

Endnotes

Lewis, *Building the Dome*

This paper is essentially an enlargement of Miles Lewis, 'The Dome', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 72, Spring 2003, pp. 41-61, with the addition of many more illustrations, updated, especially with information from Alan Holgate's comprehensive web site on John Monash, <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~aholgate/jm/bldgtext/bldgs11.html>, and Mary Lewis's annotations on the working drawings and the Clark photographs held by the State Library.

- 1 George Tibbits, 'Reed and Foundation, 1853-1890' in Philip Goad, ed., *Bates Smart: 150 years of Australian architecture*, Fishermans Bend, Vic: Thames and Hudson, 2004, pp. 16-65, 89-90.
- 2 Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia, Melbourne, 1866-67, *Official Record, &c*, Melbourne: The Commissioners, 1867, p. xii.
- 3 *Building and Engineering Journal*, 19 December 1896, supplement, np [i].
- 4 *Building, Engineering and Mining Journal*, 30 September 1899.
- 5 Allom Lovell, Sanderson Pty Ltd in conjunction with the Heritage Group, Public Department, Victoria, 'State Library and Museum of Victoria Buildings: conservation analysis', 1985, vol. I, pp. 31, 50.
- 6 *Argus*, 23 April 1906, p. 6.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 D. A. L. Saunders, 'The Reinforced Concrete Dome of the Melbourne Public Library, 1911', *Architectural Science Review*, vol. 2, March 1959, p. 39.
- 9 *Argus*, 23 June 1906, p. 6.
- 10 Information from Don Watson, 2013.
- 11 E. La T. Armstrong and R. D. Boys, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906-1932*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery, 1932, p. 53. But it was not, as sometime stated, the effect of Armstrong's trip overseas at this time, for in fact the trip came much later.
- 12 *Journal of the Royal Victorian Institute of Architects*, March 1907, p. 7.
- 13 Armstrong & Boys, pp. 5-6.
- 14 D. A. L. Saunders, 'Joseph Reed Architect, Melbourne, 1852-90: his life and work and the practices he established', Bachelor of Architecture report, University of Melbourne, 1950, p. 23.
- 15 Quoted in Saunders, 'The Reinforced Concrete Dome', p. 40.
- 16 Armstrong & Boys, p. 50.
- 17 *Building*, 18 February, 1908, p. 15.
- 18 Armstrong & Boys, p. 6.
- 19 *Building*, 18 February, 1908, p. 15.
- 20 Public Library, Index of Inwards Correspondence, 1880-1946, Public Record Office of Victoria (hereafter Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO), VPRS 800, 1908, no. 543.
- 21 Armstrong & Boys, p. 8.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 23 There are two sheets, a plan and a section, State Library of Victoria H2010.69/48 and 49, LTAD 164 / 'Public Library, Museum, and National Galleries [sic] of Victoria', unsigned, undated, and otherwise unidentified.
- 24 E. Morris Miller, 'Some Public Library Memories, 1900-1913', edited by Derek Drinkwater, *La Trobe Library Journal*, no. 35, April 1975, pp. 75-76.
- 25 'The State Library Building', *La Trobe Library Journal*, vol. II, no. 6, October, 1970, p. 32, quoting E. La T. Armstrong, 'Fifty Years of the P.L.V.', MS 5583. Australian Manuscript Collection, SLV.
- 26 Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, Victoria, VPRS 800, 1908, no. 741.
- 27 In 1913 the Principal Librarian of New South Wales wrote to other major libraries which had adopted the system, to suggest a uniform treatment of the Australian material. Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1913, no. 757.

Endnotes

- 28 Geoffrey Serle, *John Monahs: a biography*, Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1982, p. 171.
- 29 Saunders, 'The Dome of the Melbourne Public Library', p. 41.
- 30 *Building*, 12 February, 1909, pp. 17, 19, 21, 22.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 *Age*, 9 March 1906.
- 33 *Building*, 18 February, 1908, p. 15
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 *Age*, 25 March 1908.
- 36 *Building*, 12 February 1909, p. 17.
- 37 Ibid, p. 22.
- 38 Wormwald & Weare were the leading firm in the field, and had tendered for an iron door at the end of Barry Hall in 1908. Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1908, no. 1334.
- 39 *Age*, 6 February 1909.
- 40 *Age*, 10 February 1909. The same letter was sent to *Building* and published on 12 February 1909, p. 19.
- 41 *Building*, and published on 12 February 1909, pp. 17-19.
- 42 Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, Victoria, VPRS 800, 1909, no. 134.
- 43 In August 1909 the Master Builders' Association advertised in relation to the Australian Alliance Building: 'It has been decided that members should NOT TENDER for this work under present conditions', *Argus*, 25 August 1909.
- 44 *Age*, 13 February 1909.
- 45 *Building*, 12 March 1909, p. 44.
- 46 Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., Public Record Office of Victoria, VPRS 800, 1909 no. 337.
- 47 Peebles to Monash, 25 May 1909, National Library of Australia, as conveyed to me by Alan Holgate, 2003, but also quoted, less extensively, in Serle, *John Monash*, p. 166.
- 48 Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1909, no. 571.
- 49 Or so it was reported. In fact the architects' formal recommendation of the tender was made by letter of 12 May, received, inexplicably, only on 9 June, and the sum named is £66,913. Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1909, no. 801.
- 50 *Building*, 12 June, 1909, p 26; *Herald*, 19 June 1909. See also Melbourne City Council application 1403, 16 June 1909, for the reading room and stack room.
- 51 *Herald*, 19 June 1909.
- 52 Alan Holgate has kindly advised me of a document in the University of Melbourne Archives, Reinforced Concrete and Monier Pipe Construction Company file 708 dated 23 March 1908, 'The "Monier" Patents. Short Particulars' (which was prepared in an unsuccessful attempt to dissuade George Swinburne, Minister for Water Supply, from building reinforced concrete subways or syphons). Item 8 reads 'The patent taken out in Victoria in the name of A. Wayss (E. Waters Victoria No. 12880 Feby. 11/'96) was purchased by Messrs. Carter, Gummow & Co., of Sydney - and the Reinforced Concrete Company of Melbourne are the sole licensees of the latter firm in Victoria. The patent expires on Feby. 11/1910'. Waters was a local patent attorney.
- 53 Dietrich Neumann, 'Prismatic Glass' in T. C. Jester, ed., *Twentieth-Century Building Materials*, McGraw-Hill: Washington 1995; Dietrich Neumann, "'The Century's Triumph of Lighting": the Luxfer Prism Companies and their contribution to early modern architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. liv, no. 1, March 1995, pp. 24-53.
- 54 *Concrete and Constructional Engineering*, vol. viii, no. 11, November 1913, p. xii.
- 55 Alan Holgate:
<http://home.vicnet.net.au/~aholgate/jm/personae/relations02.html#jal> reports that John Albert Laing did some drafting work for Monash in June and December 1908 (probably as a final-year student) then joined Reinforced Concrete and Monier Pipe Company in 1909. Holgate credits David Beauchamp with the bulk of the research on Laing.
- 56 Saunders, 'The Dome of the Melbourne Public Library', p. 42.

- 57 Details kindly supplied by Alan Holgate, 2003.
- 58 Saunders, 'Joseph Reed', p. 24.
- 59 Holgate, John Monash web site.
- 60 'Placing of Concrete for Dome of Melbourne Public Library', *Concrete and Construction Engineering Journal*, vol. ix, no. 4, April 1914, p. 285.
- 61 Saunders, 'Joseph Reed', p. 24.
- 62 'Placing of Concrete for Dome', p. 283.
- 63 'Placing of Concrete for Dome', p. 284.
- 64 *Building*, 13 March, 1911, p 19; Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1910, no. 1006.
- 65 Armstrong & Boys, *Book of the Public Library*, p. 11.
- 66 Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1911, no. 280.
- 67 Armstrong & Boys, p. 18. The architects forwarded the seating plan on 1 August 1911, and the lighting plan on 25 January 1912: Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., VPRS 800, 1911, no. 844; 1912, no. 125.
- 68 Public Library, Index of Inwards Corres., PRO, VPRS 800, 1913, no. 771.
- 69 *Building*, 12 June 1911, p. 50.
- 70 A. Kleinogel, 'An Interesting Reinforced Concrete Dome', *Concrete and Constructional Engineering*, vol. viii, no. 1, January 1913, pp. 39-44.
- 71 *Concrete and Constructional Engineering*, vol. viii, no. 11, November 1913, p. xii.
- 72 Other major domes are St Peter's, Rome, 42.1 m, and Santa Maria, Mosta, Malta (1833-60), 39.6 m.
- 73 Jerzy Ilkosz, *Max Berg's Centennial Hall and Exhibition Grounds*, Wroclaw: Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw, 2009, passim.
- 74 'The State Library Building', p. 34.
- 75 Saunders, 'The Reinforced Concrete Dome', p. 46.

