darwin. Yet in spite of his many problems, he came to power at a very difficult time. The Australian economy was in decline and he had to make some inevitably unpopular decisions that resulted from quite savage reductions in Commonwealth funding to the Territory.

Tuxworth’s downfall followed allegations made in the Legislative Assembly in late March 1986 that for over a year from 1981 he had fraudulently obtained thousands of dollars in travelling allowances that Everingham as Chief Minister had later made him repay. Tuxworth did not deny the substance of the charge but said that ‘strictly speaking’ he was within his rights. The allegations caused widespread public outrage and were seen as resulting in a large swing against the government in the Araluen by-election on 19 April 1986. On 2 May, the President of the CLP, Graeme Lewis, claimed that party funds were used to reimburse Tuxworth’s contentious travel allowances. On the same day, Everingham declared that the government was in ‘total disarray’. A meeting of CLP parliamentarians on 7 May, to the surprise of many observers, resulted in a unanimous vote of confidence in Tuxworth. There was immediate criticism of the vote from senior CLP figures outside the parliament, most notably Everingham and Lewis. Another parliamentarians’ meeting on 14 May saw Tuxworth forced to step down. Hatton was elected the new party leader and Tuxworth was not included in his government.

Expelled from the CLP in early December 1986 on the basis of alleged ‘disloyalty’, he joined the new Territory National Party later that month and very energetically led the party in the campaign for the elections on 7 March 1987. Although the Nationals, with strong support from the Queensland Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, won 17.8 per cent of the vote, only Tuxworth among its candidates won a seat. His margin was extremely narrow and he was forced to contest a by-election for Barkly on 5 September 1987 after the Northern Territory Supreme Court declared the general election result void. He was able, again with a slim margin, to hold the seat. Between then and 1990, he was a vociferous critic of the Hatton and Perron governments. After September 1988, he had a fellow National member in parliament when Enzo Floreani won the Flynn by-election. In the general elections of 27 October 1990, however, both were unsuccessful and no other National Party candidate won a seat. In that poll, Tuxworth made the surprising decision to contest the electorate of Goyder, in the rural area south of Darwin where, unlike Barkly, he had never lived and had no personal following. He only attracted 9.5 per cent of the valid votes cast. Following his loss, Tuxworth and his family moved to Perth, where he established a retirement home.

Tall, fair and well built, Tuxworth had a commanding physical presence. His prominent ears made him a popular subject for cartoonists, who sometimes likened him to a large rabbit. He possessed enormous energy. Like many Territory politicians, he had a wide range of contacts and an impressive memory for names. Despite his problems with public servants, his personal staff were, for the most part, extraordinarily loyal to him. After his fall as Chief Minister some continued to support him at a cost to their own careers. A devoted family man, in 1981 Tuxworth made his home in Darwin rather than Tennant Creek so that he would not be separated for long periods from his wife and children. He was also very supportive of his mother following his father’s death in 1981. It was a tragedy for both Tuxworth and the Northern Territory that his impressive personal qualities were of so little assistance to him during his stormy period as Chief Minister.

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DAVID CARMENT, Vol 3.

TYE, JANE ELIZABETH (GRANNY) nee HANG GONG (1869–1934), midwife, was born on 28 July 1869 in Creswick, Victoria, to **Lee Hang Gong** and his wife **Sarah**, nee Bowman. She first came to the Northern Territory with her parents and brothers and sister in about 1881 when her father quickly became a prominent Chinese merchant and her mother a sought after midwife.

In about 1883, Jane and her mother left Palmerston by ship for New South Wales where Jane appears to have remained while Sarah returned to the Territory. In August 1885, Sarah returned to Sydney to give her consent to the marriage of Jane to George Tye, 27, a storekeeper from Canton, China. The Tyes subsequently had five children—three sons and two daughters—born in New South Wales between 1886 and June 1896 when Jane and family arrived by ship in Palmerston, presumably to join George who had most likely come ahead of them. In April 1898, Jane gave birth to another son in Palmerston, but he appears never to have reached adulthood.

Both George and Jane became active members of the community and George established a contracting business. Among the tenders he was successful at getting was one in 1901 for the construction of the cement culvert under Cavenagh Street, referred to as the ‘cement subway’. When the job ended up costing more than George had anticipated, he had to put a case for alterations to the Council. The newspaper report refers to him using an interpreter, indicating he had a limited command of English, unlike his wife who spoke the language fluently.

George and his brother Jack were involved in a number of contracts over the years including the sinking of graves, the construction of kerbing in Mitchell Street, the pitching of spoon drains in the Esplanade, the erection of outer compartments for the Darwin sea baths and the removal of human refuse. A contract George won in 1902 for supplying 1 800 bushels of lime for a furnace highlighted the tension in the community regarding Asian versus European labour. The newspaper reported that he got the contract because his tender was 157 Pounds below the nearest European tender.

This prompted George, presumably with the assistance of his wife, to write an angry reply to the paper, saying: ‘You ask the reason why the government contract for lime was given to a Chinaman. Although I am a Chinaman

the best part of my life has been spent in Australia and my wife and family are all natives of the colonies. The reason I suppose is that the Government have to consider their pocket as well as others. Even yourself sir—your servants are Chinese and you deal off a Chinaman because you get things from them the cheapest and I expect you would not mind Chinese putting in a vote for you in the next Council elections.’

One of George’s main interests outside business was horse racing and reports of races again indicate the segregation that existed in the community. For instance the account of a race in 1899, when Tye’s horse came third, referred to the fact that the race could only be entered by ‘bona fide horses the property of the Chinese.’ The Tyes were also listed in the paper as donating money towards the Chinese Theatrical Company, with the paper noting that ‘the Chinese Joss [would] send wealth to the country for giving such generous hearted people.’ George was also involved in some mining activity and was an extremely keen and talented gardener, making Tye’s home an acknowledged showpiece in the community.

Meanwhile Jane Tye was making a much-respected name for herself in the Top End community. She frequently acted as an interpreter in court cases involving Chinese, and was very faithful about placing annual ‘In Memoriam’ notices in the paper to commemorate the deaths of her brothers and mother. She was particularly well known, however, as the Top End community’s best-loved and most skilled midwife, an expertise she had probably learned from her mother.

Long term Territory resident Lily Ah Toy described the esteem in which Jane Tye was held when she was interviewed for a book on Territory birth experiences in 1988: ‘The whole Chinese community, and others, trusted her’. Another interviewee for the same book, Mary Agostini, said: ‘When you knew you were pregnant you got to get a midwife early because she was always booked up... She delivered... most of the babies in the area. She was the only reliable one.’ Nelly Fong recalled that ‘Granny Tye’ delivered all her brothers and sisters as well as herself. ‘She delivered us, and you know nothing sterilised or anything, just natural birth, and she never lost a baby yet... wind, rain or shine, she’d be there.’ This latter phrase became the basis of the title of the book produced.

Granny Tye’s work destinations included such relatively remote areas as Borroloola, evidenced for instance in 1909 when the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported she ‘was the only passenger for the McArthur River by the steamer *Nelson* to fulfil an engagement as nurse at Borroloola.’ In 1913, the paper reported an ordeal she had endured, along with a party of local men and women, when the motor launch on which they were enjoying an afternoon at a nearby lighthouse got caught in ‘furious squalls’ off Two Fellow Creek. The party was forced to land at an adjacent beach and camp there until the next morning.

When Jane Tye died in June 1934, the Darwin newspaper reported the esteem in which she was held: ‘Mrs Jane Elizabeth Tye, at the age of 65 years, after a long and painful illness which she bore uncomplainingly. The late Mrs Tye was for almost 40 years a midwifery nurse in Darwin, and such was her skill in her profession that she never lost a single case either of mother or child. No call to her for assistance went unheeded. On one occasion she even journeyed as far as Borroloola in a small boat to bring succour to an expectant mother. Another call she answered was to Cape Don Lighthouse, also made in a lugger. In the days before motor cars night calls almost invariably meant walking, but rain or fine, for rich or poor, a call for nursing aid to Nurse Tye was unfailingly responded to and many mothers scattered throughout the Northern Territory and further afield will shed a silent tear at her passing. For many years before the establishment of the baby clinic Nurse Tye acted in an advisory capacity to mothers. If baby was sick it was to Mrs Tye it was brought and the mother was instructed in its care and treatment in the same way as is now given by the Matron in charge of the Baby Clinic. It can truthfully be said of the deceased lady that she was one of Nature’s gentlewomen in the strictest sense of the word. Her long and useful life was one of sacrifice and service, intermixed with kindness and generosity which she dispensed with open hands and many of the poorer families will retain kindly memories of her and regret her demise.’

Her funeral was conducted in Saint Mary’s Roman Catholic Church and she was buried in the grave occupied by her mother and brother in the old Palmerston Cemetery on Goyder Road. In 1992, she was still remembered fondly by many of Darwin’s older women who had relied on her during their various birth experiences. Many of her descendants still live in the Territory.

Rain or Shine She Walks Everywhere, 1988; personal research notes; family history notes.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 2.

U

UHR, WENTWORTH DARCY (1845–1907), overlander, was born at Wivenhoe, Queensland, in December 1845, the son of Edmund Uhr.

At age 22, Uhr was a Sub-Inspector of Police on the Albert River, Carpentaria Section, having joined the Queensland force in 1865. In the following year, he transferred to the Native Police and reached Burketown in April 1866 with the first detachment of police. Landsborough, the Land Commissioner, who had explored this country in 1861, arrived a week later. The town of 90 people was then in the grip of a fever which killed forty people. Uhr survived. In 1866 he is said to have ridden from Burketown to the Bareoo, New South Wales, in pursuit of thieves, 3 000 kilometres for the return journey. It took him three months.

He later left the Queensland police force—the date is uncertain—and took up droving. Uhr, the firebrand bushman, became one of the pioneer figures as an overlander by participating in a remarkable journey from west of Charters Towers to Darwin in 1872. Under contract to **Matthew Dillon Cox**, he took 400 bullocks via **Leichhardt**'s route across the MacArthur and Roper rivers to Darwin, blazing a 2 500-kilometre trail that was to become the main stock route between north Queensland and the Top End. The journey ended on a sour note; Uhr and Cox had a disagreement that resulted in a legal battle over a breach of contract—the first major civil dispute in the Northern Territory.

When gold was discovered near Pine Creek later in 1872, it was noted that 'Uhr had made a claim in the area and had unearthed ounces of gold'. Uhr used his Pine Creek earnings to buy cattle for movement to the Palmer River goldfields in Queensland. He and C J Scrutton, another overlander, who had been with Jardine on Cape York, set out with a big mob from Bowen Downs in Queensland. His movements during the next few years have not been traced; but the later 1870s saw him cement his reputation as 'a wild bushman, an expert horseman, utterly fearless and a tough, rough and tumble fighter with fists and a stockwhip'.

For a time between 1883 and 1887 he worked for John Macartney's Arnhem Land station, Arafura. He turned up again in Darwin in 1884 where a charge laid against him of horse stealing was dismissed by Magistrate **J G Knight**. Between 1886 and 1892, he appears to have driven stock to both the Palmer and Kimberley goldfields and tried his hand at mining in these localities.

Evidently he tried other occupations too; **Alfred Searcy** remarks in *Northern Seas* that in 1888 on his way to the MacArthur River in SS *Active*, he ran 'into the Goyder River to land Darcy and his party of men to search for cypress pine. Mr Uhr had also a cutter and two Malay seamen to attend to the camp when formed further up the River. We returned 17 days afterward. We found Mr Uhr and the party—the natives had murdered the two Malay seamen and the cutter was lost.'

It is not certain when Uhr moved to the Coolgardie–Kalgoorlie goldfields, but he seems to have arrived there before 1894. He became one of the pioneers of the goldfields, prominent in local and political matters. At Coolgardie in 1894, he established a meat supply and butchering business, later set up the firm of Butcher and Uhr Ltd and was involved with pastoral interests in the northwest of the state. He served on the Coolgardie Town Council and the Road Board, was prominent in the Race Club and presented the 'Uhr Trophy' to sporting bodies. Uhr died at Coolgardie on 18 February 1907, survived by his wife Essie M Uhr—an infant son died on 27 January 1907. Uhr's name has been perpetuated in a Palmerston street—Uhr Court, and in Uhr Road on the Cox Peninsula. Point Uhr, named by the geologist H W B Talbot, probably refers to him.

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V T O'BRIEN, *Vol 1.*

ULYATT, ALFRED CECIL BERESFORD (FRED) (1903–1975) and **ULYATT, MARY nee O'SHEA** (1910–1976), pastoralists. Fred Ulyatt was born in Scarborough, Yorkshire, England on 10 April 1903, into the sternly disciplined household of sea captain Frederick White Ulyatt and his Scottish wife, Annie, nee Rodney. He was the sixth child in a brood of eight sons and one daughter. Captain Ulyatt provided a gentleman's home with servants to assist his beleaguered wife, who was mostly alone through their married years.

One by one, the lads left home to scatter throughout the world. Frederick, Marcus and Eric went to New Zealand and commenced a building business. Marcus fought in the First World War and was killed on the Somme in France early in his military career. Patrick became a journalist in London and eventually moved to Australia where he was for a time motoring editor for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Herbert too came to Australia and Rowland became a Catholic priest working in Africa. Daughter Adelaide married a wealthy New Zealand property developer, was widowed young and returned to live in England.

Fred's father purchased a small farm for him near the family home and for a while, the young man was happy to operate it. However, the depressed years after the First World War were not favourable to mixed farming so the farm was sold at a loss and Fred was given the choice of travelling on the shipping line for which his father worked, to either Canada or Australia. Australia it was, so the 19 year old worked his way as a deckhand under an assumed name so that the crew would not know he was the Old Man's son.

From Brisbane, where he disembarked, he made his way (through prior contacts) to Narine and Authoringa Stations where he worked long enough to outfit himself with horses and gear, food and money to travel across Queensland and into the Northern Territory.

In Katherine, he met the **O'Shea** family and when passing in the evenings, stopped to chat to Catherine as she sat on the latticed front verandah of their hotel. Occasionally he glimpsed her daughters but never met them. Hearing of a five pounds bounty on dingoes in Western Australia, Fred set off to earn money to begin his travels again.

These were still wild times with sparse settlement throughout the Territory. While most of the major cattle properties had been formed, they were still isolated by lack of transport, other than animals, and poorly formed roads and tracks. The only other direct road access from the Top End to Western Australia, other than by sea, was through Jasper Gorge, a spectacular slash through a rugged range barrier. He had little sleep for a couple of days. At night, he could glimpse the fire glow from Aboriginal camps. During the day, they followed along the clifftops, yelling and rattling bundles of spears often presenting bare backsides and slapping them with boomerangs. Fred was glad to make it to the Depot on the Victoria River.

A born adventurer, Fred's travels and occupations over the next few years took him to British Columbia in Canada where he worked as a cowboy and also as a bar tender and relief manager in McKenzie's Williams Lake Hotel. Back in Australia, he worked on Willeroo and Delamere Stations and travelled overland to Alice Springs in 1933 with cattle for trucking at the railhead.

He built and established a store at Newcastle Waters and won a contract to refuel aircraft at the then official airport. In 1935 Fred's father died, so he sold the store and travelled back to England to see his mother. They had a wonderful few months touring Scotland and renewing acquaintances with friends and family.

While in England Fred heard first hand of the adventures of two of his younger brothers when they travelled up the Amazon River in search of the missing Colonel Fawcett. He decided his next move would be to return to the Northern Territory and finance himself for a trip to South America.

He went to Birdum to establish a store there for Max Schober. Fred became aware of an attractive lady who operated the bungalow-style hotel across the road and in attempts to get a glimpse of her, he would hit his head on the low lintel above the doorway. As they became better acquainted, he would often get an invitation to dinner and afterwards they would dance to gramophone music. For the first time in his wandering life he thought of settling down, so in early 1939 he went by train to Darwin and visited the Department of Lands office to register a claim on a beautiful piece of the Barkly Tableland through which he had travelled when he first came to the Territory. He was shattered to find that Sidney Chambers had claimed Eva Downs the day before. Pondering the list, he noticed Muckadee Bore and remembered camping there on his way through with the Willeroo cattle. On impulse, he put his name down for the little property and walked out of the Lands office a landowner.

Mary Ellen O'Shea was the third of six daughters born to Timothy O'Shea and his wife Catherine *nee* O'Keeffe in Pine Creek 10 May 1910. At this time, her father was a miner and her mother ran a boarding house, but as the family grew, Tim lived in town full-time operating a blacksmithing business. Mary went to school with her two older sisters, then the family moved south to Emungalan in 1918 to await the transit of the railway line south, across the Katherine River. Emungalan was on the northern bank and became a very busy temporary township as teamsters, farmers, tradesmen and government workers settled.

Mary loved Emungalan and spent happy days with schoolmates and other friends. Their parents made quality time to spend with the children, rearing them in loving, God-fearing ways. In 1925, Mary went to the Catholic boarding school in Darwin near the site of the present Cathedral and this was her final year of schooling. She always regretted not becoming a nurse but this would have entailed going somewhere south to study and her parents were not prepared to send a young 17–18 year old away alone.

Catherine suffered badly from rheumatism, so the older girls helped her wherever possible. There was still time for riding horses out to picnics, swimming in the river and attending parties and dances. In 1928, the whole family went to Ireland for the holiday of a lifetime. This was to be Catherine's last visit to family and homeland.

The bridge across the Katherine River was completed in 1926 and after their return from Ireland the family moved to set up the first of their hotels, on the site now known as 'Kirby's'. Catherine died in 1930 aged 50 years and Mary suffered a nervous breakdown as a result. Timothy's strength came to the fore in the death of his wife as he steadfastly protected his girls with shelter and love until, one by one, they left to marry and start homes of their own. He never remarried and remained in Katherine until his death in 1958.

Mary O'Shea went to one of her father's three hotels. This one was in Birdum at the southern end of the railway line, about 200 kilometres from Katherine. Here she managed the office and did many of the other duties though there was other basic staff. When she needed a break, someone was sent to relieve her. Train travel made commuting very easy and there was also good quick freight access.

In 1939, she became engaged to Fred Ulyatt and on 7 September, four days after war was officially declared in Europe, they were married at Birdum. Two daughters were born, Miriam in July 1940 and Patricia in September 1941.

The Second World War drastically altered the lives of many Territorians. Fred was seconded for the war's duration to the Allied Works Council and was put in charge of a gang of Department of Civil Aviation workers clearing and establishing emergency airstrips across the Top End of Australia. Women were ordered to leave the Top End and 'go south' after the bombing of Darwin so in 1942 Mary and her babies quietly travelled to Helen Springs Station, which adjoined Muckaty, the Ulyatts' new property. At Helen Springs she stayed with Mr and Mrs Bohning and paid her way monetarily and physically, helping wherever she could.

In August that year, Timothy O'Shea travelled to Helen Springs and took his daughter to Muckaty, establishing her in a tent near a well. An elderly pensioner stockman, Harry Condon, came to spend his final years at Muckaty, assisting wherever he could, drawing water from the well, planting vegetables and tending a small goat herd for meat and milk.

Fred was released in 1945 and almost immediately went to move a mob of 125 cattle to Muckaty from the vicinity of Larrimah. For about 100 kilometres, he was assisted by an Aboriginal man who ran off and deserted him, leaving him to travel the rest of the way with horses and cattle alone for weeks.

Fred purchased two ex-army vehicles in 1946 and rebuilt them to suit the station's needs. In September 1948, a third daughter, Lois, was born in Tennant Creek and this same year saw the purchase of a small kerosene refrigerator. Progress was slow for the property because Fred would never borrow, relying on sales to provide for basic needs. Cattle numbers increased slowly and sales were mainly to the Tennant Creek butcher. Later they were able to access the Adelaide market.

Aboriginal help was transitional, that is, the people came and went at whim or will. Several returned often over the years, since they were able to live traditionally and work for the designated rate of one pound per week plus keep for themselves and as many of their relatives as they wished. Additionally, rations of flour, tea, sugar and meat were handed out for weekend survival when they often went out hunting in the desert.

The children did correspondence lessons, received and returned fortnightly and enrolled on School of the Air in 1952. This was a wonderful educational system since everything had to be written in complete sentences. A single 'yes' or 'no' answer was not tolerated, and even for very young children, answers had to be grammatical and perfectly spelled.

Fred and Mary worked long hard hours, establishing fencing, two stockyards, roadways and creek crossings. He was environmentally conscious, never burning on ridgy slopes where water runoff could cause damage. He purchased a manually operated small grader that was dragged behind a vehicle. With this, he cleared aside stones and brush while trying not to score the earth. This prevented unnecessary erosion during wet seasons.

A series of drought years during the 1950s took a severe toll on stock numbers since this was the era before supplementary feeding which virtually cut losses by three quarters. Of course, life was enjoyable too. Everyone had hobbies and interests. Fred read extensively and was an authority on American history. He loved leather craft and became an artisan at leather carving. Mary read and did crochet work while the girls rode their ponies, read books, wrote to penpals and friends and did artwork.

Mary grew a large vegetable garden which was watered by bucket and siphon hose. She was able to sell this produce to grocers in Tennant Creek and this augmented their very skimpy income. This was only possible for five months of the year, then the weather became too hot and the water supply in the well receded to a low level.

The Ulyatts sent two of their girls to Our Lady of the Sacred Heart boarding school in Alice Springs in 1956 and 1957 to finish their high school education. This also involved office training in typing, bookkeeping and shorthand that gained them Pitman diplomas.

These were the countdown years prior to leaving the station that Fred loved obsessively. Miriam and Patricia left home and went to jobs. Lois went to boarding school at Monte Sant' Angelo College in Sydney and there were long dry years at Muckaty. Fred's health suffered as his heart weakened. Miriam married a young station career man, Allan Hagan, and in 1963, they bought Muckaty from Fred and Mary Ulyatt who retired to Alice Springs. Patricia married Allan's brother, John, and after a year working in the Alice Springs district, they went to manage Brunchilly Station, a property not far from Muckaty.

Fred and Mary led full and happy lives in Alice Springs, joining clubs and investing in several rental properties. Fred also did relief managing of station properties for weeks at a time while owners were absent. He also worked for some time as a ranger with the Northern Territory Reserves Board, a forerunner of the Conservation Commission. They both died suddenly, 13 months apart, Fred on 11 April 1975 the day after his 72nd birthday and Mary on 13 May 1976, three days after she turned 66.

Two good people who, from having visited, left the world a better place.

Family information.

MIRIAM A HAGAN and LOIS ULYATT, Vol 3.

UMBALLA: see **BILLIAMOOK and UMBALLA**

URQUHART, FREDERICK CHARLES (1858–1935), poet, paramilitarist, police commissioner and Administrator of the Northern Territory, was born at St Leonards on Sea in Sussex on 27 October 1858.

He was the second son of Major F D Urquhart of the Royal Artillery (formerly Bengal) and went to Felstead School and All Saint's School at Bloxham. As a youth, he had a brief spell as a Midshipman on Wigram's clipper ships, but at age seventeen decided to head for Queensland and try his hand in the outback, droving and bookkeeping. During the westward expansion of the Queensland telegraph line in 1878, Urquhart became a line repairer. Four years later, he joined the Queensland Native Mounted Police Force. Initially he was a Cadet Sub-Inspector, but spent his first seven years in western Queensland as a Sub-Inspector.

In 1883, militant Kalkadoon Aborigines on the Fullarton River in the McKinlay Ranges- killed Sub Inspector Marcus Beresford and his party; his grave is on Devoncourt Station. Urquhart was entrusted with the difficult task of restoring law and order among the Aborigines. He was twice wounded, once in the groin and again with a tomahawk in the thigh. His later travels in the west took him to the wreck of the *Quetta* in 1890 in the Torres Straits. In 1891, he published some poetry, *Camp Canzonettes*, about Carpentaria and Leichhardt 'as a humble tribute to the valiant dead'. His interest in exploration led him to compile an article, 'Albatross Bay and the Embley River', the subsequent site of the Weipa Mission. It was surprising that Urquhart found time to record in verse some phases of outback life, the Aborigines and nature. In 1896, he transferred to Brisbane as an Inspector and in 1898; he became involved in the investigation of the murder of the Murphy family at Gatton—the unsolved Gatton

Murder mystery. He became Chief Inspector in 1905 and was later offered the post of Resident at Thursday Island, but opted to remain in the police force. He became the fourth Commissioner of Police in 1917, retiring in 1921.

In January 1921, the federal government appointed him as Administrator of the Northern Territory. He arrived in Darwin indicating, in his forthright manner, that he meant business in promoting development of this outpost after the apathy evident in the First World War period. Urquhart strongly supported the plea for railway extension; the government moved in 1927 to extend the north Australia rail line from Katherine to Birdum and the Depression of the 1930s put paid—permanently—to further progress. Urquhart was not impressed with the government's experimental farms in unsuitable country such as the area north of Coomalie Creek. He was impatient at the apathy and negative attitudes of both the federal government and the local labour force; but in the face of such attitudes, he could achieve little.

In 1927, Urquhart retired. In the same year, the federal government divided the Northern Territory under the North Australia Act, creating a Commission in Central Australia and another in North Australia. This experiment brought no more development than had Urquhart's appointment and was ended in 1931. Frederick Urquhart died in Brisbane in early December 1935.

C L A Abbott, *Australia's Frontier Province*, 1946; R Cilento, *Triumph in the Tropics*, 1959; H Fysh, *Taming the North*, 1940; J T Gibbney, *Gatton Mystery*, 1977; H A Kellow, *Queensland Poets*, 1970; F C Urquhart, *Camp Canzonettes*, 1891; N S Pixley, 'History of the Queensland Police Force', *Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, 1956; Northern Standard, 6 December 1935; Sydney Sun, 9 July 1981.

V T O'BRIEN, *Vol 1*.

V

VERBURG, EDWIN (KLEIN, JOHN) (1869–1965), gardener, was born in 1869 in Colynsplaet, Zeeland, Holland the son of Cornelis Verburg and Tacomina, *nee* Westerweel. Cornelis Verburg was a farmer. After a difference with his father, Edwin ran away to sea when he was about 14, settled in the United States and took out American citizenship. He was among the troops who fought in the Spanish American war during which he was wounded. For this service, he received a pension, which was paid to him for the rest of his life.

About 1913 he settled in the Northern Territory. In September, his address then being Brocks Creek, he applied for a Grazing Licence on Hayward Creek. He was granted Miscellaneous Lease No 3 for 21 years from 1 January 1914. This was for a little more than 392 hectares of land on the west bank of the Adelaide River, adjacent to the railway line. Here he began to grow fruit and vegetables with immediate and consistent success. As early as December 1914 he advertised that he had potatoes, pumpkin and watermelon for sale. In one of the first press reports about him, it was noted that he had ‘really good samples of lucerne and English potatoes... under irrigation... working upon American methods’. In 1917, it was noted that ‘a prodigious bunch of bananas has been sent to the Government Office’. The report continued that Verburg was one of the few settlers who, by sheer grit and determination and the exercise of common sense, has practically overcome the path of the pioneer agriculture (*sic*) in this country and that he is now in the happy position of realising a comfortable income from the produce of his farm’.

Until 1918, Verburg was known as John Klein but he formally reverted to his own name by an announcement in the press on 15 June 1918. His land title was noted accordingly. It is not known why he used the name ‘John Klein’. Perhaps he needed another name to leave the United States; perhaps Verburg was too ‘European’ in Australia. Perhaps too ‘John Klein’ was too Germanic for the hysteria generated in Australia during the First World War. His family understands that at one stage he was under threat of being interned until it was discovered he was Dutch born.

Verburg’s farm became something of a local attraction and the annual railway picnic was regularly held nearby. A treat for the picnickers in 1917 was watermelons from his garden. By 1920, Verburg’s irrigated farm on which he had spent about 4 000 Pounds in various improvements, with the help of a loan from the Advances to Settlers Board, was an ‘object of wonder and interest to visitors’. He had, reported the press, thrown a ‘concrete wall... across the river, raising the water about fifteen feet and conserving a magnificent sheet of water for a long distance up stream. A centrifugal pump, capable of throwing probably 455 000 litres of water per hour is to be worked by a turbine, the power for which will be supplied by the pressure of the water in the dam’. It was the journalist’s fervent hope that a largely increased population in the area would follow his efforts but until the influx of servicemen to the Adelaide River area during the war years, this was not to be. Verburg’s original debt and his improvements had been paid out of his profits; the Administrator was pleased to report in 1920.

There was a set back in 1921 when the widespread incidence of a canker resulted in the destruction of all citrus trees north of the 19th parallel. Compensation was paid, with Verburg heading the list. He received 867 Pounds for 446 trees. The next largest holding was of 247 trees for which only 113 Pounds and Five Shillings. Was paid, the other 15 growers affected (including the Bathurst Island Mission) each had less than 100 trees on their properties. This clearly demonstrates the pre-eminent position Verburg held then, and was to maintain until the Second World War, in fruit and vegetable growing.

In 1930, Verburg applied to have his lease converted into freehold. The North Australian Commission then in charge of the Top End of the Territory approved the grant and described him as ‘undoubtedly the best settler in the NT’. During the 1930s, Verburg had a small shop in Cavenagh Street and each Saturday he would go to Darwin on the train and sell his fresh produce. Darwin-born Jack Haritos and [Les Liveris](#), then young lads, remembered their Saturday visits to the fruit shop with great affection.

Marauding cattle and other livestock were always a problem. Frequently, and from as early as 1918, Verburg advertised that he would destroy cattle found on his property. In a case against his neighbour, Hardy, whose cattle regularly got into his crops, he was described as ‘quarrelsome’. The magistrate commented that all his immediate neighbours, many of whom he had sued, had had some difficulties with him. In Verburg’s defence it must be pointed out that being the only settler with a commercial garden and with no-one’s tenure requiring fences he had some right to be irritated by wandering cattle looking for a feed. He had also upset officialdom by employing Aborigines without always having obtained the requisite permission though it was acknowledged that he paid well above the prescribed minimum wages. Officially he was described as an ‘eccentric’ and ‘difficult to deal with’ though there was universal agreement that in growing fruit and vegetables he was in a class of his own and he was certainly the first man other than the Botanic Gardens curators to grow anything like marketable produce. Among the crops that he tried was beetroot.

In 1941, Verburg had a nearly new home on his farm and all improvements, including his crops, were valued at 10 895 Pounds and 10 Shillings. By this time, he was about 72. On 4 May 1942 members of the 2/3 Pioneer Battalion took over the farm. It seems odd indeed, given the amount of food the troops required and the fact that large Army farms were subsequently developed in the Adelaide River area, that Verburg’s property was not utilised. By then, he had over 40 hectares acres under cultivation, all held under freehold title. On the north side of the river he had 981 acres with a further 98 hectares on the south side, resumed in 1943 and April 1945 respectively. Among the crops, there were 1 000 citrus trees, 100 mango and 12 000 pineapples. He was evacuated and took his family to Longreach in Queensland.

On what had been his land, areas were set aside for the war cemetery, the civil cemetery, a park with an avenue leading to it, and for the hotel. In 1948, Verburg was advised that the government no longer required the remainder of the land and it could be reconveyed to him. There were only 30 hectares available to him and most of that was covered in roads, concrete slabs and other debris. Among the buildings on the northern-most farm had been the 119 Australian General Hospital. The only improvements left were a few mango trees. He told the authorities he was not interested and issued a writ seeking compensation as he was only offered 2 980 Pounds and 15 Shillings. His claim was eventually settled for 10 312 Pounds and 10 Shillings in September 1955 when Verburg was about 85 and too old to start again. He moved into Darwin and lived with his daughter, Ada.

On 9 August 1930, he had married Magdalene McGregor, an Aboriginal woman. Verburg was 61 and divorced, his new wife just 16 years old. The marriage was dissolved on 3 July 1936. There were two daughters of the marriage, Ada (Calma) and Magdalene (McIntosh). It is the family's understanding that this was a divorce of convenience as the practice then was to take part-Aboriginal children away from their mothers and rear them in institutions. Verburg sent his daughters to school in Queensland at a very young age. There seem to have been two sons from his earlier marriage as in May 1924 in correspondence to the Lands Branch Verburg mentions a son, Cornelis, then aged 25. He was a farmer who intended to come to the Territory if he could get land. In 1928 his son James P Verburg obtained a lease on the Adelaide River, Cornelis apparently having settled in Queensland.

Edwin Verburg was a very blonde man, not particularly tall, and he walked with a pronounced limp. At the time of his death on 13 March 1965 at the age of 96, he was the Territory's oldest pioneer. He was survived by his two daughters and their families and is buried in the McMillans Road Cemetery. In honour of his pioneering agricultural work the Edwin Verburg Bridge across the Adelaide River was opened on 27 March 1980; the remains of his original dam, which had been breached by 1945, can still be seen under the bridge.

Administrator's annual reports, year ended 30 June 1920, year ended 30 June 1922; Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory, CRS A1/1 37/4946 A432/86 30/743, A452/1 54/211; CRS F649 S215; information to the author by J Haritos, L Liveris; Northern Territory Archives Service, E113/1; F5 V27; F28 GL42, F666; Land Titles Office records, LG 1/78, 1/79; Northern Territory Government Gazette, No 54 of 11 March 1943, No 142 of 30 September 1948; *Northern Territory News* 15 March 1965, 28 March 1980; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 27 August 1914, 31 December 1914, 1 November 1917, 5 April 1917, 22 June 1918, 14 September 1918, 6 August 1921.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

W

WALDEN, ELIZABETH: see **[DARCY, ELIZABETH](#)**

WALKER, CHRISTOPHER HENRY (c1864–1930), prospector, miner and explorer, was probably born in about 1864, the son of Henry Walker, a farmer, ship's cook and miner from Virginia, United States of America, and Sarah, *nee* Wheeler, one of at least ten children. Evidence about his early life is sparse but he was a stonemason in Hobart when he married in 1892 and later worked as a gold miner in Western Australia before coming to the Northern Territory in 1912. His brother, Sydney Walker, a Hobart solicitor, supporting his request for Commonwealth government assistance, recorded that he had spent 18 years in Western Australia and the last six and a half years prospecting in Madagascar (that is about 1906 to 1912). His obituary in the *Murchison Times* reported that he had worked at the Mainland Consols Mine, near Cue, in about 1900.

In June 1912, Walker applied to the Department of External Affairs for support of a prospecting expedition to follow up Alan Davidson's work in the Northern Territory. He indicated that he was spending some 400 to 500 Pounds of his own to finance the trip and his references described him as a 'man of repute', 'well known to many members of the Hobart Stock exchange.' Atlee Hunt, the Secretary of the department, arranged for camels and equipment to be supplied to the expedition at the Oodnadatta railhead in South Australia. Walker, with his brother Arthur Charles Walker (born in 1873), then travelled north to Barrow Creek and Bonney Well to assess the areas of the Murchison and Davenport Ranges reported some 10 years earlier by Davidson to be 'promising'. The brothers were accompanied by a Mr Hanel, and two Aboriginal assistants (one of whom had travelled with Davidson). Between 1 October and 17 November, the party examined Davidson's old workings and also made brief examinations of the desert country to the east and northeast, but found nothing at all prospective. Walker concluded that 'Mr Davidson was a novice... as a miner'.

Returning to Alice Springs, Walker sent a full report of the journey to Melbourne and sought additional camels and ordered supplies to sustain his party for a year in order to prospect the country to the west of the Overland Telegraph Line from Ryan's Well. In a letter to his friend and backer, Thomas Way, a Melbourne diamond merchant, at the end of January, Walker indicated that if they failed to find 'anything of consequence on the Territory side' they might continue into Western Australia and make for Wiluna or Peak Hills for fresh supplies. He left Alice Springs on 1 February and Ryan's Well on 6 February and paused at Napperby Station where he recruited a local Aboriginal guide. The other members of the party besides Walker and his brother, were a Mr Crofts and a 'half cast' [*sic*] named Andy. Delayed for a week by some heavy showers on the headwaters of the Lander River, they were only some 65 kilometres from Napperby when their Aboriginal guide left them and they halted for another week. By then, they had reached the area of Mount Hardy and had named a large creek running north from there, Atlee Creek, in honour of Atlee Hunt.

Continuing westward from this, their second depot camp, they were delayed by more rainstorms as they passed through 'excellent pastoral country' on the way to Mount Singleton and **Warburton's** Mount Farewell, which Walker found to be some 32 kilometres east of its location on existing maps. Greeted there by a party of 17 Aboriginal men, probably Walpiri, they then travelled south searching for Ethel Creek and excavated a 'native well'.

Walker remained in camp there while the other three made a scouting trip to the west, taking all the camels. On his second day alone in the barricaded camp more than 30 men approached and Walker decided it was advisable to fire two warning shots with his shotgun to discourage any possible attack. Walker kept watch all that night and fired off two more shots when he heard noises. The scouting party returned next afternoon, having found a 'native well' some 43 kilometres to the west, and the Aboriginal visitors left, having removed a bucket, some bottles and cans, and Crofts's silver watch.

Walker and Andy scouted west from the next camp (Number 20) and found a prominent hill he named Jasper Hill from which he saw what appeared to be 'lake country' to the west. Scouting forward again on 15 April Walker and Andy saw a mirage 'like great sheets of water' and after another four kilometres came on an arm of a lake and followed it west. They saw several islands in what were 'large salt plains, which had the appearance of a large plain after a snow storm'. A scouting trip to the north suggested that it might take weeks to work around the lake to the north and Walker decided to travel south to find a way around it. When they left the lake, finding the high sandridges near the eastern shore difficult, Walker had concluded that it extended for 'over sixty miles [96 kilometres] from north to south'. This was the great salt lake that, 17 years later, was named Lake Mackay, after **Donald Mackay's** aerial survey party flew over it.

