Myths and Memories:

Re-reading Space and People in Southern Western Australia through the Lenses of Travellers, 1850-1914

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Abstract

This thesis examines the perceptions of European travellers about southern Western Australia between 1850 and 1914. Theirs was a narrow vision of space and people in the region, shaped by their individual personalities, their position in society, and the prevailing discourses and ideologies of the age. Christian, Enlightenment, and Romantic philosophies had a major influence on their responses to the land—its cultivation and conservation, and its aesthetic qualities—and on their views of colonial society—its class and ethnicity. The travellers perpetuated an idealised view of a colonised landscape, and a 'pioneer' community that eliminated class struggle and inequality, even though an analysis of their observations revealed otherwise. Nevertheless, although limited, their narratives are invaluable as a reflection of opinions, attitudes and knowledge prevalent during an age of imperialism. These travellers were economically secure, literate and educated: foundations which provide an insight into the way power and privilege, implicit in their writings, governed the way they imagined Western Australia in the colonial and immediate post-federation period.

In total, the diaries, letters, journals and memoirs of forty-one travellers are analysed. The British travellers (including a Canadian, an Anglo-Indian, and three eastern-Australian colonists) toured with typical colonial attitudes towards overseas 'possessions', their observations influenced by British opinions and policies. The perceptions of three selected travellers from continental Europe, and eleven women writers are included, and although representing a small fraction of the travellers under review, their voices provide a counterpoint to the more dominant perspectives of British and male writers respectively. Many travellers were experienced authors or journalists who planned to have their writings published. Likewise, writers of letters and journals composed their text for someone else to read. Consequently, writers illustrated, edited and embellished their memoirs to construct a sense of Western Australia that would satisfy their intended audience.

Analysis of the selected travellers' writings and illustrations is structured around two themes—space and people—divided by geographical regions, the southwest, the Swan/Avon River regions, and the eastern goldfields. Over a period of sixty-four years the travellers saw convict transportation come and go, the height of gold fever, federation, and the lead up to World War One.

The imagined space and people of southern Western Australia changed during this period as more land was cleared and developed, railways, roads, and towns were built, goldfields found, and the characteristics of the population altered with the arrival of convicts, t'othersiders, and migrants. However, the tinted lenses through which European travelling writers narrowly observed space and people, presented a mythical, imagined sense of southern Western Australia.

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List of maps and illustrations

Map of Southern Western Australia

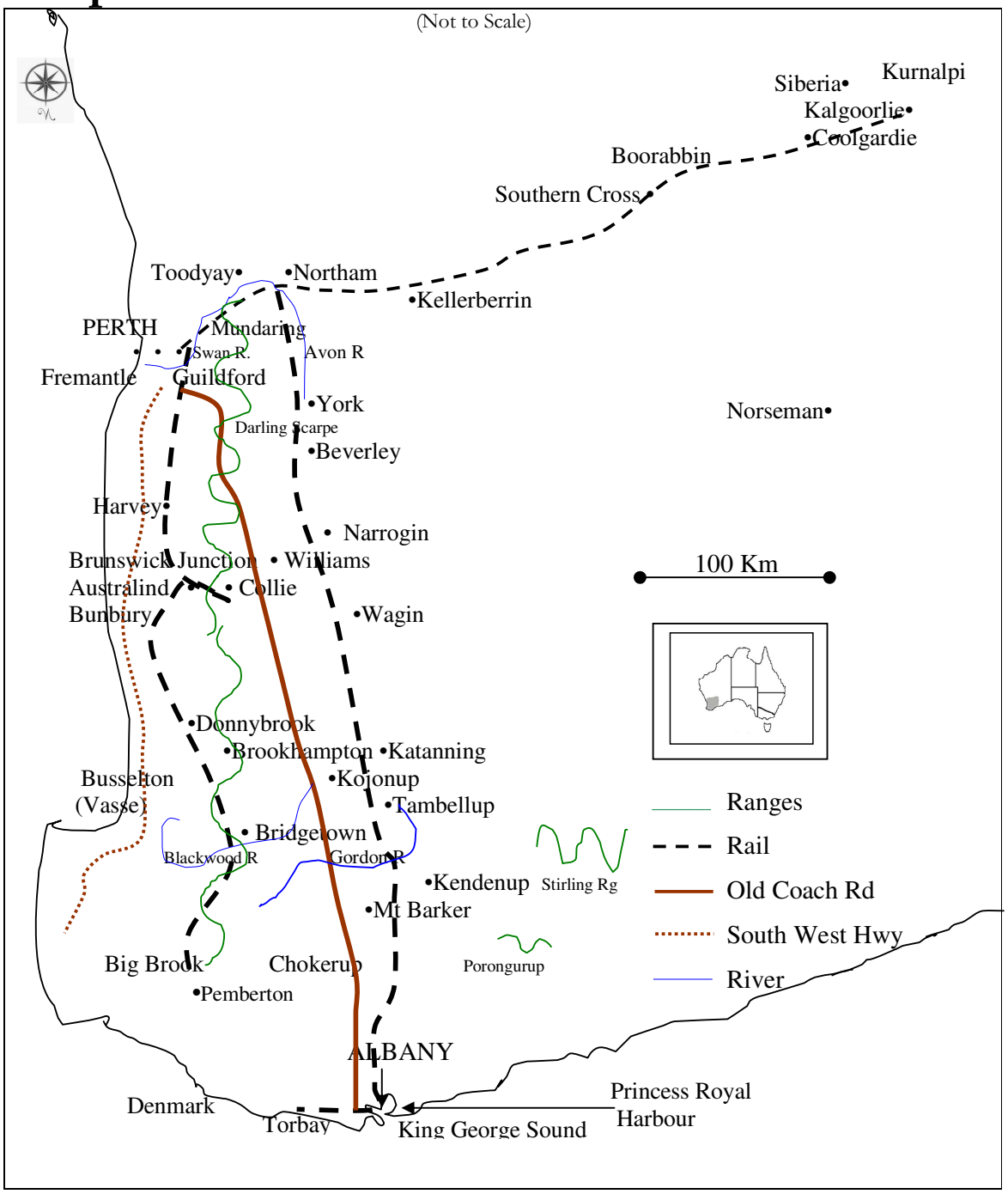

Plate: Flowers of Albany

'In one place I sat down, and without moving could pick twenty-five different flowers within reach of my hand.'

Wildflowers of Albany (Marianne North, 1880)

Introduction

> *Memory is life. It is always carried by groups of living people, and therefore it is in permanent evolution. It is subject to the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, unaware of its successive deformations, open to all kinds of use and manipulation sometimes it remains latent for long periods, then suddenly revives. History is the always incomplete and problematic reconstruction of what is no longer there…. [H]istory is a representation of the past.*
>
> (Pierre Nora, 1984) [1]

> *… a look something akin to Switzerland.*
>
> (Leopoldo Zunini, 1906) [2]

How Leopoldo Zunini imagined Bridgetown is an example of the way that myths and memories were presented, embellished and edited by European sojourners and travellers visiting southern Western Australia in the latter half of the long nineteenth century. As a 'representation of the past', articulated in Pierre Nora's quotation above, sojourners and travellers constructed a sense of space and society through the unique lenses of their writings and illustrations. They arrived without the hopes, fears, or expectations of those who planned to stay permanently and make a new life for themselves. As the late historian Jan Bassett had pointed out, the perceptions of the person 'who has left the land of his [sic] fathers, to rear his family and lay his bones in a different soil', are likely to differ greatly from those of the traveller who intends returning home.[3]

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[1] Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux De La Memoire: La Republique*, *1,* Paris, Gallimard, 1984, p.xix.
[2] Leopoldo Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today 1906,* [original publication *L'Australia attuale,* Società Tipografico, Torino, 1910], Margot Melia and Richard Bosworth, (trans/eds), Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1997, p.86.
[3] Jan Bassett, *Great Southern Landings*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, p.viii.

Travelling writers were part of the colonial enterprise by virtue of their class and education. They visited Western Australia during an age when territories were partitioned, exploited and dominated by a few imperial states.[4] Colonisation created a cultural phenomenon. Force, institutions, and example transformed images, ideas and aspirations, particularly for the Indigenous inhabitants. It was a time when non-Europeans were generally treated as inferior, undesirable, backward and infantile, fit for conquest and conversion to the supposed values of 'civilisation'. Ideological representations of exotic life by writers, intellectuals and administrators reinforced the sense of superiority of the 'civilised' over the 'primitive', even while inspiration was derived from exotic art and oriental spirituality.[5]

It was the colonial networks of transportation, administration, and tourism that enabled Europeans to travel to far off realms of their Empires.[6] Because Australia was colonised by Britain, the majority of selected travellers examined in this thesis were British, including five colonials (Frederick Ayres, Thomas Ward and May Vivienne from the eastern colonies of Australia, Norman Sligo from New Zealand, Gilbert Parker from Canada, and Anglo-Indian Henry Cornish from India), who were just as proud of their British heritage as the British, but there was also an Italian diplomat (Leopoldo Zunini), an Austrian aristocrat (Count Fritz von Hochberg), a Dutch traveller (Gerrit Verschuur) and an American social reformer (Jessie Ackerman).

This thesis compiles and analyses the collective memory of these travellers who visited southern Western Australia between 1850 and 1914. In so doing, a sense of the region's past is captured through their imaginings of space and people—the focal points that give structure to my analysis. The methodology, interpretations and parameters considered in constructing this sense of Western Australia are discussed as follows.

Who were the Travelling Writers?

This section introduces the travellers investigated in this thesis, and summarises the quantitative details regarding their mode of writing, length of stay, the period they travelled, the purpose of their travel, and their age. For detailed background information about the travellers, see their biographies in the appendix.

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[4] Mainly Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, and Japan.
[5] E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875 - 1914*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995, pp.79-80.
[6] See Helen Gilbert and Anna Johnston (eds), *In Transit: Travel, Text, Empire,* New York, Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 2002, pp.4-6. See also Helen Carr, 'Modernism and Travel (1880-1940)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.70-86, p.70.

Forty-one travelling writers have been referred to in this study. They have provided some wonderful insights into nineteenth and early twentieth-century society through their memories recorded in diaries, journals, letters and published books. The main criterion I considered when selecting them was that they had no intention of residing permanently in Western Australia, and that they departed after their stay, irrespective of how long their visit was.

There were eleven women writers, all having published their stories. They shared the fashionable curiosity women had for travel during the colonial period, and are valuable as a representation of the feminine perspective. Only four travelled independently (Marianne North, May Vivienne, Mary Hall, Jessie Ackerman), the others accompanied their husbands, except Rosamond and Florence Davenport Hill, who were sisters. The married authors rarely mentioned their husbands or children, as if unencumbered by any responsibilities or obligations.

Of the thirty men, only nine did not publish their travel journals or private letters (William Harvey, Frederick Mackie, Henry Richardson, Frederick Edelsten, Alfred Wood, Frederick Ayres, Norman Sligo, Robert Tyler, Charles Hawes). As far as it can be ascertained, the only male traveller accompanied by his wife was Edwin Grew. Edwin and Marion Grew co-wrote a book about their travels. Independent travellers, women and men, rarely mentioned their travelling companions or servants, or any assistance they may have received from Indigenous or lower class people on their travels, thus intimating that they took them for granted. For indeed they would have had assistants, Mary Hall, for example, had up to forty porters and bearers on her earlier travels in Africa, and Albert Calvert travelled around Western Australia with a party comprising of his young brother, seven servants, and five staff members.

Men were the main travellers to Western Australia in the years between 1850 and 1884, some seeking adventure (Wood, Edelstein, Henry Taunton) and others taking the opportunity to investigate various aspects of the new colony that interested them (Harvey, Mackie, Anthony Trollope, Ayres, Richardson). The only women to travel during this period were those accompanying their husband (Mrs Millett, Lady Broome) and Marianne North in pursuit of her interests in botany. The greatest proportion of travellers in this study visited between 1885 and 1900, which reflects their interests in the gold rushes. After 1900 and prior to World War One, visitors with varying interests arrived, such as Hawes, Zunini, Hochberg, Mary Hall and the Grews.

One of the women, Lady Broome, was the longest staying visitor in this study. She stayed for six years, because her husband, Frederick Napier Broome, served as

Governor from 1883 to 1889. Mrs Millett was the only other woman to have stayed a considerable time, because her husband Edward acquired a chaplaincy for five years in order to improve his health. Most of the remaining women only stayed for a couple of months. Rosamond and Florence Davenport Hill merely passed through King George Sound. The longest staying men; Jonathan Ceredig Davies, the travelling minister (four years) and Zunini, the diplomat (three years), had temporary positions, while Sligo (one year), and Carnegie (two years), were prospectors. Eight men (Edward Saunders, Rev. Robert Young, Edward Wilson, Dilke, Henry Cornish, Hume Nisbet, Verschuur, Harry Furniss) were passing through King George Sound, either heading for, or returning from the eastern colonies of Australia.

The travellers examined in this thesis were generally wealthy upper middle-class and upper-class men and women of European heritage. Among them were the titled, such as Count Fritz von Hochberg, Baronet Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Lady Mary Anne Broome, Lady Anna Brassey, and Hon. David Wynford Carnegie. Their wealth and connections greatly facilitated their ability to travel to Western Australia. Of the women, only Marianne North and Jessie Ackerman were identified as having an independent purpose for their journeys, other than planning to publish their experiences. Marianne painted unique plants and flowers destined for exhibition at Kew Gardens, and Miss Ackerman promoted the National Women's Temperance Union. The women who accompanied their husbands—Mrs Millett, Lady Broome, Lady Brassey (travelling with her husband on a world voyage aboard their yacht), and Catherine Bond (assumed to be travelling with her husband)—seemed simply to take advantage of the opportunity to write about their experiences. May Vivienne (revealing an interest in promoting Australian colonies) and Mary Hall (a well known lady traveller) visited with the intention of publishing accounts of their travels. By contrast, most of the men tended to have an occupational motive for their visit. These were as naturalists/botanists (Harvey, Ward, Hochberg), bird collectors (Ayres), commissioned illustrators, journalists and authors (Wilson, Trollope, Cornish, Nisbet, Parker, Julius Price, Raymond Radclyffe, Furniss), doctors (Richardson, Taunton), religious ministers (Young, Mackie, Davies), diplomats (Zunini) and MPs (Dilke and Hawes on their Grand Tour prior to their terms in office) and, after the gold rushes in the 1890s, mining investors or miners (Carnegie, Sligo, Tyler, Calvert). Two male travellers, Wood and Cornish, chose to journey to Australia for health reasons.

All of the women travellers were aged in their forties and fifties, thus the independent women were able to travel without a chaperone, a nineteenth-century

societal expectation for younger women. As well they travelled later in the century indicating that travelling as a single women was becoming more acceptable. Prior to the gold rush period, the male travellers were all of a similar age, being in their forties and fifties, except for Dilke (23) and Nisbet (36). This indicates that they needed to be financially well off to travel such distances (Dilke), or have their trip financed by interested parties (Nisbet by his publishers Cassell & Co.). Two younger travellers, Ayres and nineteen year old Bobby Tyler travelled with their fathers. Once the gold rushes began the men tended to be younger, many in their early twenties, and at the end of the century the younger male travellers were looking for opportunities offered by the discovery of gold.

What can be expected when Interpreting Travellers' Texts?

The question of constructing a sense of southern Western Australia is implicit rather than explicit in this thesis. Jane Davis pointed out in her recent thesis concerning European migrants' feelings of belonging (or not) to the Western Australian land, that the term 'sense' is an obscure word that is 'difficult to define and establish empirically, and the term has been overused with insufficient critical application'.[7] When discussing 'sense' in this study however, it is an ideal term because Western Australia is assessed using ideas and feelings that suggest, rather than claim actuality. This is because when interpreting the illustrations and writings of travellers, their texts cannot be accepted at face value, or their works be regarded as equally valuable. For these reasons it is important to distinguish attitude. Travellers were selective in their choice of subject, setting, and material, and in their ways of identifying, classifying and naming, because of their social attitudes, viewpoints, prejudices or predispositions. The purpose of travel further delimited travellers' fields of observation.[8] Crucially, this study illustrates that individual personalities played a significant role in the way people responded to Western Australia.

Bearing this in mind, travelling writers reflected on the way people lived, their surroundings, and the social attitude at the time. By expressing interest in, and by providing insight into the experiences of other people, they, in effect, defined popular concepts of national character as well as the aspirations attributed to a given class in the

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[7] Jane Davis, *Longing or Belonging? Responses to a 'New' Land in Southern Western Australia 1829-1907*, Ph.D Thesis, University of Western Australia, 2008, p.33.

[8] See Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2001, pp.186-187, for historiographical discussion on the use of cultural artifacts such as literature and film as primary sources in history.

community. However, the texts analysed here are largely those of relatively privileged, wealthy travellers. Consequently the activities of lower classes were usually excluded. Additionally, because this study only examines a written record, the illiterate and the uneducated do not fit the profile of an imperial traveller, therefore their memories are not directly heard in this study. At best, we catch in passing a reproach of their conduct and actions in the writings of their more privileged observers.[9] On the other hand, by their very absence from the selected texts, the travellers further reflect contemporary views and attitudes.

Vagaries in personality, opinion and knowledge[10]; contemporary views and attitudes shaped by personal and imperial interests, literature, Victorian and Edwardian culture; and intellectual trends in Europe such as the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and racial classification, were all significant influences in travellers' observations. For this reason it is considered here that the written memories of the travellers are imaginings, a term often referred to throughout this study. Hence the title of this thesis, *Myths and Memories,* invokes a sense—a feeling, an opinion, an imagining—of southern Western Australia's space and people. After all, as the late cultural critic Edward W. Said stated, 'it is a fallacy to assume that the swarming, unpredictable, and problematic mess in which human beings live can be understood on the basis of what books—texts—say'.[11] Nevertheless, Said also pointed out that narrative is crucial.[12] And in this research it certainly is, because the travellers' stories are at the heart of developing this thesis' sense of southern Western Australia, and are invaluable as a reflection of opinion and knowledge in the colonial and immediate post-federation period.

What's in a Name? Travel Nomenclature

The term 'traveller' is used to classify the travelling writers in this research because it has a broad definition that includes the fact that the travellers had different agendas. Some were sojourners, a few were missionaries, a couple were explorers, all were essentially tourists, and many were a combination of these. However, to be identified

[9] This point was also referred to in Annette Kolodny, *The Land before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1984, intro.
[10] Knowledge defined here is drawn from the work of Michel Foucault as adopted by Bain Attwood. 1. Knowledge is interpretive, an entity constructed or invented by human beings. 2. Knowledge establishes meanings but is contingent to circumstances and is situational to purpose, and is forever shifting. 3. Knowledge is constructed by relationships of power. See Bain Attwood and John Arnold (eds), *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines,* Victoria, La Trobe University Press in association with National Centre for Australian Studies, 1992, pp.i-ii.
[11] Cited in James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993, pp.215-216.
[12] See introduction in Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London, Vintage, 1994, intro.

solely by the term sojourner, tourist, missionary or explorer is not appropriate because of the following reasons.

A 'sojourner' stays at a particular place for a time, and can be a temporary resident, which could only describe Mrs Millett's, Lady Broome's, Davies' and Zunini's situations. In Australia the term can be particularly confusing because it is often associated with Chinese and Italian male workers in the late nineteenth century who sent the greater portion of their earnings home.[13]

The term 'tourist' is not considered suitable because it is generally thought to be a twentieth-century phenomenon. James Buzard has also declared that it is often used in a derogatory sense without great precision and can conjure up in our imaginations a personality profile; 'a dupe of fashion, following blindly where authentic travellers have gone' before. Buzard explained further, 'Where tourists go, they go *en masse*, remaking whole regions in their homogeneous image.'[14] Although the travellers depicted here displayed some similarity to tourists, as they are identified by class, led a particularly leisurely lifestyle, and at times pursued sights that inspired awe and wonder, their reasons for visiting Western Australia varied.

The term 'missionary' is certainly not suitable as an overall identifier, although Young, and possibly Mackie and Davies could be considered as such. Michael N. Pearson argued that people travelling with a quest, such as a religious cause, try to immerse themselves in the culture of their destination, and those that travel on business are less likely to be interested in recreation or pursuits outside of their business interests.[15] This study finds that no matter their purpose, whether pleasure, business or religion, many travellers imagined that they were participating in Western Australia's pursuits and culture.

When the travellers who also considered themselves to be 'explorers', such as Calvert and Carnegie, moved through remote areas away from European settlements, their observations were not included in this study because at these times they had a different agenda. They were driven by a desire to be trailblazers, even though many of the European explorers publicly celebrated in Australia led journeys of colonial exploration through land already occupied by Indigenous people, whilst ignoring their presence and glorying in imperial fortitude. However, sections of their writings have

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[13] See for example Jacqueline Templeton, *From the Mountains to the Bush: Italian Migrants Write Home from Australia, 1860-1962*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 2003, intro.
[14] James Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.37-53, p.2.
[15] M. N. Pearson, 'Pilgrims, Travellers, Tourists: The Meanings of Journeys', *Travellers, Journeys, Tourists: Australian Cultural History*, no.10, 1991, pp.125-134, p.127.

been drawn on because of their rich text in describing Albany, Perth and the eastern goldfields during the gold rush. Moreover, this study confirms literary historian Paul Fussell's point, that travellers mediate between being explorer and tourist whilst in search of the unique experience: but by frequenting similar places they move 'toward the security of pure cliché'.[16]

The people being investigated in this research sought trade, wealth, or adventure, pursued the curious or distinctive, observed sights as natural wonders, and generally followed paths already travelled.[17] Sometimes their purposes for travelling are vague, or are not mentioned at all by the writers, but can be deduced through the subject of their observations. Therefore, to gain a cross-section of impressions about Western Australia, all types of travellers; sojourners, tourists, and even explorers (when not on their 'discovering' expeditions) are researched in this thesis. To simplify matters then, henceforth this thesis only uses the term 'travellers' or '*the* travellers' when referring to the selected travelling writers.

Why Travel to Distant Australia?

Australia developed a reputation as a destination where travellers could expect to be inspired. Both men and women published books and journals that provided accounts of the journey, the Australian countryside, and its 'curiosities', encouraging larger numbers of people setting out on their own tours of discovery.[18] The motivations for this interest in Australia were various.

A spirit of adventure and strength of character were highly valued in European middle-class culture, and the intrepid lady and gentleman traveller aspired toward these ideals. Consequently Victorian travellers did not mind the hardship a journey to, and through Australia entailed; it was proof of adventurousness. The 'Grand Tour' was an important part of a young gentleman's education by which he might learn about political, social and economic matters—firstly in Europe, and later in the 'New World'—or study natural history or geology, or train as an artist, and it had a continuing influence on gentleman travellers, even in their more mature years. Although mainly a pursuit for gentlemen, during this thesis' study period it was also generally acceptable

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[16] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1980, p.39.
[17] Bassett, *Great Southern Landings*, p.ix, and Julia Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder: How Australia's Landscape Was Explored, Nature Discovered and Tourism Unleashed*, Carlton, Vic., Miegunyah Press, 2005, pp.62-63.
[18] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder*, p.31.

for upper middle-class women to tour the Australian colonies, providing that social contacts, usually acquaintances of family or friends, had been arranged at their ports of call.[19]

The genteel status travel could bestow, and the desire to impress and influence, were powerful distorting factors in stories of travellers' experiences.[20] Excursions were often fabricated based on other people's journeys.[21] Also, the upfront retelling of other people's stories and experiences often occurred in travellers' writings. Such instances have generally been disregarded, because this thesis is only interested in what the writers have observed themselves.

As writers, the selected travellers in this study can be defined as belonging to two groups: those travellers who published their experiences, and therefore were part of the production of travel writing; and those who recorded their travels through writing letters and journals, no doubt influenced by published writings in the form of travel books and guides.[22] Travel books on Australia were intended to excite, intrigue and inform European readers. They relied on story-telling ability to convey information, and usually included descriptions of possible difficulties and dangers. Guides were also published for a general readership back 'home' interested in learning more about their colonies, and contained useful travel information such as conditions while on tour, typical costs, scenery, manners and customs, notes on colonial history, and economic and social prospects. These writings were also part of a broader image-making process sustaining representations of the bushman myth, of sheep, gold, and riches for the making. In their descriptions of the built and natural environments, a place of sublime and beautiful landscape was often represented.[23]

Travel writing in the nineteenth century often arose from travel undertaken for education, work, or health, or as botanist, missionary, or artist, as verified by the travellers' profiles in this study. Increasingly in the twentieth century, travel writing developed from travel undertaken specifically for the purpose of writing about it (for example Mary Hall, and possibly Edwin and Marion Grew), emerging as a more autonomous literary genre than it was in the nineteenth century. Although, as academic in literary studies Helen Carr stated, while the formal characteristics of travel writing

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[19] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder*, pp.62,82.
[20] See Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p.107.
[21] The travellers' texts examined in this thesis have been checked as far as is practically possible for their authenticity, using passengers' shipping lists, private papers, and newspapers.
[22] James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing,* London, Routledge, 1999, p.3.
[23] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder*, pp.185, 194.

changed over time, many themes did not.[24] However, fellow academic Jan Borm argued that *travel writing* is not a genre, 'but a collective term for a variety of texts … whose main theme is travel'.[25] It is in this context that *travel writing* is considered here: as an assorted collection of writings by travellers.

What was Western Australia's Historical Background?

At this stage it is important to point out that this thesis is not a critical survey of the textual practice of travel writing, although the reader is alerted to the complicated multifarious issues of the genre in Chapter One. Instead it uses travel narratives to compile a sense of southern Western Australia, of contemporary views, attitudes, and opinions. The preconceptions travellers had of Western Australia were likely to be influenced by their knowledge of its position at the time of their respective visits. The earlier travellers expected to find a remote convict colony, or a struggling colonial outpost. Later travellers anticipated a thriving economy with prosperous gold mines, while the last travellers in this study arrived to view a member of the young federation of Australia. Hence the travellers' observations are examined in light of Western Australia's historical junctures. These periods are summarised here, loosely divided into transportation of convicts (including post transportation) from 1850 to 1884, gold exploration from 1885 to 1900, and federation (up to World War One) from 1901 to 1914.

Transportation

The recourse to convict labour from 1850-1868—when just under 10,000 male convicts were transported to Western Australia, along with more than 1100 Pensioner Guards and their families—played a large part in stimulating economic growth and increasing European population in Western Australia, which by 1884 had risen to just on 33,000 from a mere 4,622 at the first census in 1848.[26]

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[24] Carr, 'Modernism and Travel', pp.74-75, which also discusses how the genre changed to the modern day interpretation of travel writing. See also Roy Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720-1914)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.53-69, pp.53,63-65.

[25] Jan Borm, 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (eds), *Perspectives on Travel Writing,* Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2004, pp.23-26, p.23.

[26] 'Historical Census and Colonial Data Archive', *HCCDA Document 'WA-1848-census' page 17* <http://hccda.anu.edu.au/pages/WA-1848-census-02_17>, (accessed 4 Nov 2009); Kevin Moran, *Sand and Stone: The Social History of Western Australia as Recorded by the Pioneer Police of the Eastern Frontiers*, Perth, Frickers International Publishing, 2000, p.xiii.

Convict labour was used on public projects constructing buildings, roads, bridges and jetties. Ticket-of-leave convicts—those who had gained a licence that gave them liberty under strict regulations—were employed privately as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers, shepherds, timber workers and farmhands. A small number of eligible convicts were utilised as white-collar workers.[27] The convicts were watched over by the Pensioner Guards, a force of British Army veterans on half pay.[28] Security and isolation were important in the nineteenth century because of the issue of criminal 'disease', articulated in a fear of infecting colonial society by 'contamination'. Architects and reformers were also concerned with preventing criminal contamination among the convicts, and therefore limited their opportunities for association. As a result a great many convicts were gainfully employed on erecting the infrastructure to support their incarceration, including the visually imposing Fremantle Establishment (known as Fremantle Prison after 1867).[29] Once systems of control and protection were well-established, other necessary repairs and constructions were undertaken.[30]

Although initially it was expected that the convicts sent to Western Australia would hold light convictions and be of good character—and popular historical representations maintained this illusion—historian Sandra Taylor has argued that many convicts were vicious, violent criminals.[31] The behaviour of the convicts in the early years of transportation was generally portrayed as good, and yet the residents of the colony emphasised the distinction between bond and free, socially and physically expressed by limitations in behaviour of the convicts, in the adoption of curfews for

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[27] Sandra Potter and Alfred Daniel Letch, 'A White-Collar Convict', *Building a Colony, the Convict Legacy*: *Studies in Western Australian History,* no.24, 2006, pp.37-47, p.37; P.R. Millett, 'Convicts', Andrew Gill, 'Convicts, Conditional Pardon', Michal Bosworth, 'Convicts, Travellers' Writings' & Sandra Potter, 'Convicts, White-Collar', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* Crawley, University of Western Australia, 2009, pp.240-245. Although, as Sandra Potter and Alfred Daniel Letch pointed out, the term 'white-collar' was not included in nineteenth-century vernacular, a distinct group of educated transportees was formed in the colony.

[28] Mathew Trinca, 'Controlling Places: A History of Spatial Intent in Western Australian Convictism', *Historical Traces: Studies in Western Australian History*, no.17, 1997, pp.13-35, p.30.

[29] Mathew Trinca, 'The Control and Coercion of Convicts', *Building a Colony, the Convict Legacy: Studies in Western Australian History,* no.24, 2006, pp.26-37, p.35. A British Parliamentary report written in 1864 indicated that the convict labour force had been 'confined almost exclusively to the erection of buildings for their officers and themselves', while necessary road improvements between Perth and the port of Fremantle, and Perth and King George Sound had not ensued. See British Parliamentary Papers Vol xxxvii, 1864, cited in Judith Robison (ed.), *From the Sources: A History of Western Australia in Documents and Images,* Perth, Western Australia History Foundation, 1992, p.117.

[30] Norman Megahey, 'Convict Labour', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* Crawley, University of Western Australia, 2009, p.237. They built many more buildings, an estimated fifty bridges, 1100 miles of roads, and five jetties and harbour facilities.

[31] Sandra Taylor, 'Who Were the Convicts', *Convictism in Western Australia: Studies in Western Australian History*, no.4, 1981, pp.19-45, pp.19,29.

ticket-of-leave men, and in constructing buildings for confinement.[32] Increasingly during the period of transportation hardened criminals arrived, therefore social problems such as alcoholism and sexual crime multiplied, and fear of breakouts and reprisals by the convicts persisted amongst residents.[33]

Because only male convicts were transported, it has been argued that the governing classes in Western Australia in the 1850s sponsored female immigration in an attempt to equal the imbalance. However, according to historian Jan Gothard, this was more of a British perception of colonial need, and was not a concern to Western Australia.[34] Rather, the colonial government, responding to the demands by the colonists, only wanted females if they were domestic servants.[35]

Transportation to Western Australia ended in 1868 because of reformation of the British prison system, and pressure from the eastern colonies to which over a third of freed convicts made their way, despite official impediments in operation.[36] While convictism had provided a visual improvement to the towns, an economic infrastructure, and a viable local market, Western Australia was far from economically prosperous. It was still a highly dependent economy in the early 1880s. The families that prospered were intimately linked to the financing and servicing centre of Perth where merchants and lawyers invested their own capital to fan commercial speculation. The old families continued to uphold their power in agricultural and political matters,

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[32] Barry Godfrey and David J. Cox, '"The Last Fleet": Crime, Reformation, and Punishment in Western Australia after 1868', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, vol.41, no.2, 2008, pp.236-258, p.250.

[33] Geoffrey Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage: Western Australia since 1826*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 2008, p.28; Robison (ed.), *From the Sources,* pp.101-106; Trinca, 'Controlling Places'; Godfrey and Cox, '"The Last Fleet"', pp.249-251. Evidence of differing representations about the conduct of the convicts and a sense of the need to protect Perth society against claims of contamination can be seen in the following example. A letter, published in the Western Australian Government Gazette on 3 June 1856 by the Colonial Secretary's office, proclaimed that the good conduct of the people attested that society in Perth was not 'tainted' by the presence of convicts. However, at the same time, counter to that report, the Perth Gazette detailed felonious crimes being committed. See Robison (ed.), *From the Sources,* pp.119-120.

[34] Jan Gothard, *Blue China: Single Female Migration to Colonial Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2001, p.9. On the other hand, Clare Midgley claimed that propaganda for female emigration to the British colonies developed from public debate in Britain over the gender imbalance in the British population, and the presence of large numbers of 'surplus' single women. By contrast, in 1862 the Female Middle Class Emigration Society saw the problem as being one of limited employment opportunities for women in Britain rather than lack of marriage opportunities. See Clare Midgley, 'Ethnicity, "Race" and Empire', in June Purvis (ed.), *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945: An Introduction,* London, Routledge, 2004, pp.247-276, p.12.

[35] Gothard, *Blue China*, p.12. Although later policy makers linked female selection requests with the numbers of unassisted male immigrants pouring into Western Australia in search of gold in the 1890s, Gothard argued that 'goldminers were no keener to have women around them at the diggings than were the colonies' itinerant (and usually single) male rural workers.' See p.15.

[36] P. R. Millett, 'Convicts', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* Crawley, University of Western Australia, 2009, p.242; Rica Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, Toodyay, Toodyay Shire Council, 1974, pp.203-207.

with enormous influence in rural areas. Even though representative government was introduced in 1870, with only a two-thirds elected Legislative Council, responsibility was to the Governor, not to the people. [37]

Western Australia's penal history was buried as quickly as possible, according to historian Bob Reece. There was a negative legacy of shame and cover up by the colonial elite, with the convicts' descendants anxious to escape the stigma of their origins.[38] Although the economy slowed down during the years after transportation ceased, a number of advancements had been made towards minimising Western Australia's isolation, and in expanding its agriculture. Roads and bridges were continually being improved, and telegraph lines were laid linking Western Australia to the rest of the western world by 1877. A more reliable steamship service replaced the small sailing vessels on the western coastal routes in the 1870s, and shipping companies called regularly into King George Sound. Public railway construction began. A line commenced from Fremantle in 1879 with extensions completed to York by 1885.[39] Wool export doubled, although its quality and quantity lagged behind the national average, but wheat production was not so successful due to poor agricultural practices and soil infertility.[40] However, there was still considerable rural and urban poverty present in the colony. The well off and comfortable in Western Australia were the civil servants, and the land owning elite.

Gold Exploration

Between 1885 and 1894 important gold discoveries were made in Western Australia. In particular the rich fields at Coolgardie (1892) and Kalgoorlie (1893) were of great significance to the social, economic, political and legal framework of Western Australia's development. With self-government and a new independent parliamentary system being established in 1890 under the premiership of John Forrest, a surge of prosperity in trade, commerce and industry occurred, causing a flow of capital for

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[37] C. T. Stannage, *The People of Perth: A Social History of Western Australia's Capital City*, Perth, Perth City Council, 1979, p.86.

[38] Bob Reece, 'Writing about Convicts in Western Australia', *Building a Colony, the Convict Legacy: Studies in Western Australian History*, no.24, 2006, pp.98-113, p.113.

[39] *Western Australian Government Railways a Brief History*, http//members.westnet.com.au/rapalmer/wagr/wagrhist.htm (Accessed 20 Jan 2011).

[40] Tony Fletcher, 'Merchant Shipping', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* Crawley, University of Western Australia, 2009, p.569; Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.44. All mail, cargo and passenger coal steamers with a draft of more than four metres could not berth at Fremantle and used Albany as Western Australia's port of entry until 1900.

investment.[41] From 1895 to 1904, a time when other Australian colonies were slowly recovering from a major depression, Western Australia was growing at remarkable speed with gold production increasing rapidly, and its population growing exponentially, especially with large numbers of people arriving from the depressed eastern colonies. With news spreading that Western Australia was the latest gold rush frontier, capital from overseas began pouring in. European investors were inspired with confidence in the future of the colony through the expansion of trade, through unprecedented public works (Fremantle Harbour, 1897, water pipeline to Kalgoorlie in 1903), through the laying of railway lines (Great Southern Railway between Perth and Albany in 1889, Perth to Coolgardie in 1896, and to Kalgoorlie in 1897), and through the demand for railway sleepers, which provided a significant boost to the local timber industry.

Perth was transformed overnight, with congested streets, overcrowded accommodation, and the formation of tent lands, all resulting in health and sanitation services being stretched to the limit. Banks multiplied and with these, commercial, administrative, clerical, transport, building industries, and the professions provided better employment prospects than anywhere else in Australia. Gas lamps, and then electricity lit the city streets, trams were introduced, followed by motorcars, and the city's limits expanded with the growth of residential suburbs.[42]

But while the urban areas benefited substantially from the boom, rural areas suffered from a low supply of labour for some time. Because of the continuing increase in demand for food and agricultural products due to more and more people arriving with the gold rushes, it became necessary for the government to increase and diversify agricultural production subsidies, and to improve management skills and technology.[43]

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[41] Information about the gold rush period was gathered from the following sources: George Seddon, 'Western Australia: Some Changing Perceptions', in University of Western Australia (ed.), *European Impact on the West Australian Environment 1829-1979,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1979, pp.154-186; Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, pp.52-55; Vera Whittington, *Gold and Typhoid: Two Fevers*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1988, p.4.

[42] F.K. Crowley, *Australia's Western Third*, London, Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1960, pp.107-8,145-147; *An Economic History of Western Australia since Colonial Settlement: 175th Anniversary of Colonial Settlement 1829-2004,* Department of Treasury and Finance, Perth, Government of Western Australia, 2004, p.12.

[43] See William E. Greble, 'A Bold Yeomanry: Social Change in a Wheatbelt District, Kulin 1848-1970', in Judith Robison (ed.), *From the Sources: A History of Western Australia in Documents and Images,* Perth, Western Australia History Foundation, 1992, pp.169-183. Various methods of overcoming the labour shortage were tried, such as the use of Indigenous labour, and emigration schemes and assisted passage for individuals or groups. Differing agricultural experiences and environmental conditions for the migrants, and their inability to adapt to the loneliness in rural areas were some of the reasons that led to failure of the schemes. However, agriculture endured because most of the early settlers lacked the resources to leave, and later the Crown helped it to progress, if somewhat slowly.

Also, the booming economy did not disguise the unforgiving hardships the prospectors and investors endured on the goldfields. Gold prospectors moved from one gold field to the next forming partnerships to share the work, the risks, the capital and any profits made. They usually formed tent towns, more permanent towns only developing if gold was mined from below the surface, requiring machinery and additional workers. From the outset, and until condensers were erected, the shortage of water was the fundamental problem. Therefore the cost of water was astonishing.[44] The deficiency of water and the almost complete lack of sanitation, open drains and sewers, combined with poor hygiene also produced devastating outbreaks of typhoid fever in epidemic proportions, not only on the goldfields, but also throughout Western Australia.[45] The Public Health Service was over-taxed in providing sufficient sanitary facilities and water supplies.[46] Typhoid deaths peaked in the years 1896 and 1897. At the time a major proportion of the population did not grasp the concept of germs and microbes, doctors themselves only gradually beginning to understand, which exacerbated the problem. Hence government action to improve sanitation was slow.[47] It was not until January 1903 that the needs of the Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie region were met, when a pipeline was completed that brought water from a weir built in Mundaring.[48] Along with sewerage and drainage systems, food handling regulations and better housing, epidemic outbreaks and deaths from typhoid were reduced, reverting to endemic levels by 1910.[49]

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[44] It was needed not only for drinking by the town, but also for horses and camels used for transportation, for livestock corralled for food supply, and for crushing and extraction of gold.

[45] N. F. Stanley, 'Changing Patterns of Health', in University of Western Australia (ed.), *European Impact on the West Australian Environment 1829-1979,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1979, pp.101-136, p.103. Water shortage was because of very light and uncertain rainfall making surface water scarce and of poor quality, and high evaporative rates due to the hot temperatures. As well, residents could not escape the diseases of the old country, having brought with them the pathogens of smallpox, influenza, cholera and measles. These diseases thrived in Western Australia's celebrated climate and ravaged the Indigenous populations. Malnutrition, scurvy, dysentery and ophthalmia, the dominant early diseases of the isolated colony reflected the poverty of the lower socio-economic groups.

[46] Stanley, 'Changing Patterns of Health', p.111; see Marian Aveling (ed.), *Westralian Voices: Documents in Western Australian Social History,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1979, Chapter 5, 'Health'.

[47] Whittington, *Gold and Typhoid,* pp.6-8.

[48] E.P. O'Driscoll, 'Groundwater and Its Importance to the Mineral Industry', in Rex.T. Prider (ed.), *Mining in Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1979.

[49] Vera Whittington and Jenny Gregory, 'Typhoid Epidemics', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* Crawley, University of Western Australia, 2009, p.890; Whittington, *Gold and Typhoid,* p.9.

Federation

In 1901, with a population of 193,601,[50] Western Australia joined the Federation of the Australian colonies.[51] One of Australia's first acts as a federation was to create strict entry requirements—encapsulated under the slogan 'The White Australia Policy'—that built upon earlier legislation enacted in some of the colonies including Western Australia; which prohibited immigration of mainly Asians, Africans and Polynesians.[52]

By 1904 the population of the state had risen to a remarkable 239,000.[53] However, it was about this time that gold production began to fall, gold field townships began to depopulate and in 1907 departures from Western Australia exceeded new arrivals.[54] Through legislation the Moore Government (1906-1910) was able to capitalise on the gains it had made in population and revenue by encouraging the new arrivals to stay in Western Australia by instituting schemes to open up wheat-belt areas.[55] Western Australia underwent somewhat of an 'agricultural revolution' after the primitive farming methods used at the turn of the century. From 1909 to 1914, 30,000 assisted or nominated immigrants arrived, mainly from Britain, to settle in the 'Golden West'.[56]

In 1911 the first Labour Government with a majority in its own right came to power under Premier John Scaddan, an indication that control was beginning to move away from the wealthy ruling families. They remained in power until 1916.[57] Following

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[50] R. T. Appleyard, 'Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth, 1850-1914', in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1981, pp.211-236, p.220.

[51] *An Economic History of Western Australia*, pp.11,13. With thirty-two percent of the colony's inhabitants in the goldfields—Kalgoorlie-Boulder became the second largest town in the colony in 1901—as well as driving the economy with gold, holding sixty-one percent of total exports at the time, their influence in W.A. joining the federation was overwhelming. The miners felt that the government had unfairly exploited them with high tariffs and foreign charges, and their lack of adequate representation in the colonial parliament had given them the incentive to swing the vote to join the federation. See 'Coolgardie Miner', 31 Jul 1900, 'Bunbury Herald', 'Northam Advertiser' and 'Voting Patterns' reproduced in Robison (ed.), *From the Sources,* pp.162-167.

[52] Because the British Government technically disallowed racist intention, an introduction of a literacy test in a specified European language was used to bar unwanted immigrants overcoming the need for officials to mention their race, colour or religion. See Catriona Elder, 'Immigration History', in Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (eds), *Australia's History: Themes and Debates,* Sydney, UNSW Press, 2005, pp.98-115, p.107.

[53] Moran, *Sand and Stone*, p. xiii; Crowley, *Australia's Western Third*, p.112.

[54] Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.86.

[55] See Greble, 'A Bold Yeomanry', pp.169-183; Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.87; G. H. Burvill, 'Rural Achievements', in *European Impact on the West Australian Environment 1829-1979* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1979, pp.35-51, p.42. This necessitated more satisfactory use of immigrant labour, and extensive programmes of railway building in the wheat belt, which encouraged settlement inland, supported by the development of a drought-resistant variety of wheat, the use of superphosphate and subterranean clover to overcome the dry infertile sand plains east of the Avon River, and the introduction of multiple furrow and stump jump ploughs and harvesters.

[56] Appleyard, 'Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth', p.230; Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.91.

[57] Seddon, 'Western Australia: Some Changing Perceptions', p.173.

unprecedented growth and prosperity, it is estimated that the level of per capita income reached just prior to the beginning of World War One in 1914 (the end of this study period), was not surpassed until 1950.[58]

How is the thesis structured?

The examination and analysis of the travellers' observations during these historical periods is assembled into seven chapters. Chapter One reviews contemporary literature that examines travel writing as a genre. Although this thesis is not critiquing travellers' discourse as textual practice, as it would in literary studies, this chapter discusses the features of colonial writing that contribute to the travellers' imagined sense of Western Australia. These features are summarised here by academics Helen Gilbert and Anna Johnston, who explained that travel writing:

> worked explicitly to domesticate the exotic colonial experience for a metropolitan, European market; it provided the frisson of colonial difference that built upon, and added to, the usual pleasures of travel by investing them with the particular cultural politics of imperialism. Travel texts inevitably promoted and subsidized the exercise of imperial power even if, at the same time, they might also have critiqued it. … Travel and travel texts mesh with forms of governance, modes of subjectivity, gender formations, technologies of perception, and expectations of audiences.[59]

This chapter shows how travel writing commenced in the early modern period as a vehicle for conveying new information, and used a technique whereby travellers divided their observations into the categories of land and people. Hence, this study of travellers' observations of Western Australia is structured around two similar themes—space and people.

Chapter Two discusses the ideologies that underpinned nineteenth-century European culture, which may have shaped travellers' conceptions and preconceptions of space (here considered to be the imagined physical and cultural material filling the space being viewed) in southern Western Australia. These included presumptions about 'The Great South Land', as well as Enlightenment, Christian and Romantic principles.

This provides the context for Chapters Three and Four that then chronologically analyse travellers' observations of visits they had in common; of towns and other areas they frequented as they moved across the landscape. Chapter Three provides spatial visions of Albany and the southwest of Western Australia, and Chapter Four examines the regions of the Swan and Avon Rivers, and the eastern goldfields.

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[58] *An Economic History of Western Australia*, p.15.
[59] Gilbert and Johnston (eds), *In Transit: Travel, Text, Empire,* pp.12-13.

Chapter Five investigates how nineteenth-century ideologies may have influenced travellers' notions about the inhabitants of Western Australia, portraying, using Benedict Anderson's term, an 'imagined community'. Class and ethnicity are investigated, classifications of people that were inherently entrenched in society at the time.

Chapter Six and Seven then analyses the travellers' observations of Western Australia's inhabitants, and discusses the possible impact of any European preconceptions they may have held, as outlined in Chapter Five. Chapter Six examines the colonial population who represented the myth of 'pioneering' a culture of equal opportunity, and thus were scrutinised by their perceived class and status. Chapter Seven examines all other inhabitants who did not fit the mould of a colonial 'pioneer' and were considered by Europeans to be inferior; because they were socially unacceptable or because of their ethnicity. Relegating a discussion about convicts, single migrant women, Aboriginals and other non-Anglo-Saxons to the last chapter in this thesis may appear to be tokenistic. Jan Ryan has rightly pointed out, in relation to the Asian population, that this is a recurring problem in historiography, in which diversity is ignored and familiar stereotypes retained.[60] However this is the way the imperial travellers in this study were most likely to view inhabitants whom they considered to be socially inferior, and thus the analysis of their few remarks about such peoples is strategically placed at the end of this thesis.

The following questions are central to my discussion of southern Western Australia and are explored throughout these chapters. Within the two categories of space and people, what ideas, discourses, and ideologies shaped the travellers' observations? How did their observations change over seven decades? Did the visitors' nationality or gender make a difference to their observations and attitudes? And how useful are these texts in gaining an understanding of Western Australia's history? Together, the findings in this thesis compose a set of myths and memories that capture the imaginings of space and people in southern Western Australia from 1850 to 1914.

[60] Jan Ryan, 'Chinese Australian History', in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History,* St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp.71-78, in which she was specifically talking about Chinese in Australia.

Chapter 1

Representations In Colonial Travel Writing

Keep moving! Steam, or Gas, or Stage,
Hold, cabin, steerage, hencoop's cage --
Tour, Journey, Voyage, Lounge, Ride, Walk,
Skim, Sketch, Excursion, Travel-talk --
For move you must! 'Tis now the rage,
The law and fashion of the Age.
(Coleridge, 'The Delinquent Travellers', 16-22, 1824)

This chapter illustrates the ways in which travellers' writings can be an insightful resource in constructing a sense of space and peoples in the past. According to travel writing specialist Tim Youngs, critiques of travel writing by scholars in literary studies tend to concentrate on discourse and textual expressions of ideology rather than on factors external to travel text. He promotes the comparatively recent use of travel writing by other disciplines, encouraging alternative ways of utilising travellers' writings.[1] This is where my research fits, taking an historical studies approach, this thesis employs travellers' writings to comment on external factors. Thus this is a new study that provides a unique alternative to other observations of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Western Australia. A specialist in New Zealand literature, Lydia Wevers, believes that travel writing 'cannot be read in the late twentieth century as if it consists of unmediated descriptions of "real" events and places'. It is a particularly literary genre.[2] This is recognised in this thesis; however collective imaginings of a region can still develop a sense of the community and landscape. This is where this

[1] Tim Youngs, 'Where Are We Going? Cross-Border Approaches to Travel Writing', in Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (eds), *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, 2004, pp.167-180.
[2] Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2002, p.158.

study differs to Wevers' *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809-1900,* which discusses travellers' texts about New Zealand, as samples of colonial literature rather than New Zealand itself. However, as Youngs pointed out, close readings by specialists in literature can produce alternative insights that can be helpful to those in other academic fields.[3] The works of highly acclaimed academics in the field of travel literature that have been insightful in this thesis are that of Britain's Tim Youngs and Peter Hulmes, co-editors of *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing;* James Buzard, in particular his interests in tourism literature; the much cited American academics Mary Louise Pratt and Eric J. Leed and their respective path-breaking books *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* and *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism;* Western Australia's Judith Johnston's interests in nineteenth-century travel and translation; and interdisciplinary scholar Paul Carter and his canonical texts' *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History,* and *Living in a New Country: History, Travelling and Language*, which are discussed further in the next chapter. Works by specialists in postcolonial writing and theory, and the literature of empire, have also greatly contributed to this study's understanding of this complex discipline. They include a founding figure in postcolonialism the late Edward W. Said, and his influential ideas about Orientalism, which are also examined in Chapter Five; Britain's Elleke Boehmer and feminist theorist Sara Mills; and Australia's Helen Tiffin, Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson. As well, other influential works on travel writing are cited in this chapter. From their discussions, features peculiar to travel literature that have a bearing on travellers' writings in this study, are investigated.

Firstly, travel writing is viewed as a complex cultural practice that developed in the early modern period. Secondly, nineteenth-century travel writing was concerned with colonial perceptions and experience, reinforcing Britain's dominance as a world power. Thirdly, the unfamiliar was made familiar through travel writing, giving new meanings to cultural differences, identities and landscape. Lastly, travellers' perspectives were distinctive from those of the inhabitants of a region, from each other, and between males and females. Overall, this chapter reveals how travel writing is highly significant as an ideological apparatus of empire in colonial and postcolonial studies.

[3] Youngs, 'Where are we Going'?, pp.168-169.

Travel Writing as a Method of Compiling the World

According to Eric J. Leed, the form and style of travel books as a means of making supposedly objective descriptions of the world commenced in the late fifteenth century. At that time the Scientific Method[4] of observation became highly influential in accumulating information about novel species of plants, animals and varieties of humanity, and came to provide the evidential basis for new natural and social sciences.[5] In the sixteenth century a number of humanists, physicians and scholars developed a technique for keeping a travel journal of observation and analysis. This method advised travellers to divide their observations into the categories of land and people, and to describe their experiences in sequence. This thesis has also adopted this structure to analyse select travellers' observations. The category of land described topography, plains, mountains, rivers and all remarkable natural sights and resources. Also noted were the effects of latitude, longitude, mountains, the proximity of oceans, seas and lakes, the salubrity of the waters, and the fertility of the fields. The category of people allowed the travel writer to describe the temperament of the people, their mores and customs, clothes, diet and manner of eating, languages, dialects, and general way of life. Descriptions of the cities included houses, monuments, industries, and plans, as well as the affluence and virtues of its citizens. It was expected that all knowledge of a region be organised in an encyclopaedic fashion. Gathering information became the principal motive for travelling. This method of describing a land and its people conveyed new information, decreed the form of ethnographic reports, provided the conventions of social scientific description, and thus laid the foundations for the scientific and philosophical revolutions of the seventeenth century.[6]

It was during this period that the custom among the English upper classes of sending their sons abroad, usually to Europe, became very popular. It was known as the Grand Tour, and became an important part of their education. James Buzard explained that they were expected, to keep a systematic memorial journal to record their observations, to learn the languages and manners of the inhabitants, and to become

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[4] The Scientific Method was a systematic approach of observation that formed the basis for modern science by using hypothesis in the formation, testing and evaluation of any research. See Pamela O Long, 'Scientific Method', in Jonathan Dewald (ed.), *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World,* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, vol.5, 2004, pp.339-343.

[5] Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, USA, Basic Books 1991, p.178

[6] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, pp.185-187; Hagen Schulz-Forberg (ed.), *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing,* Brussels, P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2005, pp.27-28; Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.3-4. See also Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and After', pp.37-53; Duncan and Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage,* pp.5-6.

skilled at the practicalities of travel: that is to negotiate routes, and to deal with dangers and hardships. As well, they were encouraged to seek out the acquaintance of leading men, copy down anecdotes, and study mechanical inventions and curiosities of nature. The travel report was to be written in plain style, without literary tricks and affectations, limiting itself to observed events, and suppressing all subjectivity.[7]

As noted by geographers James Duncan and Derek Gregory, the techniques of describing topography were fundamentally altered in the eighteenth century by the conventions of landscape painting. This allowed the traveller to demonstrate sentiment and profound rapture in the description of landscape, and brought about the romantic, subjective travel report.[8] European historian Hagen Schultz-Forberg believed this type of travel report came with the introduction, in the middle of the nineteenth century, of the newspaper *feuilleton.* With the rise of the daily press in Europe, he said, travel writing adopted similar characteristics of writing, requiring poignancy, the ability to capture a fleeting moment, the creation of tension, and introduced subjective fragmented character and metaphorical correspondence. As a result many travel accounts carried such titles as 'odd manners', 'a series of sketches', 'notes of what I saw, heard and thought', 'rambles', 'impressions', 'moments', 'recollections' and 'reminiscences', which are also found in the titles of manuscripts written by this thesis' selected travellers. Although emotion in descriptions of landscapes was permitted, private details were still discouraged, which is why travellers tended to reveal little personal information about themselves, their families or their travelling companions.[9]

Henceforth travel writing became a desire to make meaning of, and to understand the 'new world'. The demand for stories about 'new-found' territories produced an authoritative and moralising writing, according to Australian literary academic Monica Anderson.[10] Her work *Women and the Politics of Travel* has been a valuable resource in this chapter. Trade, diplomacy, missionary endeavour, territorial acquisition, and scientific exploration all contributed to British expansion abroad, and each produced its own form of travel writing. Consequently travel writing, as a resource to study colonial society, is plentiful. The traveller's book was a major form of publishing about Australia from the 1850s into the early twentieth century because of the interest shown

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[7] Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and After', pp.37,39. Also see Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, pp.188-191, where he explained, 'it meant that the purity of the senses had not been polluted by words, opinion, or predilections.'

[8] Duncan and Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage,* pp.5,6. Also referred to in Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, pp.185-187, and Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel Outside Europe', p.53.

[9] Schulz-Forberg (ed.), *Unravelling Civilisation,* p.29.

[10] Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870 – 1914*, Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006, p.32.

in European settlement, as revealed in Elizabeth Webber's book *Colonial Voices.*[11] Some books were extremely popular, running through several editions. All provided advice for those immigrating to Australia, or contemplating a visit, as well as a narrative of the author's own experiences. A whole new continent was revealed, with descriptions of strange landscapes, flora and fauna. The emigration manual and the travel book could often be one and the same.[12]

Imperialism as 'Part of the Order of Things'

Mary Louise Pratt has argued that the collection of information and the advance of learning about the world made appropriations of territory by force for the building of European empires legitimate.[13] Writings during the colonial period systematised and reinforced Britain as a dominant world power, and, in Elleke Boehmer's words, 'contributed to the complex of attitudes that made imperialism seem part of the order of things.'[14] Therefore travel writing is highly significant as an ideological apparatus of empire in studies on colonial discourse, as acknowledged by Pratt, and Duncan and Gregory.[15] Although travel books worked with the languages available to them at the time, within these restrictions, Australian historian David Goodman argued that they provide 'nuanced and insightful discussions of colonial society.'[16] Consequently in recent years, India's Sachidananda Mohanty—recognised scholar on travel writing and empire—has pointed out that due to newer approaches in literary research in gender, colonial, and postcolonial discourses, travel writing as a genre has moved from the periphery to the centre of academic studies.[17]

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[11] Elizabeth Webby, *Colonial Voices: Letters, Diaries, Journalism and Other Accounts of Nineteenth Century Australia*, University of Queensland Press, 1989, pp.xi,xvii.
[12] David Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', *Travellers, Journeys, Tourists: Australian Cultural History*, no.10, 1991, pp.99-112, p.99.
[13] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London, Routledge, 1995, p.38; As did Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.94; See also Carr, 'Modernism and Travel', pp.71-73.
[14] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, p.3; Carr, 'Modernism and Travel', p.71.
[15] Duncan and Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage,* p.5. In Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, she pointed out in her introduction that the study of travel writing has been considered by some to be 'either naively celebratory or dismissive, treating texts as symptoms of imperial ideologies'.
[16] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.110
[17] Sachidananda Mohanty (ed.), *Travel Writing and Colonialism,* New Delhi, Prestige Books, 2003, p.9. Also see Hulme and Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* ;Duncan and Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage* ; Borm, 'Defining Travel'; Vita Fortunati, Rita Monticelli and Ascari Maurizio (eds), *Travel Writing and the Female Imaginary,* Bologna, Patron Editore, 2001. Also in Schulz-Forberg (ed.), *Unravelling Civilisation,* p.15, and Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.99, it is pointed out that travellers' narratives as a source can serve many academic disciplines when understood as a complex cultural practice.

Both male and female European writers of the nineteenth century supported ideas of 'might and right' onto lands they claimed as 'new-caught'.[18] Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson argued that institutional colonialism was maintained by language as much as by guns.

> Imperial relations may have been established initially by guns, guile and disease, but they were maintained in their interpellative phase largely by textuality, both institutionally, … and informally. Colonialism … is an operation of discourse, … it interpellates colonial subjects by incorporating them in a system of representation.[19]

British postcolonial scholar John McLeod maintained that the British Empire 'endured by getting both colonising and colonised people to see their world and themselves in a particular way by internalising colonial assumptions about the "inferiority" of certain peoples'.[20]

In literature, one of the most significant aspects of European self-projection was its metaphoric or stereotypic representation of the people who inhabited the land they were claiming. Edward W. Said argued that in colonised regions Western travellers' observations were based upon commonly held *assumptions,* and they rarely tried to learn much about, or from, the native peoples they encountered. Said's discussion of Orientalism referred to Westerners demonstrating a propensity to define themselves by reference to 'Another', and the unequal power relationship between the dominant West and the inferior/subordinate 'Other'. The basic notion was of 'them and us' and the intention was to maintain space and distance.[21] Boehmer pointed out that the 'degradation of other human beings was represented as being natural, an innate part of their degenerate or barbarian state'.[22] By stereotyping indigenous peoples, colonial narratives tended to mask their diversity, agency, resistance, thinking, and voice. These

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[18] See Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p.76. A term originally used in Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899) *Your new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.* About the Imperialist obligation of those who are civilised (Westerners or Europeans) must be ready to sacrifice their comfort and prosperity to bring the blessings of civilisation, law, and order to those who have no civilisation.

[19] Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality,* London, Routledge, 1994, p.3.

[20] John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000, pp.18-19. Recently the extent to which processes of subjectivation can effectively understand the interactions between colonial power systems and Indigenous people has been questioned. See abstract for conference titled: Processes of Subjectivation: Colonial and Postcolonial Perspectives Conference, Copenhagen, 16-18 August 2010.

[21] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London, Penguin Books Ltd, 1995, intro. Edward Said's evaluation and critique of the set of beliefs known as Orientalism forms an important background for postcolonial studies. His work highlighted the inaccuracies of a wide variety of assumptions as it questioned various paradigms of thought, and spun imaginative geographies where truth was sought. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 6. See also Duncan and Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage,* intro.

[22] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.21.

stereotypes were presented as scientific truths that functioned to justify the propriety of colonial domination, by subordinating colonised peoples who were represented in various modes—as a child, a savage, a cannibal, an animal, as less human or less civilised, or by ignoring their presence entirely.[23]

In explorers' journals written about Australia, Paul Carter pointed out that 'the attitudes of local Aborigines … rarely enjoy any narrative status. … He argued that rather than welcoming the Aborigines as a source of local information, the explorer represses their presence, cultivating instead an attitude of studied indifference.'[24] As Robert Young put it, they 'were at best only the object of colonial knowledge and fantasy.'[25] Mary Louise Pratt explained that the silencing of the voice of indigenous cultures from explorers' and travellers' journals achieved a removal of their historical and material presence. She argued that to 'improving eyes' the indigenous space is emptied to make way for European modes of production and improvement towards a 'Eurocolonial' future absent of indigenous life.[26] However, an examination of the *Explorers Database*[27] of quotes compiled by Peter Macinnis to assist in writing his book *Australia's Pioneers, Heroes and Fools*, reveals many examples where European explorers wrote about seeking assistance from Aboriginals on their excursions, and evidence that they retraced 'well beaten native' tracks.[28] The deliberate avoidance of exploring parties by Aboriginal groups could also explain why contact with local group's was not mentioned by explorers. Previous experience of European contact

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[23] McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, p.22; Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp.79-80; Norman Simms, *My Cow Comes to Haunt Me: European Explorers, Travellers, and Novelists Constructing Textual Selves and Imagining the Unthinkable in Lands and Islands Beyond the Sea, from Christopher Columbus to Alexander Von Humboldt*, New York, Pace University Press, 1995, p.258. Sims stated 'This kind of myth of the organic primitive life orientates a dependent relationship.'

[24] Paul Carter, *Living in a New Country: History, Travelling and Language*, London, Faber, 1992, p.11. To the Indigenous Australians, indifference to their culture meant that, on the one hand, outside the regions of intensive European contact, they could maintain a modified traditional way of life, even on some pastoral stations, though in the long run, few, if any, escaped its influence. But, on the other hand, the lack of interest in Indigenous culture meant that their opinions were not considered, with Europeans behaving generally as if Indigenous Australians were incapable of contributing a useful viewpoint. Ronald M. Berndt, 'Aboriginal Australians: Contrasts in Involvement', *European Impact on the West Australian Environment 1829-1979,* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1979, pp.16-34, p.20; Henry Reynolds, *With the White People: The Crucial Role of Aborigines in the Exploration and Development of Australia*, Ringwood, Penguin Books Australia Ltd, 1990, pp.227-229.

[25] Robert J. C. Young, 'Colonialism and the Desiring Machine', in Gregory Castle (ed.), *Postcolonial Discourse: An Anthology,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001, pp.73-98, p.76.

[26] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.61.

[27] Explorers Database.xls, is an excel spreadsheet created by Macinnis where he has directly entered references and quotes from a selection of Australian explorers between 1503 and 1897. See http://members.ozemail.com.au/~macinnis/writin/pioneers.htm (Accessed 20 Jan 2011), for the link to the downloadable database.

[28] Peter Macinnis, *Pioneers, Heroes and Fools: The Trials, Tribulations, and Tricks of the Trade of Australia's Colonial Explorers,* Sydney, Murdoch Books, 2007.

with Aboriginals was likely to have determined whether travellers had the opportunity to meet the Indigenous population.

Nevertheless the ideologies of colonial supremacy and racism are complicated and layered. Postcolonial scholars have argued that they developed as a rationale for market expansion and industrial development, as well as rising out of the cultural self-confidence of a newly industrialised society that interpreted its technical expertise as a sign of superiority.[29] Postcolonial theorist Gayatri Chakaravorty Spivak explained that by defining its colonies as 'Others', Europe consolidated itself as sovereign. Its civilisation was the utopian ideal, even as it made the colonies into near-images of itself for the purposes of administration and the expansion of markets.[30]

Additionally, Boehmer proposed that the 'Other could signify anything from irresistible delight to social unacceptability'.[31] Often represented in novels and travellers' texts, colonial writings carried associations of either the fascination or the fear of the forbidden. Paradoxically, although colonies could be places of banishment and social disgrace, the Empire could also be represented as signifying far off realms of possibility, fantasy, and wish-fulfilment where identities and fortunes might be made.

Furthermore, narratives often masked the numbers who died in colonial wars and in labour gangs, or as a result of disease, starvation, and transportation. Nevertheless, the texts of Empire offer an insight into how it was possible for a world system to preside over the lives of millions while managing to disguise suffering and human loss amongst colonised peoples.[32]

Empire as the Strange and Unfamiliar

There have been few periods in human history like the era of European colonisation, when so many people encountered such diversity of geography and culture in so short a time-span. This created a need to translate and to give meaning and shape to new found concepts and diversities.[33] This was articulated by using recognisable metaphors for the unfamiliar, by adopting familiar rituals and cultural standards, and by reinforcing unique cultural identities, socially and environmentally.

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[29] Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel Outside Europe', p.71; Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.83.
[30] Cited in Robert Dixon, 'The Unfinished Commonwealth: Boundaries of Civility in Popular Australian Fiction of the First Commonwealth Decade', in Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality,* London, Routledge, 1994, pp.131-140, p.132. Also see Schulz-Forberg (ed.), *Unravelling Civilisation,* p.16.
[31] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp.26-27.
[32] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp.20-21.
[33] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.13.

Organising the Unfamiliar – Metaphors, Rituals and Cultural Standards

Strangeness and the unfamiliar were made comprehensible by using everyday names and familiar metaphors. Paul Carter identified an impulse amongst people arriving in a new country to make comparisons and to find resemblances between it and the old country in an attempt to attribute meaning to the unknown.[34] This inclination was reflected in travellers' texts, and these narratives thus created a means for the exchange of colonial images and ideals. As Boehmer concludes, the British Empire developed an intertextual network that made possible an exchange of symbolic languages and cultural habits between writers in different parts of the imperial world, which exhibited surprising similarities across widely separate and vastly different territories. This transferability of the Empire's organising metaphors is one of the key distinguishing characteristics of colonialist discourse, which contributed to the gaps in knowledge about the 'new world'. [35] Boehmer explained:

> Even their acceptance of a self-constructed reality did not erase from view the tenebrous spaces, impervious blockages, and gaps in knowledge which persisted, despite all their efforts at interpretation. India, Africa, Australia continued to withhold their assumed essential core, frustrating the cool querying eye of scientist and governor alike.[36]

This inadequate capacity to describe did not inspire confidence in colonialism, and threatened a system of domination founded on scrutiny, scientific observation, and the collection of knowledge.[37] This may explain Leed's justification regarding the motivation for travel in general, which, he said, may not necessarily be a love of the strange and unfamiliar but a desire to reduce its uncertainty. In this sense, the traveller's habit of making comparisons may be regarded as a defence against the strange and unusual. Then when the unfamiliar becomes the familiar by its comparison to the known, it in turn forms the basis of future comparisons.[38]

Colonial narratives presented a world in which British rule was accepted as part of the order of things. It was a system that made the unfamiliar familiar. In all corners of the Empire the British introduced their language, cuisine, dress, housing, design, and

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[34] Carter, *Living in a New Country*, p.2.
[35] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.52.
[36] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.93.
[37] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.93.
[38] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.68-69. See also James Duncan, 'Dis-Orientation: On the Shock of the Familiar in a Far-Away Place', in James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing,* London, Routledge, 1999, pp.151-163, pp.151-152.

mode of settlement, which they believed were superior to other cultural forms.[39] Middle-class English social rituals—of tea times, club life, sports, and their associated etiquette and patterns of behaviour—became a part of life, regardless of geographic location or suitability of climate. This legacy of Britishness was a global phenomenon, highlighted in Kate Darian-Smith's, Patricia Grimshaw's, and Stuart Macintyre's edited publication *Britishness Abroad:*

> British people who defended, mapped, visited, governed, settled, populated, missionised and made their fortunes in foreign lands, performed Britishness in diverse ways. The sense of Britishness that they communicated so volubly in action, speech and print informed the ideas and practices of those who remained in the metropole in innumerable subtle and overt ways.[40]

The British Empire was a man's world with a predominance of men at every level of imperial engagement, and the masculinity of the Empire determined the character of colonial activity. Therefore Englishwomen are considered to be problematic independent participant-observers in the discourse of Britishness, as pointed out by Boehmer.[41] Colonialism celebrated male achievement in a series of male-oriented myths such as mateship, expressed in stories about explorers, bushrangers, and missionaries, while women were represented in ways that colluded with patriarchal values.[42] Female colonial travellers were forced by various pressures to articulate the values of patriarchy, and, as McLeod believed, were placed in complicated positions, empowered as members of the 'civilised' colonising nation, yet disempowered under a Western patriarchal convention.[43]

Colonial representations of white women tended to exemplify the Victorian ideal of high moral and civil standards, vulnerability and weakness. Social historian Vron Ware explained how this could be used to further subjugate indigenous men. 'One of the recurring themes in the history of colonial repressions is the way in which the threat of real or imagined violence toward white women became a symbol of the most dangerous form of insubordination'.[44] McLeod established that white women were also complicit in the marginalisation of Indigenous women due to the ways colonial discourses positioned them. That is, patriarchal values were supported through a hierarchy of European and indigenous women where European women acquiesced in

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[39] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp.65-66.
[40] Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Stuart Macintyre (eds), *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2007, p.14.
[41] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.75.
[42] McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, p.175.
[43] McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, p.177.
[44] Vron Ware, '*Beyond The Pale: White Women, Racism & History,* London, Verso, 1992, p.38.

constructing subservient roles, and racialised identities.[45] Therefore, as Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson pointed out, European women's position was ambiguous; they were simultaneously objects of patriarchy and agents of imperial racism.[46] How women travellers wrote within these restrictions is discussed later in this chapter.

Australians – An (Un)Familiar Cultural Identity

Tied to ideas of Britishness and 'Home', colonialism's male-oriented myths, and counter to the 'Other' narrative, was the birth of an independent Australian cultural identity. Judith Johnston and Monica Anderson suggested that a factor involved in the formation of a cultural identity in Australia was the popular periodical press, which 'retained, framed and occasionally contested the dominant ideologies of the day, most specifically those of gender, class and race'.[47] With his interest in Australian national identity, historian Richard White has maintained that as well as the intelligentsia—the writers, journalists, artists, historians and critics—the 'cultural baggage' which Europeans had brought with them also contributed to the making of the Australian identity.[48]

Johnston and Anderson, and White claimed that the popular image was constantly being questioned and redefined according to periods of change in Australian history; that is, first European settlement, convict transportation and then gold exploration. Although these periods occurred later in Western Australia, travellers' texts on Western Australia echoed White's interpretations of the Australian image as identified in the Eastern colonies. In the early nineteenth century the idea of Australia was occasionally dismissed with comic humour, and the image of the first Australians changed from 'noble savage' to, in White's words, 'cynical amusement at their comical antics or pious disgust at their depravity and barbaric ignorance'.[49] The Aboriginal was the earliest

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[45] McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, p.201

[46] Tiffin and Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire,* p.231. Also see Young, 'Colonialism and the Desiring Machine', p.76. He cited Spivak, who had argued that women were subject to a 'double colonization—that is, in the first instance in the domestic sphere, the patriarchy of men, and then, in the public sphere, the patriarchy of the colonial power.' Even though Spivak was speaking from the perspective of the subaltern, that is colonised women, but as members of the colonial power, women were also subject to patriarchy.

[47] Judith Johnston and Monica Anderson, *Australia Imagined: Views from the British Periodical Press 1800-1900*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 2005, pp.1,7.

[48] Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1981, p.ix. Also see Richard White, 'Inventing Australia Revisited', in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia, Changing Australian History,* St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp.12-22, p.20.

[49] White, *Inventing Australia,* p.14.

symbol of Australia, but ultimately ceased to represent Australian national identity.[50] Travellers' perceptions of Indigenous people will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

Once convict transportation was established, a new image of Australia was created. The penal colonies were considered to be 'nurseries of depravity', and whether convict, native-born or free settler, to be Australian was to be associated with the brutality of the convict system.[51] Historian F. G. Clarke attested that antipodean populations were considered to be both inferior and morally tainted.[52] The image of a hard drinking, untrustworthy people was developed during, and for some years after, transportation. White, and M. B. and C. B Schedvin have argued that these characteristics were not distinctly Australian, but were equally a part of the English social order.[53]

Clarke suggested that the imbalance in the ratio of sexes, resulting from transportation, enabled prostitution to flourish, putting into 'disrepute' the moral virtue of many colonial women.[54] Certainly some assisted female immigrants—who were introduced in response to the demands for female domestic servants—married, but others were unable to find a suitable husband or job, and became either destitute or employed in one of the numerous brothels.[55] Australian historian Ann McGrath has argued that the imperial patriarchal view that many migrant women were prostitutes suppressed the idea that working class women were more sexually expressive, as it was in opposition to what the British upper classes condoned as civilised behaviour.[56]

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[50] Johnston and Anderson, *Australia Imagined*, p.4. Racial views will be discussed at length in Chapter 6.
[51] Johnston and Anderson, *Australia Imagined,* p.3.
[52] F. G. Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties: British Attitudes to the Australian Colonies 1828-1855*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1977, p.31.
[53] White, *Inventing Australia,* p.23; M. B. Schedvin and C. B., 'The Nomadic Tribes of Urban Britain: A Prelude to Botany Bay', in John Carroll (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity,* Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp.82-108.
[54] Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties,* p.31.
[55] Despite the much publicised demand, evidence shows that some female immigrants had difficulty in finding positions in the colony due to many settlers loath to pay the level of wages they expected and the market was overstocked by English and Irish immigrant girls in the 1850s to 70s in Perth. See Margaret Anderson, 'Women in the Convict Years in Western Australia', in Rica Erickson (ed.), *The Brand on His Coat,* Perth, Hesperian Press, 2009, pp.84-105, p.92; Belinda Probert, *Working Life*, Ringwood, McPhee Gribble, 1990, pp.79-80; Charlie Fox, *Working Australia*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1991, p.69; Richard D Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, New York, W.W. Norton and Company, 1973, p.52; Aveling (ed.), *Westralian Voices,* p.275; Stannage, *The People of Perth*, pp.114, 128; Margaret Grellier, 'The Family: Some Aspects of Its Demography and Ideology in Mid-Nineteenth Century Western Australia', in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1981, pp.473-510, pp.504-503. Prostitution increased with the discovery of gold in the 1890s; 'Up to several hundred' in Perth and many more in the goldfields. See Raelene Frances, *Selling Sex: A Hidden History of Prostitution*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 2007, p.67; Stannage, *The People of Perth*, p.96; Grellier, 'The Family', p.497.
[56] Ann McGrath, 'Sexuality and Australian Identities', in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History,* St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp.39-52, pp.42-43; Frances, *Selling Sex*, pp.28-29.

Clarke's statement may also reflect the attitude that if women were not homemakers, and therefore virtuous, they must be prostitutes. 'God's police' was a phrase Caroline Chisholm[57] used in 1847 when encouraging women to immigrate to Australia. It was believed that 'good' and 'virtuous' women were needed to ensure the moral stability of the rough masculinity of colonial society, and additionally in Western Australia for the good conduct and reformation of convicts.[58] However, this attitude to the influence of the 'gentler over the sterner sex' only referred to those 'religious, sober and industrious, cleanly and saving' women, not the so-called 'vilest and most degraded' class of women who would lower the moral standing of men.[59] Women were either 'God's Police' or 'Damned Whores' in feminist author Anne Summers' celebrated phrase.[60] Although disparaging charges of immorality had been levelled at the Australian population, Clarke maintained that a feeling nevertheless persisted that Britain had created 'something worthwhile' in Australia.[61]

With the discovery of gold a third image was revealed. The general tone changed from one of denigration to one of admiration; 'gold fever' produced a land full of promise and riches. In a buoyant economy generated by gold, Western Australia's government (granted self-governing status in 1890), employer groups, and supporters of immigration seeking to attract labour and develop land, promoted a land of promise and the idea of potential wealth.

