Notes

McComb: Alfred Howitt in Victoria

5 Howitt, Mary Howitt, p. 191.
8 Howitt, Impressions of Australia Felix, p. 72.
9 Howitt, Impressions of Australia Felix, p. 171.
12 Howitt, Impressions of Australia Felix, p. 125.
13 Howitt, Impressions of Australia Felix, p. 207.
14 Howitt, Mary Howitt, p. 211.
16 William Howitt, p. 380.
17 Howitt, Mary Howitt, pp. 213–15.
18 Transportation to Australia reached its peak in the early 1830s and, to all intents and purposes, it ended in the early 1850s, not least because of the increasing hostility of colonists in Australia who objected to their land being used as a dumping ground for convicts from England. See Clive Emsley, Crime and English Society 1750–1900, 2nd edn, London: Longman, 1996.
19 Howitt, Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria, pp. 142–43.
20 Howitt, Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria, p. 10.
22 Howitt, Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria, p. 450.
23 Alfred Howitt, to Anna Howitt, 4 Jan. 1854, AW Howitt Papers, Box 1045/1c, State Library of Victoria.
24 Howitt Papers, Boxes 1045/2a–2b. Various letters tell of hardships, poverty, no gold and few prospects. Reading them is testament to Howitt’s doggedness of character, which stood him in good stead in establishing himself in the colony.
25 William Blandowski, a Prussian-born fortune-seeker, was involved in many activities in the colony but failed in his 10-year stay (1849–59) to satisfy his objectives. His collections moulded away and he failed to understand the rules of social acceptability. A talented artist/photographer, he returned to Europe with a collection of fascinating drawings, largely because of Melbourne bureaucracy’s refusal to assign ownership and lack of perception in supporting their publication. He published them himself as Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen (1862).
26 Alfred Howitt, to Mary Howitt, 24 Oct. 1854, Howitt Papers, Box 1045/1d.
27 Howitt, to Mary Howitt, 17 Mar. 1860, AW Howitt Papers, Box 1045/2b.
28 ‘A veteran’s record, Mr AW Howitt’s career’, Morning Bulletin (Rockhampton, Qld), 8 Aug. 1900, p. 7.
29 Argus (Melb.), 27 Jun. 1862, pp. 5–6. Howitt’s diary is reported from March to June 1862 describing various encounters with the natives as well as copious notes on water availability and flora.
31 Howitt Papers.

36 Howitt described these rather quaint though demanding travels to his sister (Howitt, to Anna Howitt, 7 May 1876, Howitt Papers, Box 1047/3a).

37 William was living in Rome and planting seedlings. Alfred visited the resulting trees on his last trip to Europe in 1904 in the campagna of the Trappist monastery of Tre Fontane. See ‘The Howitts in Australia’, Victorian Historical Magazine, vol. 3, Sep. 1913, no. 1, p. 23.

38 AW Howitt, Eucalypts of Gippsland (1890), reprinted from Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. By 1876, Alfred’s specimens amounted to 700 slides. His documented collection now resides in the National Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens, in Melbourne and consists of 1425 specimens that he had collected, starting in 1879 but mostly between 1882 and 1884, from wherever his travels took him as magistrate in Gippsland. Howitt was able to describe each segment of the specimens he gathered as well as noting the prospective use to which the standing timber might be put. See National Herbarium Spreadsheet MEL data, Collector AW Howitt, listing species, collector, date and location.


40 Howitt, Beechworth, to Anna Howitt, 7 Jul. 1874, Howitt Papers, Box 1047/1a.

41 Howitt, to Anna Howitt, 29 Dec. 1870, Howitt Papers, Box 1047/1a.


43 Lorimer Fison & AW Howitt, Kamarari and Kurnai: Group-Marriage and Relationship, and Marriage by Elopement, Drawn Chiefly from the Usage of the Australian Aborigines ..., Melbourne: George Robertson, 1880, and Marriage by Elopement, Drawn Chiefly from the Usage of the Australian Aborigines. Also the Kurnai Tribe, Their Customs in Peace and War (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1880).


46 Ian Clark, ‘The AW Howitt Papers,’ La Trobe Journal, no. 43, Autumn, 1989. Clark sees the value of Howitt’s rich collection but seeks to impose current methodological expectations and an impossibly wide set of content demands such as the role of women, food consumed – in short a total lifestyle description.