Edquist, 'An architecture to excite an interest'

- 1 'The Public Library', *Argus*, 12 May 1859, Supplement, p. 1.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 N. Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1997, p. 106.
- 4 Redmond Barry, *Address to the Workmen Employed in Building the Great Hall of the Melbourne Public Library and Museum, in Melbourne, Victoria delivered by Sir Redmond Barry on Saturday, September 8, A.D. 1866*, Melbourne: Wilson and Mackinnon, 1866, p. 37.
- 5 Barry, *Address to the Workmen*, p. 37.
- 6 Edward La Trobe Bateman (1815-1897). See his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bateman-edward-la-trobe-2951>.
- 7 *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 27 September 1866, quoted in Anne Neale 'Decorative Art and Architecture and Architecture: Owen Jones and Bateman in Australia', *FIRM(ness) commodity DELight?: Questioning the Canons*, Melbourne: SAHANZ, 1998 p. 271.
- 8 'Opening of the Exhibition', *Argus*, 25 October 1866, p. 5.
- 9 <http://www.architecture.com/LibraryDrawingsAndPhotographs/Albertopolis/TheStoryOf/GreatExhibition/InteriorOfCrystalPalace.aspx>, accessed 16 July 2013.
- 10 Georgina Whitehead, *Civilising the City: a history of Melbourne's Public Gardens*, Melbourne: State Library of Victoria, 1997, p. 132.
- 11 Whitehead, *Civilising the City*, p. 133.
- 12 Quoted in John Arnold, 'Library profile. Edmund La Touche Armstrong', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 72, Spring 2003, p. 83. Full text available at <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-72/t1-g-t9.html>.
- 13 Edmund La Touche Armstrong, *The Book of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of*

- Victoria, 1856-1906*, Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906, pp. 89-90.
- 14 Ibid, p. 5.
 - 15 Edward Morris Miller (1881-1964). See his entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/miller-edmund-morris-7581>.
 - 16 E. Morris Miller, 'Some Public Library Memories 1900-1913', edited by Derek Drinkwater, *La Trobe Library Journal*, 35, April 1985, p. 76. Full text available at <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-35/index.html>.
 - 17 William R. Lethaby, *Architecture Mysticism & Myth*, Bath: Solos Press, 1994, p. 16.
 - 18 Edmund La Touche Armstrong, 'The Public Library and the Public', a paper delivered to the meeting of the Library Association of Australasia in Sydney, October 1898, reprinted in part in *La Trobe Journal*, no. 72, Spring 2003, p. 30.
 - 19 'John Gollings pays tribute to the enchanted dome', <http://exhibitions.slv.vic.gov.au/dome100/dome-blogs/blog/john-gollings-pays-tribute-enchanted-dome>, accessed 27 July 2013.

Reynolds, *Remembering Redmond Barry*

- 1 Papers, 1798-1935, State Library of Victoria MS8380 (602.1a).
- 2 He held this position from the foundation of the university in 1853 until his death in 1880.
- 3 Visible if standing under the portico and looking above the entrance to the library. The Trustee coats of arms are on the Swanston Street facing pediment.
- 4 Kenneth W. Park, "'Thrusting Forward": a note on the Armorial Bearings', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 76, Autumn, 2004. <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-73/t1-g-t11.html>.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 All originally located at the Swanston Street site.
- 7 State Library of Victoria, Dome Galleries, Level 5.
- 8 Australian Library and Information Association, 'Redmond Barry Award'. <http://www.alia.org.au/about-alia/awards-and-grants/320/redmond-barry-award>. Accessed 17 August 2013.
- 9 'First "public" library: home of Sir Redmond Barry', *Argus*, 11 December 1923, p. 17.
- 10 Robyn Annear, *A City Lost and Found: Whelan the Wrecker's Melbourne*, Melbourne: Black Inc., 2005.
- 11 Sue Reynolds, 'Libraries, Librarians and Librarianship in the Colony of Victoria', *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, vol. 40, no. 1, March 2009, pp. 50-64.
- 12 For an artist's impression of this courtroom furniture see 'The Trial of Edward Kelly, the Bushranger', *Australasian Sketcher*, 6 November 1880. <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/84907>. Viewed 31 March 2013.
- 13 Redmond Barry established the first university law course in Australia in 1857.
- 14 Established as a permanent ornamental reserve in 1867 and now named University Square.
- 15 http://www.pcs.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/375967/Main_Campus_Building_Data_Sheets_Vol_2B.pdf. Viewed 31 March 2013.
- 16 See Fiona Salisbury, 'A Group of Books from Redmond's Library', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 82, Spring 2008, pp. 88-103. <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-82/t1-g-t8.html>. Viewed 9 August 2013.
- 17 Wallace Kirsop, 'In Search of Redmond Barry's Library', *La Trobe Library Journal*, no. 26, December, 1980, pp. 25-33. <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-26/t1-g-t1.html>. Viewed 31 March 2013.
- 18 John Arnold and Joseph Johnson, *Riversdale Golf Club 1892-1992: a centenary history*, Mt Waverley, Vic.: Riversdale Golf Club, 1992.

Phoenix, *Every Hour, On the Hour*

- 1 John A. T. Bye, 'Meteorology: a remarkable set of early inland observations' in Douglas Andrew McCann and Edmund Bernard Joyce, eds, *Burke & Wills: the scientific legacy of the Victorian Exploring Expedition*, Collingwood, Vic: CSIRO Publishing, 2011, pp. 235-244.
- 2 Meteorological observations were made between 17 September 1860 and 20 May 1861 by William John Wills, Box 2082/6a-k; William Brahe, Box 2082/6k and Box 2083/2c; Ludwig Becker, Box 2082/5f, Box 2083/2d and Box FB33; Hermann Beckler, Box 2082/5e; all at Australian Manuscripts Collection, MS 13071, State Library of Victoria (hereafter MS 13071, SLV).
- 3 Sarah Murgatroyd, *The Dig Tree*, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2002, p. 171.
- 4 William Brahe, 'Letter to the editor', *Argus*, 14 November 1861.
- 5 Exploration Committee of the Royal Society of Victoria, 'Leader's copy of Instructions to surveyor, meteorologist and astronomical observer dated, Melbourne, 3 September 1860', Box 2082/3c, MS 13071, SLV.
- 6 Wills, 'Memorandum book containing miscellaneous meteorological observations, calculations and notes', Box 2083/1e, MS 13071, SLV.
- 7 William Wills, ed., *A Successful Exploration Through the Interior of Australia, from Melbourne to the Gulf of Carpentaria: from the journals and letters of William John Wills*, London: Richard Bentley, 1863, pp 102-103; Wills, 'Journey from Cooper's Creek to Carpentaria and return to Cooper's Creek transcribed by Ferdinand Mueller and James Smith', 13 March 1861, Box 2083/1a, MS 13071, SLV.
- 8 Exploration Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 5 February 1861, p. 101, 'Minute book 1858-1873', Box 2088B/1, MS 13071, SLV.
- 9 Wills, 'Memorandum book', Box 2083/1(e), MS 13071, SLV.
- 10 Georg Neumayer, *Results of the Magnetic Survey of the Colony of Victoria Executed during the years 1858-1864*, Mannheim: J Schneider, 1869. The expedition departed with one mercurial barometer and four aneroid barometers numbered #19884, #21543, #21544 and #21548. Aneroids #19884 and #21544 were left at the Darling with Beckler and Beckler.
- 11 Wills, 'Field-book, 5-11 January 1861, transcribed by Mueller', Box 2083/1a, MS 13071, SLV.
- 12 Robert O'Hara Burke, 'Despatch dated Cooper's Creek, 13 December 1860', Box 2082/1a, Item 13, MS 13071, SLV.
- 13 Brahe, 'With Burke and Wills: a survivor's memories', *Argus*, 27 August 1910.
- 14 Burke, 'Despatch'.
- 15 Victoria: Parliament, *Burke and Wills Commission. Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into and Report upon the Circumstances Connected With the Sufferings and Death of Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills, the Victorian Explorers*, Melbourne: John Ferres Government Printer, 1862, Question 406.
- 16 Victoria: Parliament, *The Commission*, Question 186.
- 17 Dave Phoenix, 'All Burke's Books &c Have Been Saved: The Burke and Wills Papers in the State Library of Victoria', *La Trobe Journal*, no 86, December 2010, pp. 3-22.
- 18 Electronic Finding Aid for MS 13071, 'A Guide to the records of the Royal Society of Victoria's Exploration Committee, The Victorian Exploring Expedition and The Relief Expeditions', SLV. <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/32064>.
- 19 Exploration Committee. 'Minutes of a meeting of the Exploration Committee held on 5 February 1861', EC Minute book, p. 101, Box 2088B/1, MS13071, SLV.
- 20 Wills, *Successful Exploration*; Andrew Jackson, *Robert O'Hara Bourke and the Australian Exploring Expedition of 1860*, London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1862.
- 21 Tim Bonyhady, *Burke and Wills: from Melbourne to myth*, Balmain, NSW: David Ell Press, 1991, p. 133.
- 22 Wills, 'Third surveyor's report, Camp LXV depot, Cooper's Creek', Box 2082/4b, MS 13071, SLV.
- 23 Wills, 'Field notes No. 4, 14 - 20 November 1860, Box 2082/6h, MS 13071, SLV.
- 24 Brahe, 'Report, dated Melbourne, 30 June 1861', Box 2082/4h, MS 13071, SLV.
- 25 Ibid.