The Walker brothers made their way southward and in May prospected the Kintore Range (which Walker referred to as the 'Bluff Range') and Bonython Range ('Black Range'), skirting the southeastern corner of Lake Macdonald, which Walker thought might be a southern arm of 'the Great Lake' they had seen earlier. At Camp 30 in a range of sandstone hills (Emery Range) Walker judged that they were on the border of Western Australia and the Territory, but they were already about 32 kilometres west of the border. From there they continued west and north west to Baron Range, keeping to their practice of moving forward only when 'flying trips' had located a suitable water supply for camels and observing the fires and tracks of the inhabitants to help find their waters. After passing through a range of low hills (Ryan Buttes) in mid June, the party travelled south westerly, reaching Wongawol Station, near Lake Carnegie, at the end of September and after resting at the homestead arrived at Wiluna on 12 October.

Walker promptly telegraphed the department in Melbourne to report his party's safe arrival and dispatched his manuscript journal and traverse plan to Melbourne. In the covering letter, he drew attention to the discovery of a lake that they had not named but which was 'worthy of one on account of its large area'. No action seems to have been taken to place the lake on official maps or to name it, though the name Atlee Creek was adopted. Walker's brother, Sydney, reported in person to the department in Melbourne in March 1914.

Walker indicated that he planned to prospect in the Meekatharra area for as long as his finances lasted, if allowed to keep his camels. The department finally accepted his offer to buy the camels for 160 Pounds in January 1915. Meanwhile the brothers had spent some six months developing the Macquarie gold mine at Meekatharra for what was described as a Tasmanian syndicate but abandoned this early in February 1915 and went prospecting again. In 1918 the brothers are recorded as working on gold mining leases at Yaloginda, near Meekatharra, but in 1924 moved south to Cue and reopened the abandoned Mainland Consols Mine, Lake Austin, where Walker had worked earlier in his life.

Walker died in Perth at Saint John of God Hospital on 12 March 1930 after a long illness, survived by a son, Roy, of his first marriage to Annie Mary Bailey in Hobart in 1892, and by his second wife, Ethel May Grimshaw, whom he had married in about 1917 in Perth. He was buried next day in the Anglican Cemetery, Karrakatta. His widow and his brother, A C Walker, seem to have continued to live and work on the Lake Austin field at least for a few years after C H Walker's death.

In June 1934, the Western Australian Minister for Lands, Michael Troy, member for Mount Magnet, wrote to Canberra seeking a copy of the report of the Walker brothers' journey. An edited version of the journal entries covering their travels through Western Australia from 27 May until October 1913 was published in weekly instalments in *The Daily News*, Perth, between December 1934 and February 1935 but otherwise this remarkably efficient and successful exploration of the Western Desert area remained forgotten for many years.

Meekatharra Miner, 1 and 22 August 1914, 6 February 1915, 7 August 1915, 16 March 1918, 1 June 1918; *Murchison Times*, 22 March 1930; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1914; *West Australian*, 14 March 1930; Australian Archives, CRS A 1 34/9205; Probate Index 232/30- M/F 3436, no 50, Batty Library, Perth; Western Australian Electoral Rolls 1920, 1929, 1932.

JEREMY LONG, *Vol 2.*

WALLACE, CHRISTINA: see [GORDON, CHRISTINA](#)

WALTER, PURULA: see [SMITH, WALTER](#)

WARBURTON, PETER EGERTON (1813–1889), soldier and explorer, was born on 15 August 1813 at Arley Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, England, fourth son of the Reverend Rowland Egerton Warburton (1778–1843) and his wife Emma (d. 1881), *nee* Croxton, niece of Sir Peter Warburton, Baronet. Educated privately and by tutors in Paris and Orleans, he joined the Royal Navy at 12 and served as a Midshipman in HMS *Windsor Castle*. In 1829, he left the sea and entered the East India Company's military college at Addiscombe, Surrey. On graduation as an Ensign in 1831 he went to India and joined the army's 13th Native Infantry Battalion, Bombay, in which he served, mainly in staff positions, until 1853 when he retired as Assistant Adjutant-General with the rank of Major and the pension of a Captain.

Warburton originally had decided to settle in New Zealand but after a brief visit to his brother, George, at Albany, Western Australia, settled in Adelaide where he was appointed Commissioner of Police for South Australia on 1 December 1853. In 1857, he explored the dry country south and west of Lake Gairdner and in September he was sent out by the government to recall and supersede B H Babbage's exploring party; he discovered new grazing land, several permanent springs and a route between Lake Eyre and South Lake Torrens. After further expeditions in 1860 and 1864, with indifferent results, he set out in August 1866 from the northernmost point of his 1858 journey, rounded Lake Eyre and struck eastward along the creek, now called the Warburton, which he mistook for the debouchment of Cooper Creek into Lake Eyre.

In 1867, as a result of circumstances that were never fully explained, he was dismissed as Police Commissioner and, though later recommended for reinstatement, Warburton became instead Commandant of the South Australian Volunteer and Reserve Forces, from 1869 until 1877, with the local rank of Colonel.

In 1872, Warbuton was commissioned and financed by Sir Thomas Elder and Sir Walter Hughes, men with large pastoral interests, to explore the country west of the Overland Telegraph and if possible break through to the coast. His party consisted of his 32-year-old son Richard, John Lewis (bushman and surveyor), Dennis White (cook) and Sahleh and Halleem (Afghan camel drivers). They left Adelaide on 21 September 1872 and arrived in Alice Springs in December where they recruited Charley, an Aboriginal youth. Acting on local advice about the inhibiting effect of alleged summer rains they waited four months before setting out with seventeen camels and six months' provisions on 15 April 1873.

The terrible journey that followed is one of the great epics of Australian exploration. Skirting the northern edge of the MacDonnell Ranges and reaching Central Mount Wedge, the party faced extremely arid country north and northwest of Mount Stanley. After many detours in search of water, they reached Waterloo Wells (north of Lake Mackay) on 18 June where they were detained by a series of misfortunes for forty-two days. In fact, the party had been pinned down on the 130th meridian for eight weeks before Lewis, scouting ahead, found water 160 kilometres to the northwest. Enduring illness, little water and extreme heat which forced them to travel at night, they survived only by killing camels for meat. They arrived at Joanna Spring, about latitude 20°S and about 300 kilometres from the coast on 30 September with only seven fit camels. Warburton faced a dilemma: 'If we

press forward, we run the chance of losing our' camels and dying of thirst; if we stand still, we can only hope to prolong our lives, as God may enable us, on sun-dried camel flesh.' Facing such odds, Warburton decided to strike southwest to the Oakover River (discovered by Frank Gregory), which they reached on 11 December. Lewis and Charley pressed on and organised a relief party from Messrs Grant, Harper and Anderson's station near the mouth of the De Grey River, which they all reached on 21 January 1874. From Roebourne Warburton's party returned to Adelaide via Perth and Albany. Warburton acknowledged that he owed his life to the courageous efforts of Lewis and Charley.

The South Australian government gave him 1000 Pounds and a further 500 Pounds to be divided between his party. Later in 1874, he briefly visited England where he addressed the Royal Geographical Society and was awarded its gold medal. In 1875 he was made a Companion of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (CMG) and published with assistance, as his health and especially his eyesight was greatly impaired by his privations, *Journey Across the Western Interior of Australia*, a most gripping account of his party's heroic exertions.

Warburton was the last of the military and naval explorers, beginning with Arthur Phillip, who contributed to the opening of Australia. Though his last journey was a magnificent feat of human endurance, his discoveries were of little practical value. Constant preoccupation with survival, minimal knowledge of geology or botany and travelling a great deal by night (to spare the camels) obviated any detailed worthwhile observations. It also seems likely that water was not all that scarce, only that Warburton lacked the skill to find it.

Warburton died on 5 November 1889 at his property Norley Bank, Beaumont, near Adelaide and was buried in St Matthew's churchyard, Kensington. He had married Alicia Mant (d. 1892), daughter of Henry Mant of Bath, England, on 8 October 1838, and by whom he had three sons and three daughters; his wife, two sons and a daughter survived him. He is commemorated by Warburton Creek in the Northern Territory (named by [W C Gosse](#) in 1873), creeks in Queensland and South Australia and a mountain range in Western Australia.

J E Tenison Woods, *History of the Discovery and Exploration of Australia*, vol 2, 1805; PRGS, 44, 1874–75; J H Heaton, *Australian Dictionary of Dates, the Men of the Time*, 1879; Sir B Burro, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry*, vol 2, 1895; B Threadgill, *South Australian Land Exploration 1856 to 1880*, 1922; G Rawson, *Desert Journeys*, 1948; E H & G E Feeken & O H K Spate, *The Discovery and Exploration of Australia*, 1970; *Australasian*, 7 September 1872; *Adelaide Register* and *Adelaide Advertiser*, 6 November 1889; PP, 1858–74.

GERALD WALSH, Vol 1.

WARD, MARY nee McENTYRE, (1895–1973), 'Missus of Banka Banka', was born in 1895 at Coolgardie, first child of William Harris McEntyre and his wife Margaret, nee Walsh. Her father was a bricklayer by trade, but preferred to work as a mine-gouger. He was possibly on the Leigh Creek field when coal was discovered.

After schooling at Adelaide and some country areas, spending much time camping with her father on gouging trips, Mary became used to harsh bush conditions. In 1920, having completed her training as a schoolteacher at Perth Teachers College, she moved to Wyndham, Western Australia, where she was the government schoolteacher. There she married James Thomas (Ted) Ward, a stockman, in 1928. On the discovery of gold at Tennant Creek, the Wards decided to try their luck. A rugged trip in a Morris one-ton flattop truck brought them to a temporary camp at the Overland Telegraph Station. Mary accepted a contract to do the laundry for the men of No. 1 Battery. During this time, Ted met a Warrumungu family, grandmother, mother 'Topsy' and daughter 'Linda'. The latter became Mary's lifelong employee, friend and companion.

Mary's brother, Stuart McEntyre, gouged around to the north east of the telegraph station and eventually decided on a site which the trio named the Blue Moon. According to Mary, the moon was blue on the night the decision was made. A fabulously rich producer, by 1942 much gold had been discovered there. Linda married Frank, an Aboriginal employee at the telegraph station, and had a son, DayDay. She became the house-girl although she was always treated as a friend and learned quickly to cook, sew and plant a garden, which supplied all needs at the Blue Moon Camp. With Mary's ability to create a home from meagre material, the camp became a model of neatness and cleanliness.

In 1940, Paddy Ambrose put his station, Banka Banka, 90 kilometres north of Tennant Creek, on the market. The gold was failing at the Blue Moon; the Wards bought the station. They moved their possessions there by truck, taking with them Linda and her small son.

In the very primitive homestead building, Mary's home-making skills soon produced fresh paint, curtains, new furniture and flowers. She transformed the dismal bachelor quarters to a welcoming halfway house on the highway that over the years became a 'must' for travellers—with a hostess of warmth and humanity. Mary was a 'green fingered gardener' and her garden became renowned. She taught the older Aboriginal women to garden. She also taught Lauder, an elder of the Warrumungu on Banka Banka, who grew the watermelons, rock melons and potatoes, which, before a regular supply was available to Tennant Creek shops, supplied the town. Later, when an army staging camp was established adjacent to the homestead, she supplied the troops in fresh vegetables and eggs. The Wards supplied meat to the army staging camp at Banka Banka by government contract; the homestead was 'open house' to senior officers. After the war, Mary's hospitality remained unbounded. During Christmas 1968, whilst confined to a hospital bed in Perth, she rang instructions to her housekeeper in charge to send a man up and down the 'track' for 15 kilometres each way to bring any stranded travellers into the station for Christmas dinner. The long, wide enclosed verandah was bursting at the seams with guests. No distinction was ever allowed; a truck driver in a blue singlet sat with an Administrator if the occasion arose. There was no air-conditioning and sometimes the heat rose to 42° Celsius. On one occasion, two tired elderly ladies requested permission to park their caravan inside the station gates. For Mary that was not good enough; the caravan was parked on the homestead lawn and the visitors bedded down in the women's quarters. This became an annual event.

Two young men ran out of petrol on the way home to Western Australia. There was a bowser at Banka Banka for station use. Mary gave the men petrol and they promised to pay when they reached home and got work. Eighteen months later, the cheque arrived. This was one of Mary Ward's greatest joys.

This quality of warmth and fellow feeling was transmitted to the Aboriginal employees on the station—mostly of the Warrumungu tribe. Many of the stockmen and their families at the time of Mary's leaving the station in 1970 had been born and 'grown up' there.

Having no children of her own, Mary Ward mothered the Aboriginal babies, coping with both their health and education problems. Before starting, with the help of the Welfare Department, the government school at Banka Banka, Mary sent the Aboriginal children to the convent in Alice Springs or college in Darwin, as well equipped as any European children. For her marked care of her native families and their children, she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in 1968.

Of delicate appearance, short and with a ready smile, Mary Ward had an underlying strength of character and morality that made her an astute businesswoman, who was relentless in dealing out justice to anyone practising knavery. This strength flowed on to her control of the station personnel of any race, who were immediately dismissed from the station if known to have intoxicating liquor on the place.

Her humanitarianism extended beyond humankind; having had her men load a large contingent of cattle onto a truck before sun-up so they would not be travelling in the heat of the day on their trip to Queensland, she was later surprised to see the truck parked at the Three Ways, seventy-five kilometres south of Banka Banka. She sought out the driver and asked why he was still there at midday. He pointed out to her that the cattle were now his and he could do as he liked. She replied, 'I will never sell any more cattle to you because of this cruelty to animals.'

As a demonstration of Mary's decided sense of humour, also her obsession that the grounds must at all times look immaculate, she delighted in telling the story of one windy morning, trying to pick up a piece of paper which kept blowing away as she approached, until the laughing Aboriginal girls pointed out to her that the 'paper' was a pet white cockatoo, determined not to be caught.

In 1968–69 Mrs Ward built a red brick building in Tennant Creek at the cost of 58 000 Dollars to house holidaying stockmen.

Another facet of her character was her desire to help the less educated, especially with English (her favourite subject). She assisted men on the station to improve their English, even to write and spell.

Until her husband's sudden death in 1959 on their station, Fermoy, her work had been entirely on the homestead. She then took on the overseeing of all the stock work and other facets of station management. Astute in the assessment of people, she chose competent assistant managers and chief stockmen. For health reasons she sold the station in 1969 to American interests for 1 000 000 Dollars.

Before she left Tennant Creek, Mary bought several old type houses, had them renovated and moved into them her old retainer families, many of whom continued to mourn her death, which took place in Adelaide in 1973.

Mary Ward was a charming, dignified, hard-working pioneer woman. Her name became synonymous with Banka Banka and Tennant Creek and indeed that rare phenomenon 'a legend in her own lifetime'.

Banka Banka Diaries, Fryer Library, University of Queensland; Personal information.

HILDA TUXWORTH, Vol 1.

WARD, RICHARD CHARLES (DICK) (1916–1977), lawyer, politician, social and political reformer and judge, was born in the Melbourne suburb of Kew on 28 July 1916, the son of Richard Dunstan Ward and Elsie May, *nee* Coutanche. His father died nine days before he was born and Ward later acknowledged that his mother and step-father had cheerfully made the necessary sacrifices which enabled him to undertake a career which otherwise would have been impossible. He was a contemporary of Gough Whitlam, who was born in the same month and the same suburb as Ward and with whom he became firm friends later in life.

Ward attended the Victoria Street School and then Melbourne High School. He excelled at school and in 1933, in his first year in the Leaving Honours class, he won the Shakespeare Prize. The school paper said his success 'was very popular among both his teachers and his fellow students, and not least because of the genuine modesty with which he received it'. Modesty was an attribute that would stay with him the rest of his life.

Dick Ward became Legacy-ward to Captain Harold Peters, then managing director of one of Melbourne's largest bookstores and a prominent member of Melbourne Legacy. Peters assisted Ward in pursuing his legal career with the help of a bursary from the Sir Samuel McCaughey Bequest. After graduating in Law from the University of Melbourne, Ward was admitted as a practitioner of the Supreme Court of Victoria. Shortly after this, in about 1938, Captain Peters arranged for Ward to become a partner in the legal practice of Andrew Brough Newell in Darwin.

In late 1941 or early 1942, he joined the Army. With the rank of Lance Corporal, he was working as a clerk in the records section at Larrakeyah but was given leave on 19 February 1942 to defend a client in the Darwin court. He had just requested time for his client to pay a fine, when the sirens blew as the Japanese began dropping bombs on the wharf in the first and most devastating attack on Darwin. According to author [Doug Lockwood](#), Ward and several members of the court staff ran to a trench at the rear of the courthouse. One of the occupants was Florence Wright, a stenographer with the Crown Law office.

Following the raid, Ward moved to Alice Springs where he established a legal practice and soon became active in moves for political reform. In September 1943, he married Florence Wright, with whom he had sheltered during that first Darwin raid 18 months earlier.

A dedicated socialist, Dick Ward became known as ‘Red Richard’. He was held in high esteem by people of every political shade and soon developed a respected reputation for compassion and tolerance. Along with several prominent Alice Springs residents, Ward became a leader in the Northern Territory Development League, formed to agitate for legislative and political reform. In 1946, following intense lobbying from the League, the Chifley Labor government took the policy decision to form a Northern Territory Legislative Council. On 14 May 1947, the government passed legislation to ‘confer a measure of self-government on the residents of the Northern Territory’. It also took the view that as the Territory was not self supporting financially and that the greater part of expenditure on its development had to be provided by the Commonwealth, the bill should provide that there would be a majority of government, or appointed, members in the new Council. While this arrangement of part appointed and part elected members met with disapproval from the League, who wanted the elected members to have the majority, Ward saw the move as a ‘foot in the door’ to full representation. He did, however, point out that in his view certain sections of the Act had been put there ‘with the deliberate intention of frustrating the oft-expressed desire of the people... for self-government’.

In 1947, Ward stood for and was elected to the first Northern Territory Legislative Council, defeating Frank W Johnson by one vote. Ward, by now with a reputation as an astute lawyer and effective orator, began what became a long battle for improving Territory representation on the federal scene and gaining self-government.

However, when a second election for the Northern Territory Legislative Council took place in 1949, Ward did not contest the seat, having decided to temporarily leave the Territory for a job in South Australia where he went into partnership with Harry Alderman in the firm of Alderman Brazel and Clarke. He moved to Adelaide in early 1950 with his wife Florence and their son, Richard Dunstan. After a long illness, Florence died of leukaemia in Adelaide. Following her death, Dick married Ruth Haddy of Adelaide, with whom he had a daughter, Rachel. In the mid 1950s, Ward resigned from the Adelaide law firm and returned to the Northern Territory where he again went into practice in Darwin. Ward eventually became senior partner in the firm of Ward, Keller and Rorritson.

In 1956 Ward stood for the Legislative Council and was one of the two Members elected for the seat of Darwin, the other being unionist Paddy Carroll. On 17 April 1958, the elected members of the Council, led by Ward, decided to take decisive action in their continual bid for constitutional reform for the Territory. They resigned en masse in protest at the Menzies government’s failure to announce or introduce reforms. The Minister for Territories, **Paul Hasluck**, wrote to the Council and offered to meet a delegation. They managed to get a few limited concessions, including the formation of an Administrator’s Council and an increase in the number of elected members to eight. In the subsequent by-election the ‘rebel’ members were all returned and an Inquiry was established to determine whether their requests for reform were in line with other British territories. Their conclusion was that the Territory raised sufficient revenue to provide most general services and that they at least deserved the right to determine how money which was raised in the Territory should be spent. In the turbulent and frustrating period that followed, Ward emerged as one of the most articulate, powerful and respected orators the Territory had ever seen and his speeches drew praise from both sides of the chamber. He led a second Committee of Inquiry into constitutional issues in 1963 when the federal Parliament was concerned about giving the Territory member, then Labor’s **Jock Nelson**, full voting rights because of the possibility that that person, representing a comparatively small number of constituents, could hold the balance of power in the case of a close election.

In addition to constitutional reform, Ward became actively involved in the fight for fairer treatment of Aborigines. He argued for reform in a variety of ways, both legally and legislatively. One of the most renowned cases involved a white man who wanted to marry an Aboriginal woman and was told it was against the law. When the marriage of drover, Mick Daly, and an Aboriginal woman, Gladys Namagu, was refused, Ward moved for all relevant documentation to be produced and for a recommendation to be made that the couple be allowed to marry. Although both motions were defeated by a very narrow margin, the elected members were able to push through an amendment to the Welfare Ordinance to redress the situation and the couple were subsequently married.

In the Legislative Council election in January 1960, Ward, who stood for the seat of Port Darwin as an independent, was returned. In September, he moved a motion calling for support for a new approach to development of the north of Australia taking into account its strong links to Asia. He called for a five-year development plan to attract both investment and population to the Territory as a matter of urgency. The government’s appointed members in the Legislative Council opposed his motion.

For many years, Ward was on the fringe of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and was involved in some of its activities. But it was not until the mid 1960s that he began to formally align himself with the Party. In 1966, Jock Nelson who had held the Territory federal seat for the Labor since 1949 and had been in the first Legislative Council with Ward, announced his retirement from federal politics. Dick Ward was preselected by Labor to take his place. However, in the ensuing election Ward, to many people’s surprise, lost out to the Country Party candidate, **Sam Calder**. Some put it down to a lack of proper organisation on Labor’s part and an assumption that Ward could win on his reputation without undertaking the doorknocking campaign considered by most campaigners as crucial in the Territory. Ironically, or perhaps predictably, when Calder won the seat and the Liberal-Country Party coalition government could be assured of another vote in the Territory, the Territory representative was granted full voting rights in federal Parliament—one of the reforms Jock Nelson had fought for for years.

After his defeat in the federal political sphere, Ward stood for and won the seat of Ludmilla in the Northern Territory Legislative Council and remained the Member until his appointment to the bench in 1974. The 1968 Legislative Council election was the first one really fought along fairly clear party lines. Six of the candidates stood under the Liberal banner, eight for the Country Party, seven were for Labor and there were several independents. Labor’s team was Dick Ward (Ludmilla), **Fred Drysdale**, Eric Marks, Charles Orr, Bill Mitchell, Stan Smith and Korean War veteran and union organiser Curly Nixon. Ward, in his typical humanitarian style, had made housing

a major issue in the campaign and the ALP had subsequently adopted the stirring slogan: 'For a House and TV, Vote ALP'. They also appealed to people to 'Say No to the Yes Men', saying people had the first opportunity to elect a truly effective opposition to control from Canberra, and they urged people to 'swing to the party which offers you policy not promises'. Dick Ward argued that only Labor and Independent members had been fighting for reforms in the Council and now suddenly for the first time in 20 years of the Council's existence the Country and Liberal parties emerged. He said Ron Withnall was the one who had fought for much needed housing reform and that Labor was supporting him by not standing anyone against him. He pleaded with people 'Don't turn the Legislative Council into a Liberal Country Club'.

The election saw four Labor members returned, two Country Party members and five independents although one of them, Tom Bell, joined the Labor party in mid-term. When the Labor Party won the Federal election in 1972, the move for constitutional reform took on new momentum and several key Territory Labor figures spoke out strongly at the time on the need for greater political reform. Although a strong Labor member, Dick Ward did not hesitate to criticise Labor federally when he felt it was warranted. He argued strongly that the Territory needed a full-time Minister and rights and powers to make its own laws. Ward also joined the attack on the 'slowness' and perceived 'arrogance' of the new Labor Minister for Territories, Kep Enderby, whom members of the Legislative Council accused of strongly favouring the Australian Capital Territory over the Territory.

When the Federal Government introduced a stamp duty, the Territory ALP strongly opposed it and Ward himself moved an amendment to a motion of condemnation by **Goff Letts** in the Legislative Council. Ward moved that the Council request the Australian Constitutional conference to consider a means of providing citizens in Australian Territories with voting rights equivalent to those of the Australian states. Ward later said in his speech to the convention: 'The form of government in the Northern Territory is a bastard form of government... Imagine if you can a parliament without a government and government without a parliament. That is what we have'.

The Whitlam government subsequently granted the Territory a fully elected Legislative Assembly and Senate representation, promising a Territory election by October 1974. The newly formed Country Liberal Party prepared for the forthcoming election and set in place a well-organised and slick campaign. The Territory Labor Party had been relying heavily on Dick Ward's leadership around which to build their campaign and were thrown into disarray when Ward was appointed a Territory Judge only a few weeks before the election. The gain to the Territory's legal system was very much Territory Labor's political loss. In the election of October 1974 for the first fully elected Northern Territory Legislative Assembly, there was a landslide win for the new Country Liberal Party, which won 17 of the 19 seats, with two seats being held by Independents.

Ward's judicial appointment, however, was widely welcomed and praised by people of all political persuasions, particularly as he was considered the first real Territory appointment. He had been the leader of the Bar for some time and earlier that year had been made a Queen's Counsel. Federal Attorney General Lionel Murphy, in announcing Ward's much lauded appointment, described him as 'one of the Territory's most distinguished citizens' and 'a leading figure in legal and legislative fields for many years.' Murphy said that Ward's appointment marked the first occasion that a bench of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory had been constituted by three resident judges of the Territory and was the first occasion when a legal practitioner of the Northern Territory Supreme Court had been appointed a judge of that court. Ward, by this time, had had a distinguished Territory career in the legal profession extending over almost 35 years.

Crown Law Officer Clem O'Sullivan paid this tribute: 'You have given years of magnificent service to the Northern Territory as a legislator. It would be doubtful whether anyone would know the statute law of this Territory better than you do. However, in your term of more than 19 years as a member of the legislature you contributed in a very major respect towards the making of most of those statutes... This judicial mantle of responsibility is certainly one which at this time can be carried more fittingly by no one other than yourself'. Ward responded with characteristic humility, praising his mother for the sacrifices she had made to ensure his education, and saying in his concluding remarks, 'may I ask whether life or the law for that matter requires of us anything more than to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with life as we find it... I have continually been torn between law and politics, but I think it is also true that whenever a conflict has arisen requiring a choice in favour of one to the exclusion of the other... inevitably it is the law that has prevailed. Now of course the law has finally prevailed'.

In 1975 Ward became the interim Aboriginal Lands Commissioner in which capacity he served until July 1976.

In August 1976, Ward married his third wife Klara (Claire) Cornelia Van Balen, having been divorced from his second wife for some time. According to close friends, Ward found happiness and peace of mind with Claire who nursed him through his ailing years after he suffered a kidney collapse. Unbeknownst to many, Ward spent 30 hours a week on a dialysis machine each week between Court sittings. Finally, he went to Sydney for special treatment. When Dick Ward died in Sydney on 24 November 1977, his body was flown back to Darwin. Close friend, Dawn Lawrie, then a Member of the Legislative Assembly, was in charge of funeral arrangements.

There were many tributes, including those made by colleagues in the legal fraternity who held a special Supreme Court session to mark his contribution to the Territory. Ron Withnall said: 'He was a brilliant lawyer and advocate and on his day one of the best orators I have ever listened to. He was a man dedicated to principle and with an insistence on the rights of the individual which amounted to almost a passion. In the formative days in the development of political institutions in the Northern Territory he was a leader without who the task would have been much more difficult. As a person he will be missed for his scholarly qualities, his understanding of the problems of living in the Territory and for his insistence that every man was entitled to the fullest measure of life under the law'. **Paul Everingham**, a former lawyer and soon to be the Territory's first Chief Minister, said: 'He will long be remembered for his outstanding contribution to the Territory community as a politician, a jurist

and a man of the highest principle. Perhaps his most valuable single contribution was his forthright advocacy of the interests of Territorians during his political career of 27 years’.

Ian Barker QC recognised his contribution to reform: ‘In days when NT Aborigines were subject to legal restrictions, which we now find abhorrent, Richard Ward was ever ready to challenge those administrative decisions by which the lives of Aborigines were governed and effectively he did challenge them. In more recent times in the case of Davis Daniels, he by his advocacy established the right for an Aborigine to live off the land without being branded a vagrant. And it was probably that case which led ultimately to the repeal of the NT Vagrancy Laws’.

Long-time friend and advocate, **Jim Bowditch**, who as editor of the *Northern Territory News* had often joined with Ward in his battles for social reform, paid tribute to his humility and generosity: ‘Dick Ward often received no money for court cases of highly skilled efforts... Friends and associates estimate that Dick would have been a millionaire had he been paid for half the cases he took and for people he represented in other ways. A brilliant advocate in the Courts and through the Territory’s Parliament, he wrote humanitarianism into ancient laws, drafted new legislation and helped set new social patterns. It would be hard to assess just how big a role Dick Ward played in the bitter arguments and clashes which wrote racial discrimination out of Territory and Australian law, but it would have been considerable. He lived to see the white backlash and had he lived longer would have contributed enormously to what has yet to be done to have racial equality accepted socially as well as legally. But his humanitarian and legal efforts spanned much wider horizons than the often narrow ones of the criminal law courts’, Bowditch wrote, (There was) ‘Ward moving to block evictions of people unable to pay rent; Ward moving to block the Federal Govt from deporting the “stayput Malaysians” from Darwin; Ward constantly standing up in the courts and in the Legislative Council putting the case for compassion for people for the rights of the underdog in scores of social and legal battles. The quiet, self effacing man never spoke of his efforts and was rarely paid for them. In his off duty hours Dick Ward liked nothing better than to share a few beers and yarn with old and new Territorians at the public bar of the Hotel Darwin. He was a humorous man who could tell and appreciate a good story. He was often branded as a communist or a radical. In actual fact he was never a party man not really even of the Labor Party he belonged to for so long. He was, if anything, the epitome of a basic humanitarian’. Bowditch spoke for all when he concluded ‘The Territory has never been noted for its gratitude towards and recognition of its great—if ever a man earned a permanent place on the Honour roll it was Richard Charles ‘Dick’ Ward’.

J Bowditch, *Whispers from the North*, 1993; B James, research notes; R Jolly, ‘The More Things Change...’, BA (Hons) Thesis, Northern Territory University, 1991; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; *Northern Territory News*, various issues; Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, various issues; Supreme Court transcripts; *Who’s Who in Australia*.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

WARREN, HUBERT ERNEST de MEY (1885–1934), Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary to the Aborigines of Arnhem Land, was born in Prahran, Melbourne, on 2 March 1885. He inherited a sense of adventure from his father, William Robert de Mey Warren, who settled in Victoria after serving in the Royal Navy. William Warren was descended from the de Meys of Devon and Cornwall, who owed their origin to a Huguenot who escaped to England from France during the religious persecutions of the seventeenth century.

Warren’s mother’s name was Selina Jane Cornish Horrell, a daughter of Charles Cornish Horrell, a landowner of Windsor, a suburb of Melbourne. The Horrells and the Cornishes had been well-known families in Exeter in Devon, England. Warren grew up at 30 The Avenue, Windsor. He was a keen bicycle rider; making frequent cycling trips around Melbourne or on his father’s properties. He was educated at All Saint’s Church Grammar School, St Kilda.

Warren inherited a fascination for machines from his father. At the age of 14 years, Robison Brothers and Company, a firm of marine engineers in South Melbourne, apprenticed him. He served his six years’ apprenticeship with this firm, becoming a very fine engineer. He later used to great advantage in north Australia the skills that he learned there.

Warren became interested in missionary work among the Aborigines in north Australia after a friend, **Rex Joynt** had been accepted by the Victorian Church Missionary Association (CMA, afterward the Victorian CMS) to be one of the founding missionaries of their new Roper River Mission. He applied to the CMA to be a missionary and was accepted provisionally on his first being ordained to the Anglican ministry.

Warren’s ordination training took place at Moore College, Sydney. He was not a good student academically. The subtleties of philosophy did not appeal to his practical mind; he was a maker of church history rather than a student of it. Despite his lack of academic ability, he soon made his mark in the college as a person of great faith and sincerity, being elected Senior Student in his last year. He was made deacon on 21 December 1910 and ordained priest a year later on 21 December 1911. After a further two years’ curacy at St Clement’s, Marrickville, he was accepted by the Victorian CMA for missionary service at the Roper River Mission.

Warren found the mission in a deplorable state when he arrived there in June 1913. The primitive living conditions, the isolation of the station, the trying climate and continual sickness had resulted in personality clashes and frustration among the handful of missionaries. Quarrelling and pettiness were commonplace, and the work was almost at a standstill. The situation improved later in the year when Warren was appointed superintendent of the mission.

Warren quickly set about putting the mission in order. He was a born leader and the missionaries and their Aboriginal helpers responded to his positive attitudes. The half-completed buildings were finished, better schooling was started and the agricultural work was improved. With the stabilisation of the work Warren returned to Melbourne in January 1915 and discussed with the Victorian CMA plans for the extension of mission activity along the east Arnhem Land coast and to Groote Eylandt. The possibility of such a chain of missions had been

part of the CMA strategy since the commencement of the mission in 1908. The CMA agreed to the proposals and provided him with a small launch called *Evangel*, in which the preliminary journeys of exploration were to be made.

While on leave in the south, Warren married Ellie May Potter, a schoolteacher, on 6 April 1915. This quiet gentle woman was to spend long periods on the mission separated from her husband while he was engaged in the dangerous journeys of exploration, or making frequent trips in the mission vessel *Holly* to Thursday Island for supplies. She bore five children in all, two sons and three daughters, one of the sons, David, being the first white child to be born on Groote Eylandt. One daughter, Josephine, died at the mission, aged two years, in 1921.

During 1916 and 1917, Warren and his colleagues made three journeys of exploration to Groote Eylandt in the Gulf of Carpentaria with a view to establishing mission stations at Rose River and on the island. Warren's exploration work and the missions that were established had national implications far beyond the immediate evangelistic aims of the CMS and its missionaries. The second exploratory journey from 20 November to 19 December 1916 resulted in Warren being recognised as one of the pioneer explorers of Australia by the Royal Geographical Society. On this trip Warren and **Dyer** decided that the new Groote Eylandt Mission should be situated on the Emerald River on the west side of the island.

The building of the Emerald River Mission on Groote Eylandt was started on 1 August 1921. In September 1924, Warren transferred 35 half-caste boys and girls there from the Roper River Mission. The girls were under the care of **Miss Cross** and **Miss Dove**. This first mission was concerned with the care of the half-caste people until the early 1930s.

Toward the end of the 1920s, the Victorian CMS adopted a new policy of caring for the Groote Eylandt Aborigines instead of the half-castes. Warren was recalled and the work placed in charge of others. However, because of staffing problems he returned to the Roper River Mission for the twelve months from April 1930 to March 1931.

Warren was the leader of the CMS 'Peace Expedition' in 1933–34. His companions were the Reverend A J Dyer and D H Fowler. The expedition resulted from continued unrest among the Aborigines of eastern Arnhem Land. In 1932, the Caledon Bay Aborigines were provoked into killing five Japanese trepangers. In 1933, **Tuckiar** killed Constable A S McColl, one of the police sent to apprehend the killers, and two beachcombers, Traylor and Fagan, on Woodah Island. White people in the Territory feared a general Aboriginal uprising and demanded police retribution in the form of a punitive expedition. In this tense situation, the Commonwealth government accepted the CMS offer of an unarmed peace party to visit and persuade the killers to give themselves up.

The expedition made three visits to the east Arnhem Land coast between December 1933 and March 1934, made friendly contact with the Aboriginal killers and persuaded them to be taken to Darwin in order to save their people from massacre. The ensuing trials, and obvious inadequacy of existing Australian law to meet the different cultural background of Aboriginal society, the severity of the sentences, and the disappearance of Tuckiar, the self-confessed killer of Constable McColl, led to a number of law reforms for Aboriginal people.

Warren returned to his parish in Cullenswood, Tasmania. Soon afterward, he was lost on the aircraft 'Miss Hobart' which left Launceston for Melbourne on 19 October 1934 and disappeared over Bass Strait.

K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Pioneer*, 1971; K Cole, *Groote Eylandt Mission*, 1971; G H Wilkins, *Undiscovered Australia*, 1928; 'Itinerating Trip to the Islands of the Group Groote by Messrs H E Warren and Dyer', in *Victorian Geographical Journal*, vol 34 1918.

KEITH COLE, *Vol 1*.

WASHINGTON, ELIZABETH AGNES (BETTY) nee CARNOCHAN (1921–), dancing teacher and community worker, was born on 11 January 1921 in Christchurch, New Zealand, daughter of Joseph Carnochan and Agnes, nee Harmon. She was educated at local schools but from the age of six learned a variety of dancing styles that ranged from classical ballet to highland dancing. From about 1938, she regularly visited the Royal Academy of Dancing in London for further training and taught for many years in New Zealand. She was an examiner and member of the technical executive of the New Zealand National Academy and was a life member. She was also a life member of the Royal Academy of Dancing, London.

On 5 January 1955, she married **James Desmond Washington** (known, of course, as George) and their only child, Elizabeth, was born on 30 August 1956. After living in New Zealand, Fiji and Western Samoa, where George was an airline pilot, Betty and her family came to the Northern Territory in March 1967 when George joined Connair. The family settled in Darwin.