However these imaginings of a unique cultural identity in Australia reflected a narrow vision, for, as White pointed out, there were still poor working class families where the elderly, children, and women whose husbands were absent on the gold fields, or in seasonal work for long periods of time, who suffered poverty.[62] As well, the

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[57] A radical philanthropist, Caroline Chisholm was known mostly for her assistance to female immigrants, and an immigration scheme dispersing families to rural NSW in 1840s and 1850s. See Judith Iltis, 'Chisholm, Caroline (1808 - 1877)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol.1, 1966, pp.221-223.

[58] Grellier, 'The Family', p.497.

[59] Stated in an editorial in 'The Perth Gazette' in 1854, questioning the suitability of receiving female convicts, reproduced in Aveling (ed.), *Westralian Voices,* p.295.

[60] Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police,* Revised edn., Ringwood, Penguin Books Ltd, 1994, p.360, and Ch. 8. Women themselves saw their role as protecting their men from savagery and to keep them civilised through domestic, cultural and spiritual influences. Summers argued that 'while the women who fulfilled the 'God's Police' role were idealized and given a token status' they were 'economically dependent and culturally impotent, their activities and their influences were hidden within the home and hence could be overlooked'. Also see Grellier, 'The Family', pp.497-499.

[61] Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties*, p.34.

[62] White, *Inventing Australia,* p.44. See Stannage, *The People of Perth*, pp.249,251-262, specifically on poverty in WA.

diverse ethnicity of early migrants to the goldfields was ignored, as highlighted in historians Ann Curthoy's and Jan Ryan's work.[63]

Colonial and Pastoral Narratives – Inversion of the Familiar

Along with these popular images, there were also two other narratives prevalent in travel writing. David Goodman defined them as the colonial narrative and the pastoral narrative. The colonial narrative involved marking out a social world characterised by inversion and illogicality, and which mocked the 'social forms of the metropolis'. It was a story that had much to say about masculinity; 'for, the colonial was depicted as both more manly and more unruly than the metropolitan'. The narrative allowed scope for masculine heroism, depicting the human relationship to the environment as one of struggle and conquest.[64]

The pastoral narrative evoked a bounteous natural world where work was scarcely necessary, life was easy and humankind was in harmony with nature. The pastoral was also a masculine story, one about landscape constructed as feminine, a retreat from the world into an idealised domesticity, an inversion of the metropolis.[65] Goodman and White suggested that supporters of emigration perpetuated it.[66] By contrast, the colonial narrative, with its myths about a people who persevere despite challenges of adversity, and the emergence of a distinctive Australian image has provided the content for debates on Australian nationalism and history up to the present day. John Hirst challenged the story regarding Australian 'pioneers', a legendary image which falsifies history because it creates a classless society where 'all social and economic differences are obliterated.'[67] C.T. Stannage's famous lecture in 1985 highlighted the tendency for a gentry tradition to dominate writing on Western Australian history.[68] These narratives or myths are present in virtually all settler-colonial societies. Similarly in America Frederick Jackson Turner's 'frontier thesis' provided 'a theory of history in which conflict, violence, and the subjugation of nature and indigenous peoples are legitimated

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[63] For further discussion on migration and multiculturalism see Ann Curthoys, 'History and Identity', in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History,* St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1997, pp.23-38; Elder, 'Immigration History', pp.98-115. For Chinese migration see Ryan, *Ancestors: Chinese in Colonial Australia.*
[64] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.102.
[65] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.103
[66] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.104, White, *Inventing Australia,* p.33.
[67] John Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History*, Melbourne, Black Inc Agenda, 2006, p.175. First published as John Hirst, 'The Pioneer Legend', *Historical Studies*, vol. 18, No. 71, 1978.
[68] C. T. Stannage, *Western Australia's Heritage: The Pioneer Myth,* monograph series No.1 edn, University Extension: University of Western Australia, 1985, p.7.

as natural and inevitable for ensuring the "progress" of civilisation'.[69] Goodman emphasised the importance of discussing these narratives. The travel book became the:

> vehicle of the articulation and interrogation of narratives already in circulation—narratives which can stand as a kind of folk wisdom, common knowledge of the day. … But, … [w]e need to understand those elements of fantasy and pleasure (fantasises of inversion and of bounty) as much as we need to trace the diffusion of ideology; for, one is incomprehensible without the other.[70]

Jan Bassett had noted that the sense of inversion, the story of the antipodes in relation to its superior opposite, was one of the most powerful themes in antipodean travel writing.[71] Not only was it a method to comprehend an environment that was not European, but it was also complicit in constructing it as 'Other'.[72]

The interest in reading travellers' accounts is in recognising some of the key features of these dominating national narratives, but also in seeing them competing for space with other stories. Boehmer claimed that Victorian travellers, in a continuing process of 'historical sedimentation,' wrote memoirs preserving the fascinations which had tempted them out in the first place, and in turn fed the anticipations of future travellers, explorers and the colonisers themselves.[73] However, the inclination to corroborate the dominant narratives and the need to tell a good story sometimes overruled the intention to tell the truth. Many travellers promised that their account would be characterised by 'truthfulness and fidelity', yet still articulated variants of myth and metaphor, discussing, for example the 'manliness of deportment' of colonial bushmen.[74] Some travellers used their influence and connections to glean stories and observations from their contacts, which they sometimes passed off as their own in their travel publications.[75]

Leed claimed that seventeenth and eighteenth-century travel writers had been much disturbed by the traditional role of travellers as fictionalisers and went to great pains to establish a narrative style that incorporated observations and facts. Many stated

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[69] See Elizabeth Furniss, 'Imagining the Frontier: Comparative Perspectives from Canada and Australia', in Deborah Bird Rose and Richard Davis (eds), *Dislocating the Frontier: Essaying the Mystique of the Outback,* Canberra, ANU E Press, pp.23-46, p.29.
[70] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.110.
[71] Bassett, *Great Southern Landings*, p. xiii.
[72] Also see Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.105; and Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.97
[73] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp.18-19.
[74] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.103.
[75] See Rick Hosking, 'The Privileges of Mobility: George French Angas' Representations of Indigenous People in "Savage Life and Scenes" and his debt to 'Learned Friend' William Cawthorne', *Studies in Travel Writing,* vol.11, no.1*,* 2007, pp.15-35, where Hosking found that traveller Angas used colonial Cawthorne's work and writings to assemble his own book of travels without acknowledgement.

their truths in the foreward to their writings. But they were often accused of either being dull when telling the truth about the world, or being liars if trying to offer novelty or entertainment.[76] In particular, women travel writers accused of falsehood were in a double quandary. Feminist theorist Sara Mills explained that often they would play down their adventurous experiences in order to be believed and to write within the constraints of 'feminine' work. Mills said that it is clear that these writers set out to authenticate their texts to guard against any allegations of inaccuracies in their narratives.[77] When a non-fiction genre that separated fiction and truth became popular in the nineteenth century, travel writing found its niche and began to be regarded as a means of gaining truth about the world.[78]

Travellers' Perspectives as Different

By using these means of making the unfamiliar familiar, as Goodman pointed out, 'travel talk and writing is inevitably about the home society as much as it is about the visited society.'[79] Schulz-Forberg argued that while travel writers made an effort at representing a foreign country socially, culturally and economically—although by articulating its stereotypes—they simultaneously strived to understand themselves and their own world. As a result, in making the foreign familiar, and in reaffirming self, travellers 'rarely seem to be interested in the foreign as such.'[80]

If self is a factor involved in determining the way travellers saw the world, it is appropriate here to investigate why their perspectives were different to those who stayed put. First, borrowing the title of Leed's book, 'the mind of the traveller' is discussed, followed by how individual purpose for travel influenced their writings, and then how the writers' gender made a difference.

Travellers' Minds were Different from Non-Travellers

What was in travellers' minds when they presented a foreign world to their readers, and how did they see themselves in that world? Travellers had a different perspective of a territory from the perspectives written by that territory's inhabitants. Historically the traveller had the ancient insight of the philosopher, was an objective observer and a

[76] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.107.
[77] Sara Mills, *Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, London, Routledge, 1993, p.122.
[78] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.107.
[79] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.111.
[80] Schulz-Forberg (ed.), *Unravelling Civilisation,* p.15.

recorder of the world.[81] But, Leed argued, when the travel experience was confined to brief instants only glimpsed in passing, limitations were imposed. The charge that the traveller's view was superficial, external, and impoverished, lacking the richness or complexity available to the person who stayed in one location, was thus legitimate[82]

Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss defended the travellers' view of the world from the charge of superficiality, suggesting that the limitations upon the travellers' observations may be the source of intellectual improvement:

> [W]hat a useful training in observation … short glimpses of a town, an area or a culture can provide and how—because of the intense concentration forced upon one by the brevity of the stay—one may even grasp certain features which, in other circumstances, might have remained hidden.[83]

Leed pointed out that an inhabitant cannot see the whole picture from the inside, that this is a valuable advantage of the traveller's view.[84] Sociologist Georg Simmel described the stranger (traveller) as detached from the community in which he/she resides by virtue of his/her mobility, thereby viewing objectively the conflicts and situations with which locals are embroiled. Travellers are freer, practically and theoretically, they survey conditions with less prejudice, and are not tied down by habits or precedent.[85] Social historian Alan Mayne pointed out that nuances of colonial society and culture that are normally unremarked are sometimes given startlingly different emphases. What was mundane to the colonists may have had significance to the traveller.[86] Goodman also supported this argument, observing that the speaking position of the traveller is that of the detached observer, 'able to delineate difference and oddity with the certainty born of just passing through'.[87]

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[81] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.61
[82] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.61.
[83] Claude Levi-Strauss cited in Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller Tourism*, p.61.
[84] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.62. 'What to the [observed] is a medium that defines the particularity of his or her situation is to the traveller an object, a part of a generality, which must be understood in terms of its relations to other parts of a system.'
[85] Cited in Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.63.
[86] Alan Mayne, 'An Italian Traveller in the Antipodes: An Historical Rite of Passage', *Travellers, Journeys, Tourists: Australian Cultural History*, no.10, 1991, pp.58-68, p.66.
[87] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.99.

Mayne discussed the travellers' 'rites of passage'[88] and how the traveller tended to be permanently in suspension between the customs, conventions, and achievements of their homelands, and those of the territories they were visiting. Travellers existed on the undefined margins of the familiar and the unfamiliar. He considered that the appeal to the traveller is in the homecoming, and the dramatic retelling and embellishment of it from the perspective of a rite that has been completed. He argued that the travellers' stories and memories about observing novel sights and behaviours overlaid finally by the experience of homecoming, are a compelling resource whereby writers 'probe the shibboleths of both their home society and the lands of their travels'.[89] The travellers' readers are consequently, according to Mayne, rewarded with tales of adventure and instruction. The travellers' narratives written through the peculiarity of an outsider's gaze made a distant society comprehensible to the reader.[90] These ideas support the value of this thesis in revealing representations of colonial thought in constructing a sense of Western Australia.

Travellers were Different from Each Other

Another consideration comes into play when determining the way each individual traveller saw the territory, in particular Australia. According to author Stephen Martin, this often related to their occupation and to their reasons for being there. For example, colonial administrators viewed the territory primarily as a resource upon which their immediate and long-term survival depended, defined by the necessity to establish the colony. Botanists and biologists were encouraged by Australia's wealth of new plants and animals to describe and classify for both the growing body of scientific knowledge, and to enhance their reputations. Explorers and surveyors viewed the territory as a challenge in their search for new pastures to claim for the colonial government, as did the prospectors in their search for gold and wealth. And they all differed from European

[88] Both Mayne and Leed talked about engagement in a rite of passage consisting of the departure from a familiar context; the passage across space; and the arrival that established new bonds between strangers. Where Mayne referred to an 'indeterminacy' within this passage, Leed talked about a sequence of distinctive situations that appeal to the traveller that may be perceived as opposed and conflictual, but they are not when sequenced in the form of the journey. Therefore contradiction, change and transformation are resolved into a logical sequence that satisfies human longings for 'motion and rest, liberty and confinement, indeterminacy and definition', a new union and coherence between self and context. See Mayne, 'An Italian Traveller in the Antipodes', p.61; and Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.22.

[89] Mayne, 'An Italian Traveller in the Antipodes', p.61. The writers, because of this sense of having been suspended 'betwixt and between', possess a special aptitude for 'revealing … the building blocks from which their hitherto taken-for-granted world has been constructed'.

[90] Mayne, 'An Italian Traveller in the Antipodes', p.66.

immigrants who tried to develop and understand their new country.[91] Therefore people wrote for a specific reason, and to a specific audience. This affected the style and sometimes the content of letters, reports or journal entries. Letters were mostly written as personal messages, with little thought of wider circulation, but perhaps optimistic in tone so as not to concern loved ones back home. Other accounts may have been written with publication in mind, and these often stressed the unusual and the dramatic. Government reports and despatches may have emphasised some aspects, while omitting or playing down others.[92] For this reason, this study examines a cross section of visitors with different reasons for their journey and diverse purposes in visiting Western Australia.

Increasingly in industrial societies the motive for travel was pleasure, and this was usually restricted to the elite.[93] It was notably affluent people of mature years from the middle and upper classes who travelled, a circumstance that skewed their accounts to a patrician perspective.[94] They had both the means and the leisure to travel, with useful contacts among high-level officials who were frequently family members.[95]

Women Travellers were Different from Men Travellers

In the abundant descriptions of nineteenth-century travel, Monica Anderson and literary academic Shirley Foster, whose interests in Victorian women and travel writing are referred to here, have argued that women travellers were frequently dismissed, and if included, the range of manner and discourse in their travel writing was not adequately addressed.[96] Foster claimed there was a 'reluctance to consider female travellers on the same terms as their more serious male counterparts'.[97] Women travellers often encountered hostility and patronising ridicule. 'The eccentric lady traveller, the old maids and the scribbling bluestocking, took her place in society's collection of caricatures.'[98] But Jane Robinson compiled a biographical directory of some 400 women travellers showing that there was more to them than the traditional images of an

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[91] Stephen Martin, *A New Land: European Perceptions of Australia 1788-1850*, St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1993, pp. xvii-xviii.
[92] Martin, *A New Land,* p. xxii.
[93] See Horne, The Pursuit of Wonder; Martin, *A New Land;* Pearson, 'Pilgrims, Travellers, Tourists'.
[94] Russell Roselyn, 'Travellers Tales: Views of Australia before Federation', *National Library of Australia News*, vol.10, no.1, 1999, pp.11-13.
[95] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p.19; Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and their Writings*, New York, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990, p.6.
[96] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p.14; Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.6.
[97] Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.6.
[98] Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.6.

'intrepid Victorian spinster vigorously prodding the ends of the earth with her parasol'.[99]

In earlier times, Robinson explained that in general women travelling were considered as 'vaguely a vulgar business'. The only occasion they were able to maintain their reputation as a 'Lady of Quality' while travelling, was when they accompanied family or friends on a European Grand Tour. When touring to view natural wonders and places of curiosity became popular during the colonial periods, especially if it was translated into literature, Robinson explained, 'increasing numbers of women were finding a precedent to abandon reputation for the sake of new experience'.[100] Although, Foster claimed, they still maintained their female integrity and 'clung tenaciously to a properly ladylike image …[while] albeit unconsciously, still asserting their right to do what men had done for centuries'.[101] Robinson argued that:

> touring had almost become one of those accomplishments … to which every 'nice' young woman aspired. And as sketching and the keeping of an edifying journal were similarly appreciated, a glut of thickly feminine travel books began to emerge, all illustrated with what look now like stock-footage views of the same peasants, villages, and mountains.[102]

Robinson claimed that these frivolous books were largely responsible for giving the woman traveller a bad name. 'They begged not to be taken seriously, [in] their sighing eulogies, florid effusions, and illustrations of trim little figures … in the height of whaleboned and high-heeled fashion, shepherded by indulgent-looking husbands and brothers. "Petticoated pilgrims" and "pic-nic pioneers", the critics called them.'[103] Anderson agreed that to nineteenth-century critics, in competition with the traditional male travellers' points of view, women's texts were deemed partial, considered to be of a low quality, lacking in informed geographical knowledge, and high in emotion.[104]

Robinson's bibliography of women travel writers revealed that there were many texts worthy of serious consideration. Anderson and Foster confirmed that from the early nineteenth century, women increasingly ventured to all parts of the world

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[99] Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, Preface. See also Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, pp.27, 34.
[100] Robinson, *Wayward Women,* pp.1-2.
[101] Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.8.
[102] Robinson, *Wayward Women,* p.105.
[103] Robinson, *Wayward Women,* p.106.
[104] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p.22. Nevertheless, W. H. Davenport Adams's 1903 biographical study of *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*, approved of their approach when he said that Lady Brassey's record of her world voyage was enhanced by its lack of affectation or conscious superiority, and 'we feel that we are in the company of woman with a woman's heart – of a woman with broad sympathies and a happy nature'. See W. H. Davenport Adams's *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*, 1903, p.347, (cited in Foster, *Across New Worlds, p.7.)*

unchaperoned by fathers, husbands or brothers, as long as they had an evident purpose for travel. Marianne North, for example, collected and illustrated unusual flora. However, it is only since the early twentieth century that women were able to travel alone on a more regular basis.[105] Enabled by improved methods of communication and transportation, many women felt compelled to venture into the world. They were driven by various reasons: by curiosity or rebellion, for romance, adventure, knowledge, intellectual stimulation, or missionary work, or were bound by their husband's duties, or wanted to indulge in an activity outside the ordinary routine of home, family and social obligation.[106]

Anderson, echoing Foster's earlier publication, believed that because women were becoming independent travellers they were 'able to assume masculine power, authority and autonomy'. She argued that they took advantage of being away from home and away from their restricted roles as women, where they were expected to be passive and silent. They asserted their rights to self-determination and appropriated power through imperial authority, even though they looked at the foreign worlds they visited 'through white masculine eyes'.[107]

Yet, at the same time, in male-dominated British society many nineteenth-century women travellers inevitably found themselves caught in a dilemma between ambition and the conventions of femininity. Anderson believed that these women had to negotiate conventional gender roles, while appearing to still operate within them.[108] This meant taking on a position of gender ambiguity with what were considered 'masculine virtues of strength, initiative and decisiveness' while retaining the less aggressive qualities thought appropriate to her own sex. Female travellers, for example, usually maintained feminine dress whilst travelling to hazardous regions.[109] Historian Penny Russell has argued that although constrained by the terms of femininity, women were not entirely without agency.[110] Catherine Symonds' view of her sister Marianne North reflects both of these points:

> She could apparently sit all day painting in a mangrove swamp, and not catch fever, she could live without food, without sleep, and still come home … ready to enjoy to the full the flattering reception which London is always

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[105] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel,* p.15; Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.6.
[106] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel,* p.15; Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.6.
[107] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel,* p.24.
[108] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel,* p.14. See also Penny Russell, 'Unsettling Settler Society', in Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (eds), *Australia's History: Themes and Debates,* Sydney, UNSW Press, 2005, pp.22-40, p.26.
[109] Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.11.
[110] Russell, 'Unsettling Settler Society', p.26.

> ready to give to any one who has earned its respect by being interesting in any way.[111]

This extract also highlights the sentiment at the time that travel elevated one's status and made one interesting. As James Buzard pointed out, many travellers, men included, went abroad not to source new knowledge but to 'scramble for a higher social position'.[112]

A further complication was that most women accepted the Victorian image of the feminine as natural, and therefore any attempt at personal fulfilment had also to be directed against the self.[113] Scholar CarrieAnne Simonini DeLoach believed that:

> Englishwomen projected gendered identities in their writings, which were both 'imperially' masculine and 'domestically' feminine, depending on the needs of a particular location and space. The travel narrative itself was also a gendered product that served as both a medium of cultural expression for Victorian women and a tool of restraint, encouraging them to conform to societal expectations to gain limited authority and recognition for their travels even while they embraced the freedom of movement.[114]

Many women travellers' books were published at the height of British imperialism during the late nineteenth century. They would travel to replica 'little Englands' that were to be found everywhere, as was discussed earlier. Standards were kept up with the help of clubs, afternoon teas, nightly theatrical or musical performances.[115] Robinson used Lady Annie Brassey as an example. In her schooner *The Sunbeam* (fig.1.1) she could drift wherever she wished and see the most wonderful sights and still come 'home' every evening on board ship. It was her own mobile empire on a continuous 'state visit to anchorages all over the world'. Consequently, Robinson found that many published travel writings have a markedly parochial air about them, with some showing signs of British bigotry.[116]

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[111] Marianne North, *Some Further Recollections of a Happy Life Selected from the Journals of Marianne North chiefly between the Years 1859 and 1869,* edited by her sister Mrs J. Addington Symonds, London, 1893, pp.315-16. Foster, *Across New Worlds,* also referred to this quotation, p.13.
[112] Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, p.107 in which he cited Charles Lever.
[113] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel,* p.26.
[114] CarrieAnne Simonini Deloach, *Exploring Transient Identities: Deconstructing Depictions of Gender and Imperial Ideology in the Oriental Travel Narratives of Englishwomen, 1831-1915*, Thesis (M.A), University of Central Florida, 2006, p.iii.
[115] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p.201.
[116] Robinson, *Wayward Women*, p.200.

A home from home aboard Lady Anna Brassey's schooner *Sunbeam*

Fig.1.1. A mobile empire, in Robinson, *Wayward Women,* plates.

According to Sara Mills, women travellers were more hesitant than men in adopting the imperialist voice, and were less able to assert the 'truths' of British rule without qualification. She believed that woman travel writers tended to concentrate on descriptions of people as individuals rather than making statements about race, despite their privileged class positions, and because of their oppressive socialisation and marginal place in relation to imperialism. She claimed that their attitude to the people amongst whom they travelled seemed to differ from that of male travel writers, revealing personal involvement and relationships, rather than taking on an authoritative stance.[117] Lorraine Sterry, an academic discussing women's travel writing on Japan, argued that recent feminist accounts of women's travel writing were 'often very selective—they tended to omit, or gloss over, perceived negative attitudes such as arrogance, deceitfulness or cruelty, and emphasized the more 'feminine' aspects such as acts of kindness and charity'.[118]

Mills conceded that within female travellers' texts there were often statements upholding colonial rule.[119] As well, some of the silences implicit in women travellers' texts reveal this. Mills gave some examples of these. There were few accounts of danger to the female traveller journeying alone. This may be attributed to the idea of reinforcing the colonial existence by never questioning their own presence in a country, or of representing the countries visited as 'empty', or populated by harmless children. If

[117] Paul Fussell, a cultural and *literary* historian, Mills refers to his book *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars.*
[118] Lorraine Sterry, 'Constructs of Meiji Japan: The Role of Writing by Victorian Women Travellers', *Japanese Studies*, vol.23, no.2, 2003, p.168.
[119] Mills, *Discourse of Difference,* p.35.

the threat was of a sexual nature, because it was improper for women to allude to sexual matters, these risks were not recorded either.[120]

Nonetheless, through careful self-censorship these women travel writers explored, examined and gradually reshaped their restricting boundaries and, as Anderson pointed out, were in a strong position to offer a critique of empire and home. Women's travel literature 'allows us to see something of the changes in the way society thought about and treated women, and the way women thought about themselves.'[121] In this thesis, women writers represented less than a third of the travellers under review. However, their voices provide a counterpoint to the more dominant perspectives of male writers.

Conclusion

The works of leading academics studying travel literature in the field of colonial and postcolonial discourse demonstrate that travel writing is extremely effective as an ideological tool of empire. Travel writing is now being accessed by disciplines other than literary studies. This thesis contributes to this emerging field of scholarship. In a new approach this study utilises travel writings to develop a sense or perspective of a region and its people. Because nineteenth and early twentieth-century travellers worked with the language and philosophies available to them at the time, within these terms the many influences affecting their observations present insightful discussions of colonial space and society. By studying literary approaches to this genre, in the following chapters I will analyse the ways in which the world was compiled through travellers' lenses, whilst recording an image of southern Western Australia through their writings and illustrations. In summary, literary approaches have identified how travellers produced a moralising and authoritative viewpoint in their need to make meaning of and to understand the 'New World'. They reinforced the ideas of imperial supremacy by subordinating and classifying races, and by upholding unique cultural identities. By making the unfamiliar familiar they drew on recognisable cultural standards and rituals and promoted Britishness. In Australia their narratives adopted methods to explain difference, whereby they introduced a world characterised by inversion and illogicality both physically and socially. Their perspectives were skewed to reflect their predispositions and the world they were from. Women's writing revealed their positions in society and their attempt to participate in a predominantly masculine genre.

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[120] Mills, *Discourse of Difference,* p.22.
[121] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel,* p.224.

This thesis finds that by combining the study of the travel writing genre with a critique of nineteenth-century ideology it offers a stronger, more textured approach when examining travellers' responses to southern Western Australia's space and people during the colonial and early federal period. These influencing ideologies are discussed in the next chapter, and in Chapter Five.

Chapter 2

Ideologies of Space

Nor am I less delighted with the show
As it unfolds itself, now here, now there,
Than is the passing Traveller, when his way
Lies through some fair region then first trod by him
(Say this fair Valley's self), when low-hung mists
Break up and are beginning to recede.
How pleased he is to hear the murmuring stream,
The many Voices, from he know not where,
To have about him, which way e'er goes,
Something on every side concealed from view,
In every quarter some things visible,
Half seen or wholly, lost and found again --
Alternate progress and impediment,
And yet a growing prospect in the main.
(Wordsworth, 'Home at Grasmere', MS B, 697-709)

> *The country was more English-looking in that remote part of Western Australia than anywhere else that I had been to on the vast island. We went for a drive through cornfields and meadows with noble red gums isolated like the old oaks at home, with hedges and numerous gates which had to be opened and shut in the same tiresome way as at home.*
> (Marianne North, 1880)[1]

This observation made by British botanical artist Marianne North in 1880, while on her visit to Australind in Western Australia, represents a clear example of the impulse that people arriving in a new country have to make comparisons and to find resemblances between it and their old country in an attempt to attribute meaning and dimension to the

[1] Marianne North, *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, vol.II, New York, Macmillan And Co., 1894, p.161.

unknown.[2] Space thus becomes both presented and represented, as argued by European academic Roberta Falcone.[3] Marianne's idea that the Australind region was 'English-looking' was reinforced by her use of the terms 'meadow' and 'hedges', creating a distinct image of an enclosed English-type countryside. This example is in accordance with Paul Carter's argument that landscape is not a tangible or a physical reality, but a construction created by the person viewing it, shaped by the historical, geographical and cultural contexts in which that person lives.[4]

Carter challenged the traditional historiographies of Australian landscape with his radical views of spatial history as he engaged with the texts of colonisation. His explorative, theoretical work has been much referred to, and has inspired contemporary discussion of Australian landscape and traveller/migrant experiences, resulting in the development of research into colonial imaginings of Australia, concentrating mainly on the eastern colonies. Hence this chapter explores the predominant ideologies that travellers brought with them from their 'home' countries, in order to assist an examination of the way these ideas shaped their observations in the two chapters immediately following.

However, first it is useful to have background knowledge about the topography, climate, flora, and land-use in southern Western Australia, to set the scene and facilitate an evaluation of spatial observations. The coastal lowland plains consist of extensive sand-dunes, and form a narrow strip of undulating land no more than 60 metres above sea level that is bordered on the east by the Darling Scarp (up to 600 metres high), and the Stirling and Porongorup Ranges (450 metres high). Both sandy and stony-desert plains extend east of the escarpment. The most significant of the plains is the Swan Coastal Plain, which is 25-35 kilometres wide. It has the highest density of population and is where Fremantle and Perth are situated. These sand plains were formed in relation to the climate, which is dry and warm to hot in summer, and cool and wet in winter. The interior goldfields are dryer and intensely hot in summer. Rainfall is highest along the southwest coast, and decreases inland, becoming more unreliable towards the goldfields. Inland streams rarely flow due to high evaporation rates after rain, which often form salt depressions and lakes. These conditions have evolved unique vegetation.

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[2] Carter, *Living in a New Country*, p.2.
[3] Roberta Falcone, 'Australian Landscape as the Language of a New Identity', in Renata Summo-O'Connell (ed.), *Imagined Australia: Reflections around the Reciprocal Construction of Identity between Australia and Europe*, Bern, Peter Lang AG, 2009, pp.123-136, p.124.
[4] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History*, London, Faber and Faber, 1987, pp.81-84.

During the nineteenth century, the higher rainfall fringes of the southwest were covered by areas of karri and jarrah forests on the scarp, and large stands of tuart trees on the coastal plain. East of the scarp in the drier interior a variety of shrubland plants and stunted eucalypts grew.[5] Western Australia was extraordinarily rich floristically, with the majority of species well adapted to growing in infertile soils. The greater part of the ground cover lacked essential nutrients for stock. In general, Europeans were misled by the perpetual greenness of the vegetation, which they falsely believed indicated plentiful rainfall, fertile soils, and nutritious grazing.[6]

In the 1850s when the first travellers in this study arrived, the alluvial soils of the Swan and the Avon Valley from Toodyay to Beverley were the main European farmlands. There were also areas of farming between Perth and Busselton, and in the river valleys of the southwest, but farming expanded very slowly, with many indigenous poison plants killing sheep and cattle until they were identified and eradicated. The gold boom years boosted the economy and population, consequently farming spread along the railway east of Northam towards the Goldfields and along the Great Southern Railway from Beverley to Albany after 1889. Orchards and vineyards were planted in the south-western areas surrounding the towns of Harvey, Bunbury, Donnybrook and Bridgetown, and in southern pockets near Mt Barker. With increased clearing in the 1890s and early 1900s, farmers found that additional springs and soaks had developed as a consequence, which were useful for stock and domestic water. But underground water became brackish, and areas adjacent and on broad flats became sterile due to the concentrations of salt, causing long-term environmental damage.[7]

Having broadly described the physical landscape, it is now also helpful to define the geographical and literary terms used to represent and describe an area.

Defining Landscape, Place and Space

The terms landscape, space and place require definition as their meaning can prove challenging because of their vitality and multi disciplinary nature. The word 'landscape' originally came into popular use to describe an artistic and literary representation of

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[5] Diane Guy, Joe Kalajzich and John Nelson, *Landscapes and Land Uses: Studies in Australian Geography*, Sydney, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1991, pp.1-21,33,47. See also J. Dodson, F. Itzstein-Davey, L. Milne, and A. Morris, 'Vegetation and Environmental History of Southern Western Australia', in Andrea Gaynor, Mathew Trinca and Anna Haebich (eds), *Country: Visions of Land and People in Western Australia*, Perth, Western Australian Museum, 2002, pp.147-167.

[6] J.M.R. Cameron, *Ambition's Fire: The Agricultural Colonization of Pre-Convict Western Australia*, Perth, University of Western Australia, 1981, p.21.

[7] G. H. Burvill, *'Rural Achievements', European Impact on the West Australian Environment 1829-1979*, Perth, University of Western Australia, 1979, pp.35-51, pp.37-38,48.

visual scenery and was later connected to academic geography in analysing 'natural and human phenomena' over a given portion of topography.[8] Geographer D. W. Meinig explained that all landscapes are symbolic as 'expressions of cultural values, social behaviour, and individual actions worked upon particular localities over a span of time'.[9] This would include not only the values and behaviours of residents within the landscape, but also those of viewers, as explained in Carter's argument above. Landscape is the unity of an intimate intermingling of physical, biological, and cultural features impressed on the senses. It is omnipresent, and is more inclusive than scenery as it is something to be observed, but not necessarily admired.[10] Carter believed that when arriving to live in a new country and viewing the landscape for the first time, it 'is never simply a geographical location and always a historical and poetic destiny', and can induce 'a sense of placelessness and depression'.[11] Landscape is then 'characterized first by a sense of displacement … between the *experienced* environment and descriptions the language provides, and second, by a sense of the immense investment of culture in the construction of place',[12] by the viewer and the viewed.

'Place', as defined by anthropologist Miriam Kahn, is 'landscape constructed through human activity' and is the 'daily interactions between people and environments'.[13] Landscape is related to, yet not identical to place, which can be a point of focus, a locality, or simply a sense.[14] This sense of place is the site of self, space, and time as explained by Keith Basso, who is also an anthropologist:

> relationships with places are lived whenever a place becomes the object of awareness. In many instances, awareness of place is brief and unselfconscious, a fleeting moment (a flash of recognition, a trace of memory) that is swiftly replaced by awareness of something else. But now and again, and sometimes without apparent cause, awareness is seized—arrested—and the place on which it settles becomes an object of spontaneous reflection and resonating sentiment.[15]

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[8] Steven Feld, 'Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea', in Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (eds), *Senses of Place*, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press, 1996, pp.91-135, p.94

[9] D.W. Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1979, p.6.

[10] Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, p.2.

[11] Carter, *Living in a New Country*, p.8.

[12] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, 2nd edn, London, Routledge, 2006, p.345.

[13] Miriam Kahn, 'Your Place and Mine: Sharing Emotional Landscapes in Wamira, Papua New Guinea', in Steven Feld and Keith Basso (eds), *Senses of Place*, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press, 1996, pp.167-196, p.193.

[14] Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes,* p.3.

[15] Keith H Basso, 'Wisdom Sits in Places', in Steven Feld and Keith Basso (eds), *Senses of Place*, Santa Fe, School of American Research Press, 1996, pp.53-90, p.54. See also Steven Feld and Keith Basso (eds), *Senses of Place*, 1st edn, School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, Santa Fe, N.M., School of American Research Press, introduction p.7.

Place is thus an individual's self-conscious experience shaped by their personal and social biography which can trigger self-reflection, and remind one of other places, people or times. The physical landscape then becomes linked to the landscape of the imagination.[16] Therefore places are ultimately an emotional landscape.[17] As early as 1803 Francois Auguste Rene Chateaubriand reinforced this argument when he wrote: 'Every man [sic] carries within him a world which is composed of all that he has seen and loved, and to which he constantly returns, even when he is travelling through, and seems to be living in, some different world'.[18] This is well exemplified by Marianne North's comparisons with her home in the opening quotation to this chapter.

The term 'space' is an all-encompassing expression of landscape and place. Space is filled by the interaction of the shape and form of the topography, articulated in a pattern of settlement and economic activity expressed, for example, as towns, coastal scenery, farming or mining landscapes, as well as the meanings attributed to the physical features, all which are closely related to notions of cultural identity.[19] The theorisation of space and the emotions it can draw out in the visitor are complex, and is only part of the multi-faceted discussions of place and landscape by contemporary authors who concur that space is a construction which is multi-sensual and defined by the interaction of language, history and the environment.[20] Australian cultural theorists Ruth Barcan and Ian Buchanan defined it well:

> space is imagined—called into being—by individuals and the cultures of which they are part. … [T]hat is, that the biological, geological, material world around us is discursively imagined, understood and produced.[21]

Thus 'space' is chosen as a comprehensive term in which the travellers constructed a sense of place and landscape through their writings and illustrations.

This chapter then examines the predominant influences that could possibly have shaped European travellers' perceptions of space in Western Australia between 1850 and 1914, armed as they were with an education and knowledge of eighteenth and nineteenth-century ideas and philosophies.

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[16] Basso, 'Wisdom Sits in Places', p.55
[17] Kahn, 'Your Place and Mine', p.167.
[18] Chateaubriand, Francois Auguste Rene, *Voyages en Italie 1803*, cited in Kahn, 'Your Place and Mine', p.195.
[19] Cynthia Lane, 'Too Rarely Visited and Too Rarely Known', in Philip Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies: Thirteen*, Second Series, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2005, pp.170-193, p.171.
[20] See Meinig (ed.), *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*; Feld and Basso (eds), *Senses of Place*, introduction.
[21] Ruth Barcan and Ian Buchanan (eds), *Imagining Australian Space: Cultural Studies and Spatial Inquiry*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1999, pp.7-10.

The Influence of 'The Great South Land'

A commonplace notion about Australia recorded, and often exploited, by many enthusiastic nineteenth-century European colonists in their sketches and writings, was that many of the land's natural characteristics were curious, sometimes disturbing, and even grotesque. These images were inspired by readings of early classical scholars' assumptions made about the 'Great South Land'.[22] Centuries of interpretation held an evocative power, where Australia was conceived to be the antipodes to Europe. Consequently the Great South Land made contradictory promises: of a paradise, an Arcadia, a Garden of Eden, or an 'anti-world' of 'antipodean perversities'[23] containing all the imagined creatures illustrated on speculative world maps.[24] Aspects of the unfamiliar were recorded revealing incomprehensible dissimilarities to Europe, such as the reversal of the seasons, egg laying animals, marsupials, and flightless birds.[25] Although advances in navigation and European settlement proved there were flaws in the classical scholars' argument, conceptual 'errors' remained a part of European thinking, and continued to be an influence because of the impact of their actual discoveries of diverse unknown human cultures and strange and remarkable flora and fauna.[26]

To indicate how prevalent this idea was; Lady Annie Brassey illustrated extraordinary flora and fauna to represent Western Australia by way of introducing the chapter about this region in her book *The Last Voyage* (fig. 2.1).

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[22] On Ptolemy's map of the known and unknown world around 150AD, a vast continent south of the equator was invented as a standard of symmetry to balance the known land in the northern hemisphere. For hundreds of years this Great South Land was named Terra Australis Incognita (the unknown south land). Lines points out that it was an arrogant assumption based on Eurocentric ideology. See William J. Lines, *Taming the Great South Land: A History of the Conquest of Nature in Australia*, North Sydney, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1991, p.15.

[23] A notion that was entitled 'the concept of the reversal of Nature'. See J. M. Powell, *Images of Australia, 1788-1914*, Melbourne, Dept. of Geography, Monash University, 1972, p.3.

[24] Illustrations of an imaginary paradise, and/or negative 'monstrous' imagery were often used to embellish world maps, which constructed an imagined identity to an unknown space, influencing Europeans travelling to the Antipodes. See Paul Longley Arthur, 'Fantasies of the Antipodes', in Ruth Barcan and Ian Buchanan (eds), *Imagining Australian Space: Cultural Studies and Spatial Inquiry*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1999, pp.37-46, p.41.

[25] Powell, *Images of Australia*, p.3; John O'Carroll, 'Upside-Down and inside-Out: Notes on the Australian Cultural Unconscious', in Ruth Barcan and Ian Buchanan (eds), *Imagining Australian Space: Cultural Studies and Spatial Inquiry*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1999, pp.13-36, p.26; Arthur, 'Fantasies of the Antipodes', p.39. Michelle Hetherington, 'The World Upside Down: Early Colonial Records at the National Library of Australia', in National Library of Australia (ed.), *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788-1830*, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 2000, pp.1-7, p.4.

[26] O'Carroll, 'Upside-Down and inside-Out', p.25.

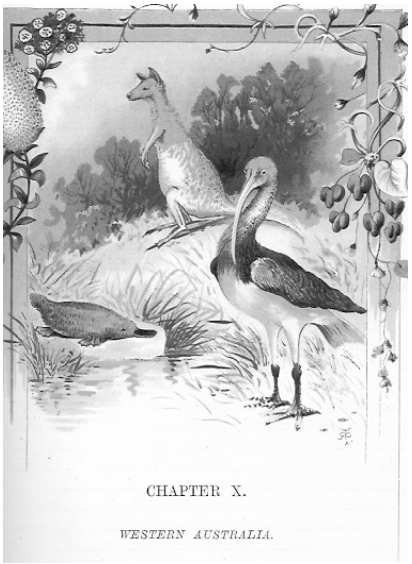

Fig. 2.1.
In Annie Brassey, Lady, *The Last Voyage, to India and Australia, in the 'Sunbeam',* New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889, p.229. Lady Brassey's intention to represent these creatures as Western Australian is evident by titling them *Fauna, W. Australia* in her 'List of Illustrations' on p.xi.

However, a kangaroo, a platypus and what is possibly a pelican are not wholly representative of Western Australian fauna. Kangaroos live throughout Australia, and pelicans are found worldwide, even though there is an Australian species.[27] It is unlikely that Lady Brassey saw a platypus, firstly because they are only found in the waterways of Eastern Australia, and secondly because they are very difficult to see as they build their burrows deep in the sides of riverbanks.[28] This is further evidence of travellers, or indeed their publishers, being influenced by their existing knowledge about the Great South Land, and not actual observations.

Many Europeans were curious about the 'new' land. The manifestation of this ardent curiosity—collecting flora and fauna and Indigenous artefacts—developed into an export industry selling to ships' passengers returning to England. Richard Neville wrote:

> Collecting was rarely systematic, but was determined by what was colourful and unusual, what was curious. Kangaroos, black swans, and any number of hardy and colourful parrots and lorikeets (often bought from Aborigines) were frequent passengers to England where they were either distributed amongst family and patrons or sold.[29]

For example, the purpose of this study's traveller Frederick Ayres's visit to Western Australia was to shoot and catch birds and wildlife to sell to collectors and the museums.

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[27] Australian Museum, 'Animal Species: Australian Pelican', http://australianmuseum.net.au/Australian-Pelican, (accessed Apr 2010).
[28] <http://www.genevaschools.org/austinbg/class/gray/platypus/habitat.html>, (accessed 17 Jan 2010).
[29] Richard Neville, 'Eager Curiosity: Engaging with the New Colony of New South Wales', in National Library of Australia (ed.), *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788-1830*, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 2000, pp.7-12, p.8

The Influence of the Enlightenment and Christian Attitudes

Historian John Gascoigne has argued that the goals that gave shape and direction to the conduct of life in early European Australia drew heavily on the world-view of the Enlightenment.[30] As well, most Europeans had a deep understanding of Christian doctrine. Together these philosophies were highly influential in the western world.

Of particular interest to this thesis is the Enlightenment's most basic and enduring principle; where it advocated the use of reason and individualism instead of tradition and established doctrine, its general premise being improvement and progress. It promoted agricultural and scientific advancement, encouraged educational and intellectual betterment, and strived for the improvement of human nature and society more generally. According to Gascoigne, the assumptions of 'improvement' were widespread in colonial Australia. This fundamental belief in progress was demonstrated by the importance placed on cultivation, particularly during a period driven by imperial optimism.[31] Furthermore, historian Margaret C. Jacob argued that historically, travel writers fed the impulse toward the Enlightenment as well, by crossing national borders at will.[32]

Environmental historian J. M. Powell argued that, 'the first colonists were committed to Australia before they came to understand it'. They carried with them images of the constructed landscape and agricultural practices of their homeland, from which they made comparisons. To understand Australia's natural space, Europeans needed first to live with it, then to accept it, and finally to appreciate it.[33] By this means, as Jane Davis concluded in her study of colonial Western Australia, many colonists eventually developed an attachment to the land.[34] Like my study, Davis also focused on the landscape of southern Western Australia, but she concentrated on colonists who stayed and earned a living in the colony. Her interests were different, because although she discussed European responses to the land, she only examined migrants' feelings of belonging. As she stated 'the agendas of peripatetic people was [sic] different from those who remained'.[35]

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[30] John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p.169.
[31] Gascoyne, *The Enlightenment*, p.160. See also Lines, *Taming the Great South Land*, p.16.
[32] Margaret C. Jacob, *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents*, Boston, Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001, pp.43,46.
[33] Powell, *Images of Australia*, p.3.
[34] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, intro.
[35] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?,* p.2. Reasons why literary scholars considered that travellers' responses were different to non-travellers were discussed in the last chapter.

Before they were able to form this attachment, and because of their preoccupation with the advance of European settlement, generally Europeans were uneasy with the vastness of the landscape they confronted, according to environmental lawyer Tim Bonyhady.[36] However, Davis contested the notion that the land alienated and estranged newcomers. She argued that interactions between European newcomers and the land was 'more complex and less negative' than previous scholarship has suggested. However, not withstanding this, and her argument that some colonists came to feel they belonged to the land, she admitted that the environment was unfamiliar and frightening *'at first'* [my emphasis].[37] The smaller, overwhelmingly tamed, fenced, and pathed landscapes with which Europeans were familiar tended to bestow more of a sense of intimacy and connectedness for them, as the opening quotation by Marianne North demonstrates.[38] In Bruce Clunies Ross' study of Australian writers, he argued that they represented the country in agreeable terms, and therefore managed to avoid writing about the unfamiliar inhospitable bush.

> Although [writers and artists] sometimes give us glimpses of the frontier, it is always seen over the shoulder of the advancing pioneer. The country they saw does not present a threat to human beings; rather they depict the ordinary hazards of pioneering life. They idealise the bush; they leave out the flies and represent sunlight and heat benignly … a setting of a rough version of the good life. They celebrate the outcome of European settlement, but offer few visions of the country beyond the edge of settlement.[39]

This tendency also substantiates the European colonists' inclination towards the Enlightenment principles of improving the land. As Western Australian historian Geoffrey Bolton pointed out, they were not trained to appreciate the qualities of a landscape as different from Europe as the Australian bush.[40]

Christian heritage co-existed in reasonable harmony with the Enlightenment impulse toward improvement, and had a particularly powerful influence over attitudes to landscape. The Europeans who travelled to Western Australia were nearly all ostensibly Christians influenced by the Church's interpretations of the book of Genesis,[41] and had grown up in a society which believed humankind was superior to the

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[36] Tim Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition: Australian Landscape Painting 1801-1890*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1985, p.60.
[37] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, p.3.
[38] See Jane Grellier, *Awe, Disillusionment and Fear: Attitudes to Landscape among Christian Colonists of Far South-West Australia*, Thesis (M.A.), University of Western Australia, 1996, p.4, which studied middle-class Christian colonists responses to the landscape.
[39] Ross, 'Landscape and the Australian Imagination', p.230.
[40] Geoffrey Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers: Australians Make Their Environment 1788-1980*, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1981, p.15.
[41] The bible taught in its first chapter that God, having created Adam and Eve, gave 'man' dominion over every living thing, and to 'replenish the earth, and subdue it'. (Genesis 1:28).

rest of creation and had rights and responsibilities over nature to transform the environment into greater productivity. This was reflected in centuries of cultural traditions where power was based on ownership of land. The usefulness of land and the visual pleasure it gave were equally prized. Therefore vast tracts of cleared, shaped land were an indication of wealth.[42]

Narratives written about the colonies spoke of a space physically appropriated by men. However, mention of a garden around a homestead was, according to feminist literary critic Annette Kolodny, a woman's 'personal stamp' on a landscape otherwise claimed by men. In Kolodny's study of frontier mythology in the American west, eighteenth and nineteenth-century women 'utilised what they could of their surroundings—as men had always done—to announce their presence and imprint their dreams'.[43] Educated in the attitudes of pious domesticity then deemed appropriate for genteel ladies, nineteenth-century women understood that there was a strict definition of the duties appointed to each sex in their various stations. It was considered that manual labour and scientific pursuits were more appropriate to man's more vigorous frame and intellect, whereas the gentle woman was to undertake domestic duties to turn home,[44] in Kolodny's understanding, into a 'paradise'. She argued that as a result, for men the term 'paradise' meant, in Christian terms, an invitation to master and possess the 'new' continent as a marketplace, contrasting with a fundamentally different 'paradise' of domesticity in the home signified by women. Thus while men worked at altering the landscape to create new Arcadias, women cultivated small gardens along with other domestic duties to 'render home a paradise'.[45]

Indeed, white European men and women of the nineteenth century supposed their civilisation to be the world's most advanced, superior to all in liberty, initiative, and economic enterprise and growth. Europeans prided themselves on transforming the wilderness into a great pastoral empire that they believed marked the beginnings of civil society.[46] This view therefore justified the British possession of Australia. Furthermore, because Christians believed the Aboriginal people had not replenished or subdued the land according to God's word[47], or worked the land according to European methods, this gave the Europeans the right to impair Indigenous entitlement to their land. This

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[42] Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers*, p.12. Also see Grellier, *Awe, Disillusionment and Fear*, intro.
[43] Kolodny, *The Land before Her*, p.12.
[44] Also see A*ustralian Etiquette: Rules and Usages of the Best Society in the Australasian Colonies, 1885*, Melbourne, Peoples Publishing Co., 1885, Facsimile JM Dent Pty Ltd, 1980, p.216.
[45] Kolodny, *The Land before Her*, p.54
[46] Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers*, pp.3-4,11-12.
[47] Genesis 1:28, to 'replenish the earth, and subdue it'.

warranted the concept of *terra nullius.*[48] However, historian Henry Reynolds argued convincingly that the idea of *terra nullius* was not so clear-cut, providing evidence of a number of statements made by colonial officials that show there was an awareness and acceptance of native title.[49] Nevertheless, it is clear that nineteenth-century Europeans thought that Indigenous people made very little contribution to the shaping of the Australian landscape. Europeans were unaware that it was Indigenous people who created a park-like effect in the Western Australian landscape. Aboriginals used fire-stick farming to drive game out of scrub or bracken, and also to burn off old feed in regions of good rainfall to promote new growth and attract game. This practice thus produced the open, park-like country that was a lure for pastoralists, and satisfied European visions of landscape norms.[50]

The Influence of the Romantic Movement

Conservation Issues

In the nineteenth century the rising Romantic Movement provided a counterpoint to the utilitarian view typical of the Enlightenment period, by developing a more spiritual view of the natural world. People were beginning to record their desire to see aspects of the environment conserved.[51] For example, as explained by Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, nineteenth-century English critic and social theorist John Ruskin redefined science as 'wonder at nature' rather than 'control over nature'. He rejected the aggression and control associated with imperialism that would result in bad stewardship

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[48] Bain Attwood pointed out that legally the term Terra Nullius did not exist in the nineteenth century. In the language of the period the lands 'were acquired by … the mere occupation of a desert or uninhabited land'. However, to use this twentieth century idea historically to explain the British occupation of Australia in political terms is understandable since 'the term encapsulates a set of attitudes and ideas about Aboriginal rights to land', because they did implicitly recognise the concept. As discussed in an interview with Bain Attwood by Geraldine Doogue. See Bain Attwood and Terra Nullius, dir. Geraldine Doogue, *Sunday Profile*, Australia, ABC, 25 July 2004, (Radio), transcript. Also see Historical Records of Australia cited in: Stuart Banner, 'Why Terra Nullius? Anthropology and Property Law in Early Australia', *Law and History Review* < http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/lhr/23.1/banner.html>, (accessed 14 May 2009) ; Pam Smith, 'Frontier Conflict: Ways of Remembering Contested Landscapes', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 2007, pp.9-23; Michael Connor, *The Invention of Terra Nullius: Historical and Legal Fictions on the Foundation of Australia*, Paddington, MacLeay Press, 2005.

[49] Henry Reynolds, *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1987, pp.133-134, 168. As European knowledge of Indigenous society and their relationship and attitude to the land became more generally understood, it was accepted that the Indigenous Australians had proprietary title to the soil and it had not been extinguished by British claims of sovereignty.

[50] Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers*, p.8. Europeans' visions of the park as the ideal landscape stemmed from the function of a park as a habitat for deer and other game, pp.14-15.

[51] Martin, *A New Land*, p.xix.

of the earth, and to some aspects of Victorian science and technology that brought about greed and mastery over nature.[52]

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the nineteenth-century European propensity towards changing the Australian landscape to that of Europe's. This was done by clearing large parcels of land, sowing European seed crops, introducing animals, and planting European gardens. Australia was treated like an European ecosystem, based on the assumption that it had the same potential for productivity, and in expectation of the same responses to agricultural and animal husbandry practices.[53] This often led to the overexploitation of natural resources, and the interference with Australia's fragile environment.[54] The clearing of land for agriculture, mining, settlement, water storage, the introduction of foreign plants and animals, and the declining water quality, all contributed to the loss of natural vegetation cover and the extinction of many native species.[55]

Colonists often saw the Australian continent as being so vast that the resources of the land were thought of as limitless.[56] Ecology was only developing as a new field of science in the late nineteenth century and appeals for conservation were just beginning to be considered. There was no concept of the 'environment' as we know it today. Often concerns over wastage and destruction were entangled with regret at the loss of elements of the picturesque, as a discussion of aesthetic features demonstrates.

Aesthetic Issues

The picturesque

As already discussed, the complex understandings of space in Australia were influenced by the utilitarian edict of Christianity and the Enlightenment that land be cultivated, as well as romantic visions of conserving it. However, aesthetic considerations were also in play. The Romantic Movement validated the aesthetic experience, placing emphasis

[52] Sharon Aronofsky Weltman, 'Myth and Gender in Ruskin's Science', in Dinah Birch (ed.), *Ruskin and the Dawn of the Modern*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.153-173, p.156.
[53] Tim Flannery, *The Future Eaters*, Sydney, New Holland Publishers Pty Ltd, 1997, p.347.
[54] Martin, *A New Land*, p. xix. The consequences of government policy and the pursuit of profit came to cause many long-term problems within the Western Australian landscape.
[55] Dodson, Itzstein-Davey, Milne, & Morris, 'Vegetation and Environmental History of Southern Western Australia', pp.164-165.
[56] Flannery, *The Future Eaters*, p.347.

on the picturesque, from which such emotions as trepidation, awe and wonder emanated when views which were considered sublime or beautiful were encountered.[57]

Particularly used in landscape painting, the picturesque was systematised by late eighteenth-century British artist and writer William Gilpin,[58] who considered it to be 'that which pleased the curious eye'.[59] This broad cultural framework—the picturesque—employed a range of descriptive qualities to establish the characteristics of a scene. Uvedale Price in his essay *On the Picturesque,* written in 1810, detailed these qualities as including a blend of beauty, smoothness, roughness, freshness, age and decay. Old gnarled trees, sandy banks, rustic bridges, stumps, logs, hovels, unkempt persons, shaggy animals, humans and their actions such as cultivating and taming the landscape, were all part of the picturesque.[60]

Literary critic Gerhard Stilz explained that artists and photographers 'removed or shifted elements, changed the light, reduced the size of human figures and heightened the effects of dramatic perspectives' in order to appeal to the increasingly romantic taste for the picturesque.[61] The picturesque image was employed by colonial artists in their paintings of Australian localities, which demonstrated the recent achievements of individuals and the landscape they had built. 'Their paintings were arcadian … in their sense of ease and plenitude and their concealment of the hardships faced by the early settlers.'[62] Therefore Australia was represented as a land of cultivated fields, sheep and cattle.

According to Paul Carter and Australian art historian Bernard Smith, the way in which cultures define or imagine spaces is extremely important when claiming land occupied by other cultures.[63] By using the description 'picturesque', viewers heightened

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[57] See Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World*, p.319; Anne Janowitz, 'Land', in Iain McCalman (ed.), *An Oxford Companion to the Romantic Age: British Culture, 1876-1832*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.153.

[58] Archibald Alison, Uvedale Price, and Richard Payne Knight debated Gilpin's theory as to what was construed to be picturesque, promoting the idea further. See Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*, London, Putnam's Sons, 1927; Anne Birmingham, *Landscape and Ideology*: *The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*, Berkshire, University of California Press, 1986, pp.66-71; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1989.

[59] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.231.

[60] Uvedale Price, 'On the Picturesque', <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Humanities/kjohnso1/price.html>, (accessed 10 Jan 2007).

[61] Gerhard Stilz, 'Heroic Travellers - Romantic Landscapes: The Colonial Sublime in Indian, Australian and American Art and Literature', in Hartmut Berghoff et al. (eds), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural Experience of the British Experience 1600 - 2000*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002, pp.85-108, p.88.

[62] Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, p.40.

[63] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, pp.61-65; Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1985, p.ix; See also Julia Horne, 'Travelling through the Romantic Landscapes of the Blue Mountains', *Travellers, Journeys, Tourists: Australian Cultural History*, vol.10, 1991, pp.84-98, p.96.

their sense of possession of the landscape, and the 'sensation of suddenly being at home in the world'.[64] Further to this idea, Simon Ryan believed that asserting the picturesque was a way of thoroughly entwining notions of the land's economic value.[65] Both possession and economic aspects are enmeshed in the discourse of the picturesque, which in turn is shaped by the discourses of colonialism according to literary academics Stephen Copley and Peter Garside:

> the combination of political repression, economic exploitation, and aesthetic sentimentalisation … clearly renders the picturesque 'invention' of the region a hegemonic cultural manifestation of the English colonising presence.[66]

Furthermore, Roberta Falcone argued that not only in picturesque perspectives, but also in the language of poetry the existing environment is erased and remade in the process of colonisation.[67] Jane Davis has argued that colonists did not use the term 'picturesque' in the context of appropriation of the land as Carter, Smith and Ryan claimed, but used it purely as a description to convey pleasure in the scenery.[68] Emma McEvoy has also claimed that the picturesque differentiates the association of 'beauty' and 'pleasing pastoral' scenes from 'usefulness'.[69]

The 'sublime' and the 'beautiful'

In his highly influential work *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful*, published in 1756, Edmund Burke introduced two terms that fit into this broader framework of the picturesque to objectify the effects of scenery on the passions. He explained that all responses arose from human instincts of self-preservation and self-propagation. He associated scenery that was vast and powerful with dark gloomy colours and excessive noise, with the emotions of awe, terror, and the instinct for self-preservation. He labelled this 'sublime'. He associated landscape that was smooth and fragile with soft colours and sounds, with the emotion of love and

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[64] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.243.
[65] Simon Ryan, *The Cartograpic Eye*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.71. Also see Simon Ryan, 'Inscribing the Emptiness: Cartography, Exploration and the Construction of Australia', in Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality*, London, Routledge, 1994, pp.115-131.
[66] Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds), *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.6-7.
[67] Falcone, 'Australian Landscape as the Language of a New Identity', p.124.
[68] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, p.66.
[69] Emma McEvoy, 'Picturesque', in Christopher John Murray (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era*, New York, Fitzroy Dearborn, vol. two, 2004, pp.874-875, p.874.

gentleness and the instinct for self-propagation. He labelled it 'beautiful'.[70] As a result—as well as the picturesque—aesthetic judgements in travel writing may also be made in terms of the sublime or the beautiful.

The response to the sight of natural attractions that evoked wonder was therefore a learned sentiment, guided by upper middle-class cultural values and conventions. Julia Horne believed that 'the pursuit of wonder' was one of the driving forces of eighteenth and nineteenth-century tourism. Natural attractions in Australia were selected because of their novelty or distinctiveness in comparison to the 'Old World'. Travelogues and accounts designed for the imperial upper middle-class market contributed to attitudes about Australian landscapes. They identified and regulated attractions by mapping out established boundaries, creating both information and assumptions for future visitors to absorb.[71]

Pursuit of the sublime in the nineteenth century saw an enthusiasm for mountain scenery, which drove many travellers to the Swiss Alps to experience awe of their majestic wonder. In his popular book *Modern Painters,* John Ruskin passionately declared '…to myself, mountains are the beginning and the end of all natural scenery'.[72] In this pursuit of the sublime and beautiful, Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt have argued that the Romantic Movement also inspired an enthusiasm for wilderness scenery.[73] This may have motivated some travellers to seek out the forests of the southwest. Artists exploited the romantic aspect of these unsettled parts and exaggerated the virgin quality of the forests throughout Australia, according to Tim Bonyhady.[74] Such influences may well have inspired travellers in Western Australia to impose European cultural expectations on an environment that was substantially different from Europe.[75]

However, for residents, the unique Australian environment began to be accepted in its natural state. This was reflected in Australian paintings from 1885, where Australian rural scenes were illustrated more realistically after the Heidelberg School of painting in Victoria introduced painting outdoors. The school was concerned with achieving the peculiar effects of light and the subtle colour qualities associated with the Australian atmosphere, rendering transparent and colourful shadow, the effects of heat-

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[70] Edmund Burke, *An Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, Cassell & Co. Ltd, 1887, pp.91-129,192.
[71] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder*, pp. 9,11,15-16,37.
[72] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 5th edn, London, Smith Elder & Co, 1851, p.353.
[73] Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia since 1870*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2000, p.xviii
[74] Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, p.60
[75] Davidson and Spearritt, *Holiday Business*, p.xviii

haze, foliage under the conditions of blinding sunlight, and the immensity of the continents space.[76]

The monotonous

Generally, the vastness of space confronted in the interior and the goldfields of Australia presented sights that were unfamiliar to the European gaze, and did not fit the Romantic ideals of the picturesque. It was therefore harder to make general comparisons using the aesthetic language with which they were accustomed. The monotonous was a term often employed when European aesthetic elements could not be imagined. Given their penchant for speculation about how the land should be tamed, a broader view was beyond them. With the difficulty Europeans had in making comparisons with what they already knew, their descriptions became focussed on specific items that they could identify with. Carter claimed that the 'unpicturesque' view damned illusions of prospects for the future, of inhabitation or cultivation that the picturesque may have held.[77]

Academic Paul Miller has argued that when describing landscape the 'monotonous' depicts the observer moving through the land, not establishing a sense of personal familiarity and identity of location, whereas in the 'picturesque' the observer is static, finding something recognisable for the eye to seize upon, name and identify.[78] Davis argued that Miller imposed his 'own mental framework upon his subjects' and that he had insufficient evidence to support his line of reasoning.[79] This may be because the subjects of her research were colonists establishing settlements, and who therefore stayed put, whereas this thesis studies mobile travellers, and considers whether Millar's argument applies to their observations. In the words of Miller; 'In the monotonous experience the mind is compelled to adapt to the land; identity must forsake its cultural attachment, its self-referential obsession, and generate something new.'[80]

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[76] Bernard Smith, *Place, Taste, and Tradition; a Study of Australian Art since 1788*, Second edn, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1979, p.125; Philip Drew, *Veranda Embracing Place*, Pymble, Angus and Robertson, 1992, p.185.
[77] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.245.
[78] Paul Miller, 'Monotony and the Picturesque: Landscape in Three Australian Travel Narratives of the 1830s', in Jennifer McDonell and Michael Deves (eds), *Land and Identity*, Armidale, Association of the Study of Australian Literature, 1997, pp.52-58, p.55.
[79] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, p.65.
[80] Miller, 'Monotony and the Picturesque', p.56.

Conclusion

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Australia's space was interpreted symbolically. That is, as Paul Carter has argued, viewers using representations from their historical, geographical, cultural and personal backgrounds created the landscape. Thus new imaginings of southern Western Australia were constructed through the lenses of travellers, and this will be investigated in the next two chapters. Europeans expressed a persistent desire to remake newly colonised space in the image of their European heritage. Cultivated fields, quaint homesteads, gardens and English parks, reveal both European men and women's imprint upon the alien soil, and indicates their propensity to clear Australian native bush in order to 'improve' the land. They were influenced by the improving ideals of Christianity and the Enlightenment, and the aesthetic ideals of the Romantic period. European claims that the 'bush' and the landscape of inland Australia were monotonous, exposes their distaste and inadequacy in describing a space that bore no relationship to their known world.

The next two chapters present a panorama of imaginings of space in specific geographic regions of southern Western Australia. Travel narratives are used to not only compile a sense of the region, but also to investigate whether the contemporary views, attitudes, and ideas discussed in this chapter influenced the travellers perspectives of these regions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Chapter 3

An Imagined Space: Travellers' Observations of Albany and the Southwest

Did travellers arrive in Western Australia with expectations formed by their knowledge of historical mythology, and were they influenced by promotional literature that presented Australia as a potential paradise? Did the eighteenth and nineteenth-century ideas and philosophies discussed in the last chapter influence travellers' interpretations of space in southern Western Australia? Had Enlightenment and Christian values bestowed a desire to see the landscape improved? Did the Romantic Movement generate an impulse to see aspects of the environment conserved, and were its principles regarding scenery interpreted in terms of the picturesque, the sublime and the beautiful? Together, did these ideas persuasively mould the travellers' ways of seeing the unfamiliar land? These questions will be considered in this and the following chapter as the travellers' journeys are tracked across the landscape of southern Western Australia.

In two parts then, this chapter develops new visions of space in the southwest region through the observations of the visiting European travellers. Because of its strategic location, the sheltered safety of King George Sound, and the availability of fresh water and provisions, Albany became the first port of call for steamships bound for Australia from 1852 until 1900. Therefore travellers' impressions of Albany as they arrived by steamer into the harbour and explored the small town are recorded first in Part One. Part Two chronologically follows their journey overland by road, and then by new railways extending through the developing regions of the southwest. Excerpts from the travellers' writings are presented under subject headings of routes taken and places visited, with occasional diversions when popular themes are worthy of being

investigated, allowing comparisons to be made over the seven decades focused on in this thesis.

Part One – Albany

> *It was poor-looking enough;– granite headlands, often quite naked; when not so, covered with low brown-looking scrub, interchanging with patches of white sand. The distant hills appeared wooded; smoke was rising here and there, and when night fell we saw bush-fires blazing in many directions, and some of them of miles in extent.*
>
> (William Harvey, 1854)[1]

The Bushfires

William Harvey's first sight of land early in January 1854—one hundred miles to the west of King George Sound—was typical of travellers arriving at Western Australia who saw smoke, the result of many fires caused by natural elements, Aboriginals, or more often, as the years of European development passed, by the colonists themselves. Their frequency was recognised by Harvey. 'This was my first personal acquaintance with the bush-fire; but since I have been here, we have had them all round the town, and Mount Clarence, ... which was covered with flowering shrubs when I landed, is now clothed in black sticks and ashes.'[2] Fire was also Rosamond and Florence Davenport Hill's first image of Australia when they steamed into harbour early in 1873.

> A delicious odour pervaded the air, such as greets one on a summer's day when thyme is in blossom, and fir-trees are not far off. Wafted to us 180 miles across the sea, it was recognised as the smell of a bush-fire. This, then, was our first Australian experience![3]

By associating the smell of a bushfire with smells back home places the unfamiliar into a familiar context. Although Hume Nisbet could see 'tiny puffs of white vapour here and there' from bushfires as his ship approached the shores in March 1886, and in the colder months of 1896 Julius Price also enjoyed the scent of bushfires burning inland when he arrived, neither associated the smell with home.[4]

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[1] Sophie C. Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist: Letters of W.H. Harvey About Australia and the Pacific,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1988, p.73.
[2] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.73.
[3] Rosamond Davenport Hill and Florence Davenport Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, London, Macmillan and Co, 1875, pp.29,32.
[4] Hume Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp: Travels & Adventure in Australia & New Guinea,* vols 1, 2, London, Ward and Downey, 1891, p.68; Julius M. Price, *The Land of Gold: The Narrative of a Journey through the West Australian Goldfields in the Autumn of 1895*, third edn, London, Sampson Low, Marston and Company Ltd, 1896, p.8.

Once the travellers started their journeys overland they were able to see the effects of the bushfires. Harvey took an excursion east of Albany, where he saw evidence of recent burning over 'large tracts' of land. 'A large forest which had been partially burnt, the fire only scorching the larger trees, & this had very much the look of an English Autumnal Wood—but the fire is usually much more destructive'. Here we again see a reference to an image that was more familiar to Harvey, a scene to which the reader back home could relate. He explained that the bush had been set alight to destroy poison-bushes, and to make the grass grow better after the expected rains.[5] Twenty-three years later the fires were still much in evidence when Alfred Wood set out on his travels in January. He recognised their fertilising capabilities, as well he portrayed aspects of the sublime.

> Again and again on our up-country journey from the coast we caught distant glimpses, at night, of these grand but terrible spectacles; - of whole square miles of bush in one huge blaze. The sight was distinctly alarming, to strangers like ourselves: but, … we learned to recognize in these monster fires not merely a necessary evil, but one of the chief sources of fertilization Australia possesses. … After a bush fire, and with the first fall of rain, herbage starts up over the now open spaces, fresh and juicy as the grass of an English meadow in the spring; and the flocks never thrive better than on runs that have thus been 'dressed' with fire.[6]

Europeans acknowledged the manner in which the landscape changed, producing lush 'meadows' and parks, and yet the travellers did not associate this with the Aboriginals' use of firestick farming. Even though Henry Richardson recognised that the fires were attributed to the Aboriginals, he did not associate its use with controlling the environment for farming food. '[N]atives … always carry about with them a lighted stick which is supposed to keep away the evil spirit and who always light a fire at night before they go to rest'.[7]

A Capacious Harbour and a Pretty Town

King George Sound made an impression for most travellers as they arrived in the large harbour with a view of Albany nestled between two hills, incongruously called Mount Melville and Mount Clarence. In particular the protection it afforded and its size and beauty was considered to be excellent according to comments from all but one of the

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[5] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.92.
[6] Alfred Wood, *Journal, 1876-1877 [Manuscript]. A Sea Voyage: To My Fellow-Sojourners in Sunny Lands*, Perth, Battye Library, MN 1586, ACC4983A, 1904, appended journal entry.
[7] Henry Richardson, *Papers, 1859-1860 [Manuscript]. Diaries (28 May 1859-10 May 1860) from the Convict Ships Sultana and Lord Raglan*, Perth, Battye Library, MN 1168, ACC3481A, 1860, pp.54-55.

travellers. For example, Harvey thought that King George Sound was 'very prettily formed, – sloping hills, broad valleys, a perfectly land-locked and capacious harbour.'[8] Anthony Trollope, in March 1872, declared that King George Sound 'is, I believe, by far the best harbour on the southern coast of the continent. It is, moreover, very picturesque.'[9] In June 1878 Henry Cornish believed King George Sound had 'all the capabilities of being made the Portsmouth or Plymouth of Australia'.[10] His reasons were that the thickly wooded countryside had timber well adapted for ship building purposes, and that the inner Princess Royal Harbour would be suitable for dockyards for building and repairing ships. He also seemed concerned that the harbour was so good that it might fall into the hands of an enemy, and that England and the colonial government should secure such an advantageous position in the event of war between England and any other maritime power.[11] As Albany boasted the only natural port of the colony, Cornish explained that 'they pooh-pooh Sir John Coode's scheme for a breakwater at Fremantle … and maintain that it would be far better to spend the money on a railway from Perth to the Sound'.[12] Cornish believed there was little likelihood of a breakwater scheme in Fremantle as it would cost too much, and that a railway would open up the 'magnificent' forests of jarrah, red gum, and mahogany.[13]

Once the steamers had made their way through the Sound, the travellers formed their first impressions of Albany. The visitors' comments are examined chronologically, from its earliest days coaling the mail steam ships, to the gold rush years when it was a busy port full of activity, until Fremantle harbour eventually did become Western Australia's main port.

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[8] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.77.

[9] P.D. Edwards and R.B. Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* first published 1873 by Chapman and Hall as 'Australia and New Zealand', St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1967, p.596.

[10] Henry Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd, 1880, p.34.

[11] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.40.

[12] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.39. For biography on Coode see D. R. Crawford, 'Coode, Sir John (1816 - 1892)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol.3, 1969, pp.447-448. Sir John Coode was a distinguished Cornish civil engineer responsible for harbour works in Portland, Suez, Table Bay, Colombo and Melbourne. He also examined and made recommendations on harbours and river mouths around Australia. Coode's report for Fremantle Harbour was rejected. However the biographer Crawford's dates are questionable. He said the report was 1885, but it must have been tabled on Coode's first visit to Australia in 1878, because it coincides with Cornish's visit and his knowledge of the report.

[13] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.39. Cornish's prediction was partially realised, the Great Southern Railway was completed in 1889 running from Albany to Beverley, and then connected to Perth. It was funded on Anthony Hordern's land-grant scheme operated by a syndicate in England that constructed the line and encouraged migration. However, defying his scepticism, a harbour at Fremantle was eventually built under the direction of C.Y. O'Connor and was opened in May 1897. Recognition of Fremantle as the main port for Western Australia came in August 1900 when the large mail steamers from Europe changed their course to call there, impeding further growth in Albany. See 'National Archives of Australia, Fact Sheet 55', <http://www.naa.gov.au/about-us/publications/fact-sheets/fs55.aspx>, (accessed 30 Sep 2009).

In April 1852 Edward Saunders noted a sparse population of 'about 300 free settlers, 150 soldiers and assigned prisoners, and perhaps as many as 50 natives'.[14] He found in the small settlement:

> a few small gardens, in which they grow fruit and vegetables tolerably well; but the soil is too light and sandy to be productive without manure. There are very few horses, cattle or sheep in the settlement, in consequence of there being a plant called the 'heart-poison' … which is very destructive to them.[15]

Two years later Harvey noticed this also when visiting a nearby farm in late summer. 'The view from the door is very beautiful—but the farm is a wretched one & scarcely worth the keeping. A poison plant infests the ground and destroys the cattle.'[16] However, unlike Saunders, he was not convinced the land was suitable for growing fruit. 'A few apples, with Cape gooseberries, are all the fruit I have seen. Pears there are, and figs; but unless every individual fruit is tied up in a bag, it is eaten up by the cockatoos.'[17] Thirty-three years later, in May 1887, Lady Annie Brassey also commented about the birds, especially parrots, that were 'terrible enemies to the fruit-crops'. She said that they destroyed a whole tree within minutes leaving spoilt fruit on the ground.[18] Parrots were not mentioned when May Vivienne visited around 1899, (season of visit unknown) writing much about the beautiful large crops of fruit and grapes. She said that one very great feature was that there were no fruit pests in the colony, and that customs examined rigorously to ensure that no pests entered.[19]

Development and change were slow to begin with. In 1853, a year after Saunders' visit, Reverend Robert Young revealed no growth in Albany, seeing 'straggling' houses of about 300 inhabitants.[20] In summer another year on, Harvey saw an undeveloped town.

> This town of Albany is a poor little place. … The situation is pretty – & from the water it looks well. When you land however you are up to your ankles in white sand in the streets – but if you prefer it you may step aside into a bog – the town being built partly on a boggy marsh & partly on sand hills.[21]

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[14] Edward Saunders, *Our Australian Colonies: Notes of what I saw, heard, or thought, during a visit to Australia, Van Dieman's Land, and New Zealand in the years 1852-3*, London, W. Tweedie, nd, p.2.
[15] Saunders, *Our Australian Colonies*, p.2.
[16] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.78.
[17] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.77.
[18] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.247.
[19] May Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, 1901, facsimile, Perth, Hesperian Press, 1993, p.13.
[20] Rev. Robert Young, *The Southern World: Journal of a Deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia including Notices of a Visit to the Gold-fields, s*econd edn, London, Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1855, p.61.
[21] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* pp.77-8.

During the next twenty years the travellers indicated some changes, and generally found the town appealing and well situated. Around 1858 Edward Wilson imagined better conditions for cultivation, and gave a contradictory impression to Harvey's four years earlier. He thought that the 'town is prettily situated on sloping ground with great facilities for drainage and general cleanliness, and the soil and climate both seem favourable for gardening operations'.[22] And in 1867, Charles Dilke wrote that 'the little houses of Albany peep out from among geranium-covered rocks.'[23] In March 1872, Trollope noticed a few stores and government officers, a brewery, a depot for coals belonging to the P & O Company, a church, and two or three inns.[24] In January the following year Rosamond and Florence Hill viewed Albany from their steamer, and also thought that Albany, 'with its English-looking church and one or two pretty country-houses on a slight eminence, has a neat and well-to-do air.'[25] However, on their return journey in early February 1874, after visiting the eastern colonies, they had time to disembark and take a closer look.

> The little town is surrounded by scrub, or is rather built actually upon it, unreclaimed land inter-mingling with the houses and gardens. A closer inspection modified our previous conclusion as to its neatness, revealing indeed among its poorer houses a general untidiness invisible from the deck of the steamer.[26]

Trollope also commented about the proximity of the scrub. 'The useless scrub covered the stony hill-tops close up to the town.[27]

On the days the mail service steamers from Europe called into King George Sound, Albany seemed to come alive. Trollope found that with the arrival of the mails 'once a month … the mail excitement was existing. … I fancy that I saw the best of Albany, and that it would be rather dull between the mails.'[28] In June six years later, Henry Cornish reported great gusto caused by Albany's new telegraph cable link to Perth (1872) and the Eastern Colonies (1877). He wrote that as soon as the ship docked at King George Sound there was a race of news-agents from the principal

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[22] Edward Wilson, *Rambles of the Antipodes: A Series of Sketches of Moreton Bay, New Zealand, the Murray River and South Australia and Overland Route*, London, WH Smith and Son, 1859, p.118.
[23] Geoffrey Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain: Charles Dilke Visits Her New Lands, 1866 & 1867, Travellers' Tales of Early Australia and New Zealand,* North Ryde, Methuen Australia Pty Ltd, 1985, p.156.
[24] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.596-597.
[25] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.33.
[26] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.434.
[27] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.597.
[28] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.597. In this period the mail was sent by road to Perth.