- 26 Wills, 'Journey from Cooper's Creek . . . transcription'.
- 27 Edwin James Welch, 'An Explorers Plant', *World News*, 5 March 1910.
- 28 Wills, 'Astronomical observations made on the return journey from the north, 1861', Box 2083/1d, MS 13071, SLV.
- 29 Wills, 'Journal of trip from Cooper Creek towards Adelaide', MS 30/7, National Library of Australia.
- 30 The Réaumur scale (°Ré, °Re, °R) is a temperature scale proposed in 1730 by René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur, in which the freezing point of water is 0°R and boiling point is 80°R.
- 31 Brahe, 'Report'.
- 32 Victoria: Parliament, *The Commission*, Questions 751 and 752.
- 33 Brahe, 'Report'.
- 34 In 1860 there were no standard time zones in Australia. Wills set his watch to GMT +9.20, which was the local time for the 140° E meridian which he was planning to follow. Brahe used a silver watch, No. #10597 as the timepiece for his observations. Once Wills departed from the Cooper depot with the sextant, Brahe would not have been able to correct his watch for errors, therefore there is no way of establishing the accuracy of #10597 after 16 December 1860. Sunrise at the Cooper depot is 04.55 am GMT +9.20 on 16 December and 05.48 am GMT +9.20 on 28 February. Australian Central Standard Time (ACST) was first defined under the Standard Time Act 1894 (South Australia) as being GMT +9.00 hours based on the 135° E meridian, and then changed under the Standard Time Act 1898 (South Australia) to GMT +9.30 hours. based on the 142° 30' E meridian.
- 35 Sunrise at the Cooper depot is 05.52 am GMT +9.20 on 6 March and 06.16 am GMT +9.20 on 21 April Australian Central Standard Time.
- 36 Victoria: Parliament, *The Commission*, Question 314.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 I have closely compared Brahae's recordings with current readings: Commonwealth of Australia: Bureau of Meteorology, 'Climate statistics for Australian locations: Moomba'.
http://www.bom.gov.au/climate/averages/tables/cw_017096_All.shtml.
- 39 Wills, 'Journey from Cooper's Creek . . . transcription'.
- 40 Robert Lewis John Ellery, 'Report on astronomical observations made on return from Gulf', Box 2082/5g, MS 13071, SLV.
- 41 Wills 'Astronomical observations'.
- 42 Wills 'Astronomical observations made on the return journey from the north, 1861', Box 2083/1d, MS 13071, SLV; 'Journal of trip'.
- 43 Wills, 'Journey from Cooper's Creek . . . transcription'.
- 44 Wills, 'Journal of trip'.
- 45 Wills, 'Journal of a trip', [electronic resource], MS 30/7.
- 46 Burke, 'Last notes, dated 26 & 28 June 1861'; Wills, 'Last notes, dated 30 May 1861', (aka, 'Note left at creek'), both Safe 1, MS 13071, SLV.
- 47 Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 'The Burke and Wills Expedition and the Royal Society of Victoria', *Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand*, vol. 10, no. 40, 1963, pp. 470-78
- 48 Frank Clune, *Dig*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1937.

Marsden, *Gentlemen Versus Players*

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- 1 Extract from the 'Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, Melbourne Mechanics' Institution, 1 June 1840', Melbourne Athenaeum Library Archives.
- 2 See Derek Whitlock, *The Great Tradition: a history of adult education in Australia*, St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1974, pp. 26-27.

- 3 J. Woolley, *The Universal Diffusion of Curiosity and Information*, 1861 lecture, reproduced in I. Turner, ed., *The Australian Dream*, Melbourne: Sun Books, 1968, pp 87-88.
- 4 *Port Phillip Gazette* (Melbourne), 9 October 1839, p. 3.
- 5 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 5 January 1839, pp 2-3.
- 6 'Garryowen' (E. Finn), *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne, 1835-1852*, Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell, 1888, [facsimile edition: Heritage Publications Melbourne: 1976], p. 419.
- 7 Kevin Quigley, 'Introduction', *The Melbourne Athenaeum 170 years 1839-2009: a journal of the history of a Melbourne Institution*, Melbourne: Melbourne Athenaeum Inc. 2009.
- 8 Entry for 5 November, 1839, *Reverend William Waterfield Journal 1837-1864*, State Library New South Wales: A1375. Also available as an extract in *Historical Records of Victoria*, Foundation Series, vol. 3: *The Early Development of Melbourne 1836-1839*, Michael Cannon, ed. , Melbourne: Govt. Printing Office, 1984, p. 562.
- 9 *Port Phillip Patriot & Melbourne Advertiser*, 7 November 1839, p. 3.
- 10 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 6 November 1839, p. 4.
- 11 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 16 November 1839, p. 3.
- 12 C. Wood, & M. Askew, *St Michael's Church Melbourne: formerly the Collins Street Independent Church*, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1992, p. 14.
- 13 Marc. Askew, 'The Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: mechanics' institutes in nineteenth century Victoria', MA. thesis, Monash University, 1982, p. 26, footnote 17. J. Lundie, 'The Melbourne Mechanics' Institute, 1839 – 1872', Hons thesis, The University of Melbourne, 1955, p. 10. Jill Eastwood (née Lundie) in 1994 repeated her 1955 comment in her contribution ('The Melbourne Mechanics' Institute: its first thirty years in Pioneering Culture') in P. C. Candy and J. Laurent, eds, *Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts in Australia*, Adelaide: Auslib Press, 1994, p. 66.
- 14 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 16 November 1839, p. 5.
- 15 *Port Phillip Patriot & Melbourne Advertiser Supplement*, 14 November, 1839.
- 16 *Port Phillip Gazette* Melbourne: 16 November 1839, p. 4.
- 17 Entry for 12 November 1839, *Reverend William Waterfield Journal*.
- 18 *Port Phillip Patriot & Melbourne Advertiser*, 18 November 1839, p.7. John Arnold, editor of the *La Trobe Journal*, suggests that Fawkner himself, 'J.P.F.', might have been the 'O.P.Q.', writing the letter for his own *Patriot* newspaper.
- 19 C. P. Billot, *The Life and Times of John Pascoe Fawkner*, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1985, p. 199.
- 20 T. L. Work, 'The Early Printers of Melbourne: 1838-1858', *Australasian Typographical Journal* (Melbourne), August, 1897, vol. XXVIII, no. 326, p. 1.
- 21 P. L. Brown, 'George Arden (1820?-1854)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. See <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/arden-george-1714>. Arden's birth date has not been confirmed, but it was believed by contemporaries that he was born about 1820.
- 22 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 18 & 22 April, 1840.
- 23 'Minutes Annual General Meeting, Melbourne Mechanics' Institution', 1 June 1840.
- 24 T. Strode, 'Annals and Reminiscences of Bygone Days with Incidents Not Generally Known by a Melbournite of 1838', (written 1869-70). Quoted in M. Cannon, and I. Macfarlane, eds, *Historic Records of Victoria*, vol. 4, Melbourne: Government Printing Office, 1985, p. 516.
- 25 Fawkner commenced publication of Melbourne's first newspaper *The Melbourne Advertiser* in January 1838 as a handwritten newsheet available to the patrons of his hotel. After 9 issues it became a printed paper, Fawkner having acquired a printing press. After issue 17 in April 1838, it was closed down by Superintendent Lonsdale, pending a licence from NSW. Arden and Strode commenced publication of the officially authorised *Port Phillip Gazette* in October 1838, and Fawkner, following official blessing, launched his *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser* on 29 April 1839.
- 26 J. Bonwick, *Early Struggles of the Victorian Press*, Melbourne: Gordon & Gotch, 1890, p. 52.
- 27 *Historical Records of Victoria*, vol. 3, p. 530.