Betty quickly became an active member of the community. She was involved for many years with the Good Neighbour Council and joined the Red Cross Society in May 1967. She was elected President of the Darwin branch in August that year and remained in the position until Cyclone Tracy in December 1974. The years were very active ones for the branch; street stalls (usually in front of Woolworths) and other fundraising activities were regularly held and Betty recalls that on one occasion she handed over a cheque for 2 000 Dollars as a result of her committee's efforts. A new headquarters building was constructed and the opportunity was taken during a visit to Darwin by the Duke and Duchess of Kent for it to be opened. The project was far from complete and an amused Duke commented on 'how open it was'. In her position as President Betty attended most of the town's 'functions'. When the ballerina Margot Fonteyn visited Darwin, the Administrator's wife was somewhat nonplussed to discover that the dancer and Betty were well known to each other.

Cyclone Tracy damaged the family home, though it was habitable. Christmas dinner was a turkey which had been part-cooked the previous day, but which on Christmas Day was dismembered and heated with a blowtorch in a frying pan. As soon as she could, having become organized, she went to the Red Cross Society's headquarters.

There she was met by paid officials from Adelaide who said ‘now you will find that the Red Cross is not all tea and cakes’. They claimed they had been trying to locate her for some time, despite the fact that her home is visible down the hill from the Red Cross building, and refused to allow either her or her committee to become involved in any of the relief work. She resigned at once. She later discovered that her sister-in-law from New Zealand, naturally anxious about her family members, had got through to the Red Cross in Darwin and been told that no-one knew the name ‘Washington’!

For more than 20 years Betty ran a studio in Darwin from her home and taught a variety of dance techniques to dozens of the town’s children, at least one of whom has gone on to further ballet training. She gave regular recitals, often for fund raising purposes, and her pupils performed regularly at Bougainvillea Festival events and at other community events. Following Tracy, she put programmes on for a number of charities. As might be imagined these were very good for morale at the time.

She was an enthusiastic golfer and in her early days in Darwin, she played three times a week on the old East Point links, the back nine holes of which always flooded during the wet season. She also played regularly on the Royal Australian Air Force and Army golf courses, and when it was new, at Marrara, though it was rather treeless at first and very hot. She was an inveterate traveller and her annual trip to London always included visits to many other parts of the world. Her main recreation is bridge and she was a founding member of the Darwin Bridge Club. Over the years, she won many trophies in competitions. In poor health in her old age, she kept up her interest by playing at her home with friends.

Northern Territory Women’s Register, 1948–1988, 2nd edition; personal information.

HELEN J WILSON and ELIZABETH HAMILTON, Vol 3.

WASHINGTON, JAMES DESMOND (GEORGE) (1923–), Air Force officer and commercial pilot, was born in Auckland, New Zealand, on 24 October 1923, only son of Jim Washington and Linda, *nee* Pearce. Although christened James Desmond, he inevitably collected the nickname ‘George’ by which he was always known. His father worked for the Salvation Army and during George’s boyhood was farm manager for an orphanage near Dunedin in the south island. The local school was at Andersons Bay but by the time George was 13 his family had moved back to Auckland. His father died in late 1936, so instead of attending secondary school, he decided to seek employment. After about 18 months at a sheet metal fabricating firm he was apprenticed as a fitter and turner in the toolroom of Edward & Sons, wooden heel and saddle tree makers, now antiquated crafts. The training was to stand him in very good stead in later years.

At the age of 18, George joined the New Zealand Army and transferred to the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) in August 1943 when he was not quite 20. He completed pilot training in New Zealand and was commissioned Pilot Officer in November 1944. He saw service in Bougainville, flying F4U-1 Corsairs until the end of hostilities. During 1946, he was a ferry pilot round the various Air Force stations in New Zealand. The year 1947 saw him with the 14 Squadron in Japan with the occupation forces. On his return to New Zealand, he was involved for a short time with the RNZAF search and rescue team.

In 1949, after a demand by the New Zealand Farmers Association, the RNZAF agreed that its pilots would begin experiments in aerial top dressing, a first worldwide for this technique. George was among the first pilots who flew demonstrations over Masterton. The experiments continued the following year and in 1951 and 1952, George made two return trips to the United Kingdom to ferry small DH Dove aircraft to New Zealand to be used for navigation training. When the Queen visited New Zealand in 1953, he was ‘Queen’s Courier’, that is, captain of the aircraft that carried her personal documents and the Crown Jewels; for this a high-level security clearance was necessary and he was awarded a Queens’ Commendation.

He was promoted to Flight Lieutenant and took command of the unit providing aircraft for navigation schools until he left the RNZAF in 1956. He recalls that promotions were frozen at the end of the war, his promotion was backdated three years but he only got three months’ back pay.

George married **Elizabeth Agnes Carnochan** on 5 January 1955 and their daughter, Elizabeth, was born in August the following year. In July 1956, he joined Fiji Airways (now Air Pacific) and the family moved to Fiji. At first the flights were domestic but by the time George left in 1962 the routes had been extended to Samoa, Tonga and Guadalcanal and he was the captain of the inaugural flights on each route, due to his qualifications, not to his seniority in the company.

Between 1963 and 1966 George was operations manager with Polynesian Airlines based in Apia, Western Samoa. Their initial route was only to Pago Pago (American Samoa) and he oversaw the establishment of additional routes to the Cook Islands, then Fiji and Tonga.

In January 1967, after a personal recommendation, he joined Connellan Airways. Following a few days orientation in Alice Springs, the family settled in Darwin in March 1967 where George was Operations Superintendent. The following year he spent some months in Alice Springs as Operations Manager and then returned to Darwin as Regional Manager at the end of 1968. At that time in the Top End Connair was using 15 seater De Havilland Heron and 9 seater Beech Twin Bonanza aircraft. There were 125 ports of call in all, many more than those of the major commercial airlines, and they included every strip between Derby, Western Australia and Mt Isa in Queensland. The position of Regional Manager was officially a desk job but due to staff shortages and other needs, George still flew frequently himself.

When the DC3 was introduced in December 1972, he returned to full-time flying. These aircraft carried two pilots and an airhostess. A typical run would leave Darwin about 8.00 am and call at Maningrida, Milingimbi, Elcho and Gove. Darwin would be reached about 5.00 pm on the same evening, all the ports having been called at

on the return trip. Occasionally Lake Evella and Ramingining would be included. Another route was to Katherine, Ngkurr (Roper River), Numbalwar, Groote Eylandt and again return in reverse order to Darwin the same day. A longer return trip over two days was Port Keats, Kununurra, perhaps other several small ports in Western Australia, Hooker Creek (Lajamanu), Yuendumu, then Alice Springs.

The Heron routes were also still maintained. In September 1974, the first land-based service to Lord Howe Island was commenced after the flying boats were taken off the run. George flew the first three weeks of the operation when Airlines of New South Wales, a subsidiary of Ansett, inaugurated it. The co-pilot on the first flight was Roger Connellan.

At the time of Cyclone Tracy on 24 December 1974, George was on holiday in Darwin but quickly recalled. On 27 December, he flew to Bathurst Island with a large number of Aborigines who returned to their homes. That evening he took 26 Europeans on one of the first evacuee flights to Alice Springs, mostly families of airport workers. He returned to Darwin in the early hours of the following morning and flew further evacuation flights each day until 2 January 1975, mostly returning Aboriginal people to their own communities. George recalls that one of his major problems at the time was in obtaining enough petrol to travel between his home and the airport as all petrol was supposed to be used for emergency services. The problem was eventually solved by aviation personnel using 'av. gas' in their own vehicles, though not before he had had a confrontation with a bureaucrat over the matter. 'Are you a public servant', demanded George. 'Well I'm the public!' He then had a break for a week during which time he found time to do something about his own home that had been damaged though was habitable. George is a very skilled handyman and having built the house initially, he now began the necessary repairs. With two neighbours, he managed to rig up a generator to run their refrigeration but it used to cut out with monotonous regularity when the three motors started up together.

From about 11 January 1975 Connair's regular services were resumed. George continued flying until the company was bought out by East West early in 1980 and operated as Northern Airlines. The DC3s were phased out, the last flight being in August 1980. He started training on Fokker Friendship aircraft in September 1980. The new company was a disaster from its inception and it folded at the end of the year. Ansett Airlines then took over Connair's operation. The younger crews were taken into Ansett's mainstream operation but the older men, of whom George was one, ran a subsidiary company called Northern Territory Aerial Work (NTAW) and began coastal surveillance and aerial medical operations flying Nomad aircraft. In 1983, a King Air service from Alice Springs/Ayers Rock/Tennant Creek was begun in a chartered aircraft flying under the colours of Airlines of North Australia.

In October 1983, George turned 60 and he then joined Air North, owned by Henry and Walker. A DC3 was re-introduced into the Northern Territory with George as the check captain. He eventually flew all their aircraft; the routes included charters to the Tanami desert for gold exploring companies, and to Troughton Island where a base had been established for undersea oil exploration.

He finally retired in 1991 at the age of 67 having flown a total of 28 700 hours (16 700 hours in the Territory) without any major drama, aside from one or two emergency landings due to aircraft malfunction. He lived in retirement in Darwin with his wife, Betty. He was a regular at the Royal Australian Air Force mess and sometime President of the Skat Club and member of the Beef and Burgundy Club.

Personal information.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

WATERS, ANNA MARIA WOIDE nee GOODHART (1852–1938), artist, was born in Adelaide on 27 July 1852 to George Frederick Goodhart, gentleman, and his wife Sarah Louisa Goodhart, nee Meakin. Her mother's maiden name was Woide. On 1 March 1892, Anna married 37-year-old Territory policeman **Nicholas Joseph Waters** at St Peters Cathedral, North Adelaide. Nicholas had been on a holiday to Adelaide when he married Anna. There were no children of the marriage.

They arrived in Palmerston in late June 1892 and first lived in a house on the corner of Smith Street and the Esplanade, later moving to a cottage next to the Church of England. When the women's suffrage legislation became law in 1895 Anna wasted no time in registering to vote, signing the enrolment form on 22 April 1895, almost as soon as the rolls were distributed. By May the following year, when Anna was voting in her first election, Nicholas became a founding member of the Masonic Lodge of Port Darwin.

By 1901, Anna was actively involved in a variety of fundraising activities, particularly for the church. An accomplished artist, her stalls often raised the most money, presumably through the sale of her work, which drew increasing praise and prices. She was particularly skilled at producing extremely lifelike and 'very beautiful paintings of native wild flowers' of the Northern Territory. It would appear she sold some of her work overseas as in November 1912 she received a letter from Florence G Buchanan, Deaconess of the Chinese Girls School, Government Hill, Singapore, thanking her for her letter and sending her money for her baskets which she said sold well.

During the First World War, she made considerable money for the Red Cross and the war effort through the sale of her paintings, particularly her watercolours of butterflies and wildflowers that had become quite famous. She was never trained in art but had a natural ability. Apparently, her work looked so real that people often made the mistake of attempting to flick painted insects off the stems of the flowers.

Anna was associated with a great deal of charitable work; she provided the Church of England tennis court as one of her gifts to the community. By 1910 Nicholas had succeeded **Paul Foelsche** as rank of Inspector and head of the Northern Territory police force, a position he held until 1924 when he retired. He died suddenly only a few

months later on 8 March 1924 leaving Anna the sole beneficiary of his estate of more than 22 000 Pounds. In 1925, she also inherited some money on the death of one of her family, making her one of the Territory's wealthiest women.

Anna died on 11 July 1939 at Darwin, age 86, one of Darwin's oldest residents. She had been an invalid for many years, looked after by Mr and Mrs N C Bell, and her death was hastened by a fall about a week before her death. Her body was taken to the Christ Church and it remained there all night with the service conducted the following morning. Anna, who had always been very generous, left more than 7 084 Pounds and her shares in banks to Elizabeth Bell, who had looked after her during her years as an invalid. The balance of her estate went to the Anglican Bishop of Carpentaria for the Church of England to which she had devoted so much of her adult life.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

WATERS NADPUR also NATPUR, FRED (c1900–1958), labourer and Aboriginal leader, was probably a member of the Danggalaba (crocodile) clan who was born in the Darwin area in about 1900. His mother was Kadjowi (Kowija). Little is known of his early life. In approximately 1939, he formed a relationship with Maggie Shepherd, who was a member of the Brinkin group. It was estimated that she was born on the Daly River around 1900. She left the area as a young girl and came to Darwin where she lived in the Kahlin Compound until 1926 when she married Bob Shepherd, a part Aborigine. She and Shepherd had four children and lived with Shepherd's parents near Doctor's Gully. Shepherd operated a small cargo vessel and often all the family would accompany him on his trips. The date of Shepherd's death is unknown but authorities believed it was a number of years prior to Maggie Shepherd forming a relationship with Nadpur.

During the Second World War, Nadpur and Maggie Shepherd were sent to the Mataranka Army Camp. After 1945, they stayed briefly at Adelaide River and then went on to the Berrimah Compound on the outskirts of Darwin. In late 1950 and early 1951, Nadpur and Maggie were living with her son in Stuart Park.

Nadpur became the focus of national attention when he was banished to Haasts Bluff by the Director of Native Affairs for his active role in strike action for better working conditions in February 1951. A series of strikes had begun in December 1950, and while two prominent Aborigines, Lawrence and Billie, were the visible leaders, it was later claimed that Nadpur was the true organiser behind the scenes. Murray Norris, who was an organiser with the North Australian Workers' Union (NAWU) at the time, later claimed that it was always best to keep the principal Aboriginal leaders in the background as they were too easily 'picked off' by the Native affairs administration.

Nadpur and his fellow strikers made demands that included equal wages and full citizenship rights. They had the backing of the NAWU and through the union network, the strike received national coverage and support. At this time, the NAWU was dominated by Communist Party of Australia members and sympathisers and supported direct action. Once Lawrence and Billie were removed, on allegedly trumped up charges, Nadpur assumed the front line position and led the strike held on 12 February 1951. **Frank Moy**, the Director of Native Affairs, consulted with the Administrator and it was decided to send Waters Nadpur to Haasts Bluff to avoid further strike action. The federal government fully supported this action and he was taken from the house in Parap where he was living with Maggie Shepherd and her son and began the journey to Haasts Bluff that same night.

Meanwhile, Norris, the NAWU organiser, was in Melbourne to process a log of claims at the same time as Dr H V Evatt, Leader of the Federal Opposition, was also there appearing before the High Court against the banning of the Communist Party, and he urged Norris to take out a writ of habeas corpus. The court decided that it had no jurisdiction to give a decision. Evatt then urged that a writ of injunction be taken out against the Northern Territory Administration and the Acting Minister for the Interior but this was also unsuccessful. In handing down his decision on 19 March 1951, Justice Fullagar of the High Court decided that under the terms of the Aborigines' Ordinance Moy had acted within his jurisdiction.

The 'shanghaiing' of Nadpur was, nevertheless, unpopular. The trade union movement was fully behind the campaign to have him returned to Darwin and 'in principle' motions were passed around the country. In his autobiography, Joe McGinness, an Aboriginal trade unionist and activist, regards the Nadpur case as the trigger for the founding of the Victorian Council for Aboriginal Rights. Alan Marshall, the prominent author, and Reverend Doug Nicholls, a well-known Aboriginal clergyman, pledged their support for Nadpur. The historian Peter Read has also suggested that the Reverend Dr **Charles Duguid** of the Presbyterian Church in South Australia took up the case and thus provided a catalyst for the foundation of the Council for Aboriginal Rights in his state.

The Northern Territory Administration was finally persuaded to return Nadpur to Darwin with as little 'fuss and embarrassment' as possible. At an interview with the press on his return, a journalist asked Nadpur if he had promised the Administrator he would be a good boy. He replied, 'I'm a man and I'll cause trouble until I die while my people want me'.

On 7 October 1958, he died of head injuries in tragic circumstances.

J McGinness, *Son of Alyandabu*, 1990; P Read, *Charles Perkins*, 1990; *Northern Standard*, various issues; Australian Archives, Northern Territory Office, CRS F1 51/704.

JULIE T WELLS, Vol 2.

WATERS, NICHOLAS JOSEPH (1854–1924), policeman, was born in Mallow near Cork in Ireland on 12 June 1854 and came to Australia as a youth. On 14 August 1872, he joined the South Australian police force and 10 years later, on 9 July 1882, he arrived in Palmerston (now Darwin) with the rank of First Class Constable.

His career path was a little different from most other policemen of the day. Except for a year stationed at Yam Creek in 1883, he spent his whole career in Palmerston. In October 1887, Waters was included in a party preparing to explore Melville Island, one of two policemen, but his lack of 'bush' experience gave rise to some comment in the press. He rose steadily up the ranks and in a promotion described as 'popular' was made Sub-Inspector on 1 February 1904. On 1 July 1910, he succeeded [Paul Foelsche](#) with the rank of Inspector, as the head of the Northern Territory police force.

Waters was one of the few South Australian public servants who kept their positions when the Commonwealth took over in 1911. He did have the choice of returning to Adelaide but stayed on in charge of 18 police officers, the gaol keeper and three warders.

The years following could not have been particularly happy ones in policing terms. The police force was very inadequate and the five men stationed in Darwin were certainly not equipped to deal with civil disobedience on the scale of the demonstrations that erupted against [Administrator Gilruth](#). In 1918, Waters permitted a march led by [Harold Nelson](#) provided it was peaceful. Gilruth, however, refused to recognise the townsmen, and a fracas broke out. There was some shoving, Gilruth was manhandled and Waters was punched and kicked while he attempted to restore order. Waters was, according to [Alfred Searcy](#), a 'big, powerful man', very capable in a fight, which may be the reason the riot did not get out of hand. Nelson was then prosecuted but the charge was dismissed leaving him, in the words of Frank Alcorta, 'free to continue his quest for total control in Darwin'. Other charges of assault were quashed on appeal.

Waters could not then have been happy with Royal Commissioner Ewing's analysis of events. The Royal Commissioner was not particularly complimentary about the way Waters managed the police force. He described him as an 'old gentleman who is very highly respected but does not exercise his powers over the men with a firm enough hand'. He recommended that an officer of wide experience be placed in charge, though in evidence Waters claimed that the population was pretty law abiding and that the main problems were gambling and sly grog selling.

Along with his contemporaries, Waters wore many hats during the course of his career. From about 1902 when he was first appointed Crown Prosecutor, he was Inspector of Stock and Brands, assistant returning officer and he sat for over a decade as a member of the Tender Board. In 1912 he was given the powers to act as a customs officer should the need arise. By 1919, he was acting Government Secretary, Registrar Births, Deaths and Marriages and Registrar of Companies and was the senior officer in regards to length of service. From 1915 to 1920, he was government nominee on the reconstituted and restructured Darwin Town Council.

He was a meticulous record-keeper. The only copies of the Northern Territory censuses that have been found for 1881, 1991 and 1901 are in his handwriting and they seem to include Territorians who were absent at the time. Among the Anglican Church records is a ledger, apparently based on the 1901 census, which has been annotated to record births, marriages and deaths.

He was involved with the Rifle Club, being a good shot, and was Secretary and Treasurer in 1900. For many years, he was elected to the committee of the Palmerston Institute of which he was President in 1915.

Although he was born in the south of Ireland, he appears to have been a Protestant as his activities paralleled those of the Lutheran, Paul Foelsche. Waters was one of the trustees of lot 639 at the corner of Knuckey and Mitchell Streets on which the Wesleyan church stood. He was a staunch member of the Church of England in Palmerston, as was his wife, and was a member of the Parochial Council when planning for the new church built in 1902, and destroyed in Cyclone Tracy, was in progress. Like Foelsche, he was also active in Masonic affairs and was a Past Grand Deacon of the Grand Masonic Lodge of South Australia, Darwin Branch.

Between 1896 and 1920, Waters speculated in land in Darwin. During those years, he bought a total of 30 lots of which he still owned three, lots 497, 501 and 504 in Smith Street, at the date of his death.

He was still serving as Police Inspector when he died suddenly at his home in Smith Street on 8 March 1924 at the age of 69, survived by his wife, [Anna Maria Woide Waters](#), whom he had married on a visit to Adelaide in 1892. A masonic funeral was conducted at his residence and he was buried in the Goyder Road cemetery according to the rites of the Church of England. The funeral was very large, all motor vehicles in the town were requisitioned and those who could not ride walked with 'profound respect'. It was said of him that he 'leaves behind an unblemished record of integrity, good citizenship and work well done' and that under 'a somewhat stern official exterior... hid a big generous heart and there are scores of old hands who will miss his advice and assistance'.

His Will was made soon after his marriage and dated 13 December 1892. He left his very large estate of 22 349 Pounds solely to his wife, there being no children. She continued to live alone in their home in Smith Street, next to Christ Church, until she died at the age of 86 on 8 July 1939.

Administrator's Report, year ended 30 June 1924; *Advertiser* 17 February 1904; F X Alcorta, *Darwin Rebellion*, 1984; Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, 28/1920 (Ewing report); Land Titles Office records; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; *North Australian*, 8 October 1887; *Northern Standard* 11 March 1924; 11 July 1939; Northern Territory Archives Service, E96/147, E103/26/1940; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 20 April 1900, 8 June 1900, 18 April 1902, 3 October 1902, 19 July 1903, 6 November 1903, 19 February 1904, 5 January 1906, 22 November 1907, 1 July 1910, 26 April 1912, 30 July 1914, 10 June 1920, 11 March 1924; *Register*, 2 January 1911; A Searcy, *In Australian Tropics*, facsimile, 1984.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

WATI YURITJA: see [SMITH, WALTER](#)

WATSON, JAMES (1865–1946), Wesleyan Methodist Minister, was born in Bendigo, Victoria on 21 February 1865, the son of James Watson, an engineer, and his wife Margaret, *nee* Ryan. Little is known of his early life but he came to reside in New South Wales as a young man and offered himself for service in the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

At the time, there was no general system for the education of ministers of the Methodist Church. Men who were considered suitable by their character and Christian conviction were given training by those already in the ministry. They would be given a recommended list of appropriate books for study. These would be, in the main, the Sermons of John Wesley and other books related to biblical knowledge and interpretation. Watson's nature and enthusiasm would have been his recommendation, and his association with Reverend (later Dr W E) Bromelow would mean that he was learning 'on the job'. He was admitted to the Ministry of the Methodist Church in 1891 and was in that year a member of the first Mission party to Papua under the leadership of Dr Bromelow. However, he was forced to return to Australia in 1893 due to ill health. He then undertook deputation work for the Mission Society during the next three years.

On 21 July 1896, he married Isabella Duncan Fraser, born 2 May 1874, the daughter of Daniel Fraser, a shipwright and Jane Fraser, *nee* Condon, of Emu Plains, New South Wales. In 1896, he was appointed to the parish of Narrabri, New South Wales and in the following years, he ministered in the circuits of Inverell and Broken Hill, (New South Wales) Walleroo, (South Australia) and Kempsey (New South Wales).

In 1914, he was appointed as the first State Secretary for Overseas Missions in New South Wales and Queensland. It was in that year the Methodist Church took its first positive steps to establish work with the Aborigines. The Reverend J A Wheen had consultations with Mission Committees in Victoria and Tasmania and also with representatives from the Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational denominations regarding this matter. A number of submissions were made to the federal government, which now administered the Northern Territory. The outcome was that areas were assigned to the interested churches for this work among the Aborigines. The Methodist Church, on 2 July 1915 appointed Watson to conduct a survey of the area of the Territory suggested, and to report with proposals as to how the work might begin. Later that month Watson sailed to Darwin on the SS *St. Albans* with a letter of introduction from the Minister for External Affairs to the Administrator **Dr Gilruth** and also from the Reverend Dr E H Sugden, Master of Queens College Melbourne, a personal friend of Gilruth. The resident minister Reverend E A Laphorne and members of the Darwin congregation welcomed him. He travelled on a petrol driven 'scow' with the Administrator Dr Gilruth and a government party to Bathurst Island to confer with the Roman Catholic Mission. On this journey, he visited the settlements at Fort Dundas and Melville Island, continuing to the East Alligator River. The party proceeded up river to Cahill's landing then continued the seven miles to Oenpelli. Here Watson was able to confer with **Paddy Cahill**, Manager of the government experimental cattle station, and see living conditions within Aboriginal territory. At this point, the Administrator's party left him. With four Aboriginal guides and horses, he travelled overland to Darwin exploring the area and visiting Goulburn Island. In Darwin, on Sunday 30 September he was the preacher at the local church with the Administrator and Mrs Gilruth, The Under Secretary for External Affairs, **Judge Bevan**, and other officials of government present. His message was well received and he was encouraged to continue his investigations. The Wesleyan Methodist Church had been active in Darwin (formerly Palmerston) since the very beginnings of settlement but the main thrust of the mission had been to the white population with some special work among the Chinese labourers brought to the area. There had been a recognition of the need for work with Aborigines but for some time this had been sporadic and often confined to ministering to those who were unfortunate to fall foul of the law and end up in Fannie Bay gaol. Such work was seen to be within the role of the resident Darwin minister.

Watson wrote his report in rather casual but popular terms taking four episodes in the *Missionary Review* under the unlikely title of 'Ramblings in the Northern Territory'. It was far from what most people would call a 'ramble'. He ends the first 'episode' of his ramble with an outline of the visit up to this point with this summary regarding the Aborigines: 'these are not 'vermin to be got rid of, but people whose lives should be enriched from the treasures of knowledge and especially the knowledge of God. People whose minds should be freed from the bondage of superstition and fears of the devil-devil. Strange that the Methodist Church should have neglected such interesting people all these years. I wonder why?'

The second 'episode' contains more detailed impressions of the Aborigines including comparison with that of some of the whites he had observed. He also told of the church service in Darwin at which he was the preacher. He took the train to Pine Creek and from there, the end of the line, intended to travel on a bicycle. There were those who advised him against such an idea relating the story of a man named Fletcher who had perished only a few weeks earlier travelling by that method. However, Watson was determined to use this form of transport and he had been encouraged and assisted by Eddie Reichenbach who had established a record by riding a bicycle from Adelaide to Darwin. Probably the adverse advice only aroused a sense of bravado in him. He bought what stores he considered essential and set off. He comments that it had taken **Mrs Aeneas Gunn** four days to travel to Katherine but he reached within 18 kilometres of that place in one day. He had sought others to accompany him including the Reverend J Gibson, the Presbyterian Patrol Padre, but Gibson was ill and there were no other takers. He reached Katherine early on the second day and commented that there were four things there: 'the Telegraph Station, the Police Station, and Public House and the river'. The town was quiet because the government had taken over all liquor outlets and here the keys to the bar and cellar of the hotel were in the pocket of the policeman who was out on patrol. Next day he secured a lift with a young Scotsman in a buggy. The journey was slow, only seven kilometres per hour through sand but he learned a good deal from his companion about the stations, especially Victoria River Downs and Bradshaw's Run.

The young fellow considered that what the Territory needed was more white women and homes and plenty of good literature. Watson continued toward the King River with some difficulty in sand. He met a teamster and they camped together. Watson remembered that he enjoyed some 'very fine johnny-cakes'. They had overnight rain but he reached Maranboy tin mining field where the government had just erected a treatment mill. Here there were a number of Aborigines and Watson witnessed a corroboree. He had a letter of introduction to **L N Stutterd**, the engineer in charge. He was welcomed and invited to a meal and then to stay overnight. This was an enjoyable experience in a home with family, a gauzed house with real comforts. He continued to Elsey Station, and he heard stories of problems with Aborigines at Mataranka. The Elsey homestead had been moved to a new site at McMinns Bar and Watson had brought a telegram requiring the manager to have 150 fats ready by end of the month. It was now that he had trouble with the tubes on the bike but worse he contracted severe diarrhoea and became obviously dehydrated. With great determination, he set off on the return and reached Maranboy where the Stutterds refreshed him. He pressed onto Katherine where Constable Conlon had a medicine chest. He was given chlorodyne and was able to continue on his way to Pine Creek. He came to a camp with three men carousing with a bottle of rum. One of these saw that Watson was ill and got him to bed and thus enabled him to reach Pine Creek. Now he remembered the story he had heard before he left on this trip when he was told of Fletcher who had died trying to travel in the area by cycle. He comments: 'I had some idea of the hell through which poor Fletcher had passed before he lay down, utterly exhausted, and died, just three months before'.

The report that Watson made to the Mission Board had recommended that the church should make a start with the proposed mission and the first location should be South Goulburn Island. The Board accepted his recommendation and decided to appoint him the first superintendent. Mrs Watson did not join her husband in Arnhem Land. By a special arrangement with the Mission Board, he was paid an allowance to maintain a home for his wife and daughter in Sydney.

On 27 May 1916, Watson and AE Lawrence sailed on SS *Tasman* for Darwin. The date was significant for Watson because on the same date 25 years earlier he had been in the party going to Papua. They arrived at Darwin on 8 June and left for South Goulburn Island on the 12 ton *Venture* accompanied by two luggers loaded with building materials and stores, arriving on 22 June. Lawrence was to be the Industrial Superintendent and the idea was that the two men would set up the buildings that were deemed necessary for the commencement of the mission. Mr Lawrence was a married man and the intention was that his wife would join him as soon as a residence was ready. On 14 August 1916 Mrs Lawrence and Miss Corfield, missionary sister, sailed on the SS *Houtman* for Darwin *en route* to South Goulburn Island. Watson and Lawrence had erected a substantial mission house and other necessary buildings, so they had not been idle. In this work, they had the help of Mosesi Mansio, a Fijian from the island of Rotuma. Watson had met him during his earlier visit and Mosesi now offered his services. During his period at Goulburn Island Watson travelled to Mapoon, a Presbyterian mission on the west coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria and recruited the services of Christian teachers from Badu Island in Torres Strait to assist in the work. These proved to be a valuable asset. Watson's work was valuable and his energy and friendly attitude to the Aborigines quickly won respect. However, he was not without many problems and times of danger.

Watson remained at Goulburn Island as Superintendent and Chairman until 1918 when he returned 'south' and Reverend Gordon A Burgess was appointed to succeed him but Burgess died a few days before sailing from Sydney, and Reverend Louis D Keipert was appointed. Watson was asked to accompany Keipert to Darwin and introduce him to the work. This Watson was glad to do and the two men sailed for Darwin in May 1920. In that year the General Conference of the church decided, on Watson's recommendation, to establish a second station in the Crocodile Islands and applied for a lease to do so. To ensure that this would be accomplished it also appointed Reverend J C Jennison of South Australia, and at the same time designated him Chairman of the North Australia District that would have the new station as well as Goulburn Island within its jurisdiction. When Jennison was about to take up his new work Watson was again asked to accompany him to his new work. On 21 April 1921 Watson, Jennison and a lay missionary Arnold Hamer sailed to Thursday Island where they were to take over a new ketch. This was not ready and then Jennison was instructed by Sydney to go at once to Darwin to deal with problems there. Misfortune and trouble followed for Jennison but Watson with Hamer arrived safely at Goulburn. Jennison and others suffered storm and shipwreck with a walk from Raffles Bay to opposite Goulburn. Difficulties and disagreements arose between Jennison and Watson in regard to the development of the new station. Watson preferred Milingimbi but Jennison wanted Elcho Island. In this Jennison prevailed because he was now the Chairman, and Elcho was chosen. Watson now returned south. He continued doing deputation work for a time but when Jennison resigned at the end of 1922, Watson returned to the north as Chairman of the District and remained in that post until the end of 1925.

He was succeeded by Reverend **T T Webb**, who was to prove a wonderful asset in the future. Watson returned to New South Wales. He served in the parishes of Lewisham and Dural in New South Wales then with failing health retired to Ashfield where he remained until his death on 27 September 1946. His wife and daughter survived him. Isabella Watson died on 15 September 1949. Watson is remembered as a man dedicated to the work among the Aborigines of North Australia and for the foundations he laid for the work in the years that followed.

Rev CF Gribble, former General Secretary of MOM, personal information; Methodist Missionary Review; M McKenzie, *Mission to Arnhem Land*, 1976; Minutes and other records of the Methodist Overseas Mission, Mitchell Library, Sydney; Records from the Registrar, Births, Deaths and Marriages, New South Wales.

ARCH W GRANT, Vol 3.

WATTS, DOUGLAS CROMBIE (JIM) (1884–1930), bank officer, businessman, waterside worker, politician and trade union official, was born in Brisbane, Queensland, on 6 September 1884, a son of John Levie Watts

and his wife Amelia, *nee* Ferguson. He was educated in Brisbane and on leaving school joined the staff of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney. After transfer to Broken Hill, New South Wales, he was promoted to Palmerston, shortly to become Darwin, in 1909.

At that time, only single staff members were employed so in 1911 he resigned from the bank in order to marry. On 5 July 1911, he married Alice Mona Finnis, the daughter of Fairfax Ingeham Hassard Finnis and there were five children of the marriage. A few days before the wedding, they had attended a large fancy dress ball dressed as Pierrette and Pierrot. About 100 guests attended the wedding and Watts was commended for putting aside his bachelor status, unlike numbers of the other young men about town.

As a young man, he was a keen sportsman. He played football and tennis and at the latter sport was among the best players in Darwin. In July 1911 he was appointed Secretary and Auditor of the newly resurrected North Australian Cycling and Athletic Society, a position he was to hold for a number of years. He was a Mason and in 1914 was Senior Warden of Port Darwin Lodge Number 41 as well as being President of the short-lived Darwin Workers' Amusement Club. As with most of his contemporaries he was involved in the Racing Club. He was Secretary for a short time in 1914 and the 1916 season saw him Clerk of Scales.

He began business as a shipping, commission and indent agent with premises in Bennett Street and this he ran until April 1919. In 1913 he was agent for the West Australian State Shipping Company and among commercial firms represented Dalgety and Company, Ray's Pleuro Vaccine, Johnston Tyre and Colonial Rubber Company, National Mutual Life Assurance and Spaldings Sporting Goods. By 1918, he represented the Bovril Company and held the Buick agency. He also dealt in pearl shell.

But he also had other interests. In July 1913, he was appointed to the part time position of Clerk of the Darwin District Council and Secretary of the local Board of Health at a salary of 150 Pounds per annum. He resigned in May 1914 apparently due to poor remuneration. He then offered himself as a contractor and the same month won a contract valued at 25 Pounds and 15 Shillings to erect a windmill and tanks at Myilly Point. In November of the same year, he erected, in something of a record according to the press report, a large building to house the Cable Guard, which had been stationed in Darwin due to the outbreak of war. From about the middle of 1919 A E Jolly and Company, on behalf of Burns Philp, employed him to be their wharfinger and foreman stevedore.

Watts joined the Australian Workers' Union (AWU) when it was formed in Darwin in 1911 and was elected to the Darwin District Council in July 1914 though was not successful when a party political field stood in 1915. He was re-elected in 1916 and was chosen as Mayor in July 1917 by his fellow Councillors after the elections saw **Harold Nelson**, who proposed the motion, and Robert Toupein, both AWU members, take their seats. According to the historian Frank Alcorta, the Council was effectively under Nelson's control. Alcorta suggests, for example, that Nelson allowed Watts to become Mayor because the position entailed certain duties and responsibilities that had nothing to do with their power. Nelson's first act was to raise the Council's labourers' wages but Watts, as Mayor, was to wear the community's anger when of necessity the rates were increased. Watts's later career does suggest that he was easily manipulated. As early as October 1917 he presided when a presentation was given to Mrs Nelson to show the 'high esteem' in which she was held by Darwin workers though she had lived in Darwin for only three years.

An incident in 1917 was a portent of things to come. The Administrator, **Gilruth**, was seen as a capitalist puppet and when in 1917 he returned from Melbourne, where his appointment had been extended, neither Watts, as Mayor, nor his fellow Labor councillors were present to meet him, as protocol demanded.

At the 1918 Council elections, held annually in July, all successful candidates were 'Labor' men and Watts was re-elected Mayor once more. He was, however, not present at the Council meeting when Nelson introduced resolutions condemning the judiciary and the administration, a move that might have been designed to keep the Mayor out of the wrangling which followed.

By December, relations between the town and the Administrator had been reduced to such a level that a group, variously estimated at between 400 and 1 000 people, marched on Government House in Darwin. As Mayor Watts was to introduce the leader of the march to the Administrator but was hindered by special constables present at Gilruth's request. Watts tried desperately to negotiate between the people and the Administrator but the latter stubbornly refused to meet them, saying that he was answerable only to the Minister and 'did not recognize the citizens'. As **Douglas Lockwood** put it, Watts was called upon in his capacity as 'high sheriff of the city' to eject Gilruth from the Territory as an undesirable. The situation was ugly but even though there was some violence and Gilruth was manhandled, Watts and Nelson kept the crowd under control. That they were successful was a measure of the respect in which they themselves were held, a fact that Justice Ewing in the subsequent Royal Commission was to acknowledge.

On 26 June 1919, Watts resigned from the Council 'worn out by the ongoing struggle', according to Alcorta. But he returned to local government politics in 1926. The following year he was again elected Mayor. After Gilruth's departure and the closure of the Vestey's meatworks the economic climate in Darwin had become grimmer and grimmer yet the Council paid Watts a monthly allowance of eight Pounds, six Shillings and eight Pence which it could ill afford and which raised the ire of the townsfolk. It was claimed that this amount had been 'arranged' specifically for Watts, and without reference to ratepayers, as previous Mayors had only received out of pocket expenses. At this time, Watts was also an elected member of the Advisory Council of North Australia though it rarely met.

In the citizen protests which erupted after short-sighted Commonwealth governments had refused to restore the vote to Territorians which they lost in the administrative changes of 1911, Watts was one of the 'martyrs' imprisoned for 28 days for refusing to pay taxes in May 1921. He told a public meeting after his release that while Fannie Bay Gaol was no 'bed of roses', he would go again to defend his principles.