Australian papers anxious to be the first to secure the telegrams and summaries of mail news from Europe.[29]

Cornish revealed that the town seemed to have improved. Albany consisted of a 'fine jarrah-wood pier', with a Post Office and Telegraph Office situated at its head. As Cornish strolled up the principal street he saw 'bright looking houses, mostly two storeyed, but some without any upper story'. He saw that most of the houses had gardens or yards, and that there was a lot of sawn timber lying about. Within 100 yards there were three inns, a church and the police station. Next door to the London Hotel Cornish entered a crowded English type country grocery shop selling month-old Melbourne newspapers, 'excellent' local apples and oranges and a varied assortment of articles. It was still open although it was midnight in mid winter,[30] suggesting that the shops catered for the incoming steamers.

A number of travellers compared Albany to other coastal towns. Cornish was surprised to find what he described as 'a small busy-looking town, not unlike some of the seaside places on the Kentish coast', when he had been told to expect to find 'a miserable-looking village of about half-a-dozen houses, and as many coal yards'.[31] In March 1886, Nisbet believed it looked more like the port town of Naples in Italy.

> There is a striking resemblance to the Bay of Naples in this port of Albany, even although the houses are startlingly colonial; it is in the general arrangement of buildings and contour of the land that the idea takes hold of us of having seen it all before; an Antipodean Naples, which is cleaner, and which fulfils more sanitary laws, while having surroundings which satisfy the artistic sense as completely.[32]

On his arrival in August 1895 Albany reminded Robert Tyler of an English seaside resort.

> Albany was like being at Dawlish or some other part on the Devonshire coast. … It was simply lovely. Imagine a beautiful bay which appeared to be surrounded by high hills covered in most parts with fine trees, and shrubs, the water a pure emerald green, the sand perfectly white.[33]

Comparisons have now been made to the Kentish coast, the Devon coast and the Italian coast. These comparisons exemplify the propensity of travellers to make comparisons with other places they knew and had visited, thus linking the landscape to the imagination. Visiting in October 1889, Thomas Ward made a general comparison with England. Arriving in spring may have influenced him.

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[29] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, pp.35-36.
[30] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.37.
[31] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.38.
[32] Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp*, pp.70-71.
[33] Robert Emeric IV Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, Perth, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2003, p.241.

> Albany … is decidedly English in appearance. Here are English houses, English gardens with apples and pears, and other eminently British fruits, and brave old British oaks abounding and prospering all over the district as they abound and prosper in South Australia and Victoria.[34]

This observation is a good example of how the British transposed their home space onto the Empire's new-caught territories, and the pleasure the traveller revealed in seeing it, even when that traveller was Anglo-Australian—Ward was visiting from Queensland—affirming the appeal that British space had for colonists. But earlier that year, in mid summer, Gilbert Parker had no illusions as to its resemblance to England. Parker still held strong images of Western Australia in its earlier history as a convict colony, imagining 'houses built like gaols, many of them with no eaves; upright, unhomelike, bare'.[35]

Development was seen to be progressing, and then prospering during the gold boom years. Frederick Ayres arrived in October 1889, revealing a growth in the population to 1500 inhabitants, a growing hospitality industry with seven public houses, a wine shop, and several boarding houses, and plans for an improved infrastructure with a railway in course of construction to connect Albany with Perth.[36] By the time Julius Price arrived around July 1895, in the middle of the gold rush era, the British mail steamers were visiting weekly, and both mail and passengers could be directly linked to Perth by railway:

> [T]he station platform presents a most animated appearance, being converted for the nonce into a sort of promenade where all the town folk meet to discuss the events of the week and criticise the new arrivals. This weekly event, since the discovery of the goldfields and the consequent influx of travellers, has assumed a proportion which taxes the capacity of the station to its utmost, and could hardly have been contemplated by the most sanguine of optimists when the line was first stated.[37]

About 500 passengers a week disembarked at the port of Albany from the Eastern colonies and abroad at the height of Western Australia's gold boom years,[38] although

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[34] Thomas Ward and Paul Fountain, *Rambles of an Australian Naturalist*, London, John Murray, 1907, p.149.
[35] Gilbert Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, London, Hutchinson and Co., 1892, pp.358-359.
[36] Frederick G. Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G.* Ayres *[Microform],* Perth, State Library of WA, ACC790A, 12 October 1888 – 25th March 1891, diary entry Oct 1888.
[37] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.12. A year later Catherine Bond also experienced the rush of people, indicating that the frequency of the trains could not keep up with the number of steamers landing at Albany, and hotels were 'crammed', with 'men on the tables in the billiard-room and dining-room'. See Catherine Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums: Notes of Travel in Australia & Japan*, London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1898, pp.12-13.
[38] http://www.albanytourist.com.au/pages/a-colourful-history/occupation, (Accessed 27 Jan 2010)

Raymond Radclyffe estimated 1000 per week in 1896.[39] The arriving visitors' sense of space changed, at least while the steamers were in port. Albert Calvert experienced the hectic activity on his fourth visit in November 1895.[40]

> He feels it when he has to jostle for a wash at his hotel; and sees it in shake-downs in every corner, and in the well thronged streets. … [T]hick rows of eager callers crowd the bars; the railway station is packed. Double length trains and double engines are requisitioned; … the town on the days of the arrival of steamers—and they come nearly every day, filled with passengers and cargo—is hot with the press of the inrush of people.[41]

However, these scenes were not typical of the rest of Albany, for, according to Calvert, 'except in the hotel bars and at the railway station, hurry and the whirl of life are seldom seen'.[42] A year later Raymond Radclyffe saw how Albany was catering to the throng of gold seekers, investors and tourists heading to the goldfields.

> With such a magnificent asset as this harbour there is no chance of Albany ever reverting to the old days of wooden huts, of which it was composed some fifteen year ago. The town is growing rapidly, and magnificent buildings are being put up as fast as the builders can work. Large hotels are being erected.[43]

He predicted that Albany would become the maritime capital of Western Australia, because of its fertile land, good rainfall, temperate climate, finest hardwood timber and a magnificent harbour.[44] Radclyffe's predictions did not prove to be very accurate; within only four years Albany had lost its maritime supremacy to Fremantle. Price had foreseen this in 1895, when he first heard of the government's scheme to make Fremantle the port of call for the mail steamers. 'If this ever became an established fact it would sap the vitality of the south-western portion of the Colony to a great extent.'[45] Leopoldo Zunini soon discovered the truth of Price's prophecy when he was sent mistakenly to Albany in March 1903 for his posting by Rome as Royal Consul of Italy. He wrote, 'The few months I spent in Albany I consider to have been among the saddest and most tiresome of my life. It is a hamlet of just over one thousand inhabitants, devoid of any amenities, social life or pastimes.[46]

May Vivienne was one of this study's last visitors to Albany before Fremantle became the main port in 1900. She thought that the town possessed 'some very good

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[39] Raymond Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats: Travels and Researches in the Gold-Fields of Western Australia and New Zealand,* 1898, facsimile, Perth, Hesperian Press, 2004, p.2.
[40] Albert F. Calvert, *My Fourth Tour in Western Australia,* London, Dean, 1901, p.1.
[41] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.2.
[42] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.1.
[43] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.108.
[44] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.109.
[45] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.9.
[46] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.30-31.

buildings …is well laid out …and the many dwellings on the hillsides give it a most quaint and charming appearance.' She wrote that there were still some very old structures standing, an old-fashioned church and some primitive stone cottages from 1836, including the gaol. She paints an idyllic image of Albany on her departure, perhaps reflecting her enjoyment of her visit and her regret at leaving, or possibly in order to please her publishers.[47]

> Albany and its surroundings are really as near perfection as it is possible for any place to be. It has a heavenly summer climate, the coolest in Australia. … The grass is always green and flowers are always blooming. With its miles of harbour frontage, its lovely valleys nestling at the foot of its grand hills, its beautiful river, and the natural drainage which keeps the little town always clean and healthy. …even the Railway Reserve is a perfect garden of Arum lilies. … The scent of the boronia is wafted on the breeze from afar; you hear the merry laughter of boating-parties and of children who come along with their hands full of gorgeous wild flowers.'[48]

Many travellers commented on the wildflowers, like Vivienne. They were recognised as unique in variety and quantity, and attracted botanists and painters to the colony. Returning to April 1853, Rev. Young wrote, 'I found an extraordinary variety of beautiful heaths and ferns; numberless wild-flowers of exquisite loveliness; … scattered through the wilderness in great profusion.'[49] Three years later Wilson also noted 'the excessive richness of the flora'.[50] In summer 1867 Dilke thought that Albany's climate was 'damp and tropical, and the dense scrub is a mass of flowering bushes, with bright blue and scarlet blooms and curiously cut leaves.'[51] Ward, in Albany from October to December, also claimed that the climate, 'which is cool and moist' was conducive to plant growth.

> Rains are frequent, and often heavy; and fogs from the sea sometimes drift inland, enveloping vegetation and everything else in a thick, clammy deposit of moisture, which is trying to animal life, but seems to be peculiarly beneficial to vegetation of most kinds.[52]

In late 1880, Botanical painter Marianne North wrote of the 'marvellous' abundance of different wildflowers in a small area. 'In one place I sat down, and without moving could pick twenty-five different flowers within reach of my hand. … The whole country was a natural flower-garden, … they were mostly very small and delicate.'[53] Marianne

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[47] As discussed earlier, many travellers, such as Vivienne, had their travels published which would have skewed their narratives.
[48] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, pp.6,8.
[49] Young, *The Southern World*, p.61.
[50] Wilson, *Rambles of the Antipodes*, p.118.
[51] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* p.156.
[52] Ward and Fountain, *Rambles of an Australian Naturalist*, p.149.
[53] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.149.

was the only traveller in this study to mention the unusually small size of some of Western Australia's wildflowers. This is an example of how travellers' specific interests created a different focus in their spatial observations.

A Distant View from the Highest Point

Climbing Mt Clarence was a popular activity for passengers while waiting for their steamers to be loaded with mail and cargo. The view elicited observations about some of the inland landscape of southern Western Australia. In 1886 Hume Nisbet thought that even on a hot day in March the atmosphere was 'pure and lung-inspiring', making it an easy climb for even 'the most delicate of our party.'[54]

> We could see the coach-road, like a ruddy line, until it became lost in extreme distance: a spreading country, in colour and tone resembling the stretches of Surrey—salt marshes, mostly dried, with here and there a silver glitter of water, and, beyond, a fine range of hazy, blue mountains, lying across the horizon. … [T]he magnificent panorama, that lies beneath us—a panorama of water, sands, islands, and headlands which could not be surpassed, and only rarely equalled: King George Sound and the ocean beyond, to the southwest; that long spread of fen-land, with the bush-fires, to the north-east; and the township and sparkling bay to the south.[55]

In mid summer three years later Gilbert Parker made the climb, imagining an inhospitable terrain.

> For behind me and that endless sea, with its rocky embrasures, there rolled away into silence the sombre plains, lit up here and there by bush fires. One, two, three, four in the half-circle, and not a house to be seen outside the town there at our feet. Yes, there is one house, there are two, perhaps more, but so small they seem lost in the lonely immensity. … Beautiful, did I say? What! With thought of starving, thirsting explorers, defeated pioneers, poison land, and uninhabitable territories before us? Beautiful! This lone rolling waste, it would almost seem, was only intended to be gazed at, not lived upon. But men live on it … there are steam ploughs at work, and the land is being reclaimed, with what success remains to be proven. … Nearly as far as the eye can see about Albany the land is of little worth. … Albany exists, as it were, like a camel in the desert.[56]

The imagery these two quotes produce are quite different, even though Nisbet stated that it was a hot day, and as Parker also climbed in January, the landscape would have had summer seasonal vegetation. As well, both travellers had spent some years in the eastern colonies before arriving in Western Australia. This is an example, then, of how

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[54] Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp*, p.73.
[55] Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp*, p.74. The range of 'mountains' would probably be either the Porongurup or Stirling Range.
[56] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, pp.358,361.

personalities came to bear on how the scene was represented. Nisbet's portrayal was cheerful and homely with references to Surrey and, probably, East Anglia with use of the descriptive term *fenlands*. In direct contrast, Parker used sublime terms, ironically painting a picture of a lonely and hostile scene, with rolling wastes of little worth. These two viewpoints also demonstrate the pastoral view of plenitude versus the colonial view of hardship and toil in reclaiming the land.

Over the years when these travellers made their observations, Albany had changed from a quiet backwater settlement to a principal port of call for all major shipping companies, and a stepping off point for gold prospectors, after which it returned to being a sleepy 'hamlet' once more. From the top of Mt Clarence a view was glimpsed of the coach road north for those who wanted to make the long journey to Perth.

Part Two – The Southwest

> *The capital was distant 260 miles, and between it and the capital there was nothing.*
>
> (Anthony Trollope, 1872)[57]

Many passengers on the steamers arriving into King George Sound continued their journey, either to the colonies on the eastern seaboard of Australia, or to return home to Europe. A few travellers disembarked at Albany to venture further afield by road, by a coastal steamer, or, after 1889, by railway. Part Two of this chapter examines these travellers' observations chronologically by area and theme. Regionally, expeditions along the old coach road to Perth are investigated first, followed by journeys on the Great Southern Railway that the travellers utilised once the route was opened. Next, travels along the west coast and the South Western road and railway routes are considered, finishing with an insight into timber industry operations in the southern districts. Again, digressions are made to investigate relevant issues.

The Old Coach Road

Before the Great Southern Railway was completed in 1889, an approximate five-day overland journey by either the mail coach, or by the best means they could arrange, awaited the few travellers who decided to discontinue their sea passage and visit the

[57] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.597.

capital of Perth, if they decided not to wait for the irregular coastal steamer service. A number of residences, or 'bush inns' were available as resting places and for a change of horses, whilst some travellers chose to camp out under the stars.

Albany to Kendenup

In this section the early travellers followed the sandy meandering old coach road that Nisbet had seen from the top of Mt Clarence, to Kendenup station, recording their observations on the way. William Harvey's journey was the most difficult, not many inns having been built then. Early in April 1854 he sat on a spring-cart in company with Mr Maxwell, the mail proprietor, contractor, and coachman 'all in one'. The 'succession of wooded low hills & sandy scrubby flats' between Albany and Mount Barker 'left small impression on the memory.' Around Mount Barker was 'a chain of higher hills covered with a thin forest of gum-trees, with open places & grazing ground for sheep here & there.' He reached Kendenup station passing 'more hilly forest land with narrower & deeper valleys between', to find burnt off drought affected hills, and a number of lagoons of salt water, indicating that the farm was being extensively cleared and was experiencing an extended summer.[58] Twenty-six years later Marianne North benefited by seeing the region in spring. She arrived as the guest of Mr Hassell at Kendenup in November 1880, having 'wandered over long tracts of sand, wearisome, except that it gave one time to see the endless variety of flowers, for we could only go at a foot's pace'.[59]

About seven years later, in May 1887, Lady Brassey made a similar journey by coach as far as Kendenup station, revealing that there had not been a lot of development in the area since Harvey's visit. Setting out from Albany they went 'up hill, down dale, round corners, over stumps, along rough roads, through heavy sand…. There were a great many flowers and a few trees quite unknown to us in the bush.

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[58] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.93-96. Captain John Hassell had owned Kendenup Station since 1839. David Scott was the overseer who managed it according to Harvey when he visited in 1854. Captain Hassell resided with his wife in Albany where he owned a store in which he sold souvenirs to passing steamship passengers, and was also the agent for P & O Steamship Co. However he made frequent visits to his property. 'The Heritage Council of Western Australia', *Register of Heritage Places Interim Entry: No. 2262* <http://register.heritage.wa.gov.au/PDF_Files/H%20Reg/Hassell%20Homestead%20(I).PDF>, (accessed 14 Aug 2009)

[59] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.150. As a woman travelling alone North had prearranged invitations from prominent officials and colonists throughout her visit to Western Australia.

Some of the blossoms were extremely pretty.'[60] Her first change of horses was at Chorkerup Lake Inn, fifteen miles from Albany.

> In a few minutes the table was covered with a spotless cloth, on which fowls, home-cured bacon, mutton, home-made bread, potted butter, condensed milk, tea, Bass's beer, and sundry other articles of food and drink were temptingly displayed. We could not help regretting the absence of fresh milk and butter; and it does seem wonderful that where land is of comparatively little value, and where grass springs up in profusion the moment that land is cleared, people would not keep a cow or two, … and there is a constant though scanty stream of passing travellers to provide for.[61]

Lacy Brassey conveys the pastoral view of domestic bliss, and reveals her unawareness of the difficulty in keeping livestock due to the poisonous plants and inadequate pasture. She continued her journey mostly through heavy sand. Although it was winter the weather was fine and warm, 'but the drive was uneventful, and even monotonous except for the numberless jolts. We only met one cart and passed two houses. … We saw beautiful parrots of all colours flying across the road, besides magpies and 'break-of-day' birds, a species of magpie'. She also saw the Porongurup and Stirling Ranges in the 'blue distance'. Lady Brassey's next resting place was Mount Barker, at the Bush Inn standing in the middle of a small clearing thirty-three miles from Albany. Here she received a warm welcome and refreshments, including 'real' cream and butter, from Mrs Cooper. She thought it was a tidy little homestead that reminded her of the 'old country.' She noted that the sitting-room contained several books, and the bedrooms all looked comfortable. She said that around the house was an English garden with fuchsias and roses covering the verandah,[62] indicating a woman's 'personal stamp' on the landscape as discussed in the previous chapter. Here and at the Chorkerup Inn, Lady Brassey hints at a feminine presence in the space she described. Her sense of what was pleasing was very much a product of her experience with her home environment.

With the arrival of the railway through Mount Barker the land around the area developed rapidly. May Vivienne was able to visit it by rail in 1899, on the way

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[60] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.241.
[61] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.241.
[62] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.242-244. The Bush Inn was the first building in the township of Mt Barker, and was established by William Cooper who had previously purchased land in the Mt Barker plains in 1860. From 1880, and at the time of Brassey's visit, the Bush Inn had become the first stop from Albany for the regular Royal Mail passenger coach service on its way to Perth. However, the opening of the railway station in 1889 relocated the town centre, and with rail transport replacing the coach service the old Bush Inn became a crumbling ruin. 'The Heritage Council of Western Australia', *Heritage Trail Mount Barker: Settlement and Development of the Mount Barker District* <http://tourism.heritage.wa.gov.au/ht_pdf/MtBarker.pdf>, (accessed 14Aug 2009)

‘passing thousands of acres of land waiting for selectors’. She noted that potato and onion was being cultivated in the area, and described various orchards of apple and other fruit trees under considerable acreage.[63]

Compared to Harvey’s and Marianne’s observations, Lady Brassey gave the impression that the vegetation was more dense on the next stage of her journey towards Kendenup Station. As well, when she met four wagons laden with sandalwood, her story of straining horses crashing past and breaking thick trees represented common difficulties experienced by travellers on the poor quality track.[64] Lady Brassey and her party finally arrived at Kendenup Station.

> We came to a large homestead and farm, near which a number of sheep were folded. On the opposite bank stood a substantial-looking wooden house, surrounded by a verandah and by a clump of trees, in the middle of what might have been an English park, to judge from the grass and the fine timber; and after crossing a small creek we reached the hospitable door of Kendenup Station.[65]

Like artists who depicted Australia as an arcadia, a land of cultivated fields, sheep and cattle, Lady Brassey has also painted this picture. Her imagery demonstrates the recent achievements of the colonists, and illustrates ease and plenitude in the landscape they had built. Her reference to an ‘English park’ and ‘hospitable door’ conveys a sense of possession and ‘being at home’ in Western Australia, an inclination colonialists had in claiming land occupied by other cultures as argued in the previous chapter. Mr Hassell took Lady Brassey on a tour of his property. She once again used ‘the old country’ as a point of reference.

> We drove through some enclosed land where corn and ‘straw-hay’ had been grown, but had been given up because it did not pay. Then through more enclosures for cattle and sheep, and finally over some virgin land, across what might have been an English park if it had not looked so untidy from many of the trees having been ‘rung’—an ugly but economical method of felling timber, by cutting a deep furrow round the bark so as to stop the circulation, and thus cause the tree to die.[66]

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[63] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.12.
[64] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.244.
[65] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.245. Captain Hassell had built this third house for his son J.F.T. Hassell upon his marriage in 1868. See 'The Heritage Council of Western Australia', http://register.heritage.wa.gov.au/PDF_Files/H%20Reg/Hassell%20Homestead%20(I).PDF, [accessed 14 Aug 2009]. However J.S. Battye described this third house as a two storeyed stone and brick house with a wood and iron roof, as opposed to Brassey’s description of it as a wooden house. Harvey, who visited in 1854, would have stayed in the second house built just after the first one burnt down.
[66] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.246. Captain Hassell had died in 1883, therefore Brassey must have accompanied his son John on the drive. See J. S. Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia*, *II*, 2 vols. Perth, Hussey & Gillingham Ltd, 1913, pp.266-272.

The 'enclosures for cattle and sheep' represented the pastoral empire, and the description of the land as 'virgin' verifies Lady Brassey's conviction that there had been no previous human intervention, not realising that the Aboriginal method of fire-stick farming had created the park-like effect. As well she reiterated contemporary acceptance of ringbarking as a tool for timber felling. Leopoldo Zunini was also impressed by ringbarking, for it delighted his sense of improvement, although he did not realise that its legacy would be enormous wastes of salt drenched land.

> [A] wonderful effect this process has on previously barren scrubby land, clothing it with thick soft grass, excellent for fattening sheep. Moreover, it is not only the grass that grows, but often springs bubble up to form small bodies of water 'soaks' where previously there was no trace of water. In areas where running water is scarce one can see how useful, if not indispensable, ringbarking can be.[67]

Viewing the landscape from his train carriage on the way to Beverley in 1895, Julius Price was not as enthralled as Zunini by the effects of ringbarking:

> [T]he effect of miles and miles of dead trees waving their gaunt leafless branches in the bright sunlight is indescribably weird and depressing, whilst the sight of so much reckless waste of fine timber is positively irritating, for there appears to be quite a fever for tree destruction. In fact to such an extent is this the case that often not so much as a bush is left, even to protect or beautify the surroundings of the few isolated settlements, which in consequence stand out against the newly cleared ground in all their hideous nakedness of brick wall and zinc roof. … All around was such a scene of utter wreck and confusion … to my astonishment I was informed that in less than a week the whole lot would be burnt up.[68]

Price may have been dismayed by the waste of timber that could have been used for construction but being both artist and journalist he also regretted the loss of elements of the picturesque. Zunini had also remarked on the clearings around the house, 'the trees are scrupulously cut down near the houses; no grapevines or creepers, no greenery that might give shade.'[69] The removal of trees close to the homestead was a common practice to reduce the possibility of a fire. Mrs Millett discovered this having had the advantage of residing in the colony for a short time. 'This custom, which at first I deplored as involving a wilful disregard of the picturesque, I soon learned to be a sad necessity, on account of the prevalence of bush-fires'.[70]

Lady Brassey continued her tour of Kendenup station, and commented that crop rotation worked well on the farm with wheat and 'straw-hay', but she said it did not

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[67] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.88.
[68] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.17-20.
[69] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.202.
[70] Mrs Edward Millett, *An Australian Parsonage or The Settler and the Savage in Western Australia,* London, Edward Stanford, 1872, p.96.

pay as it was cheaper to purchase flour imported from South Australia. She stated that the homestead offered hospitality to travellers and had an adjoining well-stocked store containing supplies for the shepherds. There were also enclosures for captured wild horses. The orchard and fruit-garden yielded 'tons of fruit every year for the merest scratching of the soil'. She listed pomegranates, oranges and lemons, and vines, 'wine-making having been already tried with fair success in Western Australia'.[71]

A spot of hunting

Whilst at Kendenup, Lady Brassey wrote that her son spent the morning hunting kangaroos, and then the 'gentlemen' hunted possums by moonlight.[72] Climatic conditions fostered the sport of game shooting, inherited from the British interest in the sport, and prevalent throughout Western Australia from the early days of the colony (fig. 3.1). In particular, it was a sport pursued by the elite, reflecting their social prominence. Game was not only hunted for sport, but also to protect pasture for European grazing animals, and to serve for food, fibres and oil.[73]

Fig. 3.1.
The facing page to Chapter 1 in Albert Calvert's book *My Fourth Tour in Western Australia,* featured this sketch, indicating the popularity of hunting.

A number of travellers referred to hunting, therefore a brief digression is made in order to discuss their comments. Earlier in 1877 Alfred Wood wrote that '[i]n lieu of pheasants, partridges, hares, &.c. the Australian 'shot' has any amount of wild turkeys, pigeons, … various kinds of parrot, whose edible quantity we ourselves proved to be excellent'.[74] Two decades earlier, in 1859, Henry Richardson went kangaroo hunting with hounds, which he described as a popular pastime among the landowners.[75] And in 1885 in Perth, Lady Broome, mentioned that a good reward was offered by the

[71] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.247. The orchard must have been a very successful one as it was listed in Battyes Cyclopedia of 1913 as being of five acres containing 'a great variety of fruit trees'. Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia,* p.266.
[72] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.245. This was one of the very rare occasions Lady Brassey mentioned her children.
[73] Marion Hercock, 'Hunting', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia*, Perth, University of Western Australia, 2009, pp.465-466.
[74] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, n.p.
[75] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.63.

government to hunt dingoes, because they threatened livestock. She said that kangaroos were not seen often around Perth as they had been driven off farms in the area to prevent them from drinking water and grazing on pasture needed for sheep.[76]

Game was also hunted for trophies or souvenirs. In 1895 Bobby Tyler visited Garden Island. He had taken guns and rods as his plan was to bring home a wallaby as a 'curio' as well as opossums and parrots. 'It will be like Robinson Crusoe'.[77] But he was waylaid by the weather and spent the night on Carnac Island, where the only wildlife they saw were snakes and rabbits.[78]

And then there were the likes of traveler Frederick Ayres who supplied birds and other fauna to museums, and to collectors who in turn sold 'souvenirs' to departing visitors from Albany, as discussed in Chapter Two. Ayres also caught birds in nets in order to sell them live.[79] He returned to Albany after a hunting spree with '80-90 parrots' and '10 doz' stuffed birds to sell.[80] Marianne North and Lady Brassey each wrote about the collectors in Albany, who sold 'souvenirs' to departing visitors. Marianne bought 'a pair of lovely green ground-parrots with spread fan-tails'. She was also shown a shed full of live cockatoos. 'He got two guineas apiece from the P. & O. passengers for them.'[81] Just prior to her departure from Western Australia in 1887 Lady Brassey visited two curio shops in Albany owned by Webb and Gardiner. They sold feathers, stuffed birds, and Indigenous weapons.

> Fortunately for us, … he [the owner] had only recently returned from one of his expeditions, and we were therefore able to pickup some of the specimens in the condition in which he had found them, all rough and broken from the effects of recent fights. [There were] spear-heads … tomahawks … knives … womaras [sic]… numerous specimens of kylies, and curious message-sticks … We bought some opossum-skins and rugs of various sorts, and admired the beautiful live birds, including parrots and cockatoos.[82]

The assortment of Indigenous weapons amongst the native fauna represents the colonial 'natural history' approach to collecting, as described by historians Bain Attwood and Tom Griffiths. In collecting the objects of 'Others' the assumption was

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[76] Alexandra Hasluck, (ed.), *Remembered with Affection: A New Edition of Lady Broome's 'Letters to Guy,'* Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, pp.136-7.
[77] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.203.
[78] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.209.
[79] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 14 Jan 1889.
[80] From Albany Ayres planned to visit the Kimberley where he was informed he could catch cassowaries, jabberoos, and at least 2000 small colourful finches. Diary entry 11 Feb 1889.
[81] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.167. North said she had bought from John Hassell, the agent for P. & O., who also owned Kendenup Station.
[82] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* pp.252-3.

that the weapons stood for a collective 'Aboriginal Culture'.[83] Lady Brassey's pleasure in finding recently used Aboriginal weapons reinforces the idea that the travellers held expectations of finding not only unusual flora and fauna, but also exotic human cultures in 'The Great South Land', in effect, as Attwood pointed out, subordinating Indigenous people to the level of the primitive.[84]

Hunting contributed to the disappearance of Western Australia's fauna in large numbers. Ayres at one time wrote in his diary: 'The birds are getting very scarce about here now. I think I must have shot most of them.'[85] A wide variety of marsupials, from small species to wallabies, were extinguished within a century of settlement.[86] However, there appeared to be a degree of conservation, as Catherine Bond indicated in 1896, when she sailed in a small boat up and down the Swan River. She 'saw a large flock of wild duck', pointing out that game was plentiful because shooting or fishing was banned in the area. She also inspected the 'swannery' a fenced in artificial pond for black swans at Mill Point, where she said there were some fine well looked after birds. As well, on her earlier journey by train to Perth she mentioned hunting restrictions, noting 'there is a close season for Europeans, but the blacks are always allowed to hunt for their living'.[87]

Kendenup via Kojonup to Perth

Returning to the journey of the travellers moving along the old coach road, descriptions written about the Kojonup area also include those of later travellers. William Harvey left Kendenup station in April 1854 heading towards Kojonup, camping on the way.

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[83] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia,* Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press, 1996, p.196; Attwood and Arnold (eds), *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines,* p.vii.
[84] Attwood and Arnold (eds), *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines,* p.ix.
[85] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 4 Nov 1888. Robert Tyler collected his own samples of live wildlife in Coolgardie in 1895, which he added to a display in the Chemist's shop window in company with two 'devils'. The presence of other lizards in the chemist shop window demonstrates the popularity of collecting, and the interest in native fauna. See Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, 2003, p.86. A concerned Rev. Young visited nearly thirty years earlier, possibly before these 'collectors' had begun their trade. A shooting party left the ship while it was coaling for the onward journey, keen to collect some samples of native wildlife. Young was upset to see 'nothing but wanton cruelty in that destruction of so many beautiful birds.'[85] This indicates that not all travellers agreed with the idea. Young, *The Southern World.* p.61. In 1899, game was still being offered to passengers on the visiting steamers, as Furniss explained, 'the true sportsman will have no difficulty in bagging a snipe for his breakfast, should he wish for a little sport in the early morning.' Harry Furniss, *Australian Sketches Made on Tour*, London, Ward, Lock and Co. Ltd, 1899, p.18.
[86] Lines, *Taming the Great South Land*, intro.
[87] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, pp.14,20. Providing it wasn't farm animals.

> The country was little different from before, except that White Gums were more numerous & much infested with a scarlet flowered Loranthus. … Here I saw Zamias for the 1st time—also black and Red Cockatoos … flocks of which were screaming from tree to tree. Night brought shriller screams from Mosquitoes but thy famous black net veil kept them off—A great many Kangaroo-rats (a small K. about size of a Rabbit) coming hopping close to us at night.[88]

Marianne North proceeded towards Kojonup in late spring, November 1880, a different season to Harvey for she noted native plants still in flower. 'All the flowers seemed to turn into everlastings, as if they were determined to fill the gap left by so many other departed flowers, and to keep up a show till the others began again.'[89] She described a variety of dried flowers and trees on her journey, kangaroo paws, lobelias, heaths, and brooms, which were 'very tall, sometimes bordering the road like a hedge, and whipping one in the face as the carriage pushed through'.[90] This is an example of how using familiar language from home to describe unfamiliar space can portray a place that instantly becomes recognisable. By referring to bordering hedges and plants whipping the face, she conjures an image of rural roads in England rather than a track in Western Australia. As well, although Marianne wrote about indigenous flora, what is likely to have been leschenaultia, for example, is described as the European lobelia.

Travelling on through swampy country around the Gordon River in Autumn Harvey described a variety of trees and bushes. He saw plenty of kangaroos that were 'abundant' through the district. Once again he crossed burnt out ground.[91]

> The town of Kogonup (sic) … consists of 3 or 4 wretched wooden huts on the side of a grassy hill—there is a considerable cattle & sheep run in the neighbourhood, but much poisoned & the water at all seasons is brackish—as the grass was now dried up & all the smaller plants with it.[92]

Italian traveller Zunini approached Kojonup a little under fifty years later in the spring of October 1906, when the grasses and plants were at their best. 'The trees were of medium size but widely set apart. The ground was flat and covered with thick grass which gave the scene the appearance of endless parkland.'[93] Zunini demonstrates that the park-like effect was a widely held impression assumed by both non-British and

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[88] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.97. Four different species of rat kangaroo existed in the southwest of Western Australia at the time of European settlement, however two are presumed to be extinct and two are now on the extreme endangered list and are rarely seen. See Andrew Claridge, John Seebeck and Randy Rose, *Bettongs, Potoroos and the Musky Rat Kangaroo,* Australian Natural History Series, Collingwood, CSIRO Publishing, 2007, p.5-6; J. S. Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia, I*, 2 vols. Perth, Hussey & Gillingham Ltd, 1913, p.31.
[89] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.151.
[90] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.153.
[91] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* pp.98-99.
[92] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.100.
[93] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.196.

British travellers. His description of Kojonup presented a contrast to Harvey's impression.

> [A] pleasant little hamlet comprised of about thirty houses, spread picturesquely on the slopes of a steep hill. It had a charming aspect and reminded me in some ways of little villages in the high Apennines. In a similar manner, the houses here are mostly built of wood set in green fields and shaded by majestic trees. The air also is fresh and sparkling.[94]

The similarity to an alpine scene in Northern Italy could only have been in the setting of houses and trees (albeit considerably different in style and species) as Kojonup, although undulating, is barely 200 metres above sea level. This is a good example of how a traveller's senses can be triggered by the smallest nuances, in this case the combination of the setting of the wooden houses and the fresh air, which creates similarities incongruous with the actual location. Zunini's reference to the picturesque also suggests his familiarity with the aesthetic, as he represented a European taste originally derived from images of Italian scenery rendered by poets and landscape painters.[95]

Continuing with the travellers' road journey to Perth, William Harvey and Marianne North described the terrain they travelled across. Leaving Kojonup in autumn 1854, Harvey joined a new road that was just completed to Perth. He found it 'heavy walking & cruel riding' across sandy terrain which was 'burnt & dreary'. He came to Williams River feeling very thirsty, and found he could drink the meagre badly coloured water. The countryside consisted of 'an open plain thickly covered with grass trees, ... thousand [or] so trees extending for miles, the effect was abundantly strange.'[96] In 1980 Marianne stayed at Williams as well, reporting a similar experience of the 'heavy drag over the sand with tired weak horses'.[97] However, she still managed to find elements of the picturesque in the natural scenery, without needing to evoke European imagery. Unlike most travel writers who generally ignored or avoided any discussion of the Aboriginal people's occupancy of the land, Marianne mentioned their presence in this passage:

> [W]e saw a sight worth some weariness – 25 emus all in group feeding, … all amongst the grass-trees. The grass-trees were in enormous quantities, covering large tracts of country. … [B]anksia-trees were then covered with their young leaves and shoots of rich yellow, brown, or white, and the native wigwams of bark or leaves looked picturesque under them.[98]

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[94] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.154.
[95] Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, p.40.
[96] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* pp.100-101.
[97] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.154.
[98] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.154.

However, her account, seemingly in one breath, of banksia trees and Aboriginal dwellings, implied that they were simply another element in the fauna and flora she was describing. She then associated the scene with the picturesque, as if the existence of Indigenous homes provided a qualifying ingredient that gave the scene a rustic quality, a desirable aspect of the picturesque. Marianne was one of the only travellers in this study to mention the Aboriginal peoples' temporary shelters, or mia mia.

Anthony Trollope made the journey to Perth by road from Albany in March 1872. Compared to Harvey's eleven days, he took four days with the mail contractor, sleeping during the nights under blankets. His impression that there was 'nothing' between Albany and Perth is summed up in the opening quote to this section. Unlike Harvey, and then later travellers Marianne North and Lady Brassey, Trollope heard and saw very little, neither hill nor dale, certainly not the alpine scenery Zunini imagined he saw, and neither parrot nor mosquito. Trollope described a dreary journey, perfectly reflecting aspects of the monotonous as discussed in the previous chapter.

> No man perhaps ever travelled two hundred and sixty miles with less to see. The road goes eternally through … bush; and, possibly, sandy desert might be more tedious. But the bush in these parts never develops itself into scenery, never for a moment becomes interesting. There are no mountains, no hills that effect the eye, no vistas through the trees tempting the foot to wander. Once … we saw kangaroos, but we saw no other animal; now and again a magpie was heard in the woods, but very rarely. The commonest noise is that of the bull-frog, which is very loud, and altogether unlike the sound of frogs in Europe. …the bush in Australia generally is singularly destitute of life. One hears much of the snakes, … but one sees them seldom, and no precaution in regards to them is taken. … In perfect silence the journey through the bush is made.[99]

He travelled in March, and as with Harvey, it was the end of a dry summer, which demonstrates how similar journeys can be portrayed quite differently.

The Sounds and Scented Flowers of the Bush

Trollope's and Harvey's experiences of camping out in the bush on the journey to Perth were markedly different.[100] Trollope failed to notice changes in the contour of the land,

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[99] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.599.

[100] For these reasons I was suspicious whether Trollope had actually physically made the journey by road. Was he simply regurgitating other people's experiences? Extensive research found that he had made the road excursion. My initial research, of looking up the Shipping Index in the Battye Library in Perth, and following through with checking the WA Genealogical Society's lists of Passenger Arrivals in Western Australia, found that Mr Anthony Trollope and son had arrived in Fremantle from Melbourne by Mail

or the many sounds and smells of the bush he travelled through. That the native birds could not sing and native flowers had no scent were well-known recurring myths about Australia that may have been popularised by Adam Lindsay Gordon (1833-1870), one of the first poets to write in a distinctly Australian idiom. In his poem titled *Dedication* about Australia he wrote:

> In lands where bright blossoms are scentless,
> And songless bright birds;[101]

This myth was perpetuated in travellers' writings, where they tended to question the sounds and smells of the bush in Western Australia. This suggests that Trollope merely repeated popular ideas at the time, implying once again that prior knowledge can sometimes be more powerful than actual observation. But some, like Harvey, disputed this myth. He wrote in 1854, 'It is not true to say that the flowers have no smell—some have a very bad smell indeed, & others are very sweet'. With regards to the birds he wrote:

> There are several chirpers, a few Whistlers many screamers, Screechers, & yelpers, but no songsters among the birds here—The two first kind are heard early in the morning—the others at intervals all day long—But on the whole the woods are very silent particularly destitute of noisy insects—At night a "Caterwauling" of frogs making noises which I cannot spell, alone breaks the silence.[102]

Steamer on 10 March 1872. This suggests that he had not, in fact, made the journey by mail coach. However, in pursuing this line of inquiry further, I found that the Battye records and Genealogical Society have misinterpreted a small paragraph entered in the *Inquirer* newspaper dated 13 March 1872. The ambiguous wording of the report in the *Inquirer* on 13 March was: 'Mr Trollope, accompanied by his son and Mr Rusden, arrived in Perth from Albany on Sunday. Mr A Rosser is the only other passenger from Melbourne by the mail steamer'. 'Passengers from Albany', *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 13 March 1872, p. 3. It is easy to assume that they had arrived in Fremantle by mail steamer from Melbourne. However I have proved that this is an incorrect reading of this article. I checked on the Monthly Shipping Report featured in this newspaper, which reports arrivals and departures of steamers to Fremantle. There was no steamer from Melbourne or Albany to Fremantle between 6 March and 27 March. In conclusion, the mail steamer from Melbourne discharged its passengers at Albany from whence they made their way overland to Perth. Further to this, footnotes in Edwards and Joyce's edited volume of *Australia* questioned whether or not his son and Rusden accompanied Trollope. They found no evidence of their names on steamers arriving or departing from Albany at the time. They assumed that the young Scotsman was mistaken for Trollope's son. See Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.598 footnotes. I have also checked this. For substantiating evidence of his road journey also see *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 23 Feb 1872, p.2, 4 Mar 1872, pp.2, 27 Mar 1872. p.2, and 17 Apr 1872, p.2 for Shipping Reports and articles regarding Trollope. See also http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/indexes-online/indexes-to-immigration-and-shipping-records/index-to-vessels-arriving-in-sydney (Accessed 10 Jan 2010); Rica Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914*, *vol. 4, pt 2,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1985, p.1617. The errors have been made in the Shipping Index held in the Battye Library, Perth, and on the WA Genealogical Website *Passengers Arriving in WA,* accessed at the Battye Library, Perth.

[101] This poem was from his book Bush Ballads & Galloping Rhymes published shortly before Gordon committed suicide in 1870. See Adam Lindsay Gordon, Poems, London, Robt. A. Thompson & Co. Ltd, Melbourne, 1910, p.147, with a preface by Marcus Clarke.

[102] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.99.

After leaving Albany in 1895, Julius Price observed from the train window: 'What chiefly strikes one in this solitude is the utter absence of human or animal life everywhere, not even so much as a bird is ever visible to break the eternal monotony.'[103] In the following year on the same journey by train, Catherine Bond also thought the view was monotonous, 'and very little life is seen, though we are told there is some game further in'.[104] May Vivienne seemed to think she could smell the flowers from the train on her journey, or maybe it was poetic license when she wrote, 'I once more sped on by train through the flower-scented country'.[105] As evidence of how extensive this myth was, in an article featured in *The New York Times* in 1898, Australian botanical painter Rowan Ellis, while visiting New York, was quoted as saying, 'People say that flowers in Australia have no scent and that the birds do not sing but that is absolutely untrue'.[106] And yet in the same year in the southern forests Jonathan Ceredig Davies wrote that 'a perfect silence reigned over the whole country, for the sweet warbling of birds is seldom heard in Australia, even in summer'.[107] Edwin and Marion Grew reiterated this popular myth.

> Some unobservant person once told the West Australians that their birds were all songless, their flowers all scentless, and being naturally self-depreciatory, they have quoted it ever since. The bird-notes are very beautiful and clear in quality of tone; the note of the magpie will at once occur to the most casual observer, to quote only one instance.[108]

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[103] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.20.

[104] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.14. Also refer to the discussion on the monotonous in the previous chapter.

[105] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.14. She may well have smelt the flowers because the carriage would not have been a sealed air-conditioned unit like a modern train, but would probably have had windows open for ventilation

[106] 'Rare Flowers on Canvas', The New York Times, 16 Jan 1898, p.A2. Further to this popular myth, as early as 1818 much published traveller William Cobbett wrote in his book *A Year's Residence, in the United States of America*, 2nd edition, London, Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1819, that he believed America's birds were songless and flowers were scentless: 'There are two things, which I have not yet mentioned, and which are almost wholly wanting here, while they are so amply enjoyed in England. The singing birds and the flowers. Here are many birds in summer, and some of very beautiful plumage. There are some wild flowers, and some English flowers in the best gardens. But, generally speaking, they are birds without song, and flowers without smell.' See p.95, 22 April 1818. Australia, America—two vast countries in the New World that many Europeans read about, and where comparisons and confusions were often made.

[107] Jonathan Ceredig Davies, *Western Australia: Its History and Progress, the Native Blacks, Towns, Country Districts, and the Goldfields*, Nantymogi, T. Evans, Printer & Co., 1902, p.99. Comments about bird sounds, scented or not scented flowers and lack of fauna were also being written about by the travellers when in the Swan River region, and also when making the excursion to the eastern goldfields. On an expedition from Coolgardie to Norseman Catherine Bond noticed 'many birds about. The noisy crow is often to be seen, also parrots and hawks, and some sweet little green birds, that get up a song: indeed, there is quite a variety; but we have seen no animal of any kind'. Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.38.

[108] Edwin Sharpe Grew and Marion Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, London, Mills & Boon Ltd, 1916, p.17.

Other travellers made such observations in their narratives, indicating both widespread prior knowledge of these myths, and the power they sometimes had to override tangible experience.

The Great Southern Railway

After the railway was completed to Perth in 1889 travellers began to record their journeys by train on a slightly different route from Albany, heading towards Katanning from Mount Barker, rather than to Kojonup, as the old coach track did. The rail line then ran north to Beverley, where it joined the Perth line. The travellers' observations from the train are discussed first, followed by their impressions of Katanning, a popular stop for the passengers.

The Albany to Beverley line

The building of the railway opened up the adjoining land to agricultural development. As a result a more rapid growth and expansion of the southwest region should become more apparent in the following selected excerpts. Frederick Ayres and his father rode on the line in October 1888, before it had been finished, on a ballast truck full of stores and workmen. They were dropped off ninety miles up the track. They must have been hunting wildlife near the Gordon River, for Ayres mentioned a river, or rather a succession of water holes. 'I do not know what made them call such a creek a river.'[109]

> The country don't [sic] seem to grow grass well the native grass is a sort of silver grass and grows very sparse. … The country [around here] won[']t keep sheep on account of the poison plants of which there are about 20 different sorts.[110]

Ayres thought that the land from 'the 90'[111] to Beverley was; 'useless', except for a 'strip of good land' which was being farmed near Narrogin, the rest being 'very hungry looking land' covered with tall grass trees. 'The 90' consisted of a few tents and a calico store. Of the abundant sandalwood cutting he saw, he explained that it was all

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[109] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 28 Oct 88.

[110] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 02 Nov 88. Ayres' prose was inferior to that of many other travellers, and his descriptions lacked the language of the picturesque. This was perhaps, partly because of a limited education, having come from rural South Australia, and partly because his memoirs were only intended for his brother's eyes and lacked the editing process that published texts went through. Although more refined, this also explains the shorthand used in Harvey's letters, which were intended only for his family and work colleagues.

[111] The '90' is possibly Tambellup, which is on the Gordon River and had large stands of sandalwood. https://www.landgate.wa.gov.au/corporate.nsf/web/History+of+country+town+names+-+T (Accessed 28 Aug 2010)

'dead wood as there is a heavy fine inflicted upon anyone caught cutting green sandalwood.'[112] In mid summer a few months later, Gilbert Parker used the now completed rail service to Beverley, observing 'one long scrub, one stretch of unhappy country'. He used poetic prose to express his thoughts.

> Now and then through the grass trees and the eucalypti one sees a great patch of snow, with the sun at 100° in the shade. Now we come full upon another, and skirt it.
>
> 'Strange thought that in this angry burning land,
> My fevered eyes should sweep an icy plain.'
>
> Yes, there it was, white and cool, with tracks upon it from the hoofs of cattle and the feet of men. The yellow cabbage-tree flower is gleaming near, flanked by the white-and-green banksia, and a blossoming gum-tree is full of a regal beauty. Snow! Nothing so comforting. This is the whiteness of a salt lake, dry and deathly. …. It suggests the desert and the valueless wild. The land, however, is no worse than many parts of New South Wales—it is, indeed, vastly better than much that one sees between Sydney and Bourke.[113]

Along the line Parker also saw the tents of the sandalwood cutters and 'piles of sandal-wood, … thousands of tons altogether, ready to be shipped to China for incense and for making into boxes'.[114] On the same journey later, in September 1892, David Carnegie noticed some areas of 'rich farming and agricultural districts' amongst the 'flat, scrubby, and sandy' terrain.[115] In winter of 1895 Price gazed from the train window and saw:

> The country … was more than monotonous; dense flat wastes of forest and bush lay on either side, though the many miles of this dreary wilderness were occasionally lightened by extensive clearings or even by patches of cultivation, betokening the presence of the enterprising settler.[116]

And in mid winter in June a year later, Catherine Bond wrote, 'The land along the line is laid out in "townships", but few houses are built. The scenery is very monotonous, always the same bush. … Later in the day the country becomes prettier and more undulating.'[117] The frequent claim by the travellers that space in the southwest was

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[112] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 14 Nov 88, 12 Jan 89. This may reflect an effort at conservation in the region, or control by a timber industry.
[113] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.368.
[114] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.371. Sandalwood is a small native Western Australian tree found in the Southern region. As the agricultural country was opened up in the wheatbelt it was harvested for export to South-East Asia for the manufacture of incense or joss sticks. Between 1892 and 1901 more than 50, 000 tons were exported from Western Australia. 'Sandalwood', *Forest Products Commission* <http://www.fpc.wa.gov.au/content_migration/_assets/documents/about_us/publications/sandalwood_detail.pdf>, (accessed 25 Aug 2009); *An Economic History of Western Australia*, pp.3-5.
[115] David W. Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand: A Narrative of Five Years' Pioneering and Exploration in Western Australia*, London, C. Arthur Pearson Ltd, 1898, facsimile, Perth, Hesperian Press, 1982, p.2.
[116] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.15.
[117] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.14.

‘monotonous’, existed until a sense of differentiation and contrast became evident after development and residence by Europeans, supporting colonisation and the transposition of European ideals on unfamiliar terrain.

On Catherine’s return journey in spring, she noticed a more colourful landscape, possibly near Narrogin. ‘It is very pretty, and we see some large orange trees laden with golden fruit, and such pretty flowers—yellow, white, and red—all along the line. ….then the land becomes undulating and rocky; there are many pretty trees and a beautiful undergrowth.’[118] Catherine’s comment demonstrates that lack of familiarity with the variety of species in the Western Australian bush led her to label it ‘monotonous’ on her winter journey north. Yet on her return in spring her European senses found the scene of flowering vegetation more favourable. The assortment of colours, imported fruit, flowers and trees gave her mind something to seize upon and to describe in recognisable terms. Some travellers’ comments, such as Price above, support arguments by Paul Carter and J. G. Gentilli that the monotonous represented the natural landscape, and pleasure was not derived from the scenery until signs of human intervention and development representing the ideal of colonisation occurred.[119] However, upon analysing Catherine’s winter journey compared with her spring journey, the monotonous represented an unfamiliar terrain and season compared to the colour, familiar fruit and fresh sumptuous growth of spring, elements she was able to recognise. Her pleasure was predominately derived from the colour of the scene, though the inclusion of the description of orange laden trees and new growth also indicates pleasure in the productivity necessary for progress and colonisation.

The seasons proved confusing however for some travellers. Like Catherine they appeared not to associate the stage the vegetation was at with the fact that the seasons were opposite to those of the northern hemisphere.[120] Botanical artist Marianne North, however, was not confused. She had purposely arranged her visit to Western Australia to coincide with the spring wildflowers being at the height of their beauty in their natural surroundings.[121]

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[118] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.59.
[119] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.248; J.G. Gentilli, *Western Landscapes*, Nedlands, UWA Press, 1979, p.11.
[120] Price was an example, seen in the title of his book *The Land of Gold: The Narrative of a Journey through the West Australian Goldfields in the Autumn of 1895*, considering he visited the goldfields in winter and early spring, August-September.
[121] Marianne North, 1830-1890, *Some Recollections of a Happy Life: Marianne North in Australia and New Zealand*, Caulfield East, Helen Vellacott, (ed.), Edward Arnold Australia Pty Ltd, 1986, p.67.

A stop at Katanning

Katanning was a popular stop for train passengers on their way to Beverley. Julius Price stopped the night in mid winter 1895. He stayed at the station hotel, which was lit by electricity, 'a rising little place'. He visited Mr Piesse who was, he explained, a gentleman who had opened up this part of the country. He thought that his land was doing well under cultivation with wheat and fruit-trees 'flourishing in the most extra-ordinary and precocious manner'. Apparently they had only been planted a couple of years earlier in some gravelly loamy soil.[122] Price thought that the soil was too rich for Piesse's intentions to grow vines, and that this was the cause of the 'extraordinarily heavy character' of Australian wines. Several thousands of acres were being cleared by what was, Price wrote, 'an ingenious method called "tree pulling"', using a chain and lever arrangement worked by horse.[123] Four years later May Vivienne saw the 'tree–puller' at work still clearing land. She was very impressed with Katanning, and suggested it was a desirable area for immigrants from England. She also visited Frederick Piesse's property, and found how well the fruit trees had grown since Price's visit, with '65 acres of fruit-trees, … some of the pears weighing over 2lb. each, and the peaches, apricots, and apples of equal size and beauty ... famed for their size, sweetness, and flavour'. Price's concerns regarding the growing of vines seemed to have proven unfounded by the time May Vivienne visited. 'There were acres and acres of vines loaded with large and luscious grapes'. She also drove through a large cornfield to the mill to watch corn being turned to flour, and saw 'two wagons, each drawn by nine horses and laden with a tremendous load of produce of the glorious earth … wending their way to the mill.'[124]

Zunini stopped at Katanning early in October 1906, revealing how much of the area had since been developed, 'As far as the eye could see were fields of green wheat, meadows gilded by innumerable dandelions, and vineyards and orchards'.[125] He also

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[122] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.22. Politicians Frederick Henry Piesse and his younger brother Charles Austin Piesse were responsible for opening up the Katanning and Wagin regions respectively. Merle Bignell, 'Piesse, Frederick Henry (1853 – 1912)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 11, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1988, pp. 229-230; Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia,* vol.I, p.737.

[123] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.23. Price also mentioned that Lord Brassey, Annie Brassey's husband, owned 23,000 acres not far from Piesse's property near Broomehill, on which he ran a successful sheep farm. Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.20. Baron Thomas Brassey returned to Australia when he accepted the position of Governor of Victoria in 1895, which may have been when he purchased the property. E.H. Marshall, "Brassey , Anna , Lady Brassey (1839–1887)', Rev. Dorothy Middleton, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; Online Edn: Doi:10.1093/Ref:Odnb/3288', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3288>, (accessed 5 Jul 2007)

[124] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, pp.12-13.

[125] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.129.

liked the town with its clean large streets and attractive buildings, the spring season adding to his delight.

> The earth was covered with countless varieties of flowers of every shape and colour. … I recognised some orchids; … some quite strange yellow and black jonquils and a kind of violet growing on a shrub whose leaves were invisible under the mass of flowers. Where the grass was greener and thicker the earth was covered with beautiful, if odd, fiery-red flowers.[126]

On an expedition from Katanning to Kojonup, a region that was not then developed by Europeans, Zunini imagined the landscape to be 'untouched by the hand of man'. Despite his Italian heritage he believed it looked like Hyde Park, indicating that travellers were influenced by other places they had visited, as discussed previously.[127] Zunini's comment is further evidence that it was not understood at the time that the Aboriginals controlled the landscape by fire-stick farming. British, Italian and German travellers in this study all identified with the park-like landscape. In the same year German botanist Karl Goebel described the landscape in much the same way.

> As we go inland we encounter a remarkable park-like landscape: the undulating plains are dotted with trees of a kind unknown to us…. Under the trees we observe a mass of beautiful and remarkable herbaceous plants, few of which are cultivated in our glasshouses. I have seen many beautiful landscapes, from the colourful paramos of the South American Andes, the magnificent spring flowers of North Africa, the wonderful orchids of the tropics, both Old World and New, but in terms of colour and variety of form the spring flora of Western Australia lies, in my opinion, second only to the vegetation of the Alps, which is the most beautiful in the World.[128]

Travellers whose interests were in botany, like Goebel and Marianne North, appreciated Western Australia's native flora and landscape. On Marianne's journey to Perth by road in 1880, she had delighted in finding native flowers growing on the 'burnt-up grass' and 'marvellous sandy plain'.[129] And when she saw her first flowering *Eucalyptus Macrocarpa* she claimed; 'I screamed with delight when the small tree came in sight….'[130] Marianne's interest in painting unique flora in their natural habitat, and Goebel's obvious interest above, had positive effects on their impressions of Western Australia generally.

However, judging by the copious amount of writing about the Katanning area, samples which have been extracted above, virtually all travellers found comfort in

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[126] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.129-130.
[127] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.152.
[128] D.J. Carr and S.G.M Carr, 'Karl Goebel in Australia and New Zealand', in D.J. Carr and S.G.M Carr (eds), *People and Plants in Australia,* Sydney, Academic Press, 1981, pp. 167-179, p.171.
[129] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.152.
[130] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.156.

finding land being cultivated and seeing evidence of the colonists' struggle with 'nature' in order to subdue and shape it into something familiar; as academic Bruce Clunies Ross said, 'man-made and humanised as it had been for centuries in Europe'.[131] With the influence of Enlightenment principles, they were preoccupied with the advance of European settlement. This is evident in Albert Calvert's unfavourable reaction when travelling non-stop on the railway between Albany and Perth in 1895: 'The train passes over leagues of country upon which there is not a sign of stock, not a single habitation.'[132] This is a particularly telling sentence, because he travelled in late spring, and therefore presumably would have noticed the wildflowers. Likewise when journalist Julius Price approached the cultivated fields around Perth after journeying from Beverley by train in 1895, he desired the image of the European cultural landscape, the picturesque concept of 'nature perfected' as it was in the 'Old Country'. He wrote: 'The last portion of the journey was delightful, and in the bright sunlight all looked so old-fashioned and settled that it was hard to realise one was still within touch of the desolate solitude of the bush.'[133] Price was delighted to find how quickly the landscape had been 'settled' and therefore improved, particularly in comparison to the nearby 'desolate' bush, thereby promoting the ideals of the Enlightenment, and the Christian responsibilities over nature to transform the environment.

The West Coast Region

After arriving in Perth, many travellers tended to visit the Bunbury and the Vasse[134] region on the west coast. It was an early European settlement area with long jetties built in its main towns for shipping out timber, which were also used by coastal steamers. The drawcard for early travellers, who were often armed with letters of introduction, was to visit the Cliftons, Molloys and Bussells, founding and notable British colonists with properties in the area. This was also evident on their journey from Albany to Perth, most travellers having stayed with the Hassell's at Kendenup Station and the Piesse's at Katanning.

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[131] Bruce Clunies Ross, 'Landscape and the Australian Imagination', in P. R. Eaden, and F. H. Mares (ed.), *Mapped but Not Known: The Australian Landscape of the Imagination,* Netley, Wakefield Press, 1986, pp.224-243, p.228; Falcone, 'Australian Landscape as the Language of a New Identity', p.124.
[132] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.6.
[133] Price, *The Land of Gold,* p.25.
[134] The district continued to be referred to as 'the Vasse', and in general 'the Vasse' and 'Busselton' were equally used as late as the turn of the century, when 'the Vasse' began to be dropped. https://www.landgate.wa.gov.au/corporate.nsf/web/History+of+country+town+names+-+b. (accessed 26 Jan 2010).

The majority of travellers departing from Perth on their tour south first stayed in the Australind and Bunbury areas. Frederick Mackie, and Robert and Sarah Lindsey headed this way in February 1855. The group stayed with Marshall Waller Clifton at Australind, where they were 'regaled with an abundance of fine ripe fruit', very large melons, grapes and figs.[135] Mackie wrote that they were experimenting with 'Para grass' from South America for feeding stock, as well as drying raisins, Zant currants and figs, and making wine.[136] The Lindseys pointed out that potatoes, onions and maize also grew well.[137] The party then continued to Bunbury on a sandy road along the coast, passing two 'considerable streams with neat wooden bridges thrown across them' built by Clifton's son Pearse.[138] A 'dreary ride' over 'loose running sand' leading through a succession of low sand hills took them across Thomas Peel's[139] property, where they called in to water the horses. Mackie assumed the area was unsuitable for livestock, consisting of a low scrub of rigid plants, interspersed with grass trees'.[140] Henry Richardson also visited the region in late 1859. Marshall Waller Clifton showed Richardson his garden, 'which is celebrated throughout the colony and it is really wonderful to see such a display of fruits and flowers in a soil that anyone would pronounce at once perfectly unfit for cultivation'.[141] Horticulture was Clifton's abiding interest, being a fellow of the Royal Society,[142] thus providing an exception to the general idea that gardens around a home denoted a woman's presence.

About December 1880, Marianne North travelled to Australind taking the South Western highway.

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[135] Frederick Mackie, *Traveller under Concern: The Quaker Journals of Frederick Mackie on His Tour of the Australasian Colonies 1852-1855,* Mary Nicholls (ed.), Hobart, University of Tasmania, 1973, p.269. Clifton had been the appointed chief commissioner of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's proposed settlement at Australind on the Leschenault Inlet. After the scheme failed in 1843 Clifton and his large family remained in the area, and he went on to become a popular politician. His wife Elinor was a practicing Quaker, hence Mackie's and the Lindsey's visit. A. C. Staples, 'Clifton, Marshall Waller (1787 - 1861)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Volume 3, Melbourne University Press, 1969, pp.427-430,' <http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A030401b.htm>, (accessed 16 Aug 2009)

[136] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.270.

[137] *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, London, Samuel Harris and Co., 1886, p.109.

[138] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.271.

[139] Thomas Peel had also failed in a settlement scheme for immigrants in the early years of the Swan River Colony. He became a recluse on his land after many misfortunes. Alexandra Hasluck, 'Peel, Thomas (1793-1865)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol.2, 1967, pp.320-322. Hence Mackie said, 'His land is of little or no benefit to him, he lives a retired life, taking no part in colonial affairs and is very much of a cipher in the colony.' *Traveller under Concern,* p.272.

[140] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.272.

[141] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.68.

[142] Staples, 'Clifton, Marshall Waller', pp.427-430.

> We passed through glorious forests of big gums and mahogany trees, and plains of paper-bark trees, with their curious white twisted trunks and velvety-green heads, sometimes sprinkled with small white flowers.[143]

Her description was markedly different to Mackie's because she took the inland road rather than the coastal road. Marianne described Clifton House as 'a charming large house by the side of a clear river, with olive-trees, mulberries, and other importations all round the garden'.[144] She described the area as very English looking with cornfields and meadows, hedges and gates like 'at home'. Not far from Australind she came to Bunbury, which she thought was 'a model place, with a long wooden jetty running out into the exquisite blue bay; at the end of it a ship was being loaded with "mahogany" and other precious woods'.[145] Eighteen years later in 1898, Jonathan Ceredig Davies wrote that Bunbury, 'with its romantic beach and hospitable people, like Albany, is a favourite summer resort, and is known as the Brighton of West Australia.'[146] May Vivienne, who visited this region the following year, also mentioned its resort facilities and health benefits. Around Bunbury she described forests of 'splendid jarrah' and other timber, 'handsome residences [and] … splendid vineyards'. She described the town as 'very prosperous', with 'fine' public buildings and wide streets planted with shady trees.[147]

Although many travellers journeyed from Bunbury to the Vasse in early summer, their impressions varied. In late 1859, Richardson expressed sentiments of the monotonous when he described the road.

> The road like all the roads in the colony is cut through a wood and consequently exhibits nothing to admire or describe as regards a prospect. Some of the wild flowers are very beautiful and the blackened trunks of the gum trees and the peculiar appearance of the black-boys are at first rather striking but the novelty soon wears off.[148]

On leaving Bunbury in 1880, Marianne North 'entered miles of sand, and such wretched land that even trees were stunted'. She said that only the swamp banksia and orange bottlebrush were in 'great beauty'. She thought the 'patches of lobelia and other tiny coloured flowers made the sand gay'.[149] When arriving at the port of Vasse, where the fortnightly mail steamer called, she described the sand as 'dazzling' white, and the

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[143] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.159.
[144] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.160. Mackie's sketch of Clifton House features later on p.114.
[145] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.161.
[146] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.106.
[147] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.67.
[148] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.67.
[149] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.162. By the time Marianne North visited a more regular timetable was managed by the west coast steamers. See Toby Manford, 'Lilly, James (1845 - 1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 5, Melbourne University Press, 1974, pp.88-89.

water like 'blue opals.'[150] Earlier in 1854 Richardson expressed frustration at the delays in getting off 'Cargo at this port. … The boats which brought the timber down the river could not, owing to the wind or sea, get over the bar and at other times there was so much swell that they could not come off the ship.'[151] In December 1883, Lady and Governor Broome travelled via the same route Marianne and Richardson took. Lady Broome described a different scene 'through very pretty forest; we passed herds of cattle feeding, and horses, also, on good pastureland',[152] and arrived to a grand reception put on by the residents at Vasse, 'a very pretty little place, and the climate most healthy and delicious'.[153]

The Domestic Architecture

Whenever possible upper middle-class travellers tended to stay at the same residences of Western Australia's elite, in conditions they considered suitable for their station and social standing. However, when conditions did not permit this, travellers were happy to make do, providing the company was 'quality' (which will be discussed more extensively in later chapters). The following travellers' extracts reflect this, as well as provide an overview of domestic architecture. Therefore, this diversion investigates domestic architecture, not only in the southwest but also in the Swan River, to allow comparisons regarding changing design in Western Australia.

The importance placed on high-society contacts is seen in Richardson's attitude when staying in various homes in 1859. He was not very impressed with the residence of Mr Brydges, a former surgeon at Bunbury, where he chose to break his journey south to Vasse. '[T]he building is of a very miserable character consisting of wattle and daub windows in which calico is substituted for glass and furniture of the poorest description.'[154] And yet on a side trip east to Brookhampton, he was happy to stay with Mr Austen, a 'Gentleman' who lived in the bush.

> He had a very nice tent the floor of which was covered with black boy rushes and we eat our dinner reclining in the old Roman fashion. ... [A] blazing fire [of] black-boys was lighted outside the tent and a very picturesque appearance it must have presented. The white tent - the blazing fire outside - the comfortable arrangements within - with three jolly looking

[150] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.162. The main settlement on the Vasse River came to be known as Busselton, after John Garrett Bussell who was the first European resident in the area. Rica Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914*, *Vol 3,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1985, p.99.
[151] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.111.
[152] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.86.
[153] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.86.
[154] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.78.

> fellows in the height of enjoyment - the horses tethered round us and the dark trunks of the trees and blackboys scattered about would have formed an admirable scene for a sketch.[155]

By describing this scene as 'picturesque', Richardson has envisioned a popular rustic image often represented in paintings of the time, in line with Uvedale Price's essay on this topic.[156] As discussed earlier, the picturesque also asserts ownership. Overall this scene hints at possession, settling in and feeling at home. This can be seen by Richardson's use of the descriptions 'comfortable' and 'jolly'. His idea that they reclined in the 'old Roman fashion' indicates superiority and rights to the Australian land, a place where he feels he belongs.

The accommodation at Brookhampton he described as consisting of two one-room wooden houses, with only openings for a doorway and a window. One house, he said, had a loft.[157] The earliest homes on the new farms were simple shelters using primitive building methods and rough and ready materials, until time and money could be found to build more substantial houses. Colonists tended to modify architectural memories from the 'old country' to suit the different climate and materials available. Coastal limestone, mud or burned brick, wattle and daub, and timber for walls and roofing shingles were commonly used.[158]

The following observations by the travellers describe housing in the Swan and Avon River area. Mrs Millett passed a working saw-pit and some huts erected in the Darling Scarpe on her way to York in 1863. She described the bush huts as 'of the very rudest construction', called V huts, which were generally comprised of a thatched roof set upon the ground, with a mud chimney built on one end. Stumps driven into the earth with boards nailed across them served as both bedstead and table.[159] In York, Mrs Millett wrote that in 'the poorer sort of houses the windows were not glazed but consisted simply of a wooden frame on which was stretched strong calico', much like

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[155] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.72. His description sounds like Augustus Earle's painting, c1838, entitled 'Bivouac of Travelers in Australia in a Cabbage Forest, Daybreak'. Perhaps he had seen it, or similar representations of the picturesque in Australia.
[156] Price, 'On the Picturesque'.
[157] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.74.
[158] Margaret Pitt Morison and John White, 'Builders and Buildings', in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1981, pp.511-550. See also Margaret Pitt Morison and John White (eds), *Western Towns and Buildings,,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1979.
[159] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.45. The so-called 'V hut' was extensively used in the early years of the colony, and as temporary housing at such sites as Mrs Millett observed. Thatching was also popular, grass-tree tops being readily available. However, because they were a severe fire hazard in the hot dry climate they were banned in Perth, although they continued to be used in the country. See Pitt Morison and White, 'Builders and Buildings', p.520.

Richardson's earlier description of the Brydges' house. Mrs Millett had a method by which wealthier people's houses could be identified.

> I found that those residences, of which the superiority was attested by a good entrance-gate, were generally dignified in addition by containing one carpeted room, but carpets were less in keeping with the summer's heat than matting.[160]

The idea of the garden gate as a status symbol is an example of ideas introduced from the 'old country.' In Perth in 1877 Wood described his lodgings on Hay Street as a one-storied building surrounded by a large verandah like all the other houses in the street.[161] And in 1888 Ayres stated that nearly all the houses in Perth were brick with shingle roofs.[162] From the 1850s buildings tended to use local materials appropriate to their site, therefore Perth houses were brick and Fremantle houses were built from limestone.[163] In September 1895 Robert Tyler's son, Bobby, visited Mr Horgan's[164] house, 'a very nice house' built in bungalow style consisting of about eight rooms, the kitchen built out at the rear separated from the house by the verandah, which surrounded the entire house'.[165] The verandah was a familiar feature of colonial domestic architecture. It served as an access to rooms, a breeze-way, a connection to separate buildings, and as an open-air room.[166] Frederick Mackie's sketch (fig. 3.2) of Marshal Waller Clifton's residence at Australind shows the typical verandah, but also depicts an English type rural scene with picket fences and a eucalypt that resembles a willow.

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[160] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.63.
[161] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.116.
[162] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, Dairy entry 18 Nov 1888.
[163] Pitt Morison and White, 'Builders and Buildings', p.527.
[164] Mr Horgan was the radical ex-politician and controversial lawyer who helped his father's prosecution case against his mine manager. See Tom Stannage, 'Horgan, John (1834 - 1907)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 9, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1983, p.367.
[165] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.66. The colonial bungalow is the basic residential unit of the colonial urban settlement. The concept was originally developed in India, a bangala, anglicised as Bungalow, with overhanging eaves to provide shade and shelter. The configuration of the English bungalow was inspired by the army tent, the southern English cottage and the Persian/Spanish verandah, and 'was diffused, in the late 18th century, to Africa and other parts of the Far East, becoming the model form of residence for members of the European Colonial Community in the country of Colonisation'. See Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture,* London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, intro and p.266.
[166] Pitt Morison and White, 'Builders and Buildings', p.520.

Fig 3.2. Clifton's property, a fusion of British and Australian characteristics. Sketched in 1855 by Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.262.

At the turn of the century Davies described the look of many houses in Perth:

> [M]ost of the private houses, with the exception of the fine buildings of the well-to-do families, are cottages of one story only mostly built of brick, with a few in the outskirts made of wood. The houses, as a rule, have four or five rooms, are well built, and some of them nicely ornamented with imposing parapets in the front, but the galvanized iron covering of the roof and verandah disfigures the beauty of the buildings. Some people … substituting shingles made of jarrah wood, [gave] the appearance of slate at a distance.[167]

Count Fritz Von Hochberg described such houses as 'ramshackle, corrugated-iron shanties' when taking the train from Fremantle to Perth in 1907.[168] His view was typical of many people who regarded the material as cheap, temporary and ugly; and who associated it with industry or shanty towns.[169] Corrugated galvanised iron had been popular since 1890 because it was a hardy, cheap, long lasting building material, and was a permanent fixture in homes, not only in Perth but also in the bush and on the goldfields. [170] As Leopoldo Zunini noted in 1906: 'The architecture of homes in the bush was the same everywhere: single story with a verandah all around.'[171]

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[167] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.82.
[168] Freidrich Maximilian Hochberg, Count Fritz Von, *An Eastern Voyage: A Journal of the Travels of Count Fritz Hochberg through the British Empire in the East and Japan*, *Vol. 1*, London, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1910, p.26.
[169] Adam Mornement and Simon Holloway, *Corrugated Iron: Building on the Frontier,* London, Francis Lincoln Ltd, 2007, p.8.
[170] Pitt Morison, and White (eds.), *Western Towns and Buildings,* p.60; Mornement and Holloway, *Corrugated Iron,* p.7.
[171] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.202.

Edwin and Marion Grew stayed in a detached 'charming house' at Cottesloe Beach in 1914, which they said was typical of nearly all West Australian houses, consisting of the essential verandah where the 'family sleep … all the year round, using the bedrooms merely as dressing-rooms.'[172] The Grews had taken the same journey by train as Hochberg had seven years earlier. They passed 'roads of one-storied houses, standing on their piles' each with its inevitable 'verandah, and sloping iron roof', and iron water-tank. They noted that 'somewhere about there is sure to be an array of the ubiquitous kerosene tin, utilised either as a pail, a basket, a flower-box, or … used to form chimneys, even to construct a raft'.[173]

In her recent thesis Jane Davis contested the notion that European culture was necessarily transplanted into colonial Australia, and argued that a fusion of English and Australian characteristics were transposed in the colonists' homes and gardens.[174] In this study the travellers' comments about domestic architecture in both town and rural areas are evidence that in many cases Britishness could not be relocated, but a diffusion of ideas from territories colonised by the British were used in order to adjust to the new environment. The travellers were inclined to highlight such cases, for example where homes were adapted to contend with the climate by the use of large wrap-around verandas, and where trees close to the house were removed to avoid risk of fire. Travellers, however, were often ignorant as to the reasons for these adaptations.

The Central West Coast

Some travellers ventured further inland from the west coast towards Collie, or continued south through Donnybrook and Bridgetown to the southern forests, while others made the trip by rail from Albany towards Denmark to see the tall karri forests.

A visit to the Donnybrook and Collie region

The following travellers visited the Donnybrook and Collie region, some by track and road, and others making use of the new rail services being laid in a rapidly developing area. In late 1859 Henry Richardson headed east by road to Thomson's property at Brookhampton, just beyond Donnybrook, when the country was beginning to open up for cattle grazing. He commented about the state of the roads: 'The roads … are very

[172] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, pp.12-13. It is doubtful that the family slept outside on the verandah during winter.
[173] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.18.
[174] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, p.59. See also Duncan, 'Dis-Orientation', pp.151-153.

winding as to save the trouble of cutting down and uprooting the large trees they make a circuit round them and there are often bridle paths by following which you may cut off the circle and save a detour.'[175] On one of these paths he nearly fell into an unnoticed sawpit.

With a new railway built, later travellers noted extensive development. In 1898 Jonathan Ceredig Davies went by the new South West Railway line from Perth to Collie, that ran between the Darling Ranges and the sea, covering some of the area that Marianne North had travelled through by road, eighteen years earlier. He described the countryside for the first hundred miles around Harvey and Brunswick Junction as 'very beautiful and rich'. The scenery then changes to the 'sublime' for the final twenty-five miles to Collie. '[T]he romantic scenery of the Darling Range, with its hills and ravines, and the huge forests of jarrah trees through which the train passes, is very striking if not attractive.' He believed that '[a]lmost everywhere in this portion of Western Australia, there is an abundance of land available for selection, … but the country is very heavily covered with big trees, difficult and expensive to clear.'[176] Despite Davies concerns, in September eight years later some of this land had been developed when Zunini passed through by train.

> Travelling along the line one feels, in certain spots, as if one were in Italy on the plains of Emilia. The hand of man is everywhere; the forest has almost entirely disappeared giving way to cultivated fields of wheat, and meadows where thousands of sheep graze.[177]

One of Zunini's delegates, Ruozi, said 'it reminded him of the surroundings of Reggio'.[178] These two cases show how travellers imagined that the dissimilar Western Australian landscape resembled their homeland, the world to which they constantly returned. Zunini also visited Harvey River, where the cultivation of oranges was very successful, and a spring growth of forage and grass was evident

> These oranges were larger than the biggest oranges found in Palermo but the flavour of this local variety [navel], which is faintly reminiscent of pineapple, is far more delicious. ….we could see a magnificent stretch of country covered with dark foliaged trees and golden fruit. Where there were no trees, we saw paddocks planted with forage (lucerne, clover and rape) stretching away into the distance; the grass everywhere was tall and vigorous.[179]

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[175] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.75.
[176] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.66,90,. There are four dominant tree types in the Southwest unique to Western Australia; the Jarrah, Tuart, the tall Karri, and large Tingle trees.
[177] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.62.
[178] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today,* p.173.
[179] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.64, 66-67.

Raymond Radclyffe was also enthusiastic about oranges in Darlington, 'finer oranges never were grown in the world. … equal in flavour to even the luscious fruit grown in Tahiti'.[180] Once again, travellers demonstrated their knowledge of other places they are familiar with, respectively Palermo for Zunini and Tahiti for Radclyffe.