47 Howitt’s questionnaire included requests such as ‘What are the class divisions of which the community is composed? What are the laws of marriage? The laws of descent? Tribal government? Ceremonies – Initiation and Burial? And importantly Vocabulary’. See the full list in Howitt Papers, Box 1053/2.

48 Howitt, Native Tribes, Summary.


51 Howitt, Native Tribes, p. 702.


54 Howitt, Native Tribes, p. 679.


Mccowan: Marcus Clarke, Felix Meyer and the Paris Commune

1 Henry Gyles Turner & Alexander Sutherland, The Development of Australian Literature, Melbourne: George Robertson, 1898, p. 300.

2 Hamilton McKinnon, Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume: Containing Selections From the Writings of Marcus Clark..., Melbourne: Cameron, Laing, 1894, pp. 53–54.


Argus (Melbourne), 19 Apr. 1873; also see, The Australian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil, 17 May 1873, p. 27.

Argus, 23 Apr. 1873.

Argus, 24 Apr. 1873.

Ballarat Courier, 25 Apr. 1873.


Ballarat Courier, 24 Apr. 1873. According to Helene Duparc, the inhabitants of Melbourne raised 40,000 francs for the comfort of the prisoners, but the offer was refused by Captain Vignancourt, even if transformed into food and clothes. Helene Duparc, de Paris à Noumea: L’histoire des communs de la Commune de Paris déportés en Nouvelle-Caledonie, Orphie: Sainte Clotilde de La Réunion, 2003.

Ovens and Murray Valley Advertiser (Beechworth), 25 Apr. 1873.

Argus, 24 Apr. 1873.

Argus, 26 Apr. 1873.

Ballarat Courier, 24 Apr. 1873; Ballarat Star, 24 Apr. 1874. Captain Vignancourt also offered a £5 reward for his recapture (Argus, 24 Apr. 1873).


Turner & Sutherland, The Development of Australian Literature, p. 336.


Argus, 28 Apr. 1873.

Clarke may have known Felix Meyer’s father, whose decision to send his son to Wesley College must have been based on liberal leanings. Clarke seemed to know everyone, and was often up to some prank. Andrew Lemon, an authority on the history of Wesley College, agrees that the Meyer/Clarke speculation is reasonable.

Ballarat Courier, 24 Apr. 1873.

Argus, 18 Sep. 1873. The claimed back wages were for work undertaken between 30 May and 5 July. By this time, he had changed his name to Serigne.

Marie admitted that there might be 30s due to Seringue, but that this was covered by the money he had given to Billiette to pay to the Argus subscription fund and for the clothes that he had bought him, Argus, 18 Sep. 1873. Marie was ordered to pay 30s with 12s 6d costs.

Bullard, Exile to Paradise, pp. 159–60.


Hergenhan, A Colonial City, p. 472.


Forster, France & Botany Bay, pp. 166–75.

Sydney Morning Herald, 3 Nov. 1853, quoted in Forster, France & Botany Bay, p. 168. The penal
establishment was on L’île Nou in Noumea harbour and the first convicts included a large number of tradesmen who helped erect buildings, such as the penitentiary, hospital, barracks, workshops, forges, storehouses, offices and houses. See Sydney Morning Herald, 12 May 1884.

47 Lissagaray stated that the men built a hospital, aqueduct, warehouse and a large road. However, of the 2000 who presented themselves for work, only 800 were employed, and their wages were very poor. See Lissagaray, History of the Commune of 1871, Eleanor Marx Aveling (trans.), New York: International Publishing Company, 1898, pp. 447–58.

48 Lissagaray, History of the Commune of 1871, pp. 452–53.


53 Moore, Dancing with Empty Pockets, pp. 26–30.

54 McKinnon, Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume, pp. 56–59.


Barnes: The making of a legend: Henry Lawson at Bourke

1 Henry Lawson, to Edward Garnett, ‘27th (or 28th)’ Feb., 1902, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.


5 Robyn Burrows, Henry Lawson: A Stranger on the Darling, Sydney: Angus and Robertson 1996. This volume was written by Burrows and based on research undertaken by her father Alan Barton.