Once the battle for representation had been won, Watts became the first Secretary of the Northern Territory Political Organisation that selected Nelson as its parliamentary candidate. It was Watts's support of Nelson which went a long way towards the latter's successful election to the House of Representatives though they later fell out and Watts was Nelson's opponent during the 1928 campaign, but the sitting member held his seat.

The Northern Territory Administration believed that a more tractable Council would be possible if the franchise was changed to allow voting by all adults, not just property owners or occupiers. Relations between the Council and the Administrator, **R H Weddell**, who was appointed in 1927, were not a lot better than they had been under Gilruth and negotiations broke down. Watts, as Mayor, presided over the meeting in 1929 that objected strongly to the changes but by then he was in very bad health. At the Council meeting on 12 February 1930, he applied, by letter, for leave of absence until the end of June (the end of his current term) though he had then been absent for four meetings. Leave was duly granted and Watts left Darwin for his brother's home in Toowoomba, Queensland, but again there was controversy as the mayoral allowance continued to be paid.

The matter was quickly resolved as Watts died in Toowoomba on 1 March 1930, the first Mayor of a Darwin local government council to die in office. He left a very small estate and it seems clear that he could not have taken on the role of Mayor without some reasonable remuneration. While commenting that Watts had his share of human failings, the obituary in the *Northern Standard* praised his endeavour to 'do good according to his own light'. He was a devoted husband and father to the wife and five children who survived him.

F X Alcorta, *Darwin Rebellion 1911–1919*, 1982; P F Donovan, *At the Other End of Australia*, 1986; D Lockwood, *The Front Door*, 1969; A Powell, *Far Country*, 1981; Commonwealth Parliamentary Paper, no 28 of 1920; *Northern Standard*, 30 June 1921, 14 February 1930, 18 February 1930, 28 February 1930, 4 March 1930; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 13 August 1909, 7 July 1911, 14 July 1911, 20 February 1913, 10 July 1913, 26 February 1914, 10 June 1915, 1 June 1916, 29 June 1916, 30 October 1916, 19 July 1917, 5 April 1919, 14 June 1919, 28 June 1919, 4 March 1930; Northern Territory Archives Service, E96/212; Queensland Births, Deaths and Marriages 84/006926.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

WAUDBY, WILLIAM JOHNSON (BILL) (1920–), policeman and pastoralist, was born on 8 August 1920 at West Adelaide, the only child of strict Methodists, Ernest William Waudby and his wife Agnes, *nee* Walker, who came from Yorkshire, England, about 1911 to settle in South Australia. Ernest Waudby was a cabinet-maker and funeral director and for a time young Bill acted as undertaker's assistant.

Bill attended Belair Primary School followed by Blackwood Primary School when it opened in 1929 before going on to Unley High School. This, apparently, was not a huge success, causing his father to finally remark: 'You're wasting my money, your teacher's time and your own, get out and get a job'.

Bill was 15 when he left school and being the time of the Depression in the early 1930s, he found a job as packer's assistant and messenger boy with Charles Birks & Co, Rundle Street, Adelaide (now David Jones). Eighteen months later, as part of a Depression scheme for youth in their mid-teens, Bill joined a training scheme with the South Australian Police until, at the age of 19 years, he applied for and was accepted by the Northern Territory Police.

He arrived in the Territory and Darwin in 1939 when there were only about 45 police in the whole of the Territory. Settling into the Top End as a non-drinker, it was not long before he was called upon to challenge the current champion milkshake drinker. He won the title and continued as a milk drinker until, playing football with the Waratahs when they won the 1940–1941 premiership; he gave milk away for rum. An over indulgence though, made him swear off rum and revert to his former beverage.

From Darwin, Bill was sent all over the Territory in his work as Mounted Constable and was stationed in Tennant Creek when the Japanese bombed Darwin. Joining the Air Force he served in Australia and New Guinea until, in 1946, he returned to the Territory and the Police Force.

On relieving duty to outlying stations such as Katherine, Tennant Creek, Pine Creek, Mataranka, Wauchope and Alice Springs, it was while temporarily stationed at Katherine in 1947 that Bill became involved in the rescue of a Royal Dutch Navy air crew whose aircraft, a Dakota, had crashed landed in inaccessible country in Arnhem Land during the Wet.

While three of the crew managed to walk out, a rescue patrol led by Mounted Constable Waudby set off to battle impenetrable tropical growth, ford raging torrents of the flooded Maud Creek and Katherine River and cross a treacherous boggy terrain to reach the remaining air crew seven days later. They were amazed to find the men in high spirits surrounded by tinned tucker, fresh fruit and bottles of good champagne—the cargo the aircraft had been carrying to troops in the islands. Preparing for the return journey, the aircrew, never having been on horses before, were given instruction and despite bad weather and impossible conditions were led back to safety in Katherine four days later.

Shortly after, Bill Waudby left the Northern Territory Police Force. Obtaining a Grazing Licence for just over 400 square miles of vacant Crown land, Waudby named it Central Mount Wedge after the mountain on the property. He first of all camped under a tarpaulin, then lived in a bough shed while developing the station, and seven years later, he applied for and was granted a Pastoral Lease.

On 2 July 1949 Bill Waudby and Pat Rugless, whom he had first met in 1946 in Darwin when she worked for the Allied Works Council were married. Their first son, James, was born on 16 March 1950. In May 1952, Pat was pregnant for the second time when she and Bill were bringing cattle into Alice Springs and she was struck down, on the road, by poliomyelitis. After five months in an iron lung in the Alice Springs Hospital, Pat was evacuated to Adelaide with a portable iron lung in a TAA transport aircraft that had to fly below a thousand feet to enable her to breathe. In Adelaide, on 7 November, she gave birth by Caesarean section to their second son Robert. Two and

a half years later, her breathing restored and some of her disabilities overcome, Pat was able to return to Central Mount Wedge in a wheel chair.

In January 1961, the homestead on the station was burnt to the ground through a faulty kerosene refrigerator. Pat and young Bob were holidaying with Pat's mother in Adelaide at the time, and Bill and young Jim were out mustering when they saw what they thought was a willy wind then realised the line of smoke was the homestead. The family lost everything and although the homestead was later rebuilt, with Pat needing extra care, Bill bought a house in Alice Springs for the family to live in. Then as time went by and Pat needed more care, as her breathing and movement had deteriorated again, she moved into town full-time and eventually back to Adelaide where she died on 8 May 1994.

About 1954 the Governor General, Sir William Slim, commissioned William Johnson Waudby a Justice of the Peace. The same year Waudby became a foundation member and Vice President of the MacDonnell Range Amateur Picnic Race Meeting and was later made a Life Member.

In 1962, Bill Waudby, with two partners, undertook one of the last major droving treks in the Centre when they walked a big mob of cattle from Billiluna Station in the East Kimberleys across the North West stock route down into Alice Springs. It came about when Billiluna had a big mob of cattle they could not walk to the Wyndham Meatworks because of their susceptibility to tick fever en route, and Bill Wilson, owner of Billiluna and one of the partners, decided to try getting them to Alice Springs.

Waudby, with Milton Willick and stock inspector Joe Mahood set out across country in three vehicles to pick up the cattle. It was April and they struck big rains. (Luckily for Waudby a freak storm had also brought 279 millimetres of rain to Central Mount Wedge. In a time of drought, the station was under water!) From just north of the Granites that Bill describes as: 'Wicked country! Couldn't support a goanna', they came to 'all this beautiful country—it was unreal'. Partly surveyed, the three men decided to take up a section in partnership, which they called Mongrel Downs. Continuing west into the Great Sandy Desert, they reached the Balgo Catholic Mission and finally, Billiluna.

The cattle were still boxed up at Billiluna and it was put to the men that if they could get a stock route put down to get the cattle through, they could call it the Billiluna Extension Stock Route to the North West Stock Route. They accepted the challenge and Bill arranged for a driller, took on the contract himself to erect windmills and tanks, and they finally got it through. As Bill says: 'It didn't take five minutes, it went on for about two years'. So the Billiluna Stock Route was formed and altogether they brought in 9 000 head of cattle in good order.

In 1963 Bill Waudby instigated an annual cricket match at Central Mount Wedge Station when, at the time of the big drought people were not keen on getting their horses together for race meetings because of a lack of feed while they were being paddocked. Bill suggested a cricket match and formed the North West Cricket Club. First of all they challenged teams from Yuendumu and Papunya then later a town side, donating proceeds to the Royal Flying Doctor Service, Alice Springs Stirrers Club, Spastic Council and School of the Air. The station has since become renowned for these annual cricket matches and in 1991, Waudby was made a Life Member of the cricket club he founded.

A big, quietly spoken man with an easygoing disposition, Bill 'Wallaby' Waudby was a foundation member and President of the Centralian Beef Breeders Association from 1970 to 1988 and was then made a Life member. From 1970 to 1986, he was a member of the Bush Fire Council then rejoined as Chairman in 1989 until 1993 when he was made a permanent Warden.

He joined the Northern Territory State Committee of Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) for four years from 1983, was President of the Central Australian Pastoral Association (now the Northern Territory Cattlemen's Association), and was on the Northern Territory Cattle Consultative Committee. In 1984, Waudby took part in a bronco-branding exhibition. The same year he became a member and President of the Stockman's Hall of Fame (Northern Territory Branch) and in 1988 was made a Life Member.

A member of the Alice Springs Show Society from 1985 to 1988 Bill Waudby served as Councillor and President before being made a Life member. In 1993, he was awarded a Certificate of Appreciation from the Commonwealth Meteorological Bureau for 43 years as Rainfall Observer at Central Mount Wedge. He also became chairman of an interim committee for the National Pioneer Women's Hall of Fame, and was also made a Life member.

During the Bi-Centenary year of 1988, William Johnson Waudby was selected to join 200 famous Territorians whose names are commemorated on tiles laid in Darwin's Esplanade Park. In the Australia Day Honours in January 1996, he was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM) for service to the community.

Centralian Advocate, Station History Series No 24; information from L Kittle and P Morey; Northern Territory Archives, oral history interview, 1991; *Northern Territory News* 26 January 1996; W J Waudby, interview, 1994.

SHIRLEY BROWN, Vol 3.

WEABER, WILLIAM BROWN (BILL) (c1877–1940), stockman, pastoralist and mine owner, was born at Logan River, south of Brisbane, about 1877. At age 15 or so, he went to the Kimberleys and earned his first money helping the mailman across the flooded Diamantina on the way. He spent some years droving in the Kimberleys and was a noted horseman. By 1908, he was managing Carlton Station. In 1910, in partnership with J Prior, he took up Ningbing Station, about 70 kilometres northeast of Wyndham. He bought out his partner in 1915 and was sole owner until 1922 when he went into partnership with Arthur Haley, a stock inspector. Haley died in 1932 and the property was sold to Bovril Estates in 1933. (The station later became part of Carlton and the homestead abandoned). Weaber was described as a bushman 'of the old type'; he was a 'thick-set ruggedly tough man'.

His bush experiences left him blind. He lost the sight of one eye when he was attacked by ‘myall’ Aborigines and he later lost the sight of the other when a horse fell on him and kicked him in the face.

In 1916, he drove a large mob the 2 400 kilometres to southern Queensland via the Murrnaji track. They were herded at the 12-mile, out from Wyndham. While in Queensland he married Kathleen Hayes who came from Beaudesert that is not far from Logan River. She was eight years his junior, a ‘tall, slim person with a lovely serene expression and she always spoke very softly’. It is thought that Weaber had known Kathleen from when she was a young child. There were three children of the marriage: Owen, born in 1918, Kathleen, born 1922 and Kevan in 1926. All were born at Beaudesert. Kate (as she was called) Weaber always coped with her isolated environment but she missed her family, and legend has it that she made a trip home every four years to have a baby as her sister was a midwife. Kate Weaber’s eldest brother, Tom Hayes, was in the Kimberleys before she went there. He spent many years droving and was with [Tom Kilfoyle](#) and Jerry Durack when they overlanded cattle from Queensland to set up Rosewood station.

After Ningbing was sold Weaber and his family in two vehicles set off for Brisbane. They stayed for a week with the [Martins](#) at Victoria River Downs and then headed in the direction of Tennant Creek. They had heard there was gold in the area so decided to have a look and they camped near the Wheel Doria on what is now the aerodrome. According to Kevan, it was his brother Owen who found the gold. He went out with his blind father, and the one-eyed [Jack Noble](#) to survey the area east of the town. Owen looked for likely bits of rock and the adults made their assessment. Four leases could be claimed it seems so they pegged out the Rising Sun, Kimberley Kids, Weabers Find and Noble’s Nob. Contrary to popular myth, Noble did not own that mine but assisted the family in pegging out the leases. ‘It was my Mother’s insistence only that Noble’s Nob was pegged out’, said Kevan. He continued, ‘Mother had a little bit of a poet in her and she was the one that always named everything—Rising Sun because it was the easterly one, Weaber’s Find after my father, Kimberley Kids after the three of us children. She was looking around for a name for the fourth one. It is a nobbly sort of a hill and it rhymed with Noble—so.’

The Weabers’ first home in Tennant Creek was on the southern side of the Noble’s Nob hill. It was a bough shed and Jack Noble lived with them. The first dance floor in Tennant Creek was an antbed floor near the Noble’s Nob hill. The family then moved to the Rising Sun mine and by 1938 had built what was then the best house in Tennant Creek on lot 169, now the site of the Peko Park. When the family moved into the town, Kathleen became a leading light in its affairs. The first Country Women’s Association (CWA) meeting was held at her home and she was very involved with the Catholic Church, though William Weaber was not of the same faith. According to Kevan, his mother paid for the church to be transported from Pine Creek and she also helped to pay for the re-erection.

The Weabers only worked the Rising Sun mine but the yields were considerable. In March 1937 Weaber applied for assistance under the Encouragement of Mining Ordinance 1913 using the equipment he owned as collateral, among which was a complete five head stamp battery. He sought the assistance so that he could erect a crushing plant. He was to repay 10 shillings per ton for every ton of ore crushed. He was loaned the sum of 2 100 Pounds. Only 100 Pounds was still outstanding three years later and the debt was paid in full by 15 October 1941. A shaft was sunk eventually to about 450 metres and then the side of the hill cut off and the mine was worked as an open cut, all with hand drills and dynamite.

As William was blind, he relied on his children to take his hand to walk him round the mining area. Among the employees was an Aborigine called ‘Monday’, who always deemed it an honour to be allowed to lead Weaber by the hand. His best friend was [James Maloney](#). They had been friends at Wyndham and the Maloneys followed the Weabers to Tennant Creek. Maloney helped Weaber with legal matters though his brother, James Edward Weaber, looked after his family’s business affairs.

Tragedy struck the family in 1937 when Katherine was killed in an air crash at Yeppoon in Queensland and Owen was killed over Norway on 31 October 1940 while serving with the Royal Air Force. William Weaber died on 5 October 1940 at the age of 63, leaving an estate of over 8 000 Pounds. At the time of his death, he was in formal partnership with his son, Owen, and Cosmo Gregg in the four leases he first pegged out. He also had an interest in at least four other mines, including Westward Ho and the North Star. Among his assets was the Pioneer Picture Show, long an institution in Tennant Creek. Weaber seems to have been one of the few men with capital in the early days of Tennant Creek and with a growing family, some means of entertaining them was important, as it was to the rest of the town.

Kathleen left the town after her husband’s death and the government acquired the house. She hoped to work the leases again at the end of the Second World War but unable to buy the house back, and in poor health, she decided that the mining leases should be sold. Kathleen and her son Kevan moved firstly to Brisbane and then to Sydney where she died in May 1969 at the age of 84. Kevan recalled that though they lived in physical comfort he doubted that his mother ever regained her ‘mental comfort’. In January 1996, the new town hall at Tennant Creek was dedicated to Owen Weaber.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS A659 1940/1/1681, F742 41/147M; F Martin, *Three Families Outback in Australia’s Tropical North*, 1985; Northern Territory Archives Service, E103 Box 5, 6/1941, F302 (Timber Creek Police Journals), NTRS 226 TS 351/2; H J Wilson ‘The Heritage of Tennant Creek’, Report to the National Trust of Australia (Northern Territory), 1995; *Northern Territory News*, 27 January 1996.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

WEBB, THOMAS THEODOR (1885–1948), missionary, linguist, anthropologist and explorer, was born at Lyndoch in South Australia on 11 April 1885, the son of Alfred Walter Webb a farmer and orchardist. His mother was Martha Ann, *nee* Baker. He was the third child in a family of five. When Webb was only a few weeks old, the

family moved to Perry Bridge in Gippsland, Victoria, where his father had a mixed farm and orchard on the banks of the Perry River close to the bridge that crossed that river. The small settlement included a school and church. His mother was the local postmistress.

The area had been the home of a large Aboriginal tribe. Here these people had the resources of forest and grassland as well as those offered in nearby Lake Wellington. It was in the Perry Bridge area that young Webb first had contact with Aborigines and knowledge of relations with the white settlers. In this area, he was nurtured in the church and school and developed that determination and resource which comes to country boys, so important in the future. It was during this time that he became aware of the call of God to the ministry of the Methodist church.

In 1909, Webb was accepted as a candidate for training for the ministry and was enrolled as a student at Queen's College within the University of Melbourne. He completed the required course and in 1911 was appointed to his first circuit, at Wentworth in southwestern New South Wales on the junction of the Darling and Murray Rivers. Here again he would have some contact with Aboriginal people whose survival was bound up with those streams.

He volunteered as a chaplain in the ecumenical mission with the workers constructing the trans-continental railway. Here once more he was able to observe the life and needs of Aborigines living in the arid countryside through which the railway was being built. In August 1916, he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force as a Chaplain and saw service in France attached to a Casualty Clearing Station as well as Artillery and Infantry units. At the end of that war, he returned to Australia completing his service as Chaplain Third Class (Major) in July 1919. At the time he enlisted, he was 177 centimetres in height (five feet and nine inches) and weighed 96 kilograms (14 stone and two pounds).

He then served with acceptance in the Brunswick, Wonthaggi and Ararat circuits where he was noted for his robust preaching and vigorous Christian spirit. On 5 April 1923, he married Eva Mary Rawson, who was born on 2 August 1894. There were two children of the marriage, Donald Ian, and Ailsa Mary.

In 1926, he offered for service with the Overseas Missions Department and was appointed to the Crocodile Islands with his headquarters at Milingimbi. Travel to Darwin entailed a sea voyage of about two weeks and from Darwin to Milingimbi by lugger. At the time, the mission had a lugger named *McBride* that was powered by sail so the journey was slow. In 1928, an engine was installed which gave a more reliable and speedier voyage. *McBride* was later wrecked and was replaced by a larger vessel. It was entirely by sea that communication was maintained with the outside world. It was not for some years that air travel and radio became available.

The mission by the Methodist Church to the Aborigines in the area was only some 10 years old. Founded by **Reverend James Watson** and assistants on south Goulburn Island the work had been extended to Milingimbi. However, the church was having difficulty in making progress because the people it was wishing to influence presented a quite different kind of society to those on other fields. Whereas in other places, notably some Pacific islands, the native people had a society with fixed villages and a culture that included the cultivation of gardens, here they found no villages, no cultivation and no animal husbandry. Instead, they found small nomadic groups and different tribal areas as well as differing language divisions. The problem was not simply one for the missionaries on the field but also for the Mission Board responsible for oversight and more importantly finance. In this environment, Webb was to use his skills and plan the strategy required. He had excellent farming experience and he set out to plant crops which he hoped would make the station at least partially self supporting. In this, he had only limited success, because of the poor soil quality and rainfall problems. Also, he did not find the native men to be interested in the kind of work that farming entailed. He did most of the farm ploughing himself. He was not without help but felt very keenly that he was involved in physical tasks when he needed to give more time to the study of language and culture.

The staff in 1929 was 19 including wives. There was another ordained minister, one lay missionary, one nurse, one European teacher, plus two Fijian teachers and one Baduan teacher. The Fijians were appointed to teach garden methods as they might have been in their own country. During this time, he was studying the local language in order to be able to converse with the people and ultimately to translate portions of scripture and hymns into their tongue. His problems were not only those met on the field but also it was also quite as difficult to convince members of the Mission Board of the local problems and justify costs as well as a review of methods to be applied. In 1929 the Board, faced with very real financial problems had questioned the expenditure on flour and tobacco. Webb gave a vigorous response that was published in the *Missionary Review* for all supporters to read for themselves.

It was in this atmosphere that he nevertheless used his talents in writing. He studied the customs and ceremonies of the Aborigines and described these in articles submitted on Aboriginal life to *Missionary Review*. These included 'Ceremonies for the Initiation of Boys' and 'Ceremonies for Making Peace', the Makarrata. Much of his writing was to inform his readers about the work the mission was doing as well as describing Aboriginal culture and the life style of the people among whom he worked. Gradually he wrote for a wider readership. For example, an article on 'Tribal organisation in Eastern Arnhem Land' was published in *Oceania* in June 1933. In this, he raised issues from his own experience without reference to theoretical concepts of some professional anthropologists. **Professor Elkin** was among those who considered that Webb's views had validity. Webb was later to write *From Spears to Spades* that was published as a booklet.

On 12 May 1930, a letter was published in the Melbourne *Herald* wherein he took up the cause of Aborigines who had been sentenced to death for murder and stated that it was the white man who was the alien. This letter had the immediate effect of the sentences being reviewed and the death sentences commuted but it was also the beginning of a movement, perhaps still in progress, toward a change in attitude of the legal system as it applied to the original inhabitants of this land.

Webb's writing for church readers continued throughout his ministry but he also had a vision of better communication of the faith with the Aboriginal people. His studies led him to translate some of the church's liturgy into the native tongue. By early 1928, he had translated the Lord's Prayer into Kopapingo that was understood by several of the tribes in the area. One of the difficulties, as he reported to the General Secretary of the Mission Board, was that Aborigines had 'no conception of the meaning of Kingdom or Realm or rule, being as they are, entirely without anything in the nature of chieftainship or the like. Neither have they, so far as I can discover, anything corresponding to our idea of holiness or sacredness. They have their idea of taboo, but that is certainly not the idea we want to have them associate with the thought of our Heavenly Father'.

The Webbs went on leave in 1930 to Melbourne. He returned earlier than his wife and family who were aboard Burns Philp's *Malabar* when it ran aground near Long Bay while approaching the entrance to Sydney harbour. All were rescued safely.

Probably Webb's most important challenge came in 1934 following the killing of some Japanese pearlers by Aborigines at Caledon Bay. The government had despatched a police party under the command of Constable **Edward Morey** to apprehend the alleged culprits. The police did not succeed but in the process, Constable McColl was killed on Woodah Island. There was great concern throughout the nation following these events and it was finally agreed that a 'peace mission' be authorised. Reverend **H E Warren** and **A J Dyer** from the Anglican Church Missionary Society offered to undertake the task, assisted by **Fred Gray** of Umbakumba. They had speedy success. The alleged offenders were identified and they volunteered to go to Darwin for the matter to be resolved. Webb was present at the Court throughout most of the proceedings and he later wrote a most thoughtful criticism of the hearings with comments regarding the whole relationship of Aborigines and the law. He wrote, 'The manner in which these trials were conducted... and the severity of the sentences imposed, indicates a deplorable failure to appreciate the true position of these people and such ignorance of aboriginal psychology as must necessarily make the administration of real justice impossible'.

It was following this that the church decided to establish a new mission site within the territory of Arnhem Land. This was at a time when the suitability of the existing missions had been the subject of close scrutiny by Webb. Most of the area was unexplored and it became Webb's task to explore the area and recommend a possible site. As he put it: 'The features most necessary are permanent and adequate water supply, suitable soil for gardening purposes, accessibility, healthy conditions, especially during the wet season, safe anchorage for the mission vessel, which must be for years to come our only possible means of transport, and if possible, the availability of timber for building purposes'. With **Harold Shepherdson** and Aborigines who knew some of the area he travelled extensively throughout Arnhem Land. Three expeditions were mounted at different times of the year. It was as a result of his work that a mission was established at Yirrkala in eastern Arnhem Land. The first missionary was **Reverend W Chaseling**. For most of his time in Arnhem Land Webb was Chairman of the North Australia District of the Methodist Overseas Mission. In this role, he had to work in close co-operation with other staff members and government agencies. His wife provided magnificent support and she had a special influence with the Aboriginal women.

Webb's work in the development of the mission was outstanding, his skills with people, his ability to express himself in writing and as a public speaker when 'down south' was invaluable. The physical demands and the energy he expended took their toll. In 1939, he returned to Victoria doing deputation work and competing his work on translation of St Mark's Gospel. The next few years were clouded by ill health but he continued preaching in Melbourne suburban churches. His final burden was the death of his beloved wife and helpmeet who died in June 1947. He followed her in November 1948. In his obituary, the Reverend Dr John Burton wrote: 'So ended a great life. It was not great measured by the coarse standards of worldly success; but it was great in the quality of its spirit. Few honours came to TT Webb, but his nobility of soul had no need of these. He made no headlines in the papers but he imprinted his very self on human lives'.

O S Green, *The Gippsland Lakes*, nd; *The Methodist Missionary Review; Oceania*, June 1933; personal information from the Hahn family, Victoria and Mrs G Webb, Sale, Victoria; Queen's College, University of Melbourne, 'Register Centenary Edition'.

ARCH W GRANT, Vol 3.

WEDDELL, ROBERT HUNTER (1882–1951), soldier, public servant and Administrator of the Northern Territory, was born in Geelong on 26 December 1882, the son of James Weddell. James Weddell worked for the Victorian Education Department and his son was educated at Geelong College. Later he was a member of the teaching staff of the Ball Church of England Grammar School, Hawthorn Grammar School and Scotch College in Melbourne where he became Captain of the Cadet Corps there until 1914.

With the outbreak of the First World War, he joined the Australian Imperial Force, with the rank of Major, and became part of the 1st Infantry Brigade, which went to Gallipoli in 1915. In the attack on Krithia, Weddell led the two front companies and survived as its only remaining officer. He was later wounded, and was invalided to England.

In 1917, he left the army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and returned to Australia to organise the Investigations Branch of the Attorney General's Department in Perth. He received a permanent appointment there in November 1919.

In 1926 he applied to the federal government for the position of Government Resident of North Australia, to follow Northern Territory **Administrator F C Urquhart**. The other contender, Colonel WC Mansbridge, withdrew and cabinet endorsed the recommendation by Earle Page that Weddell be appointed to the position. The Territory was divided into two parts under the North Australian Act of 1926, **John Cawood** administering Central Australia

from Alice Springs, whilst Weddell as Government Resident controlled the North Australia Commission in the north. Lieutenant Colonel Weddell arrived at Darwin in SS *Marella* on 1 March 1927. Later his wife, her sister and daughter Rosemary Weddell, aged four, arrived in *Koolinda* and took up residence at Government House.

Weddell had difficulty with the federal government over his rights under the Public Service Act, which took many years to resolve; but he held his position for 10 years, one of the longest terms served by a Government Resident or Administrator. He first presided over the Territory at a time when the federal government was experimenting with a decentralisation process that did not succeed; in 1931, the Act was repealed and he became Administrator of the whole of the Territory.

Social unrest continued in Darwin well beyond the **Gilruth** period, but declined in the mid-1920s until stirred up again by unemployment in the 1930s depression period. Weddell, the middleman, could do little for the unemployed. In 1931, a group of them waited on Weddell demanding work; and when he could give them none, they declined to leave, sang revolutionary songs and flew the Red Flag. The police were called in with a baton charge to disperse the insurgents.

The Communist Party flourished and was routinely—and wrongly—blamed for all unrest; but party members were prominent in stirring up local unemployed people and at one stage an attempt was made to frighten Weddell with a revolver at a local gathering. He reacted coolly to threats, but sought federal approval for a revolver to protect his person after being assaulted in 1932. Federal fears of ‘the wild men of Darwin’ helped to sink the 1931 attempt of the Northern Territory Member in the House of Representatives, **Harold Nelson**, to create a Legislative Council for the Northern Territory.

Considering the dismal economic position during most of Weddell’s years in the north and the limited powers of the Administrator, it was remarkable that when he finally left the Territory he was offered a number of farewells, including a heartfelt one from the Chinese community. Mrs Weddell was active in alleviating the hardships of Territory women wherever possible and had an interest in the disadvantaged lepers at Channel Island.

For a time in 1934, J A Carrodus, Secretary of the Department of Home and Territories, relieved Weddell to allow him leave. Because of an angina problem, Weddell retired in 1937 and moved to East Malvern in Victoria. In 1939, with war approaching, he was recalled by the army and served with the Australian Intelligence Corps in Melbourne, until about 1943, when he retired as a Colonel. He died at Malvern on 23 November 1951, aged 69 years. Mrs Flora Weddell lived at Malvern until she and her sister moved to Derrinallum, where she died in October 1976.

Sydney Mail, 18 February 1931; Geelong Historical Records Centre (Ballarat and District Citizens and Sports) SLT920, 1945; 7th Battalion AIF Association Notes, 1952; AA CRS A1 37/190 R H Weddell; Personal letter Mrs Rosemary French, Derrinallum, Victoria, 1984.

V T O’BRIEN, Vol 1.

WEEDON, FLORENCE ALICE: see **BUDGEN, FLORENCE ALICE**

WEINGARI: see **BEETALOO BILL, JANGARI**

WELLS, EDGAR ALMOND (1908–1995), Methodist Minister and missionary, was born on 4 September 1908 at Lincoln, England, the second son of James Robinson Wells, insurance salesman, and his wife, Elizabeth Agnes, *nee* Sayers. He went to school in England but at 17 migrated to Australia and at first worked as a farm hand near Redcliffe, Queensland.

He soon joined the Methodist church and became an active home mission worker. Appointed as a probationary minister in the Yeppoon circuit in 1930, he studied for three years at King’s College Theological Hall, Brisbane. He was working in the Enoggera Circuit when he was ordained in 1936. Posted later to Camooweal, he met Annie Elizabeth Bishop (1906–1979), who was stationed as a nursing sister at Mount Isa. She too was an English immigrant, who had come out aged four with her father, Herbert George Bishop, a master cutler and farmer, and her mother, Isabella *nee* Wright. Born at West Ham, Essex, on the eastern outskirts of London, she was educated at state schools and trained as a nurse, doing her midwifery training in Hobart. By the time she went to Mount Isa, she had four certificates, including psychiatric nursing. Edgar and Ann were married at the Chermiside Methodist Church, Brisbane, on 14 February 1939.

Wells next served at the Hermit Park circuit, Townsville, and then was posted as Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) chaplain with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) in Darwin for two years (1942–1944). After the war, he was circuit minister at North Rockhampton and later Crows Nest, Queensland. Wells offered to work as a missionary in north Australia in 1949 and the couple undertook the course at the George Brown Missionary Training College at Haberfield, New South Wales. Leaving Sydney early in November, with their seven-year-old son, they picked up a new truck in Brisbane and drove it to Darwin, laden with fuel and all their gear. From there, they sailed on the mission lugger *Larrpan* to Milingimbi where Wells succeeded the Reverend Arthur Ellemor as Superintendent.

The Commonwealth Government was then beginning to provide much more generous support for the work of the missions in education, health, and economic development. Wells took up the new opportunities for the improvement of community life at Milingimbi with energy, intelligence and tact. For years, there had been no trained teacher at Milingimbi but within a few months a gifted and enthusiastic teacher, **Beulah Lowe**, and soon a carpenter and builder, Keith Cheater, was at work constructing a school. Alert to signs that people were unenthusiastic about this, Wells found that it was generally believed that the building was to be a dormitory; he was able to reassure them that there was no such intention and no wish to separate children from their parents. Wells organised the production of adobe bricks for house construction and later for a new church to replace the one

destroyed in the war. When brick production slackened, he found that the workers were dissatisfied with a payment system that rewarded all equally and resolved the problem by instituting a piecework scheme. Farm production was increased with the sowing of Townsville lucerne for the dairy and beef herd and the introduction of new crops, including pineapples and peanuts. Wells sought to encourage the independent production of art and craftwork, and trade in crocodile skins, mud crabs and frozen fish for the Darwin market, with the aim of increasing the community's economic self-sufficiency.

Ann Wells had to cope with serious epidemics of measles, followed by chicken pox and whooping cough, a few months after they arrived at Milingimbi, but good progress was soon being made in improving community health. A cottage hospital was built; supplementary meals were provided first for school children and later for pre-natal women. The effects of improved health and medical services were soon evident in a declining death rate and increasing birth rate. In 1952, the health authorities approved the local treatment of leprosy sufferers. In addition to her work at the dispensary, and her household chores, Mrs Wells helped with the correspondence and at the store, and gave weekly sewing lessons.

When, after three years at Milingimbi, Wells went south on seven months furlough, he could feel well satisfied with what had been achieved. But already he had seen a threat to the future of the mission communities in Arnhem Land when, without notice to or discussion with the people or the missionaries, the government had authorised mining interests to explore and develop bauxite deposits in the Wessel Islands. By 1955, this venture had been abandoned, but not before it had aroused concern about the security of the reserve.

When Ellemor went on furlough in late 1954, Wells served for a time as acting chairman of the district. In November, at a harvest festival service, he baptised the first adult converts at Milingimbi. By 1958, frozen fish were being airfreighted to the Darwin market and sales of pandanus mats and baskets and of bark paintings were making a significant contribution to community income. The new church, built of adobe bricks, sandstone flooring, and local timber to support the roof, was completed that year, with a window designed by Wells incorporating Aboriginal symbols around the central cross. Miss Lowe's study of the Gupapuyngu language and the use of the language in church services reflected a general policy of respect for and interest in the Aboriginal culture, initiated by [T T Webb](#) and carried on under his successors.

In late 1959, Wells returned to Queensland after 10 years at Milingimbi. He served in the Coolangatta circuit for two years and in May 1961 was appointed as Queensland representative on the Board of Missions. In September 1961, he agreed to return to the Territory, this time to fill a vacancy as superintendent at Yirrkala, where he took up duty in January 1962.

Several men at Yirrkala were producing excellent bark paintings and Wells sought to encourage more painting, wood carving, and craft production. Visits from Sydney and Melbourne dealers in 1962 helped to establish improved sales outlets and led to substantial increases in income for the artists. Wells saw this as a means of reinforcing self-confidence and pride in the culture and traditions of the people and enhancing the community's capacity to cope with the changes that lay ahead. The new church that was opened in June 1963 included two large panels painted by representatives of the clan groups of the area.

The existence of rich bauxite deposits around Yirrkala had been known for some years and from 1958 'a procession of mining companies' had been assessing the prospects of mining them. Early in 1963, the Commonwealth Government announced that an area of 140 square miles (about 363 square kilometres) was being excised from the reserve to allow large-scale mining. The Labor Opposition responded with a motion in the Parliament that 'an Aboriginal title to the land of the Aboriginal reserves should be created in the Northern Territory'. Kim Beazley urged the Government to consult directly with Aboriginal spokesmen and in July, he and Gordon Bryant visited the mission. After talking with Aboriginal leaders and with Wells, Beazley suggested that a petition to the Parliament on a bark painting would be an effective way of attracting attention to their concerns about the future of their community. With the help of the schoolmaster and Ann Wells, petitions were typed in Gupapuyngu with an English translation, and fixed to sheets of bark with a painted border featuring local animals and fish. These were presented in August and in September a select committee was appointed to inquire into the grievances of the Yirrkala people. When the committee took evidence at Yirrkala, Wells was examined at length, along with 10 Aboriginal witnesses. The report made a number of recommendations designed to safeguard the interests of the people.

When the Government had announced the excision from the reserve, Wells had sent telegrams to leaders of the Methodist Church, including [Cecil Gribble](#), and to newspaper editors and others, protesting at the 'bauxite land grab' which would 'squeeze' the Yirrkala people into 'half a square mile'. Before this, in January, he had written to the District Chairman, Gordon Symons, a former superintendent at Yirrkala, expressing his concern that decisions were being made about mining leases without any prior consultation with the Aboriginal people affected and had warned that he felt that he had an obligation 'to seek publicity of the threatened wrong about to be done to them'. Gribble and the Mission Board were displeased that Wells had acted without the knowledge or consent of the district chairman or the Board. In November, Wells was told that he was to transfer back to Milingimbi from 1 January 1964; he declined and was posted back to Queensland. The excised area was soon restored to the reserve. In 1968, the Yirrkala people began legal proceedings in the Northern Territory Supreme Court, unsuccessfully seeking to prevent the granting of mining leases and asserting their traditional rights to the land.

Wells took leave, then served as a relieving minister before being appointed as circuit minister at Balmoral, Brisbane (1965–1970) and at Margate, Redcliffe (1971–1974), before retiring to live at Hervey Bay. Ann Wells had written a book of children's stories from Arnhem Land and an engaging account of their life at Milingimbi; she published several more books for children and a volume on the Aboriginal painted panels in the Yirrkala church. She died on 21 December 1979. Wells had completed a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of

Queensland in 1978 and in 1982 he published his account of the events of 1963, which had begun the struggle for recognition of Aboriginal rights in land. He continued writing and speaking on bark painting and related subjects. Wells later moved to Melbourne where he died on 4 May 1995.

A E Wells, *Milingimbi*, 1963; E A Wells, *Reward and Punishment in Arnhem Land 1962–1963*, 1982; information from E J Wells, Box Hill North.

JEREMY LONG, Vol 3.