Davies and May Vivienne both wrote about the coal town of Collie in a similar period, near the turn of the century. Davies estimated a population of 1500 inhabitants throughout the 'rather scattered' township. They both commented about the broad streets and fine buildings, especially the hotels. Davies thought they were 'more magnificent in appearance than those of a large city of 20,000 inhabitants.[181] May Vivienne believed that the area had a brilliant future, with fresh air and fertile flats and valleys.[182] Davies used to walk to the nearby timber mills in the Jarrah forest to conduct Sabbath services for the workers. He travelled through an:

> immense and monotonous jarrah forest [with] kangaroos and wallabies … running about, and at certain times of the year the country was covered with beautiful wild flowers to brighten one's path, which made me at times almost fancy myself passing through a fairy land.[183]

A visit to Bridgetown

As the forests were cleared the rail line extended through the Blackwood River region and Bridgetown, which were visited by the later travellers. In the Blackwood Valley, Zunini said, the 'countryside was beautiful for miles. In some places the grass was perfect, truly green carpet and the blackboys gave the impression of palms. It was like being in Nice or San Remo.'[184] In this excerpt Zunini has manipulated the landscape to resemble a European scene, as artists were inclined to do in paintings, photographs or poems to represent a picturesque image. Arriving at Bridgetown, Zunini's descriptions changed from European summer resorts to alpine scenes.

> Wedged between very high and steep hills it had the look of an alpine village. The surrounding bush had been largely cleared and had been replaced by pasture, orchards and vegetable gardens. Numerous herds of dairy cattle grazing on the green slopes gave the countryside a decidedly Swiss aspect. The area appeared to be extremely fertile.[185]

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[180] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, pp.57-58.
[181] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.91.
[182] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.60.
[183] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.99-100
[184] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.162.
[185] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.163.

Around Bridgetown the hills were no higher than 200 metres, and yet all the travellers emphasised their height. Zunini's arrival into an area that was more contoured than the regions he had been travelling through created an exaggerated image.

> Bridgetown … is probably the most picturesque town in Western Australia. Although situated only 580 feet above sea-level, the high rocky mountains which surround it … give it a look something akin to Switzerland, and very different from the usual aspect of the country which is monotonous and uniform.[186]

In the pursuit of wonder, awe at mountain scenery motivated travellers to impose Romantic visions such as Zunini's on an environment that was considerably different from Europe. Hence Zunini's description of Bridgetown, which elevated the surrounding hills into high rocky mountains, the imagery forming a direct contrast to the usual flat appearance of the land which he labelled 'monotonous'. Zunini may well have been a member of the Liberal Club Alpino Italiano, formed in 1863 in Northern Italy, as it was an elite club that attracted the higher classes with close ties to the liberal political establishment. It also lauded the moral and physical benefits of the 'good air' of the mountains.[187] The idea of cultural acquisition, as argued by Carter, Smith and Ryan, discussed in the previous chapter, can also be detected here. Zunini has made connections between Western Australia and Europe, making it an important acquisition for Italy's expanding market and the migration schemes he was interested in, which are referred to in his biography appended to this research.

Travelling by train in the opposite direction in July 1914, Edwin and Marion Grew passed through Bridgetown and then crossed the Blackwood River. Their description indicates extensive cultivation in the area with 'green crops' and orchards. They believed that the 'country-side was very beautiful, more English, and less unfamiliar-looking, than anything we had yet seen, with steeply undulating hills and valleys' (fig. 3.3). In Bridgetown they thought that comfortable homesteads and a 'tiny stone church' conveyed 'a pleasantly homely and established air'.

> We crossed the beautiful Blackwood river [sic] by a picturesque wooden bridge where the river flows through a deep gorge up which black and white wild duck were sailing. In the fading glow of the sunset the country looked still more English, for the groups of gum trees that crowned the hills were indistinguishable, and the evening light seemed to diffuse an atmosphere of calm contentment over the thriving country-side, as of a day's work well done.[188]

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[186] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.171.
[187] R.J.B. Bosworth, *Italy and the Wider World 1860-1960,* London, Routledge, 1996, p.167.
[188] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, pp.46-48.

Fig 3.3. In 1914 The Grews described this view as English looking with 'steeply undulating hills and valleys'. The photograph shows the extent of cultivation in the area. Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.59.

A visit to the timber mills

Further south than Bridgetown, and east towards Albany was the region of the giant karri trees. Many travellers visited here, possibly in search of a sense of wonder inspired by the Romantic Movement's enthusiasm for natural wilderness scenery, and of the sublime at witnessing the felling of the colossal trees and the sawmill operations. The earliest visitors tended to enter these southern forests by rail from Albany. As new mills opened further west, travellers arrived by train from the direction of Perth in the north.

First though, prior to mills being established to log the trees of the southwest, Marianne North ventured into the karri forests from the Vasse, to visit Mr Brockman at 'The Warren', which was near Pemberton. She insisted on inspecting the karri trees whilst her wrecked carriage was being repaired: 'I spent four delightful hours sketching or resting under those gigantic white pillars. Here she showed no desire to change the landscape to fit European ideals, her love of painting and native vegetation outweighing other influences. She believed that the forests 'were safe to stand because there were no means of taking them away'.[189]

Within seven years Lady Brassey found that means had been devised to remove these giant trees. She set out from Albany to visit a timber mill on tracks that had only been laid the day before as part of the main line under construction to Beverley, and then quit the main track at Torbay and proceeded along a branch line leading into the

[189] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.164.

heart of the forest, of 'massive stems … between thirty and forty feet in circumference and over a hundred feet in height'.[190] She was taken on to a sawmill run by 'the Messrs. Miller' where the sleepers were prepared for the new railway.[191] Here Lady Brassey was taken for a drive over the extremely rough track in a buggy, finding '200 souls suddenly established in the depth of a virgin forest', of which there were about '130 hands engaged in hewing down, sawing, and transporting trees'.

> [T]he married men who live in the forest have nice little three roomed cottages, and those I went into were neatly papered and furnished, and looked delightfully clean and tidy. The single men generally live in a sort of tent with permanent walls of brick or wood, and mess at a boarding-house. … We visited the village shop, which appeared to be well supplied with useful stores, and also the butcher's and carpenter's shops, and the smithy.[192]

At the sawmill Lady Brassey watched jarrah being cut into sleepers. She said that most of the work was done by steam with a little help from the men and horses. She watched large trees being cut down further in the forest, hewn into logs, and dragged away. 'Some of the giants of the forest were really magnificent … all their branches spring from near the summit, so that the shadows cast were quite different from those one is accustomed to see in an ordinary wood.' She described the process of taking out big trees using an apparatus called a 'jinka', a pole on wheels crashing through the forest; a sublime scene that invoked awe and fear. Her description of this emotive scene as 'most picturesque' would have been well understood by contemporaries. The picturesque once again asserts possession; by describing a scene where the forest is cleared for occupation and where the colonists assume the authority to use the land's resources, the viewer is heightening a sense of ownership of territory.

Similar to the methods used on Piesse's property in Katanning, Lady Brassey also described a team of fourteen horses yoked to a strong chain attached by 'large hooks to a trunk of such vast proportions that it seemed as if all the king's horses and all the king's men could never make it stir an inch.' She described three efforts to remove the trunk—after the chain broke, and the hooks became unfastened—before the log could be dragged down to the mill.[193]

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[190] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.234.
[191] Charles and Edwin Miller set up the Torbay Timber Mill to respond to the demand for timber to build the new railways. See Shire of Denmark, 'History of the Shire: The Timber Mills Come and Go', http://www.denmark.wa.gov.au/ourcouncil/history_of_the_shire/1829_to_1905.html, (accessed 19 Aug 2009).
[192] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, pp.236-239.
[193] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* pp.238-239.

Later in 1899 May Vivienne took the same route as Lady Brassey, changing trains to Torbay. The twelve-year gap revealed some land cleared and a timber mill village established further west along the line at Denmark.[194] She visited at the height of their operation, 'the workmen busy night and day, working in relays.'

> The site of the township, covering 150 acres, has, of course, been cleared, and there are many comfortable wooden and slab cottages with nice gardens attached, giving a plentiful supply of fruit and vegetables; as well as a good store…. No liquor is allowed to be sold at the mill on account of the dangerous nature of the occupation, consequently this is a model township. There are several coffee-houses.[195]

She saw a load of timber ready to be shipped to Colombo, and a pile of pickets destined for London to fence two large cemeteries. She said that the wood was used for mining, harbour works, paving and jetty piles all over the world. 'It is difficult to give an idea of the size of the gigantic Karri-trees here. One which I saw was quite hollow, and a bullock team drove right through it with perfect ease.'[196]

In 1905 the Millar brothers ceased milling operations. The availability of timber that was still easily accessible by bullock team and the train line became scarce. After the mill workers left the Millar brothers had planned to dismantle the town.[197] Zunini visited Denmark the following year in a specially organised train along the disused track. He noticed some of the giant trees had been ringbarked. 'However, generally the virgin forest has disappeared and in its place one sees stumps and a dense, vigorously growing scrub.'[198] Zunini's descriptions of the mill town of Denmark provides imagery that is in direct contrast to May Vivienne's.

> On the slopes of gently rolling hill, … was a completely abandoned hamlet, or rather a town. There were some two hundred houses lined up in five or six deserted and silent streets, were the grass grew tall and rank. The doors were tightly closed and the windows boarded up. It seemed as if the entire population had been destroyed by some plague and that the whiff of death had plunged the town, which had previously been animated and full of life, into silence. … We walked through deserted streets. … The native plants were mixed with and entwined among our European varieties; here an enormous stand of red geraniums flowered amid the shiny leaves of a gum sapling … further off a clump of pansies was smothered by Australian

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[194] The Millar brothers had taken advantage of the gold rush and housing boom by building a railway track and two sawmills at Denmark in 1895. See Shire of Denmark, 'The Timber Mills come and Go'; Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia*, pp.288-289.
[195] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia,* p.9.
[196] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia,* p.10. May Vivienne may have been looking at a giant Tingle Tree, which can still retain its structure and growth even after being hollowed out by fire or fungus. http://www.australiassouthwest.com/en/Things_*to*_See_and_Do/Nature_and_Wildlife/Forests/Pages/default.aspx, (accessed 1 October 2009).
[197] Shire of *Denmark*, 'The Timber Mills come and go'. Also see Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, pp.89-90; Mills, 'Timber Industry', pp.872-874.
[198] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today,* p.143.

> clover more than a metre high. Lemon trees and vine shoots were covered with bunches of blue kennedya and the yellow of wild acacia. It is the sight of such luxuriant growth which most strikes visitors after their initial sense of amazement and I would add, of dismay, evoked by the prospect of the abandoned town. We came to the workshops, vast buildings in which more than 500 employees had worked. Some of the machinery was in place and mounds of sawdust were heaped up to the roofs. … Farther off there was another big building, once used as a library, and several churches. Here and there were shops and eating places and, naturally, numerous bars.[199]

It is unlikely Zunini saw bars, as hotels were not built during the Millars' operation because alcohol was prohibited at the mill. These may have been the coffee houses May Vivienne had mentioned.[200]

The railway network had expanded over the years, with many spur lines entering the forests of the southwest to satisfy the demand for timber. In 1914 Edwin and Marion Grew took a special train to the newly opened Big Brook mills near Pemberton, on an official visit organised by the government. They used the South-west train line that Davies had taken, but instead of branching out to Collie went south through Pemberton.

> [W]e could almost feel the great deep silence of the forest, moist, and fresh and cold, in the frost of early morning. … At long intervals solitary wooden houses stood in little clearings, with grave-eyed children before the doorway, shading their eyes to watch the unfamiliar passage of a big train. More seldom we came upon a scattered village of tents, roughly put up like a gipsy encampment, pitched among the damp undergrowth. … As we drew nearer to our journey's end, we passed an occasional small clearing, where the yellow sandy soil had already been planted with apple trees.[201]

The Grew's wrote about Big Brook with its 'keen, pure air, the sweet, clean scent of the fresh-sawn wood, and all round, the illimitable forest, mysterious and impenetrable'.[202]

Here the Grews expressed an observation held by many of the travellers, even as late as 1914, that the Australian continent was so vast that the resources of the land must be limitless.[203] Indeed Zunini stated that 'Western Australia, immense as it was, needed people to exploit its limitless resources'.[204] 'Unfortunately,' he wrote, 'we do not live in a world of poetic idylls and clearing the bush is a necessity in Australia,

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[199] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today,* pp.143-144

[200] This could possibly be a misinterpretation by the translators. In Italy cafes that also sell alcohol are often referred to as bars. The Western Australian government bought the mill town in 1907, a year after Zunini's visit, saving it from demolition. The town eventually grew again, despite the failed government assisted Group Settlements Plan. This was attempted after the First World War, but farmers had struggled with cultivating land covered in gigantic tree stumps and poisoned soil, the final blow for many came during the Depression. See Shire of Denmark, 'The Timber Mills come and go'.

[201] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Western Australia,* pp.37,40.

[202] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Western Australia*, pp.40-41. Since the 1980s Pemberton and the surrounding area has become a popular resort and holiday region for tourists.

[203] Flannery, *The Future Eaters*, p.347.

[204] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.36.

covered as it is by an endless forest'.[205] Zunini appears to sneer, perhaps aware of appeals for conservation, which were just beginning to be considered at the time of his visit in 1906. During these visits in later years, some travellers revealed a sense of concern over the wastage of timber and the destruction of forests. However, they all attempted to reconcile the removal of vast forests of trees as being warranted in order to clear the land for agricultural development. The wastage is evident in Denmark in 1899 and was of concern to May Vivienne:

> Enormous fires are always burning in the town to consume the great heaps of waste from the mills. A pile, about 120 feet high was waiting to be burned, and it did seem a pity that good wood should be reduced to ashes merely to get it out of the way. A scheme for shipping the refuse of the mills to America for conversion into paper has lately been mooted.[206]

By 1914 when the Grews visited Big Brook, it is evident that a lively debate regarding waste was topical at the time:

> Visitors to Australia cannot help being impressed with the waste of timber, which seems appalling to an inhabitant of an over-populated northern country, where everything grows slowly, and every inch of wood has its economic value. ….there has been a deplorable waste of timber, … and it is hoped that further wanton destruction will be prevented, and re-planting will be undertaken by all the states. Official opinion is becoming alive to the importance of the question to the future history of Australia.[207]

But it was another four years before Conservator Charles Lane Poole prepared the Forests Act 1918 to restructure the industry and to look towards reforestation. However, serious conservation in response to the threat of total depletion of hardwood forest did not begin until the 1960s.[208]

Conclusion

This chapter began with fire and ended with fire, seen as essential to clear the land for cultivation, and to change the landscape so that it resembled that of Europe. As a result, in their observations the travellers revealed their pleasure in finding signs of settlement—cattle and sheep grazing, and orchards and gardens flourishing. Their

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[205] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.168.

[206] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia,* p.10. The conservation minded, led by Charles Harper, had successfully held a royal-commission in 1903-1904, which recommended a stricter and fairer system of permits for timber cutting. See Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.89.

[207] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Western Australia,* pp.38-39. Reasons they gave for the waste were the prohibitive cost of transport, and the necessity to clear the country quickly and cheaply. "We can't afford to wait," said one of the leading statesmen of Western Australia, commenting on the waste of timber at Big Brook'.

[208] Mills, 'Timber Industry', p.873. See also B. Dell, J.J. Havel and N. Malajczuk (eds), *The Jarrah Forest: A Complex Mediterranean Ecosystem*, Boston, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989.

distaste in the natural landscape of sand, stunted bush and salt lakes revealed the influence of Enlightenment and Christian values, which often mutually confirmed the impulse to promote the ideals of improvement. It is evident that the season in which the travellers moved through the land had a direct bearing on their appreciation of the natural bush. As well, although primarily dominated by their Euro-centric visions, a few travellers (predominately the women), due to their predispositions, revealed pleasure in the unique flora—particularly the profusion of wildflowers—and fauna of Western Australia. Some even demonstrated an understanding of the issues associated with establishing their world on unfamiliar soils.

A sense of the way that space was changing can be gauged over the years by the evidence of cultivation, of roads improving and railways and ports being built, of towns growing and houses becoming more permanent, and of industry developing in forestry, mines and shipping.

Conspicuous in the travellers' descriptions were comparisons made to spaces with which they were familiar. Travellers tried to make the Australian landscape conform to the European tastes for the picturesque, and there was a common tendency for them to evoke comparisons with European scenes and to employ descriptive techniques that were 'acceptable' to European readers. Like artists and photographers, textually travellers removed, shifted or heightened the effects of dramatic perspectives in order to appeal to the increasingly Romantic taste for the picturesque. Thus they left out the un-picturesque, and turned hills into mountains and waterways into rivers to create the picturesque image so valued in European culture.

The Grews' overall impression of the southwest landscape in 1914 reproduced below, indicates a recognition of the difficulty Europeans had with the Australian landscape. Moreover the quotation is useful in revealing an appreciation of the differences between the Australian and British landscape.

> The general effect of Australian landscape to English eyes produces an impression of austerity. It is never friendly, perhaps because of the general absence of water, the sombre wooded hills, the vast dune plains, have something aloof and forbidding. From pictures and photographs one is led to suppose that Australian scenery is not unlike that of England. It is wholly and entirely different, not only in its atmospheric effect, and in the more uniform and heavier colouring of its foliage, but every individual plant is unfamiliar. … The gums have many varieties, far too numerous for the traveller to distinguish, from the slight pale trees that are not unlike a silver-barked birch, to the soaring giants of the karri forest, with their smooth white stems; but whatever the variety, the prevailing tinge is a bluish grey. Sometimes the forest or 'bush' has been cleared away to make room for orchards, and crops, or towns, or grazing land; sometimes acres of trees

> have been 'ringbarked', … and only a skeleton forest remains, letting in light and air to the soil. But the 'bush' is never very far away. It seems to be only waiting to close in again, and swallow up once more what has been so laboriously cleared. West, east, north, and south, the gum tree predominates, though the bush varies in the nature of its undergrowth.[209]

In the next chapter the changing space of the Swan and Avon Valley, and the goldfields is examined.

[209] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, pp.14-15.

Chapter 4

An Imagined Space: Travellers' Observations of the Swan and Avon River Regions and the Eastern Goldfields

This chapter examines the European travellers' observations about space in the Swan River Region and east to the goldfields of Western Australia in two parts. Part One looks at the visitors' impressions of Swan River, including Fremantle, Perth and Guildford, and then their observations of settlements over the Darling Scarp in the Avon Valley. Part Two follows the travellers' journeys towards the eastern goldfields of Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie.

Part One - The Swan River and Avon Valley Regions

The Port Town of Fremantle

> *[Fremantle] is not an impressive looking place. A hard mass of white stone on a barren shore is the first impression, and it is one that remains.*
>
> (Gilbert Parker, 1889)[1]

A first impression

The absence of a natural harbour and the exposed conditions made landing at Fremantle very difficult for boats prior to a quay being built by C.Y. O'Connor in 1897. For those travellers who had arrived on a supply boat or coastal steamer service from Albany, their first sighting of the town and surrounding land was from their anchorage in Gage's

[1] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.389.

Roads.[2] In February 1855 Frederick Mackie viewed 'a long line of low sandy hills covered with short dark brown scrub'.[3] In December 1863 Mrs Millett saw 'tall heavy-topped trees' that reminded her of Scotch firs, only because they were tall with their foliage mainly upon the uppermost branches[4], which Alfred Wood, in January 1876, called 'used up brooms standing on end'[5]. In the same year Henry Taunton spoke for most of the travellers when he said:

> The most optimistic traveller could hardly be enraptured with the scenery when approaching the port of Fremantle. … Right ahead, and as far as one could discern on either hand stretched out a low range of glistening white sandhills, with hardly a sign of vegetation; whilst far inland, a long range of hills, apparently thickly wooded, afford a grateful change from the ineffable dreariness of the coast-line.[6]

Even the newly completed harbour failed to impress Count Fritz von Hochberg when he landed in November 1907.

> Never, thank goodness, have my eyes seen such a desolate, untidy, miserable country. And mind, the sky was blue, and the sun shining. But is it blue sky? Is it sun shining? I don't think they have things like sun and sky in this blessed island, everything seems topsy-turvy.[7]

Clearly the travellers were well informed about the antipodean and notions of inversion, even before they have set foot on shore. Digressing for a moment, Mrs Millett articulated these notions well when she discussed some opposing anomalies she found in the environment after a length of stay in the 1860s.

> It was a long while before I became accustomed to the change of seasons, and I seemed to lose my count of time with the absence of the landmarks … that record its flight in the other hemisphere. … But never did the weather seem so little in accordance with our feelings as at Christmas, when the heat was so great as to make all exertion a burden. …The colour of the leaves … is of a browner and more sombre-looking green than is seen in the foliage of our deciduous trees at home.[8]

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[2] The first steamer to operate from Albany via Vasse and Fremantle to Geraldton was the *Georgette* in 1873. After it was wrecked in 1876 it was superseded by the *Rob Roy*. See Gordon de L. Marshall, *Maritime Albany Remembered: Les Douglas Et Al*, Kalamunda, Tangee Pty Ltd., 2001, p.76. From 1900 the mail steamships, *P & O* and *Orient* ships, were able to enter its new harbour. See Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia,* vol.I, p.827.
[3] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.266.
[4] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.11.
[5] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, pp.108-110.
[6] Henry Taunton, *Australind: Wanderings in Western Australia and the Malay East*, [Manuscript], London, Edward Arnold, Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, SLV - SLT 919.41 T19, 1903, pp.2-4. This was the hand written manuscript used by Edward Arnold to publish under the same title.
[7] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.20.
[8] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, pp.113, 117. She went on to say 'From this want of change in the face of nature, this constant sameness of the foliage of the trees, the young people of Australia are at a disadvantage when compared with those of England; since so much which is written by the poets and illustrated by the painters of the old country can touch no answering chord in their remembrances of the world around them.' This comment reinforces the notion that Australia was not as superior as Britain.

When Mrs Millett first arrived in 1863 she found that 'the pleasurable feeling' of seeing the mainland was marred by the view of the long white convict prison on the hill.[9] This building was mentioned by most of the travellers because it dominated the skyline of Fremantle. In March 1872 Anthony Trollope, and similarly Gilbert Parker in 1889, thought that the landmark overwhelmed the town. Trollope compared it to the ex-convict station at Port Arthur, considering it an uninteresting place in comparison. 'Fremantle has certainly no natural beauties to recommend it. It is a hot, white, ugly town, with a very large prison, a lunatic asylum, and a hospital for ancient worn-out convicts.'[10]

Generally, the travellers' first impression of Western Australia did not improve on disembarking at Fremantle. Mackie, as he stepped ashore in 1855, revealed an impression frequently expressed by arriving visitors viewing Fremantle for the first time. As he walked through town in search of lodgings he was 'almost dazzled with the bright glare of light, the ground is white and the buildings are white, there is little that is green or dark coloured for the eye to rest upon'.[11] Frederick Ayres attributed the 'great many people with sore eyes' to the 'glaring white' limestone roads and streets, when he arrived at the seaport-town in March 1889.[12] Edwin and Marion Grew arrived in July 1914. Although they were acquainted with the 'brilliant unvarying Australian sunshine' in other ports, they found it strange in Fremantle:

> it seemed as if we were wandering in a land of limelight; its hard dazzling white brilliance appeared artificial and unreal. There seemed to be an absence of chiaroscuro, and of atmosphere, the clear-cut distance gave an illusory impression of nearness, annihilating perspective; the eucalyptus

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[9] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.11. Using limestone quarried on the site, the convict prison—'The Establishment'—was built by convict labour between 1852 and 1859. The first prisoners moved into the main cell block in 1855. It was renamed Fremantle Prison in 1867, a year before transportation of convicts to Western Australia ceased. See M. Bosworth, *Convict Fremantle: A Place of Promise and Punishment*, Crawley, University of Western Australia Press, 2004. In 1854 traveller Harvey described it as an 'enormous convict establishment one wing of which (to hold 300) is nearly finished … pitch dark lock-up cells, & certainly Jack Sheppard would deserve his liberty if he broke through them—Walls four feet thick, arch roof bombproof, of rubble cemented together'. Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.108. Jack Sheppard (1702 – 1724) was a notorious London thief renowned for his four successful escapes from imprisonment. He was hung after his fifth arrest in 1724. Sheppard's fame was revived in 1839 when William Harrison Ainsworth wrote a novel entitled *Jack Sheppard*, which may have prompted the association Harvey made. See Philip Sugden, 'Sheppard, John [Jack] (1702–1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.uwa.edu.au/view/article/25343?docPos=1>, (accessed 4 Sept 2009)

[10] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.582. Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.390. Fremantle Lunatic Asylum was completed in 1865.

[11] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.266.

[12] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 25 Mar 1889.

> with their light, springing branches, sparsely covered with long, narrow leaves, give little shade.[13]

This verbal description captures the unique light and shade of the Australian atmosphere. It was only in the late nineteenth century that colonial artists began to paint Australia in this way, as opposed to earlier representations of colonial scenery which used European techniques that imitated northern hemisphere lights and hues.

Many of the travellers who arrived in summer, like Mackie, described a bleak scene of inactivity and sparse vegetation.

> The streets are of loose sand, or dusty limestone, we saw in them no vehicles, no horses, a man now and then with straw or white helmet looking hats [sic] on. The patches of ground about the houses have frequently a vine and fig tree in them, but gardening is not attempted, the soil is too sandy and arid. The first query that is suggested to the mind is what can have induced man to attempt to make such a spot a home.[14]

He noticed no sign of trade, only about six vessels at anchor, which were mainly American whalers. Having arrived mid summer did not improve the aspect, with little shade, and with only low spreading succulent leaved evergreen plants suited for an arid soil.[15]

> A great want of comfort both inside and *outside* their dwellings, hillocks of drifting sand almost threaten to bury some, and the low stone walls partly falling down which everywhere separate the plots of land are frequently nearly lost in the drifts. To see these crumbling walls surrounding hillocks of sand partially grown over with tufts of rushes and grass gives an idea of desolation and barrenness that can hardly be exceeded.[16]

Eight years later Mrs Millett found partially built streets and unpaved footpaths, which gave an unfinished aspect. The wind blown sand peppered fig-trees and geranium gardens, which she thought gave an untidy appearance. 'The heat was extreme, the month being December, the Australian midsummer, and our feet were quite burnt in walking through … deep sand.'[17] Mrs Millett found that Fremantle appeared to be bare and deserted because open fruit and fish stalls were dispersed throughout the town, rather than clustered together.[18] Thirteen years later in April 1876, Taunton, although still not very complimentary, represents the town as a little more prosperous, describing it as 'a city of public-houses, flies, sand, limestone, convicts, and stacks of

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[13] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.13.
[14] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.266.
[15] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.266.
[16] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.267.
[17] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.13.
[18] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.17.

sandalwood.'[19] These public houses must have been a feature for a while; for in 1854 what William Harvey liked least in Fremantle was that every third shop was a 'grog-shop'.[20]

Marianne North had the advantage of arriving in late spring, and with her interest in wildflower painting she took a closer look at the sandbanks of Fremantle in November 1880, which were 'edged with delicate little shrubby plants, then out of flower, but their leaves and twigs had a whitish look, and seemed to harmonise with the dazzling white sand in a way that green leaves would not have done'.[21] However, also arriving in November twenty-seven years later, Hochberg, the eternal pessimist, also found Fremantle unattractive, although he was lucky enough to walk on paved streets.

> Fremantle, closed up in Sabbath virtuousness, can't be called attractive. One-storied, corrugated-iron shanties form its dismal streets, and you walk on asphalt pavement soft with heat. A fresh wind, that, to judge by the few bush-like trees one sees about, seems always to sweep over this dismal place, raises enormous dust-clouds.[22]

However, when travellers approached Fremantle from Perth their comments were generally more favourable. In November 1883 Lady Broome's first view was of the broad Swan River, then some bush, then a small rise revealing a view of Rottnest and 'all the islands out at sea', which she found all very charming and lovely. After crossing the 'long steep and narrow bridge' she found 'suburbs' very pretty with 'neat, nice little houses, standing in gay gardens' just before arriving into the port town.[23] Julius Price passed under the old wooden bridge by boat in 1895. '[T]he structure, which resembled some huge centipede in its bare nakedness of outline, appeared in no way deteriorated, and I was informed that not a flaw had been detected in it since the day it was built.'[24] About seventeen years later May Vivienne also approached Fremantle from Perth, and recorded a pleasant view from near the bridge crossing to East Fremantle, with ships at

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[19] Taunton, *Australind*, p.4. Taunton arrived at the time that the 'celebrated' whaling schooner Catalpa had just succeeded in absconding six Irish Fenian convicts to the United States 'right from under the noses of the authorities.' He said that 'the whole colony, was in an uproar at the time'. Taunton, *Australind*, p.5. For the story of the convict escape see George Russo, *Race for the Catalpa: The Fenian Escape Story,* Perth, Lynward Enterprises, 1986.
[20] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.108.
[21] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.155.
[22] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.26. An article in *The New York Times* described him as a pessimist. See appended biography.
[23] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.83. Convict labour was used to build the first bridge over the river in 1866.
[24] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.41. This bridge was originally built by convict labour in 1866. See Megahey, 'Convict Labour', p.237.

anchor, small river boats and steamers, and 'pretty houses; … and altogether the scene was truly a grand one.'[25]

A journey to Perth

The journey between Perth and Fremantle could be made by steam launch on the Swan River, or by road, or after 1881 by rail. All these routes provided the travellers with views of the expanding suburbs. At the height of summer in January 1877, the 'barren and sandy' scenery made little impression on Wood, as he made his way by road towards Perth. Closer to Perth 'the road-side began to be fringed with bushes, among which little flocks of goats were browsing' until at last found ourselves beneath the world-famed Gum-tees of Australia.[26] The 'coach' to Perth was an open four-wheeled van with an awning drawn by two horses. His return journey to Fremantle was made by one of the two public transport steamers, which he thought was more enjoyable than by road. From this perspective he found that the banks were mostly well covered with bush.[27] Gilbert Parker took the steam launch twelve years later, in summer 1889, thinking it was 'a marvellously pretty journey. … We passed some fine homesteads and some beautiful gardens, fronted by groves of bamboo or banana, and saw some exquisite bits of shore and wooded upland.'[28]

Later travellers recorded evidence of suburban growth. In winter 1895 Julius Price travelled on a government steam launch up the 'placid' river from Perth. He described the riverside suburbs of Claremont, Peppermint Grove, and Cottesloe as beautiful 'nestling among the trees'.[29] Three years later Jonathan Ceredig Davies considered that Claremont and Cottesloe were quickly becoming Perth's 'fashionable quarters' with 'many fine private houses.'[30]

After the railway was completed in 1881 the train became a more popular mode of transport from Fremantle to Perth.[31] Catherine Bond took the train in June 1896, and thought it was 'pretty all the way', and noticed land being cleared for building.[32] Davies prophesised in 1898 that the 'metropolis' and the port would soon unite into 'one long

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[25] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.44.
[26] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.115.
[27] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.117.
[28] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.389.
[29] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.39. Price included Cottesloe in his description of 'riverside suburbs', although technically it is considered a beachside suburb. Part of the suburb was changed to become known as Peppermint Grove. See Town of Cottesloe, History, http://www.cottesloe.wa.gov.au/?p=60, (accessed 4 Apr 2010).
[30] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.80.
[31] Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia,* vol.I, p.461.
[32] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.18.

town of over twelve miles'.[33] However, in February 1901 Charles Hawes only 'saw scrub and burning sand' from the train after not such a 'pleasing introduction to Australia', having landed in hot weather.[34] And six years later, in late spring, Hochberg continued to build on his rhetoric of displeasure with Western Australia as he made the train journey to Perth.

> It is certainly the ugliest thing I've ever seen. The bush-like trees (I didn't see any big ones) are mostly the different varieties of eucalyptus and a sort of tamarisk and acacia. They're all squat, wind-swept, and torn, broken, distorted and untidy, wretched-looking, half-dry; their foliage and needles a duller colour than the Italian olives. They stand about in a dishevelled way, not in woods, but each tree more or less by itself, and everything growing out of yellow-whitish sand. A thin, grey-green undergrowth, already partly burned brown by the sun. There are no real roads, but untidy tracks across just everywhere, a world of wind and dust. I would call it Nature's riffraff, or Nature's dust-pit — as if everything worn-out, smashed, broken, used, torn, for which Nature had no more use, had been thrown here in a large dust-pit, had been emptied out here anyhow.[35]

Hochburg returned to Fremantle by train after his stay in Perth, revealing little reconciliation with the natural or built environment, once again demonstrating his distaste for corrugated iron. He said he passed through the 'hideous, sandy, untidy, wind-swept bush country, with its ramshackle, corrugated-iron shanties and endless untidy wood-Railings' [sic].[36] Seven years later the Grews took the half hour railway journey to Perth in the winter of 1914. Although disorder and untidiness seemed to prevail, the Grews saw it as progress and growth.

> [The train] runs through other little garden suburbs, for all Australian towns straggle out for many miles into the country, and cover a very large extent of ground. Space is unlimited, and nobody's domain large or small, need elbow that of his neighbour. … These suburbs have an air of having loose ends left hanging out. … So bordering the low fences are rough undergrowth and gum trees and banksias, and coarse wiry grass the beginning and the end of the bush.[37]

This passage when compared to Hochberg's demonstrates how personalities can have an influence on individual's impressions. However, the above extracts show that generally a better impression of Fremantle and its surroundings was had by overland travellers from Albany approaching from the direction of Perth, rather than those who arrived by sea.

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[33] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.104.
[34] Charles H. Hawes, *The Diaries of Charles H. Hawes C1887-1935*, Oxford, Special Collections, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc.b.443, October 1900 – December 1901, p.190.
[35] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.22.
[36] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.26.
[37] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, pp.18,19.

The Capital Town of Perth

A first impression

Like Fremantle, the travellers' first impressions of Perth also depended on the direction from which they approached the town. They arrived at Perth by river steamer or road from Fremantle, or overland from Albany in the south, either via the old coach road, or after 1889 by train. On approaching Perth by boat from Fremantle in early March 1855, Frederick Mackie, like most travellers, thought that 'this small quiet town is a vast improvement upon Fremantle'.

> [T]he banks on each side were slightly elevated and thinly wooded. … Here are comfortable looking residences embosomed in trees and green grass covering the ground; the town rises gently from the water's edge, which spreads out a fine sheet of water in front (fig. 4.1).[38]

Fig. 4.1. 'The town rises gently….' Mackie's 1855 sketch of Perth from Mount Eliza looking east along St George's Tce, in Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.263

Eight years later Mrs Millett also arrived from Fremantle. She thought the Swan resembled an arm of the sea rather than a river, its expanse of land-locked water, she thought, 'would form one of the finest natural harbours in the world were it not for the bar at the river's mouth.'[39] Mrs Millett was unaware of how shallow the river was near Perth, or of future plans to remove the sand bar.

> Whether approached by the river or the road, the picturesque appearance of Perth cannot fail to excite admiration. The bold promontory of Mount Eliza screens the colonial metropolis from view almost till the moment of reaching it, and when this point is rounded the eye is at once attracted by a

[38] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.273.
[39] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.20.

> steep bank sloping rapidly down to the river, crowned with many pretty residences covered with luxuriant creepers, whilst the orange trees and bamboos with which the gardens are filled form a rich foreground in front of the houses, the mass of green foliage descending almost as low as the water's edge.[40]

The anomalies in perspective between Mackie's 'the ground rises gently from the water' and Mrs Millett's 'a steep bank sloping rapidly down to the river', indicates how memories along with interpretations and adjectives used to judge space can vary, thus creating a different image.

Most travellers commented about the breadth of the Swan River near Perth. In 1889 Parker stated that other than Sydney no city in Australia could boast 'a nobler sheet of water at their doors'.[41] In 1898 Davies thought that in order to get the best view of Perth and the waterfront, visitors should make the journey from Fremantle by boat and not by train. Davies believed the city had an 'imposing appearance' because Government House and the 'fashionable quarters' were nearer the banks of the river and hid 'the less pretentious streets'.[42]

The river presented scenes of leisurely pursuits to most of the travellers. Parker noticed 'the broad stream … dotted with yachts'.[43] As did Vivienne in 1899, seeing yachts, and boats and steamers ferrying passengers between South Perth and other shores, plying between 'hundreds' of black swans.[44] And around 1912 Mary Hall saw the sailing club and boat-house projecting from the shore-line at Perth.[45] C. T. Stannage claimed that yachts on the Swan River were considered a status symbol by the Perth elite, and formed part of the 'romanticism' of the view watched from the shoreline, even by the poorer residents.[46] Parker participated in these pursuits by going 'crab-fishing' after sailing over the bay, and looking back at the road he could see 'a couple of breweries' and a 'small building among the gums and bamboos' which he was told was 'an alms-house, where indigent and helpless West Australians resort'.[47] Ten years later

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[40] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.21.
[41] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.384.
[42] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.78.
[43] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.387.
[44] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, pp.17.22.
[45] Mary Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes, and in the Far East*, London, Methuean & Co Ltd, 1914, p.142. This was the Royal Perth Yacht Club. See George Seddon and David Ravine, *A City and Its Setting: Images of Perth, Western Australia*, Fremantle, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1986, pp.126,177.
[46] C. T. Stannage, *The People of Perth: A Social History of Western Australia's Capital City*, Perth, Perth City Council, 1979, p.315.
[47] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.387. A number of breweries including the Stanley, the Lion and the Swan Brewery were operating at the foot of Mt Eliza around the time Parker visited. See http://www.australianbeers.com/history/swan.htm (accessed 1 Sep 09); Suzanne Welborn, 'Brewing and Breweries', in Gregory and Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* p.141, Stannage, *The People of Perth*, p.50.

May Vivienne also mentioned the Swan Brewery and the 'Old Men's Depot' at the foot of Mount Eliza.[48]

When approaching Perth by road from Fremantle, especially the drive around Mount Eliza, the travellers consistently praised the drive and its scenic advantage. In 1889 Parker thought that it was one of the prettiest suburban drives in Australia, and very popular for afternoon 'traps and riding parties'.[49] Parker, Bobby Tyler in 1895, and a year later Catherine Bond, wrote about large banana trees growing in great quantities along the pretty drive around Mount Eliza.[50] Catherine found road-making, and building going 'on in all directions'. However in some places the road was deep in sand, making it difficult for the horses.[51]

Edwin and Marion Grew had the final view in this study of the approaches to Perth from the direction of Fremantle, as they walked from their accommodation in Cottesloe to a rise looking out over the Swan River in 1914:

> [T]he broad river lay glassy in the heat of the sun, blue as the Lake of Geneva on a summer's day. Its wooded banks run out in little spits of land with white sandy foreshores, one or two small white-sailed boats were floating idly on it, and some water-fowl swam on its unruffled surface. The foliage of the gums with which its banks are covered is dark and uniform in colour, and had the massive effect of our trees in autumn, before the leaves have begun to turn. The air was heavy with the scent of some white-flowering shrub, the stillness was unbroken except by the note of a magpie; the place seemed a paradise. … It left an ineffaceable impression, and we never again saw anything more beautiful than that view.[52]

Once again, other places and 'home' are referred to and, notably, the Grews were aware of scented flowers and singing magpies, a moot point among the travellers. Although describing a section of the river further downstream, this image, like the other descriptions held by the travellers who approached Perth from the west, represents the arcadian view, a harmonious aspect where nature and city are at one with each other.[53]

Travellers entering Perth from a south or south-easterly direction via the overland route from Albany drew a contrasting picture. William Harvey approached Perth by

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[48] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.22. The Old Men's Depot was probably what Parker was also referring to, an institution for old destitute men, some being ex-convicts, who were unable to support themselves, possibly on the old Mt Eliza Convict Depot site. There were 265 inmates at the time Vivienne visited. See Stannage, *The People of Perth,* p.258; Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.38.

[49] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.387.

[50] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.387; Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.66; Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.16.

[51] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.16.

[52] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.16.

[53] Seddon and Ravine, A City and Its Setting, p.57. See pp.54-58 for analysis of a broader timeframe and history of views and perspectives of Perth across time to the present day through the interplay between image and artefacts.

crossing the Canning River by a 'new' bridge in April 1854,[54] through a grass plain considerably cultivated and thinly sprinkled with large trees. It reminded him 'of a desolated Irish nobleman's Park—a sort of Castle Rackrent Domain where some fine trees were still standing in the neglected fields'. A mere cart-track through clay or sand took them past the odd broken fence and half ruined house'.[55] Harvey refers to an Irish park, demonstrating that although most travellers made park-like associations, the tendency was to connect it with their homes, Harvey being Irish.

Harvey crossed the causeway and made his way up a gently rising hill leading him up the main street.[56] The journey from Albany had taken him eleven days.[57] By comparison, just over forty years later, in winter 1895, Julius Price made an overnight journey by train from Albany.[58] As he approached Perth:

> the appearance of the country rapidly improved, the bush almost imperceptibly disappearing giving place to prosperous-looking agricultural districts, splendid grass-land and well-laid roads then appeared, and everything round one gave indications of our approach to the centre of the civilisation of the Colony.[59]

Once again, to the imperial eye of the traveller, roads and agriculture signified prosperity, improvement, and authority over nature, and yet not achieved without some hardship as reflected in Harvey's earlier view. Three years later Jonathan Ceredig Davies also arrived from Albany on the train, however his view was not as favourable, perhaps because, unlike Price, he arrived in the middle of summer.

> Approaching the town as I did ... on a very hot morning during the hot and dry season, when the surrounding country was very much parched, the first glimpse of the outskirts was enough to make one think that Perth was nothing but a town of sand, in which a man would sink nearly to his ankles in Walking [sic] about.[60]

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[54] The first Bridge over the Canning River had been built in 1849. See City of South Perth Municipal inventory, Place No. CB7. Ayres had camped further up the Canning River, which he thought was 'very small more like a creek. In fact just like most of the rivers in this country, with the exception that this is running at present and they are not.' Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 15 Dec, 1888.

[55] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* pp.103-4. Castle Rackrent was a popular Irish novel by Maria Edgeworth (1800) about a profligate landlord in Ireland in the eighteenth century. See Sharon Jude Murphy, 'Castle Rackrent', *The Literary Encyclopedia* <http://www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=6131>, (accessed 7 Sep 2009)

[56] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.105. The Causeway was first built in 1843. See 'State Register of Heritage Places', Causeway Bridges.

[57] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.106.

[58] He used the Great Southern Railway from Albany to Beverley completed in 1889, which connected to the line to Perth constructed earlier in 1886.

[59] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.25.

[60] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.76. He confirms what generally seems to be the case, that 'travelling to Perth from Albany by the Great Southern Railway, … people had the first view of it under a very great disadvantage. Adding to this the wearisome effects of a night's railway journey, … after a long voyage'.

The travellers recorded a sense of the growth and expansion of Perth over the decades. In 1854, Harvey said that Perth consisted of a grid system of streets, with houses that were 'few & far between, about 2,500 inhabitants being scattered over a space perhaps as large as that occupied by the City of Limerick—But Perth has been planned for what it is to be when it grows big'.[61] The most conspicuous buildings he could see were the church, the hospital, and the nearly completed school house styled as an 'old English Gothic building', and the Roman Catholic Convent for 'young ladies'.[62] A year later, like Harvey, Mackie also thought Perth was planned to be 'a considerable town'. He wrote that the broad streets at right angles to one another were only firm at the centre, as were the pathways, 'but elsewhere it is a deep running sand'.[63]

Most travellers commented on the tree-lined streets and the flower gardens around the houses. They delighted Mrs Millett, presenting a 'look of cheerfulness and brightness'. Oleander trees were 'full of blossom, looking like gigantic bouquets; and geranium bushes were so common that I saw clothes hung out to dry upon them'. She thought that the newcomer might feel that a home in Perth 'might be a very pleasant one'.[64] Visiting fifty years later Mary Hall also found Perth to be 'a charmingly situated town' and, like Mrs Millett, imagined it to be 'a very agreeable place of residence'.[65]

The town of Perth had grown from Harvey's estimate in 1854 of 2,500 inhabitants, to Ayres' in 1888 of about seven thousand. Although Ayres thought the Town Hall was 'very nice' and that there were a few other good buildings, he believed that the town did not have the 'appearance of a thriving city'.[66] A year later Thomas Ward found that a lot of the old buildings in Perth were being replaced, but they made

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[61] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.106.

[62] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.106. The church was probably the impressive Georgian style St George's Church, built 1845, or possibly the smaller Church of St John the Apostle and Evangelist (St John's Pro-Cathedral) built in 1844. The colonial hospital was built by convict labour in 1853, and the Old Perth Boys School was built in 1853 by WA Sanford in an early Gothic Revival style, which closely resembled a church. The Convent of the Holy Cross was built in 1846. St George's church was demolished and replaced by St George's Cathedral commenced in 1880, built in the gothic taste, and the colonial hospital is now part of Royal Perth hospital complex. Pitt Morison and White, 'Builders and Buildings', p.526. See also Gregory and Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* p.237; 'State Register of Heritage Places', database; Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.26.; Seddon and Ravine, *A City and Its Setting,* p.150.

[63] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.274. The Colonial Hospital was built in Murray St in 1855. See 'State Register of Heritage Places', database.

[64] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, pp.21-26.

[65] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.142.

[66] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 18 Nov 88. The Perth Town Hall was built using convict labour between 1868-1870. It was in free gothic style modelled on a 14th Century market town. See 'State Register of Heritage Places', *Heritage Council of Western Australia* <http://register.heritage.wa.gov.au>, (accessed 14 Sep 2009).

the town no more imposing. He thought it was a 'remarkably compact place for an Australian town', obviously having become more built-up since its scattered appearance mentioned by earlier travellers. In January the same year, Parker, like Ayres and Ward, considered that Perth had no 'bounce about it; it is built for use, and that use is an humble one'.[67] He was disappointed in the architecture, finding it simple and 'pious looking'. This impression may be attributed to the Gothic Revival style of many of the main buildings that had been endorsed by colonial secretary W.A. Sanford, and architect and Superintendent of Works R.R. Jewell.[68] Parker thought that the 'early West Australians must have had a mania for pillared architecture'. He could not understand why buildings with colonnades were not built considering the intense heat in summer. He said the exception was the Governor's residence, which he described as a turreted building, with colonnades. He admired the setting of the house in 'luxuriant' gardens.[69]

Government House and its gardens, as described by Parker, were greatly admired by visitors to Perth. The house was built in 1863 in the then popular Gothic Revival style, replacing the first government house which had become 'very shabby, … like a very 3rd or 4th Rate English House', according to Harvey who had visited in 1854.[70] In 1863 Mrs Millett wrote about the 'green lawn' of 'Indian coutch [sic] grass, which is the only sort yet discovered that can stand the summer suns without being burnt up into hay'.[71] Lady Broome, who resided in Government House from 1883-1889, wrote that the gardens were then on sloping terraces down to the edge of the Swan River, and that they also kept stables, cows, chickens, and pigs.[72] Later in 1895 Catherine Bond, who, like many of the travellers, dined often at Government House with its 'fine hall and reception rooms', thought the situation and gardens beautiful,[73] as did Davies a few years later.[74]

Granted that Government House was the showpiece of Perth during its early development, the town centre's streets and buildings also stimulated comment. Price thought the broad streets of Perth very picturesque when he arrived in 1895.[75] However he thought that Hay Street, the principal business street, was too narrow with small

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[67] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.382.
[68] Pitt Morison and White, 'Builders and Buildings', p.526.
[69] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.385.
[70] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.106.
[71] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.27.
[72] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.46.
[73] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.18.
[74] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.17.
[75] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.29.

indistinct buildings with an occasional imposing structure, which, he said, 'only seem to show up the remainder in strong contrast.' (Fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2. 'Narrow' Hay Street in 1895. In Price, *The Land of Gold,* p.33.[76]

A few years later Davies thought the same, the narrow street a drawback for such a major place of business, making it difficult to walk along through the large crowds of evening pedestrians viewing the good window displays in the fashionable shops.[77] The wider St. George's Terrace, Price believed, was 'a really handsome thoroughfare'. On this street Catherine Bond attended the service at 'the Cathedral' in 1896, saying that it was 'built in a fine avenue, where there are only handsome buildings.'[78] By 1898, Davies wrote that the mansions of the well-to-do and retired West Australian families were situated along St. George's and Adelaide Terraces. 'The "Terrace" is, in fact, the Belgravia of Perth, and it is the ambition of most people of any social pretensions to secure a residence there'.[79] The pretentiousness that existed in Perth society will be discussed in the next chapter.

Price stayed in this general vicinity at the Weld Club, which was, in his opinion, 'the finest architectural achievement in the city; whilst it is also certainly one of the best organised and managed clubs I was ever in anywhere.'[80] The building was designed to

[76] This photograph also appeared in Calvert's and Vivienne's publications. Many photos are replicated in Calvert, Price, Radclyffe, Bond, Tyler and Vivienne, indicating that these photographs were for sale to visitors in the latter half of the 1890s.
[77] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.80.
[78] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.19. St. George's Cathedral completed in 1888.
[79] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.80.
[80] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.33-34. The Weld Club was founded in 1871, as an exclusive gentlemen's club, named in honour of Sir Frederick Weld, the Governor of Western Australia from 1869-75. With the patronage of the Governor and a select membership of the colonial gentry and government officials, the

accommodate men of high social standing for meetings, recreation and short-term residential requirements. For this reason Price and a number of other travellers were qualified to patronise the club and use its amenities. One of these travellers was Hochberg, who arrived in November 1907.

> [We were] most amiably installed, servants and all, in the most delightful Weld Club. It is charming, and so well situated, overlooking its lovely flowered grounds, the cricket grounds and the river.… In the gardens, carnations and lilies, marigolds, tobacco plants, geraniums and pelargoniums are in flower, and the loggias are garlanded by red and white passion flowers, bougainvillias, nasturtiums, and the big-blossomed white banksias. But although I write all this, it is not the luxuriant growth one would see in English or Italian gardens, or about Cairo; the flowers look as if they apologised for being here, and over everything sweeps that eternal howling wind.[81]

It is interesting that Hochberg was the only traveller to write much about Perth's well-known prevailing winds.

The travellers arriving in Perth during the booming years of the gold rush saw the installation of electricity, and an improvement in the infrastructure. In 1895 Price thought that the health of the city, the water supply and sanitary conditions very good, with a low death rate.[82] Price's observations, however, were ill-informed. Sewerage and drainage were very poor, and from time to time the water supply was polluted, resulting in typhoid cases rising to epidemic proportions in these years. Price may have been unaware of this fact because he only mixed with Perth's privileged society who lived in areas with more generous supplies of water, which was squandered indifferently according to Su-Jane Hunt and Geoffrey Bolton's research, with little heed payed to the difficulties suffered by the majority of Perth residents.[83] However Price considered the

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Weld Club was an influential forum for the discussion of politics and policy. It was officially opened on 22 December 1892, and still stands at 3 Barrack Street. *Australian Heritage Database* <http://www.environment.gov.au>, (accessed 10 Sep 2009). For comprehensive history see Paul de Serville, *3 Barrack Street: The Weld Club 1871-2001*, Wahroonga, Helicon Press, 2003.

[81] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.21.

[82] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.36.

[83] In 1895, when Price visited, there were 566 typhoid cases and 70 deaths in Perth, caused by the population explosion coupled with an inefficient water supply and sewerage problems. The new Victoria Dam built in 1891 was found to be contaminated by a timber mill in the catchment area. In 1897, when typhoid cases had reached 1408 with 134 deaths, a sample of the water from the reservoir was found to contain the bacteria causing typhoid fever. In response to this, the Colonial Government took action and strict by-laws were implemented to prosecute any cases of pollution of the water catchment. Also, a channel was cut to divert the polluted Munday Brook water away from the reservoir. Sewerage disposal was also an ongoing problem, with municipal engineers grappling with ideas to keep up with the expanding suburbs and increasing waste and drainage problems. Su-Jane Hunt and Geoffrey Bolton, 'Cleansing the Dunghill: Water Supply and Sanitation in Perth 1878-1912', *Studies in Western Australian History*, vol.II, 1978, pp. 1-17, p.11, 13; Morony, F. B., *Water the Abiding Challenge*, Perth, Metropolitan Water Board, 1980, pp.54-56; Asa Wahlquist, *Thirsty Country: Options for Australia*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2008, p.100.

infrastructure sadly lacking, with no trams, cable cars or electric lighting. 'Beyond a few dilapidated hansom cabs which ply for hire at ruinous fares, there is absolutely no means of locomotion from one end of the town to the other. … On dark nights a few gas jets and the oil lamps in the different stores are all that illumine the surroundings.'[84] Journalist Raymond Radclyffe paid Western Australia a visit at the height of the gold rush in 1896. Although he said Perth was growing faster than builders could keep up with, he felt that it had its limitations.

> Perth itself is a pretty little place enough, but even Perth has hardly a dozen buildings over two stories in height, and half a mile from the town-hall you must plough your way through sand over roads which are sometimes impassable.[85]

Like Radclyffe, Davies also saw some dusty sandy streets when he arrived two years later. However, after a year he witnessed the arrival of electric tramcars and signs of prosperity with well-dressed men and women on the crowded pavements of Hay Street.[86] In 1899 May Vivienne saw 'a handsome and prosperous city, with noble buildings on all sides, electric light, tramcars, beautiful parks around it, and yachts dancing on the broad waters of the Swan River,'[87] signs that the economy was booming from the wealth derived from gold. Likewise, in February 1901 Charles Hawes found a town, now with 'a population of 50,000, … in course of building; wooden shanties jostle big pretentious brick buildings in the streets; electric cars run into suburbs that are mostly "eligible plots" with a scattering of wooden bungalows, or timber cabins.'[88] A few years later Zunini wrote that Perth was 'charming' and 'enchanting', and thought that it was the most picturesque 'little city' in Australia after Sydney.[89] However Hochberg was not so charmed a year later in 1907. He had a drive through the 'not mostly pretty' town, 'for how can a town mainly built of corrugated iron be pretty?'[90] By 1914 Edwin and Marion Grew identified the transition stage of Perth's development,

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[84] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.36. At this time Perth was a predominately a gas powered city, with a small power station established in 1894 which only supplied some premises. Demand for electricity saw small independently owned power stations supplying Perth suburbs and south-western towns from 1900. The electric tram service began in 1899. Not until 1912 did large-scale electrification of street lighting begin. Stannage, *The People of Perth,* pp.284-285; 'Western Power: World of Energy', <http://www.worldofenergy.com.au/07_timeline_WA_entry_1888_1899.html>, (accessed 10 Sep 2009)
[85] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, pp.2,4.
[86] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.80.
[87] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.19.
[88] Hawes, *The Diary of Charles H. Hawes*, p.190.
[89] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.31.
[90] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.22.

temporary structures of corrugated iron being replaced by 'imposing white official buildings'.[91]

Perth Park (renamed King's Park in 1901) on Mount Eliza, was a popular location to gain a panoramic view of Perth and the river, and was promoted to the travellers as a scenic wonder. George Seddon and David Ravine devoted a chapter to analysing the history of this view in their book *A City and its Setting*. Their discussion centred on how artists, photographers, and writers viewed the scene and how their interpretations changed over time, influenced by the changing culture and movements in art. Of particular influence was how the plein-air impressionist artists of the Heidelberg School experimented with the effects of the Australian atmosphere and light.[92] A sense of an essentially Australian quality of light was also beginning to be expressed by travellers, as seen earlier in their descriptions of Fremantle. When Price viewed Perth from Mount Eliza in 1895 he acknowledged the clear atmosphere typical of Western Australia.

> [There were] many fine buildings standing in white relief against its background of foliage, and looking singularly oriental in the clear antipodean atmosphere, whilst the beautiful river winding through the valley at our feet, and on which this fair city stands lent an additional charm to the scene.[93]

Price also employed the language of the sublime and beautiful in his description of a winding river through a valley. However, despite recognising the uniqueness of the Western Australian atmosphere, he draws an image of other places, in particular the orient and the deep river valleys of Europe, in comparison to the low lying coastal plain on which the Swan River and Perth sit.

Seddon and Ravine also discussed how the view of Perth from Mount Eliza was framed, and how it changed as a result of municipal works, some of the natural bush being replaced by flowerbeds, lawns and pathways at the turn of the century.[94] It is mainly this area that is the focus of the following extracts. In 1895, Bobby Tyler was not very impressed with the park, which was 'covered with trees, scrub and sand'. He wrote that it was 'called the "Public Park of Perth", but up to the time we visited it, the only claim it had to the name of "Park", was from the fact that the Mayor of Perth had opened it and planted a small tree—a very small one—in commemoration of the

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[91] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.19.
[92] Seddon and Ravine, *A City and Its Setting,* p.38; Bernard Smith, *Place, Taste, and Tradition; a Study of Australian Art since 1788,* Second edn, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1979, p.125;.Philip Drew, *Veranda Embracing Place*, Pymble, Angus and Robertson, 1992, p.185.
[93] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.26.
[94] Seddon and Ravine, *A City and Its Setting,* p.36.

same.'[95] Catherine Bond visited Perth Park a year later. Her party made their way up the 'frightfully steep hill' by foot after their horse went down on his knees in the deep sand. 'At the top the view is beautiful, and we are quite rewarded for our toil.'[96]

May Vivienne visited by means of a new tram about three years later and found some development in progress. She wrote that the 'wild bush' had been fenced and was being 'laid out in paths and gardens, while pretty summer-houses' had been built. She stated that there were numerous villas and gardens, and some good roads on the west side of the park.[97] She illegally picked the wild flowers (hoping she would be forgiven being a stranger) that formed 'a picture so strikingly beautiful that I shall never forget the magnificent scene of green hills and flowery dales, country and town, blue sky and opal water, stretching far and wide'.[98] Gazing with European eyes, May Vivienne displayed pleasure in seeing the manicured European-style gardens and paths, whereas the park in its native form, as announced by Bobby above, seemed hardly worthy of its title. However, Hochberg, a keen botanist, was an exception. In November 1907, he approved of the area of original bush set aside for preservation and objected to clearing some of it near the entrance in an 'attempt' to establish a European park; 'there are even flower-beds, but I can't say that the trees look happy, and no wonder. I should call it a curse of Nature to be planted in this wind-swept island of desolation'.[99] Although late in the season for wild flowers, and finding most of the undergrowth was 'burned into brownish-grey hay' he thought 'that Nature at spring-time smiles in a way even on Australia'. He thought that the wildflowers were very quaint, even though they were not very large or colourful. But, with his pessimistic nature he still did not like the trees, he said they looked 'just as grey, just as dissatisfied with each other, just as tattered, smashed, wind-torn, untidy and dishevelled as the ones I saw coming up'.[100] However Hochberg enjoyed the view from Mount Eliza.

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[95] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.65. 432 acres (175ha) on Mt Eliza was gazetted as a Public Park and recreation ground by Governor Weld in 1872. With an additional 450 acres, it was officially named Perth Park in 1895, (the year of Tyler's visit) by Premier John Forrest on 9 August. He planted the first tree, a Norfolk Island Pine, not his brother Alexander Forrest, who was mayor at the time. Perth Park was renamed Kings Park in 1901, after the coronation of the new king, King Edward VII. Gregory and Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* p.662; 'Kings Park and Botanic Garden: Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority', <http://www.bgpa.wa.gov.au/about-us/contact-us>, (accessed 9 Sep 1909)
[96] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.19.
[97] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.22.
[98] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.22.
[99] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.22. Hochberg was quite right. An avenue of red-flowering gums was planted along the road entering the park in 1898 in honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. However all the trees, excepting one poor specimen, died from patch-canker disease. They were replaced by lemon-scented gums in 1938. See 'Kings Park and Botanic Garden: Botanic Gardens and Parks Authority', (accessed 14 Sept 09).
[100] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.23.

> [T]he effect of its shores was pretty, … enlivened by some red roofs in the grey-green of its gardens and surrounding Bush, made a very pretty and somewhat imposing effect, and if it had not been for the hellish wind continually blowing, one might have enjoyed this.…[101]

Edwin and Marion Grew who visited later when the idea of conservation was creating interest more broadly, thought like Hochberg, that the Government was wise to set aside a public reserve on Mount Eliza, and liked the fact that the bush was 'left in its wild state, a sanctuary for birds and animals'. Both acknowledged, however, that it was not a park in 'our sense of the word', with only a small fraction laid out in 'trim lawns and flower-beds'.[102] These differing responses to King's Park demonstrate how contemporary European ideology, individual personalities and interests, can influence travellers perceptions of space in Western Australia.

For those travellers who climbed Mount Eliza, and those who arrived by river steamer or road from Fremantle, the view of Perth was impressive. For the travellers who approached Perth from the south to southeast, either via the old coach road or by train from Albany, their impressions were generally not very favourable of Perth. Building, growth and expansion was evident in their comments, particularly once gold mania swept the city during the 1890s, when prospectors arrived to prepare for their expeditions east to the goldfields.

The District of Guildford

Many travellers headed east towards pastoral country in the Avon Valley at York, Newcastle/Toodyay, and Northam. From the 1890s it was also the route to the eastern goldfields. The gateway to this region was the town of Guildford on the upper reaches of the Swan River, which had been the third major European settlement in the colony. In October 1883 Lady Broome passed through 'the pretty and large village of Guildford, nestled amongst its fields and vineyards.'[103] Six years later, Parker thought that Guildford had 'an English appearance. Quiet stone churches, vine-covered homes, pretty valleys, the Swan River winding by, and the little farms about, make a picture more like an English village than may be found anywhere else in Australasia, save Tasmania'.[104] It was here that Gilbert Parker had his first sight of the Swan River,

[101] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, pp.23-24.
[102] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.61.
[103] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.75.
[104] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.380

which he did not think was very impressive, until he found that 'the stream rises, until at Perth it is no longer a river, but a large lake three or four miles wide'.[105]

The railway line which was built from Fremantle through Perth to Guildford in 1881, extended to Southern Cross on the Northam branch line in 1894.[106] Travellers then tended to bypass Guildford, but noticed the agricultural development around it. Julius Price saw 'a delightful little agricultural district' in November 1895,[107] which Albert Calvert classified as one of the colony's fertile spots.[108] Describing this area and the route east, in 1899 Jonathan Ceredig Davies wrote:

> When we travel inland, nine miles from Perth, and reach Guildford, a pretty little town situated in the centre of a thriving agricultural district at the junction of the Swan and Helena Rivers, the Stratum of sand ceases, and red loam and fine alluvial flats succeed till we come to the foot of the Darling Range, a chain of hills broken here and there by small Valleys or ravines, where there are farms and fine vineyards. After crossing these hills to the east the country breaks away into level flats, a fine wheat country, though the further we go to the east the rainfall is smaller, but sufficient for wheat growing for a considerable distance inland.[109]

Davies' passage works well as an introduction to the road over the Darling Scarp to the Avon Valley, revealing that much land clearing and agriculture had occurred in the forty years since Henry Richardson passed through this area in September 1859:

> The road from Guilford to York passes through an apparently interminable forest of Red Gum trees and blackboys and the prospect is of course very confined and of a very monotonous character.[110]

Richardson demonstrates his inability to describe space without the tools of the picturesque. The representation of settled Englishness in Guildford village and its surrounding agricultural district compare sharply to monotonous space depicted by Richardson as he rode through areas not yet developed by Europeans. In 1878 Henry Taunton did not find the bush so monotonous, as he rode down on horseback from the north, via the Bindoon Hills, appreciating the natural environment more than some travellers, seeing 'those giants of the woodlands, some of which, such as the Blackbutt or the Karri are said to exceed in height the giant trees of California'. He said that the 'quaint, twisted trunks' of the fluted-gums, and the dark ones of the red-gums added diversity to the scenery until the low lands bordering the upper reaches of the Swan

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[105] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.381.
[106] 'Western Perspectives on a Nation: Transport', <http://www.liswa.wa.gov.au/wepon/transport/html/railways.html>, (accessed 1 Apr 2010)
[107] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.162.
[108] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.20.
[109] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.105.
[110] Richardson, *Diaries*, pp.54-55.

River and Guildford were reached.[111] Possibly Taunton was more able to appreciate the natural bush as, unlike the other travelers, he had already spent a season working in the area.

However, in 1880 Marianne North and in November 1883 Lady Broome, on route to the Avon Valley, had little difficulty in describing the forest as grand and pretty.[112] From the 'hilly' road they enjoyed the distant views over the Swan River plain.[113] Their appreciation of the bush may have been due to their individual interests, Marianne, the botanical painter, and Lady Broome, the short–term resident. However Lady Broome still carried with her images of the Great South Land reacting to the native fauna in terms of the grotesque.

> We also passed several iguanas basking in the sunshine—hideous rugged lizards, a foot or more long—frightful to look at, but perfectly harmless, and a favourite native delicacy. They declare it tastes exactly like chicken.[114].

By connecting the two ideas—hideous creatures, and the Aboriginal diet—Lady Broome was validating belief in the perversions of the antipodes.

The Darling escarpment has long been exploited for stone, bauxite, and timber from the high quality Jarrah forests.[115] The travellers observed parts of the Darling Scarp being settled by the colonists, firstly in the establishment of vineyards and orchards, and secondly in extensive timber railways and timber mills being built with their supporting communities. In 1863, Mrs Millett passed a settlement of bush huts and a saw-pit where men were working 'amongst the gigantic mahogany-trees'.[116] By the time Radclyffe visited in 1897, farmers were planting 'fine' oranges and apples 'as hard as they can.' He wrote that they had no disease because import of foreign apples was restricted. He declared, 'What need for gold mines when Western Australia could grow olives, wine, oranges, and apples enough to supply the whole of the world, not to speak of timber?'[117]

Further south along the escarpment, in 1906 Leopoldo Zunini visited an 'immaculate' orchard and vineyard owned by Italians in Kalamunda. With two or three guest-houses and a hotel he said the local residents imagined it to be a resort area for a 'change of air' from the Swan Coastal Plain. Zunini thought that the locals were

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[111] Taunton, *Australind*, pp.114-115.
[112] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.157; Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.78.
[113] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.157.
[114] Alexandra Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection: A New Edition of Lady Broome's 'Letters to Guy',* 1885, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.76.
[115] Alison Bean, *A Brief History of the Darling Range*, Perth, Western Australian Department of Planning and Urban Development, 1993,
[116] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.45.
[117] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.58.

'deluded' because a hill station resort could not be created from the 'modest height' of the Darling Ranges.[118] It is interesting that he considered these hills near Perth to be low, when earlier he claimed the 200 metres high regions of Kojonup and Bridgetown reminded him of the Apennines and Swiss Alps respectively. The well-weathered Darling escarpment has its highest point at 582 metres. It is also noteworthy that, because he crossed few bridges and went through 'only one' tunnel, and climbed to a height of 'less than 1000 feet' (304.8 metres) by rail, Zunini considered the engineers had few obstacles to overcome.[119]

By the time the Grews made their way up to the granite slopes of the Darling Range on a hot day in September 1914, much development had occurred. They travelled on the railway line that ran through Midland Junction, 'where the rolling stock for Western Australia is constructed, and past a blank stretch of brickfields', through 'almost populous, and very busy' countryside.[120]

The Avon Valley

European settlement in the Avon Valley first began in 1831, growing steadily because it was one of the few fertile inland districts, and after the late 1880s because it was a stopover by road and rail on the way east to the goldfields. The travellers similarly described the towns of York, Newcastle/Toodyay and Northam. Richardson visited in late 1859, finding the town of York 'very pleasantly situated in a valley surrounded by wooded hills and through the centre of which flows the river Avon'.

> The houses are not numerous and the outline of streets cannot yet be traced so that it may be considered as a very small village. Around about it there is more cultivated land than I have seen in any other part of equal extent and the soil seems of a less sandy and more fertile character than that generally found in the colony.[121]

Mrs Millett approached York around the same time of year four years on, over undulating ground, through a valley filled with white gum trees of 'fantastic shapes'.[122] York was still sparsely built judging by Mrs Millett's description of five or six red brick

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[118] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.68-69. For travellers, part of Western Australia's appeal was its climate. This was a time when sea breezes or mountain air were applauded for their invigorating effect, for it was believed that the 'ozone–bearing breezes contained oxygen in a particularly pure form'. Wherever the British had gone, they had usually abandoned the plains in hot weather for the more temperate climate in an adjacent hill station, or a seaside resort. The hill station syndrome was to some degree evident in Western Australia, where some retired to more elevated localities or the seaside for rest and relaxation. Davidson and Spearritt, *Holiday Business*, pp.15,128.
[119] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.76.
[120] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.54.
[121] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.55.
[122] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.51.

buildings 'all placed at wide intervals from one another, as if in hopes of inducing people to fill up the gaps with private houses.' She found none of the buildings 'made any pretence to the picturesque'.[123]

Reflecting his personality and young age, Frederick Ayres thought York seemed very dull in 1888, and 'not as large as Albany and not half so pretty'.[124] In 1889 Parker's observations were still strongly influenced by his awareness of convict transportation, even though it had ceased over twenty years earlier. He wrote that although York was 'situated in a fine agricultural district', and had 'some good buildings', its 'high stone walls [gave] the place a prison-like aspect', which is similar to his description of Albany in the previous chapter.[125] By contrast, David Carnegie visited four years later and, except for the corrugated-iron roofs, associated the winter scene of stone houses enclosed in vineyards and fruit gardens, with English landscapes.[126] And in 1899, May Vivienne, continuing her arcadian narrative, had never 'seen a more pastoral or a prettier place', with great yields of wheat, oats, and rye, a collection of sandalwood, and a tanning industry operation. She said there were some 'good' buildings and shops, and some 'handsome' churches.[127]

In Toodyay and Newcastle[128] Anthony Trollope, in 1872, judged that the acres under cultivation and the produce returns indicated that it was one of the best agricultural districts in the colony.[129] Trollope stated that it was difficult to get reliable information regarding farming in Western Australia because some farmers said it was heart breaking and others assured him they had done very well. He wrote that agricultural methods were atrocious, with farmers failing to manure and rotate crops. A lack of machinery resulted in a waste of seed with corn being thrashed out on the roads 'after the old Irish fashion'. He believed that the land would soon pay for good farming, as the colony 'should above all things strive to be an agricultural colony'.[130] Although Marianne thought Newcastle a 'mere village' eight years on, with the surrounding hills 'covered with pretty green round-topped little trees, looking in the distance like Italian

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[123] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.52.
[124] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 14 Nov 1888.
[125] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.380.
[126] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.30.
[127] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.18.
[128] The original town of Toodyay was prone to flooding therefore a new town called Newcastle was established at the convict depot three miles upstream in 1860. The towns coexisted until Newcastle out grew old Toodyay, which eventually disappeared. In 1910 Newcastle changed its name to Toodyay. Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopedia of Western Australia,* vol.II, p.468. 'Shire of Toodyay', <http://www.toodyay.wa.gov.au/heritage_tourism/history.html>, (accessed 17 Sep 2009). Also see Rica Erickson, *Old Toodyay and Newcastle*, Toodyay, Toodyay Shire Council, 1974.
[129] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.601.
[130] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.602.

pines',[131] development was evident in November 1883, when Lady Broome considered it 'fairly thickly settled with prosperous-looking farms.'[132] She described Newcastle in typical 'picturesque' fashion, with 'comfortable' looking houses bordered by gardens, surrounded with green patches of wheat, oats and barley.[133] Her pastoral description of a picturesque European-like scene linked with her use of the word 'comfortable', heightened the sense of the colonists' possession of the landscape, and the sensation of being at home there.[134]

As well, the travellers promoted the ideals of enlightenment. Calvert carried this vision when he visited Western Australia in 1895. He described Northam as a rich pastoral land with wealthy graziers, but like Trollope twenty-two years earlier, he spoke about a need to cultivate more land. 'Sir John [Forrest] is the enemy of the land grabber, who leaves his ground in a state of nature; and he is the friend of the cultivator.'[135] Trollope and Calvert assumed, as did Forrest and many other colonialists, that with enough persistence the countryside could be made to resemble Europe, 'being the natural order of things for agriculture'.[136] For those colonial born who had never seen Europe, they considered a transformed landscape following European know-how equated to advancement in the economy for the colony to prosper. It was not only the British and their descendents who believed in Australia's transformation. Italian Consul Leopoldo Zunini was an enthusiastic advocate of Enlightenment principles, believing that Western Australia would become a flourishing primary producer, and promoting European-style agriculture and progress, and the necessity of cultivating the otherwise 'monotonous bush'. He wrote that it was pleasing to the traveller to observe the cultivated land in the district compared to the 'sandy and rocky' section between Perth and Northam, where 'there is little to see besides the monotonous bushland. Instead, in this area, the work of man has completely transformed the landscape. Vast fields of wheat, oats and rye extend as far as the eye can see'.[137] Once again the part the Aboriginals played in the earlier manipulation of the landscape was unknown.

Zunini showed no regret in the loss of forest in the name of progress. One evening in early October he noticed 'a strange and picturesque landscape' to the east, which he

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[131] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.157.
[132] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.78.
[133] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.77.
[134] See Chapter Two and Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, p. 40.
[135] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour in Western Australia,* p.22.
[136] Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment*, p.99. Forrest was Premier of Western Australia from 1891-1901. F. K. Crowley, 'Forrest, Sir John [Baron Forrest] (1847 - 1918)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol 8, Melbourne University Press, 1981, pp.544-551.
[137] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.86.

defined in elements of the sublime with the 'black of the forest … relieved by the bright red glow of hundreds of fires. The settlers were burning the dried-out trees in the bush and, next year, where these had stood, there would be ripening crops.'[138] Zunini's sense of delight in land being cultivated was also tied to a fondness for home, as he drove 'through delightful country, all beautifully cultivated and undulating as far as the eye could see. It reminded me of some parts of the Umbrian countryside'.[139]

Wealthy landowners and pastoralists of prominent well-connected families, such as the Hamersleys and Mongers, created the spatial aspect of the Avon Valley. Centuries of cultural traditions where power was based on ownership of land inspired travellers to believe that cleared, shaped land was an indication of wealth. Hence the following comments by Calvert and Zunini. In 1895 Calvert noted the 'rich pastoral land with wealthy Graziers' in Northam,[140] and a few years later Zunini made assumptions when he visited Leake farm in Kellerberrin, east of Northam:

> like a wide green belt, standing against the grey of the bush, it spread out around us. … It must be remembered, … that many of these country landowners are very well-off and spend the summer either in Perth or Melbourne or, sometimes, in Europe.[141]

Zunini believed that the essential mark of a person of distinction was the ownership of property. This may also have influenced him to remark that a 'stranger arriving here quickly realizes that he is in a country where there is a general sense of well-being and no poverty'.[142] However, Zunini had arrived after the biggest gold rush in Western Australian history, when fortunes were made and lost and wealth was no longer judged by the ownership of land, and which better explains Zunini's imagining of a 'sense of well-being' across the country.

Part Two – The Eastern Goldfields

> *To land on those burning plains, destitute of shrub or blade of grass, among the unwashed masses was an experience which will serve a lifetime. Gold so cheap and water so dear! To realise the thirst for water became greater than the haunting, goading thirst for gold, was a sensation far beyond description. For days at a stretch the blinding sand storms swept the camp, bringing a merciless thirst on every breeze.*

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[138] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.106.
[139] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.97.
[140] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.22.
[141] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.105.
[142] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.76.

(Jesse Ackerman, 1913)[143]

A Journey East

Leaving the wheatfields and pastoral lands of the Avon Valley behind, curious travellers in the 1890s and early 1900s, like Jessie Ackerman, followed the paths of the goldminers east towards the lucrative goldfields of Western Australia. Their journey recorded rapid growth and change; from wandering tracks in the bush to busy crowded cities; Southern Cross, Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie being examined here.

