

Endnotes

Desperately Seeking Samuel: a diary lost and found

- 1 Karen Kissane, 'Diary captures pivotal moment in Australian history', *Age*, 2 September 2006.
- 2 Clare Wright, 'Placing the answer before the question betrays a closed mind', *Age*, 13 September 2006
- 3 <http://www2.slv.vic.gov.au/collections/treasures/lazarus1.html>.
- 4 Clare Wright, "An Indelible Stain": gifts of the Samuel Lazarus diary', *History Australia*, vol. 6, no. 45, p. 5.
- 5 The State Library of Victoria's digital resource has mistakenly transcribed the name as *Rayes*. The original clearly says Hayes.
- 6 In the UK Census of 1851, Joshua is listed as Joseph George.
- 7 David Assaf, *Untold Tales of the Hasidim: crisis and discontent in the history of Hasidism*, Dartmouth: University Press of New England, 2011. For detail of the 'mass baptism', interview with Elizabeth Robertson, 21 March 2012. Elizabeth told me that researcher Tim Gatehouse found evidence of the baptism in Liverpool archives. Joshua Lazarus describes the public confession and baptism in his autobiography, Ebenezer, (see following note), p. 269.
- 8 The full title of the book is *Ebenezer or Hitherto Hath the Lord Helped Us 1 Sam. Vii 12: a narrative of the Lord's dealings with one of his ancient people, while leading him forth from the darkness of rabbinical Judaism into the light and blessings of Christianity*, London: J. Nisbet, 1841. The State Library of Victoria acquired the only copy of Ebenezer held in Australian libraries in September 2012.
- 9 M. Butler, *History of Bulla*, Bulla, [Bulla, Vic.: The Author, 1966], p. 10.
- 10 I. W. Symonds, *Bulla Bulla*, Melbourne: Spectrum, 1985, p. 170. According to an article in the *Sunbury News* on the half-centenary of the school, the first classes were held in the top floor of Tulip Wright's Bridge Inn. See *Sunbury News*, 26 March 1904, p. 4.
- 11 Butler, *History of Bulla Bulla*, p. 10.
- 12 The Peerage Online: <http://thepeerage.com/p36387.htm> [accessed 26 April 2012] Person page: 36387.
- 13 Frances gave her age as 25 on the passenger list in 1852 and 28 at her marriage six years later. Victorian Marriage Certificate 4133.
- 14 Symonds, *Bulla Bulla*, p. 171. See also 'Tullamarine Reunion', *Advocate*, 5 April 1935, p. 3; "Historical Records of the Sunbury Region' in *Sunbury News*, 1 October 1910, p. 2.
- 15 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 October 1870.
- 16 *Sunbury News*, 26 March 1904. Mrs Harris died in 1870, leaving behind six children. Victoria BDM 4733.
- 17 *Argus*, 15 May 1871; *Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser*, 18 May 1871.
- 18 Christie's Catalogue, Melbourne, 26 March 1996, p. 35.
- 19 Hatherleigh is a small market town in West Devon. The connection to either the Lazarus or Cassidy families is unclear.
- 20 Frances died at 'Hatherlie' on 9 May 1927. Elizabeth died at 'Hatherlie' on 21 August 1947. Murial Lazarus married George Perrott on 10 July 1915. George Perrott became a renowned bookplate artist. Murial Perrott died in Nambour, Queensland in 1969.
- 21 Tim Gatehouse, unpublished talk for Fitzroy Historical Society, 2010. Copy held in Robertson Family archives.
- 22 *Argus*, 19 September 1923.
- 23 *Argus*, 11 October 1924.
- 24 *Pigot and Co's National Commercial Directory for 1828-9, comprising a directory . . . of the merchants, bankers, professional gentlemen . . . in the counties of Cheshire, Cumberland . . .*, London: James Picot and Co., p. 675.
- 25 UK Census 1841: Jane Evans, 45, milliner, and John Evans, 10, Church Street, Wellington.
- 26 <http://www.wellington-shropshire.gov.uk/our-parish/history-of-wellington> [accessed 25 April 2012].

- 27 Humffray is referred to as 'Humphrey' in the diary. George Morgan, J. B. Humffray and his brother Frederick Humffray arrived on the *Star of the East* in September 1853.
- 28 See for example Bob O'Brien, *Massacre at Eureka: the untold story*, Kew, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1992, p. 46.
- 29 Clare Wright, "'New Brooms They Say Sweep Clean": women's political activism on the Ballarat Goldfields 1854', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3, 2008, pp. 312-316.
- 30 Dorothy Wickham, *A Shot in the Dark: a pre-Eureka incident being the petition for the compensation case of Benden S. Hassell*, Ballarat, Vic.: Ballarat Heritage Services, 1998, p. 22.
- 31 *Ballarat Leader*, 7 July 1855.
- 32 *Huxtable's Commercial Directory of Ballarat*, Ballarat: Huxtable and Co, 1857.
- 33 *Geelong, Ballarat and Creswick Creek Commercial Directory*, Geelong: Heath and Cordell, 1856, p. 76.
- 34 *Ballarat Star*, 2 October 1856.
- 35 William Dixon Denovan is listed on the Public Record Office's online passenger list for the Mobile as 'William Denman'.
- 36 For references to Evans Brothers in Lydiard Street see *Ballarat Star*, 9 December 1859; for notice of the Main Road sale see *Ballarat Star*, 20 January 1860.
- 37 George Basnett Evans provided sureties for two local newspaper registrations while resident at Wood's Point. In one (1865) he is listed as a storekeeper, in the other (1866) he is listed as a stationer. See Thomas A. Darragh, *Printer and Newspaper Registrations in Victoria, 1838-1924*, Wellington, NZ: Elibank Press, 1997, p. 98 (54.02 and 54.05).
- 38 *Ballarat Star*, 18 February 1861.
- 39 *Ballarat Star*, 28 October 1863.
- 40 Wallace Kirsop, 'Life Before and After Bookselling: the curious career of Benjamin Suggitt Nayler', *La Trobe Journal*, no 78, Spring 2006, pp. 11-37.
- 41 The business of Arnall and Jackson has continued on the Collins Street site 'to the present day', *Ibid*. However, it moved to Brunswick around the time of the publication of Wallace Kirsop's article.
- 42 George Evans' death certificate incorrectly records his age at death as 50.
- 43 Christie's catalogue, Melbourne, Australia, 26 March 1996, p. 33.
- 44 Herbert Samuel Lazarus, son of Julius Samuel Lazarus, changed his name to Hugh Frankland. Frankland was close friends with Charles and Barbara Blackman, whom he photographed. See items 103 and 104 in Christie's sale catalogue. <http://www.joseflebovicgallery.com/catalogue/archive/cat-122-2006/pages/pg08.html> [accessed 27 April 2012]; hotmail.com. interview with Elizabeth Robertson, 21 March 2012.

George Hyde Pownall: painter of cityscapes

- 1 Although it appears that Pownall arrived in Sydney in 1911 (see note 18 below), it is not know what he did there or even how long he stayed before moving down to Melbourne.
- 2 *English Census*, 1871.
- 3 *Index to Births, Deaths and Marriages for England & Wales, 1837-2009* (hereafter *Index to BDMs*).
- 4 *English Census*, 1871.
- 5 *Index to BDMs*.
- 6 *English Census*, 1881.
- 7 *English Census*, 1891.
- 8 *Index to BDMs*.
- 9 She was possibly younger than twenty when she married George Pownall. She lived to the ripe age old age of 87, dying in 1964 and her birth date is given as 'about 1877' in the official record of her death (Australian Death Index, 1787-1985, Ancestry.com.au).
- 10 *Index to BDMs*.
- 11 'Roll of Honour', Australian War Memorial, Canberra, panel 60.
- 12 *English Census*, 1901.
- 13 *Ibid*.
- 14 *The Star* (formerly *The Footlight Star*, St Kilda, Victoria), no. 9, Jan-Feb 1920, p. 11.

- 15 J. Johnson and A. Greutzner, *The Dictionary of British Artists, 1880-1940 . . .*, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1976, p. 409.
- 16 *The Star*.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Possibly on the 'Malwa' which arrived in Sydney from London on 29 December 1911 'carrying a Mr Pownall in the second saloon'. Shipping records, Sydney, New South Wales State Archives Office.
- 19 His son's entry in the 'AIF Project' (<http://www.aif.adfa.edu.au:8080/showPerson?pid=244905>) says he arrived in Australia at the age of 16 and that he was 18 when he enlisted on 14 June 1915 and that his next of kin was his mother, Mrs B Pownall of 27 Glendon Rd, Double Bay, Sydney, New South Wales. A 'Mrs Pownall and two Miss Pownalls' are listed in the NSW Shipping Records as arriving in Sydney on the 'Coomba' in March 1916.
- 20 Death certificate of George Hyde Pownall, 1939.
- 21 Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1936.
- 22 *The Star*.
- 23 *Sands & McDougall Directory for Victoria*, Melbourne: Sands and McDougall, 1920.
- 24 Electoral rolls, 1903-1936.
- 25 National Archives of Australia, Item 3500877, series number A1336.
- 26 *Australian Antique Collector*, no. 6, Jan-June, 1969, p. 42.
- 27 *The Star*.
- 28 Death certificate of George Hyde Pownall, 1939.
- 29 The painting, housed in the National Gallery of Victoria, is now known as 'Misty Morning'.
- 30 Leonard Joel, *Art Auction Catalogue*, Melbourne, 28 August 1970.
- 31 Two are reproduced here, others, including several mentioned in this article, can be viewed via Google searching under 'Images of George Hyde Pownall'.
- 32 The play with its name in lights on the Haymarket Theatre is 'All That Matters', which opened in February 1911 and was reviewed in the *Times* on 9 February 1911.
- 33 R. J. W. Hammond, ed., *London*, London: Ward Lock, 1967, p. 23.
- 34 Alexander Robertson, *Atkinson Grimshaw*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1988, p. 82.
- 35 According to his entry on the 'AIF Project, Pownall's son 'sang at coronation of King George V in Westminster Abbey, for which he holds the Household Medal (details from father)'.
- 36 Kenneth Rose, *King George V*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983, p. 103.
- 37 Details from Hammond, *London*, p. 116.
- 38 See Georgina Whitehead, *Civilising the City: a history of Melbourne's Public Gardens*, Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, 1977, p. 152.
- 39 Victorian Government Tourist Bureau, *Trips Round Melbourne: a guide for the visitor . . .*, Melbourne: Government Tourist Bureau, [1912], p. 10.
- 40 Michael D. Galimany, *The Cowen Gallery Catalogue*, Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, 2006.
- 41 State Library of Victoria, *The Art of the Collection*, Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press/State Library of Victoria, 2007, p. 104.
- 42 Jane Clark and Bridget Whitelaw, *Golden Summers: Heidelberg & beyond*, [Sydney]: International Cultural Corporation of Australian for the National Gallery of Victoria, 1985, p. 82.
- 43 State Library of Victoria, *The Art of the Collection*.
- 44 Peter McIntosh, *The Streets of Melbourne: from early photographs*, Melbourne: Wilkinson Books, 1982, np.
- 45 Ibid, np.
- 46 *A Treasury of Australian Art: from the David Levine Collection*, Adelaide: Rigby, 1981, p. 114.
- 47 Ursula Hoff, *Masterpieces of the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne: Cheshire, 1949, pp. 168-9.
- 48 A. Bertram & A. Trumble, *Edwardian Melbourne in Picture Postcards*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995, p. 88.
- 49 A. Brown-May, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Melbourne*, South Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 7, 64.
- 50 Bertram & Trumble, p. 7.
- 51 Ibid, p. 11.
- 52 Ibid.