WELLS, FREDERICK EDWARD (FRED) (1903–1993), mariner and public servant, was born on 10 July 1903 in South Africa, son of Frederick Edward Wells and his wife Harriet Edith, *nee* Webber. At the age of four, he went to England and was educated there. He attended Pangbourne Nautical College and after a deck apprenticeship with H & W Nelson, which traded between Britain and the Argentine, he obtained his First Mate's certificate (Foreign Going). During the depression years, there were no jobs so he immigrated to Australia. For a time in Australia, he was farming, worked in the mines at Wiluna, and then went back to sea with Adelaide Steamship Company about 1937. When Imperial Chemical Industries erected their plant at Port Adelaide their manager said, 'I've got a job for you here, you don't want to go to sea'. He joined them until a vacancy occurred in the Patrol Service that had been established off the Northern Territory coast.

These ships patrolled northern waters controlling the fishing and pearling fleets. There were two ships, *Kuru* and *Larrakia* and he became master of the latter. Wells recounts that during his time as master he made no arrests, though chased a few, unlike the first commander, **Haultain**, who arrested three Japanese luggers amid a great deal of controversy. During Wells' service he noted that at times there would be up to 60 Japanese luggers anchored off the west side of Bathurst Island and one of the patrol service's jobs was to make sure that no crew from these boats went ashore in these areas and that the boats generally remained in international waters, then 19 kilometres off the coast. The task was hampered by the fact that *Larrakia* was only a '45 foot motor boat, totally unsuited for the job up here'.

When war broke out in Europe in 1939, he joined the Royal Australian Navy Volunteer Reserve (RANVR) but was told he would not be mobilised unless the Japanese came into the war. When that happened in December 1941 he served with the Navy for the remainder of the war but first remained in Territory waters, being assistant to the King's Harbourmaster. One of his major tasks was pilotage, his instruction usually being 'Nip out Fred and bring that damn thing alongside'. He became master of the naval tug *Wato* stationed in Darwin served on *Kangaroo*, a boom defence vessel. He also towed into Darwin harbour the Admiralty floating dock from Sydney.

He was in Darwin for the bombing on 19 February 1942, which he saw from the Navy's slipway in Frances Bay, his wife and family having been evacuated in December 1941 to Perth. After the initial bombing one of the surviving ships on the inside of the wharf was intact though still with a cargo of cordite so Wells was detailed to see that the cargo was jettisoned. His recollection is that within two or three days there was no-one in the town, motor vehicles were abandoned all over the place and houses and shops were left opened. According to Wells, there was no panic as such; and as to looting, the prime need was food and it was looked for everywhere, including waterfront shacks and old luggers. As he put it, there was no point in letting food go bad. Also, the general consensus was that the Japanese would soon be landing so everyone except the Navy abandoned the town peninsula, and the other services stayed in their prepared positions. Wells did, however, acknowledge that one or two civilians remained, including the head of the North Australian Workers' Union. With the first bombing raid the wharf (Stokes Hill) had been cut in two and Wells was detailed to design and supervise the installation of a suspension bridge so the fuel oil and water lines could be reconnected.

Later in 1942 Wells undertook a clearance diver's course at HMAS *Penguin* in Sydney, and it was whilst he was on this course that he was approached by the United States Navy to go as harbour and river pilot at the Territory port of Milingimbi. The Australians won the battle for his services and the Allied Intelligence Bureau posted him back to Darwin in charge of lugger maintenance. These ex pearling luggers were being refurbished to be sent to Indonesia with secret agents. Among them was the famed *Krait* that took part in two raids on Singapore.

He was then sent to Milne Bay in New Guinea in charge of the shore station for Allied intelligence. He returned to Darwin for a short time and for the following six months was assistant Intelligence Officer in Fremantle, Western Australia. He was posted back to Darwin in Naval intelligence but had very little to do as by then the war had effectively moved north away from Australia. Tired of the inactivity Wells asked for a transfer, and was rewarded with a posting to Sydney to man a mystery ship *12.15* being fitted out for action in Borneo. The ship sailed from Sydney but by the time they reached Labuan (then in the Dutch East Indies) the war was in its final stages and Wells was flown back to Australia. He received his honourable discharge in Fremantle.

Wells returned to the patrol service and after his ship was refitted, he returned to Darwin in 1946. The service was abolished about 1953 when the ship's overhaul was, as he put it, 'made a mess of'. He was made Inspector of Fisheries and Pearling and was appointed the first post-war civilian Harbourmaster, and paid a nominal 20 Pounds per year. A wartime King's Harbourmaster, Commander 'Chook' Fowler, had been the incumbent since the war years. Wells was responsible to **Reg Leydin**, then Government Secretary. There were no port regulations and no wharfage or other port dues were paid. Wells drafted the first port regulations to be promulgated, drawn from South Australian legislation.

When a new Stokes Hill wharf was under consideration Wells gave evidence to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Works and told them that the plans for the new wharf were 'all wrong'. He was asked why he had let it go until then before he said anything. 'I've never been consulted about the wharf, I've never seen any plans or anything of the wharf, they've just gone ahead and done it'. He went on, 'It's not even orientated right'.

To further make the point Wells produced a model he had made of what should be done. The result was the original plans were altered and the record shows that the present Stokes Hill wharf was built with continual changes, at considerable cost and taking far longer than it ought to have done. Wells recounts that when the Department of Works was asked why the Harbourmaster had not been consulted the reply was, 'Well they knew all about the work, they didn't think the Harbourmaster had anything to do with it'. Among the changes that he managed to get made was that all doors on the wharf sheds were locked from the inside with only one small door being locked from outside. The original design had all doors individually locked from the outside. He had difficulty making the works engineers understand that outside padlocks were easy to break into so that cargo could be stolen.

In about 1940, he had taken food to the Roper River Mission that had suffered a cyclone and was short of supplies and then went to Yirrkala to evacuate a missionary, [Reverend Chaseling](#), who had been accidentally burned. Due to the bad weather they had to walk some distance and as Wells recounted he realised afterwards they had walked over a considerable amount of what he later found out was bauxite. In 1949, he was instructed to take the geologist, H B Owen, round to the Port Essington area to search for bauxite. That particular search yielded nothing but Owen suggested to Wells and a crewman, Frederick J (Dutchy) Waalkes that 'they could do Australia a service by watching for bauxite during short visits along the Northern Territory coast'. A few months later, they sent samples they collected from Marchinbar Island, in the Wessel group, to the Bureau of Mineral Resources for analysis. The samples were good ones and Wells then recalled the red stony ground he had seen near Yirrkala. It was 1952 before he visited that area again but he 'remembered to fill his pockets with the red pebbles'. On analysis, they showed a high percentage of alumina. It was these samples that led directly to the development of the Gove deposit. At that time the Australian Aluminium Production Commission was advertising a reward of up to one pound for each 500 tons of bauxite discovered. In 1955, Wells and Waalkes were offered 250 Pounds each as 'an act of grace'. They rejected the offer as paltry. The offer was renewed in 1960 but again refused. Eventually in 1965 after Wells appealed to the well-known politician, W C Wentworth, they were offered 2 500 Pounds each—and this was accepted.

In 1958, when the Chief Pearling Inspector retired in Canberra, Wells applied for the position. [Tom Milner](#), with a master's certificate, had arrived on the scene in Darwin and Wells knew that with Darwin growing as it was the better qualification would soon be required. He served in Canberra as Chief Pearling Inspector until his retirement in 1963. One of his jobs was to issue licences, inspect and test the gear and inspect the shell. Wells recalled meeting [Nick Paspaley](#) in the early years of his operation.

He married Marjorie Cartwright in Perth on 26 April 1930 and there were three children of the marriage, two sons, Peter and Edward, and a daughter, Doreen. Peter, who was educated in Perth during the war, trained as a surveyor and was Northern Territory Surveyor General between 1968 and 1992. Edward qualified as a civil engineer and worked for a time in a supervisory capacity on the construction of Stokes Hill wharf before he left the Territory. Doreen was secretary to [Lazarus \(Les\) Liveris](#) before she left with her parents for Canberra. Frederick Wells died in Batemans Bay, New South Wales, on 3 November 1993 survived by his wife and three children.

Family records; Northern Territory Archives Service, oral history interview NTRS226 TS353; CTG Haultain, *Watch Off Arnhem Land*, 1971.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

WELLS, THOMAS ALEXANDER (TOM, TOMMY) (1888–1954), clerk, court reporter, soldier, barrister and judge, was born on 10 February 1888 at Wallacetown (Bruceedale), near Wagga Wagga, New South Wales, the son of Ezekiel Wells, a farmer and grazier, and his wife Rose Ann, *nee* Toland. He grew to be a tall, barrel-chested man with a fair complexion, hazel eyes and dark brown hair. His robust physique matched his early prowess as an amateur boxer and his image as a rugged dispenser of justice, often under makeshift conditions in remote parts of the Northern Territory later in his career.

On 2 March 1910 Wells married Martha Mary Doris (Maisie), daughter of Francis Myers, journalist, and his wife, Emily Rose Marion, *nee* Hoyte, at Saint David's Presbyterian Church in the Sydney suburb of Ashfield. At the time of the marriage Wells was a correspondence clerk living in Manly and in 1913 he joined the court reporting staff of the New South Wales Supreme Court. When he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) in 1917, he was living in Mosman.

Wells served in the AIF with the Australian Artillery in Egypt, Britain and France. He was wounded and also suffered from the effects of poison gas. He was discharged as a Corporal in September 1919.

He resumed his career as a court reporter and, having studied in his spare time, completed his Law degree at the University of Sydney in 1924 and was admitted to the New South Wales bar on 31 July 1924. He built up a general practice as a barrister.

The Commonwealth government decided in August 1933 to appoint a full time Judge of the Supreme Court of the Northern Territory, an office made vacant by [Judge Mallam](#)'s retirement. On 21 August 1933 the Attorney General, John Latham, announced Wells's appointment to the Northern Territory's most senior judicial post and said the new judge would leave for Darwin on *Marella* on 9 September 1933 and take over from the Acting Judge, W H Sharwood. Latham in his announcement, of this elevation to the bench of a lawyer of modest standing and seniority in his profession, indicated that Wells would discharge the additional duties of presiding in the local courts and drafting legislation for the consolidation of the laws of the Territory.

The new judge arrived in Darwin, unaccompanied by his family. His wife and three children did not join him until November 1934. The legal fraternity welcomed him on the morning of 27 September 1933. Wells took his place on the bench and made a gesture characteristic of his irreverence for formality and often idiosyncratic

behaviour. He allowed the jurors to remove their coats, counsel to divest themselves of wigs and gowns, and followed suit himself, after which the trial for murder of an Aborigine, Dick Poora Koonie, commenced.

A few days later, the *Northern Standard* reported that Dick Koora Poonie had been sentenced to death and that **Constable Gordon Stott** had been suspended for his alleged ill treatment of an Aborigine at Borrooloola.

Stott appeared before Wells in early November 1933 on a charge of assaulting Tommy Dodd in February. Wells discharged Stott since he did not believe the story told by the Aboriginal prosecution witnesses. During the first day of Stott's trial Wells was angered by a statement of legal counsel H J Foster who said he was present 'to see that justice was done'. The next day Wells barred Foster from taking part in the proceedings but allowed him to remain in the court as a spectator when it was revealed that the Aboriginal Protection Society of Sydney, administered by the Reverend W Morley, had briefed Foster to appear on behalf of Aboriginal witnesses. Wells saw this incident as an affront to the court made worse by his own misapprehension that **Dr Cecil Cook**, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, had instructed Foster. Wells regarded the Association's action as an attempt to influence the course of the trial and said it was 'meddlesome, mischievous and impertinent... unprecedented in the history of our Courts'. Moreover, Wells considered Foster's briefing as damaging to the Crown since public opinion in Darwin saw Stott's prosecution as instigated by the Association, as Stott's counsel had asserted. At the end of the trial Wells remarked to Stott that the way was open to him to obtain heavy damages if the Association's part in the prosecution could be proved. Wells's comments provoked protests from the missionary organisations and the Aboriginal Protection Society but the government seemed content to find no fault with his conduct. The Attorney General's Department, after considering the facts, advised the Department of the Interior that 'there is nothing which... provides any justification for approaching the Judge in the manner requested by the Association.'

Stott again appeared before Wells in April 1934 on a charge of assaulting an Aboriginal woman, Dolly, who had died in February at Borrooloola. Again Wells discharged Stott saying that many of the witnesses were liars and that David Cahill's connection with the case (Cahill was mentioned in the earlier Stott prosecution) was suspicious since he had corresponded with people 'down south' who boasted in the press they were responsible for Stott's prosecution. After discharging the defendant, Wells said, 'Stott, you have my sympathy.' Following yet another outcry from the reformers 'down south' Wells castigated the Association for the Protection of Native Races (also under the administration of Morley) as a 'lot of interfering busybodies'.

But in another case Wells observed that the evidence of Aborigines was the same in law as that of whites and in an amending ordinance to the Northern Territory's criminal code Wells provided for the courts to take notice of 'relevant native laws and customs in dealing with Aboriginal cases'. But Wells's prejudice got the better of him when he characterised marriages between white men and part Aboriginal women as 'anthropological marriages'.

On 30 July 1934 Wells sentenced three Aborigines each to 20 years imprisonment for the murder of a Japanese trepanger alleged to have molested Aboriginal women. However, Wells recommended that the convicted Aborigines be released after three or four years into the care of the Department of Native Affairs in their own country at Caledon Bay. Wells said he did not believe the Japanese had abducted the Aboriginal women and the evidence for this had been fabricated.

In August 1934 Wells sentenced **Tuckiar** to death for the murder of Constable A S McColl while the co-defendant Meerara was acquitted. The judge explained his reason for the death penalty, asserting that it should be made clear to Aborigines that they could not kill policemen and expect to only spend a few years in prison, which Wells regarded as no punishment at all for 'wild' Aborigines. The **Reverend Dyer** had suggested that Meerara should be flogged for his part in the crime and this form of punishment in place of prison preoccupied Wells from this time.

Earlier both Tuckiar and Meerara had been found not guilty of the murder of a man at Woodah Island in 1933 when Wells ruled their confessions inadmissible and lashed out in a statement from the bench saying, 'The Crown, the Government or the Administration here have failed lamentably in their duty; the way the case has been presented is astounding.' This outburst was provoked because the despatch of a police officer to gather evidence had been cancelled on instruction from Canberra. Wells said he had not pressed the prosecution to make a public admission of this fact when the jury had questioned the lack of evidence to convict the defendants. The government in Canberra issued a press statement describing Wells's remarks as most embarrassing. Wells responded by informing the Prime Minister, J A Lyons, that the statement should be withdrawn at once otherwise he would give the press the facts concerning the suppression of evidence. Here Wells was protesting at what he saw as the unconstitutional intervention of the executive government into the judicial process.

Contrary to the usual practice of the time, Tuckiar's case went on appeal to the full High Court in Melbourne and during the hearing Mr Justice Starke announced that Wells had sent a confidential report to the court. Starke held that Wells's charge to the jury denied Tuckiar the substance of a fair trial and drew attention to the defendant's ignorance of the nature of the proceedings or of their consequences to him and to the inadequacy of the interpreter who was also a witness. Tuckiar was found not guilty on the basis of Wells's misdirection of the jury when he said the defendant's failure to give evidence gave rise to the presumption of guilt contrary to Section One of Act Number 245 of South Australia that applied to the Northern Territory. Moreover, it was wrong that evidence relating to McColl's good character was not disallowed by Wells since the 'purpose of the trial was not to vindicate the deceased constable but to inquire into the guilt of the living aboriginal.' Tuckiar was released in Darwin to find his own way back to his own country but he was never seen again. The Reverend J H Sexton of the Aborigines' Friends Association of South Australia criticised the police in Darwin for their failure to ensure Tuckiar's safe return.

At the time of Tuckiar's appeal arrangements were made for the transfer of the judicial and legal functions of the Northern Territory from the Department of the Interior to the Attorney General's Department which would have given Wells the opportunity of by passing the Administrator on professional matters.

In November 1934, Wells's wife and their three children arrived from Sydney on *Marella* and the judge's household was established in a new residence built for the government on the Esplanade at a cost of 3 000 Pounds.

After a brief respite from criminal proceedings Wells set off for Alice Springs, travelling by train to Birdum and on by aeroplane to his destination where he heard a case in which two Aborigines were accused of killing another Aborigine raising the issue of tribal law. At the trial Wells complained of the absence of anthropologists as expert witnesses, indicating that this was an occasion when it would have been useful to have their advice. Wells made his own ethnographic observation when sentencing the two Aborigines to 10 years in jail, saying 'the killing was not carried out in accordance with ancient tribal custom. Such customs lost their force among young men who had contact with white people'.

Back in Darwin in April 1935, Wells found that there were no murder cases. After dealing with cases in Katherine during October, Wells delivered judgement the following month in a civil matter that had occupied 26 sitting days. This was the general pattern of Wells's judicial work: Supreme Court sittings in Darwin in April and lower court hearings followed by excursions to Katherine and Pine Creek and then taking the Supreme Court to Alice Springs at the beginning of the year.

Wells had trouble in paying his Commonwealth and Northern Territory income taxes for the financial year 1935/1936. In February 1937 the Commissioner for Taxation wrote to the Attorney-General's Department setting out the facts of the judge's debt to the Commonwealth amounting to 39 Pounds, two Shillings and five Pence and his refusal to deal with the Deputy Commissioner for Taxation at Darwin together with his threat to appeal to the High Court if the Department of the Interior deducted the arrears from his salary. Wells's money problems were evident in 1941 when it was recommended that the judge's annual salary should match that paid to the judges in New Guinea and be increased from 1 200 Pounds to 1 400 Pounds per annum. This meant Wells's annual salary would exceed that of the Administrator by 150 Pounds. He had reduced his superannuation contributions only to a point where his annual pension would have been 52 Pounds. Wells's financial problems arose from his having to support his invalid wife, who had returned to Sydney and who required a full time paid companion, their daughter Jean, a trained nurse. In April 1941, the Attorney-General, W M Hughes, pointed to the inequity of the situation requiring judges of the Territories to contribute to their pension scheme whereas the judges of the High Court and the Arbitration Court enjoyed non contributory retirement benefits.

As an example of Wells's literal mindedness, he remarked in a hearing for the custody of a part Aboriginal child that the word 'Aboriginal' was concocted by someone with a 'liking for high-sounding words but it had no meaning.' Again, Wells's refusal to accept evidence given by Aborigines was seen when he sentenced Charles Priest to nine months' jail for criminal libel. Priest had published a pamphlet accusing Constable Don of seducing an Aboriginal housemaid. The judge dismissed the evidence of the Aborigine as untrue and so protected the policeman's reputation. In April 1937 Wells's Associate, the 22-year-old Eileen O'Neil, was badgered in court by a solicitor when she was the Acting Registrar in Bankruptcy. She put her plight to the judge, who promptly denied the solicitor the right to appear in the court. These excerpts from the history of Wells's behaviour show that he shared with his predecessors Bevin, Roberts and Mallam a high measure of eccentricity.

The new Administrator, **C L A Abbott**, arrived in Darwin in April 1937 and he was to maintain a stormy relationship with Wells until his departure in 1946. Both men had similar perceptions concerning Aborigines and the way they should be treated but this seems one of the few points of view they shared. When Abbott's handling of the North Australian Workers Union had worsened a waterfront dispute in Darwin, however, Wells was one of those who signed a document showing they would volunteer to unload cargo from *Marella*.

The local newspaper announced on 17 September 1937 the engagement of Jean Wells, then aged 24, to John Kearney, the Manager of the Commercial Bank in Darwin. This announcement was accompanied by the cryptic comment that Wells was always in the best of moods when HMAS *Moresby* was in port.

An Aborigine, Jacky, was convicted by Wells in September 1937 on a charge of indecent assault upon a white woman at Myilly Point. In passing sentence of 12 months' jail Wells lamented, 'What the boy required was a good flogging, but unfortunately the court could not order such a punishment'. Northern Territory law did not prescribe corporal punishment for indecent assault unless this offence was joined with attempted rape. In April 1938, Wells sentenced a Melville Islander, Packsaddle, to four years' jail—not the maximum penalty—for the attempted rape of a white woman. Unlike the law in the Territory of New Guinea, no racial distinction was made in the offences specified in the laws of the Northern Territory. Wells commented from the bench that the only punishment Aborigines could understand was flogging. He went on to say that **W E H Stanner**, the anthropologist, had suggested in his court on an earlier occasion that jail was not the proper punishment and the Reverend Dyer had, as indicated earlier, supported this view in concert with the suggestions of the 1935 report by the Parliamentary Committee on Aboriginal Affairs regarding corporal punishment. Packsaddle's conviction outraged the Reverend Morley, who wrote to the Minister for the Interior protesting at the lack of evidence, the circumstances in which the confession was obtained and Wells's remarks about the Aborigines 'getting cheekier' because of government policies—remarks calculated to feed the local Darwin 'anti native hysteria'. In June 1938, Wells sentenced an Aborigine, Toop Toop, to four years' jail on a charge of carnal knowledge of an eight-year-old girl. The judge repeated his contention that imprisonment for Aborigines was no punishment since 'most of the natives like it and seem to thrive and get fat. People have to be protected from such crimes as Toop Toop has committed. It is unfortunate that we can do nothing else except order him to gaol.' Wells argued that flogging

should be administered under strict supervision and as an exemplary form of punishment; it was preferable to the demoralising effects of a long term of imprisonment.

Wells continued to declaim from the bench his views on Aborigines and the law. He considered that murder was in no way diminished in law because of the influence of Aboriginal customary practices and that retributive justice operated for the Aboriginal society as it did for the white man's world. Wells voiced prescriptions for Aborigines who were caught up in the criminal justice system that accorded with popular white sentiments in Darwin at the time, including caustic criticism of the executive's policies. He regarded the funds expended on the Bagot Compound encouraged Aborigines to congregate around Darwin in an undesirable way. Bagot became a token of misguided policies and Wells used this when he dismissed a case when the jury could not agree and the accommodation available was inadequate. He averred that the money put into Bagot would have provided overnight accommodation for jurors. Again Wells used Bagot to illustrate the executive's failings when he sentenced Roy Ant-dool to a year's jail for the indecent assault of a six year old part Aboriginal girl; Wells asserted, 'This boy should be given a good flogging. Then he should be sent back to Bathurst Island and made to stay there... The money for the compound would be much better spent in keeping the natives in their own reserves and giving further assistance to the missionaries to extend their work.'

In late July 1938, Wells concluded after 22 sitting days the hearing of an appeal by the captain of a Japanese lugger against the detention of his vessel, the seizure of the cargo of pearl shell and the forced detention and deportation of the crew. These actions had been undertaken by **Captain Haultain** of the patrol boat *Larrakia* and other Commonwealth officials acting under a general instruction issued by the Administrator, Abbott. Using the provisions of Section 19AA of the Aborigines Ordinance 1918–1937, Wells found for the plaintiff since the defendants, Abbott and Haultain, had failed to prove that the lugger was within 'territorial waters', a term which was both vague and ill defined in the Ordinance. Moreover, the Ordinance created a conflict of local 'municipal' laws with the conventions of international law.

Wells's judgement required the Commonwealth to pay 2 000 Pounds damages to the Japanese together with their costs and the restoration of the pearl shell. The judge was unimpressed by Haultain's demeanour as a witness and considered him to be impulsive and careless with his logbook entries. After his return from Alice Springs in September, Wells heard the second of the 'lugger' appeals. During the proceedings he remarked that there had been no substantiation of claims that foreign crews molested Aboriginal women but there was abundant evidence that crews (including Japanese divers) of locally owned luggers habitually interfered with Aboriginal women. The right of innocent passage was compromised by the application of the Ordinance and thereby violated international law was the argument put up by the plaintiffs and which Wells upheld. Wells found for the Japanese, reinforced in his acceptance of the Japanese captain's story that a force four wind had driven his vessel into prohibited waters when his engines failed. Wells ordered the return of the vessel and pearl shell. Finally, in October Wells concluded the third 'lugger' case and reserved judgement; settlement was determined in November by the Commonwealth for 3 592 Pounds, the return of the five vessels detained and their pearl shell cargoes.

The 'lugger' cases were a triumph for Wells. He had embarrassed Abbott and had ruled properly in law since the Commonwealth decided to take the matters no further and E W Mitchell submitted to the Attorney General a legal opinion that an appeal would probably fail on the point of law regarding the denial of innocent passage and the fact that the demeanour of the Japanese witnesses remained unshaken under cross examination. The self-assurance of the Japanese was demonstrated by Captain Okishima, who when asked which European of the arresting party had brandished a revolver at him, replied, 'every white man's face looks the same to me'.

The Attorney General, R G Menzies, wrote to Wells in January 1939, suggesting he should desist from further criticism from the bench of the executive's discharge of its functions. Delayed by hearings in Central Australia, Wells did not respond to Menzies's frank, but gentle, admonishment until March. In a lengthy justification of his actions, Wells described Darwin as a community of 'public servants, whose mouths are closed by self-interest and definite instruction; contractors who are largely dependent on the goodwill of Administration officials; business people... interested in the supply of commodities to the Administration, and a Press which seems to depend for its news almost entirely on censored statements issued to it daily by the Administrator.' He went on to complain that the 40 000 Pounds spent on Bagot was ill advised since it was badly located in swamp land and was too close to the Royal Australian Air Force base which would inevitably result in 'an increase in the half-caste birth rate and a rise in... VD... amongst the troops.' Wells's solution lay in the exclusion of Aborigines from towns as far as possible and that they should be taught the elements of agriculture and pastoralism. Wells reviewed the 'lugger' cases which 'showed up my fellow Australian officials in such shockingly unfavourable comparison with the Japanese involved... they were treated as if we were savages.'

For some months before the Japanese air raid on Darwin on 19 February 1942, there was significant friction between Wells and Abbott over the arrangements for a civilian Air Raid Precautions (ARP) organisation. Abbott attached little importance to securing the legitimacy of Darwin's ARP in an ordinance while Wells wanted this done. In the confusion following the raid, Wells, with Abbott's concurrence, released the prisoners from Fannie Bay Gaol and took charge of feeding and evacuations by train of hundreds of survivors from the raid.

Following Abbott's departure for Alice Springs, Wells stayed in Darwin with Constable McFarland carrying on the civil administration in the 'Top End' and protecting the interests of the few remaining residents and the property of those who had been evacuated. In a letter to his wife from Alice Springs Abbott remarked in June 1942 that, 'The Judge is in Darwin carrying on semi-military and civil work, but I don't think the civil court functions in Darwin'. Wells was, though, conducting an itinerant court frequently under a tree with a court attendant keeping at bay wandering goats, dogs and other livestock. At Newcastle Waters Wells sat on a beer crate while presiding over a session of the Supreme Court. In late November 1943, Abbott wrote that Wells, accompanied by W S Flynn,

had dropped into the Residency at Alice Springs to say goodbye before 'going up the road'. Wells's informality is shown by an incident in 1943 when Constable McFarland, while driving the judge from Alice Springs to Darwin, served a summons on a man who protested he had neither the time nor the fuel to drive to court in Darwin and offered to pay his fine on the spot. The judge agreed to an immediate hearing and accepted a cheque for the fine he imposed and shook hands with the defendant.

Wells remained in Darwin after the war living in a cottage at Parap. In 1946 he observed in his address to the jury in a murder trial of an Aborigine from Milingimbi that, 'The idea prevalent in the community that native wrongdoers should not be punished by the white man's law was sloppy sentimentality and should be discouraged.' In 1947, he refused to hear cases until the conditions for his court in the Soldiers' Memorial Hall in Darwin were improved and said cases would be heard at Alice Springs. This tactic precipitated a rapid response from the Administration, which earmarked 7 000 Pounds for a temporary courthouse in Darwin. Wells was not unmindful of the conditions at Fannie Bay Gaol and in 1946, he refused to impose a penalty on an Aborigine called Dick who had escaped from what the judge considered to be appalling conditions.

In February 1951, the press reported that Wells was convalescing in Sydney after having suffered a stroke that concluded his judicial career. He spent his final years back in Darwin in the company of friends selected from among those who had managed to avoid evacuation after February 1942 and is reputed to have despised those who had 'moved on'.

Wells was a strict interpreter of the law and upholder of police authority but he did seek some reforms to serve the interests of Aborigines. His preoccupation, though, with corporal punishment as a suitable alternative to incarceration although repugnant fitted the sentiments of white society at the time. His stubbornly held opinion as to the unreliable nature of Aboriginal witnesses was based upon their uncertain demeanour in court made worse by the almost total inadequacy of the interpreting services available. Pidgin English cross-examination appears to have been as unintelligible for Aboriginal witnesses as the formal language of the law. The Japanese plaintiffs in the 'lugger' cases were more than fortunate, by comparison, for having the bilingual Peter Nakashiba, who was a model interpreter and who lacked self-doubt almost to the point of arrogance. Wells was impressed by the Japanese who knew how to conduct themselves in the courts while the Aborigines were unaware for the most part, of what the white man's courts were all about.

The differences Wells had with Abbott may be traced to the time when **Abbott** was with the New South Wales Police Department and Wells was a shorthand writer at the Supreme Court in New South Wales. In 1913 and 1914, while Wells was recording criminal proceedings Abbott was preparing briefs for the police prosecutors. Moreover, Wells's brief war service in France as a non commissioned officer had none of the glamour of Abbott's commissioning in the field at Gallipoli and years with the Australian Light Horse, mainly in Sinai and Palestine. Wells had to work hard against considerable odds to gain his legal education and qualifications while Abbott seems not to have engaged in any further study after he left the Kings School, Parramatta, at the age of 14. The least endearing feature in Abbott's career, in Wells's view, was the fact that he was a politician and his appointment as the highest civil official in Darwin was a reward for long service in the Country Party. While Wells came to judicial office without outstanding qualifications, he still had to be proficient in his profession whereas Abbott brought only his political skills to his appointment.

Wells died on 13 September 1954 in the Darwin hospital after a long illness. He had retired from the bench in 1952 when he had been absent from his judicial duties for almost two years following his stroke. He left an estate of 545 Pounds. His widow, his daughter Jean Kearney, and sons Tom and Will survived him. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Darwin conducted his funeral service on 14 September 1954.

S Downer, *Patrol Indefinite*, 1963; A Markus, *Governing Savages*, 1990; *Commonwealth Law Reports*, vol 52; *Advertiser*, 14 September 1954; *Herald*, 14 September 1954; *Northern Standard*, 1933–1951; *Northern Territory News*, 14 September 1954; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1933; *Queenslander*, 9 August 1934; Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS A43/33/1892, A432/34/1477, A432/37/155, A432/41/85, A432/41/366, A432/38/378, A432/57, A432/38/46, A432/78/758; Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, PMS 3524; National Library of Australia, Canberra, MS 4744/5/5.

PETER ELDER, *Vol 2*.

WHITE, EDITH ALEXANDRA McQUADE (1901–1988), nurse, was born in Grafton, New South Wales, on 20 January 1901, the daughter of Joseph Alexander White, an accountant, and his wife Catherine Jane, *nee* Roberts. Much of her girlhood was spent in South Africa and she did not return with her family to Queensland until 1919. She commenced her nursing career at the Brisbane General Hospital in 1924, doing her Midwifery at Lady Bowen Hospital, and later securing her Infant and Maternal Welfare Certificate. She was Matron of the Delta Private Hospital at Ayr in north Queensland and did some private nursing as well.

White arrived in Darwin in 1937 to take up an appointment as Sister in the Darwin Hospital. After six months, she was posted to Katherine. There she was Sister in Charge with several other duties, such as reporting daily on the temperature to the Darwin weather office. She also had to learn how to set out kerosene flares on the aerodrome runway for **Dr Clyde Fenton**, who used an aeroplane to attend patients at a distance, if he was returning after dark. She also had the anxiety on one occasion of his non-arrival with the subsequent search for his aeroplane and his rescue. All these memories she preserved in her booklet *Reminiscences of an Australian Army Nurse*. White served, as well, for seven months in Tennant Creek. She had break when she escorted to Adelaide a young woman who was suffering from polio to Adelaide, travelling by truck to Alice Springs and train from there to Adelaide. At the end of the seven months she was advised that she was return to Darwin Base Hospital and, shortly afterwards, in September 1939, she was informed that she had been appointed Staff Nurse in the Australian Army

Nursing Service. She wrote 'to my bitter disappointment the Government would not release me from the Northern Territory Medical Service.'

She continued with the Territory Medical Service until the military authorities advised her in 1940 that a 1 200 bed Army hospital was being established in Darwin and she was, much to her surprise, to be its Matron. Known as the 119th Australian General Hospital, it was only established with great difficulty. The site selected was at the Bagot Compound. As a temporary measure the Army, nurses were accommodated at the quarantine station, some 10 kilometres away and were transported to and fro in Army trucks. The day following the arrival of the unit a truck carrying a number of sisters met with a serious accident in which Sister High was seriously injured, necessitating the amputation of her right arm at the civilian hospital. This cast a gloom over the unit but the fortitude and example of Sister High became an inspiration for the rest of the staff.

New hospital buildings were being constructed at Berrimah, approximately 12 kilometres south of Darwin and towards the end of 1941, this was sufficiently advanced for part to be used. On 30 December 1941 a medical officer, White, six Sisters and three general duties men arrived at this new site to prepare it for occupation. As the operating theatres were incomplete, only cases not requiring surgical treatment were transferred from Bagot. On New Year's Day 1942, 78 patients were transferred from Bagot and on 12 January, an officer and 12 men of the United States Army Medical Corps were attached for duty. This proved to be of great assistance.

During December 1941 the Administrator, **C L A Abbott**, had decreed that all civilians were to be evacuated from Darwin, and following the fall of Singapore the recently opened civilian hospital at Kahlin was taken over by the Army. This hospital could accommodate 250 to 300 patients and a surgical team was sent there. Now the 119th was functioning in three different locations, Bagot, Berrimah and Kahlin, presenting the Matron and staff with exceeding difficulty in administration and the rostering of staff. From the viewpoint of military planning the three locations were bad. Kahlin was quite close to Larrakeyah Barracks, while Berrimah and Bagot were very close to the civil aerodrome and the new Royal Australian Air Force base. These factors were to be significant in the events that followed.

The hospital received its first battle casualties on 18 February when 11 badly wounded patients were admitted from a convoy that had been attacked the previous day in the Timor Sea. Edith White remembered the next day. She wrote, 'The 19th February 1942 was a unique and memorable day for Australia when she was attacked by enemy planes. At 10.45 am an Air raid warning was heard just as enemy bombers and fighters came over the town of Darwin. For a few minutes, it was not realised by staff and patients that the armada of planes overhead was the enemy approaching. The sound of bomb explosions and ack-ack fire soon disillusioned everyone. Patients were placed under beds and those who could, made their way to the long grass. Others scrambled to the few slit trenches which had recently been dug.' On that day the hospital in three locations had to deal with casualties, both service and civilian, resulting from the Japanese bombing of the town, the aerodrome and ships in the harbour. Among ships hit was the hospital ship *Manunda*. White wrote that, 'The bombing of the hospital ship *Manunda* was a terrible blow. Thirteen of her staff were killed including one of the nursing staff, Sister de Mestre, while Sister Blow was very seriously injured and others badly shocked.' Among the casualties admitted that day were hundreds of cases of burns from ships, the wharf and oil tanks. The facilities for treating these were poor. The nursing staff worked for 36 hours without rest and on 20 February the most serious were transferred to *Manunda*, which, in spite of the damage it had sustained, was seaworthy. Loading the wounded was difficult as the ship was anchored in the harbour. Matron White praised the skill of those responsible. She wrote 'the loading of the wounded took hours. They were taken across from the land in barges to the *Manunda* which was anchored at a distance out. The way the wounded were hauled up from the barges was really amazing; no praise is too great for those men who organized and assisted with the task.' *Manunda* sailed at 11.30 pm on 20 February 1942. White later gave her impressions of the scene while the operation was taking place, 'The wharf was still burning... and as I waited with four Sisters who had volunteered to help the staff of the *Manunda* nurses, the whole scene was one of devastation; bodies were washed up on the beaches. Men were collecting the dead and placing them on barges for burial at sea. It was sad to see so many ships smouldering.'

Now the decision was taken to move the hospital once more, this time to Adelaide River. On 7 March 1942, 22 Sisters and 50 patients were transferred to Adelaide River with the result that Matron White now had her staff scattered over an area stretching over 130 kilometres from Darwin: at Kahlin, Bagot, Noonamah and Adelaide River.

The Camp Commandant at Adelaide River, Captain Victor Levitt, was notified that the nurses were coming and asked to arrange accommodation. He had a small camp hospital alongside the 111 Convalescent Depot. These units were based in Sidney Williams huts, made of steel frames and corrugated galvanised iron. The four Sisters of the camp hospital had a hut divided into sleeping quarters and the rest furnished as a lounge. Levitt ordered that this hut and another adjoining were to be used to house the Sisters soon to arrive. Adjustments were made to the space used by the convalescent depot, and stretchers and blankets were hurriedly secured. An immediate unforeseen problem was that whereas the hut previously occupied by the Sisters of the Camp Hospital had been screened with a brush fence to give privacy to the occupants, there was no such luxury in the other hut now housing the Sisters and this provided some unexpected entertainment after dark for men who had not seen women for some time. The darkened bush all around was used as a 'viewing area' until measures were taken by Levitt to overcome this.