A start at Southern Cross

Southern Cross was the first goldfield town that travellers stopped at on their journey east from York. David Carnegie arrived at Southern Cross in spring 1892, four years after gold had been discovered there in 1888.[144]

> Southern Cross … was a pretty busy place, being the last outpost of civilisation. … The … corrugated-iron-built town, with its streets inches deep in dust under a blazing sun, its incessant swarms of flies, the clashing of the 'stamps' on the mines, and the general 'never-never' appearance of the place, impressed us with feelings the reverse of pleasant. The building that struck me most was the bank—a small iron shanty with a hessian partition dividing it into office and living room, the latter a hopeless chaos of cards, candle ends, whiskey bottles, blankets, safe keys, gold specimens, and cooking utensils.[145]

On another journey by Carnegie through the area in December of the following year the old track road had been superseded by the railway, which reached Southern Cross in 1894. Carnegie found the deserted old road a lonely, thirsty ride, now that the wells had dried up.[146] Julius Price arrived by train in 1895, and the town had not improved very much.

> Southern Cross …presented a very bleak and uninviting appearance, being nothing more than a big conglomeration of corrugated iron huts clustered round the base of a rocky hill, on the top of which the bare timbers of a mine shaft were outlined clear and sharp against the pale pure blue of the morning sky. There were no signs of vegetation anywhere, the ground for miles around having been completely denuded of all timber for firewood and mining purposes, when the first rush for the goldfields reached here, some

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[143] Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Women's Point of View*, London, Cassell and Company Ltd, 1913. p.20.
[144] The town was gazetted in 1890. 'Landgate: History of Country Town Names', <http://www.landgate.wa.gov.au/corporate.nsf/web/History+of+country+town+names+-+s>, (accessed 21 Nov 2009)
[145] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.6.
[146] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.30-31.

> years ago. It would have been impossible to imagine a more bleak and dreary scene, than met my gaze on this the first stage of my journey.[147]

By 1899, when May Vivienne arrived by train, the town still didn't have much appeal, 'for anything more dreary-looking one could not well see.' And dreary it must have been because she rarely said anything negative about Western Australia, but it was impossible to impose her usual arcadian view on such a scene. She walked half a mile to reach the townsite, 'across uninteresting ground affording very scanty herbage to a few grazing goats'.[148] In 1912 Mary Hall travelled in style, in the 'ladies' compartment' of the train. At Southern Cross she was even served refreshments through the window as she drew up next to the buffet.[149]

> When we were a few miles out, the wild flowers began to show themselves, and until dusk I gazed spell-bound. … [The] pace became faster, and the individual flowers merged into mere masses of colour—red, orange, brown, pink, lavender, and patches of blue. … The track was a sandy strip, straight as a dart through the stunted scrub, and, I hardly know why, but I felt as though I were going through the Suez Canal. I think the association in my mind was the moonlight on the sandy waste; it was under much the same conditions that I received my first impressions of the Canal.[150]

Mary has examined her reasons for associating the view from her train window with an earlier vision of the Suez Canal. Although travellers continually made comparisons to other places they had been, it was unusual for them to analyse why.

The journey east continues

The route east changed over time from rough tracks to rail, revealing evidence of an exodus of humanity shifting across the land, of temporary settlements, with residual traces of their advance left behind. Back in 1892 the rail had not yet been laid to Coolgardie—the destination of many a goldminer after the discovery of good deposits of gold in September of that year. Carnegie joined the rush in September, moving along the difficult track cleared through the scrub. On leaving Southern Cross he found the flat timber-clad country 'monotonous' if not relieved by the occurrence of large isolated hills of bare granite. He said that these rocks were their only sources of water, and the only reason the roads could stay open. After rain, he explained, the 'numerous holes and indentations' over the surface of the rocks held water, as well as 'soaks', or shallow

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[147] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.49.
[148] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, pp.92-93.
[149] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.146.
[150] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, pp.144-145.

wells, found around the foot of the stone outcrops.[151] Carnegie described why the roads and tracks twisted and turned 'in a most distressing manner':

> sometimes deviating for water, but more often because the first maker of the track had been riding along carelessly, every now and then turning sharp back to his proper course. Subsequent horse or camel men, having only a vague knowledge of the direction of their destination, would be bound to follow the first tracks; after these would come light buggies, spring-carts, drays, and heavy wagons, until finally a deeply rutted and well-worn serpentine road through the forest or scrub was formed, to be straightened in course of time, as observant travellers cut off corners, and later by Government surveyors and road-makers.[152]

Three years later in 1895 Price journeyed on the road to Coolgardie. He wrote that after a few days of rain the track was a sticky mixture of sand and mud, with tree trunks and boulders strewn across the track. He thought the monotony of trees and endless miles of track very depressing. He was surprised at the extraordinary amount of traffic. His driver told him that since the big rush to the goldfields and the establishment of new towns there were about seven hundred coach teams in operation, each consisting of a heavy buck-wagon with seven or eight horses attached. Many of them were involved in cartage of machinery and merchandise for stores. Price passed flocks of sheep and herds of cattle being driven slowly towards the fields. He was constantly seeing carcases by the side of the road, haven eaten poisoned grasses in their eagerness for food. He also saw 'gangs of men working hard laying the rails, or filling in embankments—a pleasant sign of approaching civilisation'.[153] Price's feelings of monotony and depression were only 'lightened' when he encountered evidence of work and development. As well, because work or activity was familiar it was easy to write about, whereas the travellers had difficulty in describing the landscape of the goldfields. This was because they could not make use of familiar metaphors and adjectives. The lack of descriptive language is clear in Price's impressions as he journeyed on. The repetition of words also emphasised the monotonous.

> Once the freshness of novelty wore off, there were … simply trees, trees, trees as far as the eye could see on all sides; whilst the endless vista of track stretching as straight as a line for miles and miles ahead, hour after hour, has a most depressing effect.[154]

Here Price implies that novelty is 'fresh', while 'endless' views of the same is 'depressing'. He finally arrived in Boorabbin for the night and was surprised to find that

[151] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.6.
[152] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.19.
[153] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.53-54,58.
[154] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.54.

the walls of his accommodation were only canvas and afforded no privacy, the conversations in the next rooms keeping him awake.[155]

Robert Tyler and his son Bobby were not far behind Price, when in September, unlike Price, they were lucky enough to go by rail as far as Rean's Soak. The line was in the process of being laid and according to Bobby it was 'very slow and weary travelling' at three and a half miles per hour. From Rean's Soak it was necessary for them to take the coach. The cutting through the bush gradually widened out as the ruts became too deep to move through. They moved over 'endless' track, 'through clouds of dust, often the heads of the leader could not be seen, and then the jolting was beyond description'. They wrote that 'as far as the eye could reach, was nothing but short scrub and sand.'[156]

When there was no romantic backdrop of forests or mountains, or even prominent landmarks to appeal to the traveller, there were fewer descriptions of the landscape; as Paul Carter stated, 'a spacious plain made dreary reading'.[157] Albert Calvert used the word 'dreary' when he again compared Australia to the 'Old Country', giving a clear example of a desirable landscape and one that was depicted as monotonous, as he set out for the goldfields:

> a dreary expanse of sandy country but the repellent features of the landscape will soon become familiar to the eye. … Onward to Coolgardie … not through smiling cornfields, orchards, pasture grounds dotted with homesteads, but over arid wastes, which would be left silent and deserted to the end of time, but for the talismanic power of gold![158]

He found the natural features of the landscape 'repellent', whereas evidence of a European mode of cultivation he personified as 'smiling', representing his penchant once again for 'improvement' of the land. He also demonstrates, as Carter claimed, how the 'unpicturesque' view spoiled illusions of inhabitation and cultivation for the future.[159] What becomes particularly evident when travellers described the goldfields was that the landscape, supporting Paul Miller's argument, occupied the 'entire field of vision, with limited potential for change beyond the horizon'.[160] As a result the travellers depicted the monotonous as they moved through the land because they were unable to establish something recognisable to name and identify.

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[155] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.59.
[156] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, pp.66-67.
[157] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.245.
[158] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, pp.28-32.
[159] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.245.
[160] Miller, 'Monotony and the Picturesque, pp.52-58, p.55.

Like Price, the Tylers also stayed at the Boorabbin hotel built of timber covered with hessian. Bobby's father, Robert, noted that as far as Boorabbin the scenery had been uninteresting scrub, with the odd blue gum tree, but he thought the country was generally more 'picturesque' from Boorabbin to Coolgardie, undulating with more trees, 'but the dust, or rather sand, was intolerable.'[161] Bobby said that everyone walked by the side of the track when it was particularly heavy work. It took the coach fourteen hours to cover ninety-eight miles.[162] Carnegie explained how necessary the passengers were to enable the mail coach to operate adequately in the days before the rail line was laid.

> [P]assengers … served the useful purposes of dragging the carriage through the sand and dust when the horses collapsed, of hunting up the team in the mornings, and of lightening the load by walking. For this exceedingly comfortable journey they had the pleasure of paying at least £5. It was no uncommon sight at some tank or rock on the road, to see the mail-coach standing alone in its glory, deserted by driver and passengers alike. Of these some would be horse-hunting, and the rest tramping ahead in hope of being caught up by the coach.[163]

The train tracks had reached Boorabbin by the time Calvert arrived at the end of the same year, in November 1895. Between Southern Cross and Boorabbin he passed through a twenty mile sand plain, which he described as the 'terror of teamsters'. This was because horses suffered exposure to the unrelenting heat and many died trying to make it to Coolgardie as the carriages sank into the sand. He wrote that '[h]ere and there, lying whiter than the sand, is the skeleton of a horse that dropped by the way, and whose bones have been picked clean by the crows and hawks, which are the only living things to be seen in this gloomy region.' He produced an image of a road with a 'ghastly history of cruelty to animals', and was happy that the train bridged this '20-Mile Desert'.[164] At Boorabbin Calvert described the impermanence of a town that moved as the train track moved towards the next successful goldfield.

> It is a thing of thread and patches, of bags and iron thrown together in the ugliest and flimsiest guise for shops and houses, of goods of all kinds, thrown down on to the sands like the deserted baggage of a routed army in the most disordered retreat. … Boorabbin is one of those places that would only spring into existence in the wilderness, and at the furthest end of an uncompleted railway line. When another twenty miles of the line is open, the town is moved along bodily and put down again in the same disorder. Broken tent poles, torn canvas, broken bottles, dented tins; in short, a scattered jumble of useless odds and ends is all that will be left upon the

[161] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.67.
[162] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.68.
[163] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.8-9.
[164] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.32.

> sand to mark the deserted base of operations. … Everything, including the weather, is at fever heat. The sun is prostrating, the dust is stifling; the drinks more than luke-warm; the whole place is vile. The most imaginative Boorabbinite, surely, could never hear 'Home, Sweet Home,' sung without a shudder. It is a place to be approached with repulsion; to be fled from in disgust.[165]

There was a railway station, he said, with no goods shed or sidings, one barn-like hotel, 'the palace of the town', rows of shanty huts made of saplings and potato sacks, and hundreds of horses and wagons that were camped out.[166]

Calvert explained that the remaining road to Coolgardie had been taken over by the Water Supply Department who had arranged for a good supply of water with dams, reservoirs and condensers to help the travellers by road. At one of these dams he described the scene.

> Teams arrive in battalions … coated thick with ochre. … Hour after hour, from sundown till far after dark, the long procession pours into the camping place, the drays, piled high with merchandise, and with eight, ten, or twelve horses. The pump at the troughs is plied incessantly'.[167]

Calvert moved on by coach to Coolgardie through 'blinding red dust', winding around stunted trees, coming up to 'what appeared to be a solid dark wall':

> Through the wall, which was of dust, there emerged two coaches; they had come through from Coolgardie. Then we saw the seamy side of coaching to that city, where horses are so dear to keep, and feed so scarce and costly, that no horse able to stand upon his legs can be given a spell. As the coaches came up, the cracking of whips was as incessant as a fusillade of revolver shots. Creeping through the sand at a staggering walk, with heads bent down, moved the coach teams, their nostrils dilated and blood red, the rheum clotted like gore with the ruddy powder from the road, with sides as wet with perspiration as if they had come out of a river, and hide tattooed with the driver's throng.[168]

Calvert described the red dust that filled their eyes, ears and nostrils that transformed horses and passengers into 'representations of terra cotta images.' The passengers inside the coach clutched at the seats to avoid colliding with the roof, and the outside passengers found it impossible to retain their positions with the continuous jolting and heaving of the coach. He calculated that seven hundred to eight hundred horses a week were shipped to Perth for the busy Coolgardie road. He described passing wagonettes, pony carts and nondescript chaises, with a variety of passengers, the commissariat caravans, the returning procession of teamsters, carts with mining machinery, boilers,

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[165] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.34.
[166] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.34.
[167] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.38.
[168] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.41.

engines, and 'mountains of stores', men on foot and on horseback, and driving every conceivable vehicle. He said that each mile was a 'reflex of the surging life of Coolgardie.'[169] Although Calvert's narrative is dramatic and possibly exaggerated, for he wrote in his preface his purpose was to 'interest and amuse', most travellers wrote at length about the harrowing road journeys as they felt there was not much in the landscape that arrested their attention enough to write about.

By the time Catherine Bond arrived the following year in July 1896 the railway had been completed to Coolgardie, and the overloaded carriages brought supplies and people to the busy goldfields. Catherine's descriptions were therefore not so traumatic as she passed small encampments through a 'pretty and interesting' bush.[170] That she travelled in the cool of winter contributed to her positive impression, compared to Calvert's vivid account inspired by road travel in early summer.

The Town of Coolgardie

As each of the travellers arrived in Coolgardie, their writings and illustrations recorded the rapid growth of the mining town over a short period of time, from the discovery of gold in 1892 to a population of 16,000 within ten years.[171] Carnegie arrived with the early rush to the goldfields in September 1892. There still stood an open forest of eucalyptus, although Carnegie saw the timber being quickly cleared to admit the 'dry-blowing' operations. Dotted here and there were the white tents and camps of the diggers, who were working in '100°F in the shade' with 'the 'dishes' so hot that they had often to be put aside to cool, with clouds of choking dust, a burning throat, and water at a shilling to half a crown a gallon!'[172] Just over a year later Norman Sligo made his way to Coolgardie to try his luck on the goldfields, joining the throngs that had already arrived and set up a makeshift town.

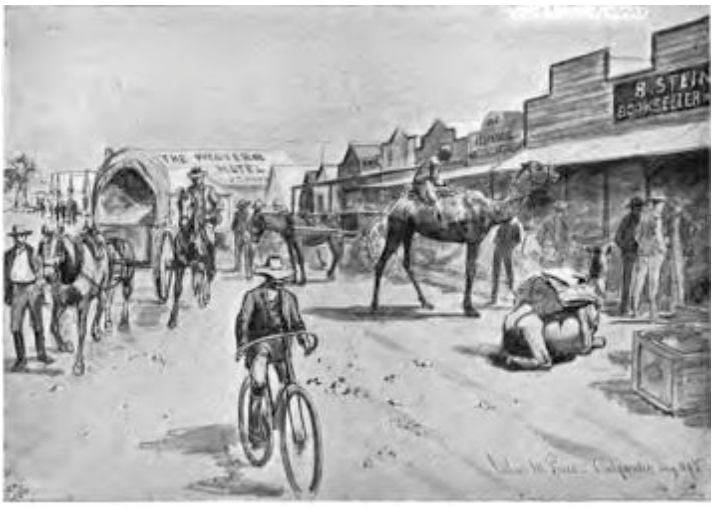
> Another eight miles found us passing through a long straggling street of tents, breakwinds, cart and wagon camps, while occasionally a large tent, with men hurrying in and out denoted stores where tinned meat, flour and other provisions were sold, strictly for cash. … The same characteristics

[169] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, pp.36,41,60.
[170] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.23.
[171] Discovered by Arthur Bayley and William Ford. R. T. Appleyard, 'Western Australia: Economic and Demographic Growth, 1850-1914', in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1981, pp. 211-236, p.219.
[172] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.7. Dry-blowing was a process adopted for the separation of gold from alluvial soil in the waterless parts of Australia.

> could be seen for seventy miles back, low flat bush country, enlivened chiefly by a few large gums.[173]

Like the other travellers, Sligo could not imagine any European aesthetic elements, when he wrote, 'There was nothing picturesque in the scenic surroundings of Coolgardie.'[174] However this is an occasion when the 'unpicturesque' view actually held hope for inhabitation, although no illusions were held about cultivation.[175]

Things had changed remarkably by the time Price arrived in town a couple of years later in August 1895, revealing that the town had truly been inhabited, with the 'broad street … crowded with strollers. … On all sides were evidence of a bustle and hurry … [the] dusty roadway crowded with teams, camel caravans, buggies, horsemen and bicyclists, made up quite an inspiriting scene.'[176] He believed that once the wide main street and the shops and stores on either side were rebuilt from corrugated iron into brick and stone it would present 'a very imposing appearance'. Still he thought that the new stores gave 'a certain amount of character to the street'. Fronted with heaps of packing cases and goods, with large name boards overhead, they imparted an idea of 'big business' in keeping with a successful mining camp (fig. 4.3).[177]



BAYLEY STREET, COOLGARDIE.

Fig. 4.3. 'Big business' in Coolgardie, 1895 sketch by Julius Price, *The Land Of Gold,* p.67.

[173] N.K. Sligo, *Mates and Gold: Reminiscences of the Early Westralian Goldfields 1890-1896*, Perth, Hesperian Press, 1980, p.40.
[174] Sligo, *Mates and Gold*, p.40.
[175] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p.245.
[176] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.64-67.
[177] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.66.

Price wandered around the large mining area located close to the main street. He wrote about the different methods and conditions of mining, from the primitive dry-blowing method on the alluvial grounds, to the big mines run by wealthy English syndicates with steam power and battery heads, and small groups of 'chums' sinking prospecting shafts, which they hoped one day to sell to the English financiers waiting around the fields in the chance of something good turning up. Traveller Robert Tyler was an example of one of these people. Price understood that most of the alluvial workings around Coolgardie had been dry blown many times over, scarcely leaving a pebble unturned and yet every new-comer still had a go until the ground looked as though it were 'covered everywhere with enormous ant-heaps and newly dug graves—graves which needed no headstone to remind one that many hopes and much labour had been buried there'.[178]

Robert and his son Bobby Tyler arrived the following month and did not think it an imposing looking city. They found that Coolgardie was composed of three very wide main streets, with only six brick buildings, with houses made of wood, roofs of corrugated iron, and some covered with hessian.[179] Close on Price and the Tylers' tracks came Calvert in November, for his 'first glimpse of the sensational city which has amazed a universe'. He saw three hotels being built, and passed 'whole streets' of sheds and canvas habitations. He imagined in a year's time Coolgardie would be double the size. The banks, he said, occupied the best buildings.[180] Calvert arrived in Coolgardie two weeks after a great fire, which Tyler had witnessed. Calvert stayed at the fifty-roomed Victoria Hotel on Hayley Street, which he claimed was now one of only two brick buildings in the town. He remarked that the burnt premises had been promptly re-built'.[181]

Calvert wrote eloquently about the condition of travellers after they arrived in Coolgardie by coach via the dusty roads.

> The fearful freaks the red dust plays with the images of a coaching party are passing strange. They become the presentments of double-dyed ruffians, who would sell a dying mother's bed, or cut a throat for hire. Nothing is more curious than the gradual transformation. The passengers leave Woolgangie no uglier than the Creator made them. A whirlwind rises, and envelopes the coach, and when it has passed, lo! You see the faces of scowling malefactors, with deep shadows under savage eyes, noses blurred

[178] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.72-73.
[179] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, pp.87-88. The wide streets in both Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie were designed to accommodate turning camel trains. See 'Boom or Bust', www.cityofperth.wa.gov.au/documentdb/9.pdf, p.3. (accessed 8 Jun 2010).
[180] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.86.
[181] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.78.

> with dissipation, and mouths cavernous and swollen. … The perspiration darkens the paint, the whirlwind blows again and again, each time adding new horrors to the masquerade, until by the time the Victoria Hotel is reached, you shrink appalled from your nearest friend. The wash should be begun with a trowel, to save the water, which is 'allowanced'. … The sluicing operations of the new arrivals almost choke the vent-pipe of the bath. The stuff comes off in layers by dint of hard scrubbing. As each coat of the dark gelatine is removed, something of the natural man reappears, but it is well if the last cupful of the water is not exhausted before you are fit to have a look round the town.[182]

It was usually only so dry and dusty in summer, so that travel in winter may not have created such a dramatic effect. However, during the early summer months Calvert experienced a rain-storm, 'filling the air with the pungent aroma of wet earth, … the rain rattled on the iron roofs like peas being shaken in a tin box. Men stood in the wet in the middle of the broad street, to "get the feel of it again"'.[183]

Within a year, in 1896, Raymond Radclyffe arrived to find that Coolgardie had electric light, brick buildings, and an 'aristocratic quarter'; only the houses were of wood with galvanized roofs. He thought that Bayley Street was a fine street, 'so wide that on a dusty day you cannot see across it. But it takes some crossing after a long dry spell; and when it does rain the mud is too deep for any but the longest legged man to tackle'. But on the outskirts, the bush consisted of 'wretched, miserable' half-grown gum trees, where he said 'a bird or beast' would find it 'difficult to live in the waterless sand and gravel'.[184] Salmon gums were the predominant tree in the eastern mining districts, and by the time Radclyffe had arrived the area had been denuded, the wood being used for mining construction, firewood and railway sleepers.[185] Radclyffe wrote that there were 'mines, mines and mines – some good, mostly bad', and every half mile or so 'a wooden windlass, a dump of quartz, and a miner in a slouch hat winding up a raw-hide bucket.'[186] In winter of the same year Catherine Bond, having arrived by train, walked around the town and down to the line that was being extended to Kalgoorlie, 'where they are blasting, and every now and then you see the roots of trees blown into the air'.

> [A]ll along the line the ground is pegged out by diggers. … The sand is deep and loose, and heavy to walk in, and every step raises a cloud of fine dust. Outside the town the small huts are made of brown hessian or canvas,

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[182] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.63.
[183] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.94.
[184] Radclyffe, Raymond, *Wealth and Wild Cats,* p.11.
[185] Bunbury, B., *Timber for Gold: Life on the Goldfields Woodlines*, North Fremantle, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2002.
[186] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.11. Electric light had arrived in Coolgardie in 1896. See 'Shire of Coolgardie', <http://www.coolgardie.wa.gov.au/history/coolgardie>, (accessed 20 Sep 2009)

> stretched on wooden frames; and, further out, small tents. ….not a tree, not a shrub, not a blade of grass; always brown sand. … Everywhere you see holes in the ground and mounds of earth, where people have been trying to find the precious metal.[187] (Fig. 4.4).

Fig. 4.4.
'Not a tree, not a shrub …' only some stumps left. This photograph shows the outer limits of Coolgardie in 1895, and the denuded landscape. In Calvert, *My Fourth Tour,* p.46.

May Vivienne arrived a few years later in 1899. There were still 'miles of holes' left by the prospectors, and hessian camps with occasional tents around the outer limits of the town. But there were now some 'very comfortable-looking wooden cottages', and with a women's gaze she noticed that many made 'praiseworthy attempts at ornamentation, painted light green, and not at all unpleasing to the eye in this sandy and desert-looking country'.[188] The comforts she enjoyed were in direct comparison to those of the earlier travellers. She had a:

> very good dinner, with white-waistcoated waiters in attendance, and with every elegance and comfort that could be suggested, I took my coffee on the broad balcony overlooking Bayley Street. … I was struck by the fine wide streets, lit with electric light, the handsome buildings, and, lastly, the beautiful horses to be seen in cabs or carts, or ridden by horsemen.[189]

May Vivienne's pastoral narrative was even evident in the goldfields. This was represented by the comforts and fine views she experienced, where she evoked an idealised domesticity, a beautiful world where life was easy and in harmony, in contrast to the earlier travellers' accounts. The depiction of 'beautiful horses' is a change from Calvert's impression of ill-treated horses only four years earlier. May Vivienne also saw a string of 135 camels and their calves walking obediently, led by their Afghan masters.

[187] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.26.
[188] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.108.
[189] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.96.

‘The headgear of a leading camel is a gay affair; a network of fancy coloured wool with many a bright-hued tassel and white shells, finished off with blue and red beads.’[190] This was a scene frequently described by the travellers, as if they were drawn to the colour of the headgear in search of the picturesque. For example Price felt that ‘swarthy Afghan drivers attired in Eastern costumes, imparted sudden touches of the picturesque which were quite unexpected’.[191] As Paul Miller has argued, the mind is compelled to forsake its cultural attachment and adapt to the land.[192] Therefore many of the travellers’ observations of the goldfields revealed a reinterpretation of the aesthetic, showing that they had relinquished their romantic concepts for new imaginings. As well, the underlying implication of describing the sight of camel drivers on the roads to the gold diggings as picturesque, was a sign of the spread of human intervention and economic exploitation in the new world.

Norman Sligo revealed an understanding and an acceptance of new space in his writings, expressed through his caricature of life and activities on the goldfields. As he approached Hannan’s (Kalgoorlie), he wrote:

> we sighted great clouds of red dust … until in a few moments we are in the thick of huge mounds, and like miniature Vesuvius emitting clouds of flame coloured dust, while the man on top of each heap, dust begrimed and dry, gives us a nod and he hurriedly picks up his dryblowing dish in case he should lose the benefit of the breeze.[193] (Fig. 4.5).

Sligo has used evocative language conjuring visions of volcanoes, and yet with a ‘nod’ from the miners he manages to portray a warm, friendly culture found on the goldfields. By making comparisons with Vesuvius, Sligo has still employed the language of the sublime, and produced an imagined landscape constructed from other places within his existing knowledge. Vesuvius is in the Bay of Naples, a port often visited by steamers carrying travellers on their way to Australia, supporting the argument that everyone carries within them a composition of all that they have seen.

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[190] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.102.
[191] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.33.
[192] Miller, 'Monotony and the Picturesque', p.56.
[193] Sligo, *Mates and Gold*, p.43.

Fig. 4.5.
Miniature Vesuvius. An early dryblowing site prior to the complete removal of Salmon Gums, in Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, 1896, p.26.

A Pestilent Disease

The population in Coolgardie had exploded since the first travellers had visited in 1893, and some travellers noticed its effect. Calvert's first sight of the outskirts of Coolgardie included 'some attempt at sanitary work, indicated by the piling together of cartloads of empty jam and preserved meat tins, [and] a notice posted on a tree pointing to the location of the corporation "tip"'.[194] Radclyffe arrived a year after Calvert, in 1896, and wrote of the disturbing results of these inefficient sanitary arrangements.

> [W]ithin a few miles of the town a distinct odour attacks the traveller. I have smelt Soudanese (sic) huts, Damascus on a hot day, and the Bay of Naples—they are all odorous, each in its own sweet way, but Coolgardie need fear no competition. The combination of camels, Afghans, half-empty tins, and a mining camp of 10,000 people innocent of sewers or dust-carts forms a unique smell. A thick red-brown dust hangs over the township and materializes the stench, which you not only smell, but eat. Some day this will all be altered—when a few more people die of typhoid. Beside, what do dust and dirt matter to a man who can go out into the bush, find a gold-mine and make his fortune?
>
> When everything is booming, death is a detail.[195]

Like Mary Hall and her Suez Canal comparison earlier, and Sligo, Radclyffe made reference to other places he had visited. This inclination was not utilised as often in comparison to the frequency of references made comparing scenes in the south-west and the Swan River, demonstrating the difficulty the travellers had in relating to the unfamiliar space of the goldfields. As well, surprisingly, only some travellers seemed concerned about the lack of hygiene and prevalence of typhoid on the fields, again indicating the colonial narrative of perseverance and stoicism; as Radclyffe stated, it was mere 'detail'.

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[194] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour,* p.61.
[195] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.9.

However, all travellers commented about the predominance of empty tins scattered throughout the goldfields. Arriving in July of the same year as Radclyffe, Catherine Bond blamed these tins on the unpleasant odour. She found them either in piles or strewn about on the track, in the bush, and everywhere. 'Sometimes they burn them, and although that prevents the air being tainted by the remains of bad meat, it hardly improves the appearance.'[196] Radclyffe's train journey to Coolgardie ran through 'a wilderness of tinned-meat cans',[197] and May Vivienne saw 'millions' of discarded tins on the fields.[198] It appears that the goldfields were not the only place these tins were found. In 1889 Frederick Ayres found them on his journey throughout the south-west, writing that 'a great deal of tinned corned beef, from Chicago, US, [was] eaten in this country', and that because of this and the expensive mutton from Perth and Fremantle 'it pays to be a vegetarian here'.[199]

Catherine thought that the tinned meats, fresh meat derived from over-driven sheep, and the lack of vegetables contributed to the problem of typhoid. She found the butcher's shop an unpleasant sight, with small, thin, dark, mutton hanging among swarms of flies, which were 'dreadful to behold'.[200] She believed that people's ill-health was due to the bad sanitary arrangements at the hotels and stations. '[T]he climate is really beautiful, but, alas! typhoid is rampant everywhere.'[201] Catherine liked the climate because she arrived mid winter, but it made no difference to the occurrence of typhoid, which was the main disease. Calvert thought that it was the scourge of the fields, caused by the insanitary state of the towns built in such haste.[202] He wrote that the municipal bodies with the help of government financial support and the 'Sisters of Mercy' had helped reduce the death toll while he was there.[203]

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[196] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.47.
[197] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.9.
[198] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.108.
[199] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 02 Nov 88.
[200] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.45.
[201] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.16.
[202] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.141. Calvert's young brother, who was a member of his travelling party, died from typhoid in the Gascoyne towards the end of this trip. Calvert wrote matter of factly about Leonard's sickness and death, however members of his party appended their thoughts to his book, elaborating how affected Calvert was at the time, an example of how the travellers revealed little of themselves in their texts.
[203] The Sisters of Mercy was founded as a Catholic Religious Order in Dublin in 1831 by Catherine McAuley. In 1846 Sister Ursula Frayne, a friend and associate of McAuley, lead the small group of pioneer Sisters of Mercy who accompanied Bishop Brady to the Swan River Colony. This pioneer group was the first of the Sisters of Mercy in Australia. The Sisters founded the first girls' secondary school and welfare home for Indigenous girls in Perth. Visitation of the sick widened into care of the sick, in hospitals, private homes or homes for the aged. From 1846 to 1900 there were eight independently operating groups of Sisters of Mercy in Western Australia including Coolgardie. http://www.mercy.org.au/whoweare/default.cfm?loadref=21, (accessed 14 Jul 09); Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.29.

> Where drains have been made, the sewage, owing to the flatness of the country, mostly soaks into the ground, and engenders the seeds of malaria. But Coolgardie makes an effort to be cleanly. The rubbish of householders' yards is removed and burned by municipal contractor, and the camping of teamsters within certain bounds of the city is prohibited.[204]

Calvert's mention of malaria demonstrates a general lack of knowledge about some diseases in the late nineteenth century. For example Price blamed the 'pestilential dust' blown in by strong winds for spreading 'the germs of fever and other disease'.[205] Ignorance of the causes of diseases such as typhoid contributed to the problems on the goldfields. Fear that dust transmitted disease was a widespread belief. Catherine made the comment that everyone wore long blue gauze veils and glasses to keep out the dust because they thought it was unsafe to let it touch the face, neck and eyes.[206] In 1895 an eminent physician on hygiene, Dr Frank Tratman supported the miasma theory. The idea that typhoid was water borne held little conviction at the time, particularly in the goldfields where water was scarce and condensers were used.[207] Robert Tyler, under the same misapprehensions, decided to check out the facts with his doctor. He was told that the heat was dry and not damp, and consequently caused no harm. Therefore it was all right to turn his shirtsleeves up on hot days.[208] In time a broader understanding of filth, water pollution and water-borne disease became apparent.

The insanitary conditions and lack of water proved to be the bane of the fields, but the stalwartness of the miners was very much admired by the visiting travellers, as has been seen, for the rush for gold never waned. The scarcity of water was well documented by the travellers. For example Tyler explained the problems it caused.

> The dry heat is dreadful, your mouth becomes perfectly parched, and you must have something wet. … No water to make anything with, and the greatest difficulty to get even a small quantity to wash in. Talk about baths, I don't believe any man in the district has had a real bath for two years. … Water was so scarce at the Bars, the whisky decanter being left on the counter, whilst the small jug holding the water was removed immediately.[209]

Tyler actually experienced a degree of comfort compared to Carnegie, who visited in 1892. Water drawn from a well near a large granite rock was carted in large tanks by either horse-teams, or by camel caravans.

> The supply was daily failing, and washing was out of the question; enough to drink was all one thought of; two lines of eager men on either side of the

[204] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.145.
[205] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.76-77.
[206] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.28.
[207] Whittington, *Gold and Typhoid: Two Fevers*, pp.8-9.
[208] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.115.
[209] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.119.

> track could daily be seen waiting for these water-carts. What a wild rush ensued when they were sighted! In a moment they were surrounded and taken by storm, men swarming on to them like an army of ants.[210]

The rush for water nearly equalled the rush for gold.

The Rushes to Siberia and Kurnalpi

Most of the travellers visited established gold mines, and saw the landscape during and after it was prospected. However, Carnegie and Sligo were themselves gold prospectors, and therefore offered a different perspective of space by actively taking part in the early gold rushes. Two rushes in common to both men have been selected to examine here. There is no evidence either party met. The rush to Siberia, northeast of Coolgardie, occurred in November 1893. Carnegie said that the rush was such a great failure that 'Siberia' was the only word adequate enough 'to express the chagrin of the men who hoped so much from its discovery.' He drew a picture of his experience.

> What a motley crowd of eager faces throngs the streets and camp on the first news of a new rush—every one anxious to be off and be the first to make his fortune—every man questioning his neighbour, who knows no more than himself, about distances and direction, where the nearest water may be, and all manner of similar queries.
>
> Once clear of the town, what a strange collection of baggage animals, horses, camels, and donkeys! What a mass of carts, drays, buggies, wheelbarrows, handbarrows, and many queer makeshifts for carrying goods—the strangest of all a large barrel set on an axle, and dragged or shoved by means of two long handles, the proud possessor's belongings turning round and round inside until they must surely be churned into a most confusing jumble. Then we see the 'Swagman' with his load on his back, perhaps fifty pounds of provisions rolled up in his blankets, with a pick and shovel strapped on them, and in either hand a gallon bag of water. No light work this with the thermometer standing at 100°F in the shade, and the track inches deep in fine, powdery dust; and yet men start off with a light heart, with perhaps, a two hundred mile journey before them, replenishing their bundles as they pass through camps on their road.[211]

Sligo rushed to Siberia along with about twenty other wagons. Sligo's crew passed some thirsty miners and parted with some of their precious water. On another occasion they needed their revolvers to ward off men clambering over their wagon to steal water. The soak at Siberia soon ran out, entailing a two-day return journey to another soak, ahead of a stampede for water. He said many men died on the journey, stirring the Government to despatch camel parties from Coolgardie to pick up the thirst-stricken men. 'Many were found partly unconscious, some stark naked were chasing mirages,

[210] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.7-8.
[211] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.25-26.

and many whose bodies will never be found strayed into the Salt Lake country.'[212] By January 1894, when a rush to Kurnalpi occurred, Carnegie and other prospectors seemed to be more prepared:

> [A] queer-looking crowd they were too, for every third or fourth swagman carried on his shoulder a small portable condenser, the boiler hanging behind him and the cooler in front; … for the month was January, no surface water existed on the track.… The nearest water to the scene of the rush was a salt lake seven miles distant, and this at night presented a strange appearance. Condensers of every size and capacity fringed the two shores of a narrow channel; under each was a fire, and round each all night long could be seen figures, stoking the burning wood or drawing water, and in the distance the sound of the axe could be heard, for at whatever time a party arrived they had forthwith to set about 'cooking water.' The clattering and hammering the incessant talking, and the figures flitting about in the glare, reminded one of a crowded open-air market with flaring lamps and frequent coffee stalls.[213]

Although Price was not a prospector he recorded a 'feverish excitement' on the streets with news of a new alluvial find. He said that many covered extraordinary distances only to find that sometimes it was a cruel hoax.[214] Calvert explained that because of the flat roads and expensive horse feed the bicycle was a popular form of transport.[215]

The Town of Kalgoorlie

Carnegie and Sligo were also part of the greatest rush in Western Australian history to Hannan's (later called Kalgoorlie) in June 1893, which had depopulated Coolgardie overnight.[216] Once Carnegie had arrived at the site he found that he was unprepared for the bitterly cold winter nights. As well, the winter rains made dry-blowing impossible due to the moisture in the soil. Fires were built at night on top of heaps of freshly dug alluvial soil to dry it out. In the morning these heaps of ashes and earth were dry-blown together, adding clouds of ashes to the already dusty process.

> A strange appearance these fires had, dotted through the brush, lighting up now a tent, now a water-cart, now a camp of fortunate ones lying cosily under their canvas roof, now a set of poor devils with hardly a rag to their backs. Oh glorious uncertainty of mining![217]

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[212] Sligo, *Mates and Gold*, pp.48-9.
[213] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.32.
[214] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.74.
[215] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.137.
[216] Paddy Hannan, Dan Shea and Tom Flanagan found the rich alluvial goldfield on 17 June 1893, forty kilometres from Coolgardie. Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.61.
[217] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.20-21.

Price made his way to Hannan's in 1895 on a twenty-four mile drive, 'being as dreary and monotonous as ever'. He found few houses or stores, but the 'townsite was sold out with extensive building in process.'[218]

> The word 'gold' seems to ring in one's ear all day at Hannans.[sic] … [T]he incessant digging goes on, whilst one is startled out of one's sleep in the dead of night by the deep booming of dynamite-charges as they are exploded far away below in the bowels of the earth, or the hoarse screech of some steam-whistle calling in the night shifts.[219]

With the difficulty Europeans had in making comparisons with what they already knew, their descriptions became focussed on specific items that they could identify with. As a result, they grasped for any comparison to home, often scenes that would normally be overlooked. Visiting the Boulder mine reminded Price of an English north-country mining village. 'The continuous din of the many stamps, the dull roar of engines, the hissing of escaping steam, and the hammering of saw-mills, made to my ears almost sweet music after the silence of the bush.'[220] Price has only described recognisable sounds because visually the scene would have borne little resemblance to an English mining village.

In October of the same year Robert Tyler went to Hannan's on a road that was inches deep in sand in some places. On arrival they found the corrugated iron Exchange Hotel to be full.

> [A]ll [the hotel manager] could do for us was to spread a thin horse rug on the bare boards in the feeding room, and give us an opossum rug to throw over us. … On looking round I found I was not the earliest up. I should think some of those I saw must have slept standing up. Or lying down in odd corners. The fact is, Hannans [sic] has increased in population so greatly during the last 3 months, that there is not sufficient sleeping accommodation.[221]

A few months later Calvert travelled on the road to Hannan's for 'miles in nearly a straight line, through undulating, sparsely-wooded country that is scorched and dismal', avoiding tree stumps and broken buggies. Calvert described Hannan's as a miniature Coolgardie, with condensers at its entrance, a wide main road, a Stock Exchange, a club, four hotels, and two local newspapers.[222] As well, because of the haste of the owners to open their stores and hotels, corrugated galvanised iron was used extensively.

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[218] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.81.
[219] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.84. Deep reefs of telluride gold were discovered and became known as the golden mile, found on the Boulder Fault, leading to the establishment of the nearby town of Boulder. http://www.westaustralianvista.com/history-of-kalgoorlie.html (accessed 20 Dec 2009); Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, pp.62-63.
[220] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.92.
[221] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.120.
[222] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.95.

Its popularity in the goldfields was due to its low cost, transportability, ability to cover a large area, it was waterproof, had a long life span, and required little labour.[223] He pointed out that although 'galvanised iron warms up like an oven in the sun, … it cools as soon as the sun goes down'. However, it was unattractive by daylight, and only 'tolerable' at night. 'When the moon's silvery beams hide their deformity, one could wish that the garish light of day would never come to destroy the illusive picture. … Such a town is an architectural nightmare.'[224] The prolific use of galvanised iron is further evidence that it was difficult to transplant Britishness into some regions of Western Australia, especially the goldfields.

By the time Raymond Radclyffe arrived the following year, Hannan's had been renamed Kalgoorlie by the Western Australian government. The centre of life had moved from Coolgardie to the many newly built hotels in Kalgoorlie.[225] Catherine Bond visited in July the same year via a road still rough and heavy with trunks and roots of trees. She said the road had never been made properly because of the new railway being laid. She thought that the streets in Kalgoorlie were dusty and drab in colour.[226] May Vivienne arrived in comfort by rail in 1899. She described Kalgoorlie as a well-laid-out city with impressive buildings, broad streets where trees had been planted to give shade, electric lights, and '30-foot wide' bicycle tracks. 'And altogether Kalgoorlie is a splendid goldfields city.'[227] Some years later, in the spring of 1912, Mary Hall was not as impressed by Kalgoorlie.

> As the day wore on the heat became intense ... reduced me to the limpness of a rag. I … found the place a typical mining town which is often built in a hurry, with nothing much to regret if it is also left in a hurry. … Day and night, the ceaseless thud of the quartz batteries is heard.[228]

These two impressions of Kalgoorlie are quite different from one another. Once again May Vivienne denies the harsh images illustrated by other travellers, of disease, discomfort, struggle, and a disharmony with nature. By contrast, even though Mary Hall arrived after many of these problems had been resolved—a water pipeline had been laid and typhoid had been abated—she presented the colonial narrative. This narrative, with its myths about perseverance against a harsh, inhospitable environment, was represented on the goldfields by most of the travellers, in particular prospectors Carnegie and Sligo.

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[223] Morison, and White (eds.), *Western Towns and Buildings,* p.60. See also Mornement and Holloway, *Corrugated Iron*, pp.7-8.
[224] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.129.
[225] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, pp.13,15.
[226] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.28.
[227] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, pp.119-120.
[228] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.146.

It was also predominant in Calvert's masculine accounts, for example his tale about the dusty dirt encrusted new arrival, a distinctive goldfields image. The women travellers (other than Vivienne) also maintained this narrative, although at times they focussed on some comfortable aspects of goldfield's life.

Conclusion

Through the travellers' imaginings and memories of the space through which they moved, this chapter has examined change in the major settlements of the Swan River and Avon Valley, and the eastern goldfields. Their texts have indicated growth from impoverished dwellings and settlements of makeshift materials in clearings surrounded by sand and dust, and occasional signs of European development and farming, to cities of brick buildings and electric light, cultivated fields and prosperous farming settlements. The transportation the travellers used improved over the years with the building of better roads and interconnecting railways, stimulated by gold-seekers, investors and tourists in the mid 1890s. The aesthetic setting of Perth upon the broad expanse of the Swan River charmed most travellers, and it was favoured more than the port town of Fremantle. The travellers' propensity to seek cultivated fields and signs of European style agricultural progress was satisfied in the established European settlements in the fertile fields around Guildford and the Avon Valley. The descriptions of space in the goldfields recorded rapid change, as well as the accompanying health and sanitary problems caused by the influx of population.

The male travellers tended to present the colonial narrative, particularly as they moved through the goldfields, of struggle and hardship, and endurance to the inferior conditions they experienced. It had much to say about masculinity and was predominantly noticeable in stories by the younger travellers, such as Carnegie, Sligo, and Calvert. But sometimes a pastoral narrative would emerge in the more fertile valleys, disguising any difficulties the colonists may have endured. Women travellers—although at times upholding the colonial narrative, mainly on the goldfields—tended to present the pastoral narrative in their passages, telling of the bounty and fertility of the fields. May Vivienne even painted the goldfields in arcadian imagery, giving a sense of comfort and ease.

At the same time an inability to identify aspects of the picturesque demonstrated the travellers' susceptibility towards seeing some of Western Australia's space as monotonous, especially in the goldfields. Transferring Britishness proved difficult on

the goldfields. In adapting to climate, clearing the landscape of trees to use in mining, digging up the soil in the search for gold, and catering to the availability of building materials that could be easily transported such vast distances, a unique space on the goldfields was created. An image of galvanised iron cities with very wide streets sitting on cleared sparsely vegetated land was illustrated by the travellers' observations.

What is noticeably absent in the travellers' writings and illustrations is indications of Indigenous settlement or habitation. Space from Fremantle to the goldfields is imagined as either European settled towns, farms and huts, or vast untouched, uninhabited areas. The selected travellers also observed social and cultural peculiarity in Western Australia. The influences that helped shape their perceptions are investigated next.

Chapter 5

Ideologies and People

in the crowd
They could not deem me one of such; I stood
Among them, but not of them; in a shroud
Of thoughts which were not their thoughts, and still could,
Had I not filed my mind, which thus itself subdued.
(Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto III (1816), 1053-57)

A major argument in this thesis is that contemporary thought and ideology influenced European travellers' perceptions. Discussed so far is the way this affected their discernment of space in southern Western Australia from 1850 to 1914. At the same time, were travellers' observations about the people of Western Australia also shaped by their assumptions, ambitions and ideologies, and those of the institutions they represented? In Byron's words above, did travellers feel that they 'stood Among them, but not of them'? In order to analyse the travellers' comments in Chapters Six and Seven these influences need to be discussed; the institutions they represented and those existing in Western Australian society, as well as the possibility of any preconceptions the travellers may have developed.

Certainly British opinions and policies profoundly influenced Western Australia's economic, political and social development. Virtually all aspects of habitation in nineteenth-century Western Australia were adapted from Britain's institutions—governmental, administrative, judicial, financial, educational, cultural, architectural, religious, dress, and the exclusive use of English.[1] Western Australia

[1] John Carroll, 'Mateship and Egalitarianism: The Failure of Upper Middle-Class Nerve', in John Carroll (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp.143-153, p.143; Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties*, p.xiii.

was a satellite community utterly dependent on the connection with imperial Britain for its economic livelihood and defence. Even after Federation in January 1901, much of Western Australia's cultural, political and social life still derived its essence from Britain.

Consequently, from distant Europe, society in Western Australia was preconceived; it was, using Benedict Anderson's term, an 'imagined community'.[2] It was imagined as a cohesive community, represented by a typical people, and a little foreign. Charles Hawes' comment, when he first arrived in Perth in 1901, represents both the expectations that British travellers had of a distant community colonised by their compatriots and their confusion on finding it similar but different.

> As one sets foot in the city, gazes down the streets and at the faces with pent-up curiosity, what is it one feels? The foreignness of it all. Here in a land that is not England, and yet where the people are English and the tongue is English, things are so different, this it is that makes it more foreign than France, Germany or India.[3]

Hawes' imagined community was limited further because the inhabitants of Western Australia were not 'mono-national' but were made up of a diversity of nationalities and ethnicities, as well as multiple identities and classes.[4] This limited imagined community came to be mythologised over the next century. C.T. Stannage called its major characteristic 'The Pioneer Myth', for the pioneer became a central figure in historical discourse, which left out convicts, servants, city workers, mining labourers, Aboriginals and other people of non-Anglo-Saxon descent. The term 'pioneers' represented the elite and rural developers exclusively, and tells a story of individual entrepreneurship in an ideal community that was apparently classless and conflict free.[5] These dominant colonial myths and narratives were fascinations that had tempted travellers out to Australia.

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[2] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* Rev. and extended edn, London; New York, Verso, 1991, pp.5-7. Even though Anderson used this term in his definition of a nation, and Western Australia is not a nation, in the minds of both its members and its visitors—in Anderson's words—lived the 'image of their communion', distinguished and limited by the style in which they were imagined. It was imagined as a 'community' because, like a nation, 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation' that prevailed it was conceived as a 'deep, horizontal comradeship'. Charlie Fox has recognised this in Charlie Fox, 'The View from the West', in Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (eds), *Australia's History: Themes and Debates,* Sydney, UNSW Press, 2005, pp. 81-97, p.81.

[3] Hawes, *The Diary of Charles H. Hawes*, p.191.

[4] This is a major theme in the collection of articles in Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History,* St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1997.

[5] C. T. Stannage, *Western Australia's Heritage: The Pioneer Myth,* monograph series No.1 edn, University Extension: University of Western Australia, 1985, p.7. The Pioneer Myth also explains how a gentry tradition dominated representations of society in Western Australian history from its earliest days.

And yet the travellers in this study journeyed under the aegis of imperialism, and bore considerable degrees of social and economic power and privilege, which would have determined their attitudes towards the people of Western Australia. As Peter Marshall argued:

> Empire reinforced a hierarchical view of the world, in which the British occupied a pre-eminent place among the colonial powers, while those subjected to colonial rule were ranged below them, in varying degrees of supposed inferiority.[6]

Class and ethnicity were classifications of people that were fundamental in this hierarchical view of the world, and underpinned nineteenth-century society. Because these categories existed in both the culture of the society from which the travellers came, and the society in which they visited, despite the pervasive myth of a free and egalitarian society, it is important to consider them in some detail to help place the travellers' observations that are examined later, in context.

Class Views

Class analysis is such a charged concept that it is difficult to summarise. As David Cannadine pointed out, there are 'many fluctuating and sometimes contradictory senses of identity that constantly cut across each other'[7] in both European and Australian society. No model of class structure is as neat or simple as has been claimed by many sociologists and historians. The gradual developments of various phases of economic change—capitalism, the industrial revolution, the rise of new technologies—were extremely complex and varied throughout Europe, and were never so momentous as to bring about homogenous, self-conscious classes of landowners, capitalists, and labourers.'[8] Cannadine explained that postmodern literary theory claims that:

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[6] Citing Peter Marshall in David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999, p.67.

[7] Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, p.16.

[8] Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, pp.9,20-21; also see Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp.45,48; and Erik Olin Wright, *Approaches to Class Analysis*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.182. Modern Britain's social structure was integrated and quite elaborate and complex. Wright argued that an analysis of class depends on the question. Different frameworks can be used for different questions. For example there are a number of ways of looking at inequality; either materialistically, or by standards of living, or in life's chances, or in social organisation, or in the distribution of location of material inequality. Young also stated that 'class' does not always refer to the same phenomenon, but can indicate a 'social description, a relation to production, a political self-definition or a cultural practice.' However she still believed that it is like a sandwich with an upper, middle and lower layer. Cannadine suggested that, although 'ignorant oversimplifications of the complexity of society', there are actually three enduring models which have survived within British

> the history of all hitherto existing society is no longer the history of class struggles; rather, it is the history of a limitless number of individual self-categorizations and subjective social descriptions of which class is only one among a multitude of competing and frequently changing vocabularies.[9]

That is why Europeans did not think of themselves so much in conventional terms of a tripartite upper, middle, or working class, but more in terms of a multi-layered and disorderly class structure of smaller and interconnected social gradations.[10] It was a complex, stratified hierarchy, entailing sensitivity to the smallest nuances of status. In Britain, and to a degree, in other European countries, the organisation of the monarchy, parliament, the law, the armed services, and education was based on the social principles of assumed inequality; order and station, deference and subordination.[11] A ranking in this elaborate hierarchical system was determined by a number of factors: hereditary peerage, ancestry, education, accent, deportment, mode of dress, type of house, recreational pursuits, and lifestyle.[12] These signs and signals helped determine how one regarded oneself and how others regarded one.

Many nineteenth-century individuals strove to improve themselves to become 'a better class of person'. They adopted conservative values, shaped their lives to conform to new standards and acted out rules of formal behaviour in public and in private. In Britain the rising middle classes sought to emulate the nobility's refined taste, thus creating a culture of Victorian gentility, made possible by living in an urban environment where a network of social connections flourished. As Linda Young argued, 'in *doing*, they came to *be* middle class, making their own definitions of what was correct'.[13]

> In the end, the only certain boundaries to middle-class status in Britain were the chance of birth that demarcated the aristocracy and the necessity of manual work that marked the working class. … In between was a

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society. They are the merging hierarchical view of society; the triadic version with upper, middle, and lower collective groups; and a basic division between the patricians and the plebeians - "us" and "them".

[9] Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, p.12.

[10] Citing Geoffrey Best. Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, p.99.

[11] Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, pp.107,130. Cannadine (p.169) argued: 'British society has never been a single unitary, integrated hierarchy; it has never been divided into three hermetically sealed and homogeneous collectivities; and … has never been so deeply divided that the masses were likely to rise up and overthrow their betters. All these versions of society were (and are) simplified imaginings or rhetorical constructs. … [W]hen thinking about society and when thinking about themselves, this is what most Britons are constantly doing: silently and easily shifting from one social vision to another'. See Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.18; and Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.23-24, who define the concept of 'deference', which is a willing acknowledgment that people were superior to one's self, and that they were justly entitled to their superiority. Deference was expressed in constant sensitivity to the status relationships of all social encounters.

[12] Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain*, p.23.

[13] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.10,45,70.

> heterogeneous and endlessly subdivisible middle class not unified in any public sphere but sharing a body of ideas and behaviours communicated through education, reading, the practice of religion, the practice of servant management and kinship connections.[14]

Displaying Gentility

This complicated system of class and status was the foundation on which European society in Western Australia was based. In the early years of the Swan River Colony,[15] settlement had particular appeal to British members of the gentry with few noble connections, and middle class investors who were born and educated to wield power for the benefit, as they understood it, of all. Many were young men from a civil, defence or professional background, attracted by generous land grants which were a powerful incentive, ensuring status, security, wealth and political influence—privileges that came with land ownership which was usually denied them in England under the laws of primogeniture. Though few had personal knowledge of aristocratic circles in Britain, in Western Australia they 'fulfilled an aristocracy-equivalent role as the powers of the land, the holders of patronage and the leaders of society'.[16] This so called 'gentry' aspired to recreate the British social system in which they would have wealth based on ownership of land, and could create in the colony a society—a system of government, law, religion, property and family relations—in which they would hold power. Because the size of the land granted to the early colonists related to the value of their assets and the number of servants they had, this additionally reinforced hierarchy and the divisions of class.[17] Thus, as C. T. Stannage claimed, the 'society based on rank and status' that Governor James Stirling set out to achieve in the Swan River Colony at its inception, was realised.[18]

According to Geoffrey Bolton, snobbery there was, but in reality an established gentry tradition did not exist. Bolton argued that Western Australia was 'not nearly rich enough to nurture the kind of dynasties' that existed in the eastern colonies of

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[14] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.61-2.

[15] The original British settlement was named the Swan River Colony, but was renamed Western Australia once land was claimed further away from the Swan River, to extend over the western third of the continent. However Swan River Colony was used for a number of years.

[16] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, p.53. They were generally educated privately or at minor public schools and were products of genteel upbringings, familiar with the practice and values of etiquette, evangelical religion, and the ethics of domesticity. See Stannage, *The People of Perth,* pp.11-17 for specific details about the founders of Perth.

[17] Pamela Statham, 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850', in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1981, pp.181-210. Membership of the so-called 'gentry' was held to include the wealthy free settlers with successful pastoral enterprises, as well as professionals and merchants.

[18] Stannage, *The People of Perth,* p.12.

Australia.[19] He stated that 'Stirling's original vision of a gentry colony stood no chance.'[20] This statement contrasts with Stannage's study,[21] which found that the gentry tradition had become well established, and that they performed their role remarkably well, even if they were not as rich as their eastern counterparts.[22] John Hirst claimed that Bolton used the traditional British system in making this assertion, by associating genteel status with the ownership of land. Whereas Hirst argued that the means by which status was recognised in Australia differed because gentlemanly status could be identified by anyone holding a position in the occupational hierarchy, or by possessing independent means; thus merchants could belong to privileged society.[23] But this reflected changes in the later nineteenth century in Britain as well, according to G.E. Mingay, as land began to lose its old pre-eminence and the business world greatly expanded. A new sense of elitism was exploited through new sources of income and status found in occupations in the expanding professions and civil services.[24] Political reform, agricultural collapse, crippling labour shortages, the secret ballot, and compulsory education steadily stripped power and privilege from the landowning gentry in Britain, and as a meaningful social class they disappeared.[25]

The re-creation and retention of a governing genteel society in Western Australia also meant many challenges for the founders. However, essentially, the system survived until the end of the century, accommodating the introduction of convicts and the first wave of gold prospectors.[26] Louis Hartz' study—*The Founding of New Societies*—may explain the tenacious quality of Western Australia's elite society.[27] Hartz argued that the settler societies of the New World were 'fragments' of the source nation, and had become frozen in time. As a result, remnants of the social system and underlying ideology prevalent in Britain at the time of Western Australia's foundation left residual conservatism in its societal structure. The idea was that once the colonists departed the shores of their homeland, the political catalysts that drove libertarian ideologies were

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[19] Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.53.
[20] Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.15.
[21] Stannage, *The People of Perth.*
[22] Penny Russell also argued that the notion of gentility was endlessly reworked and continued to be dominant in 19th Century Melbourne. Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1994, overview.
[23] John Hirst, 'Egalitarianism', in Penny Russell and Richard White (eds), *Pastiche 1: Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Australia,* St Leonards, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, 1994, pp.103-119, p.109.
[24] G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class*, London, Longman Group Ltd, 1976, pp.14-15.
[25] Mingay, *The Gentry*, pp.78-79.
[26] Aveling (ed.), *Westralian Voices,* p.2, Stannage, *The People of Perth*, p.7, Statham, 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850', p.185.
[27] Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964, p.4.

removed. In this respect, the radicalism in social reform evolving in Europe was not adopted in the colonies since the antagonist was abandoned with the creation of their New World.[28]

In Europe a bohemian culture was emerging within bourgeois society that rejected the stuffiness, obscurantism, and the taboos of Victorian moralism, and promoted freedom from social control and self-discipline. However, even though the liberating nature of bohemian non-conformism had a romantic appeal, at the same time middle-class values and behaviours pervaded society, and the belonging to, or achievement of middle-class status remained all-important.[29] This conservatism was evident in Western Australia. As Hirst pointed out:

> [W]hat made Australia's hankering after old-world titles and distinctions even more pathetic was that the old world itself had seen through them. The social revolution would sweep them away. Australians, to universal laughter, would be running after the 'gewgaws of titles' while the rest of the world was discarding them.[30]

Moreover, Hirst argued that new-made colonial gentlemen were doubtful by traditional English standards of land ownership and heritage, and even though they mimicked British high society as best they could they were never accepted in England as such.[31] Both Stannage and Young argued that the desire for middle–class exclusiveness and gentility was rampant in Australia, despite persistent views promoting the myth that there was an egalitarian society, that there existed 'the characteristics of communality and generosity', and that all people were given a 'fair go'.[32]

The idea then that there was a more fluid social order in Western Australia than in Britain was generally represented about Australian society. It was reinforced by stories regarding those who had risen from humble origins, thus perpetuating the 'rags

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[28] See R. N. Rosecrance, 'The Radical Culture of Australia', in Louis Hartz (ed.), *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964, p.299.
[29] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.189,192; Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.300.
[30] Hirst, 'Egalitarianism', p.115.
[31] Hirst, 'Egalitarianism', p.109.
[32] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 45; Stannage, *The Pioneer Myth*, overview. Also see Carroll, 'Mateship and Egalitarianism', pp.143,153; and Elaine Thompson, *Fair Enough: Egalitarianism in Australia*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 1994, for discussions on the inconsistencies in the claims of egalitarianism in Australian society. The idea of 'a fair go' for all in Australia was certainly not represented when the inclusion of Indigenous Australians was never contemplated. See Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, St. Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1998, p.249. Reynolds notes that there were some humanitarians who appealed for justice for Indigenous people.

to riches' myth. In reality, there were many more who remained in poverty,[33] success in Western Australia was various and indiscriminate.[34] Moreover, class historiography has revealed that there were similarities in the social structure of Britain, America, and other western societies, and that, as Young stated, these features should be viewed as 'diasporic rather than unique'.[35]

Historian F. G. Clarke suggested that unlike the lower classes, and some from the middle classes, who came eventually to see Australia as a promised land, the upper classes believed that Europeans from the higher levels of society would want to leave once they had increased their wealth. They felt that the social status and cultural life befitting a gentleman was unobtainable in the colonies, where a demeaning contact with convict servants or the newly-rich—who had come out as labourers or tradesmen—could not be avoided. [36] Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson explained that while the Australian male colonist was part of the 'imperial enterprise'; the colonial power's agent and beneficiary, he was also excluded from the 'Empire club'. 'From his half-empowered limbo he fetishizes yet disparages a Europe which in turn depreciates him while envying his energy, innocence, and enterprise.'[37] There was also an underlying insinuation that the woman 'settler' was not quite as refined in her views and outlook as a 'real lady' of Europe, according to historian Beverly Kingston.[38] Young pointed out that:

> The self-made, self-improving culture of the United States and the British colonies constituted sufficient evidence for English genteel society to abhor such peripheral places, but it was an empty snobbery. American and colonial standards were not just derivative; they were transplanted. Their behaviours were not merely imitative, they were the same, granted that local fashions generated occasional idiosyncrasies in practice, just as happened 'at home'.[39]

This proposal then, that the British did not accept Australian colonists on an equal level, even though they were admired for their apparent successes and egalitarianism outside

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[33] See C. T. Stannage, 'Uncovering Poverty in Australian History', in Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (eds), *Australia's History: Themes and Debates,* Sydney, UNSW Press, 2005, pp.143-157, p.146.
[34] See White, *Inventing Australia,* p.40, regarding Australia in general.
[35] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, p.45; See also White, *Inventing Australia,* pp.23, 62.
[36] Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties*, pp.162-164. Also see Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, pp.8-9, regarding gentility in Melbourne.
[37] Tiffin and Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire,* p.231.
[38] Beverley Kingston, 'The Lady and the Australian Girl: Some Thoughts on Nationalism and Class', in Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns (eds), *Australian Women: New Feminist Perspectives,* Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp.28-41.
[39] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, p.152. Also see Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p.xx when he discusses the western world interfering until the invaded country becomes like the West, then they are allowed their independence.

of Britain, will be investigated with regards to travellers' perceptions of white Western Australians.

Dignifying Physical Labour

In the colonies physical outdoor work was invested with a prestige attached to independence of spirit and manliness, so that people who performed it were held in high regard. Many who, out of necessity, had substituted their leisurely life in England for hard work in Australia shared this view of the dignified worker.[40] Jane Davis found in her study that members of the upper classes emphasised in their letters home that the need to work was the order of the day demanded by ladies and gentlemen due to the shortages in servants, and that they were not despised because of it.[41] As Penny Russell maintained in her study of Melbourne society, colonists were therefore aware that gentility had to be displayed more overtly than in England.[42]

However, the change of views towards work was not remarkable to only Australia. 'Industry' and 'work' became revered words in industrial Europe, elevated to a moral nobility by the likes of Thomas Carlyle. Work as the prime means of fulfilling happiness became a common theme, and sayings such as 'heaven helps those who help themselves' satisfied Utilitarians and Evangelical ethics. Poverty was considered to be the consequence of laziness and spendthrift habits.[43] The cult of manliness was nurtured as a middle class construct 'through school textbooks, children's literature, philanthropic organisations and the churches' and enveloped Britain, its colonies, and America.[44] As Young explained, the genius of the new middle class was to adapt its requirements to suit new conditions during industrialisation whilst still aspiring towards refined culture. It managed to 'invert the view of work and leisure, so that not to work became a standard of poor behaviour, … it condemned the idle rich as much as the feckless poor and so cast the middle class as distinctly separate from both.'[45] These views obviously carried through to Australia. In

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[40] Charles Fox and Marilyn Lake (eds), *Australians at Work: Commentaries and Sources,* Ringwood, McPhee Gribble, 1990, p.46.
[41] Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, p.99.
[42] Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p.1.
[43] Fox, *Working Australia*, p.33. This was partly the rationale why convicts were used as a source of free labour; hard work was recommended as a means of reforming idleness and instilling the habits of work, and self discipline. See Louise J. Bavin, 'Punishment, Prisons and Reform: Incarceration in Western Australia in the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Refractions: Studies in Western Australian History*, vol.XIV, 1993, pp.139,148.
[44] J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940,* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987, p.2.
[45] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, p.17.

a book written in 1885 entitled *Australian Etiquette,* idleness was considered the 'greatest cause of misery and wretchedness. The want of something to do is what makes people wicked and miserable. It breeds selfishness, mischief-making, envy, jealously and vice, in all its most dreadful forms.'[46]

Australia was often viewed as a fit receptacle for Britain's failures; the 'feckless poor', and sometimes the 'idle rich' from the upper ranks of English society. Therefore idleness and poverty in a land of promise could only be explained by personal failings, as Stannage and Richard White pointed out.[47] Convicts, and later the poorer class of migrants, were made scapegoats for crime, domestic violence and drunkenness in colonial society, which was believed to be caused by their idleness and improvidence.[48] However, the large consumption of alcohol was commonplace rather than unique to Western Australia, and can be identified in European, and many other societies, and was often the side-effect of poverty caused by a number of disadvantages such as oppression, inadequate earnings, sickness and old age.[49] Although attitudes towards emigrating to Australia underwent considerable change over time, from the stigma of felonious exile to a place where there was money to be made, the upper and middle classes continued to believe emigration was a social corrective for the unemployed labouring classes,[50] supposing the bulk of emigrants were from 'the humblest ranks of life in the mother country.'[51]

At the end of the nineteenth century, through a mixture of traditional beliefs and the findings of modern biological science, theories about health through work and exercise, and character-development and manliness through sport became widespread throughout the Western world, particularly amongst the middle classes.[52] This would have been understood by travellers, and would be reflected not only in their views of

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[46] *Australian Etiquette*, p.246.
[47] Stannage, 'Uncovering Poverty in Australian History', p.155. White, *Inventing Australia*, p.42; Also see Russell, 'Unsettling Settler Society', p.36.
[48] Stannage, 'Uncovering Poverty in Australian History', p.155; Russell, 'Unsettling Settler Society', p.36.
[49] J.E. Thomas, 'Crime and Society', in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1983, pp.636-652, p.643. Government legislation and Temperance Societies attempted to curb the problem with little success. It existed from the 1830s, increasing in the 1850s with the advent of convicts, through the 1890s with an influx of hard drinking miners, as well as offences attributable to alcohol increasing in the first decade of the twentieth century. In addition there was a rapid growth in the number of pubs.
[50] Early immigration programmes selected the displaced poor in order to rid Britain of their burden. See Elder, 'Immigration History', pp.98-115; Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties*, pp.101,104. White, *Inventing Australia,* pp.38-40.
[51] From an article in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 1848, cited in Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties*, p.34.
[52] Roberta J. Park, 'Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830 1900', in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940,* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987, pp.7-34, p.9.

inhabitants in the colonies, but also in their expectation of the additional effort that they themselves required to be able physically to travel.

Appreciating Womanly Labour

Where did the 'cult of manliness' fit into the lives of nineteenth-century European women and children? Within the middle-class construct, and furthermore, within the tiered class structure, women's place was often neglected. Feminist historians such as Catherine Hall have argued that the middle class construction of the ideal family obscured class relations. The split between men and women came to be seen as naturally ordained, and that all women were first and foremost wives and mothers.

> The separation between the sexes was marked out at every level within the society – in manufacturing, the retail trades and the professions, in public life of all kinds, in the churches, in the press and in the home.[53]

The ideal family in Western Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century consisted of the husband as the breadwinner with his wife and children dependent on him for their physical welfare. The husband's domain was the public sphere of work and politics. The private sphere of the home was the domain of the wife and mother. As carer, nurturer, and civiliser, the wife was responsible for domestic contentment and security in the home, extending to an expected civilising influence on society.[54] Convention as prescribed in *Australian Etiquette* dictated a rigorously stereotyped personality.

> Home is the woman's kingdom, and there she reigns supreme. To embellish that home, to make happy the lives of her husband and the dear ones committed to her trust, is the honoured task which it is the wife's province to perform. … The wife should remember that upon her, to the greatest extent, devolves the duty of making home happy.[55]

Although she may 'reign supreme', it was only in her function as the provider of happiness. As John Tosh pointed out, men's role in the home was as father and husband and head of the household, and home was their retreat for both comfort and

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[53] Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992, pp.92,106.

[54] Fox, *Working Australia*, p.87. The industrial revolution in Britain had changed the concept of the family, which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was involved in mutual or reciprocal labours, usually at home. A change in the workplace caused a dramatic reversal of attitude in the nineteenth century, which determined that the natural place for a woman to be was in her home taking care of the family and therefore detached from the commercial world. These ideas were replicated in Western Australia.

[55] *Australian Etiquette*, p.216.

privacy.[56] Women were never entitled to equal status with men, even within the family, and were also seen as passive, emotional and physically unstable.[57] However, Russell argued that within the gentry, women wore the public face of gentility, notwithstanding their relegation to the private sphere away from the 'real world of power and competition', thus defying their complete control by men, for in cultural terms they 'held together the whole elaborate edifice of society'.[58]

The powerful concept of refinement prescribed that all upper and middle-class women abstain from gainful employment.[59] Despite this, wives in rural areas often found their unpaid labour was depended on, as farmers in Western Australia had difficulty finding necessary labour. Women therefore contributed to the material livelihood of the family group. Home garden plots and orchards throughout the colony allowed many housewives to make pickles, chutney and jams, as well as having a few fowls, ducks and geese producing eggs and poultry, all available for sale, and which often sustained delighted travellers on their weary travels throughout the colony.[60] In rural areas many children also laboured alongside adults with responsibilities that included domestic and minding duties, and farm work.[61]

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[56] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, p.49.

[57] Aveling (ed.), *Westralian Voices,* p.275; *Australian Etiquette*, ; Grellier, 'The Family', p.498.

[58] Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p.200.

[59] Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.50-51; Probert, *Working Life*, p.75; Aveling (ed.), *Westralian Voices,* p. 275. However work combining the ideologies of domesticity and respectability were considered to be suitable for middle-class women. These included nursing and teaching (occupations into which many single middle-class women went, but were expected to give up at marriage), and mistresses of servants (although the availability of servants was always difficult, diminishing more by the twentieth century with introductions of new labour saving devices and new openings for women in office jobs). Some middle-class women entered the drapery and millinery trades. Although being in trade was considered to be vulgar amongst the socially conscious, women who worked in the new big department stores being built in the 1890s and 1900s only dealt with women of their own class, separating them from women doing manual work and domestic service. Approved work for middle-class women tended to segregate them into a constricted area with little opportunity to express their talents, interests or capabilities. See Fox, *Working Australia*, pp.89,91.

[60] Edna Ryan, 'Women in Production in Australia', in Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns (eds), *Australian Women: New Feminist Perspectives,* Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp.258-272, p.261. Also see Maggie MacKellar, *Core of My Heart, My Country: Women's Sense of Place and the Land in Australia & Canada*, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 2004, overview. In Perth from the 1870s few households were self-sufficient, partly attributable to a firmly established market garden economy made possible by draining the swamps around the town. See Stannage, *The People of Perth*, pp.128-129.

[61] Phyllis Garrick, 'Children of the Poor and Industrious Classes in Western Australia, 1829-1880', in Penelope Hetherington (ed.), *Childhood and Society in Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1988, pp.13-27, p.15-16. Duties included collecting firewood, delivering dinners to farm employees, and pasturing the farm stock. Older daughters usually cooked, cleaned, washed laundry, looked after the family vegetable plot, and were often responsible for younger children, and sick parents. The younger children ran messages and also performed domestic duties. In towns children between the ages of eleven and fourteen years were often employed by storekeepers and tradesmen, or as domestic servants commonly living away from home. See also Noelene Reeves, 'The Experience of Government Schooling in Western Australia Circa 1896: A Reconstruction', in Penelope Hetherington (ed.), *Childhood and Society in Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1988, pp.73-84, p.83.

Racial Views

Aristotle's philosophical theory of nature, known as the Great Chain of Being, survived in Europe over many centuries, and was enlightened by 'scientific' concepts during the nineteenth century, when it became common to distinguish people in racial terms.

Conceptualising Race

The Great Chain of Being arranged humanity in hierarchical sequence below God and the angels.[62] Europeans were invariably placed on the top, followed by non-European white people, with black people at the bottom of the chain, merging with the more advanced monkeys.[63] A more 'scientific' view was conceptualised in the mid nineteenth century by George Gliddon and Josiah C. Nott in *Types of Mankind* (1854) and *Indigenous Races of the Earth* (1857), and was held by many Europeans who viewed coloured people as less than human.

In line with these views Charles Darwin's ideas gained enormous authority, impelled by his major works, *The Origin of the Species* (1859), and *The Descent of Man,* (1871). Although Darwin accepted the Great Chain of Being's model of hierarchy, rather than it being fixed he saw the hierarchy as a temporal sequence, with constantly evolving grades of living matter. Therefore each step on the chain had evolved from the previous, thus defining his major theory of evolution: a theory that saw an ever-present fight for survival, ensuring the fittest and best endured.[64] Darwin's ideas were applied to society in the form of Social Darwinism; in that competition among all individuals, groups, nations or ideas was believed to drive social evolution in human societies.[65]

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[62] Its major premise was that everything in the universe was divinely positioned in hierarchical order, graded on the degree of 'spirit' and 'matter' they contained, imagined as a vertically extended chain with God at the very top extending down through angels, humans, animals, a vegetative class, and inanimate objects at the very bottom. Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1936, overview.

[63] Reynolds, *Frontier*, p.109; J. H. Curle, *To-Day and to-Morrow: The Testing Period of the White Race,* sixth edn, London, Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1927, p.217.

[64] Reynolds, *Frontier*, pp.109-116.

[65] Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.229; Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996, pp.90-91. According to the central theory of natural selection, evolutionary change came about through adapting better combinations of inheritable characteristics giving rise to the next generation. Darwin's ideas—along with parallel studies made by Herbert Spencer (who coined the phrase 'survival of the fittest') and Sir Francis Galton—were applied to society in the form of Social Darwinism, Social Darwinism saw struggle, competition, and violence as inevitable. Herbert Spencer was an English philosopher and sociological theorist. Spencer developed a conception of evolution preceding Charles Darwin's, applying his

Because it was believed that Indigenous people in colonial Australia did not struggle to better themselves or their habitat, they were considered by many Europeans to have never evolved, were beyond redemption, could never be integrated into modern society, and were doomed to extinction—ideas which were propagated through Darwinism. Endorsed by the most prominent scientists of the age, Europeans were convinced that extinction of Indigenous peoples of, not only Australia, but also Canada, New Zealand and the Pacific islands, was inevitable, seemingly verified by evidence of their rapid decline. This conviction, that the evolutionary process dictated their passing, was widespread, as proclaimed by author James Herbert Curle, who had visited Western Australian mines in 1898:

> Coloured peoples … we may compare to twigs on the trunk of the Human Tree. Twigs shrivel up and drop off, one hardly knows why; these races are shrivelling up and dying out in just the same way … but the tree lives on. Evolution rejected these peoples, and knows best; our sadness, as we see them pass, need be no more than sentimental. Evolution has spared us. Is not that the supreme consideration?[66]

As Henry Reynolds pointed out, 'every assessment of their situation, every evaluation of policy, took place in the shadow of that certainty.'[67]

Reynold's research also determined that there were efforts by a number of people who struggled to ensure that the Indigenous Australians were treated fairly and with compassion.[68] They drew attention to moral issues, the cruelty and bloodshed suffered, the political and legal shortcomings regarding the usurpation of the land, and the indifference held by a majority of the European population.[69] Nevertheless, in reality all

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evolutionary theory (what he called his 'synthetic philosophy') to philosophy, psychology and the study of society. Sir Francis Galton was an English statistician, anthropologist and eugenicist. He was the first to apply statistical methods to the study of human differences and inheritance of intelligence. He invented the term 'eugenics' and phrase 'nature versus nurture' as well as created the use of fingerprints as an individual identifier. See Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.uwa.edu.au/view/article/33315?docPos=3, (accessed 30 Oct 2008.)

[66] Curle, *To-Day and to-Morrow*, pp.99-100.

[67] Reynolds, *Frontier*, p.122.

[68] Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, pp.246-249. Many colonists were contemptuous of the humanitarian cause, believing nature had determined the Aboriginals demise, many driving some reformers in Western Australia into exile. Evidence of this is in the repercussions experienced by humanitarians; Dr Louis Giustiniani and Robert Menli Lyon (p.70) and missionary John Gribble (P.138).