Endnotes

- 28 Strode, 'Annals', vol. one, pp. 141-142.
- 29 Work, p. 2.
- 30 Billot, p. 201.
- 31 T. Strode, 'Annals', vol. 2, pp. 46-48.
- 32 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 13 November 1839, p. 3.
- 33 P. de Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society Before the Goldrushes*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 31-34.
- 34 See Appendix. Biographical information on many of the men listed can be found in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/>).
- 35 Spelling of Smyth/Smythe. The spelling 'Smyth' is generally used. Edmund Finn uses 'Smyth', with a few exceptions. Vol. 3, *Index to Garryowen's Chronicles*, with biographical details by Michael Cannon, uses Smythe. It is likely that confusion has arisen between the names of George Brunswick Smyth and his contemporary George Douglas Smythe, surveyor-squatter, as has occurred in some recent publications.
- 36 Some publications confuse Dr Alexander Thomson with his contemporary Alexander Thomson who was a servant of John Batman and a signatory to John Batman's Title Deeds with the Aboriginal chiefs in June 1835. Both were closely involved with Batman.
- 37 de Serville, p. 33.
- 38 James. Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne and the Conquest of Australia*, Melbourne: Black Inc., 2011, passim.
- 39 'Garryowen' (Finn), p. 566.
- 40 Letter from Revd J. R. Orton to Mrs Sarah Orton, 20 April 1836, in 'The Establishment and Early Operations of the Wesleyan Mission', *Historical Records of Victoria*, vol. 2A, *The Aborigines of Port Phillip 1835-1839*, Michael Cannon, ed., Melbourne: Victorian Government Printing Office, 1982, p. 79.
- 41 G. Blainey, 'David Charteris McArthur, 1808-1887', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcarthur-david-charteris-4058>.
- 42 J. A. Tosolini, 'David Charteris McArthur: a colonial gentleman', MA. thesis, Department of History, University of Melbourne, 2002. Copy held at MS 14608, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, passim.
- 43 A. G. L. Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District: Victoria before separation* Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 1996, p. 63.
- 44 J. O. Randell, *Yaldwyn of the Golden Spurs: the life of William Henry Yaldwyn 1801-1866, Sussex squire, Australian squatter, member of the Legislative Council of Queensland*, Melbourne: Mast Gully Press, 1980, passim.
- 45 Loder & Bayly, M. McBriar, *Heidelberg Conservation Study*, Heidelberg City Council, Melbourne: 1985, p. 77.
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- 48 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 30 July 1842.
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- 50 Hilary Lewis, *A History of St James' Old Cathedral, Melbourne*, 2nd edition, Melbourne, Rowprint, 1993, p. 12.
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- 52 'Garryowen' (Finn), pp. 136-37.
- 53 John M. Wilkins, *Life and Times of Captain William Lonsdale "Nieuwe Dieper", 1799-1864*, Melbourne: Wilkins, 1991, pp. 48-49.

- 54 M. Cannon & P. Jones, eds, *Historical Records of Victoria*, vol. 1, *Beginnings of Permanent Government*, Melbourne: Vic. Govt. Printing Office, 1981, pp. 338-339.
- 55 'Garryowen' (Finn), pp. 735-36.
- 56 'Garryowen' (Finn), p. 718.
- 57 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 1 June 1842.
- 58 'Garryowen' (Finn), p. 274 and chapter XXI.
- 59 de Serville, p. 41.
- 60 Allom, Lovell, Sanderson Pty Ltd in conjunction with the Heritage Group, Public Works Department, Victoria, *State Library and Museum of Victoria Buildings: conservation analysis* Melbourne, 1985, p. 10.
- 61 Lundie, 1955, Askew, 1982.
- 62 *Rules, Orders and Bye-Laws, of the Victoria Subscription Library*, Melbourne, Printed by Benjamin Lucas, 1851.

Lesh, *Land Boom Advertising*

- 1 Martin Brückner, 'The Material Map', *Common-Place*, vol. 8, no. 3, April 2008, <http://www.common-place.org/vol-08/no-03/lessons/> (accessed 26 May 2013). See also Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: maps, literacy, and national identity*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina : UNC Press Books, 2006; Margaret Beck Pritchard, 'Maps as Objects of Material Culture', *Magazine Antiques*, vol. 159, no. 1, 2001, pp. 212 – 219.
- 2 J. D. Prown, 'The Truth of Material Culture: history or fiction?', in *History From Things: essays on material culture*, vol. 1, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993, pp. 1–19.
- 3 A series of newspaper advertisements and articles were published in conjunction with the land sale map. e.g., *Argus*, 30 Jan 1885 and *Punch*, 29 Jan 1885.
- 4 'Cremorne Broadsheet', 1885, Vale Collection, State Library of Victoria (SLV). There are at least three copies of this particular broadsheet in the SLV Collection. The SLV holds many nineteenth-century Melbourne Land Sale Posters. Most are contained in the Troedel Collection, part of the Pictures Collection, donated by the printing firm Troedel & Cooper in 1968; see <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/our-collections/collectors-their-collections/charles-troedel>. Others, such as the Cremorne Broadsheet, entered the collection earlier and are part of the Maps Collection. For more on the SLV's Land Maps and the Maps Collection more generally see Judith Scurfield, 'The Map Section of the State Library', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 68, Spring 2001, pp. 4–16. <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-68/t1-g-t3.html>.
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- 6 Karen Harvey, 'Introduction', in *History and Material Culture: a student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, ed. Karen Harvey, London & New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 2, passim; Prown, 'The Truth of Material Culture: history or fiction?'; Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993, p. 268, fig. 1.3. Model for the object study based upon Prown, 1992.
- 7 Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: indigenous peoples and settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim cities*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, chap. 5.
- 8 'J. Bear', *Impressions of a Victorian Abroad: also, confessions of a naughty boy of the fifties (being sketches of early Melbourne)*, Melbourne: J. T. Picken & Co., 1906, p. 81.
- 9 Ellis does not appear in the 'Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists', Public Record Office of Victoria (hereafter PROV), 2012. Early on, Ellis served refreshments and provided entertainments. See *Ballarat Star*, 15 November 1852, 21 November 1852; *Argus*, 5 January and 13 December 1852.
- 10 *Argus*, 5 January 1852.

- 11 The designation Cremorne first appeared in print in February 1853.
- 12 CL, deeds 43767, 43774; MLR 1846/9/191.5; MLR 1846/9/173, 192; cited in Patricia Croot, 'Social History: social and cultural activities', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Chelsea*, vol. 12, 2004, pp. 166–176. For Cremorne Gardens, London, see W. W. Wroth, *Cremorne and the Later London Gardens*, London: Elliot Stock, 1907; Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: people, streets and images in nineteenth-century London*, London: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 109; Philip Howell, 'Victorian Sexuality and the Moralisation of Cremorne Gardens', in *Entanglements of Power: geographies of domination/resistance*, ed. Joanne P. Sharp, London & New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 43–63.
- 13 C.f. PROV, VA 856 Colonial Secretary's Office, VPRS 1189, Inward Correspondence, Unit 42, K54/14281, Petition of J. Ellis of Cremorne Gardens to Lieutenant-Governor Hotham, 28 December 1854.
- 14 For Cremorne Gardens, Melbourne, see Mimi Colligan, 'Cremorne Gardens, Richmond and the Modelled Panoramas 1853 to 1863', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 66, no. 2, October 1995, pp. 122–136; James P. Lesh, 'Scattering Urban Modernity: Colonial Melbourne and its Cremorne Pleasure Gardens', Unpublished Honours Thesis, University of Melbourne, Department of History, 2012.
- 15 'Interview with Mr. W. J. Wilson', *Old Times* (Melbourne), April 1903.
- 16 *Age*, 2 January 1857; *Argus*, 2 February 1858; *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 1 January 1859; *Examiner and Melbourne Weekly News*, 29 December 1860; *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, 23 January 1862.
- 17 Louisa Anne Meredith, *Over the Straits: a visit to Victoria*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1861, p. 102.
- 18 See e.g., *Age*, 2 January 1857.
- 19 *Richmond Australian*, 13 January 1864; *Argus*, 18 March 1865.
- 20 VA 669 Department of the Commissioner of Public Works, VPRS 3686/P1 Pre-Metric Building Plans, MHC 2.1, Cremorne Lunatic Asylum.
- 21 *Punch*, 3 June 1869.
- 22 Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986, pp. 22–27; Michel Foucault, 'Space, Power, and Knowledge', in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. D. During, London & New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 134–141.
- 23 *Argus*, 19 June 1885.
- 24 Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1979, pp. 213–217, 225, ch. 8 passim. See also Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to Be Rich: a history of the colony of Victoria, 1883–1889*, Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1974, pp. 248–258; Michael Cannon, *The Land Boomers*, South Yarra, Vic: Lloyd O'Neil, 1986, chaps 29, 30.
- 25 Serle, p. 275; Robert Wallace, *Copping it Sweet: shared memories of Richmond*, South Yarra, Vic: Louis Braille Books, 1993, p. 50.
- 26 Cannon, *Land Boomers*, p. 212.
- 27 Cannon, pp. 83ff, 347ff.
- 28 E.g., *Argus*, 5 January 1885, and also 29 and 31 December 1894.
- 29 'Cremorne Advertisement', *Punch*, 29 January 1885.
- 30 C.f. *Google Maps*, <http://maps.google.com>; *Whereis Online Maps (Telstra/Sensis Maps)*, <http://www.whereis.com> (accessed 26 May 2013).
- 31 Serle, p. 252.
- 32 Serle, p. 256.
- 33 Miles Lewis, 'Maps for Building Research', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 68, Spring 2001, pp. 22–24.
- 34 Serle, p. 252.
- 35 Davison, p. 214; Serle, p. 248; Wallace, p. 79.
- 36 *Cremorne News (a voice for South Richmond)*, vol. 3, no. 10, 10 October 1985.
- 37 See David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital: studies in the history and theory of capitalist urbanization*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1985, pp. xi, 29–30, 67–70.
- 38 *Argus*, 2 February 1885.