The new location for the hospital, particularly the huts to be used as wards, revealed further difficulties. While now sited away from the area up to now attacked by the enemy, this new site was sur-

rounded by what could be regarded as legitimate targets. Within a kilometre's radius, there were an ammunition depot, stores, petrol and oil supplies and troop encampments. At the same time as the hospital arrived a troop of artillery with 25 Pounder guns was sited within a few metres of the wards. Also, the Sisters going on duty from

their accommodation had to find their way through the scrub and lines of latrines and shower blocks to reach the wards. It was soon evident that yet another move was essential. With the arrival of elements of the 6th Division to the north and the new spirit of resolve promoted by Major General **Edmund Herring**, who had taken over command, a new site was selected on the south side of the Adelaide River about five kilometres from the other installations and adjoining the Army farm.

In the period immediately before the move to the south side of the river, White was required to take care of a number of United States nurses and other women who had escaped from Corregidor in the Philippines. These were given care in the hospital until arrangements could be made for their evacuation south. In addition, between October and December 1942, she had to deal with groups of women and children from islands to the north of Australia. She wrote that 'their admission to the hospital presented many difficulties, so few being able to speak English. They were starving and very ill... there were a few deaths among the nuns who were some of the refugees. They had been hiding in the hills of Timor and were badly in need of clothing.' These people numbered well over 300 and presented a specifically difficult nursing and social challenge to her staff. During the remainder of 1942 and into 1943, the hospital received many casualties resulting from Australian and American air operations to the north and some from bombing raids that continued. Other major problems were the result of the climatic conditions with skin diseases causing distress. Of course, there were always the usual cases of illness and accidents to keep the hospital busy. However, by 1943, the immediate threat of invasion had passed and enemy air raids were few so that the role of the hospital was changing.

In March 1943, White was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Australian Army Nursing Service and appointed as Principal Matron in the Northern Territory. It was in this period that she had the honour of escorting Lady Gowrie, wife of the Governor General, on an inspection tour of hospitals in the Territory. After a period of some seven years in the Territory, she was moved to New South Wales as Principal Matron of the Lines of Communication Area there. In January 1945, she was appointed Principal Matron attached to the Headquarters of the First Australian Army, where her duties covered areas of New Guinea, New Britain and Bougainville. In March 1946, she returned to Australia and was discharged from the Army.

For many of her friends and those who served with her it seemed strange that White's service was not honoured in some formal way. She never mentioned this but perhaps she felt that she was not considered because her war service had not included a period in the Middle East. She once made the comment that other nursing personnel regarded her service as inferior. As she put it, 'I did not have sand in my shoes'. She was, instead, part of an expert medical team responsible for the care and healing of thousands of men and women involved in war in the only place in Australia where major enemy action was encountered, but no official recognition was given.

Upon her discharge, she took up an appointment with the Cootamundra Hospital in New South Wales but later decided to travel overseas. She subsequently worked in Perth and Brisbane, where she retired. She died there on 25 May 1988. At the funeral, conducted by Archdeacon Ward former war nurses placed her cape and veil on the casket.

A W Grant, *Australia's Frontline Matron: Edith McQuade White*, 1991.

ARCH W GRANT, Vol 2.

WHITE, MAX (1895–1966), pastoralist, soldier and Commanding Officer of the 2/1st North Australia Observer Unit, Australian Imperial Force (AIF), was born in Muswellbrook, New South Wales in 1895, the eldest son of Mr and Mrs E R White of Merton Station. White was a member of the well-known pastoral family of the same name from the Upper Hunter and New England districts of New South Wales; the author, Patrick White, was his second cousin. He entered the King's School at Parramatta in 1909 and there attained considerable notoriety, both scholastically and in almost every field of sport. He won the school boxing championship and was a polo player of some note. He passed the University Junior and Matriculation examinations and arrangements were made for him to pursue his studies at Oxford University with a view to a medical career. The First World War intervened and he was, for a brief period, a member of the Australian Imperial Force. He would have been commissioned but for his age, although he passed through an Officers' Training School with credit.

He then enlisted in the Royal Artillery in England but was soon commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the Special Reserve and posted to the 5th Brigade of the Royal Frontier Artillery (RFA). He saw action in France and was Mentioned-in-Despatches for bravery. Further, in August 1916, the 64th Battery RFA suffered severely in action, the battery commander and two other officers being killed, leaving White and a fellow subaltern to take charge of the battery for eight days until both were wounded. White received the Military Cross (MC) for his bravery at this time.

White saw the Armistice as a substantive Captain. After the war ended, he returned to Australia and lived for a while on the family property. After its sale, he and other members of his family purchased Woorang Downs in the Terry Hie-Biniguy district in 1921. He married Rosalie May Cowdery at St Paul's Church of England in Burwood, Sydney in 1922 and they later had two daughters. Woorang Downs was soon sold and they leased Loch Leven on the western side of Moree until 1926 when Max purchased Glen Royal at Yagobie, on which he lived until the time of his death some forty years later. He was a member of the Gravesend, New South Wales, Returned Services League, and for many years led the annual ANZAC Day march.

He continued his sporting pursuits, being a top-class polo player through the 1920s. In the late 1930s, White put his equestrian expertise to a more practical use and again donned a uniform, being commissioned as a Lieutenant on 23 August 1939. He commanded the Gravesend Troop of the 24th Light Horse Regiment (LHR), Citizen's Military Forces, although he later came to command C Squadron. Among his troopers in 24LHR was Alan Joseph

Walker who later, as a Lieutenant, was responsible for purchasing horses in Katherine for the North Australia Observer Unit.

Upon the outbreak of the Second World War White served with the rank of Major and in 1942 eagerly took the opportunity of operational service with the North Australia Observer Unit that was then being raised. The 2/1st North Australia Observer Unit (NAOU), AIF, was a 'phantom' unit of the Second Australian Imperial Force, specially formed to deal with the immense problem of reconnaissance and surveillance across the north of Australia. It was raised in the space of twelve weeks to watch for and report any enemy landings between Yampi Sound in Western Australia and Normanton in Queensland.

Max White was recommended to **W E H Stanner** to be his Second-in-Command; as Stanner held the rank of Major, White was required to revert to the rank of Captain to take this appointment, which he willingly did, being appointed to the unit on 30 June 1942. Despite the approach of his 50th birthday, he soon proved himself to be a father figure for the men, someone they would turn to for leadership and guidance. Former members of the NAOU have described him as slow spoken, laconic, dedicated and unflappable, reliable in an emergency, the type to get in and do a job without drawing attention to himself or seeking praise. It was recorded that White became one of the most respected members of the unit. Lieutenant Alan Walker, who had served under White in the pre-war 24th Light Horse, referred to him affectionately in his correspondence as 'old Max'. Theo ('Tip') Carty recalled, 'he was always referred to as 'Cappy' White, even after he became Major again. It was not a case of disrespect; it was affection and admiration'.

On 24 July 1942, White led a small advance party from Sydney to Katherine, via Adelaide, to select a site for the NAOU's Headquarters and to commence the construction of facilities, arriving there on 10 August. The site chosen was to the west of Katherine along the road to Kununurra, near what is now the turnoff to the Low Level Reserve; a little further west from the NAOU's Headquarters was the site of the 121st Australian General Hospital, now the site of Norwest Meats. White and Stanner then travelled widely across the NAOU's Area of Operations to site sub-unit headquarters and outposts. The maps of the region were so poor and lacking in detail that they often had to send out patrols—on foot, on horseback and on improvised rafts—to explore the country and add to their knowledge. As well as personally visiting his men in the field, White often led patrols himself; on one patrol in 1943 in the Gunn Point region close to the Vernon Islands, White and two Privates located an abandoned Japanese receiving set near a smouldering fire, confirming reports of enemy activity in coastal areas.

Late in 1942, White shouldered the responsibility of developing the unit's ability to act offensively, while Stanner was under pressure to divide the unit into two independent companies. Although perhaps attracted by the prospect of his own operational command, it is indicative of White's loyalty to Stanner that they presented a united front to the Deputy Chief of the General Staff to keep the NAOU intact. As the Japanese threat diminished, Stanner was posted to Land Headquarters and consequently White, again attaining his Majority on 1 September 1943, was appointed Commanding Officer of the NAOU on 23 December 1943. Most of the men took leave prior to being transferred to other units but some 206 volunteers stayed on with White. The Headquarters was moved to Manton Dam, and Observation Posts were still manned under harsh conditions but only the occasional horse patrol was deployed.

Stanner and White had hoped the NAOU would be sent to wage a guerilla campaign on Timor, but all suggestions of overseas service were discounted by the Army and, as 1944 neared an end, Max White began closing down the unit. The horses were sold and the donkeys shot, and men posted out. On 20 January 1945, the unit Headquarters was shut down and the men then moved south to Wallgrove, west of Newcastle, New South Wales, to await the disbanding of the unit. White himself left the NAOU on 27 March 1945 and within weeks, the North Australia Observer Unit (with a final strength of 9 officers and 157 other ranks) was disbanded.

White retired to Glen Royal and died in the Moree District Hospital on 27 July 1966 at the age of 71 after a lengthy illness. He was accorded full military honours at his funeral and an RSL service was conducted, with members of Gravesend and Moree sub-branches in attendance. An obituary in the local paper remarked of White's AIF service in the Northern Territory: 'It was during the years he served with the Second AIF that many district men, to whom Max White had been no more than a retiring and quiet dispositioned man of the land, learnt to know and appreciate him for the gentleman, good soldier and exemplary officer he was. Without exception, the men who served under him regarded him as someone under whom they considered it a privilege to serve'. Stanner paid him the highest compliment by referring to him as a 'gallant, skilful soldier' and remarking 'he became my guide, counsellor and older brother all in one when we were in the field'.

Defence Force Journal, 14: 15–30 (1979); NAOU War Diary, 1942–45 (NORFORCE Museum); Private G T Roddick, Unpublished NAOU Diary (1943); A Vane, *The Surveillance of Northern Australia*, 1942; A Walker personal papers provided by Mrs J Hobbs and Mr B Walker; R & H Walker, *Curtin's Cowboys*, 1986; M White, personal papers provided by Mrs J Scholefield; L Wigmore, *Australia in the War of 1939–45 Volume IV: The Japanese Thrust*, 1968; personal correspondence and interviews with NAOU veterans including Captain T V Carty (ret), B Hickingbottom, H Thomas, Dr A Vane and A Woodbury.

PAUL ROSENZWEIG, Vol 3.

WHITTAKER, AMY ISABEL: see **CONWAY, AMY ISABEL**

WHITTLE, HAROLD HERBERT (1885–1955), police officer, town and shire clerk, overseer of works, builder of roads and bridges, was born on 11 February 1885 at Laura, an agricultural town in South Australia. Harold was the child of Alexander J T Whittle and his wife Esther, *nee* Branford. A J T Whittle, father of Harold, served as a Councillor when the Corporation of Laura was formed in 1882. An active townsman, he was Manager of Laura Brewing Company at that time. Another municipal occupation was District Clerk of Snowtown from 1905 until

his death in 1908. Harold attended school at Laura and when the family moved to Baroota he received further education at a school conducted by the Misses Davidson. As the family was then farming at Baroota, the elder children assisted on the farm and later worked on properties in various areas of Yorke Peninsula.

After the death of his father in 1908 Whittle with his brothers and sisters assisted his mother to rear and educate the family of 13 children, a formidable task at that time without the support of a husband, and one which gave Mrs Whittle great influence with her children.

On 1 July 1905, Whittle joined the South Australian Mounted Police Force and served in Adelaide, Tanunda, Naracoorte, Pinnaroo, the last being a wheat-growing centre in the Mallee area of South Australia, where he opened the new police station on 3 September 1909. Blanchetown on the River Murray was his next station and during his service there, he married Grace H McKay, daughter of Donald and Margaret McKay, 'Naaratum', Penola. It is noted on police records that his only punishment or reprimand occurred on 24 October 1910, for 'Using private trap instead of Police Horse—Fine 5/—.' His next appointment was at Robe, and during this time, his son, McKay, was born. Whittle resigned from the force whilst stationed at Robe. For a period of six months (14 January 1914 to 1 July 1914) he was licensee of the Border Inn Hotel, Apsley, Victoria, and on disposal of the business, he travelled to Darwin where he joined the Northern Territory Mounted Police on 1 December 1914.

After being stationed in the town for a time, he was appointed to Borrooloola, arriving there on 23 March 1915 on board SS *Leichhardt*. His duties included investigation of crime using police horses for patrols. The party, a mounted constable and an Aboriginal tracker with seven horses, would travel distances varying from 40 to 400 kilometres. The vagrant and itinerant nature of much of the male population made his task particularly difficult. When members of this class died, as they frequently did, their meagre possessions gave little indication of identity or next of kin.

On 15 November 1916, Whittle left Borrooloola by Captain Luff's boat, travelling to Thursday Island where he transhipped to *Changtha*, arriving in Darwin on 22 December.

Three months later Whittle resigned from the police force and was appointed Town Clerk by Darwin Town Council, commencing his service on 1 March. His duties were Town Clerk, Treasurer, Rate Collector, Overseer of Works; he was also Curator of the Cemetery, Registrar of Dogs, Licensing Officer, Inspector of Noxious Weeds, Inspector of Weights and Measures, and a Justice of the Peace. The later appointment assisted the discharge of his duties as town clerk—the early 1920s were an era of great unrest in the Territory.

Whittle was a member and Past Master of the Masonic Lodge, Darwin. His wife, Grace, and son, McKay, joined him on 13 December 1917, travelling from Sydney on board SS *Montoro*. Grace Whittle was interested in music, the Victoria League, and joined in the social life of Darwin. She regarded the change in fashions from ankle-length skirts to mid-calf length as a wonderful concession that made living more bearable for women in the tropical climate of the Territory. The introduction of ice making by Holmes, the butcher, was an amenity greatly appreciated by all residents. Whittle designed an icebox which created interest and was copied by other householders in the town. A daughter, Gweneth, was born on 30 November 1920 and baptised in the old Catholic Church.

Section 441, Smith Street, Darwin (Certificate of Title Volume 111 Folio 86), Township of Palmerston, County Palmerston, was purchased on 18 May 1917 and the house erected thereon cost 600 Pounds. The timber for the building was milled at the Catholic Mission on Bathurst Island. The plan showed a large area, elevated and divided into rooms opening on to a verandah surrounding the whole building—the result being cool and spacious. The Commonwealth of Australia under the Darwin Lands Acquisition Act, 1945, later acquired the land.

In 1924, Whittle resigned his Darwin posts and travelled to Queensland, obtaining a position as overseer on the Cairns-Port Douglas road. He then moved south to an appointment as Clerk of Maranoa Rabbit Board, at St George, Queensland.

In 1925, Whittle moved to Isisford, in central western Queensland in the capacity of shire clerk and overseer of works. This was a time of severe drought in the area so the duties were more difficult than in normal years. The main water supply was from artesian bores and enterprising children used little carts containing small tanks and drawn by goats to deliver water from the bores to householders—charge one shilling per load.

After visiting relatives in South Australia, Grace and the children joined Whittle. Later in 1925, Whittle again moved south to an appointment as Clerk of Cambooya Shire Council at Greenmount, Darling Downs. After resigning from the council in 1929, Whittle obtained contracts with the Queensland Main Roads Commission which gave valuable experience in bridge building, including a structure built over the Dawson River. In 1930, the position of Clerk/Overseer of Calliope Shire Council at Gladstone was accepted by Whittle and he capably managed the combined work for ten years until the clerical workload became too great and he agreed to work as Shire Clerk only. He resigned this post on 14 March 1947 and he moved to Paroo Shire Council, Thargomindah, in the capacity of field officer. However, he relinquished this work, due to ill health and retired to Gladstone, spending his last five months as a patient in the Gladstone Hospital, before his death from bronchial pneumonia and cerebral thrombosis on 23 June 1955. Grace Whittle died in Gladstone on 12 November 1955. A son, a daughter and two grandchildren, survive them.

Whittle Park at Karama, a northern suburb of Darwin, honours Harold Herbert Whittle and is a fitting tribute to his life and work as a Mounted Constable of the Northern Territory police force and Town Clerk of Darwin.

'Laura Days', *Laura Centenary Celebrations October 6/9, 1972*; 'Pinnaroo—Miracle of the Mallee', *Pinnaroo Historical Society*, 1983; SA Police Records; Licensing Board of Victoria; AA, Darwin records; Letters, Place Names Committee, Darwin; Family records and photographs.

GWENETH C WHITTLE, Vol 1.

WHITTLE, WILFORD WILLIAM (1892–1964), army officer, was born in August 1892; his family and education details are unknown.

In March 1912, Whittle entered the Royal Australian Garrison Artillery as a Lieutenant, before attending the ATT Special School of Instruction at Albury in May. From July 1912 until June 1913, he attended several military courses, including a master gunner's course. In 1914, he was posted to 2nd Military District and in April 1915 to 5th Military District at Fremantle, Western Australia.

In May 1915, Whittle joined the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) as a Lieutenant in the Siege Brigade of the 54th Battery, remaining there until October 1916, when he joined the 3rd Australian Siege Battery. One year later Whittle was in France, having attained the rank of Captain, as Adjutant in the 36th Heavy Artillery Group. He held this position until October 1918. In February 1919, his AIF appointment ended.

In January of the same year, Whittle was promoted to Brevet Major and, in February, attended a course at the Ordnance College at Woolwich, in the UK. In October 1920, he transferred to the Staff Corps. In January 1921, Whittle was appointed Inspecting Ordnance Officer of 3rd Military District where he remained for two years. He then took the position of Inspecting Ordnance Officer, Southwest area. While holding this position, he was promoted to the rank of Major, Staff Corps.

In January 1932, Whittle transferred to become Staff Officer, Equipment, at Army Headquarters. In January 1936, he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel and two months later was appointed to command the Darwin garrison in place of **Lieutenant Colonel C A Clowes**. There he remained until March 1939.

He held the Darwin command at a time of increasing world tension as Japan and Germany built up their military strength—and a time of frustration for advocates of north Australian defence as the Australian government, faced with a national economy which was still recovering slowly from the devastating depression of the early 1930s, remained reluctant to provide adequate defence funds. In 1936, the Darwin garrison consisted of four officers and eighty-four other ranks. As the *Northern Standard* observed in 1937, the town was 'merely a death trap for the garrison which could not fight a bigger force than a cruiser's landing party'.

The first major military support for the Darwin garrison, 11 officers and 220 other ranks of the Darwin Mobile Force, under the command of **Major A B MacDonald**, did not arrive until March 1939, the same month that Whittle left the town. Assessed as 'staid, somewhat slow and deliberate, but sound in judgment', Whittle had need of all these qualities in holding the Darwin command at a difficult time. His service was recognised in transfer to command of 2 Heavy Brigade (Victoria) in March 1939 and promotion to Colonel, Staff Corps, in November of that year. He held ordnance posts in Australia during and after the Second World War, with promotion to Brigadier (November 1940), temporary Major General (January 1947) and reversion to permanent rank in October 1948. In May 1946, he was appointed Acting Master General of the Ordnance and 4th Military Member of the Military Board. He was confirmed in this post in February 1947. He retired with the honorary rank of Major General at the end of 1948.

Whittle died in Melbourne on 17 June 1964, survived by his wife, Marie, a son and a daughter.

A Powell, *The Shadow's Edge*, 1988; *Who's Who in Australia*, 1950; *Melbourne Age*, 19 June 1964, 22 June 1964; ADB file; Australian Military and Army Orders and Gazette Notices; AWM card index, 1914–18 & 1939–45 war, personnel; Gradation List of Officers of the AMF, vol 1, March 1946.

J HAYDON, *Vol 1*.

WICKHAM, JOHN CLEMENTS (1798–1864), naval surveyor, explorer and colonial administrator, was born at Leith in Scotland on 21 December 1798, the third child of Captain Samuel Wickham, of the Royal Navy, and his wife Ellen. He entered the Royal Naval College in February 1812, and in 1815 joined HMS *Nightingale* as a Midshipman. Wickham served as lieutenant in HMS *Adventure* under the command of **Captain Phillip Parker King** in the expedition with HMS *Beagle* to survey South American waters between the years 1826 and 1830. He next served as First Lieutenant in *Beagle* from 1831 to 1836 in the furtherance of that work.

In January 1837, Wickham was advanced to the rank of Commander and appointed Captain and Surveyor of *Beagle*, prior to her voyage to Australia. For that voyage, **Lieutenant John Lort Stokes** was appointed Assistant Surveyor, and from 1837 to 1841, during the partnership of Wickham and Stokes, much hydrographic and scientific work was completed in Australian waters.

In the summer of 1838–39 Wickham surveyed the western entrance to Bass Strait, and in July 1839 visited the newly established settlement at Port Essington on the north coast of Australia. From Port Essington *Beagle* sailed westward to make three important discoveries: the Adelaide River, Port Darwin and the Victoria River. Wickham led the first boat expeditions up those two rivers, and in September 1839 while *Beagle* was at anchor in Port Darwin with parties surveying its waters, Wickham explored westward in his gig and discovered, charted and named Bynoe Harbour.

During the months of October, November and December 1839, for a period of over six weeks, *Beagle* lay at anchor in Holdfast Reach in the Victoria River, where the men suffered severely from the great heat, leading Wickham to state that the riverine country of the Victoria would never be of much use to Anglo-Saxons without the use of coloured labour to develop it.

Wickham's hard years of service and recurrent attacks of dysentery so undermined his health that in 1841 he was invalided in Sydney, took passage to England at his own expense, and was placed on half pay. In 1842 he returned to Australia in HMS *Fly*, and on 27 October that year he married Anna MacArthur, daughter of Hannibal Hawkins MacArthur, in St John's Church, Parramatta. At that period of his life, Wickham was a man of medium build, with regular features, blue eyes, a slightly aquiline nose and thinning hair. The colonial matrons thought him

handsome: 'I like Captain Wickham's appearance', wrote Elizabeth MacArthur to her brother William, 'and think with you that Annie has drawn the prize of the lot.'

In 1843 Wickham was appointed Police Magistrate at Moreton Bay, which was then proclaimed by Governor Gipps to be open for free settlement. In this office, he won the respect and affection of the colonists by managing their affairs with commonsense, understanding and justice. By his surveying work in Moreton Bay, he contributed materially to the colony's rising prosperity. The colonists regarded Wickham as a far-sighted founding father and when his position was raised in status from police magistrate to that of Government Resident, they showed their gratitude by giving a ball in his honour. In 1852, his wife died, leaving him with three children, and in 1857, he married Ellen Deering of Ipswich, a barrister's daughter.

At the birth of the new colony of Queensland Wickham was offered the position of Colonial Treasurer, but declined it and did not obtain a pension for his services in Australia. In 1860 he sailed for England in *Duncan Dunbar*, retired to the south of France in poor health and somewhat straitened circumstances, and died from a stroke at Biarritz on 6 January 1864. He was buried there in St Martin's churchyard.

Wickham was a man of refinement and shining integrity and a stickler for good order and discipline. Phillip Parker King believed that there was not a more correct, gentlemanly, high-minded man in the service, and Philip Gidley King, a midshipman under Wickham from 1831–36, described him as a 'great hand' at 'holystoning decks, painting ship, blacking... and making everything smart'. During his period as captain of HMS *Beagle*, from 1837–41, Wickham made a significant contribution to the discovery and charting of the north and northwest coasts of Australia. He named King Sound, and after the discovery by Stokes of the Fitzroy River, he ascended it as far as latitude 17°44' south.

Wickham was a competent artist and an entertaining writer who sketched and recorded descriptions of the places he visited in Australia; but its annals suffered a severe loss when most of these records were burned before his account was ready for publication. Apart from some of his personal and official correspondence, a few of his sketches survive and a number of his reports and papers which were published in the *Nautical Magazine* from 1840–42.

Although Wickham suffered ill health and recurrent attacks of dysentery during his entire service afloat in Australian waters, he ever preferred the good of the service to his own advantage, and stimulated by Stokes—his mentor in hydrography—was always anxious to make new discoveries. 'We sail tomorrow', Wickham wrote to his friend S A Donaldson in Sydney, 'like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in search of new adventures.'

A gregarious man, when on remote service Wickham missed the society and comfort of his friends, but found great joy in 'the consolation of letters'. Not well to do, and longing to marry and settle down away from sea life, he had visions of making his fortune by land speculation in Australia's southern colonies, but these castles in the air dissolved in the harsh light of reality.

In 1837, when *Beagle* commenced her work in Australia, there was still a strong belief that the centre of the continent was occupied by a vast inland sea, and Wickham clung to this belief after Stokes had abandoned it. On the eve of the discovery of the Adelaide and Victoria rivers in northern Australia, he wrote from Port Essington 'we sail tomorrow on our wanderings and in ten days more I hope to have found an inland sea and to be five hundred miles into the interior.' These hopes were fed by his observations of the direction of the flow of the rivers in the north and north-west of Australia, and in 1842 he wrote a memorandum on the possible existence of a mountain range 1000 to 1300 metres high, with a reservoir, located near latitude 20° south, longitude 132° east—a position about 250 kilometres from that of the Murchison Range in the Northern Territory.

Whenever the exigencies of the navy demanded sacrifices, Wickham made them, his dictum being 'The Service requires this sacrifice and Queen Victoria, being an arbitrary mistress must first be attended to.' Although authorised to take his ship home he abandoned the comforts of his command and returned at his own expense to England and half pay—a final sacrificial act as captain of HMS *Beagle*.

L S Dawson, *Memoirs of Hydrography*, 1885; G C Ingleton, *Charting a Continent*, 1944; John Lort Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, 1846; C G Drury Clarke, 'Capt. John Clements Wickham', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol 12 no 1, 1984; *ADB* vol 2; Hydrographic Office Surveyors' and Captains' letters, 1 July 1837–20 September 1841; Papers of P P King Lethbridge collection, MS A3599, Mitchell Library; Wickham—S A Donaldson correspondence 1839–40 MS C223, Mitchell Library; *Nautical Magazine*, 1840, 1841, 1842; J C Wickham, 'Description of the Victoria River', MS A308, Mitchell Library; J C Wickham, 'Report on Abrolhos Islands', MS 3306B/523, Battye Library *RGSJ*, 1841; J C Wickham, 'Memorandum on a Mountain Range', Cat A293 p 263, Mitchell Library; 'The Romantic Story of Newstead House and the People who Occupied It', 944.1/12, Mitchell Library; Macarthur Papers, vol 40, pp 55N60, MS A2936, Mitchell Library.

MARSDEN HORDERN, *Vol 1*.

WILKINSON, GEORGE HENRY (1873–1933), storekeeper, was born at Emerald Hill in Victoria on 7 July 1873. He was born to George Albert Wilkinson of Hampshire, England, and Isobel Foote Wilkinson, *nee* Dow, whose birthplace was Fifeshire, Scotland. It is believed that his parents met after immigrating to Australia, for they were married at Emerald Hill in 1872.

Precise dates are not available, but it is known that the Wilkinson family moved to Adelaide and later to Sydney, which became their permanent place of residence. The father, George Albert, was a saddler by profession and he eventually established a business in Sydney.

George Junior was approximately 17 years of age when the family moved to Sydney and, from later evidence, was apparently acquiring qualifications as a bookkeeper/ accountant. Undoubtedly the family (then numbering six children) was affected by the depression of the 1890s, although the father's skill as a saddler received recognition when he became the supplier to Anthony Hordern of Emporium fame. However, by the mid-1890s young Wilkinson,

apparently through feelings of wanderlust or the effects of the depression, accepted an offer of employment as an accountant with a gold mining company operating in Central Australia. The name of the mining company is not known, but there is strong evidence to suggest it could have been the White Range Mining Company, which was then operating the Excelsior mine at Arltunga. Wilkinson arrived at Arltunga in 1896 at the age of 23, and duly reported for duty at the office of the mining company, only to be told that his services were not required. It seems that the manager considered that he himself was keeping the books in a satisfactory manner and required no accounting assistance.

Wilkinson was therefore obliged to seek a livelihood in pursuits outside the bookkeeping world and tried his hand at fossicking and mining in the mica fields to the north of Arltunga. He was apparently successful in this venture, for he acquired his own camel team and went into business as a carrying agent. As a carrier, he made the acquaintance of Frank Wallis whose store, Wallis and Company, was located on the corner of Todd Street and Wills Terrace in Alice Springs. By 1899, Wilkinson was manager of the store and resided at the rear of the premises. Within a few years, he bought the store from Frank Wallis, by which time the company had amalgamated with Fogarty's Store and was trading under the name of Wallis Fogarty and Company. Although he was the owner, Wilkinson continued the business name of Wallis Fogarty and the store, affectionately known as 'Wal-Fogs', was to become a hub for the social and musical world of Alice Springs. During his first visit to Alice Springs in 1918, **'Skipper' Partridge** of Australian Inland Mission (AIM) camel patrol fame, reporting on an evening with a few of the residents, commented, 'It was indeed a treat to listen to George Wilkinson as he brought classical masterpieces, one after the other, to our ears. We have scarcely heard better violinists in Sydney.' It is not known when Wilkinson learned to play the violin, but clearly, the Wilkinson family was talented musically, for at least one other member was granted a certificate as a pianist by the London College of Music.

The early decades of the 20th century saw a series of severe droughts strike Central Australia. During these periods, Wilkinson first displayed that spirit of compassion and generosity for which he was to be revered for the rest of his life. Seeing the despair and heartbreak of the pastoralists battling against both the elements and the pressures of stock and station agents, he gave unlimited credit for essential food, equipment and fuel, including the cost of the transport to the outlying homesteads. As one chronicler of the time wrote, 'He helped many people in the Territory, fitting out drovers and contractors on no other security than their word. He did much to help the development of the country by helping men whose only asset when they began was a willingness to work. Very few failed to repay him.'

During a visit of 'Skipper' Partridge to Alice Springs, the concept of a nursing home for the town emerged. As Bill McCoy recalled the circumstances, 'Skipper, puzzled by the absence of the men in the evenings, for they were neither at home nor in the bar of the Stuart Arms, tracked them down to the cellar in Wal-Fog's store. They were playing "penny poker" and when the game adjourned, he led the talk to a need for the Nursing Home. The agreement was unanimous and an informal committee appointed, with **Police Sergeant Robert Stott** as Chairman and Storekeeper George Wilkinson as Secretary/ Treasurer.'

Wilkinson continued in this vital role during the eight frustrating years that were to elapse before the committee saw the realisation of their dreams with the official opening in 1926 of Adelaide House, the AIM Nursing Home that for many decades to come was to bring comfort and consolation through devoted medical staff to Alice Springs and its outback. As a tribute to his services, the AIM dedicated to the memory of George Wilkinson the first cottage to be constructed at the Old Timers' Home in Alice Springs.

Wilkinson also had horticultural interests. Encouraged by the success of citrus in his home garden, he established, in about 1900, a small citrus orchard on the east side of the Todd River. Unfortunately, the trees were destroyed by a mob of straying donkeys, but it is believed that the signs were sufficiently promising as to encourage other early settlers to follow his example with, eventually, beneficial results.

Wilkinson's health began to deteriorate in 1932 and when, in 1933, it became obvious that he required medical aid beyond that available in Alice Springs, he was driven to Quorn by Bill McCoy. From there he was taken on to Adelaide by train, but his condition failed to respond to hospital treatment and he died on 16 October 1933 at the age of 60 years. His death affected the Central Australian community to the extent that a committee comprising Messrs Maynard, J Smith, McCoy and Adamson was appointed from a meeting of old identities who had decided to erect a memorial in his honour. This committee collected funds from throughout the district and the result of their efforts is the simple edifice that today stands as a tribute to George Wilkinson in Wills Terrace, Alice Springs, describing him as 'Resident and Friend of Central Australia'.

G Bucknall, *A Place for People*, nd; A Grant, *Camel Train and Aeroplane: The Story of Skipper Partridge*, 1981; F V McEllister, *Citrus Growing in Alice Springs District*, 1978; NT Place Names Committee Records, Darwin.

JEAN LOVEGROVE, Vol 1.

WILLSHIRE, WILLIAM HENRY (1852–1925), policeman, was born in Adelaide on 5 March 1852. Little is known of his family on his mother's side (Emily Elizabeth), but his grandfather Raymond Willshire was an architect in London; his father's only brother, William Hughes Willshire, MD, was a President of the Medical Society of London; his father, James Doughty Willshire, who arrived in South Australia in 1841, was initially shipping reporter for the *Register* newspaper, then a teacher and finally, after several positions in the government service, an officer in the Taxation Department.

Willshire was one of three brothers and had three sisters. One sister married J E Brown, Conservator of Forests in South Australia and then in Western Australia, and a brother became a merchant in Western Australia.

There is little doubt that Willshire received a reasonable education but, as a young man, he commenced work as a drover. He appears to have been an active and alert man—a good horseman, cameleer and competent bushman. At 1.7 metres (5 feet 8 inches) he was of average height for the times. Surviving photographs suggest a pride in his appearance and, in their pose, a self-image of the heroic, which also emerges from his writings.

In January 1878, he joined the South Australian police force and, after early training in Adelaide, served at country police stations for the next four years. He received notification of his imminent transfer to Alice Springs in 1881 and, after a very short time at Melrose, South Australia; in 1882, he travelled to Central Australia.

Willshire arrived at the perfect time to fulfil what was evidently his self-image, seeing himself ‘welcomed back to civilization with the acclamations of the world, praised by princes, made the familiar of kings, idolized in the drawing-room’.

He took up his duties at the Alice Springs Telegraph Station police-camp in August 1882. The region he had to patrol was immense—an area of some 300 kilometres radius from Alice Springs which, beyond the cattle station country, was but poorly known to white Australians. Every indication is that he initially worked hard and well, in his first year establishing good relationships with the pastoralists and other ‘working men’, but also exerting his authority over Aborigines by forcing Aboriginal women to pass through an Aboriginal men’s sacred area. An early trying experience was his search for Mounted Constable Shirley and party, overdue while on patrol; six of the seven-man party, including Shirley, perished of thirst and Willshire helped find and bury them.

An extended dry spell commenced in 1883, and with the Aborigines retreating from their secondary waters, they came in to their traditional major waterholes to find cattle present. Cattle spearing became rife in the Central Australian range country and Willshire, despite his efforts, was unable to cover sufficient country to be able to curb the attacks. The South Australian government was petitioned stating that ‘additional police protection was urgently required to save life and property’.

Shortly thereafter, additional police officers were sent to the Alice Springs district to assist Willshire. A form of guerrilla warfare developed, with police parties under Willshire and the other police being composed of not only the police but also cattle station owners and managers, station-hands and other bush workers. In 1884 Willshire was given authority to employ and train native police: this he did, helping to maintain his authority over them by allowing them to have sexual relationships with the womenfolk of Aboriginal groups met with in the course of police patrols.

Exact evidence of what happened on the patrols is scanty and often conflicting, but it appears that Willshire and his fellow officer, Wurmbrand, were particularly ruthless and that the degree of support from station people was so widespread that details were normally withheld from both the senior police officers and government officials based in Port Augusta and Adelaide. One account suggests that all but a few of a party of 150 to 170 Aborigines, who had recently attacked Owen Springs Station homestead and also killed cattle, were shot by a police party consisting of cattlemen, overland telegraph station staff and police. And on the basis of the available evidence, probably 500 (and possibly as many as one thousand) Aborigines were shot within a radius of 300 kilometres from Alice Springs in the period 1881–91.

In 1884, Willshire ‘succeeded in organising and getting under full control’ a Native Police corps and in 1885, he ‘worked them on the Roper and Daly rivers for ten months’. There is no doubt that his job, of necessity—given the prevailing attitudes of the time—led him into confrontation and conflict with Aborigines. As he was later to observe of his work, ‘A good Winchester or Martini carbine, in conjunction with a Colt’s revolver... are your best friends, and you must use them too.’ Willshire was commended for his work with native police, but it is doubtful whether the senior officials who complimented him knew the full details of his work with them.

Upon his return to Alice Springs Willshire settled in to Central Australian police work again and shifted the location of the police camp from the Telegraph Station to Heavitree Gap.

In 1886, having read a newspaper appeal for information about Aboriginal culture, Willshire began compiling material. The Commissioner of the South Australian police force sanctioned the work and, as a result of his recording of some aspects of the Aboriginal language of the Alice Springs district and his habit of keeping a daily journal, *The Aborigines of Central Australia* was published in 1888.

This initial work, although expressing the prejudices of the era, also contains reasonably accurate information about the Aranda.

In a bid to control cattle killers in the more remote country to the west and southwest of Alice Springs, Willshire established a police camp at Boggy Hole on the Finke River. This led him into contact with the Hermannsburg missionaries, and rumours came to the mission of him shooting Aborigines rather than arresting them, and of white settlers shooting down ‘everyone they could reach with their firearms’ at one Aboriginal camp. The missionaries laid formal complaints about Willshire, who in turn made counterclaims: at the inquiry in 1890, both Willshire and the mission were ‘whitewashed’. There was considerable condemnation of the missionaries for accepting unsubstantiated information and, despite a generally favourable verdict on Willshire, a suggestion amounting to a directive that he should move his police camp further south, away from the Hermannsburg Mission.

As a result of the recommendation that he move from Boggy Flat, Willshire established a series of camps on Tempe Downs Station, well to the south of the mission. From that time on, all missionaries were bitterly denounced by Willshire, who had previously written favourably of the Hermannsburg people.