[69] Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, pp.247,251. Some humanitarian Christians believed that all were created equal in the eyes of God and regarded the Aboriginals as equals although disadvantaged by their social customs and environmental constraints. The efforts of official Protectors and Missionaries concerned with Indigenous welfare thought their task was merely to offer almsgiving in order to 'alleviate their absolute wants'. Evidence of this is seen in an article in the Victorian Newspaper *The Age*, in 1858 reported that a committee had been organised to establish the best means to 'smooth the pillow of the dying race'. The author however, suggested that 'it would be still better to see if it were not even yet possible to preserve from extinction a remnant of the original owners of the land'. This article verifies that there was discussion in Australia at the time concerning the first Australians welfare, and recognition as to their original ownership of the land, though be it in the language of imperialism. See 'Land for

they were offering Aboriginals was the bottom rung of the social ladder, the life of a poor underclass, with virtually no chance of social mobility, even though their intentions were humanitarian. Self-contained Aboriginal settlements were established in Western Australia from the 1880s, which lasted well in to the twentieth century. Humanitarians sought to help the Indigenous Australians by inducing them to adopt European standards, protecting them from cruelty, promoting religious thought, teaching reading and writing, and encouraging them to learn farming skills. However, even this undermined their traditional way of life, and they still faced racism and discrimination in the workplace.[70] Reynolds perceived racial inequality as convenient in a 'society bent on dispossession … [and] to all those individuals and institutions with capital invested in Australia'.[71] Because only empty spaces could be taken, ignoring or dehumanising the inhabitants in effect conceptually depopulated the requisite territory.[72]

Thus the tenets of Social Darwinism and the idea of *terra nullius* were fundamental weapons of colonial power that were used to justify and keep colonised peoples subservient to the assumed superior, civilised rule of the British colonisers (fig. 5.1). Franz Fanon claimed that because identity was defined in negative terms by those in a position of power—in Australia's case the assumptions made of the inferiority of the Indigenous population—it denied the colonised (the Aboriginals) the right to define their own identity.[73]

Aborigines', *The Age*, 28 Oct 1858, http://150.theage.com.au/view_bestofarticle.asp?straction=update&inttype=1&intid=495, (accessed 12 Oct 2009).

[70] Fox and Lake (eds), *Australians at Work,* p.54; Fox, *Working Australia*, p.16; Henry Reynolds, *With the White People: The Crucial Role of Aborigines in the Exploration and Development of Australia*, Ringwood, Penguin Books Australia Ltd, 1990, p.108; Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, p.251.

[71] Reynolds, *Frontier*, p.106

[72] Tiffin and Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire,* p.5.

[73] Fanon cited in McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, pp.20-22. Franz Fanon charted the physiological oppression of black men most famously in his book *Wretched of the Earth,* 1961.

Fig. 5.1.
A sketch by Julius Price in 1896, illustrating the assumed superiority of the 'pioneers' in forging ahead with their ideas of progress and civilisation. *The Land of Gold,* p.79.

Comparing Race

Postcolonial theorist Edward Said had studied the inaccuracies of a wide variety of assumptions about people made during the era of imperialism. Said's critique of various paradigms of thought adopted by the 'West' about the 'Orient' has become known as 'Orientalism',[74] as was touched on in Chapter One. Orientalism is a system of representations, constructed in binary divisions contrasting the Orient and the West, and thereby defining images, ideas, personalities, and experiences of the Orient. Said argued that Western views of the Orient are not based on what is observed to exist in Oriental lands, but are a result of the West's assumptions about what is radically different and contrasting to themselves.[75]

Bain Attwood has assimilated representations such as these in an Australian discourse of 'Aboriginalism'. He argued that within the colonial order, Aboriginalism worked to construct Indigenous people 'in their absence', limited what could be thought, said or done about them, and disempowered them. He claimed that Europeans gained control over Aboriginal 'needs and requirements by making the Aboriginal into an 'object of knowledge'. Aboriginalism was applied to Indigenous people in

[74] Said, *Orientalism*, p.2.
[75] Said's critics have challenged Orientalism; that it is ahistorical as it is set over too vast and varied expanse of time, that it has dualistic tendency to find simple binaries, for instance East/West, black/white, colonised/coloniser, as central to all text on Empire, that Orientalist representations tend to ignore resistance by the colonised, as well as by some of the colonisers, and it ignores gender differences. See McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, pp.43-49; Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, *Art and the British Empire,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2007, p. 5.

Australia, as was Orientalism in the Far East, by imagining them as opposite to Europeans; as a primitive, subordinate 'other'. Thus Indigenous Australians were constructed in opposition to the civilised European, as regressive rather than progressive, and placed in the past as the beginning, the childhood, of humankind.[76]

The complexity of Indigenous culture was largely imperceptible to Europeans, who defined themselves as 'civilised' as opposed to the Aboriginals as 'primitive' or 'savage'[77]. They did not recognise the great diversity among different Indigenous groups in Australia, each with its own cultures, customs and languages. They did not comprehend the complex kinship laws and rites that gave order to Aboriginals lives, social status and self-esteem. They could not understand why Aboriginals did not 'work' cultivating the land, building towns, and roads, and setting up trading and political institutions.[78] Indigenous workers' resistance to the disciplines of waged labour clashed with British societal expectations, culminating in claims that they were lazy and had a tendency to wander.[79] Endless work seemed pointless, and the desire to accumulate private property was of no interest to the Aboriginal in the nineteenth century.[80]

The Indigenous workers were also exploited. Many women and girls were forcibly seized from their families to labour in Perth households under the guise of training for domestic service. Some white men used women and children for sexual gratification.[81] More often than not Aboriginal men and women were not paid wages,

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[76] Attwood and Arnold (eds), *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines,* pp.ii,iv.

[77] Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, pp.168-171; Fox, *Working Australia*, p.33.

[78] Fox and Lake (eds), *Australians at Work,* p.52. The Indigenous way of life was integrated, looking after the land, attending to prescribed rites, while meeting their kinship obligations. Work was not a distinct activity separate from religion, family and leisure. Their activities ranged over their tribal lands, with men hunting big game and manufacturing their own weapons. It has now been shown that many Indigenous communities swiftly and easily produced as much food as they needed, thereby not necessitating the European practice of cultivation, and that they did manipulate the environment by their own method of 'fire-stick farming'. They were also known to trade artefacts, tools and raw materials, often in a ceremonial ritual between neighbouring bands.

[79] Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasions of Australia*, Ringwood, Penguin Books Australia Ltd, 1982, p.144. The occupation of the British in Western Australia deprived the Indigenous population of their way of life, caused the death of thousands through starvation, disease and warfare, and created a dependency on the invaders for survival. British society in Australia translated this to a necessity for the dispossessed and landless to work for their living.

[80] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, p.145

[81] Beatrice Laufer, "We Were Proper Horsemen, Us': Aboriginal Women - Workers of the Outback', *Wordal: Studies in Western Australian History*, vol.22, 2001. Some Indigenous Australian women were involved in stock work. Significantly, Beatrice Laufer argued convincingly that these Indigenous women held some historical agency and challenged the stereotypical image as sex objects as they 'persistently transgressed the traditional European limitations for women', contributing to the success of the pastoral industry in Western Australia. In the more remote mining fields women were used for companionship and sex, and often became adept at dryblowing for gold. It is argued that not all sexual acts between colonisers and Indigenous women were rape, there were negotiated sexual relationships. See also Frances, *Selling Sex*, pp.41,71; Ryan, 'Women in Production in Australia', p.270; Reynolds, *With the White People*, pp.207-209,225; Reynolds, *Frontier*, pp.73-74; Marian Aveling, 'Western Australian

they laboured for rations of food and necessities only, which sometimes included tobacco and alcohol. These rations undermined their health and way of life, ironically culminating in a demoralised, ineffective worker, which affected both the Aboriginal worker and the white employer. It was this image that many travellers would see on their journeys. The Aboriginals of the goldfields areas were also affected by mining, with gold miners wreaking havoc on their home environment.[82] By the time this study's travellers had arrived on the goldfields most of the first Australians had been driven out of the area.

It was not only the Aboriginals who were considered as 'other' in Western Australia. Chinese and Afghans were also the subject of racial prejudice, predominantly on the goldfields, where they were perceived as a potential threat to 'white' capital investment and labour. From 1886 legislated restrictions excluded 'Asiatic or African aliens' from particular industries such as mining, manufacturing and pearling.[83] However, because of their importance prior to the completion of the railway, Afghan camel drivers were allowed to continue their carrying trade to service the goldfields. It was also accepted that the Chinese operated market gardens and laundries, and were employed as cooks and servants. Because the British believed themselves to be superior to the entire world in economic enterprise and growth,[84] southern Europeans were also treated with suspicion and hostility, and as a threat to waged labour.[85]

Society: The Religious Aspect (1829-1895)', in C. T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1981, pp.574-598,581. McGrath, 'Sexuality and Australian Identities', p.45.

[82] Being transient the gold miners had no use for Indigenous labour other than for odd jobs and sexual services. Many were kidnapped by explorers, prospectors and colonists and forced to find them water. H.G.B Mason dedicated a chapter to this practice in his book *Darkest Western Australia* published in 1909, entitled 'Chaining Natives: Searching for water'. See H.G.B. Mason, *Darkest West Australia: A Treatise Bearing on the Habits and Customs of the Aborigines and the Solution Of "The Native Question".* Kalgoorlie, Hocking & Company Limited, 1909, Facsimile edition, Hesperian Press, 1980, pp.32-35, in which he writes a guide for prospectors on how to deal with the 'wild blacks'.

[83] The Goldfields Act, 1886, barred 'Asiatic or African aliens' from mining for a period of five years from proclamation, but they were permitted to settle in mining centres, thus allowing the Afghan and Indian businesses to operate. However Chinese in particular were excluded from the goldfields altogether, because of misconstrued interpretations of the Act by hostile miners. Due to strong anti-Asian objections an Immigration Restriction Act was introduced in 1897, a precursor to the 1901 Commonwealth Act which became the basis of the 'White Australia Policy'. For anti-Asian activities and restrictions see: J. H. Vanden-Driesen, 'Evolution of the Trade Union Movement in Western Australia', in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia,* Perth, University of Western Australia, 1983, pp.352-380, p.375; Anne Atkinson, 'Placing Restrictions Upon Them', *Asian Orientations: Studies in Western Australian History*, no.16, 1995; Jan Ryan, *Ancestors: Chinese in Colonial Australia*, Fremantle, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1995, p.68.

[84] Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers*, p.12.

[85] Thompson, *Australia through Italian Eyes*, p.165.

Racial fantasies helped the British Empire maintain a sense of itself as inherently superior and civil, and justified the judicial and political domination of colonial rule. Writer James Herbert Curle summed up prevalent feelings of his time:

> Evolution, that Mill of God which grinds so slowly, so certainly; to pedigree; and to careful breeding. It boils down, in sum total, to the Western Whites—supreme product of these things—and their originating brain. The Western Whites are the Heirs of the Ages….[86]

Conclusion

Western Australia was an imagined community, regardless of the actual inequalities and exploitations that may have prevailed. White Europeans, in both Europe and Western Australia, held views and ideas about class and ethnicity that limited their vision and understanding with regards to members within that community.

Social standards and behaviours in Western Australia were transplanted from Britain, with an elite society fashioned on the British gentry, who displayed substantial power and authority, and recreated British social, government, law, religion, and property systems, despite the waning of gentry as a meaningful class in the 'mother country'. And yet a 'pioneer myth' of a more fluid social order was perpetuated, which promoted the idea that an egalitarian society existed.

A contributing factor to this idea was that it was accepted that gentlemen and their wives needed to work in rural areas, and they were held in high regard because of middle class views about the cult of manliness, and the importance of healthy physical labour. Idleness was seen to represent poor behaviour, and thereby influenced opinions of immigrants who were perceived to be members of Britain's lowly unemployed classes, which additionally contested the notion of an egalitarian society in the colonies.

Racial views in nineteenth-century Europe emanated from widely circulated beliefs beginning with the Great Chain of Being and later refined in such theories as Social Darwinism, and were influential in colonial society in Western Australia. Aboriginals were viewed as savage and primitive in opposition to European whites, as argued by Bain Attwood's notion of Aboriginalism, which relates aspects of Orientalism to the Australian experience. People of other ethnicities were also prejudiced against, evident in legislation adopted by the Western Australian Government.

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[86]Curle, *To-Day and to-Morrow*, p.217.

How were the people of Western Australia viewed by visiting European travellers? Did the ideas and behaviours that British travellers have in common with colonists enable them to 'immediately engage with the local white population … using a vocabulary and set of relations that simultaneously establish[ed] social difference and a shared culture', as argued by Lydia Wevers in her study of travel writing in New Zealand.[87] Did they feel at home or did they gaze with imperial eyes?[88] And what of the observations of colonial travellers from Canada and the Eastern colonies of Australia, and travellers from continental Europe, were their views different? These issues will be addressed when the travellers' collective memories are examined in the following two chapters. Chapter Six examines the travellers' perceptions of class and status in Western Australia to see if they perpetuated the pioneer myth. Chapter Seven considers travellers views of other people who were not included in this myth, those Europeans thought were inferior, including Indigenous Australians, people originating from countries other than Britain, and those who were considered to be of a sub-class or under class, such as convicts and single migrant women.

[87] Wevers, *Country of Writing,* p.137.
[88] Borrowed from Mary Louise Pratt's book titled *Imperial Eyes.*

Chapter 6

An Imagined Community: Perpetuating the Pioneer Myth

> *24th—Sabbath. Early in the morning we 'sighted land'. The effect was most remarkable. Many of the passengers had hardly hoped, after their various causes of alarm and anxiety, ever to see Australia; and now that it was just below the lee-bow, they yielded to a gush of joyous feeling, and appeared like as many children leaving school for their holidays. Haggard countenances were lighted up, and became radiant with joy; the lame and lazy appeared on deck, moving about with the greatest agility, and arrayed in their best attire; mutual congratulations were exchanged, and hands ardently locked in each other which had never previously come in contact. Mothers caressed their babies with increased ardour, and in their ecstasy held them up to see the golden land. Some evinced boisterous excitement, and sundry hysterical phases; others silently gazed with tears in their eyes, as they thought of the wide waste of waters which rolled between them and beloved ones.*
>
> (Rev. Robert Young, April 1853)[1]

Reverend Young and his fellow passengers suffered a difficult voyage after two false starts, and then a passage of three and a half months before they sighted Australia.[2] Rev. Young's sentiments reflected, firstly the difficult voyage, but also the preconceptions held by many newcomers to 'the golden land' in the 1850s. Some of these passengers stayed in Western Australia, but many travelled on to the eastern colonies to start a new life, and some, like Rev. Young, were merely visiting.

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[1] Young, *The Southern World*, pp.56-7.

[2] The first ship the *Melbourne* lost its masts and rigging near Portugal, returning the passengers to Plymouth to depart on a second ship the *Adelaide*, which experienced a leaking hull necessitating it also to return to port. Eventually the *Adelaide*, an early steamer, departed Plymouth 3 January 1853, arriving in April 1853. Young, *The Southern World*, pp.5-20.

Thirty years after Rev. Young, the commissioned author Hume Nisbet, left England in January 1886. When he sighted Cape Leeuwin for the first time in March, he also enthused passionately about a new way of life:

> Australia the mighty, land of the free, where a man may lift up his head and date time from his own exertions; where the right hand of labour grants a nobler patent of nobility than ever did the bloody sword of usurpation and wrong in olden days; where that southern constellation, the Cross, looks down upon a greater Crusade than ever knight made his vows to—the grand crusade of brotherhood and independence! Australia, the young giant who advances with such mighty strides before all the decaying nations of the time-worn world—I look toward you, and all the blood in me tingles to begin work.[3]

Nisbet incorporates a number of issues discussed in previous chapters: class, equality, the manliness of labour, the unthinking arrogance of imperialism, and the concept of *terra nullius*. He imagines Australia as 'free' from the constraints of the ordered class-ridden society of the old world ('date time from his own exertions'), and admires the possibility that by hard work one could acquire status (labour grants … nobility [rather than] bloody … usurpation). And yet he is insensitive to usurpation of Aboriginal land, believing bloody invasion only happened in the 'olden days' of knights and crusades. Instead he believes that in seizing the opportunities offered by a young Australia, a greater crusade is achieved in which the prize will be independence in an egalitarian society. Like other travellers, Nisbet maintained the myth about the free, hard working, resourceful pioneer through his publications.

Travellers visiting Western Australia held preconceived ideas about the people they were about to meet.

> With a nimble bound, the pilot, a square-shouldered young giant, springs up the ladder and comes on deck. "No sickness on board?" and he hurries up to the commander and doctor to avoid the multitude of questions with which about forty irrepressibly curious passengers, who have had no European news since leaving Aden, overwhelm him.
>
> Two Australians rather amused us; before the boat was even moored they leaned over the bulwarks and bawled to the oarsmen with all their might—"Who won the Melbourne Cup?" What typical people! Here we have been a fortnight without news of either hemisphere, and to them the most important piece of information is the success of a racehorse! All the boatmen knew the name of the horse, and a unanimous shout of "Manton" reached us. "And which came in second?" "Did Manton win easily?" "Yes, very easily by several lengths." If a similar question were put to any of our

[3] Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp*, p.69.

> seamen at Dunkirk the day after the Grand Prix, I doubt whether they could have answered it satisfactorily![4]

Dutch traveller Gerrit Verschuur was not surprised by the health and vitality shown by the young square-shouldered giant Australian, or that Australians were mad keen on sport, horseracing being the premier sporting experience of the people of Australia. For this was exactly what he expected when he arrived in 1888, judging by his typecast description, and revealed in his remark 'what typical people'.[5]

Opinions of Australian society were influenced by the period the travellers visited and the events taking place at the time, as well as contemporary views they read or heard about. For example, their expectations of those travellers arriving after having already visited the eastern colonies of Australia, were skewed by encounters with the 't'othersiders'[6], as Gilbert Parker revealed in 1889.

> During dinner on Christmas Day in Melbourne, a lady said to me: "Oh, you are going to Western Australia, are you? Why people are considered rich over there if they have a £10 note, and you are looked up to if you have half a crown in pocket-money always by you. The colony is a hundred years behind the times, and a long hundred years, too."[7]

But when he arrived, to his surprise it cost him just as much for cabbies, and in hotels and restaurants in Western Australia as it did in Sydney or London, and he did not think it was behind any other place in Australia, England or America.[8] Like Parker, Catherine Bond noticed that people from the eastern colonies held some misgivings about Western Australia. On her way by train from Albany to Beverley in 1896, a fellow passenger in first class amused her. She identified her as the 'puritan type' from Victoria, who had 'great contempt for everything in this part of the country'.[9] This also illustrates the complex ideas about class and one's station in life in Australia. These unflattering views made their way back to

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[4] G. Verschuur, *At the Antipodes: Travels in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and South America 1888-1889,* trans. Mary Daniels, London, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1891, p.14.

[5] See Stannage, *The People of Perth,* pp.310-311.

[6] T'othersiders was a term used to describe the people who came from the eastern colonies of Australia to Western Australia at the time of the gold rush, even though I have used it here to cover all periods and all people from the eastern side of Australia.

[7] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.354.

[8] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.354.

[9] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.15. Also see Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.21. In 1914, the Grews reveal a division in status held between the states: 'Perhaps because of its newness, the attitude of the other states to Western Australia is still a little patronising. Western Australians themselves are fully conscious of this, they on their part always talk about "the East" in tones of desire: "I hope we shall go to the East next year," is often heard in Perth. At first we thought they meant China or Japan, but we soon found that in Western Australia "the East" means Melbourne or Sydney. They stand for London or Paris, and one lady said plaintively: "If I have a nice dress, when I go to see my sister in 'the East,' she says, 'You didn't get that made in Perth.'"

England. Catherine, for example, was concerned about Western Australia prior to her departure from England: '[W]hat we hear of Western Australia does not impress us very favourably, and we feels [sic] as though we were saying 'good-bye' to all comfort and civilisation.'[10] And then, as if to confirm what she had heard, on her first night in Western Australia when she went to dress for dinner, she was amused to find the hot water in a galvanised iron pail. 'I suppose I must be thankful to get it in anything, for this is certainly 'good-bye' to all luxuries—must I say all comforts? I am afraid so.'[11]

As well, travellers' perceptions of the outback were already deeply set prior to their arrival in the goldfields, passed on by previous travellers, and often kept alive by the locals themselves. In 1895 Robert Tyler was surprised to find it not as bad as he expected.

> Of course, I can't pretend to say that I've seen Australia, however, I am bound to confess, it is not as it was represented to me by those I conversed with on the way out, neither it is as it was pictured in my mind. I anticipated finding it much more savage, if I may apply the term, more drunkenness and dissipation, more bad language. I have seen very little of the two former, and heard but little of the latter.[12]

But he was happy enough to promote its worst features when leaving; 'Now for England, home and beauty—and a long farewell to the land of gold, sin, sand, sorrow, sore eyes, flies and shilling drinks'.[13] A year later Catherine sat next to a young man at lunch on her first day in Albany who quoted similar lines.

> He informed me he did not think much of W.A., he had been in the country for six weeks, had been to the 'gold-fields', had been ill all the time, and was going back to England as fast as a ship would take him; and he agreed with the man who called it, 'a land of sin, sand, sorrow, sickness, and shilling drinks.' I wonder what our verdict will be?[14]

Although the Australian colonies over time developed a political and cultural identity distinguishable from Britain's, British rule, law, customs and traditions had created white Australian society. Despite knowing this, travellers expected to find a distinctive society in Western Australia. However the image they held was on the whole

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[10] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.10.
[11] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.11.
[12] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.94.
[13] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.245.
[14] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.14. This clichéd line has also popped up in writings about soldiers in Africa in World War II. For example see Eddy Sherwood, *With Our Soldiers in France*, New York, Association Press, 1917, Ch. 4, pt 2.

superficial and optimistic, and occasionally pessimistic, as seen above.[15] Western Australian identity in general was not distinctive but was typical of a new politically democratic society, and was indicative of a more general change taking place in the industrial world.[16]

The judgments travellers made about the people of southern Western Australia during the long nineteenth century tell a story about an imagined community shaped by the institutions and belief systems to which the travellers belonged. As well, their education provided them with preconceived notions of a 'pioneer' society, through their reading and knowledge of Britain's imperial concerns. This chapter focuses on the travellers' depictions of those so-called 'pioneers', and their perceived class and status. A chronological order is maintained to establish a sense of the changing impressions held about Western Australians from the period of transportation, to the booming years of gold exploration, to a new age of federation, with deviations along the way in order to make comparisons.

A Matter of having Connections

Any contact the travellers had with the people of Western Australia was usually with the higher echelons of society, from which blinkered judgements were made regarding the entire Western Australian society. The visiting travellers were all from advantaged backgrounds, and were accustomed to privileged treatment. On the eastern goldfields in Western Australia things were sometimes a little different. Although some travellers still received privileged treatment, others were annoyed at the concessions required from them. Usually nineteenth-century travellers, male or female, provided letters of introduction to influential relatives, acquaintances or officials at their destination, who were able to make arrangements for them. These introductions effectively insulated the traveller from the unknown, although this was often not acknowledged publicly.[17] As a result travellers tended to meet the same citizens, and they were often members of the

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[15] Also held by immigrants, see Flavio Lucchesi, 'Australia in Italy: Codes and Registers for the Interpretation of a Geographical Image', in Don Grant and Graham Seal (eds), *Australia in the World: Perceptions and Possibilities,* Perth, Black Swan Press, 1993, pp.108-113, p.109.

[16] Carroll, 'Mateship and Egalitarianism', p.147; White, *Inventing Australia*, pp.42-44.

[17] Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, p.195. Travel then, explained Monica Anderson, 'could bring the unknown back to the known, the strange back to the familiar and yet still allow sufficient space for the challenge of the journey itself. Or at least provide the illusion that this were indeed so.' For example Hume Nisbet (1891) wrote in the preface of his book that: 'Friends sprang up at every turn, …to help me as I sped along. … I now offer to them all the results, trusting that they may be fairly satisfied with my present efforts to please them. What's more, the implication is that in proclaiming his efforts to 'please' his friends, the integrity of Nisbet's accounts of his experiences in Western Australia becomes questionable.

founding governing classes of the Swan River Colony, particularly prior to the mining boom of the 1890s. The importance placed on these introductions is shown by William Harvey's concern at finding that several officials (the Bishop, the Governor and the Admiral) to whom he had letters of introduction had left the colony, and he felt that he 'must make up to their Successors' as best he could. 'The good Archdeacon will give me sundry letters to the next colonies, and I shall probably meet others equally kind to send me further'.[18]

Travellers tended to use their class and influence to arrange the best means to reach their destinations, or to maximise their experiences. The following are examples of these privileges. In 1872 Anthony Trollope and a friend made a bargain with a mail contractor to extend the trip to Perth from Albany to take four days, instead of the usual non-stop journey, so that they might experience camping out in the bush at night.[19] After arriving in King George Sound in 1880, Marianne North was told:

> … the only way of going to Perth was either by the horrid little coasting steamer once a fortnight, or by the mail coach, which also went once a fortnight, travelling day and night, with passengers and boxes all higgledy-piggledy, any quantity in a sort of drag or open cart. It generally broke down and killed one or two people. If I hired a private carriage, it would cost me £25 for it alone, without the horses.[20]

She wrote to the Governor (William Robinson)[21] who telegraphed a reply that he would send a carriage at seven shillings a day and allow her free use of police-horses and a driver. Fifteen years later Julius Price was able to make his own private use of the railway to Perth via Beverley. The Honourable J. A. Wright, Managing Director of the Southern Railway[22] offered Price use of his private saloon carriage and his company for the journey to Perth. Price was delighted by the fact he could stop the train at will to sketch or take a photo. Yet he complained that the journey took too long, averaging only twenty-three miles per hour, with too much shunting and too many stops.[23] Likewise, Albert Calvert and his party managed to arrange their own train from Albany to travel overnight to arrive in Beverley in time to collect the mail train to Perth, thus avoiding the need to sleep rough overnight. Later he was again able to arrange a private

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[18] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.83.
[19] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.597-598.
[20] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.149.
[21] William Robinson served as Governor of Western Australia on three separate occasions; 1875-77, 1880-83, and 1890. Information from Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians,* vol.5, p.1377.
[22] John Arthur Wright was appointed Engineer in Chief and Director of Public Works and Commissioner of Railways in 1885. By 1889 he was in charge of construction of Southern Railways until completion in 1896. He became Government Resident at Albany 1896-1908. See Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians,* vol.5, p.1770.
[23] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.15.

carriage from Southern Cross.[24] In the same year traveller Robert Tyler, the Director of an English mining syndicate, was not so fortunate. He was seated in first class on the train journey to the goldfields until the train was divided at Southern Cross. Tyler was obviously not such a celebrity as Price or Calvert, or perhaps he just didn't know the right people, because much to his annoyance he was then shifted out of first class because Mr Leake, Member of Parliament for Albany, had reserved three first class carriages.[25] It was not unusual for railways in Australia in the nineteenth century to hire out trains for special excursions, or reserve an entire carriage for one party.[26]

On the frantically busy transport system out to the eastern goldfields Price indicated how privileged he had been on his earlier train ride. When the mail coach met the train at Southern Cross, Price described how the mail bags and the passengers' baggage were stowed away anywhere they could fit, and then in turn 'the passengers—amongst whom were several women—all of whom numbered several more than the vehicle was constructed to carry'.[27] (Fig. 6.1). However, Price was incensed to find his box seat, which he had pre-booked, was taken by another gentleman who refused to move. Price's complaints had no effect so he ended up sitting on the footboard, improvised for the overcrowded conditions, with his back to the passengers' legs from the seat above and his feet hanging over the horses.[28] Price had arrived just before the line was extended to Kalgoorlie in 1896. By the time Mary Hall arrived in 1912, she was able to ride in the comfort of a special 'ladies compartment' train service right through to Kalgoorlie.[29]

These extracts are also an indication of the nuances of the varying class positions of the selection of travellers in this study. Although all the travellers were from

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[24] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, pp.6, 20. Again, on a very full passenger train without sleeping cars on an overnight journey heading towards Coolgardie, the eminent Calvert managed to sequester a compartment for himself and three of his crew where they could stretch out on the seats. In 1896 Catherine Bond was also honoured with a compartment on the train and a bottle of champagne organised by 'His Excellency'. 'We shall never forget the kindness shown to us; it has made such a difference to our comfort while roughing it so much.' On another occasion, on her party's return trip to Perth, their train was late getting into Southern Cross, consequently they lost their reserved sleeping carriage. However they managed to persuade the stationmaster to get it back for them much to their relief because she exclaimed that there were second-class travellers travelling in first class. Bond also received special attention at the overcrowded Grand Hotel in Coolgardie, where there was barely room for men sleeping on the floor. 'As it is too cold to sit in the balcony the landlord has put 'Private' on the bar parlour, and has given us a fire to sit by'. See Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, pp.21,26,58.

[25] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, pp.144,146.

[26] Horne, *The Pursuit of Wonder*, p.57.

[27] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.49.

[28] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.50. He had to pay £5 for the journey and £4 for overweight luggage which he thought was "fleecing". Tyler's son Bobby also experienced an uncomfortable ride from Rean's Soak in a coach, 'constructed to hold 14, but on this occasion there were 17 beside the Driver. The Pater had a seat behind the Driver, but my seat was amongst the luggage on the top, a most perilous position'. See Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.66.

[29] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.144.

advantaged backgrounds, a prerequisite that enabled them to travel for such a long period of time over long distances, some were better connected than others. Some travellers such as Calvert were accustomed to privileged treatment and would not have expected otherwise. Other travellers such as Price and Tyler appeared not to have previously experienced the considerable attention they received, and sometimes wrote of the honour of attracting additional consideration, and yet were still nonplussed at their removal from first class seating, which they automatically expected as their right due to their class. In this situation, without the protection of their individual elite contacts in Western Australia, the lesser known traveller found they needed to scramble for a position like everyone else on the overloaded coaches and trains heading towards the goldfields.

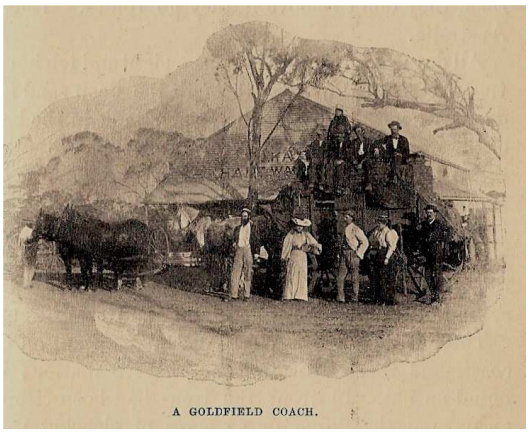

Fig. 6.1.
An overloaded coach on the goldfields in 1896, Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.43.

A Matter of Status

Privileged arrangements, and the means by which they were accomplished, are also evidence of the power and authority of Western Australia's elite. In order to seek out and recognise fellow members of society, travellers used their own sensitivities to the smallest nuances of status based on the British class system. But did they find a class that met their standards of behaviour and their positions in society?

In 1863, Mrs Millett thought that a backward elite in Western Australia was more prevalent than in provincial England:

> [T]he same causes which render the petty provincial towns of England notorious for dullness and gossip exist in far greater force in the embryo cities of a colony, whilst the fact that the habits of life in vogue are framed after the English pattern brings more strikingly into notice the colonial backwardness of thought and education as compared with recollections of the mother-country.[30]

[30] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.407.

The impression that Western Australian genteel society was 'old vogue' existed early in its formation. Harvey also believed that the colony's elite was backward. In 1854 he stayed with William Sanford, the Colonial Secretary.[31] He wrote that Mr Sanford was a much more superior man 'of the modern school' than the 'drones, slow-coaches, fobbers & snarlers', he had to work with, and was not appreciated by the 'good natured but weak-minded inefficient Governor.'[32] Thirty-five years later, in 1889, Parker thought that Perth had its fair share of 'Gentlemen', but was of the opinion that they were perhaps not so much backward, but were a 'type' that no longer existed in other parts of the world.

> Perth has all the instincts and practices of a metropolitan life. The Weld Club is as fine an institution in its way as the Australian Club in Sydney, and the people one meets uphold the dignity of the life of a metropolis. There is as gracious and gentle a life in this Western capital as would be found in some good old cathedral city in England. And one meets here, also, more gentlemen of the very old school than in any other place in Australia. I say the very old school, because some of them are a type of what has become very much modernised in the other colonies, and even in England. You will be met by the invitation to take a pinch of snuff from a gold snuff-box; you will come into an area of old-time after-dinner conversation; you will imagine yourself sometimes in the days of William IV., or of the First Gentleman in Europe.[33]

Parker's claim that gentlemen were more modern elsewhere reflects changes that were occurring throughout the western world. As Parker put it, there was a difference between 'those who buzz in their little world, and neither see any-thing beyond it; … and those who have felt the outside world, who have learned the alphabet of progress and enlightenment'.[34] Parker's reference to the days of William IV supports Louis Hartz's thesis, that colonial societies were remnants or 'fragments' of the society from which they came.[35] William IV's reign coincided with the early years of European settlement; the time of Governor Stirling's original vision of setting up a gentry colony in the Swan River. Although Parker had met a second and even a third generation of gentlemen in Perth, to him they existed in a time-warp, as developments in British and European society had had little impact on Western Australian society.

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[31] William Ayshford Sanford (1812-1902) was Colonial Secretary of Western Australia, 1851-1855. Ref. 'National Library of Australia, Manuscript', <http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/2921700>, (accessed 16 Jul 20090.

[32] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.105. Harvey would have been referring to Capt. Charles Fitzgerald, Governor 1848-1855.

[33] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.387.

[34] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.392.

[35] Because William the IV reigned Britain from 1830 to 1837, the time of Governor Stirling and early Swan River Colony.

Mrs Millett and Harvey's prejudices are an example of the finer nuances that existed within their class. Their views of Western Australia's colonial elite reflect commonly perceived differences between urban and rural life, where the latter was seen as backward and behind the times. Thus the perception of Western Australia's genteel society as backward and old fashioned doubly supports the Hartz thesis because most of its members originally came from provincial areas of England. They were behind the times before they arrived in the colony. This explains their tendency to mimic old-fashioned, un-sophisticated regional gentlemen rather than those who were represented in the cities of Europe. It was this model that Mrs Millett and Harvey met, and it was carried through to the time Parker made their acquaintance—a 'fragment' of old British provincial society.

Parker declared that the colonial elite was 'afraid of immigration, and regard the incoming of strangers as prejudicial to their interests',[36] which indicates their desire to maintain their gentility. However, immigration was about to increase dramatically in the next decades as gold–fever began to take hold, and the following travellers revealed an anti-immigration atmosphere among the established citizens of Swan River.[37] Visiting in 1889, after the influx of immigrants to Western Australia had begun following gold discoveries at Halls Creek, Thomas Ward sensed the extent of rivalry between the colonies:

> There is a distinction between the people of the two sides which is quite marked, insomuch that an 'other sider' can immediately recognise a born and bred 'Westralian'. ….it is a regrettable circumstance that there is a growing tendency among the colonists to mention each other in terms which, if not actually coarse and vulgar, are decidedly slangy.[38]

And again Raymond Radclyffe, a London journalist who visited seven years later, recognised that Western Australia's ruling class were against change and resented the infiltration of a new breed of businessmen.

> The old colonists ignore the mining man; they admit that they have made money out of mines; they admit that without mines they would still have had to wade ankle-deep in sand; yet they cannot believe in the goldfields. Like the Boers, they think the mine will only last a few years. They will not have Coolgardie men in the club, if they can help it. They talk of their

[36] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.388. Parker may have also been aware of concerns regarding plans for Responsible Government (granted in 1890), paving the way for men of lower status to enter parliament.
[37] T'othersiders were seen as troublemakers bringing working-class politics. Fox, 'The View from the West', p.88.
[38] Ward and Fountain, *Rambles of an Australian Naturalist*, p.157.

> vineyards, their cattle, their sheep, their timber, but they don't like mining talk.[39]

In Coolgardie these restrictions were reciprocated, as Tyler noted, the Perth Mayor Alexander Forrest was 'blackballed at the Coolgardie Club, he not being looked upon by some (a very few) as a highly respectable member of society, and some will not visit them or their wives[sic].'[40] Forrest was under constant criticism in the goldfields as an 'arch-capitalist squeezing profit from family connections' with regards to his real estate and other business ventures.[41] Tyler did not believe any of the 'Mining Experts' were trustworthy, honest men either. Unfortunately he had a bad experience in unsuccessful prosecution of Mr Lowden, the manager of the South Londonderry mine lease that Tyler had purchased on behalf of his syndicate. Lowden was accused of embezzling and appropriating company money, and that was only part of the share scandal saga of the Londonderry mines.[42] Geoffrey Bolton discusses the prevalence of corruption regarding financing and shareholding during the Western Australian boom in the mid 1890s, but points out that there were also a few properties 'under honest and efficient management'.[43]

On the other hand Calvert, visiting at the same time as Tyler in 1895, believed the managers of the mines in Coolgardie were an interesting group of men. He thought that they were the 'aristocracy' of Coolgardie. 'And between … two extremes of bashful infallibility and arrogant ignorance, there drifts into the wide harbour of the gold-mining industry a crowd of men who are sometimes clever, often humorous, occasionally conceited, and seldom uninteresting.'[44] He considered them to be drawn together from a highly selective class of men, 'all the most capable elements of the human race'.

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[39] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.4. Also see Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.32. Bond made a similar observation while visiting Coolgardie in the same year: 'Then the people are so slow—I mean the old Western Australian—and think everything should be done for their benefit, and not to help these people who are spending their money and their lives in opening up the gold-fields, which is really for the good of the country'.

[40] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.144. Alexander Forrest was an MP and the Perth Mayor from 1893 until 1895, the year Tyler had visited.

[41] See Australian Dictionary of Biography, http://adbonline.anu.edu.au/biogs/A080562b.htm, (accessed 25 Oct 20090.

[42] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, pp.111,158; See Austin Sprake, *Londonderry the Golden Hole*, Perth, Hesperian Press, 1991, regarding the Londonderry Saga.

[43] Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, pp.63-64. There were a number of bogus speculations on the London share market, and charlatan financiers who cooked the books in various mining ventures.

[44] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, pp.66-8. He believed that there were many types of managers from the old fashioned miner brought up in the mines from Cornwall to California, or the College graduate from the School of Mines, to the secretary of a company who gained his first experience of mining with his appointment as general manager of the company's property.

> Here are men who bear the stamp of education, of men who have evidently been accustomed to the refinements of life, and who have been habituated to compete against their fellows in large cities under the stern rule of the survival of the fittest.[45]

Calvert's comments indicate his familiarity with Social Darwinism.

The travellers seemed generally to have been held in high regard and were received with enthusiasm by the leading members of both Perth and Goldfields' society. This is illustrated by Calvert's sketch (fig. 6.2) of a banquet held in honour of his visit, which also shows the formality of the evening. Price also arrived at the height of the gold rush in 1895, and commented about the renowned hospitality of Australians, and reconfirmed the belief that Western Australian society was old fashioned.

> That most characteristic of Australian virtues—hospitality—is here lavished with an open-handedness which makes the new arrival feel at once at his ease. … [E]*xcessive* [italics added] formality is particularly striking to the newcomer from the mother country. … Indeed, one is not long in the place before discovering that etiquette with all its conventionalities is observed at Perth with a regard to the smallest minutiae which is almost droll in its seriousness.[46]

Price continued with his description of high society in Perth, with his account of the Governor's receptions that 'are of the most orthodox official character, and would not reflect discredit on Downing Street itself'.[47] Price also recalled fond memories of 'a banquet by the Press of Western Australia, and which would have done honour to *even* [italics added] a London chef'.[48] The implication in Price's use of the adverb 'even' is that Western Australia's elite society and the functions they arranged were still not accepted as equal to England, regardless of his compliments. But it also suggests that Price was surprised that the colony was capable of following formal etiquette.[49] Middle-class English social rituals and their associated etiquette and patterns of behaviour were found throughout the British Empire.[50]

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[45] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.84.
[46] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.30.
[47] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.30.
[48] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.46.
[49] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.46. He wrote that the 'good fellowship which was evinced towards me, a wandering brother journalist from the old country, will remain in my memory as one of the pleasantest episodes of my visit to Perth.'
[50] For example when Mrs Millett first arrived in York after her journey on a very hot December day, she wanted the fire lit for a cup of tea. Her intention of maintaining English habits prevailed, when cold water would have been better. See Millett, *An Australian Parsonage,* p.57. In the reverse case, Non-British travellers were apt to notice British habitual pursuits, such as Leopoldo Zunini and his reference to incessant tea drinking by the colonists. See Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today,* p.202.

Fig. 6.2. Albert Calvert's banquet at the Osbourne Hotel in 1895. Calvert is seated to the left of Mr Monger, who has risen to welcome him. Calvert, *My Fourth Tour,* p.21.

Further evidence of, at its best, what was considered quaint parody, occurred in many travellers' writings. For example Charles Dilke wrote, 'Unlike as are the Australians to the British, there is nevertheless a singular mimicry of British forms and ceremonies in the colonies, which is extended to the most trifling details of public life … in which home whimsicalities were closely copied'.[51] Indeed, in 1896 Radclyffe noticed an attempt to maintain an elite social class, of which he wrote in a somewhat derisive manner. He spoke of 'Seven Great Families' who ruled Perth society, controlling the Weld Club and deciding who should and who should not be accepted in polite society.

> Once they have decided that you know someone in England who is respectable, you are free to go anywhere and move in the highest circles. … [A]nd if you have ever been to a public school, let everybody know it. … There is not a man or a woman either in the Colonies that does not nurse in his or her secret soul a passionate desire to shake hands with a 'somebody'. Why, they even give dinners to M.P.s in the Colonies.[52]

Travellers' discourse often revealed class ridicule from the point of view of imperial gatekeepers; by dismissing the aspirations of the colonial elite they rejected any possible competition to their own status, as Linda Young has argued.[53] That Western Australian society's desire for class exclusivity was widespread, and that they were

[51] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* p.164. He then described imitation with regards to ministerial dinners, government addresses, and university life and protocols.
[52] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, pp.7-8.
[53] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, p.37.

eager to impress travellers with their alleged gentility, is further illustrated by Marianne North's claim in 1880, that the landlady of 'the little inn of Pinjarrah … was most anxious that I should admire some worsted-work pictures of the last generation, and other curiosities'.[54] That no other comment was made and that the landlady remained unnamed is an indication of Marianne's disinterest. And yet, at the turn of the century, Jonathan Ceredig Davies believed that:

> Western Australia has perhaps more representatives of good old English families of aristocratic descent than any other British Colony in the World, and we can say to their credit, that whilst they have retained most of the accomplishments and refinement of their English forefathers, they are free from that reservedness, stiffness, and formality which are too often characteristics of the higher classes in England.[55]

Davies was probably accorded a friendlier reception than what he was used to from the upper classes in England. His observation about a freedom from reserve and stiffness reflects the enthusiasm with which Western Australian society extended to him as a renowned Welsh traveller and writer, as they did any new arrival from the 'old country' who may have been considered to be a 'someone'. Even by 1914 travellers such as Edwin and Marion Grew were still writing about the hospitality they received from their hosts, 'which for unaffected kindness and generosity, can surely have no counterpart on any other continent'.[56]

A Question of Refinement in the Bush

A few travellers recognised the difficulties genteel society had in maintaining their lifestyle in the bush and in the goldfields, and also managed to decipher the subtleties of class, as they would have back 'home'. In 1855 Frederick Mackie stayed with fellow Quaker, Elinor Clifton. 'Her influence has been most beneficial on their numerous family, religiously and morally; the refinement and polish of civilized society has not been lost by their being located in the bush, which is too generally the case.'[57] Henry Richardson also enjoyed a stay with the Cliftons in Australind, and commented that although Marshall Waller Clifton was very much in debt he entertained them 'in first rate style', and offered a good dinner, good wine and good beds.[58] Richardson discussed

[54] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life,* p.159.
[55] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.79.
[56] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.10.
[57] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.270.
[58] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.70.

in great detail his 'society' meetings, parties and balls in the Vasse region with the Molloys, Bussells, and Bunburys, to many of whom he had prior introductions.[59]

Most travellers were surprised by the degree of sophistication they found. Residents filled Western Australian space with objects and cultural behaviours that symbolised their positions in society.[60] When Albert Calvert dined with the Albany Government Resident and his daughter, he thought that there was an 'old world' atmosphere in their home, gardens, and house, and even the pictures on the walls were all of home.[61] Lady Broome also revealed similar thoughts when she wrote about her husband's impressions as he journeyed around the southwest.

> He was rather surprised to find what nice comfortable homes these back-settlers had built for themselves; and, when once you reached one of the stations, you would never dream that it and its inmates were buried in the heart of a forest. They seemed all pleasant and nice and well-informed people, besides being the very soul of hospitality. There were books and music, and evidences of refinement and taste; and the ladies looked as pretty and merry and nicely dressed as if they lived only a little way from an English country town.[62]

However, in the expressions she used, in effect the Broome's socially distanced themselves from those so-called 'back-settlers' and 'inmates', who were not even eligible to live in an 'English country town'.

Richardson's class prejudices enabled him to also grade the quality of the people he stayed with, for, like Mackie, he believed some lost their refinement by being located in the bush, or he identified them as of a lower class. For example, when invited to Capel Farm, owned by Mr Brydges, formerly a surgeon at Bunbury, he accepted although he heard that the company invited 'was not particularly select.' He said they made the most of their limited accommodation at their disposal. Dancing to a shepherd's violin, the Brydges' party lasted until morning, although Richardson again complained that the company was not very 'respectable'. However an invitation later to

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[59] The Molloys, Bussells, and Bunburys were graziers and farmers owning considerable acreages of land, early settlers of the colony, and members of WA's 'gentry'. Colonel John Molloy owned 'Fairlawns' and was the Resident Magistrate, the Bussells were sons and daughters of the Reverend William Bussell, the sons setting up their farm at 'Cattle Chosen', then taking on other farms as they got married, and the Bunburys, three daughters and two sons, arrived in the colony with their mother Lady Margaret Richardson Bunbury after their father died. Many married between the families or with other members of Western Australia's elite. Information in Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians,* vol.1, pp.90,99.
[60] Also see Bolton, *Spoils and Spoilers*, p.12.
[61] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.2.
[62] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.92.

a ball at Colonel Molloy's farm 'Fairlawn' was more to his liking.[63] Furthermore, at Capel Farm Richardson was not impressed by Mrs Brydges' unrefined manner:

> Mrs Brydges was in a state of extreme dishabille and rather dirty. She received me however very warmly, apologizing for her untidy appearance which was in some measure excusable as she had no servant and was obliged to do all the dirty work herself.[64]

Despite his displeasure, Richardson showed some respect for women, like Mrs Brydges, who worked without servants on the farms he visited. Mrs Bussell provided another example, although Richardson showed her greater admiration. He wrote that Alfred Bussell was useless, 'however he is blessed with an active industrious and apparently skilful wife who makes up for all his deficiencies'. The family, he wrote, lived off Mrs Bussell's butter and cheese making, thereby farm sales of livestock were redeemed as pure profit.[65]

The deficiency of servants was noticed by most travellers. Harvey had made the mistaken observation, in 1854 in Albany, that not having servants was a matter of choice.

> The fashion here is, *to have no servants!* … [T]he wife of the highest official of the place … keeps no servant & cooks & nurses … eight children with the help only of a young lady who is her companion. … This lady too was her own servant of all work, but from her manners & whole appearance you would never suppose she did more than oversee an establishment of servants. I have not often met with a more ladylike person & the whole of the little cottage & its grounds has an air of brightness & neatness that shows the goodwife & gentlewoman.[66]

Thus 'gentlewomen' still maintained their roles as mothers and wives, and providers of comfort, happiness and refinement, and therefore were the only women who counted as 'pioneers'.[67] However, Marianne North saw the discomfort borne by some when she visited 'The Warren' located in the tall timbered karri forest of the far southwest, commiserating with Mr Brockman and his sons having to work long hours without servants. She stated that the farm was in a state of disrepair, the men 'dressed

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[63] Richardson, *Diaries*, pp.85,88.
[64] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.78.
[65] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.82. Alfred and Ellen Bussell were successful pastoralists living in three different locations between Augusta and the Vasse during their lives. Although Ellen was competent on the farm and in the home, and assisted Alfred in establishing cheese factories in the area, Alfred was adept at curing ills, and combating diseases such as rickets, heart-leaf poison and coastiness, which he learned from the local Aboriginals. He was JP from 1872-1874. They were living at Ellensbrook (now Margaret River) when Richardson visited. See Wendy Birman, 'Bussell, Alfred Pickmore (1816 - 1882) ', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Pres, vol.3, 1969, pp.310-312.
[66] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.78.
[67] See Judith Godden, 'A New Look at Pioneer Women', *Hecate,* vol. V, No. 2, 1979, pp.7-21, p.7, and how only respected wives and mothers were considered 'pioneers' to help establish bourgeois hegemony.

in rags and his pretty ladylike wife' did the housework. 'What a situation hers was, with miles of forest all around…![68] So in spite of perceptions of newly gained wealth and comforts expressed by some travellers, there were still those who presented the colonial narrative with land-owners toiling in the harsh environment. But according to the travellers, failures they were not, for in the true 'pioneer' spirit they worked hard, and maintained respectability in the bush.[69]

Like Marianne, Lady Brassey also sympathised with the 'gentle folk' in the bush struggling without servants. She 'earnestly' advised prospective colonists to learn to fend for themselves. She said woman should learn to cook, bake, wash, and mend, as well as learn to ride, drive and saddle and shoe a horse themselves, if not at the very least to be able to 'teach an untrained servant to perform'.[70] In 1876 Alfred Wood had already noted that women were accustomed 'to harness and drive horses that, at home, would be in the hands of a competent horse breaker: and, in fact, we were struck throughout our visit to Western Australia, with the energy and managing capacity displayed by Colonial ladies at large'.[71] He was very impressed by Mrs Wilson who worked in the absence of her husband, competently carrying the mail from Guildford to York.[72] In rural areas many children also worked alongside their parents; however I could find few references to children in the travellers' texts, other than Mrs Millett's regarding the duties carried out by the daughters of a neighbour in 1863.

> There was no sort of labour suited to female hands which these young ladies had not attempted in the effort to lighten their father's first struggle with the wilderness, and the elder of the two told me that at sixteen years of age she and younger sister had been his shepherdesses.[73]

The empathy travellers felt towards these bush 'settlers' further indicates that they considered that the people they visited or associated with were usually members of their own class. Their admiration for working 'gentlewomen' is also explained by the new

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[68] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.165. Edward Revely Brockman was the son of university educated William Locke who was granted 20160 Swan River lot plus immense areas of pastoral leases. Edward married Capel Carter Bussel1, daughter of John Bussell. His farm 'The Warren House' was at Pemberton. He was also a JP. Information in Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians,* vol.1, pp.74-5.

[69] In 1906 Zunini was also wondering at the hardships of life in the bush when speaking of 'an old gentleman' in the Kojonup area, who was a former Sydney banker. Zunini was not a believer in the benefits of hard work to one's health. '[I]t was sad to see a person of refinement, used to an easy and comfortable life, now forced to do the rough and heavy work of the pioneer in the virgin bush. How much pain, bitterness and disappointment lie hidden in the endless forests of this continent which, if it offers wealth and success to the young and strong, is often a premature tomb for those who have lost the strength to face the struggle for life!' Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.179.

[70] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.246.

[71] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.7.

[72] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.7.

[73] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.123.

value placed on hard work, particularly in the colonies. However, work was never admired when travellers referred to lower class women. For example Gilbert Parker, in 1889, showed little respect for labourers' wives compared to the admiration Richardson, Marianne North, Lady Brassey and Wood had shown for the farmers' wives of a more privileged class. Parker recounted a conversation with, what he called, a 'self-made man' who collected him from the train in Beverley:

> "Many a mother of us chaps went out to work like a nigger; for there ain't none can work like a good mother with a family of children, is there sir?" I assented to that proposition. … I thought of those I had noticed along the line that day with staring and meaningless eyes, and children—the offspring of such—with inane and effortless faces, doomed to be hewers of wood and drawer of water throughout their lives.[74]

Parker's class prejudice is evident. In contrast to the respect shown for women of higher status, he held little admiration for lower class women, despite his acknowledgment of the deprivations and isolation they suffered in the bush. This is revealed when he spoke of a woman in the train on the way to Beverley:

> [She] wandered on through these shreds and patches of senseless thought—she whose life had been bounded by a circle of a hundred miles, and who had brought children into the world, a child herself in all save growth and function—nothing more. … I do say that I saw a good number of such. … I only show these things, because it will give an idea of how primitive, how slow, how nerveless is the life in this colony, even while it is bidding for a more active, freer, and healthier future.[75]

Parker had noticed the incongruency between the primitive hopeless conditions some families found themselves in compared to the healthy, freer society Western Australia liked to portray. Parker was one of the few travellers who mentioned that he had spoken to a member of the 'lower orders'. Travellers mentioned the poorer classes infrequently, being more inclined to ignore them, because they did not fulfil the 'pioneer myth' that there were great opportunities for upward social mobility in the colonies. They were deemed to be the idle and improvident poor class of immigrant from Britain.

The travellers also showed empathy and admiration for the more privileged classes roughing it on the goldfields. Albert Calvert claimed that the upper classes sacrificed their accustomed comforts in the quest for gold:

> In this pursuit, home ties are severed, home comforts sacrificed, social banishment endured, and the pleasures of London, Paris, New York, or Melbourne given up; the sultriness and strain of the life of the desert uncomplainingly faced by men who, to judge by their appearance, never

[74] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.379.
[75] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.379.

> had the shadow of a physical discomfort until Coolgardie became the mustering-place of intellect, as well as the battle ground of brain.[76]

However, according to Calvert, refinement and culture were maintained by keeping in touch with 'civilisation' through the mails bringing them the latest English and American magazines, and letters with 'superscriptions in scholarly hands'.

> Culture is not banished where civilization is only beginning to rear her head. There are many men there who dress in a coarse flannel shirt and trousers, but whose bearing and speech are that of educated gentlemen.[77]

Robert Tyler revealed that it was quite an experience to surrender a gentleman's attire, when the increasing heat impelled them to give up coats and waistcoats and turn up their shirt sleeves, even at meal times.[78] His son Bobby quite liked the goldfields mode of dress. 'It will be funny to wear a high hat when we get home, really the colonial way of dressing and wearing soft hats is much more comfortable.'[79] Calvert explained that the attire for the dining hall of the Victoria Hotel in Coolgardie was white flannel shirt and pants, revealing that, modified though it was, there was still a dress code.

> The sun sways the fashion. … where heat apoplexy hovers, and where men may dress as they like without being voted vulgar by a circle of lady friends. But the white shirt and pants must be as spotless as snow. … The man who would wear his shirt a second time to dinner would sin against the unwritten laws of the Victoria as unpardonably as the man who ate his peas with a knife.[80]

Clean, white, frequently changed clothes must have been difficult considering the lack of water, and indicates that the well-to-do must have had access to servants and other privileges, even on the goldfields. Some women also adapted their dress to suit the climate, as testified by Catherine Bond, who wore a short shooting-dress, leather gaiters, and thick-laced boots. She found that the material of the dress did not show the dust, and she could carry such things as the essential fly-switch in the many deep pockets.[81] It is clear that, although attire was somewhat modified, standards still prevailed, and as towns developed and women began to arrive, fashion and dress became notably more refined, as revealed later in the chapter.

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[76] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.84.
[77] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, pp.128-129.
[78] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.115.
[79] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.203.
[80] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.66. In 1896 Radclyffe said that there was a difference between the towns, they wore flannel shirt-sleeves and slouch hats at Hannan's, and collars in Coolgardie. See Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.19.
[81] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.46.

A Question of Misconstrued Equality

Because of the hospitality they received and the open friendliness they experienced from a limited group within the community, and because they rarely wrote about working class people, most of the travellers conveyed the illusion that Western Australian society was undivided. They gave the impression that lower classes could become rich and influential, and had an equal opportunity to own vast expanses of land provided they worked hard enough. But when their observations are analysed this was hardly the case; for example, as revealed above, the travellers were able to discern subtleties in class, and found that the local inhabitants liked to display some airs and graces. Davies considered the colony's society at the turn of the century.

> In West Australia, Society is much less divided than at home, a better feeling exists between the rich and poor and, *whatever their failings* [italics added], we must admit that people of all classes are, as a rule, very homely and genial, which makes social life much brighter than in England.[82]

Despite his conclusion that society was 'less divided' than in England, Davies still recognised a class structure, although on a lower scale than at 'home'. While supporting the idea of equal opportunity and a freer society, many travellers frequently ridiculed the colonial classes. For example Harvey, visiting during the convict era in 1854, felt no affinity with David Scott, the overseer of Kendenup station, whose unplanned hospitality he depended on when he needed to borrow a horse. He was given preferential treatment as 'it was customary for "Gents" to dine by themselves in an inside room', away from the Shepherds, this factor alone denying the existence of equality.[83] He received a special meal of:

> eggs being a luxury served to me alone—the Overseer was a free Emigrant, very rough spoken but not meaning to be uncivil—on the contrary I believe he meant to be very kind, but thought his loud talk proper, as a proof of independent spirit, & his right as being the host entertaining a poor 'Gent' cast on his hospitality – He had been a gardener & served 6 mos. At Kew … so we had a subject to converse on, & I observed a softening in his tone & more frequent using the monosyllable 'Sir' as we went on – Of course I took him as he came with equanimity, overlooking what a snappish person would term rudeness & want of proper respect – remembering that here a white man with no convict stain on his name expects to be treated as an equality with a 'Gent''– He told me that he had formerly lived with "one Lawrence of Ealing" – 'a curious woman' & great cultivator of flowers, who always took the prize at the Hort. show in London. I was very much amused at the way in which he spoke of this Lady, & how she used to tease him coming interfering in the garden & standing talking with him for 8

[82] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.80.
[83] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.95.

> hours at a time – What would the great Mrs. Lawrence have said, to have heard one of her under-gardeners talking of her and calling her "One Lawrence" (without even the Mrs.) - the wife of a famous surgeon in the city – but David Scott is now 'Overseer' to a large Sheep-station & an influential man with 20 shepherds under him.[84]

A number of issues are revealed in this passage. Harvey had prior knowledge that free-emigrants, who had a higher status than convicts, expected to be treated as equals, suggesting how widespread this idea was. But he could only see his host as being of lower class, lacking deference and respect for his betters. Scott, on the other hand would have believed that he had moved up the social ladder through his position as an overseer, and thus was not required to display deference.[85] Except Harvey thought the act became unstuck when Scott occasionally uttered 'sir', unconsciously revealing his true class. Harvey mocked the idea that an under-gardener, now a so called 'overseer' (Harvey's inverted commas) of a large sheep station, could imagine that he was equal to a famous surgeon's wife.

In their writings there were further instances of the way travellers recognised the subtleties of class, despite the best intentions that Western Australians had of achieving a higher status. For example Wood's impressions of the gentlemanly Mr Campbell in 1877 can be compared with his ridicule of Mr Cockman. He used Mr Campbell, a large landowner, as a symbol of the old settlers of Western Australia, describing him as 'a gentleman, if ever one lived' reading verses from a well-worn bible, and reading articles from *Sunday at Home*. Wood payed tribute to the 'sincere piety', and 'true devotional spirit' of the Campbell household, despite the disadvantages of living in the bush. Wood believed that:

> the type of settler he represented is year by year becoming more rare: it is a type, too, that no future time is likely to reproduce; least of all in Australia. … I retain vivid impressions of his squarely-built, comfortable looking wife, in her plaid 'crossover' and spotless mob-cap; - looking all [the] world as though she had just stepped out of one of John Faed's realistic pictures.[86]

On the other hand, Mr Cockman—whose home Wood made use of for refreshment on his journey from Perth—he believed would have been taken for a 'gamekeeper' in England by his dress, 'dark velveteens, leather gaiters, and knowing reserved look' and

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[84] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* pp.95-6.

[85] See Hirst, 'Egalitarianism', p.118. Hirst suggested that manners were the only consistent representation of an egalitarian order in Australia. However, in this thesis I believe it was an indication of the constant striving to better oneself, and to take on the qualities of the higher classes, thus they did not show deference because they considered themselves to be higher in class.

[86] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, n.p. John Faed was a popular Scottish painter at the time, who primarily painted religious, literary, and historical scenes.

deportment. His travelling companion privately described him as the 'most "uppish" publican on the road'.[87] James Cockman owned a small property and market garden approximately 20 kilometres north of Perth, having first arrived in Western Australia as an indentured labourer.[88] Hence Wood's class prejudice and impression that he was 'uppish'.

On meeting successful people who had risen from humble origins, travellers also perpetuated the 'rags to riches' myth. In 1860 Henry Richardson wrote that Mr Mungor [sic] came out as a servant and made his fortune selling brandy on his travels around the unpopulated country. 'He is considered one of the wealthiest men in Western Australia.'[89] As John Hirst argued, such examples suggest that 'opportunity was open to all regardless of old-world tests of rank and birth'.[90] However, despite this, travellers from the higher echelons of society often showed disdain for those who had improved their standing in society, for they still considered them their social inferiors, as Harvey had above. On this matter, forty-six years later, Leopoldo Zunini commented.

> There is also a problem in that the division between the classes, which are only two in number, is not rigorously maintained. As a result, the company one finds is not always the most select; but here in Australia one must accustom oneself from the outset to the ultra democratic ways of the country which, while they may offend the more sensitive, also have their good side.[91]

It is interesting here that, despite Zunini's assertion that Western Australian society was less divided and democratic, he still managed to distinguish two classes. Lady Broome was one of the 'more sensitive' when, during her residency in Perth in the 1880s, she came across her servants in public, ridiculing their dress sense.

> I used to be so amazed at their love of finery. To see one's housemaid at church absolutely covered with sham diamonds, large rings outside her gloves, huge solitaire earrings, and at least a dozen brooches stuck about her, was, to say the least of it, startling; so was the apparition of my head-cook, whom I sent for hurriedly once, after dinner, and who appeared in an evening dress of black net and silver. I also recognised the kitchen-maid at

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[87] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.142. Dick Broad was Wood's host and companion.
[88] 'State Register of Heritage Places', database; City of Wanneroo promotional booklet, *Cockman House.* Although Cockman's hospitality has been well documented, there is no indication that he was a publican.
[89] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.56. John Henry Monger was an overseer at Lake Monger, and in 1836 took up land and opened a small hotel in York. His son of the same name became a rich merchant and landowner, with a successful wholesale and retail trading business, but this was not until the 1870s. R. P. Wright, 'Monger, John Henry (1831 - 1892)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 5, Melbourne University Press, 1974, pp.267-268.
[90] Hirst, 'Egalitarianism', p.113.
[91] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.54.

> a concert in a magnificent pale green satin evening dress, which, taken in conjunction with her scarlet hair, was rather conspicuous.[92]

Finding it vulgar that the lower classes became indecently well-to-do displaying ostentatious bad taste in their clothes, and obtrusive familiarity in their manners, reflected the visitors' social prejudices. The upper classes often felt that contact with convicts, servants, or newly-rich labourers or tradesmen was demeaning. Zunini recognised this. He believed there was a 'deep dislike of Australians which exists among the English upper classes. … The English nobility rarely choose Australia as a destination'.[93]

The idea of illogicality and social inversion in the Antipodes, as discussed in Chapter One, is revealed by a number of travellers. Harvey, for example, passed some shepherds minding a flock of sheep in Mt Barker owned, he was told, by Mr. Daniel of Albany. Harvey wrote that Mr Daniel came out to the colony as a servant and then became rich with his own servants, farm and livestock, while his master was reduced to poverty. He said that many original settlers and their servants 'changed places'.[94] Lady Brassey noticed what appeared to be an illogical wage system in 1887. She was surprised about the higher earnings of men working at the sawmills compared to the local schoolteacher. 'He was dressed like a gentleman, but earns less than the labourers, who get ten shillings a day'.[95] Another example is Marianne North's description of a 'typical Australian' at Williams in1880:

> [The] squire-landlord was a curious mixture. A man of the oldest English family, a perfect gentleman in sentiment, though rustic in education, manner, and speech. … [H]e took his wool and sheep to market, had never been out of the colony, and had no ideas beyond living there from day to day; and yet one felt that the man was a gentleman, though keeping an inn, ploughing his own land, and talking as if that were the only object worth living for.[96]

Inversion is seen here in Marianne's idea of a 'curious mixture' of characteristics; a squire-landlord but working the land, a squire-landlord but keeping an inn, a gentleman but rural by nature and education, a gentleman but with few worldly ideas, and an old

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[92] Lady Broome, *Colonial Memories*, London, Smith, Elder, & Co., 1904, p.220.
[93] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.54.
[94] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.94.
[95] Brassey, *The Last Voyage*, p.237. The low pay was because school fees were partly funded by parents and the classes were inclined to be small, but it may also be a leftover practice from the convict period when teachers tended to be ex-convicts of 'white collar' status who were attracted to the position because it was better than menial labour. See Rica Erickson, 'Schoolmasters', in Rica Erickson (ed.), *The Brand on His Coat: Biographies of Some Western Australian Convicts,* Perth, Hesperian Press, 2009, pp.285-300, p.286.
[96] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.153.

English family but never having left Australia. Robert Tyler also noticed social inversion, believing that the 'worst classes' were taking over the law and becoming Members of Parliament. He illustrated this by a story about a poor clerk who had been discharged for drunkenness by his superintendent, but who then rose to become a Member of Parliament and in turn discharged the superintendent. Tyler thought that there was 'nothing but bribery and corruption in the Colony; this comes of a purely democratic government. An honourable man stands very little chance, in fact he is quite out of the running consequently the worst class obtain the control of affairs.'[97]

As well, the idea that there was a 'freer' and more 'independent' lifestyle in Western Australia along with ideas of a democratic society, was a common thread in the travellers' texts. In 1872 Anthony Trollope presented the masculine colonial narrative of social inversion when he made an expansive comment about rural labourers in the southwest, even though there is no evidence in his writings that he actually met any. He believed the claim that there existed greater opportunity for men in the colony. Women were rarely included in these imaginings of freedom and independence in Western Australian society.

> And the rural labourer in Western Australia is more independent than in England. How, indeed, could he possibly be less so! He is better clothed, has a better chance of educating his children, and certainly lives a freer and more manly life. … In all the Australian colonies, if a man will work the food comes easily, and he can turn his mind elsewhere. I do not assert that there is no poverty, - no distress. Even in Western Australia the government is obliged to maintain an establishment for paupers. But poverty is not the rule, and a man who will work and can work may be independent.[98]

A 'more manly' life was a construct that emerged in reaction to industrial Europe in the nineteenth century, and was often expressed by the travellers. Trollope also implied that poverty was only a result of failure, believing that if one was prepared to work one could be self sufficient in Australia, thus supporting the myth of equal opportunity.[99] Zunini was also convinced that 'in this world, anybody can succeed, whatever their nationality, provided that they are intelligent, honest and have a spirit of initiative and some capital.'[100] Trollope and Zunini indicate how personal failings explained poverty in a 'land of promise'; as Richard White concluded, in a land where 'all white men were

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[97] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.128. This explains why he was extremely irritated at being displaced on the train to Coolgardie by a MP, discussed early in this chapter.
[98] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.607-610.
[99] Trollope only referred to men, because, being a product of his times, women were not considered to be breadwinners. White, *Inventing Australia*, p.43.
[100] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.192.

equal, success and failure were the result of individual character.'[101] C. T. Stannage argued that the 'claim of rhetoricians and colonial boosters that labourers in Swan River lived better than their counterparts in the old country should not be accepted uncritically.' Stannage presented evidence that many labourers left Western Australia for better prospects in the eastern colonies.[102]

That Western Australia was a place where the lower classes endeavoured to better themselves was not disputed by the travellers. Hume Nisbet, who arrived in Albany in 1886, was not fooled as to a boatman's true origins.

> The boatmen have none of the obsequiousness of the boatmen of other ports which we have touched at on our journey; they are colonial and independent, and name their price with a gruff take-it-or-leave-it-manner. … At a glance one can see that [this boatman] … has only been a year or two in the land of the free—just long enough to get the fat melted from his bones, and not long enough to get used to his surroundings. He is trying hard to get rid of his country boorishness and home-bred discontent and servility, but he still remembers the rinds of bacon which he has been used to chew, and his fathers before him; he can hardly resist hanging his loutish head and touching his hat to the quality, and in his efforts to resist the engrained habits of centuries he runs into the opposite extreme, and behaves himself like the freckle-faced, pig-headed, unlicked cub that he is.[103]

On the one hand Nisbet admired the Australian in the 'land of the free', a freedom from servitude, but on the other hand he despised him for his lack of deference, as had Harvey with regards to the overseer discussed above. He described how the boatman stood in the way of everyone descending the ladder into the steamboat to take them to shore, so he pushed up against him with his shoulder and knocked him sideways, and felt well pleased with his actions. After a further altercation he said, 'I never met a boy or man who had been ten years in the colony behave like this; but it takes nearly eight years to lick a true-born, country-bred, pork-fed new chum into proper colonial shape.'[104] The British believed that emigration was a social corrective for the unemployed labouring classes. Thus Nisbet suggested that, given time in Australia, ill breeding would be shaped into acceptable colonial behaviour, although it would still be distinguishable from real 'quality'. Harry Furniss visiting Albany in 1898, imagined that only the 'dead-beats' were left behind after those of quality in the community had 'flown to the goldfields'.

> A careful survey of the visible specimens of West Australian society … The lanky Cornstalk who met the tender … the Dutch-looking gentleman in the

[101] White, *Inventing Australia,* p.44.
[102] Stannage, *The People of Perth*, p.132.
[103] Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp*, pp.71-72.
[104] Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp*, pp.72-73.

> pince-nez. … He was a carter, by the way — think of it, a carter wearing a pince-nez! The row of loafers … watching the tender as it arrived — watching, it seemed, for the unwary 'new chum'.[105]

Furnisses' lack of respect for the Albany residents is clear. His ridicule at seeing a carter wearing a pince-nez demonstrates his prejudiced views regarding attempts by the lower orders to imitate the higher orders. Two years earlier Catherine Bond sat next to a young man at lunch on her first day in Albany and betrayed her attitude about the residents of Albany. 'He wore *pince-nez,* and did not look in accord with his surroundings'.[106]

The universal pursuit of wealth was the incentive that drove men, and some women, to the gold rushes, overcoming incredible odds, risking their health and their lives, and, according to Norman Sligo, creating 'a kaleidoscope of humanity rarely witnessed in a life time.[107] Hence, in the goldfields the travellers found themselves alongside all classes and nationalities. Price described the scene on the crowded Perth railway station platform before departing for the goldfields.

> Every nation on the earth appeared to be represented—Frenchmen, Germans, Italian, Englishmen, Greeks, Russians, all rubbing shoulders together; and all classes, from the wealthy speculator to the broken-down clerk; whilst many a sunburnt miner from the other colonies helped to make up as incongruous a lot of fellow-passengers as it has ever been my lot to travel with.[108]

Radclyffe spoke of the 'spirit' which drove men to the gold fields, and often to their deaths, as the spirit that had made the English Empire. 'There are no purse-proud grand airs about the man of the West. The boys have had to fight shoulder to shoulder for very life, and the memory of past hardships prevent any attempt at 'side'.[109] Here Radclyffe's imperialist views allowed no place for the other nationalities that Price mentioned were on the goldfields. In much the same vein, May Vivienne portrayed equality amongst the miners.

> It cannot be denied that, for strong and able-bodied young men, life in the West, with its freedom and many chances of good luck, is one not to be despised. Men from surprisingly different classes are to be met on the goldfields, and yet, so to speak, all classes are alike.[110]

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[105] Furniss, *Australian Sketches Made on Tour*, pp.14-15.
[106] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.14.
[107] Sligo, *Mates and Gold*, p.40.
[108] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.49.
[109] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.2.
[110] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.143.

That all classes were represented on the goldfields was certainly true. Catherine Bond was surprised to meet two members of the upper classes working at a government bore where her party had arrived to water the horses. One was a public school boy biding his time while waiting to go prospecting. 'It appears rather a sad come down, but he appears quite satisfied.'[111] Although shared hardships gave travellers the illusion of an undivided community in the goldfields, they still managed to differentiate between the classes, and still only associated with 'quality'.

A sense of a less divided society was more persistent in the travellers' observations leading into the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1906, Zunini wrote:

> the lack of social division is also firmly rooted in the soul and spirit of this people. … [A] duke would be treated here with the same familiarity and *sans gene* as any worker. … [M]inisters love to be seen in public, they are accessible to everyone and are treated with the same familiarity as most ordinary people … and often dress with a simplicity which seems, at times, to be too much. … There is no abject class here. … Here everybody is a citizen in the true sense of the word.[112]

The familiarity shown by so-called ordinary citizens towards the ruling class was probably because the people Zunini mixed with imagined themselves to be the elite, hence their eagerness and geniality when receiving an aristocrat such as Zunini into their fold. As well, as John Hirst has argued, because of the gentlemanly status held by Members of Parliament, many men of lower status, such as small traders, shopkeepers and publicans, were attracted to parliament.[113] These people Zunini mixed with may have behaved quite differently towards a labourer, no doubt casting them into 'the outer darkness where struggle the twenty odd thousand people who are not in Perth society', as perceptively observed by Raymond Radclyffe.[114] But Zunini's impressions of these 'entrenched democratic attitudes' were solidified when he witnessed members of Perth's elite working physically. When he visited a farm in Kellerberrin belonging to Mr Leake, a member of one of Western Australia's well-known elite families, he said that 'three brothers, … all country gentlemen who, rich as they may have been, were not above maintaining a busy working schedule', thus providing another example of the widespread cult of manliness.[115]

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[111] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.39.
[112] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.54-55.
[113] Hirst, 'Egalitarianism', p.111.
[114] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wildcats,* p.11.
[115] Zunini was later impressed by Mr Piesse, and maintained the rags-to-riches myth supporting equal opportunity when he described him as a 'typical Australian self-made man' who worked his way from an ordinary labourer possessing an enormous fortune. We met his son, … concentrating on steering a plough

> One should see them, dressed like the lowliest peasant, taking on the heaviest tasks. It is a 'sport' as much as anything else! You would most certainly not connect the elegant gentleman, perfumed, spruced-up and dressed in the latest fashion, frequenting the clubs of Perth and Melbourne, with the man who, only a few days earlier, clad in workman's clothes, had driven the plough and baled the wool on his farm hidden away in the middle of the endless bush. They belong to an admirable race which will have a glorious future.[116]

This is the same Mr Leake who off loaded Tyler and others when he booked himself three first class train carriages to Coolgardie.

Success was often measured by the travellers in their comments about the elaborate, stylish dress of some Western Australians. In Coolgardie, in 1895 Price noticed amongst crowds of well-dressed people, 'the fair sex showed everywhere, and helped to brighten up the sombre crowd.'[117] In 1899 May Vivienne noticed what women were wearing in Coolgardie.

> I was surprised to see the women so richly dressed, elegant Redfern tailor-made gowns and Worth carriage costumes … were much in evidence; many of the rich women send to London and Paris I am told for their gowns. Occasionally a plainly-dressed woman in a tweed or Assam silk costume with neat sailor hat would pass, probably a mine manager's wife or English visitor, but the majority of the women of the goldfields spare no expense in the style and richness of their dresses.[118]

Vivienne was able to distinguish the 'rich woman' from the 'mine manager's wife or English visitor', thus intimating that despite superficial appearances society was still divided by class. Nearly thirteen years later Mary Hall arrived after a tiring train trip, and also found that the residents dressed very well. 'They made us poor folk who had slept in our clothes feel like tramps'.[119] Zunini was surprised by stylish women in Kellerberrin. He remarked, 'I noticed several elegantly dressed, aristocratic looking young women. One did not feel that one was in the Australian bush but rather taking

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pulled by two pair of horses. ... Of course in Europe one is not used to seeing ministers' sons doing manual work, dressed like ordinary labourers. Our customs are quite different! … I do not know what some of our dandies, for whom idleness is synonymous with nobility and any kind of work is a dishonour, would say!' See Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.127. Charles Austin Piesse was not from the labouring classes, he was the son of policeman and magistrate William Roper Piesse, and was educated at Guildford Grammer School. Piesse was a merchant, agriculturist and politician responsible for opening up the Katanning and Wagin regions with his older brother Frederick Henry Piesse (MP). Price also met him and called him a 'gentleman'. See Bignell, 'Australian Dictionary of Biography, *Online Edition*', For more about Piesse see Chapter Three. This passage further demonstrates the acceptance of manual labour amongst the upper classes in Western Australia, despite Zunini's indication that Italy was not yet romanticising hard work, as Britain and its colonies were.