10 John Hawley, letter to the editor, Sydney Morning Herald, 20 Feb. 1939.
11 James Gordon (who published under the name ‘Jim Grahame’) wrote three versions of his account of his time with Lawson: the first, which remains in manuscript (see below), is quoted in part in Colin Roderick, Henry Lawson: A Life (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1991); the second, ‘Henry Lawson on the track’, was published in the Bulletin (19 Feb. 1925); and the third (and longest) was included in John Le Gay Brereton & Bertha Lawson, Henry Lawson by His Mates (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1931). Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from the manuscript version, Cyril Goode Papers, PA 271/Box 7, State Library Victoria.
13 In his first reminiscence, Gordon wrote that they worked at Fort Bourke station before going to Toorale, but later referred only to Toorale, which seems more likely.
23 Lawson to Edward Garnett, 29 Jan. 1902, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

Bowden: James Miller Marshall

This article has materially benefited from the detailed comments of an anonymous reader.

1 Norman Lindsay (first letter), to Keith Bowden, undated, early 1961.
2 Norman Lindsay, Age of Consent, London: Werner Laurie, 1938.
3 Australian Art Sales Digest (www.aasd.com.au, accessed online 5 Sep. 2016) lists 30 auction records for Marshall covering 27 separate paintings. Of these, five, or possibly, six are records for paintings executed while Marshall was in Australia.
6 His many books include a biography of George Bass (1952), The Western Port Settlement and its Leading Personalities (1970) and Goldrash Doctors at Ballarat (1977).
10 Gibeling, ‘Peter Paul Marshall’.
11 See the portrait photograph and various essays in Christopher Newall, et al., Pre-Raphaelites: Beauty and Rebellion, Liverpool University Press, 2016. See also Pat Starkey (ed.), Riches into Art: Liverpool Collectors


17 This is inferred from the phrase ‘arrived recently’ in Anon, ‘Mr. J.M. Marshall and his pictures’ (Table Talk, 24 Jun. 1892, p. 6) and the painting The Buckingham, which was done at sea and dated 1892 (listed in Australian Art Sales Digest). Other sources, such as Clifford-Smith, J. Miller Marshall’, and McCulloch’s Encyclopaedia of Australian Art (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006, p. 66), incorrectly suggest that Marshall arrived in Australia c. 1885–90. Several of the 1891-dated paintings listed in the Australian Art Sales Digest have English subjects, which indicates that Marshall could not have been in Australia during that earlier period.


21 Clifford-Smith (J. Miller Marshall) gives Marshall’s first name as ‘John’ and most of the paintings listed in Australian Art Sales Digest are under the name ‘John’.

22 Lionel Lindsay to Keith Bowden, 25 Feb. 1961.


25 Daryl Lindsay, The Leafy Tree, p. 63; Clifford-Smith, Percy Lindsay, p. 16.

26 Daryl Lindsay, The Leafy Tree, p. 63.

27 Clifford-Smith, Percy Lindsay, p. 10.

28 Lindsay (first letter), to Bowden; Lindsay, My Mask, p. 29.

29 Lindsay, Comedy of Life, pp. 16–17.

30 Lindsay, to Bowden, 1961.

31 See also Lionel Lindsay, Comedy of Life, pp. 16–17.

32 Lindsay (second letter), to Bowden, early 1961.

33 Lindsay (third letter), to Bowden, early 1961.

34 Measuring 54 x 39 cm and titled Fossicking for gold, the work is signed in the lower left but apparently not dated clearly; the National Gallery of Australia has assigned it to 1893. See Miriam Kelly, ‘J Miller Marshall: fossicking for gold’, artonview, Summer, 2009–10, pp. 32–33.


41 National Gallery of Victoria accession number 1369-5.

42 Quoted in Smith, ‘Lindsay, Norman Alfred (1879–1969)’.

43 Lindsay (third letter), to Bowden.
Pullman: The role of Ina Higgins

I would like to thank John Arnold; David Jones; Don Garden; Josh Zeunert; Jan Dyer, PLC Melbourne Archivist; and Janet Davies, PLC Melbourne Heritage Centre Manager, for their help and guidance in preparing this article.