- 53 Philip Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, Sydney: Watermark Press, 1999, p. 88.
- 54 John Slater, *Through Artists' Eyes: Australian suburbs and their cities, 1919-1945*, Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah, 2004, p. 23.
- 55 Australian Electoral Rolls.
- 56 Private Collection.
- 57 Private Collection.
- 58 *A Treasury of Australian Art*, p. 146.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Philip W Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia . . . from 1867 to 1986*, Adelaide: Royalty Publishing, 1986, p. 31.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 J. B. Cooper, *The History of St Kilda . . .*, Melbourne: Printers Pty Ltd, 1931, vol. II, pp. 301-2.
- 63 Private Collection.
- 64 Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, p. 51.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 David Saunders, ed., *Historic Buildings of Victoria*, Melbourne: Jacaranda Press, 1966, p. 99.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Dora Wilson (1883-1946). See Jacky Abbot, 'Introduction' to Companion Pieces: Pegg Clarke [and] Dora Wilson . . ., Melbourne: Lyceum Club, 2012.
- 69 Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, p. 113.
- 70 Ibid, p. 118.
- 71 See Rosalind Hollinrake, *Clarice Beckett: the artist and her circle*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1979.

A Goat and a McCubbin in the State Library: Frederick McCubbin's Melbourne Gaol in sunlight from the Public Library grounds

- 1 Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 121.0cm, 1884. La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria (transferred from the National Gallery of Victoria, 1967). The painting has also been referred to as *The Old Melbourne Gaol from the Public Library Grounds and Old Melbourne Gaol*.
- 2 Ann Galbally, 'Mythmaking in Australian Art', *La Trobe Library Journal*, vol. 6, no. 24, 1979, pp. 65-68.
- 3 For an assessment of Thomas Clark as both an artist and a teacher, see Peter Dowling, 'Wannon Falls and Beyond', (exhibition catalogue), Hamilton Art Gallery, (forthcoming, 2013).
- 4 Born in Ireland in 1828, Folingsby arrived in Australia in 1879 and remained Master of the Art School at the National Gallery of Victoria until his death in 1891. See his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/folingsby-george-frederick-3545>.
- 5 *Age*, 22 December 1884, p. 6.
- 6 Alexander Colquhoun, 'Old Gallery Days – a Memory', *The Victorian Artists' Society*, no. 5, 1 August 1908, p. 6.
- 7 See Ann Galbally, *Frederick McCubbin*, Melbourne: Hutchinson Group, 1981, p. 59; Christine Downer, and Jennifer Phipps, *Victorian Vision: 1834 onwards*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1985, p. 49.
- 8 Leigh Astbury, 'Certainty and Ambivalence in the Art of Frederick McCubbin', in Bridget Whitelaw, ed., *The Art of Frederick McCubbin*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1991, p. 11.
- 9 Helen Brack, 'McCubbin's Different Dimensions', in Anne Gray, ed., *McCubbin: last impressions 1907-17*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2009, p. 60.
- 10 The painting has only been included in three exhibitions: *Exhibition of Works by the Students of the National Gallery School*, National Gallery of Victoria, 19 December 1884; *Victorian Vision*, National Gallery of Victoria, 13 March – 5 May 1985, cat. no. 146; *Australian Impressionism*, National Gallery of Victoria, 31 March – 8 July 2007, cat. no. 2.3.
- 11 James MacDonald, *The Art of Frederick McCubbin*, Melbourne: Lothian, 1916, p. 57.
- 12 Ron Radford, 'Introduction: Frederick McCubbin 1855-1917', in Gray, ed., *McCubbin*, p. 14.
- 13 Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, *A Report of Proceedings of the Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, Issued for circulation at the Inter-Colonial Exhibition, held in Melbourne, October 1866*, Melbourne:

- Fergusson and Moore, Printers, 1866.
- 14 Samuel Wilson, *The Angora Goat: with an account of its introduction into Victoria, and a report on the flock belonging to the Zoological and Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, now running at Longerenong, in the Wimmera district*, Melbourne: The Zoological & Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, 1873.
NB: The Acclimatisation Society of Victoria appears to have changed its name to Zoological and Acclimatisation Society of Victoria in 1872.
 - 15 'Domestic Intelligence', *Argus*, 6 February 1849, p. 4.
 - 16 *Williamstown Chronicle*, 7 July 1877, p. 3.
 - 17 See for example: *Argus*, 24 August 1870, p. 4 and 10 June 1882, p. 11; *Coburg Leader*, 25 March 1899, p. 4.
 - 18 The photograph of this image is located in: Ursula Hoff, Papers regarding Charles Conder [no later than 1977] (manuscript), accession no. MS 9678, State Library of Victoria.

Louise Hanson-Dyer's Melbourne Centenary Music Book: an Australian celebration

- 1 Jim Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of Oiseau-Lyre, 1884–1962*, Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, 1994, pp. xxx and Carol Williams, "'To the Children of Australia—Let Your Song be Delicate": a Pandean pipe dream', *Aflame with Music: 100 Years of Music at the University of Melbourne*, ed. Brenton Broadstock et al, Parkville, Vic.: Centre for Studies in Australian Music, University of Melbourne, 1996, pp. 297–303.
- 2 Georgina Binns, 'Music Publishing and Book Selling in Australia: selections from the Monash University Library collection', 2000, <http://www.lib.monash.edu.au/exhibitions/music/xmusiccat.html> (accessed 6 September 2012).
- 3 Maryanne McCubbin, 'Centenary' in *The Encyclopaedia of Melbourne*, ed. Andrew Brown-May and Shurlee Swain, South Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 120–121. See also *1934: a year in the life of Victoria . . .*, Melbourne: Library Council of Victoria, 1984.
- 4 Brian Carroll, *Melbourne: an illustrated history*, Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1972, pp. 106–108.
- 5 McCubbin, 'Centenary', pp. 120–121.
- 6 Louise Hanson-Dyer's name carries the surnames of her two husbands: James Dyer whom she married in 1911 and Joseph Birch Hanson whom she married in 1939. Both husbands were instrumental in Louise Dyer's work as a publisher and patron of the arts. See Jim Davidson, 'Dyer, Louise Berta Mosson Hanson (1884–1962)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Canberra: Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dyer-louise-bertha-mosson-hanson-6070/text10391>.
- 7 *Argus*, 27 Aug. 1934, p. 4.
- 8 *Argus*, 11 Aug. 1934, p. 20.
- 9 *The Melbourne Centenary Music Book of Piper's Music by Australian Composers*, Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1934.
- 10 Daniela Kaleva, 'Treasured Ephemera: chronicles of the early history of professional chamber music in Melbourne', *La Trobe Journal*, vol. 86, December 2009, pp. 92–103, <http://nishi.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-84/t1-g-t9.html> (accessed 12 June 2012).
- 11 Davidson, 'Dyer, Louise Berta Mosson Hanson (1884–1962)'.
- 12 *Melbourne Centenary Music Book*, Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1934.
- 13 *Argus*, 27 Aug. 1934, p. 4.
- 14 Davidson, 'Dyer, Louise Berta Mosson Hanson (1884–1962)'.
- 15 Davidson, 'Dyer, Louise Berta Mosson Hanson (1884–1962)', Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising*, pp. 43–142, 178, and Kaleva, 'Treasured Ephemera'.
- 16 *Argus*, 27 Aug. 1934, p. 4.
- 17 *Argus*, 12 July 1934, p. 10.
- 18 They are kept in the Louise Hanson-Dyer Music Library Rare Collections, University of Melbourne.
- 19 *Catalogue of the James Dyer Art Collection: to be auctioned at the New Gallery at 12 o'clock noon, on 2nd March*, Melbourne: C. McClelland, Pty. Ltd/D. W. Paterson Co., 1927.
- 20 See Kaleva, 'Treasured Ephemera'.

- 21 Orhan Memed and Maureen Fortey, 'Oiseau-Lyre, L', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16890> (accessed 1 September 2012).
- 22 *Argus*, 1 Jan. 1938, p. 6.
- 23 These included also J. Haydn's birth bicentenary at the Melbourne Town Hall on 1 April, 1932 and a soirée in honour of the 300th anniversary of the birth of J. -B. P. Molière on 12 July, 1922 at the Masonic Hall in association with Alliance Française. See concert programs held at the Louise Hanson-Dyer Music Library Rare Collections, University of Melbourne.
- 24 Williams, "To the Children of Australia", p. 297.
- 25 Margaret James, *The Piper's Guild Handbook*, London: J. B. Cramer & Co., 1932, p. 3.
- 26 For more information on the sourcing of the works, see Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising*, pp. 245–248.
- 27 See list of publications in Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising*, pp. 484–489.
- 28 Louise Hanson-Dyer Music Library Rare Collections, University of Melbourne.
- 29 *Six Scottish Folk Songs*, Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, c. 1934.
- 30 Daniela Kaleva, 'Patronage through Dissemination: Louise Hanson-Dyer's Patronage of Gustav Holst' (forthcoming).
- 31 Christopher Grogan, *Imogen Holst: a life in music*, Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2010, pp. 106–108, and Williams, "To the Children of Australia".
- 32 Kaleva, 'Treasured Ephemera'.
- 33 Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising*.
- 34 For more details about the publicity of the book, see Williams, "To the Children of Australia", pp. 300–301.
- 35 *Argus*, 22 Aug. 1934, p. 6.
- 36 Louise Hanson-Dyer files, concert programs, reports and correspondence, Louise Hanson-Dyer Music Library Rare Collections, University of Melbourne and State Library of Victoria Special Collections.
- 37 Daniela Kaleva, 'Gustav Holst and British Music Society of Victoria Collections at the State Library of Victoria', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, vol. 55, no. 1, 2008, pp. 170–179.
- 38 *Argus*, 29 Sept. 1934, p. 6.
- 39 'Rose Adler Biography', Willy Huybrechts Art Deco Gallery, <http://willy-huybrechts-gallery.com/artists/rose-adler/rose-adler-biography> (accessed 27 April 2012).
- 40 Suzanne Robinson, 'Case Study: music publishing', *A History of the Book in Australia, 1891-1945: a national culture in a colonialized market*, eds. Martyn Lyons and John Arnold, St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press, 2001, pp. 54-57.
- 41 This may have been related to the promotion of the music as a show bag item during the Australian women's crafts or industry exhibitions that took place in Melbourne during the centenary; however, it is not known whether L'Oiseau Lyre exhibited in Melbourne, see Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising*, p. 247.
- 42 *Argus*, 20 Oct. 1934, p. 23.
- 43 *Argus*, 18 Oct. 1934, p. 7.
- 44 *Argus*, 28 Sept. 1934, p. 5.
- 45 Carol A. Foley, *The Australian Flag*, Sydney: Federation Press, 1996, pp. 80–81.
- 46 For examples, see Robyn Holmes and Martin Ruth Lee, *The Collector's Book of Sheet Music Covers*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2001.
- 47 Currently held in the Louise Hanson-Dyer Music Library Rare Collections, University of Melbourne.
- 48 *Argus*, 8 Sept. 1934, p. 10.
- 49 *Christmas Gathering*, 11 December 1934, British Music Society Theatre Programs, State Library of Victoria.
- 50 Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising*, pp. 37–40.
- 51 Alan Crawford, 'Arts and Crafts Movement', *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T004452> (accessed 30 August 2012).
- 52 'Modernism', *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058785> (accessed 30 August 2012).
- 53 James, *The Piper's Guild Handbook*, p. 8.