[116] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.113. The Leake family were considered one of the six leading families in Perth society during the nineteenth century.

[117] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.157,159.

[118] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.121.

[119] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.146.

one's ease in a European city'.[120] In Perth in 1914, Edwin and Marion Grew certainly believed many people had succeeded, 'We were impressed by the prosperous air of the crowds, whom the fine warm Sunday afternoon had brought out; there were none among them who did not look well-to-do'.[121]

In complete contrast, however, German aristocrat Count Fritz Von Hochberg was not impressed with the standard of dress, or the people of Western Australia when he visited a year after Zunini in 1907, placing them very low on the social scale. He described Perth residents that he passed on the streets as 'pasty, sallow-complexioned, offensive, rude, sulky-looking people, dressed in their old fashions and countrified-looking Sunday fineries'.[122] Hochberg's first encounter with Fremantle people was portrayed similarly.

> Everything is covered, smothered with dust, even the sulky-looking people, who stare at one in a bad - mannered, vulgar way. And what people! They remind one of the Czech miners of the lowest class, with insolent, dogged daring, bad-tempered, sulky expressions, but half put on, I think, to hide the pathetic, yearning unhappiness in their faces, yearning for colour to rest their tired eyes on, green fields and vivid fresh foliage, and a cheery, happy country instead of this land of desolation. And so they stare defiantly at you. Sallow-complexioned people, men and women, with fallen-in cheeks, rough, common, unattractive, they have almost a Jewish formation of face and skull, with prominent eyes and animal-like jaws — Bush-people, I can't describe them otherwise.[123]

Hochberg's observations were influenced by his noble birth and racist views. However, he has introduced the idea that white Australian-born people looked different. Bobby Tyler thought women of Fremantle in 1895 were attractive, when he exclaimed, 'There are an enormous number of pretty girls here, in fact every girl you meet is pretty, they lick the English girls into fits.'[124] Catherine Bond, in 1896, was pleased with the 'good-looking', 'pleasant' and 'happy' people in Albany.[125] In 1901 Charles Hawes depicted a different countenance amongst the citizens of Fremantle, men with 'swarthy burnt faces and slouching felt hats' who he likened to Boers, and women with hats 'weighed down

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[120] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.105.
[121] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.61.
[122] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.24.
[123] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.21.
[124] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.63. The girls in Perth also impressed Edelsten: 'The girls are especially jolly, no form? of conversation line? but they are glad to see a new face and tell you so. … All turn out for a walk to the terrace a few times after which a party is made up and will go off each with their separate servant.' Frederick A. Edelsten, *Diary,* Melbourne, State Library of Victoria, M837, 24 July 1867 - 3 October 1868, May 1868.
[125] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.11.

with mountains of feathers and flowers',[126] indicating how current events, in this case the Boer War, had an influence on travellers impressions.

However, Calvert's opinion, in 1895, about the average miner makes a striking contrast, for '[a]fter he has been working for some months in gold-land he gets "run down"; his skin becomes sallow; blotches appear upon it; he has lost his elasticity, and to some extent, his strength'.[127] But in Coolgardie three years later, May Vivienne was proud of her fellow Australians, revealing that conditions had improved greatly. '"What a splendid lot of men there are here!" They were, indeed, unusually tall, stalwart, and good-looking. And why not? The pick of the Australian colonies, the flower of our manhood, were here seeking for gold.'[128] Vivienne believed the goldfields were good for young men. She thought an old friend 'looked all the better for his roughing experiences. They had brought out the man in him. Before he was somewhat inclined to be effeminate, now he had become a fine fellow.'[129] Edwin and Marion Grew felt there was a characteristic Western Australian look developing in the men by 1914, 'lean, loosely hung, wiry, with eyes deep-set from the strong sunlight.'[130]

Generally the travellers supported the idea that there was no poverty in Western Australia, and only occasionally admitted seeing signs of destitution. The Grews thought that the people were 'well fed, well clothed, well housed, well-to-do. Whatever her problems, and they are many and difficult, and not to be lightly pronounced upon by the casual visitor, it is the glory of Australia that she has no poor'.[131] But the Grews' impression was not simply because the economy had improved by 1914, similar notions were also prevalent prior to the gold boom years. In 1872, for example, Trollope had heard about the poverty in Western Australia, but instead was impressed with how well people lived, with carriages and horses, good dinners, and 'liveried servants'.[132] Parker was one of the few travellers who maintained that he saw poverty when he visited in 1889, just at the beginning of the gold rush period:

> The poor are poorer than they are elsewhere, and though the rich are not so rich as they are in Sydney or Melbourne, they fare no worse in reality. The anxiety of life occurs up to the point of procuring necessities, and it is in that region that the humble people in poor communities suffer; for though living is, in the whole, cheap, the opportunities if earning a living are few.[133]

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[126] Hawes, *The Diary of Charles H. Hawes*, p.190.
[127] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.74-76.
[128] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.96.
[129] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.105.
[130] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.21.
[131] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, pp.20-21.
[132] Edwards and Joyce, *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.601.
[133] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.387.

Parker's statement about few opportunities for earning a living is contrary to the general view held by the travellers about the vast possibilities for success in Western Australia. Indeed, Parker's observations were in complete contrast to the other travellers in this study. He never imagined equality between the classes in Western Australia:

> Isolation, belated progress, narrow life, and no political or social teaching, have done their work, and torpid brain and low intelligence in the lower orders are the result. … But when we consider the low capacities of certain classes in Western Australia, we cannot wonder that the colony has won its way with halting feet. Indeed, a ball and chain would seem to be upon the leg of progress there.[134]

By his reference to 'ball and chain', Parker may have believed in the continuing 'stain' of convictism, even though transportation had ceased twenty-two years prior to his visit. After such a number of years it was unusual for the travellers to refer to Western Australia's penal past.

Parker may have been influenced by the idea that a poor class of migrant had been sent to the colonies. For this reason some travellers regarded the population to be idle and lacking in aspiration, particularly on their first encounter in Albany. A passing passenger, Edward Wilson, who called into King George Sound in 1858, commented on the activity, or lack of it, on shore.

> The people are not at all too energetic; and the axiom that it is better to wear out than to rust out does not seem to have yet reached either Albany or its port! … Were the colonist properly awake, the fact of the steamers stopping here would lead to provision for their supplies at a much cheaper rate. … But nothing of the sort obtrudes itself upon the thoughts of the King George Soundians. They vegetate according to a plan of their own, and do not trouble themselves with any abstruse calculations as to the amount of the coin of the realm the monthly steamer each way might be induced to leave behind her.[135]

During the same period Edward Saunders believed they needed to 'stir themselves' by making use of their supposed resources by cultivating their own food.[136] This general idea had not changed much by 1873, when Rosamond and Florence Hill visited Albany on their way to eastern Australia from England. They were surprised to find that Albany imported the produce to replenish the steamers with provisions to continue their journeys. This provoked them to think that the Western Australians generally were not very industrious, particularly noticeable in Albany. 'All Albany boats are moved by sail because their crews are too indolent to row, say sarcastic critics and there was no

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[134] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.373.
[135] Wilson, *Rambles of the Antipodes*, pp.116-117.
[136] Saunders, *Our Australian Colonies*, p.2.

breeze'.[137] These comments about the indolence and lack of aspiration amongst the 'King George Soundians' reflect widespread acceptance of the work ethic lauded as an indication of civilised society, hinted at by Wilson's adage 'that it is better to wear out than to rust out', and believed to be a necessity if the colonies were to become productive.

Even during the hectic gold rush period Price, in 1895, also thought that 'somnolence' was the usual state of the residents of Albany, who only came to life on the arrival of the steamers, so that it deserved the name of 'Sleepy Hollow'. He was able to seek out his own class however, finding 'several charming families who seem to know how to make the best of life', and the services of a well appointed Club.[138]

A Question of Social Problems

An indication that there was a struggling class in southern Western Australia can be determined by gathering travellers' observations concerning crime and alcoholism. Copious amounts of alcohol were consumed in Australia, leading to other social problems.[139] Cornish blamed the 'criminal taint' imported into the colony with the convicts for the 'social vices of drunkenness and wife-beating'.[140] He wrote of an 1878 Perth newspaper column that was critical of the frequency of charges for domestic abuse, which recommended that the government legislated on the matter.[141] C. T. Stannage's research confirmed that wife beating was a severe problem in Perth.[142] And as to drunkenness, Cornish thought the large number of advertisements in the local papers applying for liquor licenses was testament to the prevalence of this social problem. However, he thought that licensing indicated some attempt to control the sale of intoxicating liquor, even though the government appeared powerless to prevent drunkenness.

During Western Australia's penal period, Frederick Edelsten noticed government control over social behaviour, with a ban on public billiard tables, card playing in hotels, and 'many other such regulations'. Consequently he found the evenings 'rather dull'.[143] Paradoxically, the restriction on amusements and the lack of entertainment for

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[137] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, pp.33-35.
[138] Price, *The Land of Gold*, pp.12-13.
[139] Stannage, C. T., *The People of Perth,* p.139. Also many accounts of drunkenness and crime are evident in Stannage's study.
[140] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.48.
[141] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.48.
[142] Stannage, *The People of Perth,* p.116.
[143] Edelsten, *Diary*, May 1868.

the large numbers of young single males could also explain the excessive consumption of alcohol, and the hold it came to have on society and thus its ensuing social problems.

Rosemond and Florence Hill found that Albany had a method to combat drunkenness. They saw, posted in the windows of the Court-house, the following notices. (The names of the offenders were deleted in their text):

> NOTICE.
>
> Publicans and all others, are hereby forbidden to sell or supply during months from the date of this notice, with Spirituous or Fermented Liquors, or Liquor part whereof is Spirituous or Fermented, under a penalty of Five Pounds (5) in accordance with Act of Council, 20 Viet. No. 1, Sec. 65 & 66.
>
> Given under our hands at Albany, in the said Colony this
>
> (Signed)
>
> RESIDENTS' OFFICE.
>
> Albany, 1873.
>
> ---------- has this day been prohibited from being supplied with Spirituous, or Fermented Liquors, during months from this date.
>
> (Signed)

The sisters were assured that these notices had a considerable effect in repressing drunkenness.[144] However, alcohol was not only prevalent during the period of transportation. Parker, for example, travelling from Albany to Beverley in 1889, observed from his train window:

> knots of drunken loafers about the railway stations and sidings are a sorry sight: the blear-eyed sandal-wood cutter, with his arm over the shoulder of a blackfellow, inducing him to have another 'roll in'; drunken fathers and drunken sons arm-in-arm in this social infamy.[145]

Parker's reference to 'social infamy' may once again imply the convict stain. Ten years later in the coalfields at Collie, Jonathan Ceredig Davies was concerned with the

[144] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.437.
[145] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.372.

gambling habits of drinkers:

> such was the temptation for drink that very few of them saved anything. Generally on Sunday afternoons, large crowds would gather together at a particular spot amongst the trees, to play at the gambling game known as 'pitch and toss'. In some respects they were not bad fellows, for they never quarrelled or used violence towards one another as men do in England very often under such circumstances, but the drinking and gambling habits were causing their ruin.[146]

Here Davies highlights a point often forgotten by travellers, that a drinking culture also existed in England. Parker's and Davies' observations also reflect their personalities, both of teetotalling principles.[147] Not all working camps had a drinking problem. Visiting at similar times to Davies, both Radclyffe (1896) and Vivienne (1899) pointed out that the workers at the mills around Denmark were alcohol free, and despite this were happy and well taken care of.[148]

The 1890s saw Perth inundated with gold seekers. The crowded conditions and lack of suitable sleeping arrangements, as well as the camaraderie of the gold seekers, was no doubt a factor in the large consumption of alcohol at the height of the rush, as illustrated by the travellers. In Southern Cross, David Carnegie described how a bank had alternative functions in the early days of the goldfields in 1892, when the bank manager entertained a party of friends that went on until morning. 'Since that time it has been my lot to witness more than one such evening of festivity![149]

Norman Sligo and his party, who travelled at the same time as Carnegie, wrote about an incident at Southern Cross after seven weeks travelling from Nannine. Their long journey on little food saw them fall prey to heavy drink, causing a fight when a well-dressed 'new chum' said "I don't want to have anything to say to a flat head".[150] Carnegie explained that fights and rows were common in the early days on the goldfields, often starting with bloodthirsty intentions and ending in peace, harmony and eternal friendships:

> The well-known cry of "A fight! a fight!" would bring the greater part of the population from their dwellings—from stores, banks, offices, bars, an excited and rushing crowd would hurry to the scene of the fray, all eager to

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[146] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.93. On the goldfields the game was known as the Miners School. Carnegie explained how it operated. 'The miners' school is neither more nor less than a largely attended game of pitch-and-toss, at which sometimes hundreds of pounds in gold or notes change hands.' See Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.20.

[147] Parker had the same to say about drunks in Cairns watching men 'staggering up the street' at 8 o'clock in the morning. See Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.251.

[148] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.54. 'They get no drink but tea, and a finer lot of fellows it would be impossible to find anywhere'. Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.9. Vivienne thought that 'in spite of their enforced sobriety, the men seem to be very jolly and happy.'

[149] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.6.

[150] Sligo, *Mates and Gold*, p.39. This also demonstrates the existence of discrimination on the goldfields.

> witness a good row; … as one fight usually breeds several, a fair afternoon's or morning's entertainment could be safely counted on. A mining community must have excitement; even a dog-fight would command a considerable amount of interest.[151]

As the goldfields became more established, drunkenness does not appear to have abated. Although staying in 'good rooms' at the Metropole Hotel in 1896, Catherine Bond found the noise in the late evenings from the crowded bars under her rooms terrible. Having arrived late for dinner one evening they discovered that the cooks were also intoxicated, resulting in a dinner of sago pudding.[152] Catherine found Sundays to be very quiet with a low attendance at the church service. 'I am told the bars are secretly open to a back door, though the law closes the front door; and also hear of £70 being taken last Sunday in one hotel.'[153]

Price's impressions were that there was not much amusement or entertainment in the evenings for the local inhabitants, 'considering what a lot of money there is to be spent amongst the crowd in town after working hours, with the result that the drinking saloons and billiard-rooms are doing a roaring trade.' He thought that there was good money to be made by the publicans. Sometimes there was musical entertainment in a rough sort of hall, and a couple of fairly good clubs.[154] And again, in the same year, Tyler thought that 'Coolgardie is a jolly fine place in the day time, but at night there is absolutely nothing to do'.[155]

Early travellers to the goldfields, such as Carnegie and Sligo, portrayed a lawless society. However most travellers arriving when the towns were more established thought that law and order prevailed in the goldfields, notwithstanding the crime of late night trading in alcohol. Radclyffe, visiting in 1896, found the goldfields law abiding. He compared the scene to Perth. He said Perth was 'respectable and a trifle dull' but Coolgardie was 'not dull or respectable. … But there is no quarrelling, no shooting at sight, and very little of the rogue element. This crowd is here to make money, but it

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[151] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.67-68.
[152] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.16. Earlier during transportation Mrs Millett also found there were problems with cooks: 'In many households it is a common practice to keep a convict as cook, … however well such a man may cook, and however good his behaviour in general may be, he is certain to get drunk occasionally. See Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.92.
[153] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.28. The disorder and chaotic pattern of life going on in one evening in a typical mining town can be sensed by this, and by Bond's observations about the night before when there was also a Salvation Army service amidst the entertainments of Coolgardie. 'After dinner we sit in the balcony, and are greatly amused at the scenes in the street below, which is very crowded and noisy. At some distance down there is an open market of 'shares' selling by auction, and we can hear the prices called of the numerous mines. A little nearer the Salvation Army holds a service', p.28.
[154] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.75.
[155] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.64.

makes its money joyously.'[156] Vivienne, visiting a few years later also approved of the behaviour on the goldfields. 'Goldfields places are usually looked on as somewhat lawless. I can assure my readers, however, that those in Western Australia are an exception.'[157] But not as far as Davies was concerned; he believed that goldmining had attracted criminals and 'others bohemian in character', who in turn were a bad influence on those who were 'well brought up', and who 'very soon go astray'. He blamed the habit of gambling and drinking on miners' transitory lives and the many idle hours they had to fill.[158]

The goldfields were not the only place with a drinking culture during this period. In 1895 Bobby Tyler wrote that the principal things in Fremantle were 'whisky, bad language, cards and Billiards.'[159] In this respect Fremantle would have been typical of ports all over the world. The large number of hotels serving alcohol throughout Western Australia troubled Zunini later in 1906:

> [T]hey are always the best buildings in town, built without regard to cost and often truly luxurious. Northam for its part has about ten of them. … [A]lthough it is difficult for us Europeans to understand why there are so many hotels, it is explicable when one considers the enormous amount of alcohol consumed in … Western Australia, where the adult population is proportionately higher than elsewhere in the Commonwealth. One must also add the fact that the law here does not permit liquor to be sold in liquor stores or bars unless they form part of a hotel. … The bar is a den of iniquity.[160]

Zunini's points are valid. Consumption of alcohol in his home country of Italy was not as conspicuous because alcohol could be bought from cafes and grocery shops, and was not restricted to licensed premises. In Italy wine was also consumed with the main family meal of the day, therefore drunkenness was less evident.

As pointed out by Zunini, and later noticed by the Grews, compared to European towns, 'men everywhere preponderate over women in the streets.'[161] Western Australia's population at that time was visibly bulging at the 25-34 year age group, representing twenty five per cent of the population, whereas people aged 50 years and over denoted only eight per cent. As well, males comprised nearly two thirds of the

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[156] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.10. See also Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.55. Bond wrote about Norseman; 'One thing strikes me here, the wonderful law and order. You would hardly realise that these were gold-fields, and one cannot but feel proud of a race that under such trying circumstances can keep the peace. There is not shooting, no brawling, and except that the bars are sometimes noisy at night there is nothing to complain of.'
[157] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.122.
[158] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.87-88.
[159] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.63.
[160] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.76-77.
[161] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.21.

population.[162] These factors would make alcohol consumption more noticeable than in a more balanced community. The fact that many men were single itinerant workers also added to the equation, as Zunini noted

> They have worked hard for a few months, clearing or shearing sheep on the stations; they have saved up £10 or so and they go and spend the last penny of their hard-earned money on the awful concoctions which publicans foist on them; like opium smokers they find supreme happiness in disgusting, revolting drunkenness.[163]

Zunini believed that drinking was part of the culture of Western Australia, for the 'greatest sign of friendship and courtesy' was to offer a drink, which was generally reciprocated, and 'the drinks never stop and everyone gets intoxicated.' He did not seem to be very impressed with the idea of total abstinence either. 'All thinking Australians realize that drunkenness is the greatest scourge of their country, [but] one goes from one excess to another' with a number of people being 'teetotallers'.[164] Zunini also pointed out that:

> unfortunately this vice is not limited to men; even women drink, and how! They do not frequent the public bars but either get drunk at home or in one of the private rooms provided in the hotels where they cannot be observed. It is a disgusting sight, particularly in small country hotels, to see workers completely drunk for weeks on end.[165]

Earlier in 1863, Mrs Millett blamed the immigration schemes and penal system for the vices that she believed poorer women held, the consumption of alcohol being her main complaint. 'We had lived but one fortnight in our Australian parsonage before learning how rare it was to find a woman, amongst our poorer neighbours, of whom it could be said that she was habitually sober.'[166]

Another cultural institution was horseracing; as Verschuurs' comment at the beginning of this chapter shows, the most important news was 'who won the Melbourne Cup'.[167] Davies was concerned that this was another 'degenerative' form of entertainment.

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[162] At the beginning of the century men outnumbered women three to two, and remained so until WWI when troop fatalities and increase in female immigration reduced the proportion of males in the population. See 'Western Australian Statistical Indicators', *Australian Bureau of Statistics* <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/7d12b0f6763c78caca257061001cc588/f024c642b2b659c7ca256db800731bb5!OpenDocument>, (accessed 20 Oct 2009).
[163] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.76-77.
[164] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.77.
[165] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p. 77.
[166] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.338.
[167] Mary Hall also found the 'Cup' was very popular when she tried to leave from Fremantle. 'There was a little uncertainty about getting a berth on one of the big liners, as the traffic was all in the Melbourne direction, for the races.' Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.147.

> Unfortunately, horse-racing is also by far too prevalent, not only in the neighbourhood of Perth, but almost in every other district, and has a tendency of degenerating the Community. The Government is very much to be blamed for making reserves for such a purpose, for horse-racing naturally leads to betting and gambling. [168]

Horseracing had been the most prestigious sport in Western Australia since its foundation, and was sustained by prominent members of the Weld Club, and high society on the whole. By extending their authority over membership, fixtures and betting, the colony's elite maintained social distance and status, although they could not entirely suppress off-course betting by enthusiastic members of the lower orders.[169] Back in 1854 Harvey attended the Perth races on Guildford Road. He then went to a 'grand races-dinner at the principal Hotel' where he was guest and sat next to the Governor.[170] Richardson in 1859 staged his own horse race when he was fined five shillings for 'furious riding through the streets of Freemantle [sic].'[171] May Vivienne attended the races at Canning about 1899, and found 'fully 3000 people on the picturesque racecourse'.

> [E]verybody was in good spirits and well pleased. Many pleasant afternoon tea-parties were in evidence, the racing was good, and the band played excellently. … Some very handsome dresses were worn. When we left to return to Perth I felt quite charmed with the pretty course, and also with my good luck, for I had won two dozen pairs of gloves and ten golden sovereigns.[172]

Even in the goldfields horseracing was important as Mary Hall intimated when she visited about 1912, 'for, of course, whatever else may be lacking, you are pretty sure to find a race-course. In this instance it was an extremely pretty one, a perfect oasis in the desert'.[173] In much the same mind the Grews also pointed out their predominance. 'We passed the race-course, as indispensable to an Australian town as the post office, and the football ground'.[174]

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[168] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.84-86. No sensible man would altogether condemn harmless amusement, but constant repetition makes pleasures tasteless, if not tiresome, till people by degrees, in order to find new fields of enjoyment, are led on to indulge in those sports which pave the way to vice.
[169] See Stannage, *The People of Perth,* pp.310-311 for evidence of how popular it was in Western Australia.
[170] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.110. 'There were toasts & speeches enough, & I had to return thanks for my health'. After the noisy group broke up he 'stumbled' home.
[171] Richardson, *Diaries*, p.63.
[172] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, pp.26-28.
[173] Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.147.
[174] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.62.

Conclusion

That travellers' perceptions of people in the southern region of Western Australia were preconceived, and were influenced by contemporary ideologies, is evident from their writings. Consequently they perpetuated an imagined community. Even though, at times travellers were surprised to find conditions and life in general not as severe as they had expected, they still promoted the underlying fundamental nature of their preconceptions. That is, they accepted the myth of a pioneering spirit where a society evolved with less social division thus providing equal opportunity to all its members. To the contrary, the reception the travellers received in Western Australia confirmed the existence of an elite society, as well as the desire to maintain exclusiveness by upholding and mimicking the practices of British refined society. The travellers however judged people by their own codes, and some considered that despite the existence of a ruling elite, colonial society was lower on the social scale than European society.

With letters of introduction and a selection of genteel people to stay with, the travellers in this study did not interact with all classes in Western Australia, and reveal a similar pattern of comments and ideas in their observations. Apart from two European travellers, Zunini in 1906 and Hochberg in 1907, the travellers felt that Western Australia's elite society was much on a par with their own, although old fashioned and seemingly frozen in time. At the same time their remarks often mocked the Western Australians' attempts at recreating this class structure. And yet the travellers promoted the idea that this was a freer society in which there was little impediment to improving one's situation. Despite this, although the travellers appeared to approve of the idea of egalitarianism, when confronted with a member of the lower orders they held them in contempt because of their lack of deference. The notion of an egalitarian society thus loses its meaning when classes can still be differentiated and inequality maintained.

They found that life on the goldfields involved an assortment of people caught up in the fervour of getting rich. However, despite this, the travellers were able to recognise fellow members of their social class, at the goldfields and throughout Western Australia, regardless of their 'bushman' attire, and they saw through pretensions of the lower class when dressed in their finery.

That most colonists engaged in hard physical labour from dawn to dusk in an endeavour to make their properties successful was not doubted by most of the travellers. They were frequently struck by the fact that labour was not socially stigmatised as it had traditionally been in Europe, where the upper class had believed that manual work

was demeaning. The travellers and colonists they viewed represented the new age where physical outdoor work was invested with a prestige attached to independence of spirit and manliness. This included the necessity for gentlewomen to perform chores normally carried out by servants.

People from the lower orders were rarely commented on by the travellers. If they were referred to it was to point out that the miserable conditions in which they lived were the result of their failure to do well in the land of opportunity. The travellers positioned the lower-class beneath their British or European counterparts on the social scale because of the general view that emigration was somehow synonymous with failure, Australia being perceived as a fit receptacle for the idle poor from Britain.

Drunkenness seemed to be the order of the day in Western Australian society, accepted on the goldfields by most of the earlier travellers, but considered by some to be the precursor to vice and crime throughout the population. Men and women's drunkenness was always a huge social problem from the period of transportation to the time of hard drinking miners, and this continued into the twentieth century. A very few considered horseracing to be a 'degenerative' institution because it led to gambling, but this was an exception as both the travellers and the ruling elite enjoyed this form of entertainment.

This chapter therefore debunked the pioneer story of egalitarianism and equal opportunity by examining the observations of travellers, despite their own conviction and propagation of this myth. The next chapter will analyse the travellers' comments regarding those that did not represent the idea that status and opportunity was available to all, and who were thought of as inferior, including convicts, single migrant women, Indigenous Australians, and inhabitants from 'foreign' countries.

Chapter 7

An Imagined Community: An Inferior Presence

> *Under a fair and freshening breeze, we left the port of Albany, happy to escape from a gaol the size of India.*
>
> (Charles Dilke, 1867)[1]

> *But for years, probably for many centuries, they have made no progress, and the coming of the white man among them has had no tendency to civilize. … The Australian black man … cannot be … taught. … That dignity of black deportment of which one hears not infrequently is simply the dignity of idleness. … He does in his heart despise the working white man, and he shows in his countenance the fact that he has resolved to beg or steal, or eat opossum, - and at any rate to be free from toil.*
>
> (Anthony Trollope, 1872)[2]

The last chapter suggested that although travellers perpetuated a 'pioneer' myth which eliminated class struggle and inequality, their observations actually revealed that that was not the case. This chapter further undoes the travellers' representation of this legend by searching their writings for references to people who did not fit the 'pioneer' mould, such as convicts, single migrant women, Indigenous Australians and people from countries other than Britain. Most travellers barely mentioned them, for they were considered inferior inhabitants of southern Western Australia. Travellers saw them as homogenous groups lacking individuality or identity, and unworthy as 'pioneers'. The fleeting references to a more diverse group tell us something about travellers' attitudes and prejudices, while also revealing glimpses of the lives of the disadvantaged in Western Australian society.

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[1] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* pp.157-162
[2] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.110-113.

The Convict Presence

Travellers to Western Australia during the period of transportation (1850-1868) and for a few years afterwards, commented about the incarceration of transportees, their usefulness as labour to the government and colonists, as well as the community's sense of safety with such a large number of convicts within the population.

Like tourists, many travellers visited prisons and sites for the chance to see convicts. Anthony Trollope seemed quite disappointed in the lack of unsavoury tales he could find about the convicts when he visited Fremantle Prison in 1872.

> At Fremantle there was hardly a man whom it can be worth the reader's while to have introduced to him. Perhaps that stipulation … that none but respectable convicts should be sent to Western Australia, may have produced the undesirable effect of which I speak.[3]

He went on to complain that there were only 'two or three in the cells, and they only for a day or two each' and said he had 'expected something more exciting'.[4] Trollope had arrived after transportation to Western Australia had ended in 1868. At the time he visited, most offenders in Fremantle were short-term prisoners; the few remaining long-term convicts had completed their sentences by 1875,[5] hence Trollope's disappointment in not seeing the more disreputable convicts. His explanation that only 'respectable' convicts were sent to Western Australia is not correct, for, although this was the intention of the original request to the British government, it was not officially agreed upon, and indeed some convicts had been convicted of very serious crimes.[6]

On the other hand Gilbert Parker (who tended to be obsessed with the convict influence) visited Fremantle Prison in 1889, and saw it as a very seedy place, more like the prison Trollope had hoped to find. He described it as 'the noted prison where dwelt some of the greatest rascals unhung, where lived, too, many who endured shame and ignominy far beyond their deserts'.[7] Unlike Trollope, he found the tour of the prison very unpleasant, being shown gallows, irons, strait-jackets, as well as being shut in a dark cell, and shown where the floggings were administered. 'As for the prisoners, one never saw a more depraved-looking lot. … This great white building is such a monument as Western Australia would, if it could, tumble into a mass of forgotten

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[3] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.582.
[4] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.583.
[5] Bavin, 'Punishment, Prisons and Reform', p.146.
[6] The British government did not agree to a limit on number or type of convict sent to WA, as discussed in the Introduction. See Statham, 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850', p.210; Taylor, 'Who Were the Convicts'.
[7] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.389. Parker here perpetuates the myth that some were transported for minor offences such as the hackneyed phrase 'for stealing a loaf of bread'.

ruins.'[8] Considering there were no longer convicts held in the prison, it was more likely that Parker saw prisoners convicted by the local magistrates court. Consequently Parker's writings represented his expectations, rather than his observations.[9] However, Parker may have seen perpetrators of greater crimes than did Trollope during his visit, because of the increase in immigration.[10]

Outside the prison, travellers observed the consequences of having convicts present in the Western Australian community. In the early years of transportation, in 1854, William Harvey noted a high percentage of ticket-of-leave men in Albany, eighty or ninety in a population of 300.[11] Harvey believed that, on the whole, the ticket-of-leave men conducted themselves well, and he felt quite safe in Fremantle, with 'quiet' streets and 'secure property' though 'with a large convict population'.[12] In 1855 Frederick Mackie seemed to think that the residents in Perth spoke well of the ticket-of-leave men, 'as being quite equal to that of the free.' He said that these men were given time to attend the school and were provided with an 'excellent library'.

Nevertheless many convicts under conditional pardon tried to make their way to the eastern colonies of Australia, and Mackie observed that measures were taken to keep them in check.[13] For example, when William Harvey went with Mr Clifton (Superintendent of Water Police) to Garden Island, they were detained while Mr Clifton searched a vessel for any possible ticket-of-leave men stowed on board.[14] Edward Wilson visited Albany three years later. He wrote that there were a large number of ticket-of-leave convicts working as coaling labour, and that many tried to obtain a passage to South Australia and Victoria, 'and while recruited from such sources, your murderous bands of "stickers-up" and burglars are not very likely to be much diminished'.[15]

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[8] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.390. The convict legacy continued to be a source of shame in WA, and its memory was suppressed until the late 1950s, and was not widely researched until the 1980s. See Bob Reece, 'Convict Legacy' in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia,* Crawley, University of Western Australia, 2009, pp.237-238.

[9] In 1886 the Convict Establishment at Fremantle was officially disbanded and was transferred to the Colonial Government when it became the main prison for the colony, as it was when Parker visited. Refer to Bavin, 'Punishment, Prisons and Reform', p.146.

[10] Bavin, 'Punishment, Prisons and Reform', p.144. Members of the 1898 Commission of Inquiry into Fremantle Prison claimed that 'somewhat appalling amount of crime here existent is due to the large immigration of undesirable immigrants from the Eastern colonies and elsewhere, attracted no doubt by the discoveries of gold.'

[11] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.78.

[12] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* pp.108,124.

[13] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, pp.266,274. See also Babette Smith, *Australia's Birthstain,* Allen & Unwin, 2008, p.285.

[14] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.112.

[15] Wilson, *Rambles of the Antipodes*, p.118.

Wilson touched on a concern held by residents of the Australian eastern colonies, which brought about the introduction of checking systems in order to prevent the arrival of convicts on their shores. In 1872 Trollope was not very happy about the formalities. On his departure he received a certificate signed by the Resident Magistrate at Albany that read, 'I hereby certify that the bearer, A. Trollope, … is not and never has been a prisoner of the Crown in Western Australia'. Trollope commented:

> Such a resolution on their part must remind the poor Western Australians grievously of their disgrace. So many have been convicts, that the certificate is demanded from all! But I think that they should not charge a shilling for it, and thus raise a revenue out of their own ill fame. It was not my fault that South Australia demanded the certificate.'[16]

Rosamond and Florence Hill arrived in King George Sound in 1873, and had prior knowledge about suspicions the eastern colonies had regarding men from Western Australia, reporting that police officers were on patrol guarding against escapees boarding their steamer the *Rangatira* while it was in port. As well, they mentioned the certificate required by all male passengers embarking from a Western Australian port.[17]

The Hill sisters, like many of their contemporaries, believed that convicts encouraged their fellow prisoners to commit further crimes.[18] Indeed, the contaminating effect convicts had on Western Australian society in general is a prevailing theme throughout the travellers' writings, apart from Harvey and Mackie above. In 1852, only two years after the first transportation of convicts to the new penal colony, Edward Saunders certainly believed that it would lower 'the moral standard' of its inhabitants. He believed that because of this a number of settlers had left the colony.[19] Similarly Charles Dilke, visiting in 1867 when convict numbers would have been at their highest, was not prepared to consider a functioning mixed society in Western Australia. He was consumed by his knowledge that it was a penal colony, stating that two-thirds of the population were convicts and their keepers, 'and the district is a great English prison, not a colony.'[20]

> If twenty years of convict labour seem to have done but little for the settlement, they have at least enabled us to draw the moral, that transportation and free immigration cannot exist side by side; the one element must overbear and destroy the other. Western Australia is as unpopular with the convicts as with free settlers. … [I]t is severest to the least guilty and slightest to the most hardened; it morally destroys those who have some good remaining in them; it leaves the ruffianly malefactor worse

[16] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.586.
[17] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.36.
[18] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.36.
[19] Saunders, *Our Australian Colonies*, p.2.
[20] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* p.157.

> if possible than it finds him. … To every bad man it gives the worst companions.[21]

Mrs Millett also believed in the dangers of contamination, imagining a warder in a solitary outpost particularly vulnerable.[22]

> No warder ought to be exposed to even the possibility of being compelled to seek his sole acquaintanceships or friendships in the criminal class; he ought always to have, at least, one man untainted by crime like himself to speak to and associate with. It is too much to expect of human nature to ask a man to live alone month after month, without anyone of his own class near him.[23]

Like Dilke, Mrs Millett felt that society in general was 'tainted' by the presence of the convicts. She wrote of the shifting population in York, with ticket-of-leave men being constantly in and out of trouble, and a greater turnover of families on the smaller tenements.[24] This contradicts Mackie's earlier comment in 1855—that the ticket-of-leavers were well accepted in the community—however the convict population was greater, and increasingly disreputable, by the time Mrs Millett and Dilke visited.

C. T. Stannage has argued that the free population in Western Australia during the convict years was concerned with robbery and fear of personal violence, and provides evidence that crime increased during the convict era.[25] Mrs Millett certainly thought that crime was 'an every-day affair', and lowered the moral standards throughout the colony. She believed that its constant recurrence was not taken seriously unless it involved theft. 'We seemed to have come out of pure fresh air into a close and contaminated atmosphere, while those whom we found living in it seemed unconscious of the taint, and to think us unreasonable for making any objections.[26] But, in direct contradiction, nine years later Trollope wrote; 'I found that crime of a heavy nature was not common in Perth or the districts round it, though so large a portion of the population consisted of men who were or had been convicts'.[27] And in 1883 Lady Broome wrote: 'We are a very peaceable and orderly community'.[28] However, she may have been exaggerating because of her position as the Governor's wife.

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[21] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* pp.157-160.
[22] That criminality had a contaminating social influence on those who may become acquainted with criminals influenced the building of outposts, or depots, which reflected both the security and social concerns of the authorities, and in effect dispersed the convicts throughout the colony as disciplined satellites. They were still linked to Fremantle Prison as their controlling hub, but in effect it disseminated their numbers. See Trinca, 'Controlling Places', p.33.
[23] Millett *An Australian Parsonage*, p.31.
[24] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.340.
[25] Stannage, *The People of Perth*, p.95.
[26] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.341.
[27] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.601.
[28] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.82.

Some travellers believed that because of the taint of convictism, Western Australia was not suitable for the well off. Trollope visited in 1872, not long after transportation had ceased, writing:

> I do not recommend the man who is taking out £20,000 to a colony, with the idea of becoming a great man, to go there; but to him who feels that with £400 of £300 he has but little hope in England, who would prefer independence and property of his own … I think that Western Australia offers perhaps as good a field for his small capital as any other colony.[29]

This was because he believed that 'the convict flavour pervades the whole, - to the great detriment of that part of the working population which has always been free'.[30] This passage further validates the claim, as discussed in the previous chapter, that moneyed gentleman were not interested in settling in Western Australia, and supports Saunders' remark above as to why many settlers had left the colony.[31] Despite this, Trollope vowed that Western Australia needed an influx of population in order to function successfully as a community without having to rely on convicts. Nevertheless he doubted that many would-be immigrants, even amongst the lower classes, would be interested in coming to Western Australia because of 'the fear that after a year or two their position would be misconstrued.' He therefore suggested that a 'thorough knowledge' of society in Western Australia was necessary to distinguish the free settler from the convict. [32]

And so it was, prior to the gold rush years, that many travellers suspected that the greater proportion of the population in Western Australia, in particular members of the lower class, were transportees. Mrs Millett constantly made these assumptions. For example, when she crossed the Darling Range with her maid-servant in a hired dog-cart, she assumed it was driven by a convict, because of the sympathy he showed for a road party they passed.[33] In 1878, Henry Cornish provided evidence of how a resident's 'position could be misconstrued'. Having arrived in King George Sound, Cornish made arrangements with a boatman to take a party of ten ashore to explore Albany. He described the boatman as burly and fat, 'a favourable advertisement of the salubrity of

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[29] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.616.
[30] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.615. For example it affected wages. As late as 1887, Brassey noticed (already referred to in Chapter 6) a large disparity in the wages between labourers and 'gentleman' schoolteachers when she visited a sawmilling village near Denmark, where the schoolmaster earned less than the labourers. Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.236.
[31] Trollope made this comment in regards solely to WA, because his son had actually settled on a property in New South Wales, albeit unsuccessfully. See editors introduction Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.18-19.
[32] Edwards and Joyce (eds.), *Anthony Trollope: Australia*, pp.570,615. Also see Anthony Trollope, *The Tireless Traveller: Twenty Letters to the Liverpool Mercury, 1875*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1941, p.83.
[33] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.38.

the colony, but whose bullet-like head and hard features are irresistibly suggestive of the treadmill'. He questioned the expensive fee, but was informed that it was the tariff fixed by the local authorities. The group did not like to question the boatman concerning his reasons for being in Western Australia, feeling they may be treading on delicate ground. Like Trollope, Cornish wondered if living in the colony was a disadvantage because of the suspicions held by strangers. 'Though a perfectly harmless and innocent being, you may be mentally put down as a cut-throat in disguise'.[34] Cornish later seemed to be surprised that the boatman was a 'law abiding man' when he refused to take on more passengers for the return journey to the boat, even with an offer of a 'few shillings more'. Whilst Cornish was stereotyping the ordinary citizen of Albany, he ironically wrote that the 'patriotic' colonists took a 'pardonable pride in having relieved the colony of the stigma of being a receptacle for the mother country's worst criminals'.[35]

Like Cornish, travellers often commented on the looks and features of convicts. Mrs Millett believed that convicts as a group looked as if they had 'run away from a criminal lunatic asylum; an impression strengthened by the fact that the forehead is almost invariably low and retreating, even amongst the more intelligent of the men.'[36] Mrs Millett and Cornish were obviously influenced by phrenology, a popular study during the nineteenth century whereby a person's personality, or criminal tendencies was determined by reading the bumps and crevices on the skull.[37] Trollope also commented that convict 'men are not beautiful to look at'.[38]

As well, the convicts' propensity for work was a moot point. Mrs Millett imagined that transportees were indolent. Her sympathy lay with a warder she saw on her way to York, who watched over a group of 'lazy and sulky' convicts as they sat together breaking stones on the road.[39] Dilke also came across convicts at work breaking stones in Albany, but had a different perspective to that of Mrs Millett.

> On the road … I saw a man at work in ponderous irons. The sun was striking down on him in a way that no one can fancy who have no experience of Western Australia or Bengal, and his labour was of the heaviest; now he had to prise up huge rocks with a crowbar, now to handle pick and shovel, now to use the rammer, under the eye of an armed warder, who idled in the shade

[34] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, pp.36-7
[35] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, pp.36-38,45.
[36] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.345.
[37] John van Wyhe, 'The History of Phrenology on the Web', <http://www.historyofphrenology.org.uk/>, (accessed 5 Jun 2009).
[38] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.601.
[39] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.39.

> by the roadside. This was an 'escape-man'. Thus treated with a view to cause him to cease his continual endeavours to get away from Albany.[40]

Frederick Edelsten saw convicts in Fremantle later in 1868, and viewed them with similar sympathy. 'The Chain gang … working near the Swan Bridge were very oddly dressed in trousers with one leg black the other being yellow' and was guarded by two sentries. He reported that 'many prisoners become insane' by working in the full sun in summer.[41] Edelsten called the group a 'chain gang', although it is unclear whether they were chained or not. Possibly they were because Fremantle was the only place Mrs Millett ever noticed fettered men at work. '[Y]ou may there pass a body of fifty or a hundred men marching back from their work in chains, and escorted by warders with loaded and cocked revolvers in their hands, ready for use in an instant.'[42] She said that it was only near the prison 'men under severe discipline' would be seen. This was a comparatively small number, she said, compared to the remaining five or six thousand 'scattered over the country' where 'if you happen to meet a road party' there were no chains or fetters, or visible signs of weapons on the warders.[43]

Road parties employed in hard labour were not the only type of convicts the travellers came across, there were also white-collar transportees. Dilke met a convict clerk superintending the coaling prior to his departure in 1867. He argued that a widespread belief in England that 'gentlemen convicts' were shown unfair favour was nonsense, for it was good judgment for educated prisoners to be utilised in performing clerical work for which road-making labourers would be quite unsuited.[44] Cornish, visiting ten years later in 1878, believed aristocratic convicts transported for the crime of forgery were better off in Western Australia. He thought that they could forget and atone for their past errors by being worthy of 'some healthy and honest occupation', instead of being confined within the 'dreary and hopeless precincts of Dartmoor or Portland' like other 'unfortunate noblemen'.[45] Although, ironically, Cornish related a story told to him by a resident at Albany. The settlement was determined to start a newspaper, procuring a type and printing machine from Melbourne. They had difficulty finding a competent editor but eventually employed a 'gentlemanly, educated' convict. After great success with the published newspapers the pleased proprietors advanced a

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[40] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* pp.157-162
[41] Edelsten, *Diary*, diary entry Fremantle, June 1868.
[42] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, pp.29-30.
[43] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.30.
[44] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* pp.157-162. I discussed White collar workers in Introduction. See Potter and Letch, 'A White-Collar Convict'.
[45] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.32.

quarter's salary to their editor. A few days later the man had taken passage to South America, which ended the publication of the newspaper.[46]

Nevertheless, despite general suspicions about the male population, Cornish articulated a common notion held by his contemporaries.

> Notwithstanding these blemishes of character in some classes of her population, he would be a rash man who would deny that Western Australia has not a brilliant future in store. The sins of the first generation do not, thank God, always descend to the second, and there is every reason to hope that the present colonists will be succeeded by a race which, reared in a purer atmosphere of social life, and amidst fewer temptations to commit crime, will be proudly welcomed as kinsmen in the great brotherhood of the British Empire.[47]

Similarly, Trollope believed that Western Australia held a bright future, the 'very birth and growth of its young citizens will gradually obliterate the flavours'.[48] Gilbert Parker, however, was an exception among travellers visiting later in the century. In 1889 he still supposed that the convict element had an effect on the progress of the colony. He wrote that it would have been 'better to have starved as free colonists afar from the penal shame of England, than to have lent an assenting voice to a convict settlement in Western Australia'.[49]

By the time Robert Tyler visited in 1895 there were still some elderly ex-transportees alive, but generally convicts only featured in tall stories and outdated laws. One story Tyler related was about a cook on board a ship who, having served up the Captain's head for dinner, was sent to Swan River and is 'now a respectable inhabitant of Fremantle, carrying on the business of a tobacconist'.[50] He also believed that the proprietor of the 'largest bookseller and stationer in Perth (B. Stein & Co.)' was a convict.[51] As well, Tyler's understanding was that if you were found on the streets of

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[46] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, pp.46-47. The earliest records of Albany's newspapers began after Cornish's visit in 1883, with *The Albany Mail.*

[47] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, p.49.

[48] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.615.

[49] Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, p.374. Parker thought that 'the unpleasant legend is engraven on all records, and remembered by every colonist, and every Englishman.' If it was, it was not mentioned by later travellers.

[50] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.128.

[51] Bernard Stein was convicted for larceny in 1867. He escaped by foot to Adelaide in 1874 but was apprehended and returned for another 2 year sentence. Freed in 1880 he set up shop as a bookseller with a branch later in the goldfields. He was involved in some litigation over the years and left for England in 1892, suspected of disposing of stolen goods. See Rica Erickson, 'Men of Enterprise', in Rica Erickson (ed.), *The Brand on His Coat: Biographies of Some Western Australian Convicts,* Perth, Hesperian Press, 2009, pp. 224-284, p.245.

Perth at night after eleven o'clock, the police could 'demand your name and address in accordance with the old convict law which still exists'.[52]

The Female Presence

Some travellers were concerned about the contaminating effect convicts had on apparently immoral female immigrants who became members of the poor in Western Australian society. Mrs Millett believed that:

> the number of respectable poor women was very small, and, as time passed on, was diminished rather than increased. … a much greater amount of vice was becoming apparent on the surface …. the quick relays of convict ships were fast gorging the place with offenders. Female deterioration was in proportion, and those who, under the invisible restraints of home, might have remained innocent and useful, became such as women only can become whom fate has cast adrift upon a penal settlement.[53]

The delicate subject of prostitution was rarely hinted at in the travellers' texts, though Mrs Millett's last sentence supports F. G. Clarke's research that flourishing prostitution put the moral virtue of many colonial women into 'disrepute'.[54]

As well, opinions like Mrs Millett's about the lower classes in Western Australian society were heavily weighted by ideas about unchaperoned single female immigrants. Throughout the 1850s large numbers of poor single women were regularly despatched from Ireland to Western Australia to take up positions as servants.[55] Mrs Millett liked to maintain the class divide, and intimated that many colonists were not as particular.[56]

> Moral character was … but little considered, and, provided that a woman had not been caught thieving, she was styled 'respectable', and judged worthy of being entrusted with employments for which in England her manner of life would have rendered her totally ineligible.[57]

Nine years later Trollope also believed this. He claimed that female migrants were sent to the colony to be the wives of convicts; they 'could not therefore have been

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[52] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.128. Ticket-of-leave men were subject to curfew and needed a pass to move away from their place of employment. By the 1880s, the successful integration of many convicts encouraged leniency in surveillance, therefore it is doubtful people were still challenged on the streets by 1895, as Tyler claims. However, with the increased population, crime also increased in the 1890s, therefore vigilance by the police was probably more prevalent when Tyler was there. See Godfrey and Cox, "'The Last Fleet"'.
[53] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.339.
[54] Clarke, *The Land of Contrarieties,* p.31. See Chapter One for related discussion.
[55] Gothard, *Blue China*, pp.42-43. CLEC (Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners) regularly despatched parties of fifty to a hundred Irish single women to Western Australia. See Introduction regarding female immigration.
[56] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.338.
[57] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.341.

expediently selected from the highest orders of the English aristocracy, … and in this way a population not very excellent in its nature was created.'[58]

Immigration schemes in force at the time Mrs Millett and Trollope visited, operated in order to supply servants, rather than to provide wives for ex-convicts. As historian Ann McGrath has claimed, some had no more desire to marry in Australia than back home in Britain.[59] Contrary to Mrs Millett's and Trollope's opinions, Jan Gothard's research has attested that the health and character of assisted women migrants were routinely examined before they were permitted to embark for Australia.[60] According to Governor Kennedy, the first parties of Irish women despatched to the colony were 'universally well spoken of as a useful and well-conducted class'.[61] However, throughout this period, it was generally believed that, as Gothard has concluded, the very act of emigrating 'without natural protectors' made a single woman's character questionable, despite carefully established strategies for shipboard protection.[62] This idea influenced Mrs Millett's comments about the single women on board the ship to Western Australia:

> [B]oth the single men and the single women were decidedly wanting in propriety of behaviour, though the women were worse than the men.
>
> Of the single girls we had more than sixty on board our ship, and one fortnight's acquaintance with them had sufficed to show us that they were a most unpromising set; and moreover, our early impression that several of them had made acquaintance with the inside of a jail was not at all effaced by the experience and events of the voyage.[63]

To support her suspicions Mrs Millett supposed that many women had 'been under the hands of the prison barber … as to the paucity, or rather brevity, of their locks.'[64] She may also have been influenced by the idea that migrant women's morality was especially depraved because of attitudes from the days when convict women were

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[58] Edwards and Joyce (eds.), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.569.
[59] McGrath, 'Sexuality and Australian Identities', p.43.
[60] Gothard, *Blue China*, p.4.
[61] Gothard, *Blue China*, pp.43-44. For Western Australia the alternative to Irish women migrants was generally less appealing, believing that potentially the colony could be a 'dumping ground for vulnerable women the British Government did not want'. Their concerns appeared to be warranted for, despite denying the practice, CLEC turned to London workhouses in the 1850s in order to lessen their substantially Irish selection for Western Australia with a few English women. Because colonial immigration officials reported that the English workhouse women on board some ships 'were of a most objectionable class, and behaved disgracefully during the voyage', (Cited in Gothard, *Blue China*, p.43, regarding the passage of the *Emma Eugenia)* in 1858, the Secretary of State ordered that Irish women be selected instead of women from English workhouses. Therefore Mrs Millett's fellow passengers to Western Australia in 1863 should have been relatively well behaved. (Kennedy was Governor 1855-1862)
[62] Gothard, *Blue China*, p.16.
[63] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, pp.6-7.
[64] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.7.

transported to New South Wales. According to McGrath, they were considered to be particularly irredeemable.[65]

Much later, in 1896, Catherine Bond was not as concerned with behaviour on board her ship as Mrs Millett had been, or even as a fellow passenger was. 'Lady C. is a little shocked with the freedom of the colonial girl; but I tell her there is no harm in it. The greater freedom is an outcome of the life in the colonies, and the few girls on board are all as nice as possible.'[66] It seems that the behaviour of 'colonial girls' was more acceptable than assisted Irish female immigrants. Like men, young Australian women were considered to have a 'freer' life in the colony. McGrath pointed out that they had more liberties than their English sisters owing to the warm climate, which favoured more outings and less chaperoning.[67]

Discrimination against assisted women immigrants by Western Australia's elite invalidated the whole exercise, for they continued to complain about the difficulty in finding servants despite the influx of female immigrants specifically for the purpose of filling these positions.[68] For example, Mrs Millett was very pleased to obtain the daughter of a 'free settler' as her servant, rather than an immigrant girl.[69] In later years, Lady Broome, during her stay from 1883 to 1889, also ignored immigrant women as prospective 'good' servants, despite her difficulty in inducing the 'good class I wanted' to leave England for 'an unknown and distant land'.[70] As well, Catherine Bond, in 1896, was unable to find a 'good' servant to accompany her on her travels to Australia, resulting in her becoming very unhappy with the servant she had resorted to. '[S]he is so flighty, and has given me so much … anxiety'.[71]

Discriminatory remarks about women arriving in the goldfields did not appear in the writings of this study's travellers. Judging by the travellers' observations, women of the goldfields were well dressed and well respected. No travellers mentioned the presence of European prostitutes working in the eastern goldfields. This was surprising considering that prostitutes were among the first white women to arrive in the towns in

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[65] McGrath, 'Sexuality and Australian Identities', p.42.
[66] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.5.
[67] McGrath, 'Sexuality and Australian Identities', p.45. This may have influenced young Bobby Tyler, when he greatly admired the Australian girls, quoted in the previous chapter.
[68] Despite the much publicised demand, evidence shows that some female immigrants had difficulty in finding positions in the colony because many settlers were loathe to pay the level of wages they expected and the market was overstocked by English and Irish immigrant girls in the 1850s to 70s in Perth. M. Anderson, 'Women in the Convict Years in Western Australia', in Rica Erickson (ed.), *The Brand on His Coat,* first published Nedlands, University of Western Australia Press, 1983, Perth, Hesperian Press, 2009, pp.84-105, p.92.
[69] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.80.
[70] Broome, *Colonial Memories*, p.219.
[71] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, pp.17-18.

search of lucrative earnings. In 1896 there were 50 to 70 houses in Coolgardie alone that were occupied by prostitutes. According to historian Rae Frances, they often drew attention to themselves in the streets by their dress and behaviour, and scantily clad women were on display in doorways of houses and tents dressed in loose gowns or short chemisettes, bright stockings and painted faces. As towns grew, prostitutes, who were from Europe, America, Japan and the eastern colonies, tended to congregate in ethnic clusters in distinct locations. Frances argued that the men on the goldfields often regarded sex workers with respect and affection, which could explain why male travellers did not draw attention to the profession of women they mentioned.[72] Women travellers were unlikely to frequent areas where prostitutes were known to be. A number of travellers intended to publish their journals for a general readership after their travels, by not referring to prostitution they thus reflected Victorian principles at the time. Frances concluded that it was not until after 1900 that 'respectable' women began to arrive at the goldfields in significant numbers, and it was from that time that discretion was encouraged and public displays of prostitution began to be controlled with a radical change in sex industry management over the next ten years.[73]

With this information in mind, the following references by travellers to women on the goldfields in the mid 1890s are worthy of close analysis. In 1895, Albert Calvert didn't notice many women amongst the population of Coolgardie. The bars, parlours and billiard rooms were always full of men, and the 'barmen work like galley-slaves'. Women were excluded by the proprietor of the Victoria Hotel 'with a nice moral sense. … The stern precision's rule is felt to be all the more despotic, because at Coolgardie there is very little of the soothing companionship of the gentler sex.'[74] However, the following year Catherine Bond noticed that there were waiters and 'very nice-looking waitresses', who were 'most obliging and attentive' serving at the Grand Hotel where she was staying in Coolgardie.[75] In the same year, Raymond Radclyffe also came across women working as barmaids, and thought that the men in the bars treated them, 'with an old-fashioned politeness' (fig. 7.1). He thought there were no class prejudices, the barmaid as courteous to the dry-blower as to the mine owner dealing in millions.[76] This could partially be because, as May Vivienne noted, the miners and investors freely

[72] Other than a situation regarding Japanese prostitutes which is explained later in this chapter.
[73] Frances, *Selling Sex*, p.64-71. Also see Elaine McKewon, *The Scarlet Mile: A Social History of Prostitution in Kalgoorlie, 1894-2004*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 2005.
[74] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.64.
[75] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.24.
[76] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.10.

spent their money, sending enough home but buying a diamond bracelet for 'the Hebe at the bar [who] smiles sweetly'.[77]

Fig. 7.1.
Radclyffe's illustration of a barmaid at the goldfields in 1896. Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats,* p.73.

Calvert explained that although many men were married their wives did not accompany them to the goldfields, so that there was a disproportion of the sexes. Men went there to make money to support their wives and children 'in a more bracing climate. … The money-order office is the busiest in the Colony'.[78] In the bush near Norseman in 1896, Catherine met one of the supposedly few women on the goldfields. She was found pasting hessian on the walls of 'a nice little canvas hut' where mice had eaten their way through. 'She gives us some tea, and does not at all mind being found in a mess. People here live in the simplest way. They all mean to go away again as soon as they have made their 'pile,' and one cannot wonder at it.'[79] On another occasion Catherine met an unhappy woman on her tour of the mines around Kalgoorlie.

> We have to lunch somewhere, and stop at a wayside inn, which is very rough. The landlady, who seems a decent woman, has only just come, and she appears thoroughly disheartened with the state of the place. There is no flooring and the dust lies deep under our feet as we sit on a narrow form at a deal table which has no cloth. The flies swarm round, but we are allowed to cut for ourselves off the roast leg of mutton and the loaf of bread, so we see that what we eat is clean. Some miners fresh from their work sit at the other end of the table.[80]

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[77] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.121. 'Hebe' probably used here in context of Greek mythology - Goddess of Youth and spring.
[78] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.64.
[79] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.33.
[80] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.30.

May Vivienne, who visited about three years later, cycled with a friend around the miner's camps in Coolgardie, 'past endless rows of tents and Hessian camps', where she found that the majority of miners without wives to cook their dinner had to cook for themselves'.[81] At Lake View Mine, near Kalgoorlie, she noticed that there was a good arrangement for the miners at the boarding houses run by two or three women who cooked, mended and washed for them. She said that the women spoke highly of the men, 'indeed, from what I saw and heard, the camps are very well conducted, and I am sure I have met with the greatest kindness and politeness from the mining community in general'.[82] It appears that women in general were treated with respect on the goldfields. However the travellers' observations about women are vague, intimating that their purpose was to serve, feed and look after miners, without reference to prostitution of any kind. Thus they sustained the idea that a women's role was as homemaker and civiliser.

These extracts represent most of the fleeting references made to lower class women in the texts, which were only by a small number of travellers. This exemplifies their insignificance in colonial society, particularly those who did not represent the 'pioneer' myth, for a number of travellers wrote about genteel women in respected roles alongside that of their gentleman husbands, as revealed in the previous chapter. However, as Eric Leed argued, travel literature usually reflected a masculine point of view. He said that men, and I would argue women travellers as well, have 'generated and monopolized representational realities in which the voice of women is silent, undercut, or assumed … humanity has worn the mask of masculinity'.[83] Nevertheless, the travellers represented their era, and few women were ready to instigate change as Jesse Ackermann was. When she was planning her trip to Western Australia in 1892 in promotion of her temperance movement, she received a letter from a leading Christian worker advising her not to come as the community was not prepared for a woman appearing upon the 'public platform'. Being someone who advocated 'calling women into the councils of men', she considered that speaking in public was 'something of a shock to conservative ideas'.[84] As Sara Mills pointed out, it was seen to be sexually improper in the nineteenth century for women to enter the realm of public speech and intellectual high language because this was a male privilege.[85]

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[81] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.107.
[82] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.127.
[83] Leed, *The Mind of the Traveller*, p.220.
[84] Ackermann, *Australia from a Women's Point of View*, p.303-306.
[85] Mills, *Discourses of Difference,* p.40-42. Also see Foster, *Across New Worlds,* p.11.

The Indigenous Presence

On their journeys, travellers only wrote about the first Australians as a passing interest, in the same way that they wrote about flora and fauna. The following extracts introduce Indigenous people, seen (for those that noticed them rarely interacted with them) in southern Western Australia, which reflect prevailing ideas of the times.

Albany was the first place that some travellers encountered the Indigenous inhabitants; therefore these responses are investigated first. In 1853 Reverend Young wrote that 'the moment I stepped on the beach a native solicited alms.' Soon afterwards he was approached by five more 'inveterate beggars' asking for sixpence, and speaking 'English pretty well'. He did not like to give them money, afraid they would spend it on rum.

> They were clad in kangaroo skins, and covered with filth. Some of them were besmeared with grease and red clay; and others streaked with some white substance on their faces and other parts of their bodies, giving them a most revolting and even hideous appearance. They had probably never been washed! The odour arising from them was such that, though my olfactory nerves were not very acute, I found it necessary for my own comfort to keep well to the windward. I had never previously seen such degraded and loathsome specimens of human nature; and yet they are redeemed, and the Word and the Spirit can cause even such dry bones to live.[86]

The Reverend's last sentence is an example of how Christian conscience compelled him to view Indigenous people as equal in the eyes of God, even though he graded them as the most 'loathsome specimens'. The following year William Harvey arrived, and, like Rev. Young, was impressed with the Aboriginals' competency in English. 'I was saluted today by two naked boys squatting in a bush, with "Good afternoon, Sir"—very well articulated. Their own lingo is a strange gibberish.'[87] Edward Wilson visited Albany four years later and described them in terms of the 'noble savage'. He thought that they were 'tolerably fine specimens' and did not think they appeared 'degraded by contact with the superior race, as is, alas, too usually the case.' However he agreed that the red earth and oil the people were covered in 'gives a horrible rancid smell'.[88] By the time Lady Brassey visited in 1887, contact with the 'superior race' was evident.

> They were the most miserable-looking objects I ever beheld. … The group consisted of two men, dressed partly in tattered European clothes, and partly in dirty, greasy kangaroo-skins heaped one on the top of another, and two women in equally disreputable costumes. One of the latter had a piccaninny hung behind her in an opossum-sling, the little hairy head and bright shining

[86] Young, *The Southern World*, p.60-61.
[87] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.78.
[88] Wilson, *Rambles of the Antipodes*, p.119.

> eyes of the child peeping out from its shelter in the quaintest manner. Although the poor creatures were all so ugly, we did our best to take some photographs of them, using a pile of sandal-wood bags as a background.[89] (Fig. 7.2).

Her selection of phrases, such as 'objects' and 'creatures' denied their identity as humans. These terms were widely used by the travellers.

Fig. 7.2.
Lady Brassey's photograph of an Aboriginal in 1887, in Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.254.

Groups of Indigenous people used to gather in Albany to throw spears and boomerangs for visitors from the arriving steamers whilst it was Western Australia's main port. In 1858 Wilson said that these weapons were thrown for him for sixpence.[90] In 1873, on their homeward journey, Florence and Rosamond Hill were interested in buying some boomerangs to take home, and, in how the Aboriginals used this 'curious weapon', but were hesitant, certain, as Rev. Young was, that the money would be spent in drink. This was confirmed to them by the resident police magistrate, 'The visit of the mail-steamer always brings business to my Court.' The sisters wrote, 'Must the contact of the Anglo-Saxons with uncivilised races always result in inflicting evil on the savage!'[91] It seemed to be generally acknowledged that the introduction of alcohol by the British had a bad influence on Aboriginals. However, Lady Brassey had no qualms about watching the Aboriginal men throwing boomerangs and spears, when a demonstration was arranged for her party to watch in 1887.[92]

Not only did the Aboriginals put on shows, but there were also other livings they made in connection with the visiting steamers into Albany. They provided wildlife for the collectors who sold souvenirs to departing visitors, as discussed in Chapter Three.

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[89] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.252.
[90] Wilson, *Rambles of the Antipodes*, p.119.
[91] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.436.
[92] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.252.

Marianne North said that they fetched young cockatoos from the nests.[93] Frederick Ayres offered them, '2/6 each for any Mountain Devils they could find.'[94] Harvey wrote that fur rugs made from opossum skins 'are brought in by the natives & exchanged for a trifle of Tobacco or flour—the currency most in repute amongst them.'[95] Although these observations appear to show that the skills of Indigenous people served some European interests, they also show that Indigenous response to white invasion was sometimes marked by considerable initiative and adaptability in negotiating terms with the newcomers.[96] This is evident in the revelation above that the Indigenous locals in Albany learned very good English, whilst many Europeans couldn't manage the Noongar language, regarding it as 'gibberish'.

For many travellers Albany provided their first encounter with Indigenous Australians, but some, such as Gerrit Verschuur in 1888, thought it would be their last.

> The town [of Albany] offers nothing worth seeing except it be the last representatives of the aborigines [sic], whom civilization has partially driven into the almost unknown interior; those who have come in contact with the whites are gradually becoming extinct.[97]

That a Dutch citizen thought that the Aboriginals were doomed shows that this was a widespread opinion, and is discussed in detail later. These extracts about Aboriginals of Albany have functioned as an introduction to commonly held assumptions and ideas about Indigenous people generally, ascribing to the tenets of Aboriginalism. But Verschuur, the Hill sisters, Wilson and Young were merely passing through Albany. Did the travellers who moved further inland and around southern Western Australia share these observations and preconceptions?

On these more extensive travels themes can be distinguished in the way travellers have represented Aboriginal people. These can be viewed as dichotomies: noble savage or depraved specimen, defenceless victim or warrior, harmless being or cannibal, animal or child. The prevalent view of Aboriginals, particularly those who lived in white settlements, was as depraved, wretched specimens. In 1872 Trollope rejected the 'noble savage' view popular in earlier encounters with Indigenous people.

> I have heard many speak of a certain dignity of deportment which is natural to them. I cannot say that I have seen it. To my eyes the deportment of the dignified aboriginal (sic) is that of a sapient monkey imitating the gait and

[93] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, p.168. Also see Chapter Four for information about collector John Hassell.
[94] Ayres, *The Diaries of F.G. Ayres*, diary entry 11 Feb 1889. Lizards, probably Thorny Devils.
[95] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.100.
[96] Hudson and Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia,* p.5.
[97] Verschuur, *At the Antipodes*, p.15.

> manners of a do-nothing white dandy. … They were and are savages of the lowest kind.[98]

Wood related his first encounter with Aboriginals in 1877, as if they were one of the specimens of birds and animals found in the Government House gardens.

> Returning today from the Government Gardens, - a small enclosure in Perth where specimens of Australian birds and animals are exhibited, we came upon the first aboriginals [sic] we had seen. … They were all squatting in the sand of the road-way, quite heedless of chance traffic…. Their clothing, what little there was of it, consisted entirely of skins, fastened with strips of leather. Men and women alike were gloriously ugly, and dirty beyond description. A number of big … dogs completed the group: these appeared to be well-fed, and were evidently kindly treated. In fact, as we discovered later, if there is one tender spur in the heart of a Black, his dog alone finds it but; and in this partiality the 'gins' are not a whit behind the men: they have indeed been known to deprive their own babies of their natural sustenance in order to suckle a puppy.[99]

The claim that women deprived their young to suckle puppies was also repeated by Davies over twenty years later.[100] Davies may well have witnessed this, but it might indicate, as Wood appears to do, that travellers' ideas about Indigenous people were learnt from stories being passed around, for as ecologist H. H. Shugart has pointed out, the observation of women nursing all varieties of animals was quite common in the literature of Victorian explorers from the 1820s to about the 1890s. According to Shugart, Aboriginal women nursed dingo pups from birth in order to tame them more easily.[101]

Lady Broome, who lived in Government House during her husband's term in office between 1883 and 1889, described the Indigenous people living nearby, as generally 'wretched and squalid looking'. She supplied them with blankets and rations of flour, tea and tobacco. 'Money must not be given because they are sure to spend it on rum.'[102] Lady Broome had the same misgivings about giving Aboriginals cash as Young and the Hill sisters did in Albany. Although their intentions were benevolent, they in effect further relegated Aboriginal people to the status of an underclass and limited their opportunity to be part of the community.

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[98] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.110-113.
[99] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, pp.117-120.
[100] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.35-39.
[101] H. H. Shugart, *How the Earthquake Bird Got its Name and Other Tales of an Unbalanced Nature,* Yale University Press, 2004, pp.140-141. Shugart explained that dingoes were important to Aboriginal people. Primarily they were necessary for warmth on cold nights, as well as sanitary cleaning of their campsites. Some groups used them for hunting.
[102] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* pp.39-41.

In 1863, Mrs Millett also represented Aboriginals living near the towns as depraved, when she wrote about her first meeting with an Indigenous person on the drive to her new temporary home in York.

> Our kind guide, by way of introducing us as quickly as possible to all objects of interest …, hailed for us a native who was passing at a little distance, but he was a very sorry specimen, being without exception more ugly and ill-favoured than any whom we ever saw afterwards, and one eyed into the bargain. The English reader should remember, when he peruses the accounts given by many travellers of the low and regarded appearance of the Australian natives, that no one can form a just opinion of them until he has seen them in their natural state, far away from towns and living the free wild life of the bush. It is as unfair to accept as samples of their race those natives who hang idling about the colonial towns, as it would be to suppose that a common street beggar of London was a type of the English peasant.[103]

Like other travellers, such as Frederick Mackie in his description of Aboriginals as 'forlorn looking objects' on the streets in Fremantle in 1855,[104] and Lady Brassey in her comment earlier, Mrs Millett also used the noun 'object'; and then followed it with the term 'specimen', an additional denial of the humanity of Indigenous people. Despite this, Mrs Millett stated that her intention in writing about the Indigenous people was to dispel assumptions made by English readers that 'the Australian native is … the lowest member of the human family'. Furthermore, while she wanted to 'assure Europeans that they have no reason to feel ashamed of owning affinity with the savages of Australia West, either in respect of mental qualities or that of manly appearance,' (femininity was never mentioned) she still conceded that 'the lowest condition of mankind is to be found on the great island-continent'.[105] In other words, although she talked of racial equality, she still used the language of racial hierarchy.

Of the earlier travellers who saw Indigenous people in their 'natural state' away from populated white areas, travelling colleagues Robert Lindsey and Frederick Mackie described them in terms of the 'noble savage'. In 1855 Lindsey wrote about a small group near Marshall Waller Clifton's house in Australind.

> [T]hey are inoffensive and peaceable, and many of them of an intelligent and interesting countenance. … Their wants in this climate are very few. They have no fixed habitation of any kind. When night comes they make a fire … and lie down beside it … Their food is the kangaroo, the kangaroo rat, snakes, grubs, fish, and roots, which they find everywhere, and take them as they need. They have no cooking utensils nor chattels of any kind. They are very fond of flour, and procure it from the settlers when they can, and make

[103] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, pp.13-14.
[104] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.266.
[105] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, pp.71-72.

> it into cakes which they bake in the ashes. They have also acquired a taste for tobacco, of which they are very fond. [106]

On the road to Bunbury, Mackie met more Aboriginals sitting round a fire.

> Their dress is the tanned skins of the kangaroo or sheep … their right arm is uncovered, which gives them a graceful and martial air, an ancient Roman could hardly have worn his toga with more grace than some of the men do this simple garment which from its softness falls down in easy folds. Their house is made in a few minutes, consisting simply of a few boughs placed slanting either against a tree or a stake, so that they are at home everywhere, and all their possessions they carry with them. … [O]ne of them carrying a bundle of formidable looking spears, we had previously been told we need be under no apprehension from them, as they are quite harmless.[107]

Mackie has created a noble figure by making comparisons with ancient Romans. However, seeing Aboriginals in their 'natural state' certainly didn't make a difference to Alfred Wood's views in 1877 when visiting his friend's station *Broadlands* on the Victoria Plains just north east of Perth. He witnessed a dance or corroboree near the house, 'a sure sign', he wrote, 'that a good understanding exits between the whites and blacks'.[108] He believed that, '[w]ithout religion, - apart, that is, from a sort of devil – worship, and almost destitute of natural affection, the Australian aboriginals [sic] lead a life at once depraved and objectless.'[109] By comparison, Jonathan Ceredig Davies also mentioned corroborees, but concluded that 'the Aborigines seem to be, as a rule, very contented, gay, and full of song and laughter'.[110]

Travellers regularly remarked on Indigenous peoples' propensity for work. Lindsey wrote that Aboriginals were paid in various ways to tend the cattle, or perform other miscellaneous work, 'but they do not like steady employment of any kind'.[111] Continuing with his 'noble savage' view, Mackie believed that these 'inhabitants of the wilderness are the lords of creation, they have no anxieties, they have no difficulty in providing for their own wants or for the wants of their families, if the whites have to toil and labour, it is not so with them'.[112] That Aboriginals were employed is evident, and doubtless they were taken advantage of; however these passages also indicate that Indigenous people had some control over their own lives, for example by working only as long as their needs were satisfied, and by making use of introduced animals, using,

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[106] E.L.G (ed.), *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey,* London, Samuel Harris and Co., 1886, pp.109-110.
[107] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.272.
[108] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.171.
[109] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.180.
[110] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.42-43.
[111] E.L.G., *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, pp.109-10.
[112] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.272.

for example, sheepskin for their cloaks.[113] Initiative was also noticed when Mrs Millett wrote about an Indigenous local in the York area who presented himself at her door.

> Perhaps what struck us most in his manner was the complete taking for granted that he and ourselves were upon precisely the same social level. … [E]xperience had proved him to be thoroughly trustworthy, we habitually employed him about our house in preference to any of his relations.[114]

Perceived social status was usually apparent when travellers discussed Indigenous people, particularly when regarding work they considered suitable to their station. Although Mrs Millett had earlier claimed an affinity with Aboriginals, in historian Henry Reynolds' words she was 'not for one moment advocating social equality',[115] as is revealed by her surprise that her visitor imagined himself to be on the same social level. Even to employ this man as a servant, she made clear, was a special exception she would not grant to just any 'relation'.[116] Reynolds explained that Indigenous people often performed services willingly out of friendship and a sense of obligation, or as favours, rather than as servants. They did not see their employers as masters, or representatives of a higher and more powerful class.[117] To further demonstrate that Aboriginals were considered to hold the lowest position on the social scale, Mrs Millett said that all the 'better class of colonists' had their 'favourite natives … as cleaners of pots and pans, as well as hewers of wood and drawers of water'.[118] She said that they paid them in old clothes and food, and they paid regular wages for the care of a flock of sheep, 'though not in the same proportion as are paid to white men'.[119] This was still the case forty years later. On his homeward journey from Kellerberrin, Zunini recalled that

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[113] Without minimising the extent of European aggression, Indigenous Australians were not always presented as hopeless victims. They often responded intelligently to change and were never static or inert in their responses to the new situation presented by the invading British. See Hudson and Bolton (eds), *Creating Australia,* p.5. Also see Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, pp.145-146. It was assumed by the colonists that Aboriginals were unable to acquire the skills of labour. However there is much evidence that they demonstrated their capability in a number of occupations. In many jobs in colonial society Indigenous workers had distinct advantages, and were often more useful than 'new chums' from urban Britain. Yet, as Henry Reynolds has argued, 'they were not willing to accept the social relations and cultural milieu in which they were set' nor the discipline that went with them. The Indigenous population living in and around European settlements adapted their skills and knowledge of their country by working on stations, droving cattle, making rugs, baskets and nets, bartered or sold products gained by hunting, fishing or collecting, such as fish, bark, sandalwood, skins, birds, and feathers. Also see Fox and Lake (eds), *Australians at Work,* p.53.

[114] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.73.

[115] Reynolds, *With the White People*, p.99.

[116] Using the term 'relation' - Mrs Millett is possibly generalising, meaning all Indigenous persons.

[117] Reynolds, *With the White People*, p.98.

[118] From the Bible Joshua 9:23. 'Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen, and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God'. Cursed may refer to the original curse pronounced against the descendants of Canaan implying nothing else than perpetual slavery. This further reveals imperialist ideas about Indigenous peoples as servants/slaves. See also http://custance.org/Library/Volume1/Part_III/Chapter1-2.html., (accessed 27 Jun 2010)

[119] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.75.

they 'went close by an encampment of partly civilized Aborigines. They were dressed in a grotesque semi-European manner. The men were involved in shearing sheep on nearby properties'.[120] It was not only clothes the colonists bestowed on their Indigenous servants, as Thomas Ward, remarked in 1889.

> Regarding the fanciful and ridiculous names of my two servants, I may mention that it is the custom of the stockmen and squatters in all parts of the country to bestow upon the station-blacks the most absurd names they can invent. In this nonsense they are aided and abetted by the blackfellows themselves, who are proud of their uncouth titles.[121]

This remark is the only indication made by any of the travellers in this study that Aboriginals assisted them on their journeys.