2 'Pomona' (Katharine Susannah Prichard), 'Miss Ina Higgins: a woman gardener, gardens and gardening', *Herald* (Melbourne), 2 Aug. 1910.
6 Nettie and Vince Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/17/293, National Library of Australia.
12 Rickard, *HB Higgins*, p. 49.
13 Rickard, *HB Higgins*.
17 Choat, 'Higgins, Frances Georgina (Ina) (1860–1948)'.
18 Choat, 'Higgins, Frances Georgina (Ina) (1860–1948)'.
19 The exhibition was held in Melbourne’s Royal Exhibition Building and Queen Alexandra was patroness. It was a mixture of local and overseas women’s exhibits, ranging from photography, literary competitions, to bookbinding, woodcarving and painting. It was open to professionals and amateurs but did not include exhibits by Indigenous Australian women. There were, however, international exhibits by indigenous women, including work by Maori of Aotearoa New Zealand.
23 *West Australian*, 8 Sep. 1914, p. 9.
24 CB Luffman, *Report by the Principal of The School of Horticulture for the Year Ending 31st December, 1900*, Melbourne: Department of Agriculture, 1900, p. 6.
25 Diary, undated, Palmer Papers.
26 Diary, undated, Palmer Papers.
27 See the following Melbourne newspaper reports: 'The Burnley gardens, the Advisory Board and the Curator', *Age*, 21 Mar. 1900, p. 5; 'Burnley Horticultural Gardens', *Advocate* (Melbourne), 17 Mar. 1900, p. 5; and 'Women students at Burnley', *Argus*, 26 Jul. 1899, p. 4.
28 A total of '100 students' is referred to in

29 ‘Burnley Horticultural Gardens’, Table Talk, 20 Dec. 1900, p. 5.


31 ‘Pomona’, Miss Ina Higgins.

32 ‘Pomona’, Miss Ina Higgins.

33 ‘Pomona’, Miss Ina Higgins.

34 ‘Pomona’, Miss Ina Higgins.


39 Nettie Palmer to unknown correspondent, c. 1908–10, Palmer Papers.

40 Diary, Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/1/153.

41 Diary, Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/1/154.

42 Esmonde Higgins to Nettie Palmer, 18 Jul. 1910, Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/1/318.

43 Clive & Penny Blazey of Heronswood, Dromana, Victoria.


46 Steele, A Road to Rehabilitation, p. 7.


54 CBogue Luffmann, ‘Report by the Principal of the School of Horticulture for 31 Dec. 1900’, Vic: Department of Agriculture, p. 6. No mention is made of the total numbers of women compared to male students, but Luffmann records that no distinction was made between the sexes. Twelve women and one male passed with distinction and, of 21 students passing first class, 19 were women.

55 Mrs Margaret Tuckett, keen gardener and author of A Year in My Garden (Melbourne: Melville and Mullen, 1905), which is the story of her garden in Murrumbeena. It is not known if she was a Burnley student.

56 ‘Women gardeners: Lady Stanley’, Australasian Leader, 6 Nov. 1920, p. 10.


59 ‘Women gardeners: Lady Stanley’.

64 G. Whitehead, Historian, Kingston City Council, to the author, 2015.
65 ‘Women for women flower farm scheme likely to prosper’, *Table Talk*, 8 Apr. 1915, p. 34.
66 ‘Victorian Women’s Rural Industries’.
67 ‘Women for women flower farm scheme likely to prosper’.
68 ‘Woman’s farm’, *Broadford Courier and Reedy Creek Times*, 4 Jun. 1915, p. 4.
69 Heywood, ‘Cecilia Annie John’.
71 Whitehead, to the author.
74 Jordan, ‘Women’s time’, p. 305.
76 Jordan, ‘Women’s time’, p. 298.