- 39 *Argus*, 31 October 1885. See also *Argus*, 20 November 1885, 4 September 1886.
- 40 *Argus*, 18 June 1886.
- 41 See *Argus*, 23 November 1885, 21 December 1885, 18 August 1886.
- 42 'Name Change in Train for East Richmond Station', *Yarra Council*, April 12, 2013, <http://www.yarracity.vic.gov.au/hot-topics/name-change-in-train-for-east-richmond-station>. Accessed 26 May 2013.
- 43 *Bell's Life in Victoria*, 14 November 1863.

Solomon, *The Victorian Diaries of a Welsh Swagman*

- 1 MS 13267 Diaries of Joseph Jenkins, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (hereafter Jenkins Diaries). The Trecefel diaries 1839-1868, the shipboard diary of his voyage from Liverpool to Melbourne 1868-1869, and 1870, are housed in the National Library of Wales. The earliest full diary is that of 1845.
- 2 William Evans, *Diary of a Welsh Swagman, 1869-1894*, South Melbourne, Vic: Macmillan, 1975.
- 3 'Acquiring the Joseph Jenkins Diaries', Interview with Jock Murphy, Transcript Video, SLV. <http://www.cv.gov.au/stories/the-welsh-swagman/7098/acquiring-the-joseph-jenkins-diaries/>.
- 4 Evans, *Diary of a Welsh Swagman*, p. x.
- 5 For a study of Joseph Jenkins' background in Wales see Bethan Phillips, *Pity the Swagman: the Australian odyssey of a Victorian diarist*, Aberystwyth: Cymdeithas Lyfrau Ceredigion Gyf, 2002.
- 6 Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, chps 8-10.
- 7 7 October 1878, Jenkins Diaries. In quoting from the diaries, Jenkins' original spelling and punctuation have generally been retained.
- 8 Quoted in Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, pp. 147-48.
- 9 Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, p. 142.
- 10 Email from Dr Trudie Everett Fraser to Shona Dewar (9 September 2012) describing a meeting between her mother and Evans.
- 11 Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, pp. 105-7.
- 12 Evans, *Diary of a Welsh Swagman*, p. xii.
- 13 Andrew Hassam, in his studies of the shipboard diaries of nineteenth-century British emigrants to Australia, points to the predominance of diaries written by middle class passengers over passengers travelling in steerage. He attributes the relative disproportion of diaries to passengers in each class to a number of factors, which in addition to the level of literacy, included conditions for writing. Once in Australia, working class diarists were more likely to continue to move about in search of work, thus making the task of writing and keeping a daily account difficult. For those diaries that were sent home, the families in Britain were also often following work and, for this reason, were unreliable custodians. Furthermore, until recently, archival collection policy privileged the public figure over the working class individual; and, subsequently, publications have reflected this same bias (Andrew Hassam, *Sailing to Australia: shipboard diaries by nineteenth-century British emigrants*, Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1995; and Andrew Hassam, *No Privacy for Writing: shipboard diaries 1852-1879*, Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1995).
- 14 Notable examples for comparison include the following: Henry Dowling, a farm labourer, kept a regular diary (PA 93/189 Diaries 1858-1860 and 1897-1900, of Dowling Family of Hawthorn; PA 95/122 Diaries 1864-1867, 1867-1869, 1889-1894, 1894-1897 and 1901-1902, of Henry Dowling of Hawthorn, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV). Like Jenkins, Dowling wrote daily, and was also concerned with farm work, weather and religion. Many volumes are missing from the sequence of copied diaries in the State Library of Victoria. Daniel Halfpenny was another agricultural labourer. His one volume journal covers seven years and includes his sea voyage to Australia. His recordings are much less reflective than Jenkins'. In terms of extensiveness, the 30 volumes of Alfred William Crowe's diaries (1856-1906) may be noted (MS 12890, Diaries and other papers of Alfred William Crowe 1856-1911, Australian Manuscripts Collection, SLV). These, however, are not written with the same discipline as the Jenkins diaries. Many days are unrecorded.

They also reflect a very different aspect of colonial life. Crowe spent his early years in the Colony prospecting for gold; and later, in establishing a school and being a school teacher and principal. Topics, some of which were otherwise recorded in newspapers of the day, including culture and society, mining, prospecting, current affairs and religion, form much of the interest.

Edward Snell's Australian colonial diary (1859-69) is an interesting and amusing record of 'an artist, engineer and adventurer'. The Victorian part of Snell's diary also tells of a different aspect of the Colony, primarily the railways, and is from an earlier time than Jenkins' diaries. An important difference between the diarists is that Jenkins wrote directly each day, whereas Snell often filled in his diary retrospectively (Edward Snell, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell: the illustrated diary of an artist, engineer and adventurer in the Australian Colonies 1849 to 1859*, edited and introduced by Tom Griffiths with assistance from Alan Platt, North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, and The Library Council of Victoria, 1988).

The Diary of Charles James Evans (previously attributed to Samuel Lazarus) 24 September 1853-21 January 1855, like the Jenkins diaries forms part of SLV's 'Treasures & Curios Collection'. It is a daily account of his observations and activities as an entrepreneur in Melbourne and the Ballarat goldfields. His narrative voice is more vibrant and personal, and less structured and deliberate than Jenkins'. The period and extent of the diaries is also a point of difference between the two manuscript collections.

- 15 Michael Piggott, 'Towards a History of Australian Diary Keeping', *Archivaria*, no. 60, Fall 2005, Association of Canadian Archivists p. 149. See also Michael Piggott, 'The Diary: social phenomenon, professional challenge', *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol. 31, no. 1, May 2003, pp. 83-90.
- 16 Piggott suggests caution when defining or contextualising 'Australian' diaries in 'Towards a History of Australian Diary Keeping', p. 151. Many of the authors, including Jenkins, were 'visitor diarists'.
- 17 http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/mid/sites/lampeter/pages/halloffame_bethanphillips.shtml.
- 18 Lewis Lloyd, *Australians from Wales*, Caemarfon: Gwynedd Archives, 1988. Ethne Jeffreys, *It's Wales: Welsh Australians – their history and achievements*, Ceredigion: Y. Lolfa Cyf., Talybont, 2008. Robert Llewellyn Tyler, *The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town: Ballarat, Victoria, 1850-1900*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010.
- 19 Miles Fairburn, *Nearly out of Hope: the puzzle of a colonial labourer's diary*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995.
- 20 12 July 1877, Jenkins Diaries.
- 21 Charles Fahey, "Abusing the Horses and Exploiting the Labourer": the Victorian agricultural and pastoral labourer, 1871-1911', *Labour History*, no. 65, November 1993, p. 96.
- 22 Angela Taylor, *A Forrester's Log: the story of John La Gerche and the Ballarat-Creswick State Forest 1882-1897*, Carlton South, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1998, p. 186.
- 23 William J. Lines, *Taming the Great South Land: a history of the conquest of nature in Australia*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p. 122.
- 24 Inga Clendinnen, 'The History Question: who owns the past?', *Quarterly Essay*, issue no. 23, 2006, p. 5.
- 25 <http://www.imagesandmeanings.com/2012/08/once-not-so-jolly-welsh-swagman-story.html>.
- 26 <http://maldonfocus.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/The-Welsh-Swagman.pdf>.
- 27 22 January 1874, Jenkins Diaries.
- 28 Iolo Morganwg claimed to have founded the Unitarian Society of South Wales in 1802, (<http://iolomorganwg.wales.ac.uk/bywyd-undodwr.php>).
- 29 28 November 1886, Jenkins Diaries.
- 30 8 December 1887, Jenkins Diaries. George McArthur (1842-1903) bequeathed 2,500 books to the University of Melbourne. See Hilary Maddocks, 'The George McArthur Bequest: a personal history', http://www.unimelb.edu.au/culturalcollections/research/collections9/07_McArthur.pd.
- 31 7 October 1874, Jenkins Diaries.
- 32 10 March 1884, Jenkins Diaries.
- 33 4 December 1884, Jenkins Diaries.