- 54 Margaret Sutherland, *How to Make Pipes*, Paris: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1935.
- 55 Margaret Sutherland, *Australian Melodies (for pipe, flute or recorder)*, Paris: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1935.
- 56 Darius Milhaud, *Exercice Musicale*, Paris: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1934.
- 57 Publisher's Note, *Melbourne Centenary Music Book*, Paris: L'Oiseau Lyre, 1934.
- 58 Faye Patton, 'Music Printing and Publishing in Australia between the Wars: the Kynoch Stock Book 1921–1939', Music Printing and Publishing in Australia: papers from the History of the Book in Australia Seminar, Monash University, 17 November 2000, Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand, 2002, pp. 83–99.
- 59 *Argus*, 29 Sept. 1934, p. 6.

The Doll Theatre Project: designing a theatre for Ray Lawler's Doll Trilogy

- 1 Ray Lawler, *The Doll Trilogy*, Sydney: Currency Press, 2001.
- 2 Information provided in a letter from Ray Lawler to Derham Groves, 20 December 2009.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Dorothy Drain, 'It Seems To Me', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 25 January 1956, p. 20.
- 5 Biddy Allen, 'Trust Play is a Great Success', *Argus*, 29 November 1955, p. 6.
- 6 Dorothy Drain, 'It Seems To Me', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 20 March 1957, p. 13.
- 7 '10/6 to "18th Doll"', 'Letters From Our Readers', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 5 September 1956, p. 10.
- 8 Katharine Brisbane, 'The Play in the Theatre', in Ray Lawler, *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*, Sydney: Currency Press, 1993, p. xxxviii.
- 9 Betty Best, 'First-Night Audience Raves Over "The Doll"', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 24 April 1957, p. 10.
- 10 Trevor Chappell, 'Alan Bond Makes BRW Rich List', *Australian Associated Press* (News.com.au), <http://www.news.com.au/business/alan-bond-makes-brw-rich-list-comeback/story-e6frfm1i-1111116468829>, retrieved 10 August 2012.
- 11 Brooks Atkinson quoted by Katharine Brisbane, pp. xxxviii – xxxix.
- 12 Ibid, p. xxxix.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid, p. xxxvii.
- 15 John Dighton quoted by Ronald McKie, 'Hollywood Starts Work on "Doll"', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 16 April 1958, p. 36.
- 16 Ibid, pp. 36 – 37.
- 17 Anne Baxter, *Intermission: a true story*, New York, Putman, 1976, p. 18.
- 18 Dorothy Drain, 'It Seems To Me', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 23 December 1959, p. 10.
- 19 'Dreams Can Come True', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 7 August 1957, p. 2.
- 20 Dorothy Drain, 23 December 1959.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Noel Ferrier, *The Memoirs of Noel Ferrier: there goes whatsisname*, South Melbourne, Vic.: Macmillan, 1985, p. 24.
- 23 Ronald McKie, p. 37.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid. Rita Hayworth was married to James Hill, one of the owners of the film production company Hecht-Hill-Lancaster.
- 26 Vincent Ball, *Buck Jones, Where Are You?: an Australian boys' adventure*, Milsons Point, NSW: Random House, 1996, p. 313.
- 27 Lawler to Groves, 20 December 2009.
- 28 'Welcome to the Official Website of Agatha Christie's "The Mousetrap"', St. Martin's Theatre, <https://www.the-mousetrap.co.uk/online/default.asp>, retrieved 10 August 2012.
- 29 Dorothy Drain, 20 March 1957.
- 30 Lawler to Groves, 20 December 2009.
- 31 Lawler, p. 4.
- 32 John Rickard, "'This Harsh, Cawing, Strongly Felt Play": The Fifty-Seventh Summer of Ray Lawler's

- Great Play', *Australian Book Review*, March 2012, no. 339, pp. 21 – 22.
- 33 Gordon Kirby quoted by Shelia McFarlane, 'Carlton – A Place for Drama: each of three parts has inspired a play', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 22 October 1958, p. 12.
 - 34 Kirsten Dehlholm quoted by Keith Streames in his lecture on 6 August 2010 to Architecture Major students doing Architecture Design Studio 4 at the University of Melbourne.
 - 35 More Doll Theatre designs may be found in Timothy Chandler and Derham Groves, eds, *Sparks: work from Architecture Design Studio 4: Fire*, Parkville, Vic.: University of Melbourne Custom Book Centre, 2011.
 - 36 Letter from Ray Lawler to Derham Groves, 20 November 2010.

The Art of Light: a survey of stained glass in Victoria

- 1 The Church Building Act 1818 and 1824 set aside monies for church building and by 1858 over 3,000 churches had been built, many from this public purse.
- 2 See Bruce Trethewan, 'The Victorian City 1851-1880', in Philip Goad, *Melbourne Architecture*, Sydney: The Watermark Press, 1999, pp. 24-27.
- 3 Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1978, pp. 10-11.
- 4 'Stained glass' describes glass that has been painted, fired and leaded into window panels. It is sometimes used erroneously to describe leadlight, which has neither paint nor stain.
- 5 Many of the details of the Ferguson & Urie partnership are the result of family history research by Ray Brown (descendant of James Ferguson) and Noelle Nathan (whose husband is a Urie descendant). I am extremely grateful for their knowledge and assistance and that of Valmai Goller, great-grand-daughter of David Drape. David Ferguson, brother of James, was originally a third partner but he returned to Scotland in 1857.
- 6 In 1872 James Urie cited his trade as 'glass stainer' on his daughter Mary's birth certificate [Registration No. 17198, 3 March 1873 North Melbourne of birth 8 November 1872] but it is unknown whether he already had this skill prior to his arrival in Melbourne. With thanks to Noelle Nathan.
- 7 *Argus*, 28 February 1855, p. 8.
- 8 *Argus*, 22 August 1853, p. 7.
- 9 Series of letters in Francis Henty Papers, MS2821, Box 674/6, State Library of Victoria. Three tiny samples of glass (20 x 10 mm.) were attached to Ferguson & Urie's letter to Francis Henty, dated 16 May 1866: amber and green Cathedral glass approx. 3.5 mm. in thickness and clear ground glass less than 2mm. in thickness.
- 10 Letter from James D. Fox to Francis Henty Esq. dated 6 May 1865, MS2821, Box 764/6, State Library of Victoria.
- 11 Sebastian Evans, *Church Windows: a series of designs, original or selected from ancient examples by Sebastian Evans MA*, Birmingham: Chance Brothers & Co., Glass Works, 1863.
- 12 In Sydney, Lyon formed a partnership with another Glasgow-trained artist, Daniel Cottier, which traded as the highly successful Lyon, Cottier & Co.
- 13 The window was the gift of William Threlfall. See Miles Lewis, 'Stained Glass: the Victorian context', *Historic Environment*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1996, pp. 11-12.
- 14 For a full account of the window's history see Mimi Colligan, "'That window has a history": The Shakespeare Window at the State Library', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 78, Spring 2006, pp. 95-103.
- 15 *Argus*, 1 July and 3 July 1862, p. 8.
- 16 Colligan, p. 103.
- 17 In strong contrast to richly coloured picture glass, medieval *grisaille* was essentially clear, painted with simple vegetal patterns. Lewis F. Day, *Windows: a book about stained & painted glass*, London: B. T. Batsford, 1909, pp. 136-37. Lewis, 'Stained Glass: the Victorian context'.
- 18 Beverley Sherry, *Australia's Historic Stained Glass*, Sydney: Murray Child, 1991, p. 37.
- 19 G. Down, 'Nineteenth-Century Stained Glass in Melbourne', MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1975, p. 84.

- 20 G. R. Elster, *The Pictorial Catechism*, London: John Philp, 1861.
- 21 The windows were exhibited by the kind permission of the Rev. Cusack Russell, who was becoming a significant supporter of the firm in the Western District and was himself remembered in glass by Ferguson & Urie at Christ Church, Coleraine.
- 22 Architect Charles Barrett recommended the firm for the window, for which the vestry paid £200, an indication of the size and expense in comparison with the Merino windows, two years later. Geraldine McFarlane, *Memories in Glass*, Kew: Holy Trinity Anglican Church, 2004, p. 7.
- 23 For a discussion on the differences in painting styles, see Down, pp. 70-75.
- 24 As part of the same commission, Canon Chase ordered a pair of single lights, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*.
- 25 David Drape's line drawing for *King David* is held in the Drape Papers MS7707, State Library of Victoria.
- 26 The Gothic Revival design, attributed to Francis Gillett, was more likely the work of J. M. Barry who designed both the Grice townhouse in Victoria Parade and the Grice, Sumner & Co. store in Flinders Street in 1857. See Miles Lewis, Melbourne Mansions database, <http://fmpro.abp.unimelb.edu.au/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=mmdb&-loadframes>.
- 27 Under a subsequent owner the house was renamed 'Zeerust', *Argus*, 18 August 1951, p. 7; Melbourne Mansions database <http://fmpro.abp.unimelb.edu.au/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=mmdb&-loadframes>.
- 28 The window was not demolished with the house in the 1950s and, after many years in a private home, it was donated to the Melbourne Museum.
- 29 The inclusion of a small rabbit shows its importance for sport and the pot in nineteenth century Australia, a far cry from its status as a destructive pest today.
- 30 *Argus*, 28 November 1868, p. 7; for the early history of the firm, see Down, pp. 87-90. The partnership lasted until 1880 when Robinson retired and returned to Dublin where he died unexpectedly. Personal communication with Martin Robinson, 27 November 2006.
- 31 *Argus*, 30 October 1855, p. 7. The business later moved to Elizabeth Street and opened warehouses and departments in South Melbourne.
- 32 *Argus*, 30 September 1878, p. 5.
- 33 Davison, p. 11.
- 34 Goad, p. 35.
- 35 *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were reinstalled at St Paul's Anglican Church, Warragul. The St Paul's Cathedral Building Committee offered the Prince Consort window back to the donor, Canon Chase, who thought that it would fit very well in the Working Men's College but the offer was not accepted. Instead, he presented it to the incumbent at St John's, Sorrento, his son, the Rev. Arthur Pelham Chase, where it was installed in the new south transept. The window was conserved by Geoffrey Wallace Stained Glass in 2012.
- 36 As well as window installation Brooks, Robinson & Co was contracted to lay the tiling supplied by New & Co., London. *Argus*, 6 July 1889, p. 11; 6 January 1891, p. 6.
- 37 The date of his arrival in Australia is unknown. Down, p. 92.
- 38 *Church of England Messenger*, 5 September 1890, p. 374.
- 39 Reports of the three-story building were published in the *Argus*, 26 April 1888, p. 8; *Table Talk*, 27 April 1888, p. 12. The window is now lost.
- 40 Patterson Bros were entrusted with the 'unusually elaborate and tasteful' interior decoration of 'Stonington' and the 'splendid woodwork' was by Messrs. Roche & Co., *Building & Engineering Journal*, 12 March 1892, p. 109.
- 41 'Cliveden' did not survive the wrecker's ball in the 1960s, but this window and other fittings were re-installed in the Cliveden Room at the Hilton Hotel on the same site.
- 42 The designer of the 'Cliveden' staircase window was J. W. Brown (1842-1928), who was a freelance designer with James Powell at the time. Coincidentally, he joined Brooks, Robinson & Co. in 1891, as replacement for John Hughes. *Building & Engineering Journal*, 2 February 1891; 27 June 1891, p. 251.
- 43 See K. C. B. Bethell, *John Beswicke 1847-1925: heritage architect*, Camberwell: Rotha Press, 2011, p. 45.
- 44 With thanks to the Montgomery family for access to Montgomery's surviving personal and business