Bryans: Thomas Allan McKay

1 Melbourne’s artistic and literary community was tightly knit. As HH Champion reported in the *Book Lover* in September 1917, amongst the guests at a dinner in honour of Sydney de Loghe, author of *The Straits Imprisonable*, were Edward Dyson, T. Allan McKay, PV Morris, Charles Nuttall, WT Pyke, and Frank Tate (vol. 20, no. 221, p. 136).
2 The Specialty Press was founded as an offshoot of the Echo Publishing Co when the latter relocated to Warburton in 1906 and was renamed the Signs Publishing Company. Henry William Pallent (ex Echo) and Samuel Towers Linklater, the first owners of the Specialty Press, were replaced in 1907 by Albert Maucum and Charles Russell who continued until 1909 when a new board of directors took over the ailing firm, recapitalised it and registered it as the Specialty Press Pty Ltd.
3 McKay’s biographical entry in *Who’s Who in Australia* (1950), with variations in earlier editions.
4 William Thomas Pyke (1859–1933), eldest son of John and Martha Jane Matterface Pyke, was born at Richmond. At 14 years of age he became Cole’s first employee. James George Pyke, sixth and second-youngest brother of WT Pyke, was born at Collingwood in 1875.
5 Henry Williams, notebook, p. 11. This notebook, currently on loan to the author, is privately owned.
6 McKay considered that the most important books he published were *Inter-Empire Trade* for the 1932 Ottawa Economic Conference and the *National Handbook of Australian Industries* (1934), both of which are cited in his biographical note in *Who’s Who* (1935–55).
7 Whitcombe & Tombs, in their 1902 *Melbourne Articles of Association*, record Symons as public officer. In all probability, he was also working with George Robertson and Co at this time where, with his brother James B Symons, he was employed until September 1918.
8 The *Sands & McDougall* *Melbourne Directory* lists T. McKay as proprietor of the Le Francése Company in 1913 and as the proprietor of The Melbourne Publishing Company in 1914. It is likely that Williams referred to this as evidence of McKay being the proprietor, but which Symons denied.
9 Williams’s notebook contains an accusatory record of McKay’s, Symons’ (frequently and inaccurately referred to as Symonds) and WT Pyke’s business dealings. By itself, Williams’s notebook is insufficient to regard as entirely reliable, however, McKay’s personal notebooks confirm many points attested to by Williams and, together, they fill gaps that would otherwise remain a mystery in the absence of the relevant account books (notably Folio 363), which have long since disappeared.
11 Williams’s notebook (p. 14), records Symons as saying ‘that he did not see that because Mr. McKay invested in the production to the extent of ¼ that he was not entitled to so act as any ordinary Citizen he had the same interest at Mr. Pyke ¼ ... & Mr. Symons a half ...’.
12 References extracted from privately owned notebooks belonging to T. Allan McKay.
13 McKay called on George Campbell and Thomas and James Symons twice weekly and consulted with the window-dressers at George Robertson and Co. Twice weekly he saw Peter Hockley at Whitcombe & Tombs; WT Pyke and others at Cole’s Book Arcade were third on his list. Lothian, Alexander
McCubbin, Standard Publishing Company and Melville and Mullen were visited weekly and Macmillan’s Melbourne office was visited once a month.

14 Williams, notebook, 9 Jul. 1917, p. 1.


16 Williams, notebook, pp. 48–58. This entry is a transcription from the minutes of the Specialty Press.

17 Williams, notebook, pp. 48–58. Curiously, in November 1914, FC Schultz was Harry H Davey’s company secretary for the monthly Fruit World of Australasia, then being printed by the Specialty Press. Why Schultz consented to stand in place of WL Davey at a meeting not in either of the Davey’s interests as directors and shareholders of the Specialty Press is puzzling, but the consequences for Schultz were swift. In April 1915, The Fruit World’s manager, RE Boardman, took over Schultz’s position as secretary.

18 McKay recorded the shares in Love Letters of a Priest as: Taylor, a half share and Pyke and McKay one quarter each.

19 McKay’s records say that Sands O’ the Desert was three quarters owned by Pyke and McKay with one quarter belonging to Taylor. Gladys Taylor, a prize-winning essayist at university, was the fourth woman to gain a law degree from Melbourne University (1912) and the first to practice law in Victoria. She married fellow student and barrister at law RE Hain. An active supporter of the war, she wrote The Coo-ee Contingent (1917) based on the war experiences of her husband (23rd battalion) and his mates. See ‘Hain, Gladys Adeline (1887–1962), Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hain-gladys-adeline-6626/text11193, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 20 Oct. 2016.

20 McKay’s notes itemise linotyping, 65,000 ens charged at 9½d per 1000, cover design four guineas, three colour blocks £5, plus £10 for advertising. The balance was for makeup, three-colour wrapper and frontispiece = £104 16s 1d.


22 The Specialty Press cheque issued to Pyke for £9 10s, recorded by Williams, matches the amount noted by McKay as ‘paying Gladys Taylor out’. This may mean that Pyke was being reimbursed for having made the final payment to Taylor.

23 Published by EW Cole, there were 30,000 copies printed in 1915.

24 Love Letters of a Priest and Sands O’ the Desert.

25 Parnell and Kitty O’Shea, Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1914. Other postcard quantities printed for EW Cole by the Specialty Press mentioned in Williams’ notebook were 20,000 ‘Hock Der Kaiser’ postcards and 10,000 ‘Entente Cordiale’ postcards.