If Willshire had been ‘under a cloud’ in 1890, a year later he was in very real trouble. He had encouraged his native police to attack a camp of sleeping Aborigines and, when two were shot, made large fires and burnt the bodies. Word reached Alice Springs of these murders and **Frank Gillen** (of the Overland Telegraph Station and a Justice of the Peace for the district) investigated the situation with Mounted Constable William South, who had known Willshire for fourteen years and ‘always considered him eccentric, with an inordinate love of

notoriety' and now wondered at his sanity. As a result of their investigations, Willshire was committed for trial in Port Augusta on a charge of murder. He was to spend 17 days in gaol before the bail money—a substantial sum of 2 000 Pounds—was raised by station people, store-keepers, Overland Telegraph staff, miners and bush workers of Central Australia, over sixty men in all contributing. Sir John Downer, former premier of South Australia and 'one of the most eminent legal men of the day', brilliantly defended Willshire and, despite the two burnt bodies and the fact that the native police were under Willshire's supervision, Willshire was freed by the verdict of the Port Augusta jury.' He was later to be vituperative about Gillen, who he claimed had acted in 'revenge' for some past clash, and blamed Mounted Constable South for carrying out Gillen's orders to arrest him.

It appears that Willshire's superiors decided that tensions were too great in the Alice Springs district for him to return there, and he spent some time in Innamincka, Port Augusta, Port Pirie and Adelaide before returning to the Northern Territory in 1893. During his time 'down south', he was cautioned for appearing in court 'under the influence of drink' and was in trouble for insolence and insubordination to his senior officers, and for lying about the defacing of a police van.

After some time in Palmerston and Port Darwin, he was posted to the Victoria River country where, as he had in Central Australia, he was 'able to commit mayhem at will'. The head of one Aborigine was collected by Willshire and buried in his garden so that a manager for Goldsborough Mort could use the skull for a spittoon, and Willshire was ruthless during his tracking down of cattlekillers. After one encounter he wrote, 'It's no use mincing matters—the Martini–Henry carbines at this critical moment were talking English in the silent majesty of those great eternal rocks.' It was as though he was openly defying everyone to again charge him for, when camps were found, all males were shot and the women given over to the pleasure of his native constables, which had been the specific allegations against him in 1890 by the Hermannsburg missionaries.

His booklets suggest a delight in nature, an appreciation of bush mates, an interest in reading, a degree of appreciation of Aboriginal culture (which he believed would soon be extinct), easy use of Australian English, and a sense of history. And, despite his ruthlessness in dealing with cattle-killers, he perceived a need for ration depots and government assistance to ameliorate the lot of Aborigines.

Although there was that which he still greatly enjoyed about the then remote areas of Australia, Willshire twice asked to be removed from Victoria River because of dissension in the local white community and eventually, it seems, so that he could be near his sisters and parents in Adelaide. His transfer accorded, in fact, with a time when reports of his activities caused F W Holder, a minister in the South Australian government, to write to Premier C C Kingston and strongly request that 'no time should be lost' in 'immediately' removing Willshire from the Northern Territory. Holder's view was that Willshire was 'the last man in the world who should be entrusted with duties which bring him in contact with the Aborigines'.

Toward the end of 1895, Willshire was transferred to Adelaide, then spent the next 12 years at various South Australian country postings, including major localities such as Port August and Port Lincoln. He was married in 1896.

Willshire was made a Senior Constable in 1904 and resigned from the force on 31 January 1908, having spent 30 years as a policeman, 10 of those years being in the Northern Territory. He took up the position of nightwatchman at the Adelaide Metropolitan Abattoirs in 1908 and lived a quiet life until his death in 1925.

Willshire was representative of the 1880s–1890s era outback characters, rather than an aberration, as can be seen by his support over the years by a wide range of people. In 1895 the Manager of Wave Hill Station described him as a man who 'would have never been forgotten had he never written a line'; in 1897 he was praised for his police work in the Northern Territory; and in 1925 he was included in the list of 'men of standing and high mental calibre' who were instrumental in establishing and maintaining a 'fine tradition' in the Police Department of South Australia. It is difficult, in 1988, not to view him as other than a ruthless and sadistic man.

A street in Alice Springs is named after him.

R Clyne, *Colonial Blue*, 1987; M C Hartwig, 'The Progress of White Settlement in the Alice Springs District and its Effects upon the Aboriginal Inhabitants, 1860–1894', unpublished PhD Thesis, Adelaide University, 1965; R G Kimber, 'Heavitree Gap: A Confidential Report', unpublished paper, (CC NT); F Merlan, "Making People Quiet" in the Pastoral North: Reminiscences of Elsey Station', *Aboriginal History*, vol 2, 1–2, 1978; D J Mulvaney & J H Calaby, *So Much That Is New*, 1980; N T Richardson, *Pioneers of the North–West of South Australia*, 1925; C D Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*, vol 1, 1970; A Russell, *A Tramp–Royal in Wild Australia: 1928–1929*, 1934; H J Schmiechen, *The Hermannsburg Mission Society in Australia 1866–1895*, 1971; T G H Strehlow, *Journey to Horseshoe Bend*, 1969; W H Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, 1888; W H Willshire, *A Thrilling Tale of Real Life in the Wilds of Australia*, 1895; W H Willshire, *The Land of the Dawning*, 1896; *Adelaide Observer*, 16 August 1884 & 16 October 1897.

R G KIMBER, *Vol 1*.

WINNECKE, CHARLES GEORGE ALEXANDER (c1856–1902), surveyor, was probably born at Norwood, South Australia, in 1856, although there are conflicting reports on the date. The son of German-born Carl Winnecke and his wife, he was educated at St Peter's College and became a surveyor.

In July 1877 the South Australian government dispatched the Herbert River and North East Exploring Expedition of eight men under **Herbert Barclay** and Charles Winnecke. Their task was to explore and survey the little known country northeast of Alice Springs and to determine the boundary of the Northern Territory and Queensland. From November 1877 to the end of January 1878, preliminary work was undertaken in the Alice Springs area. The party was then split with Winnecke delegated to carry out a trigonometrical survey around Alice Springs while Barclay set out to find a route to the Herbert (Georgina) River. Barclay reached the Jervois Range but was incapacitated from a horse fall and returned to Adelaide. Winnecke received charge of the expedition in July.

In the meantime, Winnecke had explored 205 kilometres to the northeast as far as Mount Ultim. The discoveries of the Hale and Bunday Rivers with good pastoral country, as well as ‘rubies’ (actually garnets) in the Harts Range, were to be of later significance. He also travelled to the north-west to Central Mount Stuart, the Lander River and Reynolds Ranges, returning via the Stuart Bluff and MacDonnell Ranges to the west of Alice Springs. Including Mount Polhill (50 kilometres south of Alice Springs), he established approximately 50 trigonometrical stations throughout the afore-said area and named many predominant landmarks.

After receiving command, Winnecke set out with three men and a ‘black boy’ to follow his previous north east route along the Waite and Sandover Rivers to the north of the Jervois Range. Lack of water and scurvy forced their return to Alice Springs without reaching the border.

Following the surveyor-general’s instruction, Winnecke reprovisioned in Alice Springs prior to travelling to Tennant Creek (April 1879), from where they easily made it to the Herbert (Georgina) River. In May 1880, after completing his survey work, they headed southwest from Lake Nash to the Jervois Range and then south to the Plenty River to form a ‘connection with Barclay’s work’. Lack of water and scurvy again afflicted them and instead of proceeding west to Alice Springs, they retraced their steps, reaching Barrow Creek in November. *En route* to Adelaide he carried out a check survey of the Overland Telegraph.

In 1883, Winnecke was leader of the South Australian government’s Northern Exploration Party. The party entered the Territory on 24 July via the Northern Territory/South Australia/Queensland (Peoppel’s) Corner but then continued to the north-east through Queensland ‘encountering difficulty with the sand dunes and general lack of water’ until they reached Sandringham Station where he was to have received some horses. The horses were not there and to avoid any further delay he decided to complete the work with camels alone. Heading north-northwest they re-entered the Northern Territory of South Australia almost due east of Alice Springs on 13 September.

Travelling northwest up the (dry) Field River to Adam Range, they then went northwest until reaching the Hay River and following it north toward the Jervois Range until they reached the Goyder Pillars on Tarlton Range. Winnecke was now back in the country he and Barclay had previously reached from the opposite direction. To the north was ‘the Central Mount Hawker of my former explorations. This mountain is exactly in the centre of Australia, a spot which many explorers have vainly tried to discover’. The last time he was in this country, Winnecke had ‘lost his horse with his boots, requiring him to walk nearly 500 kilometres ‘without any boots to protect my feet’. This time a wild dog carried off one of his boots that was ‘a most unfortunate occurrence... as the grounds, bushes etc are literally covered in burrs’.

Winnecke followed the Hay River south to its flood-out country. After investigating the grazing potential of these plains, his party completed the third side of a triangle, returning northeast to a previous, and well-watered, campsite on the headwaters of the Field River. From there, they returned to Sandringham Station on 12 October.

After several days repairing equipment, Winnecke then went to Palparara Station (12 days to the south-east). He spent a week there with Adam Hay, who was to have supplied the horses and after whom he named the Adam Ranges and Hay River, ‘plotting up and writing [*sic*] up my diary from notes taken in the field’. In November, he made a hurried journey down the Strzelecki track to Beltana to catch the train to Adelaide, arriving on 2 December.

In 1894, a scientific and photographic expedition was organised and promoted by W A Horn of Adelaide. The party included four scientists representing the universities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide [E Stirling, **W Baldwin Spencer**, J Watt and R Tate] as well as two naturalists and two government prospectors in addition to four camel drivers, a cook and various Aborigines.

After departing from Oodnadatta on 4 May, the expedition followed the transcontinental telegraph line as far as Crown Point. They then went up the Finke River to Idracowra Station, from which an excursion was made to Chambers Pillar. They continued up the river to Henbury Station from where several local excursions were made.

The river was followed as far as the James Range, at which stage they headed west, skirting the range, to the Palmer River and Tempe Downs. Several days were spent in this area, and on the Levi Range to the south, undertaking their various scientific studies. They also received stores ordered from Stuart (Alice Springs). Their departure took them up the Petermann Creek between these two ranges until they reached the Gill Range and Kings Creek. After examining Carmichael Crag (Kings Canyon) the party split into two.

While four of the party went to photograph Ayers Rock and Mount Olga to the southwest, the rest of the party undertook a more detailed examination of the country to the north. The main party first moved west to examine the fossiliferous deposits at Laurie Creek where ‘some perfect specimens of rare fossils were obtained’; then north on to the Vale of Tempe and the Tarn of Auber at Glen Edith. They then went northeast through the MacDonnell Ranges, along the Mereenie Valley. Here the prospectors diligently examined the metalliferous rocks—the first found on the expedition. Mount Sonder, Mount Zeil, Haasts Bluff and some lesser features were correctly charted and their exact heights determined.

In this area, Winnecke and Stirling located and removed a large number of Aboriginal ceremonial objects including wooden and stone tablets. They left behind ‘a number of tomahawks, large knives and other things in their place, sufficient commercially to make the transaction an equitable exchange’.

The complete party was reunited at nearby Glen Helen with the return of the Ayers Rock photographers. Proceeding down the Finke River to Hermannsburg, several days were spent visiting the ‘Glen of Palms’. While a small contingent detoured via Paisley’s and Brinkley’s Bluffs, the rest took a direct course to Alice Springs, arriving on 15 July.

Three days later most of the expedition left on their return journey following the Telegraph Line south. Those members who had gone east to inspect the ruby fields joined them en route. The whole party arrived back at

Oodnadatta on 5 August. The expedition had travelled more than 3 500 kilometres and 43 000 square kilometres were correctly mapped in detail. 'Careful astronomical, meteorological and magnetic observations were taken... several hundred excellent photographs were taken... the habits and customs of the blacks was embraced... large collections were made in many of the departments of science—botany and zoology, ornithology and conchology, petrology and ethnology, geology and anthropology... The journey from start to finish was accomplished without a single mishap.' Winnecke even kept his boots throughout the expedition!

Between expeditions to the Northern Territory, Winnecke was involved in a number of similar journeys to investigate the pastoral potential in the unsettled areas of South Australia. His recurring expeditions to these inhospitable areas, and his faith in their future, were well summed when he later wrote: 'I am astounded at the use of the word desert. The Northern Territory will, in my opinion, be a great productive country when opened up.'

Winnecke died on 17 September 1902.

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RUARY BUCKNALL, Vol 1.

WIRINYKARI: see **BEETALOO BILL, JANGARI**

WISE, FRANK JOSEPH SCOTT (1897–1986), agriculturalist, politician and Administrator, was born in Ipswich, Queensland, on 30 May 1897 to Charles Edward Wise, an English born salesman, and his wife Emily Gertrude, *nee* Gordon. He was educated at state schools in Queensland and the Gatton Agricultural College, where he received a Diploma in Agriculture, specialising in tropical agriculture. After working as a farm hand, in 1920 he became a Field Officer with the Queensland Department of Agriculture and in 1922 an Assistant Agricultural Instructor. For much of the period between 1923 and 1933 he advised the Western Australian government on tropical agriculture.

In 1933, Wise was elected to the Western Australian Legislative Assembly as a Labor member. He held several ministerial portfolios after 1935 and between 1945 and 1947 was Premier and Treasurer of the state. His government was defeated in the elections of 1947. From then until his appointment as Administrator of the Northern Territory in 1951, he was Leader of the Opposition.

Wise had a sound background for administering the Territory in a difficult period. The Administrator's job also included being President of the Legislative Council and here his political experience served him well. As Fred Walker later wrote, 'Perhaps the most important attribute [Wise] brought to the Council was his awareness of the impropriety of the presiding officer entering into debate, and as a result the proceedings moved closer to those of a Westminster style parliament.'

Paul Hasluck, the Liberal Minister for Territories who appointed Wise as Administrator, subsequently stated that he 'brought to that post the prestige of high offices he had previously held, a width of political experience and recognised standing in the field of northern development'. Despite their political differences, the two men worked together closely. Hasluck gave Wise much of the credit for the rebuilding of Darwin during the 1950s. 'In my opinion', Hasluck continued, 'Wise had a triple achievement. The first was that he gave the people of the Territory a better conceit of themselves. The second was that he set them an example of normalcy. The third was that during his term numerous material improvements were either completed or inaugurated.' He was partly responsible, among other things, for the Legislative Council obtaining its own building, the restoration of municipal government, the steady growth in administrative services, the expansion of public works, the improvement of electricity and water supplies, the commencement of harbour improvements in Darwin and the development of public housing and hostels. 'Wise's administration', according to Hasluck, 'was a turning point in the Territory's post war history.'

Wise married Elsie Hunter on 12 June 1922 and they had a son and two daughters. After Elsie's death, he married again on 11 November 1944 Patricia, daughter of APC McCormick. They had a son and two daughters. Wise's second family was with him in Darwin and assisted in the process of social transformation.

Wise returned to Western Australia in 1956, serving in the state's Legislative Council between then and 1971. He was a minister between 1958 and 1959 and Leader of the Opposition in the Council between 1963 and 1966. In 1979, he was made an Officer of the Order of Australia (OA) He died in 1986.

P Hasluck, *Pioneers of Post War Recovery*, 1992; R McMullin, *The Light on the Hill*, 1991; F Walker, *A Short History of the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory*, 1986; newspaper clippings from the National Library of Australia biographical index.

BARBARA JAMES and RHONDA JOLLY, Vol 2.

WONG, LINOY nee MOO (1891–1970), homemaker and matriarch, was born in Palmerston (Darwin) in 1891 the eldest daughter of **Moo Yet For** and Moo Wong See who had originally come from the Canton region of China. Her father who was a carpenter and cabinetmaker by trade had travelled to the Northern Territory in 1879 to commence work at **John Lewis**' station at Port Essington. Linoy had two older brothers, Pompey Moo and Con Moo Fatt and two younger sisters Sue Quen Lee and **Essie Yuen**. Linoy spent a large part of her early years in Brocks Creek where her father also worked on the gold fields.

Linoy was not able to attend school as she was required to help care for her brother Pompey's young children. She was 11 years older than her youngest sister Essie and was required to help care for her also. Regardless of this,

she did manage to teach herself to read and write Chinese over the years and became quite proficient at it. As the eldest daughter, it fell on her to help her mother with the cooking and household chores.

At the age of 18, it was arranged for her to marry Wong Yung who had come from China to work as a coolie. After working for a period as a coolie, Wong Yung was made a ganger on the railways in Brocks Creek. The majority of the gangers working on the railways were of the Wong clan.

After her marriage, Linoy travelled with her husband to Great Northern, a gold mining settlement not far from Brocks Creek. Her marriage bed was made from four pieces of strong sapling with a forked trunk and filled across with available boards. Apart from being very poor, supplies were just not available and one needed to compromise. It was here in Great Northern that their eldest child Mabel was born. As the only woman in Great Northern at the time, Linoy had no choice but to deliver her own child. As the birth approached she had her husband gather what she felt was necessary. He had water boiling on the wood stove, clothes ready for the baby and a pair of scissors. When all was in readiness, her husband disappeared into the bush only to return some time later after she had delivered the baby herself.

Women like Linoy deserve to be recognised as the backbone of the Territory. They travelled to isolated areas with their husbands. They endured much hardship, loneliness from other female company and separation from their own families, but they still managed to raise on very little their own, often very large, families.

After a few years in Great Northern, they moved to Brocks Creek where two more sons, Choo and Herbert, were born. Whilst in Brocks Creek her mother sent her youngest sister Essie down to keep her company. This time together forged a special bond between the two sisters that remained with them all their lives. Linoy and her family remained in Brocks Creek until 1916 when they returned to Darwin where four more children were born. They were Lily, Alfred, Bill and Noreen. They lived in a small hut built by her husband in the now Gardens area where Linoy's parents had a market garden.

Linoy's husband at this time was a wood merchant, selling firewood using two horses and a dray and he grew a few vegetables. His death in 1926 left her a young widow with seven children, the youngest barely six weeks old. This was followed later by the death of her son Alfred of dysentery.

After the death of her husband, it was suggested to her that she would be eligible to receive help from the government in the form of food handouts but being an extremely proud woman, she would not even consider it. She raised chickens, sold the eggs and grew vegetables. Her son Choo, barely a teenager himself, worked at the imperial Cafe for Gee Fong Ming as a waiter for seven a days a week for one pound per month. Her son Herbert took over his father's work as a wood merchant. This was a daunting task for one not yet 11 years old. He would round up the horses, harness them where the Casino now stands and travel with an Aboriginal worker from the Gardens area to what is now the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) base. Here they would gather the wood and chop and split the logs ready for firewood. Each load was worth one Pound 10 Shillings. He was to continue for a time and as it became too much for the young lad the horses and dray were sold. Herbert then worked as a waiter before and after school. Linoy's daughter Lily became a housemaid when fourteen years old for Lyle Tivendale, a stock inspector, and his wife Maisie. For this she earned seven and sixpence per week. After three years' work, she was earning 15 Shillings a week. It was with the help and hard work of the children that Linoy managed to keep her family together.

The bombing of Darwin on 19 February 1942 saw the family separated. With her two elder daughters married, Linoy and her youngest daughter Noreen were evacuated to Pine Creek for a short period. With the bombing of Katherine, they were forced to travel by Army convoy and then by train to Adelaide. Her three sons Choo, Herbert and Bill were all working for the Public Works Department. Herbert had purchased a one-ton Ford truck and together with Choo was doing contract work for them. Bill who was a clerk with the Public Works Department was transferred to Alice Springs.

As the bombing of Darwin, continued Choo and Herbert travelled down to Adelaide River in their truck that was confiscated by the Army. Both enlisted in the Army there as all able bodied males were encouraged to do. Their pay at this time was six shillings a day and of this both boys were to send four Shillings each to their mother in Adelaide and retain two shillings for their own use. By the end of his time in the Army Herbert was earning 10 Shillings a day. The money sent to their mother enabled her to survive. Herbert, with his commanding officer's permission, was able to rummage through a stack of old sewing machines found under the old primary school in Darwin and from salvaging bit and pieces was able to get one working. He ended up a self-taught tailor after pulling apart a pair of trousers and putting it together again. He was able to earn extra money on the side by shortening shorts for two shillings each and for fitting shorts for four shillings. The more that he was able to earn meant the more he could send to his mother in Adelaide. Herbert's time in the Army was fraught with danger as there were near misses on many occasions when the Royal Australian Air Force area, near where he was based, was bombed.

After the war, the family moved to Alice Springs for a period of about three years where Herbert had taken over the lease of a shop there. From there, they returned to Darwin in 1949. Their first home was at the end of Wood Street and from there they moved to what is part of the business area of Darwin today.

Life for Linoy began to settle down after the upheaval of the war years, but was shattered again by the death of her beloved eldest son Choo in 1949. He had been travelling from Alice Springs back to Darwin bringing back their furniture when he was involved in a motor accident. It was a tragic and devastating time for the whole family.

In 1955 Linoy's youngest sister, Essie, returned to Darwin from Sydney where she had spent the war years and where she had been widowed. It was a joyous reunion for the sisters who shared the same birthday. Their other sister Sue Quen who had spent most of her years in Adelaide was also in Darwin for short periods and was able to join them. Linoy, always the big sister, was able to spoil her younger siblings.

Linoy was a woman small in size, but big in heart. She was always willing to help others and like her mother, taught many a young bride how to cook some of the Chinese specialities that she had learned in her youth. She had a great knowledge of herbal medicine and of the uses of various roots and shrubs found around the Darwin area. She would freely give her time to anyone who asked. She had a quick mind and a sharp wit and she would miss not much.

Her later years, with the continuing support of her children were ones of comfort and tranquillity. She was able to enjoy the company of her sisters and her grandchildren. Linoy died peacefully at her home surrounded by her family on 6 September 1970. It was the passing of a great pioneering lady, a Territorian who had experienced a lifetime of hard, tough years coupled with the fears and traumas of the cyclone of 1937, the war years with its uncertainty, the family separations and losses but one who remained a stable focal point for her family.

Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS A1/1 33/8696; L Ah Toy, H Wong and W Wong, information to author.

GLENICE YEE, Vol 3.

WONG YUAN (JOE) (c1862–1921), printer, was born in Canton, China and came to the Northern Territory aged about 17. About two years later, he was employed by the publishers of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* as a member of the production team.

Forty years later, by then known as the ‘Chinese printer’, he was still in the employ of the newspaper. His health had been poor for some time and he did not recover from a ‘seizure’ on 6 April 1921. The *Times* reported that he was ‘a good humoured man, honorable in every sense, and extremely reliable. His place will, indeed, be very hard to fill in this office’. The production of this particular issue of the *Times*, it must be said, was very poor indeed. He was buried in the Chinese cemetery at Stuart Park.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 7 April 1921.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 3.

WONGGU (WONGO, ONGOO, WONGU), Aboriginal elder. Nothing certain is known of either the birth or the death of the man who became known as Wonggu, but he had an impact on the non-Aboriginal settlement in the Northern Territory in the 1930s through his connection with the Aboriginal group from Caledon Bay.

Wonggu was a patriarch of the Aboriginal group, often but incorrectly referred to as the ‘Balamumu’, associated with the Caledon Bay massacre of five Japanese trepang fishermen from the luggers *Myrtle*, *Olga* and *Raff* in Arnhem Land in 1932. Wonggu and his large clan were assisting with trepang collection for the Japanese, and for **Fred Gray**, who was also working there at that time.

On the morning of 17 September, Gray’s workers arrived at the Japanese camp at Caledon Bay to a scene of mayhem, with the Aboriginal workers attacking the Japanese with spears and other weapons. Gray reported the events to the administration in Darwin but throughout 1933 police attempts to apprehend the perpetrators were unsuccessful. Further deaths in the Gulf were (erroneously) linked to the Caledon Bay killings and the incidents became known as the ‘Black War’.

In 1934, a small party from the Church Missionary Society, the ‘Peace Expedition’, successfully brought the alleged killers of the Japanese to Darwin where they stood trial before Justice Wells. On 31 July 1934 Mau (Mow), Natchelma and Narkaia, were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment for the murder of Tanaka. These sentences were remitted in June 1936 following extensive lobbying from Church and other concerned individuals, but particularly **Donald Thomson**, who was given the task of repatriating them back to Arnhem Land in his 1936 season field work.

Historians have looked at the motives for the massacre giving a variety of reasons for the killings of the Japanese. These include protest at non-Aboriginal incursion into Arnhem Land, revenge for sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women, insult and verbal abuse and exploitation of labour in the trepang industry. Ted Egan was told by an informant, who had been present at the Caledon Bay massacre as a child, that the killings were caused because Wonggu had been dumped headfirst in a cauldron of trepang offal. Evidence suggests that while this may not have been a literal cause, it could well have been the metaphorical reason for the attack (that is, a refusal to acknowledge Wonggu’s authority).

In 1937–1938, Wonggu and his family left the Caledon Bay area and settled at the Methodist community at Yirrkala. This created some inter-groups tensions at Yirrkala and fighting was reported at the settlement at this time. **Constable Murray** (of Coniston fame) was dispatched to Arnhem Land following the recommendations of Reverend Taylor of the Groote Eylandt mission and he met with ‘King Wongo’ at Yirrkala. Murray apprehended four alleged offenders but they escaped at Roper River. **Administrator Abbott** recommended that since the killings were ‘entirely tribal’ that he was loath to recommend any further police action. Wonggu does not reappear in any official records of the settlement after this time.

Immortalised in popular fiction, both **Vic Hall** and **Ion Idriess** used Wonggu as the evil genius in their accounts of the Caledon Bay massacre. Little is known about Wonggu’s personal life. At the time of the massacre he had several sons who were old enough to be accused of taking part: Natchelma (Watchelma) and Mau (Mow). Natchelma’s wife Clara was a notorious figure in her own right. It was suggested that she had been kidnapped from the Borroloola area and she had been named as linked to the *Douglas Mawson* ‘white women in Arnhem Land’ story.

The 1930s was a period of sensationalism in the reporting of Arnhem Land stories and Wonggu was central to many of the events. Wonggu clearly occupied a significant role for the people of Caledon Bay and Blue Mud Bay region, and he continued to do so after his groups shifted to Yirrkala settlement.

Fred Gray, who remembered Wonggu well, recalled that he was an impressive man and that the time he spent with the Caledons, 'was the happiest time of his life'. A man of influence, power and charisma Wonggu represents a romantic and little known area of Northern Territory history.

Australian Archives, Northern Territory, CRS F1 36/386; Australian Archives, Australian Capital Territory, CRS A1 38/6715; M Dewar, *The 'Black War' in Arnhem Land*, 1992; F Gray, interviews 1983–1995; VC Hall, *Dreamtime Justice*, 1962; *Northern Standard*, June 1934; I Idriess, *Man Tracks*, 1938.

MICKEY DEWAR, Vol 3.

WOOD, HANNAH nee INCH (1827–1903), pioneer and nurse, was born in England in 1827 to Thomas Inch and Jan, nee Martin. She was for many years in the service of the English Government and in 1859 was appointed assistant matron at Millbank Prison, filling that position with credit until 1861 when she resigned to take charge of a number of single girls emigrating to Queensland. She arrived in Brisbane with the immigrant women in January 1865 and later that year returned to England where she was put in charge of immigrants to Adelaide in the ship *Lincoln*. The vessel arrived on 3 December, 1865 with the shipping records describing Hannah as aged 35 or 36, single, in good health and that she had been matron on the voyage. Hannah spent most of 1866 in Adelaide in charge of part of the Emigrants Department. In 1867, she returned to England and was next sent to Melbourne in the ship *White Star* in charge of 338 single women. The clipper ship arrived on 19 August 1867, the *Argus* reporting that 'the single women were under the charge of Miss Inch the matron and the immigration officers spoke in terms of high praise of the manner in which her arduous duties had been discharged'.

In 1868, Hannah returned to England to bring out another shipment of single women in the same vessel for Melbourne, arriving on August 29 and again receiving accolades for 'the cleanliness and order which prevailed on board'. In 1869, Hannah made one last trip to England, returning to Melbourne in *Electric* in charge of between 200 and 300 single women. When the ship arrived, the paper gave this vivid description of the voyage and the passengers: 'Her large freight of living humanity has come into port in apparently robust health; and the accommodation for her passengers—men, women, and children—attended to with due care during the voyage... The single women on board have been under the supervision of Miss Inch who has had considerable experience in immigrant ships. The passengers are 72 married persons, 177 single women, 83 single men, 64 children. One infant died on the voyage and five others—electric sparks as they were facetiously termed on board—were born so that the ship has come into port with four souls more than her original complement'.

From 1869 until 1874, Hannah worked at the Sunbury Industrial School near Melbourne. On 7 December, 1874 she married James Wood, 'gentleman' at Scots Church Manse in Melbourne where she described herself as a 'spinster/lady', residing at Emerald Hill, known in the early days as 'tent city'. Within the year, they had decided to try their luck in the north of Australia with James arriving in the Territory in September 1875 and Hannah arriving in November just as Palmerston had been declared a free port.

By December 1876, James had the licence of the Standard Hotel, Pine Creek that they managed for two years before moving to Palmerston where Hannah soon owned land and became a ratepayer. In September 1880, James died of dysentery and Hannah returned to her profession of nursing. She was not backward in coming forward if she felt strongly about something. For instance in July 1881 Hannah wrote a long letter to the council complaining that in visiting the cemetery she found it difficult to discover her husband's grave and suggesting that some registry should be kept.

In December of the same year, she sent a petition to the Minister requesting the Queen Anne's Bounty, a pension that was given to people in need. In her covering letter, in an educated hand, she wrote, 'I have written to some powerful friends in England who I think will bring their influence to bear on the subject'. Unfortunately for Hannah, the Minister was not convinced and replied that, 'as the greater part of this lady's services have been performed under the government of South Australia and Victoria, his Excellency considers that there is no ground for forwarding the application to the Colonial Secretary'.

Hannah, however, was not deterred from speaking her mind about issues she felt strongly about and in June 1886 she was one of three women to sign a petition asking the Government to establish a municipal corporation rather than district council. The following year she wrote to the local board of health calling their attention to the overgrowth of an adjacent allotment and the nuisance caused, as she put it, by 'the blacks camping thereon'. The clerk replied that he would have the allotment cleared forthwith. In May 1888 Hannah wrote to the Government Resident offering herself for the position of matron of Burrundie Hospital, pointing out that before she came to the Territory she held a leading position in large institutions and consequently had 'a good deal of experience together with useful knowledge under medical direction'. She added: 'I understand the necessary treatment of patients in all its branches. I listed very high testimonials for past services but having been here for long and to some extent practised my profession I hardly need point to them. I think the local medical officer together with the respectable citizens whose families (*sic*) I have served will give me their support and assure you that I can carry out to the satisfaction of all parties concerned the duties I seek to undertake'.

Subsequently, in July 1888, Hannah was appointed Acting Matron at the Palmerston Hospital, a position she held for some time. Given her assertive nature, it is not surprising that on 13 May 1895 Hannah registered to vote on the Territory electoral roll when women first won the opportunity.

When the 1897 cyclone devastated Palmerston amongst the first buildings to collapse were two houses belonging to Mary Ann Finnis and Hannah Wood. The paper remarked, 'It is quite marvellous that neither of the above mentioned women was killed in escaping from under the debris of their houses'. Hannah was pinned beneath her home until some Aborigines got her out and fixed up a bed for her under some partitions. When the

storm was over, Mary Kelsey, [Ellen Ryan](#)'s sister, took Hannah back to her home and nursed her back to health. Hannah then wrote a public letter to the paper asking for the community's help, putting her case thus: 'Sir Will you kindly give me space in this week's issue to appeal to my friends and the public generally, who I beg most respectfully to ask to assist me to rebuild my cottage. I think everyone knows that I lost my all. I hoped that as I am a widow and alone that the committee of the Relief Fund would have allowed me sufficient money to rebuild my cottage and to some extent restore my furniture. My house is a part of my living as sometimes I have to take in a patient. The committee however have given me 35 Pounds, at first only 20 Pounds. I was up country and very ill at the time. I came to Palmerston as soon as I was well enough to travel. I wrote another letter explaining my circumstances and also interviewed two members of the committee. After waiting another three weeks, they have had a meeting and added 15 Pounds to the first 20 Pounds. This amount will not buy enough timber and iron to rebuild my cottage. If I had property of any kind to sell I would never beg. I have not asked for charity before in my life but if men who are in good positions and receiving good salaries are not ashamed to receive a sum of money from the Relief Fund, I, who have lost my all together with my health through that terrible storm, need not be ashamed to [ask those who] have known me for 22 years to assist me to rebuild my home'.

The appeal worked and by November she was able to write another letter thanking those who had helped: 'When I asked the public for their assistance, knowing how much everyone had lost I was truly sorry to have to call attention to my need and I did not think my appeal would meet with such a generous response. I am very much pleased to find that I have so many friends and I sincerely hope they will accept my thanks... I have also to thank those friends who have helped me to restore my furniture. Some have assisted me with their labour while others have sent me useful presents. I hope they will believe that I shall remember them for their kindness for all my life'.

In May 1902, Hannah had an accident and had to spend some considerable time in the hospital. Over the next few months, the townspeople got together and prepared a petition to the government to procure a special pension for her. After outlining the many nursing and immigration jobs she had held, the petitioners wrote: 'Since her late husband's death in 1880 Mrs Wood has earned her own livelihood by nursing and taking in sewing and by her kindness and skill as a nurse, her industry, her general rectitude and brave uncomplaining and independent spirit has earned the respect and esteem of a large circle of friends. Mrs Wood was born in England in 1827 and is now therefore 75 years of age. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that the Honourable the Minister for the Northern Territory will take the above circumstances into consideration with a view to the granting by the South Australian Government of such small special pension as will enable this unfortunate lady to live out the short remaining time of life which remains to her in that freedom and independence which her long and useful life have made essential to her happiness but which her present debilitated condition renders impossible of attainment without some assistance'.

Many leading citizens signed the petition but the Government said it had no provision for cases of Hannah's kind. It then added that if necessary accommodation could be found for her at the hospital. A little more than six months later, on 16 July 1903, Hannah Wood died. The paper described the sad circumstances of the case: '[Mrs Pett](#) sent her servant with flowers but the servant couldn't get an answer so Mrs Pett went and found her dead... A glass of water untouched was standing on a little table by the head of the bed and a small night lamp was still burning. The body was pressing against the mosquito curtain. Among other complications Mrs Wood has been suffering for some time past from an aneurism of the right artery and this was the immediate cause of death. She met with an accident some time [ago and has] never fully recovered from the effects... She had the option of remaining as a permanent inmate of the hospital but she preferred struggling along as best she could in her own cottage. This she succeeded in doing with a little assistance from some friends and the names of Dr Seabrook and Mrs Pett deserve special mention in this connection for their constant kindness and unremitting attention'. The paper added: 'Like other members of the human family the deceased lady doubtless had her failings. She was a woman with strong passions and prejudices an independent spirit and great determination and she could be a bitter enemy as well as a kindly and staunch friend. But she was clearly industrious and skilful and enthusiastic in the practice of her profession'.

Hannah Wood was a Roman Catholic and at the time of her death, there was no resident priest in the town, the service being conducted a member of the railway staff. Attendance at her funeral was poor, 'less than a dozen persons following the poor old lady to her last resting place'. Her obituary writer commented, 'the fact is calculated to give rise to rather cynical reflections but the sparse attendance may have been partly due to the necessarily hurried nature of the preparations for burial. Still it might have been expected that so old a resident, who from the nature of her calling had been brought into peculiarly intimate relations with so many people would have been more honoured on the last occasion presented for any display of kindly feeling or respect'. She was about 76 though her age was somewhat at variance with that stated on her marriage certificate and in the census returns.

B James, *Occupation Citizen*, 1995.

BARBARA JAMES, Vol 3.

WOOD, ROBERT (1880–1953), rural worker, prison guard, policeman and farmer, was born on 25 April 1880 at Aberchowder, Scotland, the son of Andrew Wood, a farmer. He was a police constable in Scotland between 1902 and 1910 and then came to Australia with his brother and took up farming. He was working at Quandong Station at Lockhart in New South Wales when he applied to join the Northern Territory Police in 1913. After arriving in Darwin in June 1913, he changed his mind and became a guard at Darwin (Fannie Bay) Gaol. The following year he was promoted to Acting Keeper.

After two years at the gaol, Wood applied for a transfer to the Northern Territory Mounted Police and in June 1915 became a Constable in Darwin, staying there until 1917. Next, he was transferred to Katherine to take charge of the police station and stayed there until August 1919, when he was transferred back to Darwin.

On 7 October 1919, he married Alice Julia Brown, daughter of Darwin businessman [E V V Brown](#), at the Darwin Methodist Church. They eventually had three children, only one of whom survived into adulthood.

After returning from leave in 1920, he was posted to Darwin, then from 1922 to 1925 was at Brock's Creek. In July 1923, he went on a 26-day patrol of over 880 kilometres to Oenpelli and Goulburn Island, searching for escaped prisoners. He and his Aboriginal assistants found the prisoners at Goulburn Island and the Administrator commended him for his good work.

After some leave in 1925, Wood was posted to Pine Creek, then in October 1926 he temporarily replaced [Sergeant Lovegrove](#) in charge of Katherine Police Station. When Lovegrove returned, Wood stayed on to assist him and was at Katherine when the new police station was erected in 1928. In November 1928 he was promoted to Sergeant, then spent some time in Darwin waiting for a country posting. Early in April 1930, he was again posted to Katherine and remained there until he retired.