- papers. This significant collection has been generously donated to the State Library of Victoria.
- 45 Montgomery collaborated with a number of prominent architects, notably Alexander North and H. H. Kemp who, like Beswicke, commissioned windows for their own homes.
 - 46 *Building & Engineering Journal*, vol. vi, no. 266, 5 October 1889, p. 290; Bethell, pp. 63-66.
 - 47 One of the last was Montgomery's hunting scene for Guyon Purchas's home, 'Tay Creggan', Hawthorn, designed 1891-2, which was not completed until 1899.
 - 48 A 'cartoon' is a full-sized drawing of the window and effectively a blueprint for the entire process: glass types and colours, cut lines for glass, details of glass-painting and support systems were duly noted for the information of the many craftsman who participated in the making.
 - 49 Stained glass makers, Barnett Bros. moved from Melbourne to Perth around this time, as did several architects.
 - 50 Montgomery received Tasmanian commissions from Alexander North from the 1890s until North's virtual retirement in 1920.
 - 51 Approximately 30 commemorative windows depicting *St. George* were installed over two World Wars, including at Christ Church Anglican, Hawthorn, (1917), the Elsternwick Methodist Church (1919), St. George's Anglican Church, Malvern (1926) and (the now) St. John's Uniting Church, Essendon (1927).
 - 52 Australians who died on service during the First World War were buried in the field, with the exception of the commanding officer of the Australian Imperial Force, Major-General W. T. Bridges (1861-1916), who was the only soldier to be brought back to Australia for burial.
 - 53 For a broader discussion see Bronwyn Hughes, 'Designing Stained Glass in Australia 1887-1927: the art and professional life of William Montgomery', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007, particularly chapter 5.
 - 54 "'Letters from Bob" (Captain George Pollard Kay) Flight Commander 46th Squadron, Royal Flying Corps', was compiled by his father in 1917 as a tribute to his son. Details of Bob Kay's schooling from headmaster, Rev. F. E. Brown's introduction, pp. i-xi.
 - 55 Dr Colin Holden drew my attention to a similar image of a 'serviceman as saint', with a rising sun halo, embroidered on an altar frontal for St. Peter's, East Melbourne. See Colin Holden, *From Tories at Prayer to Socialists at Mass: St. Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne, 1846-1990*, Carlton, Vic.: MUP, 1996, p. 121.
 - 56 *The Trainee*, vol. xiv, no. 5, October 1920, pp. 8-9. Wheildon suggested the two opus sectile tablets containing small portraits of the teacher-soldiers be placed at either side of the window. These were painted by Melbourne portraitist Vincent Brun, who probably based the images on cartes-de-visite photographs taken by Algernon Drage.
 - 57 *The Trainee*, vol. xiv, no. 5, October 1920, p. 4.
 - 58 The symbolic representation was sometimes made personal, and portraits replaced the previously anonymous figure, for example, memorials to airmen at St. Mark's Anglican Church, Camberwell (Christian Waller, 1944), Presbyterian Church, Tatura (Brooks, Robinson & Co., 1946) and St George's Anglican Church, Goornong (Derek Pearse, c. 1956).
 - 59 Napier Waller was an unsuccessful entrant in the first Public Library, Museums and Gallery commission won by Septimus Power's 'War' (1924), but a later submission, 'Peace after Victory' (1926), was accepted. Both murals remain extant in the State Library today.
 - 60 Letters between architect, vicar and glass artist, as well as Waller's invoice for £10 in payment for the cartoon, are held in the William Montgomery Papers, State Library of Victoria.
 - 61 Part of the cartoon for St Mary's, Bridgewater survived and is held in the William Montgomery Papers, State Library of Victoria.
 - 62 The Bathurst windows were completed by several artists including Norman Carter of Sydney.
 - 63 Waller's design for the Robert Boyle panels is held in the Ian Potter Museum of Art at the University of Melbourne. Montgomery's correspondence with Edward Stevens over the long period of design development is held in the William Montgomery Papers, State Library of Victoria.
 - 64 Personal communication to author from Williams' daughter, Pat Schouler, June 2001.
 - 65 The memorial to Mrs W. F. Tozer was dedicated on 22 December 1929 at St Matthew's Anglican, East Geelong. *Argus*, 16 December 1929, p. 18. Whall & Whall was managed by artist Veronica

- Whall, talented daughter of the leading Arts & Crafts stained glass exponent Christopher Whall (1849-1924).
- 66 See Nicholas Draffin, *The Art of M. Napier Waller*, South Melbourne, Vic.: Sun Books: 1978, for details of these and other Waller installations. Christian Waller is rarely credited but her hand is discernible in the Leckie window and other 1930s windows.
 - 67 See Caroline Miley, 'Towards the Light: Christian Waller's stained glass', in David Thomas, *The Art of Christian Waller*, Bendigo, Vic.: Bendigo Art Gallery, 1992, pp. 42-49.
 - 68 Installed as a memorial to the College's second master, Francis Kernick, in 1934.
 - 69 A similar iconography is evident in a design by the Wallers' friend, John Trinick, for *The Sacred Heart*, held at the Ian Potter Museum of Art, University of Melbourne.
 - 70 Jack Morton Tallis (1911-1996). Anthony Knight, *Beleura Mornington: a theatre of the past a mirror reflecting earlier times*, Mornington, Vic.: The Tallis Foundation, 2009.
 - 71 The Waller library in Ivanhoe held a copy of Kay Nielsen's illustrated book of the same name, and was likely also known to Tallis.
 - 72 See Johannes Schrieter, et al, *Zimmer*, South Melbourne, Vic.: Melbourne, 2000; website on John Orval at <http://www.orvalstainedglass.com/> and the embryonic on-line encyclopaedia of Australia's stained glass makers, <http://hughessg.wordpress.com/>.
 - 73 The different 'hands' of Frater and Sumner are readily identifiable in a number of cartoons in the Alan Sumner Papers at the State Library of Victoria.
 - 74 *Argus* 4 April 1936, p. 19. Frater was furious when he saw the unauthorised initials at the unveiling ceremony, much to the later discomfort of his assistant. Alan Sumner interview with the author, 14 December 1992.
 - 75 Many artists were seconded to assist the need for camouflage during the Second World War, including Frank Hinder and Douglas Annand. Sumner was discharged on 10 January 1946.
 - 76 Sumner made detailed notes of cathedrals, churches and galleries visited during his tour of the UK and Europe; manuscript held in author's collection.
 - 77 A scale drawing for *St. Francis Xavier* is held in the Alan Sumner Papers, State Library of Victoria.
 - 78 Tom Johnstone, *The Cross of Anzac: Australian Catholic Service Chaplains*, Virginia: Church Archivists' Press, 2000; *Advocate*, 20 October 1977, p. 10.
 - 79 Sumner believed that the window was 'the largest continuous area of stained glass in the southern hemisphere, comprising 1800 square feet'. Alan Sumner interview with the author, 14 December 1992. He also completed Stations of the Cross and the *Crucifixion*, a seven-light window for the sanctuary. The majority of cartoons for St Oliver Plunkett are held in the Alan Sumner Papers, State Library of Victoria.
 - 80 For details of Sumner's windows in Frankston, see Bronwyn Hughes, *Shining Lights, Ethereal Visions: stained glass in Frankston City*, Frankston, Vic.: City of Frankston, 2009.
 - 81 Coloured scale drawings of the nave windows are held in the Alan Sumner Papers, State Library of Victoria.
 - 82 Geoffrey Wallace completed windows at Our Lady of the Nativity, West Essendon in 1995 and Peter and Andrew Ferguson installed the last of the clerestory series at East Ivanhoe Uniting Church in 1998.
 - 83 'Float' glass, developed in the 1950s, was made by drawing glass from the furnace over a bed of molten tin resulting in an even thickness, few flaws and almost limitless lengths that were previously impossible.
 - 84 ABS 2011 Australian census.
 - 85 Note also Leonard French's rose window (1969-70) at Blackwood Hall, Monash University, and his windows in the side chapels of the Religious Centre (c.1967), Clayton campus.
 - 86 <http://www.saaj.com.au/projects/urban.html>.

Completing the Picture: William Grant, poster production and the lithographer's role

- 1 Not a single poster in the National Gallery of Australia's extensive collection of posters names the lithographer; the same is true for posters in the State Library of Victoria's Picture Collection.

- According to Roger Butler, Senior Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Australia, it has only been on one or two occasions when descendants of individual lithographers have donated works to the collection that their identity has been revealed.
- 2 Pat Gilmour, 'Cher Monsieur Clot . . . August Clot and his role as a colour lithographer', in *Lasting Impressions: lithography as art*, Canberra: Australian National Gallery in conjunction with the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988, pp. 129-82.
 - 3 He was then living in Beaumaris, and he was unwilling to travel that far — interview, Joan Luxton (daughter). Morris and Walker in Smith Street, Collingwood, was eventually taken over by ACI — interview, Colin Watts.
 - 4 Hugh Anderson, *Ringwood, Place of Many Eagles*, Melbourne: Red Rooster Press for the City of Ringwood Council, 1988, p. 67.
 - 5 Anderson, *Ringwood*, p. 88.
 - 6 Methodism's stress on a doctrine of stewardship provided a theological basis from which its members could believe that care with property and material things was an integral expression of their Christian responsibility. While wellbeing was never crudely identified with wealth, nor wealth identified as an evidence of divine approval, and ostentation and self-indulgence were positively frowned on, the doctrine of stewardship still offered tacit approval for material wellbeing, as long as it was accompanied by a corresponding discharge of responsibility within the community. Thomas Grant's will included a sizeable bequest of land to the Ringwood Council to be maintained as public parkland in perpetuity, a condition that the council eventually ignored when they sold it for the site of Eastland, despite protests from Margaret Grant.
 - 7 Mary Jane Grant to Andrew Edwin Grant, 3 March 1913 and 9 April 1915, family archive.
 - 8 He is recorded as having attended night classes from 1911 to 1913 inclusive: card index of NGV Art School students, State Library of Victoria.
 - 9 William Grant to his father, undated, but October 1913 (when visiting his older brother and sister-in-law in Hobart), family archive.
 - 10 Mary Jane Grant to Andrew Edwin Grant, 6 March 1913, family archive.
 - 11 A card from W. G. Pope to Thomas Grant asking his permission to enrol Willie in the cadet unit at Box Hill is dated 23 September 1908, family archive.
 - 12 William Grant to Andrew, Mary Jane and Gwendoline Mary Grant, 12 November, 1919, family archive.
 - 13 The citation read as follows:
For conspicuous gallantry during operations east of YPRES 4/8 Oct., 1917. During the attack our troops came under heavy machine gun fire and in one sector suffered severe casualties. Lieut. GRANT brought up his mortar in face of the enemy fire and with great disregard for personal safety with a few rounds silenced the enemy machine gun. He set a fine example of coolness and fearlessness under fire.
 - 14 William Grant to his parents and sister, 15 June 1917, on verso of a series of five postcards of Amiens, family archive.
 - 15 William Grant to 'my Dear Bro. Sister and Gwenda' [=his brother Andrew, wife and eldest child Gwendoline Mary], family archive. The letter is incomplete at this point due to half of the sheet having been removed. Earlier in the same letter, he wrote about the censorship of the correspondence. Was he anticipating the treatment of his own correspondence?
 - 16 Many individual cards of Dunkirk, Calais and Le Crotoy, along with whole books of cards of Amiens, Le Havre and Arles have survived in a family archive.
 - 17 The document, dated 10 December, 1919, gives the date for his studies with Hassall as 10 May, 1919 to 21 November 1919. Hassall's address, 88 Kensington Park Road, W. 11, is given under the heading of 'college or firm'.
 - 18 I have deliberately reduced explanations of the process and technique to a minimum. Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques*, Berkeley, California and Los Angeles University of California Press, 1996, pp. 100-08 and 120, contains a succinct summary. Readers seeking more detail should consult one of the many handbooks on the technique. On the Senefelder Club, see *British Printmakers 1855-1955: a century of printmaking from the etching revival to St Ives*, Aldershot, Herts: Scolar Press, 1992, pp. 195, and 273 ff. The Senefelder Club, of