26 The Kookaburra postcards illustrated Melbourne landmarks and each card carried on the back a drawing of a kookaburra with a speech balloon reading ‘Life is a camera, look pleasant please’ and a homely motto, such as ‘The cheerful loser is a winner’, ‘Life is too short to spend chewing the fat’ and ‘I am wealthy in my friends’.


28 The Specialty Press printed five of Robert Blatchford’s books in 1914. These were My Life in the Army, Cook’s War and Germany versus Democracy (all published by EW Cole), Germany and England and The Prussian Kaiser and His Junker Jehovah: Illustrated with Numerous Cartoons from Foreign Magazines carry the Specialty Press imprint.

29 It is not clear which of Blatchford’s books with Germany in its title Williams was referring to. A curious entry in McKay’s notebook refers to 45,000 copies of Peter Pan printed for the London-based Educational Supply Association, managed by Charles Von Bibra, at 227 Little Collins St. This may be for printed items other than books. The expense of ordering blocks and paying the artist Percy Leason for illustrating the planned Alice in Wonderland totalling £31 8s demonstrates, however, the intention to publish and these plates were later used to print Cole’s Happy Time Picture and Nursery Book No. 2, written by Lillian Pyke in 1921.


31 For instance, Lothian wrote to the Reverend John Enright in November 1918 saying that he was sorry ‘that arrangements for publishing Let there be Light cannot be arranged’. Advising that he was ‘handing the manuscript over to the Specialty Press … trust[ing] that … by some means or other you will see your way clear to get this book published’ (Lothian Papers, MS 6626, Box XII, Folder 4 A, State Library of Victoria).

32 Correspondence between Hilda Freeman and Thomas Lothian, 29 Sep. – 11 Oct. 1916,
as distinguished from the New South Wales Reports of Business Firms Compiled for Victorian Railways tenders, Minutes of Melville and Mullen’s meetings, The address of 189–191 Little Collins St The US patent for the two-revolution Miehle press was issued on 2 September 1884 and filed on 4 May 1883. In England, the two-revolution Miehle press was manufactured at Broadneath by the Linotype and Machine Company. McKay ordered his press with a 1–6 BHP Edwardian Newton Zone Motor of British manufacture complete with pulley & slides from Sydney Cooke & Co, Melbourne. The press was reliable with a normal running speed of 1200 RPM and was ideal for printing journals and books.

The address of 189–191 Little Collins St appears on Capel Boake’s novel Painted Clay (Melbourne: Australian Authors’ Agency, 1917) with the colophon stating the book was printed by the Specialty Press Pty Ltd, Printers and bookbinders, Caxton Buildings, 189–191 Little Collins St. The move to 174–176 Little Collins St was reported in the March 1920 issue of The Book Lover, and advertised in successive issues. Both addresses appear in books printed in 1919. Kenneth Henderson’s Khaki and Cassock, printed after May 1919, has the former address, and Jens Lyng’s Our New Possession, published in December 1919, carries the address of 174 Little Collins St. The new address was lodged with the registrar-general on 8 Dec. 1919.


See Dunn & Co’s report stating that they (James Pyke and Gillam) had recently secured ‘the contract for carrying on bookstalls for five years at the rate of £5295 per annum’, Reports of Business Firms Compiled for TC Lothian by RG Dunn & Co, Lothian Papers Ms 6026, 261/1.

By 1922, British book imports were returning to normal and local editions printed during the war did not sell as freely as before. The bookbinders’ strike of 1921 made life difficult for the likes of HH Champion, but the abridgement was slow to sell and was remaindered in paper covers. Under the ML Hutchinson imprint, McKay published Linda Burge’s Wild Poppies (1924) and Joseph Furphy’s (Tom Collins) Rigby’s Romance. Kate Baker, a staunch supporter of Furphy’s work, unsuccessfully submitted Rigby’s Romance in De Garis’s competition. The manuscript was reconstructed by Baker and typed up ‘by a girl-typist … in R.S. Ross’s office [at] The Socialist’ from instalments clipped from the pages of the Barrier Truth by Furphy’s niece, Amy, and pasted into an exercise book. Baker later recalled that the manuscript was published by De Garis in 1921 and edited by HH Champion and Peter Newmarch, but the abridgement was slow to sell and was remaindered in paper covers. Under the ML Hutchinson imprint, McKay published Linda Burge’s Wild Poppies (1924) and the Reverend Thomas Ruth’s Progress of Personality after Death (1919).
Boyd’s Retrospect and CWL Bryde’s From Chart House to Bark Hut. Successive failures of publishing houses at the time was well summarised when the Queen City Printers was bankrupted in February 1932 with a debt of more than £14,000. The cause was said to be ‘The fact that since 1923 the Publishing Business of the company had proved unprofitable’.