Katherine in the early 1930s was a small town with an Aboriginal camp on the outskirts. Like other policemen in small country towns, Wood's work was very varied and included helping the local unemployed, issuing rations to the elderly and sick Aborigines, shoeing police horses, inspecting slaughter houses and butchers' shops, registering dogs, selling deceased estates, attending the arrival and departure of the weekly train, checking hotel premises when the sale of liquor was prohibited, searching for missing people, dealing with murders, assaults, destitutes, drivers' licences and opium smoking, arranging burials and funerals of murder victims, escorting prisoners to Darwin Gaol, taking Aborigines to the Kahlin Compound and to hospital in Darwin, escorting the railway pay, dealing with applications from white men to marry Aboriginal women, naturalization papers, lost and found property, illegal gambling, debtors and train accidents, keeping records of dingoes destroyed, stopping fights, taking drunken people home or arresting them, looking after prisoners in the police station lock up, retrieving bodies from the river, locating tax evaders, assisting other visiting policemen, investigating cattle thieving and serving court summons. He was Clerk and Bailiff of the local Court, had to provide information on a wide range of matters to the authorities in Darwin and often appeared as a witness at court cases in Darwin.

He was assisted by Aboriginal trackers, particularly Grant, and travelled around the Katherine area on horseback, by buggy or sulky, frequently patrolling around town until after the hotels closed. As with other Northern Territory policemen, his wife played an important role helping him, particularly 'holding the fort' while he was away on patrol.

Author [Bill Harney](#) wrote that the locals and Aborigines gave him the nickname 'Woganyarra', meaning moustache and prawn, because he had a moustache and was like one of the giant prawns of the river which hide then dart out upon their prey. Like the prawns, Wood would often lurk around town and turn up unexpectedly, causing consternation among wrong doers. He was also affectionately known as 'old Bob'. Harney wrote of Wood's gruff kindness to him and other unemployed men. Local doctor Frank McCann wrote of Wood's dry humour, shown on the occasion when he joined a group of locals in the hotel, then left and returned after closing time to arrest them for after hours drinking. [Clyde Fenton](#), the flying doctor based at Katherine from 1934, had some differences with Wood but shared his strong dislike for bureaucrats and officialdom.

During the 1930s Depression there were a number of protests by unemployed men in Darwin and Wood was one of the country policemen called in to deal with protesters; his earlier experiences with striking Blantyre miners in Scotland probably influenced his actions. A well known incident in which he was involved occurred on 3 May 1930 when he was in charge of a group of police and special constables who removed a group of protesting unemployed men from the verandah of the Administrator's office. Accounts of Wood's role vary: some praised him for bravery, while others condemned him for his violence. The *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* reported that the revolt was quelled almost single handed by Wood, while the *Northern Standard* condemned him for ferociously attacking defenceless unemployed men with his baton and for the way he threw the men's belongings off the verandah. Several protesters were arrested and placed in prison, where they sang, 'We will hang Sergeant Wood on a sour apple tree, for his baton we don't give a damn'.

In 1934, Wood was transferred to Borroloola after a clash with his superiors; however, he appealed successfully and stayed at Katherine. Despite some other clashes with the authorities, he was promoted to Sergeant First Class in December 1937.

When war came, he was too old to enlist but offered to forego his leave 'on account of the critical state of the Empire and the War'. His offer was refused and he went on leave in October 1941. While he was away, he was called upon to retire because of his age. He fought this and was so angry that he even wrote to the Governor General but to no avail. He was 61 and had completed 28 years' public service in the Northern Territory. The Administrator acknowledged his long and good record of service but some of Wood's superiors were relieved to be free of this sometimes difficult man.

Wood was bitter about how he had been treated and retired to live at Glenelg in South Australia. For a few years in the 1940s, he farmed in Tasmania, then returned to Glenelg. He died of a heart condition on 3 October 1953, aged 76, and was survived by his wife Alice and son Robert.

Wood was a heavily built man of average height. He spoke with a rich Scottish accent, had a good singing voice, a large moustache and a dry and unusual sense of humour. When young he was a champion wrestler, runner and footballer. He loved horses, was proud of his horsemanship and, according to his son, enjoyed nothing more than going off on long patrols.

In 1910, a referee noted: ‘He has never learned to tolerate a fool gladly. He could also afford to dispense with a certain cynical sarcasm which others sometimes find ill.’ He occasionally came into conflict with fellow policemen and his superiors, particularly when he brought matters to the attention of higher authorities. Pay, promotion and other matters of principle where he felt he had been unjustly dealt with were among the matters he raised. Because of this, he was not promoted beyond Sergeant First Class and was left for most of his police career in Katherine. His role in the local community has been widely acknowledged and Wood Street in Katherine was named after him.

C Fenton, *Flying Doctor*, 1949; W E Harney, *Grief, Gaiety and Aborigines*, 1963, *North of 23*, 1946; J Lea, *Government and Community in Katherine 1937–78*, 1987; F McCann, *Medicine Man*, 1959; J Rich, *Gum Leaf and Cow Hide*, 1986; *Northern Standard*, 29 April 1930, 6 May 1930; *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 6 May 1930; Australian Archives, Northern Territory Office, F1 39/177 (Katherine Police Station), F1 49/11 (Katherine Police Station); Northern Territory Archives Service, F297 (Katherine Police Station Journal), F596 (R Wood); research material held by author.

JENNY RICH, *Vol 2.*

WOODFORD, JAMES (JIM) (1855–1921), bushman, was born on 2 April 1855. He is reputed to have travelled up the Overland Telegraph Line in 1886 with Sandy Myrtle MacDonald, Dalley, Campbell and three others. At Johnston’s Waterhole, between Newcastle Waters and Daly Waters, they met with a group of six men led by **Tom Nugent**, travelling from north Queensland, making their way to the Halls Creek gold rush in the east Kimberleys. **Nat Buchanan** had remarked about the ‘devil’s number’ and the final 13 at Katherine and Victoria River Downs included ‘Tommy the Rag’ and thence the group of 13 became known as the ‘Ragged 13’. The group made its way to the Kimberleys, using worthless cheques as they went, causing some trouble at Ord River, taking a killer (bullock) on its way to Halls Creek. The gang including Woodford was involved in petty larceny and was regarded as a group of ‘saddle strap bushrangers’.

After riding with the ‘Ragged 13’, Woodford went back to the Territory and the gold mining area of Arltunga, where he spent many years during the ‘ruby rush’ and where MacDonald had opened a sly grog establishment. Woodford is quoted as a person who went looking for meteorites in the Centre and selling them. He held, however, mineral leases at Paddy’s Hole, Arltunga in 1888. He did not feature in the Northern Territory census returns, making him something of a mystery man, probably living down quietly his ‘Ragged 13’ past. In 1905 through to 1911 as things waned at Arltunga, he spent some years in Alice Springs as Warder in the Heavitree Gap and Stuart Gaols.

In 1911, Woodford worked part time as a Warder at Arltunga, presumably to look after the prisoners, whilst the Mounted Constables were absent on patrol. He also held a Business Licence on the goldfields, probably under the Mining Act and had Pastoral Permit 268 near Arltunga. In the Register of Business Sites and Licences, Woodford had a licence as a storekeeper at Arltunga in 1919 and 1920. He and some others were quietly hanging on in the hope of further gold finds but the number of prospectors was dwindling.

Woodford’s friend **Charles Cowle**, the ex Tasmanian who had served in the Territory Police from 1889 to 1903 in Central Australia, had an interest in the goldfield and the Aborigines of the Centre. He had left the Police in 1903 and moved to Arltunga. When Woodford died there on 23 September 1921, after 35 years in the Northern Territory, the neat grave and headstone was erected which reads, ‘A good mate, rest in peace, erected by his friend C E Cowle’. The lonely grave at Arltunga Cross Roads Cemetery marks the last resting place of the prospector, warder and storekeeper who had paid his debt, if any, for once riding with the ‘Ragged 13’.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 18 December 1931; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 December 1938; M C Hartwig, ‘The Progress of White Settlement in the Alice Springs District and its Effects upon the Aboriginal Inhabitants, 1860–1894’, unpublished PhD Thesis, Adelaide University, 1965; B Linklater, ‘Unpublished True Account of Ragged Thirteen’, 1941; F O’Kane, ‘A History of the Arltunga Goldfields 1887–1910’, BA (Hons) Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1969; J Woodford, Death Certificate; Pastoral Permit no 268.

V T O’BRIEN, *Vol 2.*

WOOLNOUGH, WALTER GEORGE (1876–1958), geologist, was born on 15 January 1876 at Brushgrove on the Clarence River, northern New South Wales. He was the son of the Reverend James Woolnough, and was educated at Newington College, Sydney, and the University of Sydney where he was awarded his Bachelor of Science in 1898 and his Doctor of Science in 1904. He was Demonstrator in Geology, the University of Sydney, 1898–1901; Lecturer in Mineralogy and Petrology, the University of Adelaide, 1902–04; Lecturer in Geology, the University of Sydney, 1905–10, Assistant Professor, 1911–12; Geologist to Brunner, Mond and Company Ltd, England, 1919–27; member of Professor David’s expedition to Fanafuti, 1897; leader of two expeditions to Fiji, 1901 and 1905 (as a result of the first, he was awarded the University of Sydney’s first DSc); member of Commonwealth Preliminary Scientific Expedition to Northern Territory, 1911; Geological Adviser to the Commonwealth government, 1927–41, when he retired. During the Second World War, he was Chief of Information, Directorate of Technical Practice, Ministry of Munitions, Melbourne.

According to H G Raggatt in the *Bulletin of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists* (1959), Dr Woolnough obtained approval to undertake an aerial survey of all possible oilfields in Australia. In 1932, in a Royal Australian Air Force Wapiti aircraft, he surveyed the Roma, Longreach, Darwin and Fitzroy areas. As a result, he predicted that oil would be found in the Northwest Cape/Exmouth areas, which it was, many years later.

From 1932 to 1941 Woolnough was geological consultant to the Aerial Geological and Geophysical Survey of North Australia. On a flight over northern Australia in 1934, he found that the aircraft was not equipped with a drift meter. He promptly designed and constructed one and a hole was cut in the floor of the aircraft so that it could be used. He was one of the pioneers of the Tennant Creek goldfields, camped out on the site and made a valuable report to the government on future developments. In 1935, he was sent to report on certain gold leases in the Northern Territory and to do this travelled 250 kilometres from Pine Creek to Darwin by quadricycle on the railway line. Dr Woolnough was a strongly built man with a firm speaking voice, a white moustache and a spade beard. He was known all over outback Australia as 'the cheerful old fellow with the pointy beard'. According to Raggatt, few Australian geologists have had a more colourful or adventurous life than he and none has ever laboured with greater devotion and distinction in the service of his country and of geological science. He was proficient in thirteen European languages.

Dr Woolnough was President of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 1926–27, a Fellow of the Geological Society of America and a member of the Executive Committee of the Australian National Research Council.

Woolnough married Margaret Ilma, daughter of the Reverend W Wilson, in 1902. The couple had a son and a daughter. Woolnough died on 28 September 1958 at Northbridge, Sydney. A good portrait appears with Raggatt's article referred to above.

H G Raggatt, in *Bulletin of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists*, August 1959; W G Woolnough, 'Report on Geology of the Northern Territory', *Bulletin of the Northern Territory*, no 4, 1912; W G Woolnough, 'Report on Tennant Creek Goldfield', *Bulletin of the Northern Territory*, no 22, 1936; W G Woolnough, 'Report on Certain Gold Mining Leases in the Northern Territory', 1935, AA CPP 139/1934N37.

T G JONES, Vol 1.

WORGAN, FLORA nee McRAE (c1870–1929), teacher and community worker, was born at Glenshiel, Sellicks Hill, South Australia, a daughter of Farquhar McRae, who was Scottish born, and a mother whose maiden name was Campbell. She was educated in Adelaide and trained as a teacher. At the time of her marriage, she was on the teaching staff of the South Australian Education Department.

She married John Thomas Worgan in Adelaide on 21 April 1897 and a daughter was born of the marriage. Worgan was appointed to the Northern Territory Administration as Chief Clerk and draughtsman in the Lands Office in 1903 and the family arrived in Port Darwin on 30 April. For 10 years they lived in a house in the Camp area, site of the quarters erected by **Goyder**'s party, many of which still dated from the days of the first settlement; the family then moved to Myilly Point to be among the first residents of the government houses which were built there in 1913.

Flora Worgan took a keen, active interest in many of the town's organisations, both charitable and social. She exhibited in the needlework section of the 'Show' and was always to be seen at the various balls. In 1913, she was a member of the committee that arranged a Christmas Tree Festival to give toys to all the children. During the war years she was involved with the Red Cross, and in particular with its fund raising.

She was Honorary Secretary of the Victoria League from its foundation in 1929 until April 1919, when she resigned due to ill health. The Victoria League was a patriotic organisation that ensured that visitors to Darwin, particularly 'VIPs' and members of the armed services, were entertained and offered hospitality. It was also active in raising funds for the Top End Australian Inland Mission hospitals and other worthy activities. The fact that many Darwin women were actively involved in this organisation gave rise to favourable comment in the press. When Flora resigned, she was presented with a clock in recognition of her 'long and enthusiastic service'.

She had been in ill health for some time. She suffered from diabetes and in March 1928, a leg was amputated below the knee. She died on 26 July 1929 following postoperative complications after her other leg was removed. She was said to be a lady of 'amiable character' who during her more than 25 years' residence in the Northern Territory had only travelled south once. Between September 1910 and September 1911, she lived in Adelaide while her husband served as Temporary Warden of the goldfields then centred on the Tanami. She was survived by her husband and daughter and was buried in the Gardens Cemetery, Darwin.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 23 June 1905, 16 August 1907, 9 September 1910, 13 September 1911, 25 December 1913, 21 May 1914, 27 August 1914, 4 November 1915, 4 March 1924, 5 May 1925, 2 August 1929; South Australian Births, Deaths and Marriages 192/203.

HELEN J WILSON, Vol 2.

Y

YET LOONG: see [YUEN YET HING](#)

YIRAWALA (c1890–1976), Aboriginal artist, commonly known as ‘Picasso of Arnhem Land’, was born into the Gunwingu people at Morgaleetbah, inland from Maningrida. Yirawala’s birth date is contentious and little is known of his early childhood; although he spent most of his life on Croker Island, he retained strong filial ties both with his kin and with the ‘country’ of his birth.

His ability as an artist became apparent at an early age and his skills and the growing commercial demand for Aboriginal art provided him with a subsistence income. As with so many other artistic men and women, Yirawala was not the one to profit most from the sale of his art works. It is said that he never really understood the outcome for many of his now famous sacred drawings. As befitted of Aboriginal custom, he desired that his paintings be presented and sold in story cycles. Instead, his works were sold individually in Australia and overseas to the benefit of art dealers. It created in Yirawala disillusionment about the people he had so often unquestioningly trusted.

Later in life, he found himself confronted with the complexities of European ways in another domain. As one of the 24 elders of the Gunwingu tribal lands and as custodian of the most sacred caves and objects, Yirawala made a claim for the legal ownership of his ‘country’. Justice Woodward presided over the hearing at Maningrida but for Yirawala, the language and the court-like formality provided a further example of the gulf between his culture and that of Europeans.

Yirawala had two wives, Mary and Margaret, both of whom lived with him on Croker Island for most of their lives. It is said that he had many sons although little is known about their whereabouts, except for his two youngest sons, Bobby and Danny, who lived on Croker Island. From the sparse information available, it is evident that Yirawala strove to maintain a tribal existence as close as possible to his forbears and with little western influence.

Yirawala is portrayed as a man concerned that Aboriginal tradition should not be lost, not only in terms of Aboriginal art but also in terms of other cultural pursuits. He was perceived as a man of integrity and wisdom, dedicated to the preservation of his people’s ways. [Lazarus Lamilami](#) described Yirawala as one of a great line of ceremonial leaders who had, from many generations back, inherited the sacred designs to reach the next generation. Sandra Le Brun Holmes describes him as ‘one of the last real Aboriginal men’.

Shielded by an old bush hat, a handsome, dignified face with penetrating eyes is the way many remember Yirawala. He had a sense of humour which no doubt helped to prevent his total disillusionment with the commercial art world. Among his own people, he was able to couch his cynicism in witty stories.

In 1971 Yirawala was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) and received the International Art Cooperation Award, a fitting gesture to a man who had spent most of his creative life unnoticed. He died in April 1976 on Good Friday and his body was taken back to his birthplace that was also the final resting place for his father. After Yirawala was awarded the MBE, Adelaide sculptor John Dowie was commissioned to create a bronze bust of the artist. Yirawala believed the sculpture held his spirit. After his death, the possession of the bronze bust, then held by the Adelaide Art Gallery, became the subject of controversy. After some dispute, the bust was handed over to Yirawala’s family.

Aboriginal News, vol 3, 1976; *Identity*, vol 1, 1971; *Northern Territory Newsletter*, April 1976; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 July 1975.

ROBYN MAYNARD, *Vol 1*.

YOUNG, NORA MARY (MOLLY): see [FEELEY, NORA MARY \(MOLLY\)](#)

YUEN, ESSIE (MOO, SUE CHING) (1902–1991), homemaker and matriarch, was born Sue Ching Moo on 10 October 1902 at Brocks Creek in the Northern Territory. She was the youngest child of [Moo Yet For](#) and Wong See who came from southern China. Her father who was a carpenter and cabinetmaker by trade arrived in Australia in 1879 and was employed at [John Lewis](#)’ station at Port Essington in the Northern Territory. She acquired the Christian name of Essie from her initials ‘SC’. Europeans had made it up but to her Greek friends she was always called Christina. Essie had two older brothers Moo Tam Bing and Moo Con Fatt and two older sisters, Linoy and Sue Quen. Moo Tam Bing was the father of well-known Darwin ophthalmologist [Dr Ken Moo](#) who was the youngest of 14 children. Linoy Wong was the mother of Bill Wong who was an elder of the Chinese Temple and Sue Quen Lee was the mother to the well-known Lee brothers, Wilson, William and Mitchell Lee of Lee Transport. Essie spent her early years in Brocks Creek and then together with her family moved to Darwin, where as well as his carpentry work, her father had a market garden in the area now known as the Gardens Golf Course.

As a very young child of about 18 months, she was found to be missing one day for approximately half an hour. She was eventually found in a very deep well which had been left uncovered, and on lowering someone down on the bucket she was found to be kicking her little arms and legs and staying afloat. Her frantic mother rushed her into the house and started to breast feed her. She pulled away and pointed to the statue of the Goddess of Mercy and was quoted as saying ‘Ee—Tok Tok’ which meant—she kept me afloat. The Goddess of Mercy or Kwan Yin as she is known is regarded as a protector of children. Her mother related this incident to her many times over the years and when old enough she was taught to say her prayers of thanks. She was to continue her prayers all her life, morning and evening in her home and also to attend the Chinese Temple every Sunday for the rest of her life.

She returned to Brocks Creek when she was about eight years old to be company for her older sister Linoy who had married and moved to Brocks Creek with her husband. It was a lonely existence for a little girl but she enjoyed the company of her big sister and often spoke of the buggy rides between Darwin and Brocks Creek when she fall often fall asleep to the clickity clack of the horses hooves and then of being woken and shown different birds of interest. When she returned to Darwin she eventually attended the Darwin primary school at Frog Hollow. She enjoyed being allowed to attend school and mixing with other children and often spoke of playing hop scotch and skipping and that she did not like arithmetic.

One of her school friends was Ernest Charles Yuen (who was known as Charlie) and who was the eldest son of well-known Darwin merchant [Yuen Yet Hing](#) (known as [Yet Loong](#)) and his third wife Low See. Essie and Charlie's engagement was arranged while they were still at school at the ages of 12 and 14, much to the amusement of their school friends from whom they endured much teasing. When the Darwin School celebrated its 'back to' school celebrations on 14 February 1971 when a Time Capsule was buried, it was with great pride that Essie proudly carried the flag as the oldest female student together with William Chin Gong as the oldest male student. She was also called upon to rebury the capsule as the oldest student of the school with Jimmy Soo Lee on 21 August 1982.

Essie and Charlie were married in Darwin on 11 September 1924 in a civil ceremony performed by [Judge D A Roberts](#). The first of their children arrived in 1925. The first tragedy for Essie was the death of her second child Percy from pneumonia at the age of only six weeks in 1926. The next children were Vernice, Eddie, Douglas, Dawn, Pamela and then Glenice. The children were delivered by [Mrs Tye](#) with the help of her own mother in some instances.

For all women during that time life in Darwin was not easy, water had to be carried from the well, cooking was done on wood stoves, flour had to be ground, there was no electricity so kerosene lanterns or candles were used for lighting, kerosene irons were used and of course there was the flaming fury. These were difficult years and money was short. Charlie was a chef who cooked in the European style at the Hotel Darwin and the Victoria Hotel, while Essie looked after the children and worked at her parents' bakery known as the Yean Ying Bakery in the old Chinatown part of Cavenagh Street. They were living in a section of Yet Loong's premises while building a new home at the end of Cavenagh Street overlooking the Gardens. They were ready to move in when war was declared. It was discovered after the war that the new house had taken a direct hit!

On the morning of 20 December 1941 with very little warning, Sergeant McNab and another police officer advised that all old people, pregnant women and children were to be evacuated. It was a requirement on boarding that Chinese passengers only had to declare the amount of cash that they were carrying, but this did not apply to the European passengers. This discrimination was clearly visible when European passengers were given the cabins, whilst the Chinese were allocated places on the open deck. This was regardless of the fact that Essie (as well as a few others) was heavily pregnant with her ninth child. She was evacuated with all her children with the exception of her eldest son Leslie, who was just over 16. Boys over 16 were not allowed to leave. Evacuees were allowed only 14 kilograms weight of personal belongings. In the frantic panic that followed, they only managed to collect a few bits of personal clothing while leaving behind all the better clothes and many irreplaceable items such as photographs etc. Her eldest daughter, Vernice, tells of rushing to wash some clothes and leaving them on the line to dry! There was always the thought that they would be able to return later and that all their belongings would still be there. They were shipped out on *Zealandia* and travelled to Thursday Island and on to Bowen. No concession was made for Essie on her pregnancy and as with all other Chinese she had to sleep on the open deck together with a sister-in-law who was also expecting. Travelling with them was her mother-in-law who had small bound feet. It was extremely difficult for her mother-in-law to walk, especially on the steep stairs of the ship. It was a horrific journey for one ready to give birth and with six small children. Food consisted mainly of bully beef and dog biscuits but as a concession on Christmas Day, they were given minced chicken, green peas, bully beef and the inevitable dog biscuits. There was not a lot of food and one had to queue for everything, food, the bathroom, the iron etc. During the nights the decks were covered with brown paper to try to make everything as dark as possible. Everything had to be covered and signs were put up everywhere, such as 'Sealed Lips—Save Ships'. This quotation was later put on matchboxes. There were a number of Japanese prisoners in the hold and for that reason everyone believed that they would not be bombed. At Bowen, passengers disembarked and were taken to the railway station where they were issued with coupons for a meal. From there, they took the train north to Cairns, where on 11 January 1942 Essie gave birth to her ninth child, Elaine, with the help of a midwife friend.

The family remained in Cairns for approximately six weeks to allow Essie to regain her strength when they moved onto Longreach to join her Moo relatives. On arriving in Longreach on 19 February, they were advised immediately that Darwin had been bombed that day. It was a great shock to her and she tells how she almost fainted with her legs giving way at the news as her husband Charlie and her eldest son Leslie were still there. Her husband and son eventually joined the rest of the family in Longreach where they spent a few years and where her youngest daughter Bobby was born. This was her only child to be born in a hospital. While in Longreach Essie took in laundry work mainly from American soldiers and this entailed boiling the clothes and using the old glass washboards. She also baked pies that her two younger sons would carry in a basket and sell during interval at the local pictures. This was her only source of income as it was during this time that her husband became increasingly ill. In 1945, the family was forced to move to Sydney because of Charlie's continued sickness. He died on 18 April 1946. Essie was widowed at the age of 44 and was left with nine children ranging from two years to 21 years. That was the next tragic event of her life.

The family spent a few years in a large boarding house in Sydney with many other Chinese evacuees from Darwin and then managed to purchase a fish and chips shop at Drummoyne with the help of a loan from relatives.

Her mother-in-law remained with Essie until her death on the 18 October 1950 at the age of 70. Life was manageable with the help of the older children who were working, but due to the many stresses as a sole parent, ill health and the cold winters that did not suit her, Essie returned to Darwin with her son Doug and three younger daughters in May 1955.

After living a short time with her dear sister Linoy and family, she finally moved into a new home in Fannie Bay on New Year's Eve 1956 which her son Doug had built and where she was to remain until her death. Essie thrived in the Darwin climate and continued to care for her younger children. She was happiest when surrounded by children and always maintained that one did not require money to be happy, but to have children around, one could always laugh. She always had a great sense of humour and was always told by her children that her talents had been wasted as she could always copy and mimic anyone. It was this sense of humour that carried her through the tough times and even when food was short she could always stretch it to feed another mouth. Her son Eddie was often in the habit of feeling sorry for someone and bringing him or her home unexpectedly at meal times.

There was always enough to go around even if she ate a little less herself. She always taught her children that it was better to give than to receive, and although a pensioner always managed to donate to all the worthy causes. She was small and slim and always impeccably dressed and in her later years when all the children were married and able to spoil her a little more, she would never venture out without her hat and bag.

Another major event that affected her life was Cyclone Tracy. She had experienced the 1937 cyclone and often spoke of the strong winds and the sheets of galvanised iron and the great fear that had remained. She had always told her children every wet season to always have a bag ready with spare clothes and important papers kept together, and to have containers of water. This advice was always brushed aside, but after Tracy, all could see the wisdom of the advice. Her son Doug's elevated house like the majority in Darwin was swept away and Essie was left on the floorboards with only a few grandchildren and relatives clinging to each other for support. They were totally left to the mercy of the elements with walls, furniture, and all manner of debris flying around them. All survived without the need of even a band-aid and this gave her another reason to continue her prayers of thanks. As in the other major events of her life, Essie bounced back again, only worrying about others. It was more than a year before her son Doug rebuilt his home and so for her remaining years Essie was able to enjoy a life with her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren around her.

She managed to travel a bit which gave her great joy, even returning to the Yuen village in Shekky in China for the opening of a school dedicated in the memory of her father-in-law the Darwin merchant Yuen Yet Hing.

She died in Darwin on 11 July 1991 at the age of 89 survived by nine children, 29 grandchildren and 12 great grandchildren. At her funeral, Dr David Lo described her as 'having astonishing courage, tenacity, patience and determination'—she was indeed a remarkable and gracious lady. For all who knew her it was indeed a privilege; she radiated great love and compassion and was constantly and gently guiding her family to be 'more caring, loving, and honest human beings'. She overcame all the hardships and tragedies that she had encountered from her early years like a true pioneering woman of the Territory: the loss of her son, being widowed at an early age, surviving the 1937 and 1974 cyclones, the terrifying war years and the discrimination shown to Chinese at that time. Her life was not in vain, as her teachings continue down the generations to her latest great grandchildren. She was proud to see her grandchildren all receive a good education, something that was not possible in the earlier days and see them graduating in the fields of medicine, science, accounting, marketing, law, mechanics, teaching and in business.

Family information.

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YUEN YET HING (YET LOONG) (1853–1916), businessman, was born in the village of Shekky in the Province of Zhongshan south of Canton in 1853.

Yet Loong arrived in Australia between 1876 and 1878 at the age of about 24. He was brought out by certain mining companies and rose from the ruck to the position of one of Darwin's leading Chinese merchants. He returned to China on numerous occasions and was to marry three times. His third wife was Low See, and their eldest child of seven was Ernest Charles Tue Fun Yuen. Yet Loong arranged the marriage of Ernest Charles to **Essie Sue Ching Moo** when he was just 12 years old. Low See replaced the first wife who had died. This was important as being a replacement first wife allowed her the privileges and benefits of a first wife and not as a third wife who would be left with many of the chores of everyday living. She was one of the few Chinese women to arrive from China, and perhaps one of the last, who had the small bound feet. This was a custom done in early childhood to females of wealthy families as they were not required to do any menial tasks and were always waited on by servants. Low See died in Sydney on 18 October 1950.

The gold fields were to play a large part in Yet Loong's life. He was involved as an individual owner and as head of a syndicate of a group of Chinese. His mining interests included the Cosmopolitan, Pine Creek battery, the Union Mines, Woolwonga battery, and the Mullans Christmas mine purchased from **V V Brown** for 220 Pounds. On 18 December 1891, Yet Loong & Co. purchased most of Millars Union Reef's machinery and leases for 1 000 Pounds. Within a few months of purchasing Union Reef from the Millar brothers, Yet Loong's syndicate recovered gold to the value of 4 000 Pounds. Yet Loong's syndicate purchased the Mullins Christmas claim in February 1894. In 1895 Hugh Watt, a London speculator on a visit to the Territory, negotiated with various Chinese owners to purchase a number of claims and batteries. Yet Loong sold his Christmas claim and battery at Pine Creek. Two mining leases recorded in Yet Loong's name were Tenement numbers 343 and 425 at Pine Creek and the records show how great his involvement in the gold fields was and how well his interests prospered.

One hundred and two Northern Territory Chinese were naturalised up to 1885 and after that period, South Australia did not approve any further naturalisations. The fact that Yet Loong held mining leases suggests that he must have been naturalised though no record to date has been found. The Immigration Restriction Act allowed naturalised Chinese to either take out or to buy mining leases.

Yet Loong commenced his businesses in Palmerston (now Darwin) prior to 1888 as records show that he was already operating a store and restaurant when he leased a number of blocks in that part of Cavenagh Street known as Chinatown. These leases were for 10-year periods at a time. He used these premises to conduct his own retail business, rent out others and used another as a home. On 26 October 1894, Yet Loong applied to replace one old building with a 'fine two-storey building to serve as shops and dwelling in place of his old unpretentious premises'. These buildings consisted of four storage houses, one dwelling and eight or nine smaller premises at the rear with all occupied. As a landowner, he was also a ratepayer and on one occasion, he appealed against the rate assessment on lot 399. He was successful and the assessment was reduced.

His retail business extended to the gold fields where he traded with all the Chinese coolies. He also had another shop in the Chinatown section of Pine Creek. On 20 July 1893 it was burnt to the ground by a fire started in an adjoining humpy when a Chinese, on striking a match set fire to his mosquito net, which then quickly spread to the adjoining building. In addition to the store Yet Loong lost all stock and livestock consisting of pigs, ducks and fowls. The total loss was estimated at 2 000 Pounds. Yet Loong operated under many business names: Yet Loong & Co. at Port Darwin; Yet Loong Chan & Co. at Pine Creek; Yet Sing Chan & Co. at Yam Creek.

He was also involved in tendering to the Council for various contracts, such as cementing culverts under Cavenagh Street, fencing, and the removal of house refuse and night soil. He won a tender for fencing Gulnare Jetty Road on 24 December 1901 for 140 panels at one Shilling and three Pence per yard. He also sold horses, drays, wagons and accessories that he had obtained from the Union. He was perhaps the first Chinese to have a horse and buggy in Darwin and was able to take his wife and family for Sunday rides. The result of one such ride ended in a buggy accident where he received injuries to his face.

He often appeared before the courts, on one occasion because pearl-rackers wrecked his restaurant and store on New Year's Day 1888. He was eventually compensated for the damage. Another incident saw two Europeans kicking at one of his shop doors creating a scuffle in which a Chinese was hurt and property damaged when the Europeans entered Yet Loong's store and started smashing it with a big stick. On another occasion while Yet Loong was kneeling in prayer a person from behind attacked him with a large knife. It was a coolie who was subject to temporary fits of mania. The weapon passed between Yet Loong's arm and body, cutting his robes only. The first suitable steamer eventually deported the assailant.

In 1905 Yet Loong and Yam Yan, as secretaries of the Chinese society, presented to His Excellency Sir George Le Hunte, Governor of South Australia, a banner of Chinese art measuring ten feet by five feet, made of red satin and lined with pure silk. The banner, beautifully embroidered and bearing the names of all the Chinese merchants involved was to be displayed at the Palmerston (Darwin) Town Hall. His interest in community affairs led him and other Chinese traders to reply to a letter sent to the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* anonymously with certain allegations against the Chinese. The Chinese were outraged and in a protest to the Editor offered to hand over 100 Pounds to the Government Resident on disclosure of the name of the anonymous writer and for him to repeat his allegations. Another incident that saw Yet Loong and other Chinese storekeepers of Palmerston write to the editor of the local paper concerned the subject of opium. It was suggested that the Chinese were still trafficking in the drug, so a letter of protest from the Chinese was written saying that they recognised the dangers and problems regarding opium.

Yet Loong's involvement in the community and his many years of trading in the Northern Territory as a shopkeeper, landlord and on the gold fields, made him a prominent member of the community. He travelled back to China on a few occasions and at one such time was bestowed with the rank of the Officer of the Court denoting him a senior minister. His mandarin gown with the square patch in front and hat was an indication of this.

Yet Loong died suddenly on Friday morning 20 October 1916 in Darwin. He was described in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* as a 'notable personality' and was buried in the Darwin cemetery but, as was the custom in the early days, his remains were eventually returned to China. His memory will live on in his village in Zhongshan Province. In 1984, The Yuen Yet Hing High School, catering for 350 students was dedicated in his memory. Funds for the three-storey building of this school was donated by Yuen descendants throughout Australia, Hong Kong and Macau. His only surviving son, Robert, donated 45 000 Dollars towards the cost of the building. It was then one of the few schools in China holding English classes. Many members of the Yuen family returned to China for the opening of the school and the ceremonies included a Lion Dance, a Civic reception, fireworks and a Banquet. Yuen Place, a small street behind Yet Loong's original Cavenagh Street premises also remembers him.

In the century after the arrival of Yuen Yet Hing to Darwin, four generations of the Yuen family were all born in Darwin and continued the precedent set by him in contributing to community affairs, business and property development, and in the professional fields. In 1995, one son and two daughters of Yet Loong still survived. His youngest daughter was Lilyan Chan, wife of the late **Harry Chan** who was well known as President of the Legislative Council in 1965 and Mayor of Darwin in 1966.

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ZICHY-WOINARSKI, BERYL VICTORIA: see [ASCHE, BERYL VICTORIA](#)

ZIMIN, INNOKENTIY TEMOFEVICH (JIM) (1902–1974), farmer, was born in Stretinsk, Siberia, in 1902. After the 1917 Revolution, he crossed into China, living there for several years and gaining a Chauffer-Mechanics certificate from Harbin Young Men's Christian Association in 1925. He arrived in Australia in 1927, landing in Brisbane. He worked in Queensland before setting out for the Northern Territory.

Zimin first took up land at Adelaide River around 1929, farming with Evseqney Belokriloff, then taking up block 109 with five others by 1930; a letter of that year states that I Zimin and Company worked the block. Times being tough, Zimin also took out a miner's right for 1931–32.

He settled permanently at Katherine in 1931, and took up block 210. He grew peanuts, but in 1939 experimented with millet and cotton. He apparently acquired a second-hand cotton gin in 1950.

In 1938, he helped prepare a petition for the Minister of the Interior complaining about the lack of quality seed and the depredations of the peanut selling agents. The complaints brought some results, as fresh seed was made available. During the Second World War, he became a market gardener, supplying the army with tomatoes, cabbages, watermelons and pumpkins. In 1939 he had acquired a second-hand tractor, in fairly poor condition, and used it along with Aboriginal help during the war years.

In 1942 the 121/101 Australian General Hospital (AGH) was built on a portion of his land—the site was later that of the meatworks on the Victoria Highway. Bores were sunk, pipes laid and a cemetery started. A road was also built through his property to link up the bridge/weir that had been built as part of the upgrading of the Stuart Highway (today's Low Level Bridge). Zimin grew vegetables for the 12 1/101 AGH and used army water, obtained in lieu of compensation for the use of his land.

In 1943, he was employing three Aborigines in his vegetable garden; by 1944, he was employing four helpers and receiving good prices for his produce. Army needs ceased after 1946; peanuts proved an unsatisfactory crop as, by 1951, Crown Rot disease was affecting crops around Katherine. He seems to have ceased growing them after 1956.

After the 1957 flood, Zimin took a job with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation; it appears that the big flood of that year finally ruined any hope of a productive farm. In 1962, he sold eighty hectares (200 acres) of his land to the newly established meatworks. In 1971, he gave up most of block 210 and lived on lot 458 (the remainder) until his death from a heart attack in 1974.

In 1934, Zimin became an Australian citizen. He was described as being 170 centimetres (five feet eight inches) tall, with blue eyes and fair hair and a 'white spot of hair centre of brow'. He revisited Manchuria during 1935–36 with [John Ivanetz](#) and Alex Tokmakoff, and visited New Zealand in 1947. He became a member of Royal Ancient Order of Buffaloes in 1948. In 1949, he patented a machine for cleaning peanuts and peanut plants; this was the first agricultural patent given to a Northern Territory resident. During the 1950s, he experimented with tobacco, to no real effect. In the 1960s, he appears to have experimented with lucerne.

In the war years, he became friendly with an American serviceman, Lieutenant Clyde Townsend, 43 Engineering Regiment, a friendship maintained until Zimin's death. He also had cousin living in New York.

In 1982, a stretch of the old Stuart Highway was renamed Zimin Drive in his honour.

Family information.

MICHAEL CANAVAN, Vol 1.

ZIMMERMANN, ADELA VIOLET: see [PURVIS, ADELA VIOLET](#)