- which Will Dyson, Australia's first official war artist, was a member, was created on the basis of just that distinction. Its members all created lithographs, but were understood to be professional artists, not printer-'craftsmen'.
- 19 The best survey of the conditions of poster art at this time appears in Roger Butler, *Printed: images by Australian artists 1885-1955*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2007, pp. 143-9.
 - 20 See George Johnston, *My Brother Jack*, London: William Collins, 1964, pp. 55, 67-74 for a description of the premises of 'Klebendorf and Hardt' where the narrator of *My Brother Jack*, David Meredith, worked as an apprentice lithographer. It is presumably modelled on the premises of Troedel and Co. where Johnston was himself an apprentice lithographer and his own brother Jack also worked there as a storeman See Gary Kinnane, *George Johnston: a biography*, Melbourne: Nelson, 1986, pp. 15-16.
 - 21 Butler, *Printed: images by Australian Artists*, p. 145, quoting a review in the *Daily Telegraph* of a poster exhibition at Anthony Hordern's Fine Art Gallery in 1923.
 - 22 Wages Book, January 1926-March 1942, F. W. Niven and Co. Papers, MS 11853, Box 2180, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (hereafter 'Niven Papers, SLV'). The letterhead for the 'TW Grant Advertising Company' gives his address as 128 Parkhill Rd., Kew, E4, his home address — family archive.
 - 23 Stephen Herrin, entry for F. W. Niven, *ADB*, Supplementary Volume, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2005. Also available at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/niven-francis-wilson-13132>.
 - 24 His son, an avid print collector, wrote the *ADB* entry on Victor Cobb.
 - 25 Accounts Book, Niven Papers, SLV.
 - 26 Interview, Joan Luxton.
 - 27 The most detailed treatment of Northfield is Michelle Hetherington, *James Northfield and the Art of Selling Australia*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2006. See also his entry in the *ADB* at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/northfield-isaac-james-11259>.
 - 28 On the tourism industry, see Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Matters: tourism in Australia since 1870*, Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press/Melbourne University Press, 2000.
 - 29 Accounts Book, Niven Papers, SLV. Several posters not listed in this Accounts Book have survived from this period. It is possible that they were listed in another document that has not survived.
 - 30 See his entry in the *ADB* at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sellheim-gert-hugo-emmanuel-11655>.
 - 31 There is a copy in the Picture Collection at the State Library of Victoria (H2008.73/50).
 - 32 Picture Collection (H2000.209).
 - 33 See his entry in the *ADB* at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/trompf-percival-albert-percy-8855>.
 - 34 Harold Clapp (1875-19520). See his entry in the *ADB* at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clapp-sir-harold-winthrop-5657>.
 - 35 The secondary sources that refer to Northfield's earlier association with Niven's do not provide any detail or identify the years he was there: Hetherington, *James Northfield*, p. 6 and Butler, *Printed: images by Australian artists*, p. 149.
 - 36 Butler, *Printed: images of by Australian artists*, p. 145; interview with Joan Luxton.
 - 37 Interview, Joan Luxton.
 - 38 His personal scrapbook of poster designs includes several examples from promotional material by Charles Johnson and Co., an American manufacturer of printing inks located in Philadelphia. Another advertisement is by the English firm of Wimbles.
 - 39 In a Niven's stockbook commencing in 1915, both lithographic stones and aluminium plates are among the items listed for depreciation, Niven Papers, SLV, Box 2187/2. The absence of any sign of a platemark on the posters indicates that by Grant's time, Niven's were printing from metal plates rather than stones. By then, their use was exceptional, and one of the exceptional users, the government printers in Brisbane, were abandoning them in the 1930s. George Johnston's *My Brother Jack* describes two senior German lithographers who jealously guarded their stones. I am grateful to artist and printmaker Ron McBurnie for these comments.
 - 40 Interview, Joan Luxton.
 - 41 Entry for Northfield and Co., Accounts Book, Niven Papers, SLV, Box 2182.
 - 42 Entry for Northfield and Co. for 1936, and separate entry for Doylamat Co. P/L., Accounts Book, Niven Papers, SLV, Box 2182.

- 43 Wage Book, January 1926-March 1942, pp. 2, 38, Niven Papers, SLV. Box 2180.
- 44 Interview, Joan Luxton.
- 45 For his salary before the Great Depression, see Wage Book, January 1926-March 1942, pp. 2, 28, Niven Papers, SLV, Box 2180. The Great Depression cuts first appear in an entry for 8/4/1930 (p. 46). For the last entry for William Grant, for 27/8/1942, when he left Niven's, see p. 142.
- 46 Wage Book, January 1926-March 1942, pp. 38, 46. Niven Papers, SLV.
- 47 The careful noting of the birthdays of young employees and the inevitable red slip figure prominently in the Great Depression memories of Alan Sumner, then working in the stained glass department of Yencken and Co. He and senior artist Jock Frater were almost the only long-term survivors from before the Great Depression in their area of the company. As a professionally trained artist, Frater gave élan to the art department of what was otherwise a 'jobbing' hardware firm. Sumner survived by making himself indispensable. Barbara Blackman, interviews with Allan Sumner, National Archive, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- 48 Interview, Joan Luxton.
- 49 Work after his designs for Pelaco, Peters and Kellogg's, to name a few, appear in the Accounts Book, Niven Papers, SLV, Box 2183.
- 50 The most consistent recent source for information concerning these and other Melbourne printing houses is Don Hauser, *Printers of the Streets and Lanes of Melbourne (1837-1975)*, Melbourne: Nondescript Press, 2004.
- 51 Niven's may also have been reluctant at this time to do business with Northfield, as there is an entry for almost two hundred pounds of bad debts in his name in mid-1942. See entries for 1930s work under Northfield's name in the Accounts Book, Niven Papers, SLV, Box 2182. For the 1940s, see Box 2184; bad debts, entry for 31 May 1942.
- 52 Hauser, *Printers of the Streets and Lanes of Melbourne*, p. 110.

Testimonies from White Australia: oral history interviews with Chinese immigrants and their descendants

- 1 Samuel Tongway, MS14434, TMS1207, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (hereafter MS14434); Statement from the Rev. John Tong Way, MS14434, Box 4213/5.
- 2 Tom Leung, MS14434, TMS1202; Mr Leung Senior, MS 14434, TMS1188.
- 3 Kevin Wong Hoy, MS14434, TMS1198-1199.
- 4 John Bromell, MS14434, TMS 1240.
- 5 Frank Chinn, MS 14434, TM 1178 – 1180; Mr Leung Senior, Interview, TMS1188-1189; Stanley Kim MS14434, TMS1217.
- 6 C. Y. Choi, *Chinese Migration And Settlement In Australia*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975, pp. 17-35; C. F. Yong, *The New Gold Mountain: the Chinese in Australia, 1901-1921*, Richmond, SA: Raphael Arts 1977, pp. 11-32; Morag Loh, *Dinky-Di: the contributions of Chinese immigrants and Australians of Chinese descent to Australia's defence forces and war efforts, 1899-1988*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989, pp. 3-18.
- 7 M. Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1923, p. 119.
- 8 Choi, pp. 22, 40-42; Dennis O'Hoy, Interview summary, MS14434, Box 4213/5; John Bromell, MS 14434, TMS1240.
- 9 Australian Archives, A816-72/301/23; MP 508-1-115/70/55.
- 10 Loh, pp. 20-21, 50-51.
- 11 Sue Fabian and Morag Loh, *Children In Australia: an outline history*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 140.
- 12 Kathryn Cronin, *Colonial Casualties: Chinese in early Victoria*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1982, pp. 127-128; Yong, p. 67; Dennis O'Hoy, MS14434, Box 4213/5.
- 13 Loh, pp. 41-42.
- 14 Choi, p. 22.
- 15 Dennis O'Hoy, MS14434, Box 4213/5.
- 16 Mr Leung Senior, MS14434, TMS1189; Dennis O'Hoy, MS14434, Box 4213/5.

- 17 Mr Leong Senior, MS14434, TMS1189; Dennis O'Hoy, Box 4213/5; George Nan Tie, MS14434, TMS1184; Frank Chinn, MS14434, TMS1178; Samuel Tongway, MS 14434, TMS1207.
- 18 Choi, p 31; the Kim papers, MS4434, Box 4213/5; John Bromell, MS4434, TMS240; George Nan Tie, MS4434 TMS 184, 1185; Arthur Moy, 'Recollections of Childhood', MS 4434, Box 4213/5.
- 19 George Nan Tie, MS1434, TMS 184, 1185; Moy, 'Recollections', MS4434, Box 4213/5; John Bromell, MS14434, TM 1240.
- 20 C. F. Yong, p. 62; Laundry Work, MS14434, TMS1219.
- 21 Albert Kim, MS14434, TMS1215, George Nan Tie MS14434, TMS1184; Laundry Work, MS14434, TM 1219.
- 22 Yong, pp. 37-38; Arthur and Bill Moy, MS14434, TMS1200-1201; Kelvin Bew, MS14434, TMS1218.
- 23 Letter to Ch'oy Gam, 1892, MS14434, Box 4213/5; Frank Chinn, MS14434, TMS1182; Laundry Work, MS14434, TMS1219; Fabian and Loh, p. 155 (1920s wage rates) Mr Leung Senior, MS14434, TMS1184.
- 24 S. Y. Ting, MS14434, TMS1193; Frank Chinn, MS14434, TM 1179; Esme Kim, MS 14434, TMS1216.
- 25 George Nan Tie, MS14434, TMS1185, 1186.
- 26 John Bromell, MS14434, TM1240; Mrs Robertson's notes and letters, MS14434, Box 4213/5; Liou Yea Sen, MS14434, TMS1214.
- 27 Selina Hassan, Interview, MS14434, TMS1210-1211; Loh, pp. 8-9.
- 28 Mrs Leung, MS14434, TMS1204-1206, Jean Chesneaux, *Secret Societies in China in the 19th & 20th Centuries*, Hong Kong: Heinemann, 1971, p. 595; Marjorie Topley, 'Marriage Resistance in Rural Kwangtung', in M. Wolf and R. Witke, eds, *Women In Chinese Society*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, p. 67; Mr Leung Senior, MS 14434, TMS1184.
- 29 Laundry Work, MS14434, TMS1219; George Nan Tie, MS14434, TMS1184.
- 30 Samuel Tongway, MS14434, TMS1207; Frank Chinn, MS14434, TMS1179, 1180; Dennis O'Hoy, MS14434, Box4213/5.
- 31 Frank Chinn, MS14434, TMS1178, 1180; Samuel Tongway, MS14434, TMS 1207; Laundry Work, MS14434, TMS1219; Albert Kim, MS14434, TMS1215; Kelvin Bew, MS14434, TMS1218; Stanley Kim, MS14434, TMS1217.
- 32 Bill and Arthur Moy, MS14434, TMS1200-1201; Kim Papers, MS14434, Box4213/5.
- 33 Box 4213/5; Esme Kim, MS14434, TMS1216; Kevin Wong Hoy, MS14434, TMS 1186.
- 34 George Nan Tie, MS14434, TMS1187; Samuel Tongway, MS14434, TMS1207-1209; Loh, p 56.
- 35 Arthur and Bill Moy, MS14434, TMS1200-1201, Box 4213/5; Frank Chinn, MS 14434, TMS1178; George Nan Tie, MS14434, TMS1186.
- 36 Samuel Tongway, MS14434, TMS1207-1209; Loh, p. 56.
- 37 George Nan Tie, MS14434, TMS1187; Tom Leung, MS14434, TMS1202.
- 38 Frank Chinn, MS14434, TMS1178-1183; Selina Hassan, MS14434, TMS1210-1211.
- 39 Albert Kim, MS14434 TM 1216; Esme Kim, M 14434, TMS1216; Stanley Kim, MS 14434, TMS1217.
- 40 Kevin Wong Hoy, MS14434, TMS1190, 1192; Arthur and Bill Moy, MS14434, TMS 1200-1201.
- 41 Mr Leong Senior, MS14434, TMS1189; Mrs Leong, MS14434, TMS 1204-1206.
- 42 Kelvin Bew, MS14434, TM 1218; Dennis O'Hoy, MS14434, Box 4213/5.
- 43 S. Y. Ting, MS14434, TMS1194-1196.
- 44 Loh, *Dinky-Di*, pp. 41-42
- 45 Tom Leung, MS14434, TMS1203; George Nan Tie, MS14434, TM 1187; Kevin Wong Hoy, MS14434, TMS1199.