45 Art books with coloured plates printed by the Specialty Press include Colin Galahan (ed.), Max Meldrum, his Art and Views, Melbourne: Alexander McCubbin, p. 177. This illustrated edition of 150 copies reproduced paintings (including Corot’s The bent tree) and portraits, nine advertisements (reprints to 1920); The Life and Art of Walter Withers (1919); The Art & Life of George W. Lambert (1919?); The Art & Life of David Davies [1920], Frederick McCubbin: A consideration by Alexander Colquhoun (before 1920). All printed for Alexander McCubbin (Australian Art Books) Melbourne.

46 The size and number of editions published in Melbourne between 1906 and 1923 was greater than that published in the 1930s due to the Depression and during World War II. McKay, in giving evidence on 20 January 1936 before an inquiry into education department textbooks, specifically about a cost charged to Professor GS Browne and Mr AVG James for the publication of their Modern World Geography series, and responding to a question about the cost of printing school readers said that ‘His ... price for printing editions of 25,000 of each grade would be 7/–, which did not include any payments for royalties or for drawings, but did include the profit he would charge. His price for the set would be 6/9 for editions of 50,000 of each grade’. Elsewhere he is reported as saying he ‘had never reached an edition of 50,000 for a text-book. Editions of 10,000 were usual. These might take years to sell’ (Age, 16 Jan. 1936, p. 10).

47 For further reading on the importance of Melbourne as the administrative and financial capital of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia, see Judith Smart, A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War, La Trobe Journal, no. 96, Sep. 2015, pp. 28–58.

Wade: The Free Religious Fellowship


3 Consult the Australian Dictionary of Biography for further information about these prominent, early members of the Fellowship at: adb.anu.edu.au

4 H Winston Rhodes, Frederick Sinclaire: A Memoir, University of Canterbury Publications no. 33, Christchurch, 1984, p. 44.


7 Rhodes, Frederick Sinclaire, p. 52.

8 Rhodes, Frederick Sinclaire, p. 53.

9 Rhodes, Frederick Sinclaire, p. 53.


23 Sinclaire did not provide any specific dates.


25 Rhodes, Frederick Sinclaire, pp. 28–29.

26 Free Religious Fellowship, ‘Records and Clippings’.
31 Fellowship, vol. 4, no. 6, Jan 1918, p. 81.
33 ‘Labor and the war’, Age, 29 Jan. 1918, p. 4.
35 ‘In the public eye: notes about notables’, Labor Call, 8 Aug 1918, p. 5.
40 Rhodes, Frederick Sinclair, p. 53.
41 Rhodes, Frederick Sinclair, pp. 95–96.

Muhslen-Schulte: Vergangenheitsbewältigung – struggle to come to terms with the past

4 Gisela Kaplan, ‘From “enemy alien” to assisted immigrant: Australian public opinion of Germans and Germany in the Australian print media, 1945–1956’, in German–Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945, Manfred Jurgensen (ed.), Bern: Peter Lang, 1995, p. 89. Despite this, however, Klaus Neumann notes that most of the non-British immigrants in the first five post-war years were from Eastern and South-eastern Europe, rather than German nationals, and that most of these immigrants were classified as refugees was not because the Australian government had been guided by humanitarian considerations and wanted to alleviate the refugee problem in Central Europe. DPs [displaced persons] were cheaper than Germans because the IRO paid most of the costs associated with bringing them to Australia; moreover, so soon after the war the immigration of large numbers of Germans would have been politically impossible (Across the Seas: Australia’s Response to Refugees, Melbourne: Black Inc, 2015, p. 136).
5 Arthur Calwell, quoted in Neumann, Across the Seas, p. 90.
10 Geoffrey Cubitt, History and Memory, Manchester University Press, 2007, p. 95.
11 Major Peter Alexander Mehrtens (Retd), ‘Such is life’, ca. 2002, MS 13510, Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria.
19 Kaplan, ‘From “enemy alien” to assisted immigrant’, p. 89.
21 Table Talk, 23 Oct. 1930, pp. 44, 45, 46.
22 Emily Turner Graham, Never Forget That You are a German: Die Brucke, Deutschtrum.
and National Socialism in Interwar Australia, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011, p. 43.