- 34 22 September 1874, Jenkins Diaries.
- 35 22 December 1886, Jenkins Diaries.
- 36 23 May 1890, Jenkins Diaries.
- 37 1 January 1894, Jenkins Diaries.
- 38 Piggott, 'Towards a History of Australian Diary Keeping', p. 158.
- 39 31 December 1873, in 1874 diary, Jenkins Diaries.
- 40 11 March 1869 quoted in Phillips, p. 197.
- 41 29 November 1886, Jenkins Diaries. Jenkins had some empathy with the young not being interested in learning. He recalled that he did not understand the satisfaction of learning until he was eighteen years of age.
- 42 Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, p. 10.
- 43 Introduction to 1880, Jenkins Diaries.
- 44 10 May 1885, Jenkins Diaries.
- 45 1 January 1882, Jenkins Diaries.
- 46 Many scholars associate such characteristics with women's diary writing (see, for example, Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff, eds, *Inscribing the Daily: critical essays on women's diaries*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996). It is tempting in this context to equate Jenkins' lowly social status in Victoria with the limitations of women's domestic situations, especially in the new Colony, and thus frame an analysis of his diaries in such terms. Yet, Jenkins began the habit of keeping a diary thirty years prior to leaving for Australia. Although questions of identity and status were important to the content and appearance of the entries, it should be remembered that his standing in society and in his family was not always that of an outsider. Furthermore, this approach to diary writing is consistent with his outlook, as discussed above.
- 47 Jenkins wrote a response to a letter in *Australasian* deriding Swagmen as 'beggars, loafers and vagabonds'. His letter, entitled 'Pity the Swagman', was published on 18 November 1869. Bethan Phillips used the title for her biography of Jenkins (see note 5 above).
- 48 Copy of letter October 1881, Jenkins Diaries.
- 49 1 January 1876, Jenkins Diaries. Very few examples can be found where Jenkins did not manage to write on the day, 8 December 1889 was one such day.
- 50 Introduction to 1876, Jenkins Diaries.
- 51 Brenda Niall considers that Georgiana McCrae's manuscript journals (1841-1865) having been copied, revised or reconstructed in later life, may be closer to autobiography than diary keeping (*Georgiana: a biography of Georgiana McCrae, painter, diarist, pioneer*, Carlton, South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1996, p. xv).
- 52 31 December 1873, Jenkins Diaries.
- 53 Miles, Fairburn, *Nearly Out of Hope and Hope: the puzzle of a colonial diary*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995, p. 4.
- 54 End of 1873, Jenkins Diaries.
- 55 1 January 1875, Jenkins Diaries.
- 56 31 December 1887, Jenkins Diaries.
- 57 George Walters, *The Gospel of Unitarianism*, Melbourne: George Robertson, 1885, p. 16.
- 58 15 October 1878, Jenkins Diaries.
- 59 1 May 1877, Jenkins Diaries.
- 60 29 September 1880, Jenkins Diaries.
- 61 5 December 1887, Jenkins Diaries.
- 62 21 March 1884, Jenkins Diaries.
- 63 Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: the antiquarian imagination in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 5.
- 64 2 July 1874, in back of diary under heading of July, Jenkins Diaries.
- 65 October 1874, in back of diary under heading October, Jenkins Diaries.

Endnotes

- 66 27 July 1887, Jenkins Diaries.
- 67 Copy of letter dated 28 July 1887, at end of 31 July 1887 entry, Jenkins Diaries.
- 68 17 May 1871, Jenkins Diaries.
- 69 9 November 1894, Jenkins Diaries.
- 70 13 January 1871, Jenkins Diaries.
- 71 10 November 1878, Jenkins Diaries.
- 72 23 December 1888, Jenkins Diaries.
- 73 15 October 1880, Jenkins Diaries.
- 74 18 August 1874, Jenkins Diaries.
- 75 23 December 1888, Jenkins Diaries.
- 76 14 September 1880, Jenkins Diaries.
- 77 5 March 1884, Jenkins Diaries.
- 78 4 February 1873, Jenkins Diaries.
- 79 7 January 1874, 17 January 1883, 9 February 1890, Jenkins Diaries.
- 80 For example, 29 November 1878, Jenkins notes that farmers were planting crops at the wrong time.
- 81 The Council blocked supply five times in the years 1865-77, and it is estimated that it blocked 9% of Bills in the period 1856-1901. (*Legislative Council, Parliament of Victoria Information Sheet 7, 'The Legislative Council's History'*, <http://www.parliament.vic.gov.au>)
- 82 5 March 1880, Jenkins Diaries.
- 83 4 May 1877, Jenkins Diaries.
- 84 The letter appears not to have been published.
- 85 10 July 1880, Jenkins Diaries. The same Bill that allowed manhood suffrage (1857) allowed for plural voting for landowners and complex residential qualifications (Betty Malone, 'William Cark Hains (1810-1866)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hains-william-clark-3688>).
- 86 18 August 1890, Jenkins Diaries.
- 87 <http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/explore-history/fight-rights/worker>.
- 88 11 November 1880, Jenkins Diaries.
- 89 26 March 1869, Jenkins Diaries.
- 90 22 March 1894, Jenkins Diaries.
- 91 25 December 1888, Jenkins Diaries.
- 92 22 April 1888, Jenkins Diaries.
- 93 20 April 1884, Jenkins Diaries.
- 94 9 November 1894, , Jenkins Diaries.
- 95 11 July 1890, Jenkins Diaries.
- 96 Evans, *Diary of a Welsh Swagman*, p. 2.
- 97 4 November 1889, Jenkins Diaries.
- 98 25 December 1888, Jenkins Diaries.
- 99 See Bill Jones, 'Welsh Identities in Ballarat, Australia, during the late nineteenth century', *Welsh History Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 283-307; and Tyler, *The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town*, p. 97.
- 100 18 January 1877; 2 March 1877, Jenkins Diaries.
- 101 24 May 1887, Jenkins Diaries.
- 102 He claimed to send four papers with each letter, 13 November 1875, Jenkins Diaries.
- 103 26 February 1894, Jenkins Diaries.
- 104 20 December 1882, Jenkins Diaries.
- 105 3 April 1870, Jenkins Diaries; Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, p. 250.
- 106 15 October 1887, Jenkins Diaries.
- 107 16 February 1892, Jenkins Diaries.
- 108 30 October 1890, Jenkins Diaries.

- 109 7 May 1874 Jenkins Diaries.
- 110 4 December 1884, Jenkins Diaries. This figure does seem very high. However, census data does not record itinerant workers.
- 111 12 August 1874, Jenkins Diaries.
- 112 31 March 1876, Jenkins Diaries.
- 113 Weston Bate, *Lucky City: the first generation at Ballarat, 1851-1901*, Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1979, p. 91.
- 114 This did not transpire as evidenced by Joseph Jenkins taking out a Miners' Right to keep Ants' Hill in his possession on 23 January 1885.
- 115 31 December 1883, Jenkins Diaries.
- 116 14 August 1884, Jenkins Diaries.
- 117 See <http://maldonfocus.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/The-Welsh-Swagman.pdf>.
- 118 9 January 1894, Jenkins Diaries.
- 119 Phillips, *Pity the Swagman*, p. 251.

Bryans, 'A Tolerable Interpreter'

- 1 *Argus*, 16 June 1905, p. 6.
- 2 *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 11 July 1905.
- 3 *Star* (Ballarat), 31 July 1905, p. 8.
- 4 *Ballarat Courier*, 1 August 1905, p. 2.
- 5 *Ibid*; *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 11 July 1905.
- 6 *Star*, 26 April 1856, p. 2.
- 7 *Star*, 31 July 1856, p. 1; *Ballarat Times*, 11 August 1856, p. 1 and 20 August 1856.
- 8 *Huxtable's Ballarat Commercial Directory for 1857*: Listed under local papers: 'The English Chinese and English Advertiser'—published every Saturday. The paper is not listed in Thomas A. Darragh's *Printer and Newspaper Registration in Victoria, 1838-1924*, Wellington, NZ: Elibank Press, 1997.
- 9 Edith Fry, 'Display and seminar at the Ballarat Public Library of the newly discovered copies of Robert Bell's *Chinese Advertiser*', Ballarat Public Library, Saturday 9 October 2010.
- 10 'Red Rust,' *South Australian Register*, 4 November 1879, p. 4 [Supplement].
- 11 *Ibid*.
- 12 'Timeline 1855-1927', Athalie Taylor, *Christopher and Eliza: the story of a pioneer family*, Youngtown, Tasmania, 2006, p. 31.
- 13 Yerwang Wang, 'The Complex History of Bell's Newspaper', a table of surviving copies in public collections. Private collection.
- 14 For early printing in Ballarat see Stephen Herrin, *The Development of Printing in Nineteenth-century Ballarat*, Melbourne: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 2000.
- 15 *Star*, 16 October 1857, p. 3.
- 16 Photocopy of the letter in Robert Bell's hand addressed to Sir Henry Barkly, dated 12 September 1857, Ballarat Gold Museum.
- 17 *Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, 12 March 1857, p. 4.
- 18 *Launceston Examiner*, 7 March 1857, p. 3.
- 19 VPRS 1189/P0/502 file E58/898, Public Record Office of Victoria (hereafter PRO); Anna Kye, 'Finding the Chinese Perspective: locating Chinese petitions against anti-Chinese legislation during the mid to late 1850s', *Provincance: the journal of the Public Records Office of Victoria*, no. 8, September 2009, p. 6.
- 20 *Star*, 20 January 1858, p. 2. In the *Star*, 19 October 1859, the *Chinese Advertiser* office is described as being up a steep bank within 30 yards of the Boomerang Hotel.
- 21 *Star*, 21 October 1861, p. 3.
- 22 *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday supplement, 9 September 1854, p. 2.
- 23 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 October 1854, p. 6.