One of Mawson's 'Forgotten Men': Robert Bage and his Antarctic Diary

- 1 [Robert Bage], Antarctic Diary of Robert Bage, 1911 November - 1912 November [manuscript], MS 4176/3, State Library of Victoria. See the *State Library of Victoria News*, no. 48 (Nov. 2011 – Feb. 2012), pp. 18-19, for the original announcement of the acquisition in a short article by Kevin Molloy.
- 2 Ross McMullin, *Farewell Dear People: biographies of Australia's lost generation*, Melbourne: Scribe, 2012.
- 3 This epithet serves as the title for McMullin's two-page article about Bage that appeared in the

- Weekend Australian Review* magazine of 21-22 April 2012, pp. 7-8. The front cover of this April number featured a full-page blow-up of Frank Hurley's famous photograph of Bage with his slightly balding pate, penetrating eyes, beard, moustache and sucking his signature meerschaum pipe.
- 4 Ernest Shackleton from the *Nimrod* led a party of four who sledged to within 180 kilometres of the pole and only survived the return journey by the narrowest of margins. In 1909, Mawson, David and McKay reached the region of the south magnetic pole. See Robert Keith Headland, *A Chronology of Antarctic Expeditions*, London: Bernard Quaritch, 2009, p. 247.
 - 5 It was not until quite some decades later that Scott was seriously criticised for certain organisational failings that probably caused the death of his entire party. See Roland Huntford, *Scott and Amundsen*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979, for an unsympathetic account of the Scott myth, which, however, is an argued debunking that makes Scott out to be something of a vain and incompetent fool whose scientific work was of little value. Letters defending Scott were written to the *Times* over this book.
 - 6 Note, however, that three of the supply group from the Ross Sea Party did die from various accidents and mishaps.
 - 7 Douglas Mawson, 'Introduction' to *The Home of the Blizzard: being the story of the Australasian Antarctic Expedition, 1911-1914*, London: William Heinemann, 1915, 2 vols, vol. 1, p. xiii. Mawson refers to the 'Australian Quadrant' on a number of occasions in *Home of the Blizzard*, e.g. vol. 1, p. 7. That this part of the Antarctic continent was a continuing interest to Mawson's may be seen from the following 1932 pronouncement: 'To Australians the most appealing feature of the Antarctic problem has, for long past, been the delineation of Antarctic lands in lower latitudes, where they approached most nearly to Australia itself, possibly offering increased opportunities for occupation and economic development and a closer relationship of the local scientific problems with those of our own land'. See Douglas Mawson, 'The B.A.N.Z. Antarctic Research Expedition, 1929-31', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXX, no. 2, August 1932, p. 101, which is also available online at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1784070>.
 - 8 See Mawson, *The Home of the Blizzard*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11 for the summary of their plans and p. 12 for Mawson's assessment of their likely chances.
 - 9 Gordon J. Hayes, *Antarctica*, London: Richards Press, 1928, p. 210.
 - 10 Recounted in Tom Griffiths, *Slicing the Silence: voyaging to Antarctica*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2007, p. 26.
 - 11 This point is developed in the 'Introduction' to F. and E. Jacka, eds, *Mawson's Antarctic Diaries*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988, pp. xxxiii to xxxiv.
 - 12 Jasper Rees, 'Review: Racing with Death by Beau Riffenburgh', *Daily Telegraph* newspaper of 23 August 2008, also available on line at www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/non_fictionreviews/3559005/Review-Racing-with-Death-by-Beau-Riffenburgh.html.
 - 13 Heather Rossiter, ed., *Mawson's Forgotten Men: the 1911-1913 Antarctic diary of Charles Turnbull Harrison*, Sydney: Pier Nine, 2011, 'Preface', p. xi. For specific mention of Bage as a 'forgotten' man, see Ross McMullin, *Farewell Dear People*. The idea that Mawson and his men were 'forgotten' was also voiced by one of the expeditioners, Eric Webb, in a 1975 interview with the Australian author, Lennard Bickel. See the online sound recording held by the National Library of Australia at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.oh-vn1762284>, wherein Webb specifically talks about the lack of public recognition for Mawson and his expeditions.
 - 14 The closest any of the historical accounts have come to lauding Mawson is Lennard Bickel, *Mawson's Will: the greatest Polar survival story ever written*, South Royalton, Vermont: Steerforth Press, 2000 [rpt of a 1977 ed.], which is a free-ranging dramatisation of events rather than a strictly historical narrative. In the 'Foreword' to Bickel's book, Edmund Hillary calls Mawson's solo trek 'probably the greatest story of lone survival in Polar exploration', (Bickel, p. x). Of recent accounts, only one comes to mind, namely, Beau Riffenburgh, *Racing with Death: Douglas Mawson—Antarctic explorer*, London: Bloomsbury, 2009, which makes great play on Mawson's heroism rather than other aspects of his achievements. As an indication that perceptions may be changing in the popular imagination, journalist Peter FitzSimons, *Mawson and the Ice Men of the Heroic Age: Scott, Shackleton and Amundsen*, Sydney: Random House, 2011, gives Mawson 'top billing' over the other

- explorers of the age and lauds his abilities.
- 15 Retold by Edward J. Larson, *An Empire of Ice: Scott, Shackleton, and the heroic age of Antarctic science*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011, pp. 24-5.
 - 16 *Australian War Memorial*, 'Past Exhibitions, Fifty Australians', at www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/fiftyaustralians/2.asp. Further useful information is provided in the series of biographies that form part of the 'Introduction' to the facsimile edition of Mawson's Antarctic newspaper. See Archie McLean, ed., *The Adelie Blizzard: Mawson's forgotten newspaper 1913*, Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia in association with the Friends of Mawson at the South Australian Museum, 2010, p. xxi.
 - 17 His cheerful nature was displayed in the contributions he made to Mawson's *Adelie Blizzard* (see previous note). All expeditioners were expected to contribute to this newspaper and items were normally anonymous. However, the published facsimile copy of the paper has annotations by Mawson which identify the work of Bage, probably added as a memorial following his death at Gallipoli. Bage contributed a humorous article entitled 'Weather and Magnetics', vol. 1, no. 1, April 1913, pp. 24-5, and an amusing acrostic poem entitled 'An Adelian Alphabet', vol. 1, no. 3, June 1913, pp. 75-6.
 - 18 Mawson, *The Home of the Blizzard*, vol. II, p. 289.
 - 19 *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 16.
 - 20 *Ibid*.
 - 21 *Ibid*.
 - 22 J. M. Stagg, 'Prefatory Note' to *Australian Antarctic Expedition 1911-14, Scientific Reports*, Series B, vol. II, 'Terrestrial Magnetism and Related Observations, Part III, Magnetic Disturbance at Cape Denison', Sydney: Thomas Henry Tennant, Govt Printer, 1940, p. 341.
 - 23 Douglas Mawson, 'Editorial Preface' to *Australian Antarctic Expedition 1911-14, Scientific Reports*, Series B, vol. I, 'Terrestrial Magnetism', Sydney: Alfred James Kent, Govt printer, 1925, p. 4.
 - 24 See Mawson, *The Home of the Blizzard*, vol. II, p. 141. Accounts of Bage's other activities may be found *passim*, such as vol. I, pp. 95, 99 and 198.
 - 25 *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 147.
 - 26 *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 263.
 - 27 Rossiter, ed., *Mawson's Forgotten Men*.
 - 28 For short accounts of the diaries written by expeditioners, see the Centre for Environmental History website, Australian National University, School of History, Research School of Social Sciences, compiled by Tom Griffiths and others, at <http://ceh.environmentalhistory-au-nz.org/research/aae/the-diaries/>.
 - 29 For information on Dyce Murphy (1879-1971), see his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murphy-herbert-dyce-7705>. Dyce Murphy accompanied Bage on Mawson's expedition to Antarctica. He was responsible for stores and for winter quarters during Mawson's absence.
 - 30 *SLV News*, p. 18 and the author's interview on 8 May 2012 with Janet Wardle, who donated the diary to the SLV. Bage's fiancée was Dorothy Scantlebury, who, after Bage's early death, later married Daryl Wardle, whom she met in South Africa. Dorothy served for a long time as headmistress of Toorak College at Mount Eliza, Victoria, after her marriage to Daryl came to an end. According to Janet Wardle, the SLV copy was transcribed by Bage himself, making it an autograph manuscript. He did this so as to accumulate his letters and diaries into one place. However, no separate samples of Bage's handwriting have so far been located (other than the facsimile signature in Mawson's *Home of the Blizzard*) for the confirmation of this claim.
 - 31 See Mawson, *The Home of the Blizzard*, vol. I, pp. 274-308, chapter XIV, 'The Quest of the South Magnetic Pole'.
 - 32 In the printed passages of Mawson's *Home of the Blizzard* that overlap the passages in the transcribed SLV copy of Bage's diary, it appears that Bage's text has been quite heavily edited. Words and sentences have been recast on occasions, and some quite lengthy passages have changed or disappeared. This gives us precious little cause for thinking that the rest of Mawson's printed account is a truly faithful version of Bage's original text. Unfortunately, at this time, Mawson's printed version is all that we have.