Muhlen-Schulte, ’Biography’, p. 11.


Hilde Albrecht, oral history interviews by Roark Muhlen-Schulte, 1994, Tape 2A, #00:00:00# (author’s private collection).


Evans, The Third Reich in History and Memory, p. 128.

Muhlen-Schulte, ’Biography’.


Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 9 Sep. 1944.

Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 14 Sep. 1944.

Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 16 Oct. 1944.

Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 17 Sep. 1944.

Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 6 Nov. 1944.


Evans, The Third Reich in History and Memory, p. 124.

Albrecht, oral history interviews by Roark Muhlen-Schulte.

Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 15 Nov. 1944.

Muhlen-Schulte, to Muriel Muhlen-Schulte, 1 Dec. 1944.

Evans, The Third Reich in History and Memory, p. 129.

As Oliver Sacks described ’Frequently, our only truth is narrative truth, the stories we tell each other, and ourselves – the stories we continually recategorize and refine. Such subjectivity is built into the very nature of memory, and follows from its basis and mechanisms in the human brain’ (’Speak, memory’, New York Review of Books, vol. 60 no. 3, 21 Feb. 2013, www.nybooks.com/articles/2013/02/21/speak-memory/, accessed online 12 Mar. 2016).


Winter, ’Thinking about silence’, p. 5.

Clark: A note on ‘The naming of the Maroondah aqueduct’


Camperdown Chronicle, 17 Feb. 1891.

Argus, 18 Feb. 1891.

Argus, 18 Feb. 1891.

Argus, 29 Sep. 1883.

Argus, 29 Sep. 1883.

Clark, ’James Dawson’s intervention in the naming of the Maroondah aqueduct’.

Contributors

John Barnes is a former editor of the La Trobe Journal. He also edited The Penguin Henry Lawson: Short Stories, which has been in print since 1986. His biography of Charles Joseph La Trobe will be published in 2017 by Halstead Press in association with State Library Victoria.

Ross Bowden is a cultural anthropologist and former senior lecturer at La Trobe University in Melbourne. His primary research interests are cross-cultural art and aesthetics. He is the author of three books on New Guinea art and languages.

Dennis Bryans’ doctoral thesis was on the connection between lithography and photography. He has been interested in Melbourne's Specialty Press since he first interviewed proprietors and employees of the firm in 1998, and has assembled an extensive collection of books and journals printed by the firm in order to map its progress.

Shane Carmody is Senior Development Manager at the University of Melbourne having been previous Director of Collections and Access at State Library Victoria. He leads the ‘Great Libraries of England’ tour for Australians Studying Abroad. He was a long-term friend and colleague of the late Colin Holden.

Ian D Clark is Professor of Tourism in the Business Faculty at Federation University, Ballarat. He has a Doctorate in Aboriginal historical geography and his areas of research interest include Victorian Aboriginal history, Indigenous tourism, the history of tourism, and Victorian toponyms.

Sandra McComb has been head of both Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press in Australia. She is currently a visiting fellow at the Australian National University, and an independent writer and researcher. Her doctoral thesis was a biographical study of the late 19th-century collectors and creators of art and objects who formed a platform for art and anthropology in this country. Her current interests lie in Indigenous and colonial history, and the legacies of World War II in Australia.

Barry McGowan is a Canberra-based heritage consultant and historian. He has written extensively on the history and archaeology of Australian mining communities, and on the Chinese diaspora in Australia, and is currently researching the history of French-Australian relationships in the South Pacific in the late 1800s.

Minna Muhlen-Schulte was the 2014 Berry Family Fellow at State Library Victoria. She has a Masters in Public History from Monash University and has worked on a range of history and arts projects for community organisations and local and state governments.

Sandra Pullman graduated with a BASC (Hons Hort) from Burnley Campus, University of Melbourne. She is currently completing a Master of Architecture research thesis at Deakin University on Ina Higgins. She is a member of the National Trust of Australia and Friends of La Trobe’s Cottage, where she is the Volunteer Garden Manager.

Chris Wade has a BA (Hons) in history. He is a librarian and has worked in a range of roles at State Library Victoria for 14 years, and is currently an advisor in the human resources department.