Endnotes

- 24 Ian Welsh, 'Alien Son: the life and times of Cheok Hong Cheong', chapter 5, PhD Thesis Australian National University, 2003.
- 25 'New Hymn Book, 10 leaves, by William Young, Xiamen, 1852. A collection of 13 hymns in the Min Nan (Amoy) dialect'. From *Wikipedia*: 'A list of Chinese Christian hymn books published between 1807-1912, compiled by Rev. Donald MacGillivray, D.D'. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Chinese_hymn_books.
- 26 18 Vict. No. 39 received the assent of Governor Hotham on 12 June 1855.
- 27 *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 2 June 1855, pp. 2-3.
- 28 *Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*, 20 June 1855, p. 3.
- 29 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 May 1855, p. 4.
- 30 *Star*, 19 June 1859, p. 3.
- 31 'Chinese population on Ballarat', Reports of the Resident Warden, 1859-60, VPRS1189/P0/521, PROV.
- 32 *Star*, 30 May 1860, p. 3.
- 33 *Ibid*.
- 34 *Ibid*.
- 35 *Star*, 23 June, 1860, p. 3.
- 36 *Star*, 2 June, 1860, p. 3.
- 37 *Ballarat Times*, 3 August 1860, p. 2.
- 38 William Collard Smith to Attorney General, VPRS 266/P0/31, PROV.
- 39 VPRS 266/P0/33, PROV. See also J. Denniston Wood to the Attorney General (25 August 1860) asking that his comments and recommendation be forwarded to the Chief Secretary.
- 40 Robert Bell to J. McQuie, Secretary of the Ballarat Chamber of Commerce, 21 August 1860 and forwarded to the Attorney General's department, VPRS 266/P0/33, PROV.
- 41 J. Denniston Wood to Ballarat Chamber of Commerce, VPRS 266/P0/33.
- 42 J. Denniston Wood to Stephen Clissold, VPRS 266/P0/33. 60/4984, PROV.
- 43 Stephen Clissold to J. Denniston Wood, VPRS 266/P0/33, PROV.
- 44 J. Denniston Wood to Police Magistrate Ballarat, 14 November 1860, VPRS 266/P0/33. 60/6104, PROV.
- 45 Bell's application was referred to Major Wallace, Deputy Sheriff, Ballarat, who reported that 'Mr Robert Bell called at my office this morning and informed me that he had not applied for the appointment of Chinese interpreter', 60/384, 2 November 1860. In the margin is the note 'He wants to be PM' [Police Magistrate,?].
- 46 Robert Bell to the Attorney General: 'With regard to taking evidence in Chinese; by numbering the sentences (on papers printed for the purpose as in the example annexed)', VPRS 266/P0/33/4984, PROV.
- 47 *Argus*, 27 November 1860, p. 6.
- 48 *Star*, 18 April 1861, p. 3
- 49 William Young 'The Chinese Almanac', *Star*, 18 April 1861, p. 4.
- 50 *Star*, 30 April 1861, Supplement, p. 1.
- 51 *Star*, 7 May 1861, p. 3.
- 52 *Star*, 30 April 1861, Supplement, p. 1.
- 53 *Star*, 20 May 1861.
- 54 *Star*, 18 June 1861, p. 3.
- 55 Victorian Parliamentary Papers Legislative Assembly 1868, No. 56: *Report of the Condition of the Chinese Population in Victoria by the Rev. W. Young, 1868*, Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer, pp. 1271-98.
- 56 *Star*, 14 Sept, 1868, p. 3
- 57 *Argus*, 12 April 1867, p. 6.
- 58 *Brisbane Courier*, 10 November 1868, p. 2.
- 59 *Star*, 8 November 1867, p. 2.

Holden, Melbourne Modern

- 1 See, for example, Colin Holden, 'Completing the Picture: William Grant, poster production and the lithographer's role', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 90, December 2012, pp. 99-111.
- 2 Gertrude and Muirhead Bone, *Days in Old Spain*, 1938, London: Readers Union reprint, 1942, p. 163.
- 3 *Great Impressions: a centenary exhibition celebrating the founding of the European Old Master Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria* [exhibition catalogue], Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1992; Roger Butler, *Printed, Images by Australian Artists 1885-1955*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2007, p. 18.
- 4 Lionel Lindsay, 'Etching in Australia', *Print Collectors' Quarterly*, vol. 11, 1924, p. 296.
- 5 On Whistler's print output, including his city views, see Katherine Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1984. Linda Hults, *The Print in the Western World: an introductory history*, Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996, pp. 538-41, provides a useful analysis of the significance of Meryon's prints of Paris.
- 6 See the comment on Wright's impression of 'The Great Fig Tree, Berry's Bay', aquatint, 1932, Museum of Te Papa Tongarewa, 1965-0012-143, Wellington, New Zealand: 'drawn 30 years ago [ie 1893] Sydney foreshore now encroached upon by wood yards and dwellings'. Similar marginalia denouncing the march of progress appear on a number of etchings of European subjects – see Colin Holden, *Lionel Lindsay in Spain: an antipodean abroad*, Carlton South, Vic: MUP/Miegunyah, 2003, p. 39.
- 7 'An attempt was made in the 90ties (as in Spain) to find a national platform. Which foundered because the business man regarded as the norm has replaced the Law and Arts. Medicine and Engineering go on because of their utility . . .', Lionel Lindsay to Kingsley Sutton, [undated, April, 1941], Lionel Lindsay Papers, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (hereafter SLV), MS 9104.
- 8 Joanna Mendelssohn, *Lionel Lindsay: an artist and his family*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1988, p. 129.
- 9 Holden, *Lionel Lindsay in Spain*, p. 39; Mendelssohn, *Lionel Lindsay*, pp. 100-01.
- 10 Butler, *Printed Images*, pp. 9-14. As 'Aqua Fortis', Victor Cobb reproduced Hopkins' A Bit of Old Sydney', as an illustration in 'On Etching', *Lone Hand*, June 1907.
- 11 'With regret I write that most of the buildings depicted were of yesterday; they have fallen in the path of the Juggernaut progress . . .', Charles Bertie, *Glimpses of Old Sydney*, Sydney: Art in Australia, 1928, introduction, np.
- 12 Victor Cobb, 'The Art of the Painter Etcher' in Andrew Mackenzie, *The Etchings, Lecture Notes and Writings of Victor Cobb 1876-1945*, Melbourne: Pioneer Design Studio, 1987, p. 36; Robyn Annear, *A City Lost and Found: Whelan the Wrecker's Melbourne*, Melbourne: Black Inc., 2005, p. 126. See 'Nocturne (Sir Redmond Barry's Old House)', Pictures Collection, SLV, H 141887.
- 13 Annear, *A City Lost and Found*, pp. 50, 54, 79, 85-8.
- 14 Victor Cobb to R. H. Croll, 14/7/1935, in Mackenzie, *The Etchings, Lecture Notes and Writings*, pp. 93-5.
- 15 *Old Sydney Etchings and Other Works by Lionel Lindsay and Sydney Ure Smith*, David Jones, 1936 [exhibition catalogue], Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, MSS 515.13, item 23.
- 16 Tidswell was active from the 1920s-1940. Various internet sites incorrectly give his date of death as 1941.
- 17 See Tidswell images reproduced in *Manuscripts*, no. 10, August 1934, pp. 39-40.
- 18 Pictures Collection, SLV, H2000.75.
- 19 Pictures Collection, SLV, H98.83/1.
- 20 'Flinders Street Station, 1910', Pictures Collection, SLV, H 2005.41.
- 21 Lionel Lindsay, 'John Shirlow', *Art in Australia*, [no. one], 1916, np.
- 22 Pictures Collection, SLV, H41859.