The Captain's Notebook: J. K. Davis at Eden, 1912

- 1 A. Reid, letter to J. K. Davis, 22 September 1911, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 171/7.
- 2 C. Thomas, (British Admiralty), letter to D. Mawson 5 July 1911, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 171/2.
- 3 R. C. Mossman, J. H. Harvey Pirie and Rudmose Brown, *The Voyage of the Scotia: being the record of a voyage of exploration in Antarctic seas*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978 (first published, Edinburgh: Blackwood and London: C. Hurst & Co, 1906).
- 4 J. K. Davis, 'The Soundings of the Antarctic Ship *Aurora* between Tasmania and the Antarctic Continent 1912', *The Geographic Journal*, vol. 42, no. 4, Oct 1913, pp. 361-362.
- 5 C. Carpine, *La Pratique de L'océanographie au Temps du Prince Albert I^{er} Monaco*, Monaco : Musée océanographique, 2002.
- 6 W. S. Bruce, letter to J. K. Davis, 18 September 1912, MS 8311, John King Davis Papers, La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria (hereafter Davis Papers), 3287/3.
- 7 Mertz was a non-scientist, educated as a business lawyer, but with extensive experience in mountaineering and an in-depth knowledge of complex ice and snow conditions. Mertz and Lt Belgrave Ninnis accompanied Mawson on the exploratory Far-Eastern Sledging Journey in 1912, but after Ninnis plunged to his death in a deep crevasse, taking with him food, clothing, tent and the strongest sledge-dogs, they had insufficient food for the return journey and were obliged to supplement their rations by slaughtering the surviving dogs. Mertz died on that return journey and it has been hypothesised that contributing factors were a combination of the ingestion of toxic levels of Vitamin A in the dog livers, malnutrition, starvation and exposure. Mawson returned alone to the Cape Denison hut in February 1913, too late to rendezvous with Captain Davis and the S.Y. *Aurora*. He spent a second winter at the hut with a support group of six men, until Davis returned the following summer. See Cleland and Southcott, 'Hypervitaminosis A in the Antarctic in the Australasian Antarctic Expedition of 1911-1914', *Medical Journal of Australia*, no. 1, 1969, pp. 1337-1342.
- 8 'Marine Fish Hatchery at Port Hacking', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1905, p. 6.
- 9 R. Etheridge, 'Obituary: George William Charles Pim, Master Mariner', in *Zoological Results of the Fishing Experiments Carried on by the F.I.S. Endeavour 1909-14*, Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Trade and Customs, Fisheries, vol. 3, 1915, pp. vii-ix.
- 10 N. Lockyer, letter to AAE Office, 18 September 1912, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 171/16.
- 11 J. Hjort, 'The Ship and its Equipment', in J. Murray and J. Hjort, eds, *The Depths of the Ocean*, London: Macmillan, 1912.
- 12 J. K. Davis, 'Notebook (handwritten, untitled) 3 September to 10 October 1912', Davis Papers, 3265/10.
- 13 P. Harris, and P. O'Brien, *Australian Ports: environmental data and risk analysis*, Canberra: Australian Geological Survey Organisation, 1988.
- 14 Davis had underlined the word *steep*, and steep grades still lead from the wharf at Snug Cove to the town.
- 15 The building, which was the 1912 post office with attached residence, is on the corner of Imlay and Mitchell Streets, and now has the status of an historic building, while the operational post office has relocated to the centre of town.
- 16 *The Hollies*, built in 1900, was on the Bega Road, which is now the Princes Highway.
- 17 J. A. Boyd Esq. had extensive business interests including the sugar industry. See the *Eden Propeller*, Friday, 30 January 1903.
- 18 More likely to be East.
- 19 The harbour entrance is bounded by Worang Point (North Head) and Red Point (South Head), where an outcrop of heavily folded red rock juts into the sea. The depth of colour is the result of heavily oxidised irons in the exposed mud laid down in ancient river plains. K. Crook, 2009. *pers. comm.* email 15 June 2009; J. Steiner, 'The Merrimbula Group of the Eden-Merrimbula Area, N.S.W', *Journal and Proceedings, Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 108, 1975, pp. 37-51.
- 20 The Weedy Sea Dragon, *Phyllopteryx taeniolatus*, may be the 'curious sea horse' to which he referred. It is now a protected species in the area.

- 21 The brief 'bullock talk' note could refer to a discussion about the teams of bullocks used to transport timber, building materials and stores into the area and to the wharves for export. See J. A. S. McKenzie, *The Twofold Bay Story*, Eden, NSW: Eden Killer Whale Museum and Historical Society, 1991.
- 22 Can be compared to more recent NSW fisheries reports.
- 23 Captain Thomas Jones Davies, from Launceston, Tasmania, but originally from the south of Wales, was harbourmaster, pilot and customs officer at Eden from 1903 to 1918. He later returned to Tasmania where he established a successful business. His log book (1912), confirms Davis's account of F.I.S. *Endeavour's* movements. T. J. Davies, 'Harbourmaster's Log, 1912', Archives of Eden Killer Whale Museum, Eden, NSW.
- 24 Some *Orca* were recognised by their fins. Images at <http://www.killerwhalemuseum.com.au/Killers.htm> Accessed 09 July 2012.
- 25 Davis noted that the whale's tongue was the target of some attacks. Charles Wilkes in 1849 recorded the sighting of a similar attack in Antarctic waters in 1840, where a large whale was unable to extricate itself from the hold that a killer whale persistently maintained on its jaw. C. Wilkes, extract from *A Voyage Around the World, 1838-1842*, in *Antarctica: First impressions 1773-1930* edited by D. R. G. Sellick, Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2001.
- 26 Whaling was a dominant topic. Accounts of packs of killer whales, *Orcinus orca*, herding various species of migrating whales into the bay where they were harpooned by men in open boats, are well documented in the history of Eden, with some individual killer whales achieving legendary status. See T. Mead, *Killers of Eden*, Sydney: Dolphin Books, 2002. Whaling activity around Eden, already in decline in 1912, continued until the 1920s but is now replaced with whale watching, a major seasonal tourist attraction.
- 27 Dannevig was interested in the effect of tides on currents and the use of the Ekman current indicator was an integral part of F.I.S. *Endeavour's* operations. V. W. Ekman, a Norwegian scientist working with Fridtjof Nansen, developed this model in the early twentieth century, testing it on the *Michael Sars*. It is described by A. McConnell citing V. M. Ekman (*Conseil permanent international pour l'exploration de la mer. Publications de circonstance, no. 24.* 1905) in his *No Sea too Deep: the history of oceanographic instruments*, Bristol: A. Hilger, 1905.
- 28 The use of electric light extended working hours and productivity. As a relatively recent addition to facilities available on board ships, it was worth noting.
- 29 The type of trawl which Davis brought on this voyage had been developed by scientist and engineer, Alexander Agassiz (1835-1910) working in the Atlantic, in the Gulf of Panama and the deep waters of the Caribbean.
- 30 Davis was disappointed that no drivers for the Lucas sounding machine were on board F.I.S. *Endeavour*. A similar machine was installed on S.Y. *Aurora* and Davis would have appreciated an opportunity to observe this aspect of the equipment in action. Drivers were attached to the wire to be lowered when ocean depths were being assessed. When the driver struck the seabed, a portion of the substrate could be collected and retained in a hollow compartment, which closed by means of a valve, allowing the sample to be brought to the surface. Described in J. K. Davis in 'Australasian Antarctic Expedition 1911-14 Scientific Reports, series A, vol. 2, part 3 (Soundings)', *Oceanography*, Sydney: Government Printer, 1939, pp. 87-108.
- 31 Many models of water sampling bottles and thermometers were available to oceanographers. In this case, an Ekman water bottle was used with a Richter thermometer and analysis of the datasets recorded by Davis found a high correlation between water depth and temperature.
- 32 There are no details of the second series of observations that day in his notebook.
- 33 Bullara Island is now named Lennards Island, Latitude 37° 01' S, Longitude 149° 56' E.
- 34 Again the men relaxed on Sunday, exploring the surrounding area and buildings which, a century later, are considered to have significant historic value. The 'large white stone house' visible from the bay was Boyd Town's Seahorse Hotel, abandoned when Ben Boyd's financial status was close to bankruptcy a few years after the hotel was built. Some years after Davis's visit, a severe bushfire in December 1926 destroyed many of the remaining buildings in Boyd Town and claimed the timber shingles on the roof of the old church. The abandoned hotel was not in the path of the fire and the

- original building has since been restored and extended, opening its doors for business again as the Seahorse Inn. The colourful history of the area and the decline of Boyd's operations is described in McKenzie, *The Twofold Bay Story*.
- 35 The fenced ruins of the church stand on a nearby hill, threatened by encroaching shrubbery.
 - 36 It is likely that the harbourmaster or the postmaster had mentioned the ruins as points of interest which Davis and Dannevig could visit during their time in Eden.
 - 37 Montague Island (Latitude 36° 25'S, Longitude 150° 23'E) is north of Eden. The lighthouse, built in 1881, stands 21m high and 80m above sea level. The light was converted to solar power in 1986 and has a range of 37 km. See J. Ibbotson, *Lighthouses of Australia: images from the end of an era*, Surrey Hills, Vic: Australian Lighthouse Traders, 2001.
 - 38 The steamer *Otranto* was, in 1912, a new P & O passenger liner which travelled between England and Australia.
 - 39 Flinders is a town on the shore of Western Port, Victoria.
 - 40 Davis is comparing F.I.S. *Endeavour* (126 ft 9 in or 38.63m; 330 tons gross) to the larger S.Y. *Aurora* (165 ft or 50.3m; 580 tons gross).
 - 41 Davis, 'The Soundings of the Antarctic Ship *Aurora* between Tasmania and the Antarctic Continent 1912'.
 - 42 J. K. Davis, *High Latitude*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962, p. 226.
 - 43 *Ibid*, p. 240.
 - 44 *Ibid*, pp. 254–273.
 - 45 *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/davis-john-king-5914>.
 - 46 F. Jacka and E. Jacka, eds, *Mawson's Antarctic Diaries*, new edition, Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2008, p. 346.
 - 47 Davis, *High Latitude*.
 - 48 L. Crossley, ed., *Trial by Ice: the Antarctic Diaries of John King Davis*, Bluntisham, Huntingdon/Norwich, Norfolk: Erskine Press, 1997.
 - 49 Australian Government Bureau of Meteorology at <http://www.bom.gov.au/ant/davis/history.shtml>. Accessed 24 July 2012. Also: Australian Antarctic Gazetteer http://data.aad.gov.au/aadc/gaz/display_name.cfm?gaz_id=2180 Accessed 27 August 2012.
 - 50 A. Terauds and F. Stewart, *Subantarctic Wilderness: Macquarie Island*, Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2008.
 - 51 Davis, *High Latitude*.
 - 52 Letter to J. K. Davis, 7 March 1915, Davis Papers, 3267/10(a).
 - 53 Court of Marine Inquiry, 1915, 'Report of the Court of Marine Inquiry held at Melbourne on 20, 23, 27 and 28 April and 3 May 1915'. F.I.S. Fisheries Investigation Steamship; Endeavour', National Archives of Australia, Canberra, series no. A5522.
 - 54 Australian Bureau of Statistics: http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat. Accessed 9 July 2012.
 - 55 Harris and O'Brien, *Australian Ports*.
 - 56 New South Wales Department of Primary Industries, Far South Coast Fisheries Office. Fish species at Eden in October, *pers. comm.* email, August 2009.
 - 57 *The Eden Propeller*, Friday, 30 January 1903.
 - 58 An image of what may be the same kiln near Lake Curalo appears in a collation of early photographs of the area. See R. Davidson, *Eden Revisited: pictorial history of Eden and district*, Eden, NSW: Rene Davidson, 1988.
 - 59 There are occasional serendipitous moments in research. After searching in various archives and being unable to find the photographs that Davis referred to in his notebook, I made a trip to Eden to walk in his footsteps and to take substitute photographs. I took several; one of a rocky headland that seemed to fit the description in his notes and to be in the right location. Returning to the State Library of Victoria, and checking other details in the John King Davis Collection, I came across a previously overlooked, very small photo album. It was untitled, the images had no captions and it was not in the same file as the notebook. One image was almost identical to that photograph I had taken on Aslings Beach; it was the geological feature that Davis had referred to as 'a striking sight'

– the deeply folded rocks of the headland. The other photographs in that little album then aligned with the photo references in his notebook.

60 McKenzie, *The Twofold Bay Story*.

61 D. Stead, 'Hunting Leviathans on the N.S.Wales Coast', *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton) 10 January 1921, p. 5.

The Codex Sancti Paschalis and the 'Fossanova' Manuscripts of the Phillipps Collection

- 1 Celsus Kelly OFM, 'The Codex Sti Paschalis', *The Provincial Chronicle of the Holy Ghost Province, Australia–New Zealand*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1949, pp. 74–94. Keith Val Sinclair, 'Manuscripts médiévaux d'origine franciscaine en Australie', *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum*, vol. 57, 1964, pp. 367–377, and 'Phillipps Manuscripts in Australia', *The Book Collector*, vol. 2, 1962, pp. 332–337. Margaret Manion, 'The Codex Sancti Paschalis', *La Trobe Library Journal*, vol. 13, nos. 51–52, 1993, pp. 11–23. Margaret Manion and Anna Welch, 'Missal [Codex Sancti Paschalis]', in *The Medieval Imagination: Illuminated Manuscripts from Cambridge, Australia and New Zealand*, ed. Bronwyn Stocks and Nigel Morgan, Melbourne: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 56–57. Anna Welch, 'Franciscan Liturgy and Identities: the Codex Sancti Paschalis and networks of manuscript production in Umbria, 1280–1350', PhD dissertation, Melbourne College of Divinity, 2011.
- 2 For a fuller discussion of this complex issue, see Anna Welch, 'Franciscan Liturgy and Identities', especially chapters 3–5. For a full description and bibliography of the Codex Sancti Paschalis, pp. 138–142.
- 3 *The Phillipps Manuscripts. Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, BT. Impressum Typis medio-montanis 1837–1871*, with an introduction by A. N. L. Munby, London: The Holland Press, 1968, p. 216 (the list of 55 codices occupying pp. 215–217).
- 4 A. G. Little, 'Description of a Franciscan Manuscript formerly in the Phillipps Library now in the Possession of A. G. Little', *Publications of the British Society of Franciscan Studies*, vol. 5, 1914, pp. 9–17, available at <http://www.archive.org/stream/collectaneafranc00litt/collectaneafranc00litt_djvu.txt>, and in much more detail, 'Un nouveau manuscrit Franciscain ancien Phillipps 12290 aujourd'hui dans la bibliothèque A.G. Little, Paris: Fischbacher: 1914–1919, available at <http://www.archive.org/stream/MN41682ucmf_8/MN41682ucmf_8_djvu.txt>.
- 5 Briefly described at <<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/lat/latin-th.html>>. This reports that, apart from the study by Little, there is only unpublished description available at the Bodleian; see *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 1, no. 11, October 1940, p. 177.
- 6 A. N. L. Munby, 'The Dispersal of the Phillipps Library', *Phillipps Studies*, vol. 5, Cambridge: CUP, 1960, p. 66.
- 7 See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge: CUP, 1912, no. 60, pp. 118–121, available at <<http://www.archive.org/stream/descriptivecatal00fitz#page/n7/mode/2up>>. The ms. was identified by Little as coming from Franciscans of Siena. A.G. Little, 'Description of a Franciscan Manuscript formerly in the Phillipps Library', p. 9, and 'Un nouveau manuscrit Franciscain ancien Phillipps 12290', p. 1.
- 8 See note 1 above.
- 9 Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, vol. 2, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, no. 755.
- 10 M. Tyson, 'Handlist of the Collections of French and Italian Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 14, 1930, pp. 563–628; pp. 567, 616 (no. 51).
- 11 M. A. Dimier, 'FOSSANOVA, ancien abbaye cistercienne d'Italie', in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, ed. R. Aubert, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1971, vol. XVII, columns 1208–1211.
- 12 A. C. de la Mare and J. J. G. Alexander, *Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey*, London: Faber, 1969, p. 6, referring back to part of the lengthy monograph by Giuseppe Gullotta, 'Gli antichi cataloghi e i codici della Abbazia di Nonantola', *Studi e Testi*, vol. 182 bis, 1955 pp. 146–149.
- 13 J. Ruyschaert 'Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Nonantola' *Studi e Testi*, vol. 182 bis, 1955, p. 9: 'Une

- des premières étapes de ces pérégrinations est la librairie romaine de Giambattista Petrucci. C'est ce dernier qui vend, en 1833 et en 1848, aux agents du collectionneur anglais Phillipps, les séries de mss connus maintenant comme mss anglais Phillipps 6546-6548, 12260-12269 et 12298. Parmi les mss Phillipps les nn 6547-6548, 12265-12668 et 12298 toujours restés à Cheltenham furent rachetés, avec le reste des mss de la collection par la librairie londonienne Robinson, où il se trouvent encore, sauf les deux premiers qui furent acquis récemment par M Martin Bodmer.'
- 14 A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library From 1841 to 1872*, Phillipps Studies, vol. 4, Cambridge: CUP, 1956, p. 2: 'The bookseller bought several important blocks of manuscripts in Italy which passed to Middle Hill, especially Nos 12260-12313, some of which came from the medieval library of the abbey of Nonantola. Phillipps paid £525 for this group of manuscripts which included five Lombardic books of the eighth century.' But *ibid*, 180: 'The abbé Ruyschaert informed me that these MSS came from Nonantola, not from Fossa Nova.'
 - 15 Margaret Manion, 'The Codex Sancti Paschalis', note 4. 'The manuscript was listed as one of a number bought by Thomas Phillipps in 1848 in an article by A. G. Little, 'Description of a Franciscan Manuscript formerly in the Phillipps' Library now in the possession of A. G. Little', *Publications of the British Society of Franciscan Studies*, V, 1914, pp. 9-17. According to Little, it was in a group of manuscripts that found their way to England from the Cistercian monastery of San Stefano Fossa Nuova. A. N. L. Munby, however, later persuasively argued that the Missal was in the collection of the abbey of Nonantola which was transferred between 1660 and 1663 to the Biblioteca Sessoriana of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome. These books disappeared some time between 1798 and 1818, when they were listed in the stock of the Roman bookseller Giambattista Petrucci. Thomas Phillipps purchased the Missal from the English booksellers Payne and Foss in 1848. See A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, IV, 1956, p. 180; and A. C. de la Mare and J. J. G. Alexander, *Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey*, p. 6. Dr C. de Hamel kindly assisted with this information.
 - 16 Manion, 'The Codex Sancti Paschalis', p. 21, note 1.
 - 17 Celsus Kelly OFM, 'The Codex Sti Paschalis', p. 89.
 - 18 *Ibid*.
 - 19 *Ibid*. See also 'Our Starved Public Library: art treasures may be lost', *Argus*, 31 May 1949, p. 2. This article in the *Argus*, by 'a Special Correspondent', also notes the disappointing public response to the Library's fundraising drive for the purchase of the exhibited manuscripts.
 - 20 *Ibid*, p. 90.
 - 21 Fr Vincent Long OFM, quoted in Kelly, 'The Codex Sti Paschalis', p. 90.
 - 22 *Ibid*, p. 91.
 - 23 *Ibid*, p. 92.
 - 24 *Ibid*, p. 93.
 - 25 The Library's struggle to raise funds for the purchase of the exhibited manuscripts (see n. 18, above) must also have played a part in its withdrawal from the race to buy the CSP. In the end, the Library bought only £1720 (including £600 of public donations) of the £7000 worth of manuscripts offered for sale by W. H. Robinson. See 'Library unable to buy rare manuscript', *Argus*, Thursday 7 July 1949, p. 8. See also Shane Carmody, 'William H. Robinson, Booksellers and the Public Library of Victoria', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 81, Autumn 2008, pp. 91-105.
 - 26 *Ibid*, pp. 93-94.
 - 27 *Ibid*, p. 94.
 - 28 Margaret Manion and Anna Welch, 'Missal [Codex Sancti Paschalis]'
 - 29 The conference proceedings were subsequently published: Constant J. Mews and Claire Renkin, eds., *Interpreting Francis and Clare of Assisi: from the Middle Ages to the present*, Melbourne: Broughton Publishing, 2010. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, no. 755.

Notes on Contributors

Shane Carmody is Director Development Director at the State Library of Victoria and a regular contributor to the *La Trobe Journal*.

Chris Elmore is a Melbourne-based writer, researcher and editor with interests in history, literary culture and bibliography. He has recently completed an article on a William Hazlitt manuscript held by SLV and is currently undertaking further research on Robert Bage's Antarctic Diary and the Mawson expeditions.

Derham Groves is an architect and author who teaches at the University of Melbourne. His latest two books are *Anna May Wong's Lucky Shoes: 1939 Australia through the eyes of an Art Deco diva* (2011) and *Out of the Ordinary: popular art, architecture and design* (2012). He is currently working on a book about the American film, radio and TV cowboy, Hopalong Cassidy.

Colin Holden is a guest curator at the State Library of Victoria, preparing an exhibition for 2014 on eighteenth-century printmaker Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-78) and the Grand Tour. He has curated several print-focussed exhibitions for the Geelong Gallery and the National Gallery of Victoria. His most recent major publication, *The Outsider: a portrait of Ursula Hoff*, is a study of one of Melbourne's greatest print specialists.

Bronwyn Hughes writes and lectures on history, design and conservation of stained glass and is consultant to heritage architects and organisations across Australia. Her current research includes compiling the first encyclopedia of Australia's stained glass makers and commemorative stained glass of First and Second World Wars.

Michael Humphries is a former teacher librarian with a special interest in artists' depictions of Melbourne cityscapes.

Daniela Kaleva is a musicologist and voice specialist currently teaching music at the School of Communication, International Studies and Languages and associate member of the Hawke Research Institute, University of South Australia. Daniela's research interests are focused on interdisciplinary approaches to music analysis, performance analysis and performance-based research. She is an expert of melodrama technique (spoken text, music, acting and visual effects). Her other research is concerned with the work of music publisher Louise Hanson-Dyer, music patronage and creativity. Daniela has directed and performed in Baroque productions using eighteenth-century theatrical gesture, including gesture notation. Daniela writes performing arts criticism for Australian Stage Online.

Katherine Kovacic is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne. She is particularly interested in the human-animal bond and the representation of animals in art.

Morag Loh is a Melbourne writer, historian and curator of photography. Her work has mostly been about the migration to and settlement in Australia of non-British peoples and the experiences of women and children.

Anna Lucas has been researching aspects of Antarctic history, particularly the Australasian Antarctic Expedition 1911-1914, for several years, focusing on supporting members of the team, like ship's captain John King Davis, and the wider international network that helped to establish Douglas Mawson as an Antarctic identity. Her current work in progress is the reconstruction of the journals of Dr. Xavier Mertz, and his biography.

Constant Mews is Director of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Theology and Professor of Medieval History within the School of Philosophical, Historical and International Studies, Monash University. He has published extensively on Abelard and Heloise and their contemporaries, as well as on medieval intellectual and religious culture from the seventh to fifteenth centuries.

Anna Welch is Assistant Curator of Prints & Drawings at the National Gallery of Victoria and curatorial assistant at the State Library of Victoria. She is a lecturer at the MCD University of Divinity, and a research assistant on the ARC-funded linkage project *Imaging poverty: conceptualising and representing poverty and the poor in mendicant inspired literature, preaching and visual art 1220-1520* (Monash University). Her doctoral thesis (2011) investigated the Codex Sancti Paschalis and the construction of communal spiritual identity.

Clare Wright is an historian, author and broadcaster. She is the author of *Beyond the Ladies Lounge: Australia's female publicans* (MUP, 2003) and a forthcoming book about women's role in the Eureka Stockade (Text, 2013). Clare researched, wrote and presented the television documentary *Utopia Girls: How Women Won the Vote*, which screened on ABC1 in June 2012.