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- 23 Lindsay, 'Etching in Australia', p. 300.
- 24 Richard Twopeny, *Town Life in Australia*, London: Elliot and Stock, 1883, p. 11.
- 25 Twopeny, *Town Life*, p. 2.
- 26 Twopeny, *Town Life*, p. 11.
- 27 Twopeny, *Town Life*, p. 21.
- 28 Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to be Rich: a history of the colony of Victoria 1883-1889*, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1971, pp. 272-3.
- 29 Jim Davidson, ed., *The Sydney-Melbourne Book*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986. For an amusing and less analytical treatment, see Keith Dunstan, *Knockers*, Melbourne: Cassell, 1972, pp. 58-82.
- 30 *Art in Australia*, Sydney Number, June 1927; Melbourne number, 1928, ed. J. S. MacDonald and Harold Herbert.
- 31 'Le Boheme', 'The Call of the City', *The V.A.S.*, 2 April 1917, pp. 3-4.
- 32 J. D. Fitzgerald, 'Sydney – The Cinderella of Cities', *Lone Hand*, May 1907, pp. 57, 58.
- 33 Lindsay, 'Etching in Australia', p. 294.
- 34 William Moore, 'John Shirlow', *Lone Hand*, March 1909, pp. 604-5; Victor Cobb, 'The Art of the Painter-Etcher', in Mackenzie, *The Etchings, Lecture Notes and Writings*, pp. 35-6.
- 35 See Hume Nisbet, writing in 1887, quoted in *The Birth of Melbourne*, ed. Tim Flannery, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2002, pp. 336-43.
- 36 'Le Boheme', 'The Call of the City', pp. 3-4.
- 37 On Etching', *Lone Hand*, June 1907, p. 160.
- 38 Fitzgerald, 'Sydney – The Cinderella of Cities', p. 58, and 'Sydney Slums', *Lone Hand*, September 1907, pp. 562-7.
- 39 An image of the painting can be found at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/47839261@N00/4082177592>.
- 40 The most detailed recent treatment of Traill's printmaking appears in Roger Butler, ed., *Stars in the River: the prints of Jessie Traill*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2013. Concerning Traill and Brangwyn, see Rebecca Edwards, 'Surface and Shadow: the formation of Jessie Traill's artistic vision, in *Stars in the River*, pp. 33-38.
- 41 See Benjamin Thomas, 'Purveyor of Taste: W. R. Sedon and Melbourne's Sedon Galleries', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 86, December 2010, pp. 106, 109, and note 52.
- 42 Roger Butler, *A Survey of Australian Relief Prints 1900-1950*, Melbourne: Deutscher Galleries, 1978, no. 173, np; Stephen Coppel, *Linocuts of the Machine Age*, Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1995, p. 189, cites 'Collins Street at Night' without having seen an impression. I am grateful to the Mrs Joan McClelland of the Joshua McClelland Print Room for showing me an impression.
- 43 Reproduced in Butler, *Printed Images*, p. 183. See also Eveline Syme, 'Sydney Tram Line' (1936), in Roger Butler, *Melbourne Woodcuts and Linocuts of the 1920s and 1930s*, Sydney: Australian Gallery Directors' Council, 1981, np. Other modern images of Sydney include Margaret Preston's colour woodcut, 'Circular Quay' (1925); Dorrit Black, 'Nocturne, Wynyard Square, Sydney', linocut, (1932) reproduced in *Manuscripts*, no. 3, November 1932, p. 37; Ailsa Lee Brown, 'Woolloomooloo', woodcut, (1928), reproduced in *Art in Australia*, vol. 3, December 1928.
- 44 Walter Shaw Sparrow, *Prints and Drawings by Frank Brangwyn: with some other phases of his art*, London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1919, p. 128.
- 45 Interview, Richard Annois, 2007.
- 46 Bernard Smith, *Noel Counihan: artist and revolutionary*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 63; Len Annois, quoted in *Len Annois Retrospective Exhibition*, McClelland Gallery, December 1974; interview with Richard Annois
- 47 The 1941-2 date given for several of his works in the National Gallery of Victoria's record of their collection is reasonable when they are seen within the wider context of his stylistic evolution, but any much later date is difficult to defend. Some of the dating as currently recorded for the State Library's collection may need readjustment.

- 48 'Friday Night, Bourke Street', Pictures Collection, SLV, H91.290/3; [Porters unloading trucks at the fish market], H91/290.1; Victoria Markets, H91/290/2.
- 49 Private Collection; also National Gallery of Victoria, 1124.
- 50 Pictures Collection, SLV, H2006.150/4-7.
- 51 *Argus*, 19 March 1934.
- 52 It was reproduced in *Manuscripts*, no. 7, November 1933, p. 79.
- 53 Fabian Swire, *Reflections of Melbourne in Pen Drawings*, Surrey Hills, Vic.: Studio Press, 1934, digitized version at <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/119824>.
- 54 W. K. [Keith] Hancock, *Australia*, London: Ernest Benn, 1930, p. 312.
- 55 Holden, *Lionel Lindsay in Spain*, pp. 63-4.
- 56 *The Australian Artist Douglas Pratt, O.B. E. (1900-1972) . . .*, Sydney: Australian Artist Editions, 1975, p. 14.
- 57 *Ecclesia*, November and December 1928, parish archives, St Peter's Eastern Hill, Melbourne.
- 58 *Book Lover: a literary review* [Melbourne], May 1905, p. 58.
- 59 Private collection. There were other bookplates at much the same time that incorporated elements of their particular city. Goodchild's *ex libris* for Norman Shureck includes the Sydney Harbour Bridge. In Adrian Feint's own *ex libris*, he shows himself seated against a background of Sydney harbourside suburbia.
- 60 Prospectus, private collection.
- 61 Interview with Neil R. G. Robertson, 2013.
- 62 Hancock, 'Literature and Art', in *Australia*, p. 312.



The Library after completion of the reading room. Bates Smart Collection, University of Melbourne Archives.

Notes on Contributors

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Colin Holden is a guest curator at the State Library of Victoria. His next book, *Piranesi's Grandest Tour: from Europe to Australia* (NewSouth Publishing) will be launched in conjunction with the exhibition, 'Rome: Piranesi's Vision' at the State Library of Victoria from February to June 2014.

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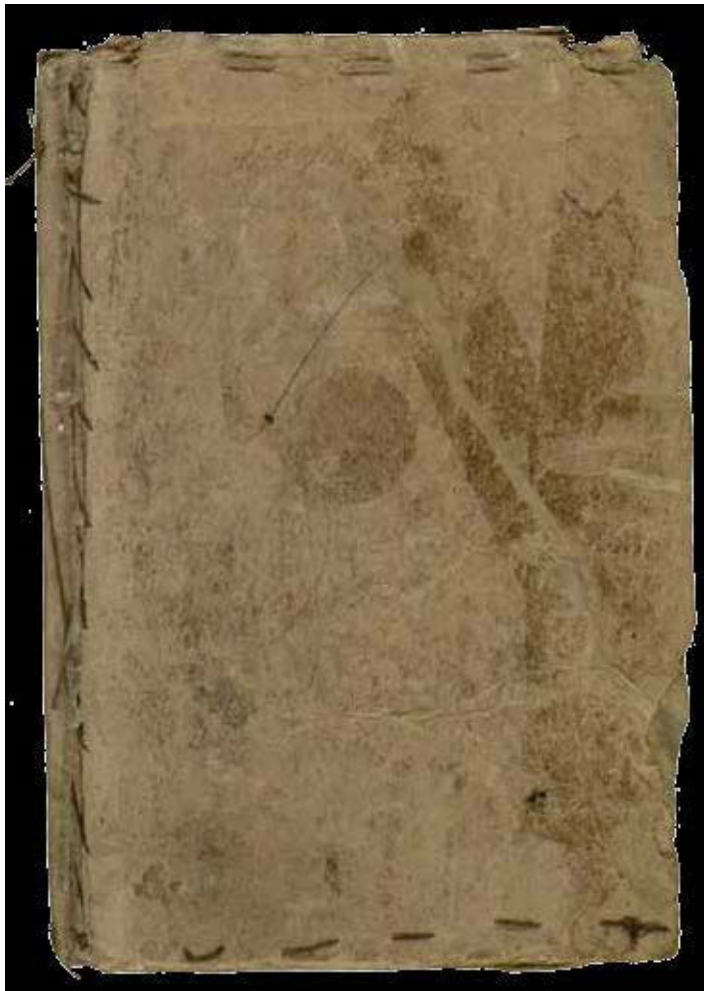
Miles Lewis, AM, FAHA, is a widely published architectural historian specialising in the cultural history of technology, and Emeritus Professor of Architecture at the University of Melbourne.

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Dave Phoenix is the President of the Burke and Wills Historical Society. He first became interested in the Burke and Wills Expedition while living at the remote outback town of Innamincka which is close to the 'Dig Tree' where much of the drama occurred in 1861. In 2008 as part of his PhD research, he walked 3,750 kilometres across Australia from Melbourne to the Gulf of Carpentaria following the faded footsteps of Burke and Wills.

Sue Reynolds is the Program Director for the Master of Information Management at RMIT University, Melbourne. Her main research and teaching interests are the history of libraries, information organisation, the sustainability of the information professions and the development of online courses in information management. She recently published a history of the Library of the Supreme Court of Victoria established by Redmond Barry in 1853.

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The very worn cover of Diary of Joseph Jenkin's 1882 diary.
MS 13267/12, SLV.