Unreliable work habits and idleness, along with their incapacity to change, were other charges directed at Indigenous people. In 1899, May Vivienne considered that:

> When civilised they make fairly good servants, but never quite lose their wild instincts; and when they have a holiday, which they frequently take of their own free will, away they go to their tribe, and revel in free life until they tire and once more long for the flesh-pots of civilisation, when they again return to their work.[122]

Vivienne, like her fellow travellers, believed that Aboriginals would never change their ways completely, and she imagined them as unreliable servants because they frequently went away. Even on the goldfields, Catherine Bond regarded them as 'fearfully lazy'.[123] Davies supported this claim, 'As is natural for people who lead a wandering life, these Aborigines do not take the trouble to build houses, neither do they cultivate the land, for they hate work'.[124] However, in Bridgetown Edwin and Marion Grew saw, 'half-castes … at work in the fields, shock-headed, and unintelligent-looking'.[125] So even when Indigenous people worked, it was still not appreciated. The Grews also indicate that a lack of respect was held for Aboriginals of mixed descent, which is discussed later. Like Vivienne and Davies, Trollope believed that it was impossible to teach the Indigenous Australians 'not to be savage', as he claimed in the opening quotation to this chapter. He believed this was because they did not live in houses, work regularly for wages, nor appreciate the advantages of accumulated property, and therefore could not 'be

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[120] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.106.
[121] Ward and Fountain, *Rambles of an Australian Naturalist*, p.164.
[122] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.65. Davies' and Vivienne's comments were expressed despite Davies having spent four years in WA, and Vivienne having been born in outback Victoria. This indicates the degree to which many ideas were doggedly stuck to by some, and a closer association with the Indigenous Australians was rarely experienced.
[123] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, pp.45,47.
[124] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.35.
[125] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.46.

depended upon for continual service.'[126] Despite this, he later conceded that 'on certain occasions [they were] ready to work for immediate good results'.[127] In fact, Marianne North was under the impression that they worked well, and make 'good grooms and shepherds'.[128]

Some travellers discussed the consequences of the European invasion on Indigenous people, presenting dual images of warrior and defenceless victim. In a letter to the *Liverpool Mercury* printed in 1875, after his return to England, Trollope considered the Indigenous people of Western Australia to be 'physically superior' and hardier than Aboriginals in other parts of Australia, and seemed 'less inclined to get rid of themselves and to die out of the land'.

> It may be that their permanence in the land is due rather to the small number of their invaders than to any strength of their own. … Now they are not often pugnacious, at any rate in the immediate neighbourhood of our settlements.[129]

It is significant that he described the British as 'invaders', intimating their part in the demise of the Aboriginals, but then contradicts this by stating that Aboriginals were 'inclined to get rid of themselves'. Yet in his earlier book *Australia,* Trollope analysed the initial bloody conflicts of European occupation, taking an unusual stand in recognising them as such, and showing some insight.

> In the old records of the colony, one reads of these things as though all the injuries were inflicted by the blacks and suffered by the whites. Here, at home, all of us believe that we were doing a good deed in opening up these lands to the industry and civilisation of white men. … But, if so, we can surely afford to tell the truth about the matter. These black savages were savage warriors, and not murderers; and we too, after a fashion, were warriors, very high-handed, and with great odds in our favour, and not calm administrators of impartial laws.[130]

In this passage Trollope acknowledged the extent of European aggression, and portrayed Indigenous defenders as not just merely victims, but capable of dynamic response, an unusual admission within the travellers' texts. He recognised the incongruity of portraying the invaders as a benevolent race of men when land was taken violently from the first Australians. Nevertheless he believed in colonisation, supporting it in later letters to the *Liverpool Mercury,* and did not question the 'good deed' in

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[126] Edwards and Joyce (eds.), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* pp.561-564.
[127] Trollope, *The Tireless Traveller*, p.88.
[128] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life,* p.151.
[129] Trollope, *The Tireless Traveller*, p.88.
[130] Edwards and Joyce (eds.), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.561.

opening up the lands, even though he wrote that it 'seemed to be theirs by as good a title' as that of which any English gentleman had his land 'ruthlessly' taken from him.

> But we reconcile ourselves to all this by the necessity of the case, and by the manifest general improvement effected on the world's surface. … The earth which bore nothing is made subject to the plough. … The poor wretch who has perished was an abject, idle, useless creature, hideous to our eyes, a cannibal perhaps, low in intellect, and incapable of being taught. Where the wretch was, a dozen men and women, beautiful to look at, are bringing up their children in the fear of the Lord. With this, perhaps slightly exaggerated, estimate of our glories, we keep down our remorse, and the world is peopled. We English are the race to whom this duty, if it be a duty, seems to have been confided; and so we have gone on, annexing one country after another, and have built up our immense colonial empire.[131]

On the one hand Trollope showed an understanding of the results caused by the unlawful annexation of land by the British, yet on the other hand he reinforced the view of British superiority, and the idea that the development of a colonial empire was a duty for the betterment of the world. His about-face may perhaps be explained by his requirement to write to a prescribed readership of the *Liverpool Mercury.* The power these texts had in reinforcing ideas of imperial supremacy is well demonstrated in Trollope's passage with its race classifications and imagery of subordination. However, Mrs Millett appeared to have a more sympathetic understanding about land rights. She compared the Aboriginal peoples' rights to those of the Saxons' and Normans' to their territory at the time of the Roman invasion. 'The feelings of the natives are very strong with respect to ownership in the soil, and some of them will still point to certain spots as theirs which have been cleared and occupied by Englishmen.'[132]

Nevertheless, typically many travellers held a naïve, arrogant view, and helped propagate the myth that Aboriginals had not adequately defended themselves or their land. May Vivienne, visiting in 1899, wrote:

> [T]he shooting of blacks, although it seems cruel, was the means of showing them that the white man was their master, and after this no more trouble arose with the various tribes. Had it not been done the tables would have been turned, and all the white settlers might have been murdered.[133]

Vivienne displays a lack of compassion for the Aboriginal people, believing that white lives were more valuable. She showed no understanding—as Trollope and Mrs Millett appeared to have done—of the rights of the Indigenous people. Vivienne demonstrates that women, as well as men, upheld the imperial view, and could also convey negative

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[131] Trollope, *The Tireless Traveller*, p.125.
[132] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.228.
[133] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.65.

attitudes such as arrogance and cruelty, as argued by Lorraine Sterry.[134] Vivienne assumed the Aboriginals were happy about the loss of their land, and the situation they were forced to endure.

> Things are changed since those days of bloodshed, and the few aborigines [sic] left do not seem to bear any ill-will to the white fellow. An old native said to me; 'I like white fellow; he take all my land, but he make my house, and my big railway, grow big corn, big potatoes; black fellow do nothing, white fellow know everything, so white fellow do what he like—you give me sixpence'?[135]

In discussing 'those days of bloodshed', Davies, visiting at the same time as Vivienne, did not think that the wars were very important, few falling 'on the field of battle'. He believed that Aboriginals showed no 'real courage' and were not a 'warlike race', feuds only arising from 'their barbarous codes of laws and customs'. He wrote that those 'under the influence of white people were 'quite harmless', and friendly among themselves, 'at least in Western Australia'.[136]

Some travellers, however, propagated imaginings of imminent danger from Aboriginal men. In 1872 Trollope wrote:

> The stealing of cattle by tribes of black men, … has in many cases been accompanied by preconcerted attacks upon the stations; and these attacks are made in the absence of the owner, when his wife and children are there almost unguarded.[137]

According to Vron Ware, the threat of real or imagined violence toward white women was a symbol of insubordination of both Aboriginal men and white women.[138] By emphasising the vulnerability of wives and children, Trollope not only created a fear of Indigenous men, but he also disempowered women by making it appear they relied on the protection of their husband. In addition, 'almost unguarded' implies that husbands left some form of protection, thus reinforcing their role as protector. The women travellers journeying alone did not express fear, or write accounts where they were at risk because of Indigenous men. This backs up Sara Mills argument discussed in Chapter One, that silences in women travellers' texts regarding this matter reinforced their position as representatives of colonial supremacy, thus supporting their decision to travel alone.[139]

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[134] See Sterry, 'Constructs of Meiji Japan', p.168, and my discussion in Chapter One.
[135] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.56.
[136] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.42,43.
[137] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.100
[138] Ware, *Beyond The Pale,* p.38.
[139] Mills, *Discourse of Difference,* p.22. See Chapter One for my discussion on this subject.

However, some travellers liked to create a sense of danger by promoting a depraved image of Aboriginal people. As late as 1898 Davies was willing to maintain the myth of cannibalism:

> It is supposed by some that cannibalism is still practised by some of the savage tribes in the interior, especially among the Queensland natives, where fat people are liable to be stolen and eaten, and a man who has a stout wife is very careful not to allow her to wander very far alone. I have also heard of blacks on the goldfields of Western Australia who were afraid of returning to the interior lest they should be eaten.[140]

Most observations made about the Indigenous Australians reflect generalisations gathered through readings written by ethnographers of the day—such as E. B. Tyler (1832-1917), James George Frazer (1854-1941), Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) and Franz Boas (1858-1942)—regarding Indigenous people generally, without any particular knowledge about Australian Aboriginals. This is evident even when travellers had a chance to dispel these myths. For example, Davies, despite finding that Indigenous people were 'quite harmless', added the qualification: 'at least in Western Australia'. This allowed him to maintain the myth of cannibalism, albeit in other regions. Reading about these ideas was popular. David Carnegie revealed that he was acquainted with popular contemporary publications and admitted, 'Though I cannot say that I studied the manners and customs of the aboriginals [sic] at that time, the description, none the worse for being old, given to savages of another land would fit them admirably—"Manners none, customs beastly."'[141] This was a much-used quotation in journalism and travellers' tales about so called primitive culture and savage tribes in the nineteenth century.[142] In 1880, Marianne North wrote that when she lodged at a police station at Kojonup, 'I was surrounded by policemen calling me "your ladyship" that I felt like the Queen of the Cannibal Islands, and rather a dangerous character'.[143] She may have been referring to the burlesque opera of the same name published in 1865.

The following extracts demonstrate how literature could influence the travellers' writings, and how exaggerated stories on the goldfields could be publicised and read as fact, thus further perpetuating the myths. Robert Tyler appeared to be aware of stories about cannibalism when some Aboriginals 'squatted down' not far from his fire, and lit their own with a bit of smouldering wood, which, he said, they seemed to always carry

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[140] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.36.
[141] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.11.
[142] An oft-used phrase loosely traced back to a colonial officer who was asked about the manners and customs of the indigenous people. See 'Our "Customs"', *The New York Times,* October 24, 1901, p.8, and 'Manners Plenty, Customs Nice', *The Sydney Morning Herald,* Jan 9, 1960, p.8.
[143] North, *Recollections of a Happy Life,* pp.152-153. See Francis Cowley Burnand, *L'Africaine: or, The Queen of the Cannibal Islands: An Original Opera Burlesque,* Kessinger Publishing Co., 1865.

with them. He tried unsuccessfully to converse with them and gave the children some food. 'They appeared to be perfectly harmless and showed no desire to eat us.'[144] Again on an evening ride back to Coolgardie after visiting some mining sites, Tyler felt:

> an awful stillness, fortunately not broken by the whoop of the hungry Aborigine panting for a prime cut off a well fed Englishman. … No—nothing exciting or eventful took place.[145]

Tyler may have added that there was after all no danger, and that Aboriginals were 'perfectly harmless' in his letters to comfort his wife and daughter reading them at home in England. But Tyler shows that even in private letters travellers didn't mind writing about danger and hardship, it demonstrated how stalwart they were. A year later Catherine Bond portrayed a fearsome people.

> Ireland, who came after us with the camel, tells us that on Monday night there was a camp of a hundred blacks near us. And if they had known we were there they would probably have speared us, and taken the horses and everything else. He saw them and was much alarmed, for they are very treacherous and very cruel. … [Gerhold, the manager had] a very low opinion of the blacks. He says they will always take life if they can, and never hesitate to attack an undefended camp.[146]

Catherine's campsite may well have been in danger, but she may possibly have written this in order to make her book more exciting and marketable to publishers and British readers. As Tyler's disappointment shows above, these stories were 'exciting and eventful'. In complete contrast, in 1892 David Carnegie described an encampment of Indigenous Australians whose homelands were taken over by miners digging for gold at Coolgardie, drawing a picture of a people incapable of murder or reprisal:

> a tribe of wretched famine-stricken 'blacks', whose natural hideousness and filthy appearance were intensified by the dirty rags with which they made shift to cover their bodies. I should never have conceived it possible that such living skeletons could exist. Without begging from the diggers I fail to see how they could have lived, for not a living thing was to be found in the bush, save an occasional iguana and 'bardies', and … all known waters within available distance of Coolgardie were dry, or nearly so.[147]

Carnegie failed to acknowledge the impact of the sudden invasion of goldminers in depleting sources of water in the region.

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[144] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.72.
[145] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, p.95.
[146] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, pp.45,47.
[147] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.9-10. In a foot note, Carnegie adds, '"Bardies" are large white grubs—three or four inches long—which the natives dig out from the roots of a certain shrub. When baked on wood-ashes they are said to be excellent eating. The natives, however, prefer them raw, and, having twisted off the heads, eat them with evident relish.' The adjectives he used in this last sentence highlights how ideas about the 'uncivilised' and 'savage native' were maintained.

It has already been noted that travellers often wrote about Aboriginal people as if they were objects or specimens. Additionally, Aboriginals were frequently portrayed as wild animals. For example, in 1877 Alfred Wood wrote about an Indigenous group near where he was visiting north of Guildford. 'These blacks had no apology for a tent, and lay muddled up together. Like animals.'[148] Carnegie also expresses this image in the following passage.

> Benstead had managed to bring up a few sheep from the coast, which the 'gins', or women, used to tend. The native camp was near the slaughter-yard, and it used to be an interesting and charming sight to see these wild children of the wilderness, fighting with their mongrel dogs for the possession of the offal thrown away by the butcher. If successful in gaining this prize they were not long in disposing of it, cooking evidently being considered a waste of time. A famished 'black-fellow' after a heavy meal used to remind me of pictures of the boa-constrictor who has swallowed an ox, and is resting in satisfied peace to gorge.[149]

A picture is created here of a culture of begging and scrounging, a recurring image portrayed throughout these extracts. What is ignored is the Aboriginal contribution to a camp or settlement; for example the women tending the sheep may have earned the right to feed their children.

The view that Aboriginals were considered inhuman also existed in the days of transportation. For example Aboriginal prisoners were treated differently to convicts, although the travellers rarely mentioned their confinement. However, in 1855 Mackie noticed them amongst the convicts, when he visited the overcrowded gaol in Perth.

> Five or six are natives. They came in from their work whilst we were there. … The natives were chained, *though lightly* [italics added]; at night, a chain fastened to the building is run through ringels[?] connecting these poor creatures together. The reason that the natives are chained and not the whites is that they have attempted to escape.[150]

Mackie revealed mixed responses to the chaining of Indigenous prisoners. He inferred that being chained 'lightly' was acceptable, and appears to accept the reasons for it. However by noticing a difference in treatment between them and the white prisoners, and feeling a need to explain it, Mackie seems to show sympathy for the Indigenous prisoners, also implied by his lamentation of 'poor creatures'. Still, the term 'creatures' also acknowledges his belief that Indigenous people were not quite human. Later in

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[148] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, p.171.
[149] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, pp.10-11.
[150] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.273. Judging by his description this was probably the first gaol opposite Government House. The Old Gaol and Court House on Beaufort Street wasn't completed until 1856, after Mackie's visit. See 'State Register of Heritage Places', database; Morison and White (eds.), *Western Towns and Buildings,* pp.95,293.

1872, Trollope also noticed the inequality of treatment between the prisoners. He noted that tobacco was served to all European convicts who had not re-offended, but to the 'poor black fellows' only on rare holiday occasions.[151]

Other than the opposing images portrayed so far, as noble savage or depraved specimen, as defenceless victim or warrior, as harmless being or cannibal, a contrasting image to an animal is that of a degenerate child. For example Mrs Millett told many stories about Aboriginals in an amusing manner for the benefit of her readers, portraying childlike behaviour and tendencies.

> I once found Khourabene sitting on the kitchen floor with his legs as far apart as those of the Colossus of Rhodes, while between them stood our black three-legged iron pot full of the cooling liquor from which a boiled ham had been lately lifted, the surface of which, with an indescribable twinkle of satisfaction, he was employed in skimming for the purposes of pomatum.[152]

In Albany in 1873, Florence and Rosamond Hill believed that Aboriginals seemed to 'possess qualities which cause those taken into the houses of the colonists to be treated as petted children, and their most provoking misdeeds to be pardoned over and over again'.[153] As well, fourteen years later Lady Brassey explained that a neighbour to an Aboriginal encampment told her that 'they come daily to her house for water and scraps. But that they never attempt to steal anything or cause her any annoyance'.[154]

Whether child, animal, or savage, and whether depraved or noble, the overwhelming belief held by Europeans was that as a people Aboriginals were doomed to extinction, an idea supported by Darwinism and the survival of the fittest. All the travellers in this study raised the idea of a 'dying race'. An earlier traveller, Mackie, expressed his concerns about their corruption by the colonists, thinking that the greatest kindness was to leave them alone, 'uncontaminated by our vices. … The race will become extinct under any circumstances appears certain'.[155] As well, Mrs Millett claimed that the 'gradually decreasing numbers of the natives indicate sadly yet surely' that they were destined to die out, 'whenever the white man erects his dwelling amongst them'.[156] By contrast, Trollope, in 1872 approved of the notion of extinction when he wrote, 'Their doom is to be exterminated; and the sooner that their doom be

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[151] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.585.
[152] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.86. Pomatum is a perfumed ointment or balm for the scalp or hair.
[153] Hill and Hill, *What We Saw in Australia*, p.435.
[154] Brassey, *The Last Voyage,* p.252.
[155] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, p.271.
[156] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.274.

accomplished, - so that there be no cruelty, - the better it will be for civilisation.'[157] The use of the term 'exterminated' is particularly poignant, confirming that, as Henry Reynolds claimed, many colonialists were 'hellbent' on genocide.[158] Over forty years later Zunini also blamed the colonists.

> Contact with Europeans, instead of educating and civilizing, has, as a rule, served only to make them more brutish. The abuse of alcohol has had a disastrous effect on their already frail bodies and has accelerated the ultimate extinction of their race. ... [which] is in complete decline. Both men and women are covered in ulcers and sores, they have runny eyes and are old and worn out at twenty.[159]

But Davies had quite the opposite idea, that:

> the wise policy of the Government, kindness and fair dealing from the hands of settlers, the influence of civilization, and above all the noble efforts of missionaries, have all contributed towards making them what they are at present — harmless, docile and useful, … there is no doubt, however, as to the ultimate fate of these unfortunate but interesting people, as well as that of the Indians in America — total extinction.[160]

Davies shows that the extinction of indigenous people was not only expected in Australia, but also throughout the colonised world.

By the time Edwin and Marion Grew arrived in 1914, reserves had been established by the government for Indigenous Australians in order to 'sooth the pillow of the dying race'. The Grews visited one of these camps near Guildford. They did not acknowledge the Aboriginals' previous ownership of the land, regarding Australia as only having been a vast 'camping ground for the blacks', where now the white 'owner' of the estate was generous in allowing Aboriginals to 'camp' there.[161] The Grews believed that the people they saw at the camp had no virtues at all, finding them a 'depressing spectacle' of mainly 'half-breeds'; miserable, degenerate, and apathetic looking. They said that they wore Government blankets and were being sung hymns to by 'some form of a mission'.[162] Rather than wanting to civilise the Aboriginals as did other travellers, the Grews seemed to regret that contact with whites had resulted in the loss of their 'primitive virtues':

> The half-castes have lost the art both of throwing and carving the kyle, and are too indolent to achieve either, but an old native stepped out from among them to show us how it was done. He had thick black hair, and his bright dark eyes gleamed in his flat, glistening, ebony face. It was very curious to

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[157] Edwards and Joyce (eds), *Anthony Trollope: Australia,* p.564.
[158] Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts*, p.247.
[159] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.107.
[160] Davies, *Western Australia*, pp.31-32.
[161] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.63.
[162] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.63.

> watch him standing there turning his head about, sniffing and feeling the direction of the wind, and at last he threw the kyle, spinning, circling, returning, many times, while we watched him fascinated, and the motley crowd of half-breeds looked on too at the art they had no skill to practise. … [They had] a sort of light-hearted instinct of destruction. For instance, seeing a man standing by the wall of a small shed at a little distance from the camp, one of the blacks playfully let fly at him with a boomerang. He fortunately missed the man's leg, but made a hole in the building.[163]

The practice of segregating the Indigenous people from the whites, and depriving them of access to their own lands was by this time well established. From the early twentieth century Indigenous Australians were forced to live on closed reserves or missions. Supported by Social Darwinism, racism came to dominate white Australia's response to the Aboriginals. Segregation became the prevailing idea influenced by those who believed that Aboriginals should be confined to the fringes of society, despite the fact that some had been educated, acquired new skills, and practiced Christianity. They were kept as a depressed underclass. Reynolds pointed out that, 'Even European ancestry didn't help. 'Half-castes' were said to inherit the worst characteristics of both races.'[164] A sense of this is shown in the Grew's comment about 'half-breeds' above, and, in their explanation about their so-called loss of 'primitive' skills. Reynolds description of a typical town camp clearly sets the scene for the camp that the Grews visited, and helps explain the behaviour they witnessed.

> [They] varied from place to place but even the best camps were without clean water, sewerage collection or any of the other municipal services that were increasingly available to Europeans. Many of them provided inadequate protection against the weather. Disease, malnutrition and death crouched among the humpies along with addiction to opium and alcohol and violence that … furthered social breakdown. Camp dwellers were also prey to the random brutality of the Europeans and raids by drunken louts bent on sexual pillage. … The distance between town and camp probably suited the blacks as well as the whites. … They probably had as little to do with the whites as they could and above all wanted to avoid their prying eyes, censorious glances and niggling interference even when it was well meaning…allowing the Aborigines to preserve many aspects of their culture – initiation, mortuary rituals, corroborees.[165]

It was while visiting the Indigenous camp in Guildford that the Grews met with one of the residents who had been stolen as a child. This old woman told them 'that when she was a baby, "the white people took me, but I lay in the wood and listened to my people talking till I learnt their language; then I ran away and went back to

[163] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.65.
[164] Reynolds, *With the White People*, pp.85,126.
[165] Reynolds, *With the White People*, p.154.

them.'"[166] The old woman's revelation discloses the practice of whites taking children away from their family, as well as the anguish she experienced as a stolen child, and the sense of belonging she had to her own people. From the beginning of European settlement Indigenous children were taken forcibly, or by arrangement, to live for varying periods with European families. Evidence that a mutual arrangement had been made is seen in William Harvey's account, in 1854, about a 'charitable lady' who had 'taken to her house 8 black children, mostly orphans … She teaches them & clothes & feeds [them].'[167] Also, in 1863 Mrs Millett wrote of a dying Aboriginal mother who presented her with her little girl to look after. However, attempts at taking children by force from their families were also apparent in some travellers' texts. In the 1880s Lady Broome believed that to do this could only benefit the child.

> You can easily imagine how impossible it is to get hold of the natives after they are grown up—for they are a very debased sort of savage—and to teach or civilise them in any way. So we chiefly look to what we can do for the children, to improve the condition of the next generation; and every effort is made to take the little creatures away from their parents if there is reason to believe them to be ill-treated; but if the parents are kind, then many inducements are held out to the mother to come and settle near the children, where she can see for herself that they are happy and well cared for. But generally the older natives soon get tired of any settled mode of life and go off suddenly, perhaps taking their little ones with them.[168]

Europeans were convinced that these children were better off with them where they could be 'civilised' and 'trained' for so called useful tasks. Carnegie wrote about meeting two mine managers who had a young Aboriginal boy at their camp whom 'they tried in vain to tame. He stood a good deal of misplaced kindness, and even wore clothes without complaint; but he could not bear having his hair cut, and so ran away to the bush'.[169] The use of the verb 'tame' further demonstrates Carnegie's propensity to liken Indigenous people to animals. Although they allowed little contact with the children's natural parents and other kin as they grew to adulthood, the Europeans held remarkably clear consciences, as shown by Lady Broome and Carnegie.[170] It was not until the Aborigines Act 1905 was passed, that the necessary bureaucratic mechanisms were set up in order to develop repressive and coercive state control over Indigenous Australians. The Chief Protector was then assigned to assume guardianship of

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[166] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.64.
[167] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* p.78.
[168] Hasluck (ed.), *Remembered with Affection,* p.116.
[169] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, p.9. Brown and Lyon were in the process of purchasing Bayley's gold mine while Carnegie was at the goldfields.
[170] See Reynolds, *With the White People*, pp.165-166.

Aboriginal children, and to remove them from their families and place them in institutions.[171]

Aboriginals were usually observed as a homogenous group in both men and women travellers' writings, but sometimes Indigenous women were mentioned. Interest was mainly in their looks, and perceived positions as drudges and victims, which Mrs Millett and Davies portrayed. Mrs Millett believed that the women were not treated very well. 'The Australian women are less good-looking than the men, … because the state of extreme subjection in which the women are kept by their husbands does not tend to beautify them.' She said that the 'poor drudges' were often met on the road 'bent almost double with their burdens' compelled to be the porters. She wrote that they were 'severely beaten for the slightest fault', and sometimes were speared by the husband for a 'capital offence'.[172] Mrs Millett imposed a European model on her observations, distorting the status of Indigenous women, and not recognising the complex arrangements of co-operation, the balancing of tasks and the subtle responsibilities in the managerial role of spiritual affairs and traditional heritage.[173] Over thirty years later opinion had not changed, with Davies providing similar comments about their appearance, 'they appear extremely ugly in their features, especially the women'[174], and about their treatment.

> [A]s a rule, among savages, wives are regarded as assets or slaves, to perform all the hard work. … We generally see … the husband Walking on In front, carrying nothing but his light spear or his boomerangs — or if he has some kind of European clothes on, his hands in his pockets, whilst his poor wife has to follow behind him, carrying on her back a big bag in which are packed all the luggage, and the baby (if any) included. Very often she has to carry a heavy burden of this kind for many miles in a day. … [T]he husband picks and eats the choice bits of meat himself, leaving the remainder to his wife or wives, very much like throwing bones to dogs.[175]

This collection of passages by the travellers over time show mixed and confused understandings about the Indigenous people of the southwest. On the one hand, they

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[171] 'Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families April 1997', <http://www.hreoc.gov.au/social_Justice/bth_report/report/ch7.html>, (accessed 2 Jul 2009). It was not until A.O. Neville became Chief Protector in 1915 (a year after the Grews visit) that systematic removal of children from their Indigenous parents became an established practise. Neville also took complete control of Indigenous settlements. This Act was mainly concerned with 'children of mixed descent who grew up with their Aboriginal families' who, according to commission reports at the time, would become `vagrants and outcasts' and `not only a disgrace, but a menace to society', unless they were segregated.
[172] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage*, p.78.
[173] Catherine H. Berndt, 'Aboriginal Woman and the Notion of 'the Marginal Man'', in Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt (eds), *Aborigines of the West: Their Past and Their Present,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1980, pp.28-38.
[174] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.34.
[175] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.39.

wrote that they were savage, cannibals and animals but on the other hand, that they were harmless, docile and happy. The evidence shows, however, that other than Mrs Millett, the travellers had very little interaction with the Indigenous Australians. This may be a result of their indifference, or because Aboriginals may have chosen to avoid the travellers. The ease with which travellers encountered the Indigenous population depended on the period they visited. Demographically, Aborigines would have been more noticeable in Albany in the 1860s to 1870s—as they were employed around the harbour and provided souvenirs and entertainment to ship passengers—and less noticeable in later years due to the influences of European settlement; disease, conflict, segregation, and being assigned to closed reserves after the 1900s.

Travellers also tended to perpetuate popular myths of the time, such as the belief that Aborigines were a dying race, that they were incapable of being taught, and that the women were drudges. Thus the preconceptions and impressions that the travellers first held when they arrived at Albany were sustained. The travellers who expressed admiration for Indigenous people tended to be earlier travellers who arrived prior to the intrusion of more extensive European settlement. In the main they upheld the view of Aboriginals as noble savages, although some earlier travellers maintained a view of them as depraved.

The Foreign Presence

The travellers wrote very little about non-British people living in Western Australia, some not mentioning them at all. Those that were referred to tended to be Afghan, Chinese, Japanese and Italian people, predominately on the goldfields during the 1890s. Afghan men monopolised the carrying business in the goldfields using camels, particularly prior to the extension of the railway. Albert Calvert revealed racist feelings held by white miners about the Afghan camel divers he met on the road to Coolgardie in 1895. (Fig. 7.3).

Fig. 7.3.
1895 sketch of a 'typical Afghan camel driver' in Calvert, *My Fourth tour,* p.36.

> The white man, strong in the superiority of race, of the glory of the British Empire, regards the Afghan camel driver as an effete alien, who is as much inferior to him in brains as in muscle, a trespasser against him in the labour market, and worse than all, a trespasser who is willing to work for a low rate of wages. The Afghans, on their part, reciprocate the dislike, not in open aggression, for they have the sullen cowed air of a subject people, but in the scowling eye and muttered curse as they debouch from the track to allow the wagoners to pass. They are willing to wound but yet afraid to strike, and passively enduring the gibes and the injustice, never provoke a rupture with the whites, whose wrath is to be dreaded.[176]

Catherine Bond explained that the Afghan drivers were required to keep camels off the tracks to allow the wagoners to pass because the camels frightened the horses, rather than any act of aggressive superiority held by the wagoners. This was verified in 1896, when she said they passed a number of camels in 'strings' of forty at a time, which frightened the horses.[177] On another occasion she wrote of the commotion caused when these camel trains were met.

> We overtake a long string of camels—I count ninety-three. The Afghan drivers have to be shouted at to get out of the track, and it is some time before our horses will pass them, and the string gets broken in more than one place.[178]

Despite Catherine's reasoning, it seems to make more sense for horse drawn wagons to give way to the larger camel trains, perhaps indicating arrogance on behalf of the white wagoner after all. She wrote that Afghan drivers were transporting iron telegraph poles to Dundas on these camels. This highlights the extent to which Afghan men contributed to the development of Western Australia; a factor rarely recognised, and a topic worth

[176] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.50.
[177] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, pp.28,33.
[178] Bond, *Goldfields and Chrysanthemums*, p.41.

pursuing in future studies. Julius Price was influenced by the dislike of Afghan camel drivers on the goldfields. 'I had been strongly advised to take a white man, in preference to an Afghan, as being more reliable in the bush, and also as making a better and more useful dependent than the arrogant Asiatic.'[179] However, the white camel driver he employed as a consequence proved to be a disappointment, 'a more uncivil surly fellow … has never been my ill-luck to meet'.[180]

Racism was also practised against the Chinese, encouraged by Western Australia's Goldfields Act 1886, barring Chinese from working the diggings. Calvert described a situation on the goldfields in 1895 when a Chinese cook refused to organise an early breakfast, revealing an inflexible relationship. He pointed out that the Chinese provided the only household help available.

> He was master of the situation. …the spurned alien had for once got even with his oppressors, for in Australia the whites aggressively draw the 'colour line'. The alien must not touch a pick, nor obtain a miner's right. His master, the European, will only tolerate him as a menial servant. The Oriental may cook, wash, or grow vegetables, for on the goldfields the white is loath to do these things for himself, much less for another. The European goes to the mines to make money, not to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water; hence the condemned yellow-skin may do this drudgery, and in the opinion of the pale-face who hates him, this is all he is fit for.[181]

White Australians on the goldfields who objected to the presence of Asians were also hostile toward Japanese prostitutes. For example, in 1896, Raymond Radclyffe witnessed a 'roll up', which was the name given to a group of men with an elected chairman who put a contention of the time to the vote. The 'roll up' ordered 'certain Japanese Ladies' who 'were not respectable, but they were quiet', to leave the camp within twenty-four hours. This is the only time prostitution was alluded to in this study's travellers' texts about southern Western Australia. The concern, Radclyffe explained, was that if they stayed they would allow 'Asiatic labour to establish a footing in the camp'. Radclyffe declared that:

> The words 'Asiatic labour' are the red rags to the Labour Party bull. There are few things a miner will not stand. He will cheerfully undergo any hardship, and he never complains of over-work, but he will not endure the hated Chinaman or Jap.[182]

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[179] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.110.
[180] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.119.
[181] Calvert, *My Fourth Tour*, p.169. Again a quote from the bible inferring eternal slavery. See my earlier reference. Also see my Chapter 5 regarding The Goldfields Act 1886 and later Immigration Restriction Acts.
[182] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, p.22.

Rae Frances wrote that on the 'Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie goldfields the Anti-Asiatic League[183] campaigned through the local press and colonial parliament' to have Japanese sex workers removed. The league's agitation led to the Immigration Restriction Act 1897, 'which gave officials the power to refuse entry to prostitutes or persons living off their earnings'.[184]

The miners were quite happy to engage the Japanese and Chinese as menial servants within their camps, a condition permitted by the Act, perceiving that this was not a threat to white capital and labour. In 1899 May Vivienne wrote that 'No Chinaman or coloured man is allowed to mine; in Western Australia they are tolerated as gardeners or servants only', and the Chinese engaged as servants were, 'as a rule' satisfactory.[185] The Japanese appeared to also be thus regarded. Vivienne visited a miner's camp and stopped at a 'pretty cottage' with 'bachelors, … a mining manager, his secretary, and clerk, … attended by a Japanese servant'.[186]

The travellers occasionally came across Chinese workers in other regions. Travelling by train from Albany to Beverley in 1895, Julius Price noticed that Chinese labour had been used on one or two stations he passed. He gathered that some landowners in the area believed that 'the employment of a large number of the industrial Celestials would help considerably to open up and push forward the development of the colony'. He wrote that this was because of the difficulty in obtaining labour at 'reasonable' prices, 'the common labourer having an exorbitant idea of his own value.'[187] Price thought that 'this magnificent country … is lying idle in consequence'.[188] Vivienne came across evidence of the power that white labourers had in the rural community when she visited Godfrey Hester's farm in Hester's Brook.[189]

> I found this gentleman engaged in skinning and dressing a sheep; he had taken on a Chinese cook, and all the other hands, objecting to the introduction of Chinese labour, had left in a body. Consequently Mr Hester had to turn to and do the work himself.[190]

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[183] The Anti-Asiatic League was established by Frederick Vosper in Coolgardie in 1894. Its aim was to maintain living standards by excluding 'cheap coloured labour'. See Ed Jaggard, 'F. C. B. Vosper, the Agitator', in Lyall Hunt (ed.), *Westralian Portraits,* Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1979, pp. 104-110

[184] Frances, *Selling Sex*, p.59.

[185] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.186.

[186] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.108.

[187] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.19.

[188] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.20.

[189] Edward Godfrey Hester, in what is now called Hester near Hester Brook. He was a timber merchant, storekeeper and JP. He was the son of an officer in Royal Middlesex Militia, a magistrate and a postmaster. Erickson (ed.), *Dictionary of Western Australians,* vol.3, p.388.

[190] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.70.

Price understood that political motives also stood in the way of the employment of Chinese on a large scale. Because of widespread racism throughout the population, capitalist politicians were worried that any support shown towards Chinese workers could jeopardise their seats in the Western Australian Parliament.[191] The influential gold miners, who practically ruled 'the country', according to Davies, looked with contempt on any attempt to introduce foreigners.[192] Thus Chinese people still suffered prejudice and repression away from the goldfields.

As on the goldfields, there were some occupations that the Chinese were allowed to pursue. One of these was as servants. Price stayed at the Weld Clubhouse in Perth, which he thought was similar to an institution at Shanghai, as the staff were 'composed entirely of Chinamen', which he thought was a curious thing.[193] Count Fritz von Hochberg was receptive to the services the Chinese offered at the Weld Club in 1907. 'After an excellent lunch at the Club, served by smiling Chinamen, noiseless in their felt-bottomed slippers, where I disgraced myself positively by the quantity I ate, and finally cajoled a receipt out of them of the best scones I ever ate'.[194] Chinese were also permitted to engage in other services. Davies, in 1898, wrote that there were a large number of Chinese greengrocers and laundry-men in Perth, who he believed were 'very industrious and honest, though rather given to gambling'.[195] However, Davies was aware of inconsistencies in the society's treatment of non-British people.

> The persecution and oppression which is carried on against these people does not reflect much credit on the white people of Australia, for nothing could be more inconsistent with the democratic principles which they profess and boast of, not to mention the words of St. Paul, who saith that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth'.[196]

Davies thus reveals conflicting representations of Western Australian society, where, as discussed earlier, some travellers were impressed by an imagined equality and a less divided social structure. These ideas did not include the non-British population. Some other travellers noticed this in connection with the Chinese population. In 1914, the Grews saw a lot of small Chinese market gardens on the road to Guildford, east of Perth, and commented that 'the activity of the Chinaman in Australia is hardly more

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[191] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.20.
[192] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.70.
[193] Price, *The Land of Gold*, p.34.
[194] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.22. The Weld club certainly made use of Western Australia's suppressed classes. Back in 1872 Trollope met 'liveried servants, - a class which is not common in the colonies, - men waiting with white cotton gloves, who in London would be presumed to be greengrocers, but who in Perth were probably 'lags'. They seemed to hand the dishes very well.'[194]
[195] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.82. He also noticed a few small shops selling 'fancy articles' that were run by nationals of India, whom were 'considered excellent tailors'.
[196] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.82.

popular than that of the white ant.'[197] Leopoldo Zunini also saw a Chinese market garden when visiting a farm near Northam in 1907, making some comparative observations about Chinese and Australian workers, and gave his opinion as to the cause of anti-Asian feelings. He wrote that Chinese gardeners preferred to work for themselves because they did not like to work for a European 'boss'. He said that they worked conscientiously and soberly all day. Whereas the Australian worker, he believed, never worked very hard, and 'would never dream of working all day' and into the night. As a result, he wrote, many light industries were in 'Asian hands', which outraged the Australian worker 'with hatred against the yellow race whom, first the state and then the federal government have contrived to keep out through the application of strict entry requirements'.[198]

The stringent immigration regulations of the so-called 'White Australia Policy' were introduced by the new federal government, and were in operation by the time that Zunini, Hochberg and the Grews visited.[199] Zunini gave his opinion as to the justification of the policy, revealing contemporary thought about Asian immigration and Social Darwinism at the time.

> Of course the Australian populace is not entirely wrong in supporting their 'White Australia Policy'. The influx of Asians, from an economic point of view, might lower the wages of the local worker to such an extent that he would no longer be able to support himself. From an ethnological aspect, it could signal the deterioration of the present race and the formation of a half-caste element which, in every nation, has shown itself to be inferior to the pure race in both moral and physical terms. From a political standpoint, a vast, scarcely populated continent which leaves itself open to the swarming hordes of Chinese and Japanese will certainly be transformed into an Asian nation in a decade or so.[200]

Hochberg experienced the effects of this policy, when he landed at Fremantle harbour in 1907 with his Indian servant.

> At 10.30 a.m. we landed, after endless formalities and guarantees about poor harmless Lazarus, who had flourished out for the occasion (not for the fuss, but for the landing) in a cherry - coloured pugaree bordered with gold. They won't allow coloured people to land, and we had no end of trouble. I told them I thought their country was no country fit for civilised people to go to, if they interfered with people's servants. They did stare! And so, after I had

[197] Grew and Grew, *Rambles in Australia*, p.62.
[198] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.94.
[199] The principles of the 'White Australia Policy' was inaugurated from the Immigration Restriction Act (1901), which intentionally restricted non-white immigration to Australia from 1901 to 1973, initiated by Alfred Deakin, Prime Minister of the newly formed Federation of Australia. Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Walker, Jan Gothard (Eds.), *Legacies of White Australia*, Crawley, University of Western Australia Press, 2003.
[200] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.94.

> made myself responsible for his return on board, they allowed me to take him on shore.[201]

Immigration restrictions were extended to other non-British nationals, in particular southern Europeans who were seen to be an additional threat to the labour market, as they were willing to work for lower wages. Early in the new century Davies wrote that 'sensible men' are afraid that 'this spirit of hostility to all aliens … will ultimately lead to serious complications'. He felt that if it was not for the contempt shown to foreigners, 'farm labourers could, no doubt, be obtained from some parts of Europe'.[202] As a non-British traveller, Zunini sensed some hostility towards Italian workers when he first arrived in Perth in 1903.

> Italians were not held in high esteem …. According to public opinion we were classed somewhere between the Chinese and the blacks. I am not exaggerating when I say that we were often dubbed 'black fellows'. The story of the Irish woman who married an Italian and then refused to accompany him to Italy was typical. To the judge who asked the reason for her refusal she replied with astonishment and indignation: 'But, your Honour, do you believe that a British woman could reside happily in a black fellow's country?' (I record her literal words.) …
>
> The hostile feelings towards us seem incomprehensible at first glance, given that our community has, almost always, been composed of the best, most hard-working and industrious sons of the Alpine regions. … Italians were discriminated against because they were Italian and they were not welcome because they were workers. … What occurred in Western Australia was the same as that which crops up everywhere in the Anglo-Saxon world, namely that the foreigner is held to be an inferior being.[203]

Zunini felt that, because the Italian presence was not at that time represented in business or government, that Italy was perceived to be 'a nation of beggars'. He found that the ignorance about Italian culture 'was downright amazing', the popular press frequently attacking foreigners in general, and Italians in particular. Zunini also thought that an additional problem was that a lot of Italian men were sojourners, and were not prepared to invest in Western Australia, but generally sent their money home to Italy. He felt that encouraging farmers to settle in Western Australia as landowners would help resolve the problem.[204]

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[201] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.20.
[202] Davies, *Western Australia*, p.70.
[203] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.30-33.
[204] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.33-34,36-37. Zunini was concerned about restrictions towards Italians, believing that Italian migration should have been of interest to Western Australians as it would have added worth to WA's natural resources, and with the increase in population, acted as a buffer against the much feared 'yellow peril' (p.189). He thought that the idea of Australia for the Australians, had had its day (p.94). 'Like or not the Italian worker was in competition with the local worker, if not because they worked for lower pay then because they were more industrious.' (p.34). He thought that

Many Chinese, Italian and Afghan men were sojourners, and generally sent their money home to their families with the intention of returning there once they had earned enough. Not surprisingly the travellers in this study did not mention Asian or Italian women as so few were in Western Australia at the time. However there were many Chinese and Japanese prostitutes on the goldfields, but as discussed earlier, they were rarely mentioned in the travellers' texts.

Conclusion

The travelling writers visiting southern Western Australia between 1850 and 1914 discriminated against convicts, single migrant women, Indigenous Australians and non-British nationals. Perceptions about Western Australian identity were, in the main, related to historical events. Therefore, travellers visiting during and immediately after transportation tended to suspect that the greater proportion of the male population in Western Australia were convicts. Indeed, they believed that the convicts had a contaminating affect on Western Australian society in general. However, the convict stain appeared to have been forgotten by most travellers who arrived in Western Australia in the mid 1890s,

As well, single migrant women arriving in Western Australia prior to the gold rush were considered to be very low on the social scale. They were accused of being immoral and untrustworthy. However, these comments were only gathered from a very few travellers, most not including them in their observations, as they did not represent the pioneering spirit of higher classed colonists' wives. More respect seemed to be paid to women arriving later on the goldfields, by both men and women travellers, who gave the impression that these women were performing a civilising role in the male dominated community. European prostitution was not mentioned.

The Indigenous Australians were also not included in stories about egalitarianism and opportunity. The travellers revealed mixed and confused understandings about the Aboriginal people over time. Some demonstrated respect and compassion, while the majority showed contempt, reflecting imperial attitudes towards colonised indigenous peoples. Many travellers imposed Eurocentric cultural standards to explain the Aboriginal people's behaviour and beliefs. All believed they were doomed to extinction. Travellers revealed little interaction with the Aboriginals, observing them as part of the landscape along with the flora and fauna.

British immigration was too small and comprised of labourers and tradesmen, whereas WA needed farmers (p.228).

Although rarely mentioned, most travellers recognised the prejudice and racism present in government policy and treatment towards the non-British population by the colonists. Their observations highlight the lack of recognition paid towards people who did not fit the 'pioneer' image, and showed how the colonists managed to ignore non-British contribution to the development of Western Australia, as well as their capacity to have done so much more.

Overall, evidence is that the travellers had very little contact with the convict, single migrant women, Aboriginal and non-Anglo Saxon inhabitants of southern Western Australia. They were considered to be inferior, and hardly worthy of a mention in their stories about the growth and progress of Western Australia.

Conclusion

Our memories may retrace
Each circumstance of time and place,
Season and scene come back again.
('Golden Legend' – Longfellow)

How well do memories 'retrace' and reconstruct 'season and scene'? How much can we learn about southern Western Australia through travellers' memories and observations? This question was posed in the introduction to this thesis, and is considered now in light of the evidence gained from the travellers' narratives. In many cases in this study a number of the travellers only retraced their experiences by writing about them after they had returned home, thereby relying on their memories. And for those who wrote letters and updated their diaries and journals as they travelled, their field of vision was narrow and often predisposed. Social and cultural historian Arthur Marwick pointed out that when historians analyse, evaluate, and interpret primary sources, everything must be approached with scepticism and caution.[1] This is because, he argues, historical evidence is fragmentary, intractable, and imperfect, full of prejudices and errors, and was written to serve the interests of those who created them.[2]

And so European travellers in this study embellished and edited their writings and illustrations for an audience, and for various reasons. Some travellers were financed by publishers or newspapers, many intended to publish a book after their travels, a few

[1] Marwick, *The New Nature of History*, p.275. This also applies to secondary sources. See also The Institute of Historical Research: The National Centre for History, *What is History,* http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/marwick1.html (accessed 17 Jun 2010).
[2] Marwick, *The New Nature of History*, pp.156,187.

kept a journal or diary destined for someone specifically, and some wanted to make their letters home compellingly interesting and informative. Their inclination was to corroborate the dominant pastoral or colonial narratives, because it was these that had tempted them to Australia in the first place, and in turn fed the anticipations of future travellers in a continuing process of 'historical sedimentation', as argued by Eleke Broemer.[3] However, many travellers promised that their account would be characterised by truthfulness and fidelity. These writers set out to authenticate their texts to guard against any allegations of inaccuracies in their accounts. For example, May Vivienne stated in the forward to her book, 'I can assure them [the readers] that these statements are absolutely devoid of exaggeration, and capable of being easily verified'.[4] Yet they still articulated variants of colonial myths, advocating the existence of fertile pastures and social mobility for instance, and sometimes the need to tell a good story overruled the intention to tell the truth. European travellers were also influenced by the cultural baggage they brought with them, and this skewed their view of Western Australia, its spaces and people. It is noteworthy that their journeys were not just physical, but were also spiritual and emotional in nature, reflecting the vagaries of personality, opinion and knowledge. Thus, from a historiographical and methodological perspective, their impressions cannot be wholly relied on as a source for history.

However, given their biases and the fact that all history is dependent on fragmentary and imperfect sources, the travellers' impressions—providing they are analysed critically, corroborated by information in other primary sources, and interrogated in light of the findings of secondary sources—can illuminate important aspects of Western Australia's past. As well, by taking note of what travellers expressed interest in, or disregarded, popular concepts can be identified, contemporary ideology can be determined, and invaluable insights into both European and colonial society—its attitudes, values, and the quality of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century cultural life—can be gained.

These important aspects are issues identified at the commencement to this thesis as worthy of investigation. Thus in the introduction questions were posed to examine how travellers' predispositions and ideologies shaped their depictions of space and people in southern Western Australia, how their nationality and gender made an impact on their impressions, and how their observations changed over seven decades. These queries were explored in the course of this study and are reviewed here.

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[3] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, pp.18–19. See Chapter 1.
[4] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, preface.

Were the predispositions and ideologies that influenced travellers different to migrants? Judith Johnston pointed out in her study of women travel writers that many travellers were already professional writers, which 'accorded their texts a particular status that differs greatly from the private and personal letters and diaries of early colonists'.[5] Her rationale was that because the migrant needed to stay, they interpreted and shaped the 'new' land to 'fit preconceived ideas and memories', acting to reassure those back home and to sustain the act of colonising.[6] Certainly many of this study's forty-one male and female travellers were journalists and renowned authors. However, this study finds that learned travellers also interpreted the 'new' land in this way, and it was not solely an inclination of migrants and colonists. Furthermore 'home' was especially important for travelling writers, both as a reference point from which to make comparisons, and as a place to locate the imagined audience for whom it was recorded. Indeed, whether travellers published or not, or wrote letters or diaries, their observations were not substantially different from one another. All travellers exaggerated or embellished their narratives to either promote Western Australia, or to create adventure and excitement in order to sell their published books, or simply to entertain their readers back home.

Importantly, the extended visit of some travellers (which could well qualify them as residents) did not greatly alter either the women or men's overall perceptions of Western Australia's space or people, although it enabled them to have more to say. This implies that their preconceptions were not altered significantly by their experiences, although some did acknowledge new learning and information. For example, from the beginning Jonathan Ceredig Davies saw the Aboriginals as depraved specimens and sustained stories about cannibalism, despite his four-year stay. And Mrs Millett continued to view Aboriginals as an underclass, but was able to learn about some of their practices by interacting with them. Because long-term visitors' did not intend to stay permanently, they did not exhibit a sense of belonging in their writings, in contrast to the migrants who planned to make a new home in Western Australia that Jane Davis studied.[7] Although travellers on occasions imagined that it would be very nice to live in either Perth or Albany.

That the travellers had preconceptions and were influenced by dominant myths is apparent in this study. Wealthy and privileged travellers' literary education (as so

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[5] Judith Johnston, '"Woman's Testimony": Imperialist Discourse in the Professional Colonial Travel Writing of Louisa Anne Meredith and Catharine Parr Traill', *Australian and New Zealand Studies in Canada*, no.11, 1994, pp.34-55, p.35.
[6] Johnston, '"Woman's Testimony"', p.34.
[7] See Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, also see discussion in my Chapter 2 .

eloquently put by Malcolm Andrews, scholar of landscape aesthetics) functioned as a 'piece of intellectual equipment to take into the field'[8], so that an imagined sense of space and people in Western Australia was developed. In retelling or replicating impressions expressed by others the travellers reinforced variants of the prevailing narratives; of inversion, rural masculinity, struggle and conquest, equal opportunity, the racial dichotomies of 'noble savage' or 'depraved specimen', and the contradictory spatial impressions of bounteous and monotonous landscapes.

These myths were also included in the observations of non-British travellers, whose ideological background was on the whole the same as their English counterparts. Even though Austrian Count Fritz von Hochberg thought in general that Western Australia's inhabitants were an inferior people, he approved of Perth's elite society and enjoyed the refinement of the Weld Club. His low opinions may have been a result of his aristocratic background, or possibly his personality, because Gilbert Parker, who was British, although from Canada, as well as having spent a few years in Sydney, also viewed a good proportion of the population with contempt.[9] Indeed, colonial travellers from the eastern colonies also upheld European ideology and supported the prevailing myths, because their loyalty was still to Britain.[10] Leopoldo Zunini was the only non-Anglo-Saxon to voice disapproval of British arrogance, as he believed they assumed themselves to be the supreme imperial power. However, his overall impression of Western Australia was positive, and he held many of the views portrayed in British travellers' writings.

Both men and women travellers in this study tended to express the dominant myths. There was very little difference in their views. At times some women responded more readily to colonial marginalisation and showed concern about Indigenous welfare, but no more so than did some men. In the main though, like many male travellers, women made statements upholding colonial rule and revealed negative attitudes of arrogance and abhorrence towards the Indigenous people. More women than men, however, appreciated the natural landscape. Their admiration generally reflected their interest in botany or the time of year they travelled, spring prompting positive responses

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[8] Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, p.3.

[9] It seems that Hochberg's pessimism was well known, a review in *The New York Times* noted this, and believed that Hochberg had very little respect for Americans either. See 'A Pessimistic Traveler: Count Fritz von Hochberg's Eastern Voyage Marred by American Tourists', *The New York Times,* 12 Mar 1911, section: Review of books, p.BR141.

[10] It is interesting that Ron Blaber found that Australian travel writers used the images and language of British travel writers when writing about Australia so that it would also be understood by their British audiences. Vivienne is an example here. See Ron Blaber, 'A Measured Gaze: James Herbert Curle's Travels in Australia', in Don Grant and Graham Seal (eds), *Australia in the World: Perceptions and Possibilities,* Perth, Black Swan Press, 1994, pp.29-34.

because of the wildflowers. With their descriptions of domestic hospitality and flower gardens, women also tended to be more receptive to the pastoral narrative that suggested a bounteous, harmonious natural world where life was easy; a retreat from the metropolis into an idealised domesticity.[11] Whereas most male travellers were inclined to view a broader canvas, writing of the need to tame the landscape and cultivate, and usually ignoring any feminine signs of domesticity. Published travellers' tales were generally written by men and so, to fit the established genre and ensure that their writings would be acceptable to publishers, women adopted masculine views and focused on nineteenth-century male interests, as noted by Sara Mills.[12] For example May Vivienne provided detailed descriptions of engineering works and the mechanics of land clearing, and Lady Annie Brassey described timber felling, of which I only selected brief excerpts. In these ways, women managed the incongruity of assuming masculine authority while representing a domestically feminine perspective.

Overall, the travellers' observations reflected both the society in which they found themselves and the society from which they came. They arrived in Australia with expectations formed by actual reports, historical mythology, and fantasies fuelled by promotional literature that presented it as a potential paradise; and which together persuasively moulded their way of seeing the unfamiliar land and its people. With the influence of a blend of European ideology—Classical scholarship, Enlightenment and Christian values, the descriptive jargon and ideals of the Romantic period, and social status and racial classifications—European travellers revealed an emotional space filled with objects and cultural behaviours that reminded them of home. In reviewing the two themes—space and people—the following major ideas have consistently appeared in the travellers' writings and illustrations.

In depictions of space, the travellers analogically and metaphorically changed the newly colonised landscape to resemble the image that they held of their European heritage, which they considered exemplified a fine combination of beauty and utility that exceeded that of most other countries.[13] Conspicuous in all the travellers' descriptions were comparisons made to spaces with which they were familiar, such as parks and meadows. Bearing enlightened fantasies of improving the land, they revealed their pleasure in finding signs of cultivation and settlement—cattle and sheep grazing, and orchards and gardens flourishing. These observations represented the pastoral view, which evoked a bounteous natural world where humankind was in harmony with nature.

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[11] Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers' Narratives', p.103, also see discussion in my Chapter 1.
[12] Mills, *Discourse of Difference,* p.30.
[13] See Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, pp.14,17.

As mentioned above, women travellers, such as Lady Brassey, Marianne North and May Vivienne, mainly depicted this view, although it was also held by some men, such as Zunini with his interest in emigration, as well as Edwin Grew. These travellers described Western Australia as if it was a European ecosystem and, by assuming it had the same potential for productivity, they expected the same responses to agricultural and animal husbandry practices.[14] However, in the colonists' effort to achieve a landscape that resembled Europe aesthetically and productively, escalating environmental damage was evident, and was noticed by some travellers. Several travellers were concerned about the widespread removal of forests, and some were aware of general conservation measures being taken, such as wildlife sanctuaries.

Space was also manipulated in the travellers' writings and illustrations. The travellers had a propensity to make comparisons with other places they knew and had visited, thus linking the landscape to the imagination in order to make the unfamiliar familiar. They also made comparisons to represent the aesthetic appeal of the picturesque, a learned sentiment guided by European upper middle-class cultural values and conventions. In this way they used familiar representations of scenes identified with English cultivated landscapes, European Alpine scenery, and other exotic locations they had visited on their travels by employing the descriptive idiom of the sublime and beautiful. In this manner some travellers mentally claimed and tamed space by using the language of the picturesque, thus metaphorically appropriating the land for development and colonisation.

Where space could not be imagined to satisfy enlightened or romantic ideals—the natural landscape of sand, stunted bush, eucalypt trees, and salt lakes—the travellers could not describe the land using the language of the picturesque, and therefore judged the unfamiliar scenery as frightening, repellent and monotonous. Davis, however, argued that on the whole this was not the case in Western Australia.[15] This may be because the subjects of her research were colonists establishing settlements, who therefore stayed put, whereas this thesis studied mobile travellers, who constantly made references to monotonous landscapes, supporting Paul Miller's argument, that the 'monotonous' depicts the observer moving through the land, not establishing a sense of personal familiarity and identity of location.[16]

In these situations, wherever possible, the travellers managed to perpetuate the colonial myth of struggle and conquest, whether they were moving through the gold

[14] See Flannery, *The Future Eaters*, p.347.
[15] See Davis, *Longing or Belonging?*, p.65, and my Chapter 2.
[16] See Miller, 'Monotony and the Picturesque', discussed in my Chapter 2.

fields like Carnegie, Sligo and Calvert, or visiting 'dreary unimproved' rural landscapes like Richardson, Wood and Trollope. And yet they were still able to make comparisons to home, by using the narrative of inversion and illogicality. They inverted the 'normal' aspect, by turning the world upside down, so that seasons were reversed, trees gave no shade, and heat was most extreme at Christmas.

The sense of a changing and shifting space can be gauged over the seven decades through the evidence of cultivation, of roads, railways and ports being built, of towns growing and houses improving, and of industry developing in forestry, mining and shipping. Albany was transformed from a quiet coaling seaport to a busy hub for enthusiastic miners and investors to prepare for their goldfields experience, and then to a sleepy backwater after Fremantle Harbour was opened. The southwest changed from a land of bush and forests, to cleared cultivated fields, farming communities, and shifting forestry towns that lived and died between the travellers' visits. Perth and Fremantle grew, developing an infrastructure to support the growing population, constructing a new port, public buildings, and houses along key transportation routes, branching out to embryonic suburbs. And the goldfields altered dramatically from a dry land of scrub and bush to denuded busy mining fields and prosperous large towns that grew and moved with the rushes for gold, with many becoming deserted once again.

The observations the travellers made about the people of Western Australia were greatly influenced by preconceived colonial mythology, and discriminatory and prejudicial ideologies of class and race. Although a sense of the manner and pride of the inhabitants can be glimpsed during their brief encounters with the travellers, overall by looking at the collection of extracts, the creation of an imagined community of the southern regions can be explained primarily by myths and ideas, and partially by the personality and predispositions of the travellers. The community thus was boxed and presented in stereotyped images maintaining the colonial myth that opportunity was available to all, and hard work and great effort would be rewarded by wealth and respect.

These typecast images began with the new colonial middle class that was seen to be actively taking on notions of respectability and gentility, and in turn formalised the social codes for entry into their elite society. Geoffrey Bolton's claim that this quasi-aristocracy never held absolute authority is questionable as far as the travellers were concerned, for this study demonstrates that the elite governing class were able to manipulate and control procedures and events to suit themselves, even when

democratically challenged.[17] Evidence of this is seen in the authority they used to organise special privileges for both themselves and the visiting travellers. Although this study supports Bolton's assertion that the elite class in Western Australia consisted of 'self-made men and their families who imitated English gentility as an index of their achievement'[18], it is asserted here that the travellers in this study believed that there was a tolerable ruling class, regardless of the lack of noble connections. The travellers visited them bearing formal letters of introduction, sought them out at exclusive clubs, and dined and stayed with them. In many country towns they easily found the dominant family—such as the Mongers of York, the Forrests of Bunbury, the Piesses of Katanning, and the Leakes and Throssells of Northam, the Bussells, the Cliftons, the Molloys and the Brockmans and many more—accepting their display of refinement and wealth, and approving of the power they held. These people quite satisfied the travellers' sense of social privilege and gentility, even though they considered the local elite to be somewhat outmoded compared to their counterparts in Europe. It is relevant to note that before the gold-rush period the non-aboriginal population of Western Australia was only 48,502 in 1890,[19] and considering transportation of convicts and the disproportionate gender balance, there would have been a small number of family units. Therefore the necessity to work and to mix across classes in order for a community to function would have presented some confusing issues to the travellers, causing them to believe they were experiencing a microcosm of Western Australian society, where the contradiction in terms of both social mobility and conservatism was evident.

This study therefore also rebuts the popular idea at the time that Western Australians were a new and distinctive people who had developed different cultural habits from their British and Irish forebears without the class-ridden problems of the old world, even though these were the preconceptions that the travellers had, and continued to portray in their writings.[20]

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[17] Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.53. See Stannage, *The People of Perth*, p.149. The governing elite steered Western Australia through unprecedented growth and change during the gold discovery years from 1885, and embraced greater political representation and self-government as they moved into the new century and the federation of Australia.

[18] Bolton, *The Land of Vision and Mirage*, p.53. See also Geoffrey Bolton, 'The Idea of Colonial Gentry', *Historical Studies 1967-1969*, vol.13, 1968, pp.307-328, pp.327-328, where Bolton argued that the dominant social group tended to express its dominance through the same patterns of behaviour that Britain used, but this did not imply that they had a serious interest in transferring British institutions or behaviour to Australia. This study reveals that WA's dominant social group were very keen to entertain the visiting travellers on an equal social status by mimicking a gentry tradition.

[19] Jan Gothard, 'Settlement 1881-1914' in James Jupp, (ed.) *The Australian People,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp.49-56, p.51.

[20] Curthoys, 'History and Identity', p.28. Although writing about the Eastern colonies, Ann Curthoy's claimed that visitors frequently found that this characterised Australians in general.

Paradoxically then, while the travellers believed that Western Australia's elite society was quaintly composed of an old-world social order, they also promoted the 'pioneer myth' and wrote about a comparatively new society that was more fluid and flexible. This colonial narrative confirms the ideals of the pioneer myth and rationalises a number of views the travellers held, which otherwise appear ambiguous and contradictory. To explain the existence of an elite class while travellers commended the qualities of an egalitarian society, Penny Russell argued; the importance of gentility survived because the elite had the ability to expand and shift their meanings to accommodate the changing composition of society.[21] Ironically then, despite recognising and seeking out an existing elite class, the travellers believed that they identified Australianness through an adaptation of Britishness, and they promoted the myth of equal opportunity for all. This is why they held members of so-called respectable society who performed physical outdoor work in high regard, for the pioneer myth celebrated, in John Hirst words, 'courage, enterprise, hard work and perseverance'.[22] The travellers believed this denoted manliness and independence of spirit, which also reflected the spreading influence of Romantic ideology in the late nineteenth century. Contrary to the general belief that manual work was unwomanly and undignified,[23] many travellers also expressed an appreciation of the effort middle-class wives displayed in working on their farms, often in their husband's absence. And to explain success and failure within an egalitarian society, and to support the myth that opportunity was open to all, social inversion featured in the travellers' writings, and was analysed in terms of the commoner becoming rich and powerful replacing the genteel by birth. This in effect perpetuated the myth of general upward social mobility.[24]

However, illogically, despite their admiration of the so-called freedom and spirit shown by the new Australians as they fought the harsh elements, travellers still perceived them to be lower in status to themselves. This included Western Australia's elite, regardless of the substantial power and authority they displayed, and on which the travellers relied. So while the colonists were admired for their endeavours and successes, they were not considered equal in class and status.

An explanation for this is that travellers journeyed in the age of Empire bearing considerable degrees of power and privilege, which reinforced a hierarchical view of its

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[21] See Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, pp.6-7.
[22] Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History*, p.174.
[23] Fox and Lake (eds), *Australians at Work,* p.23.
[24] See Stannage, 'Uncovering Poverty in Australian History', p.146.

colonies and peoples.[25] Travellers believed that the lower classes filled positions of respectability in Western Australia, and would possibly have been drawn from a pool of questionable migrants. Some travellers saw migration to the colonies as only suitable for those unable to do well in Britain, and they—members of privileged European society—did not consider that Western Australia was a place in which they could reside alongside such failures, even if some had turned their lives around and become successful. This proposal then, that the nineteenth-century British did not accept Australians on an equal level demands further investigation beyond this study, particularly whether this was the case when Australians visited Britain.

By positioning Western Australian society lower on the social scale the travellers' gaze sometimes alighted on aspects of behaviour that they associated with an inferior colonial character. During and immediately after the period of transportation the travellers distrusted the status of the male population, wondering who were convicts and who were free migrants. Later travellers showed that convict integration into the community appeared surprisingly successful, despite the prejudices of some travellers. However, it must be remembered that their contact with the general public was limited. The high consumption of alcohol was referred to by a number of travellers, with drunkenness highlighted as a social problem in both white and black communities from the period of transportation onwards. And yet the view taken of these occurrences by the privileged travellers was that the drunkards' circumstances were self-inflicted by their idleness and improvidence, and this was not a sign that poverty existing in the colony. This viewpoint was central to bourgeois ideas of self-help and independence, important ingredients in the pioneer myth.[26] Nevertheless, in the eyes of the travellers in general, and through their restricted vision of only a narrow selection of the region's inhabitants; the characteristics of the population of Western Australia altered over time. They changed from a people bearing the stain of convictism, to a people that included an infiltration of lower class immigrants, to a friendly, hospitable, hard-working, and wealthy people of the gold boom years and after federation.

This study finds that the majority of travellers rarely discussed the greater proportion of Western Australia's population. The voices of Indigenous Australians, other non-Anglo-Saxons, women and children, and the poor, were largely excluded from travellers' memoirs. Some findings, however, could be gleaned from their occasional references to these people.

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[25] See Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain,* p.67, discussed in my Chapter 5.
[26] See Stannage, 'Uncovering Poverty in Australian History', p.155.

The travellers moved through southern Western Australia assuming imperial power, and defined Aboriginals in terms of subservience, inferiority, or in an evolutionary process of decline, not only in writing about them, but also by keeping silent and not writing about them, as if they were not present. If Indigenous Australians assisted the travellers as guides, linguists and diplomats, relieving the rigours of travel, they were not mentioned. By comparing their comments, it seems that some travellers' viewed Indigenous people with contempt, some showed interest with glimpses of understanding, but generally most demonstrated an ignorance of their culture, while others revealed compassion for the way their lives had been altered. These attitudes can be detected in the travellers' remarks about the appearance of Aboriginals, their practices, their rights to their land, and the colonists' so-called entitlement to control their lives. However, being people of their time, all travellers showed superiority in their judgements about the Indigenous population. In broad terms, the earliest travellers portrayed an image of the 'noble savage', while the later travellers imagined them as a people spoiled by meeting with the white invader, degenerate and childlike, but deserving of their situation because they failed to be civilised. However, this was not consistently the case, because these portrayals were interchangeable, and often juxtaposed. Nonetheless, all travellers believed that the existence of Aboriginals was threatened as a people, and accepted the part that European intrusion played towards that end, the Aboriginals' resourcefulness and adaptability going unnoticed. Together, through the language they used, the overall impression the travellers conveyed was that Indigenous people were like flora and fauna, only to be scrutinised, discussed, and dismissed. These ideas reflect the influence of racial views during the nineteenth century emanating from widely circulated beliefs beginning with The Great Chain of Being and later refined in such theories as Social Darwinism.

The travellers viewed Indigenous Australians, Chinese and other non-Anglo-Saxon people in opposition to themselves by invoking the tenets of Orientalism and Aboriginalism. Interestingly, however, the travellers recognised the overt racism shown by white Western Australian's towards non-British nationalities because of the restrictions placed on them on the goldfields, and in the way they competed with white labour in rural areas. Being Italian, Zunini also spoke at length about racism displayed by Western Australians towards southern Europeans. And yet, he approved of the 'White Australia Policy', having arrived after its policies had been enacted. Some travellers acknowledged the ways some non-British people were able to contribute to

the development of Western Australia; a factor rarely recognised, and a topic worth pursuing in future studies.

Women and children, white or black, were also elusive figures in travellers texts, The main times white woman were written about was when travellers sympathised with middle-class colonial women's difficulties in finding servants, and managing without the refinements of 'home'. Furthermore, because comments about women tended to be Eurocentric, and non-Europeans were observed homogenously by race, their female members were rarely singled out by imperial observers. White male adults were the major people written about in travellers' texts, seemingly unfettered by children, and on the whole without the company of women. This image was integral to the pioneer myth.

This myth explains why the poor were also disregarded by the travellers when writing about people in Western Australia. With the exception of Gilbert Parker, travellers rarely met members of the lower orders, thus revealing the narrow vision they had of Western Australian society, and explaining how they were able to maintain the colonial narratives in their observations. As Hirst famously argued, the pioneer story became legendary because of what it left out. The travellers' view of the people of Western Australia was limited, depicting a set image of them bounded by their properties as they subdued and battled the elements, or together steadfastly endured appalling conditions on the goldfields which, as Hirst stated 'provides a classless view of society since all social and economic differences are obliterated'.[27] There were no stories about the lives of the serving and labouring families in Western Australia, of those who could not afford clothing, food or shelter, or about the aged and chronically ill, orphans or neglected children, or reference to identifiably depressed areas.[28] In fact the reverse—that there existed no poverty in Western Australia—was constantly stated in the travellers' writings.

However, although the pioneer myth, as C.T. Stannage pointed out, blurred class distinctions,[29] a sense of poor people's unease and the lack of opportunities in Western Australia are revealed between the lines of the travellers' memoirs, which in affect denies the existence of a perceived egalitarian society. So, even though the travellers tended to obscure the social and racial trajectory, it becomes evident that Western Australia was made up of multiple identities composed of classes of privileged and

[27] Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History*, p.175.
[28] See Stannage, *The Pioneer Myth*, p.7, for lists of people and circumstances that have been left out of earlier representations of Western Australian history.
[29] Stannage, *The Pioneer Myth*, p.7.

unprivileged people. Power was lorded over by a self-confessed elite class who were closely watched by a class of aspiring hopefuls. And unheard by them was the struggling, disadvantaged poor people, the constrained people originating from countries other than northern Europe, and most deprived of all, the original people who had inhabited the land for some 60,000 years.

Nevertheless, this thesis finds that amidst the generally prejudiced imperial imaginings of both space and people in southern Western Australia, there were moments of surprise in the travellers' writings. By their very nature, people interested in travelling carry preconceptions, but they are also prepared to make comparisons between what they expect and what they find. Some travellers appreciated the unique landscape, its flora and fauna, several were surprised at the degree of sophistication they found within Western Australia's genteel society in the bush and goldfields, others recognised the injustices meted out to the Asian, Middle Eastern and southern European inhabitants, and a few commiserated with the conditions the first Australians were subjected to. Yet, in general, this study found that travellers still promoted the principles of their underlying preconceptions.

These findings illuminate the value of travellers' texts as an ideological apparatus in studies on colonial history. Even though travellers worked with the philosophies and language available to them at the time, within these restrictions, they provided nuanced and insightful discussions of Western Australian space and people. What is also revealed is how their writings systematised and reinforced Britain as a dominant world power and, in Elleke Boehmer's words, 'contributed to the complex of attitudes that made imperialism seem part of the order of things'.[30]

On the whole, European travellers visiting Western Australia articulated and reinforced a set of shared assumptions and attitudes that were based on a melange of contemporary European ideas that strongly influenced their views. They were empowered by their privileged place in a class-based society, and by their positions as representatives of the colonising imperial authority. Thus a sense of southern Western Australia was constructed by myth and memory seen through the narrow tinted lenses of travellers.

[30] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature,* p.3; These points acknowledge similar findings by Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Duncan and Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage,* p.5; and Goodman, 'Reading Gold-Rush Travellers 'Narratives', p.110. See my Chapter 1.

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Appendix

Biographic Index

The term 'traveller' is a complex word that is discussed in the introduction. The main criteria this thesis considered when selecting the following travelling writers, was that they set foot in Western Australia, and then departed again. The period of time spent in Western Australia was not a controlling motive for selection—the shortest time being brief stopovers in Albany, and the longest time being Lady Broome's stay of six years—and neither was their reason for travelling.

The biographies of the selected travellers answer the following questions. Where did Western Australia fit into the writers' travel plans, and what was the purpose of the travellers' visit to Western Australia? How long did they stay? Where were the travellers from?

As well, it is interesting to point out that the greatest difficulty in sourcing information regarding the travellers was experienced with the women. Where information has been found, (other than the rare woman who claimed fame within her own right, such as Marianne North), it has been gleaned from their husbands biographies, thus highlighting the low status of importance women travellers held, as discussed in Chapter One, and the lesser standing they had in general to that of men in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Apr 1852 Edward Saunders, Businessman

Having worked in business for twenty years in Bath, Saunders decided to take a holiday to Australia to visit some of his friends who had emigrated. He said he was curious to know what sort of homes they had, and what the prospect for other migrants were. He was not interested in immigrating himself, because he said 'I was too happy in old England'. He decided to publish his memoirs on his return to England, for those, he said, who did not have the time to travel and might be interested in what he had seen.[1] Saunders only passed through King George Sound.

Apr 1853 Rev. Robert Young, Wesleyan Minister

Rev. Young visited Australia as a deputation from the Wesleyan Conference, to provide the means to enable Wesleyan Mission churches in

[1] Saunders, *Our Australian Colonies*, p.1.

Australia and Polynesia to become self-sufficient. He included a visit to the Victorian Goldfields. He only passed through King George Sound.[2]

Jan – Aug 1854 ***William Henry Harvey (1811 – 1866) Botanist, Naturalist***

Harvey was born in Limerick Ireland, the 11th and youngest son of a prosperous Quaker Merchant. From an early age he developed a fascination for cryptogamic plants, especially seaweeds. He served two terms as Colonial Treasurer in Cape Town, but was unable to fulfil his duties due to what was most probably acute depression. After recovering he pursued his career in Botany, taking on the position of Curator of Dublin University in 1844. In 1848 he was also elected professor of Botany to the Royal Dublin Society and was director of the Society's botanic gardens at Glasnevin. He became Chair of Botany in 1856 at Trinity College in Dublin. Harvey was acknowledged as the authority on marine algae, subsequently publishing many books, for which he drew and lithographed hundreds of illustrations. The native African root parasite Harveya was named after him. He was also elected as a fellow of the Linnean Society of London (1857) the Royal Society of London (1858) and Royal Irish Academy (1844). His work allowed him to develop a lifelong friendship with W. J. Hooker.[3] Harvey was a Quaker until 1846 when he converted to the Anglican Church of Ireland. Harvey dismissed Darwin's work on the Origin of the Species with his deeply held religious views and his works as a naturalist.[4] Harvey collected specimens of algae and plants while in Western Australia. A prolific letter writer, he engaged in social and scientific correspondence with Sir William Hooker, Professor Mrs Asa Gray, and his family while travelling around Western Australia.

Feb – Mar 1855 ***Frederick Mackie (1812-1893) Teacher, Quaker Missionary***

Frederick Mackie was born in Norwich, England. Having lost his father at a young age, he and his five siblings were brought up by their mother. He inherited his family's nursery business after his mother and two older brothers died, and was the sole support of his two sisters and younger brother. After unsuccessfully trying farming he trained as a teacher in North Yorkshire where he met Robert Lindsey and was invited to accompany him on the Australasian tour in 1852 on a mission authorised by the Brighouse Monthly Meeting of Society of Friends at Bradford in Yorkshire. The Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers, was founded in the mid seventeenth century, and had members who travelled on missions of care and concern to encourage and instruct fellow Quakers wherever they had settled, hence his visit to Elinor Clifton in Australind. These members were described as 'travelling under concern'. Mackie kept a journal of their travels, illustrating it with many pen and pencil drawings.

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[2] Young, *The Southern World*, preface, p.2.

[3] Ducker (ed.), *The Contented Botanist,* introduction; E. Charles Nelson, 'Harvey, William Henry (1811–1866)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online Jan 2008 edn, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12533, (accessed 8 Mar 2010).

[4] H.C.G. Mathew and Brian Harrison (eds), 'Harvey, William Henry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.25, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp.684-685.

At the conclusion of the mission to South Africa, Lindsey and Mackie parted company. Mackie returned to South Australia to marry Rachel Ann May in 1856 and moved to Hobart where they opened a Friends Society School. They returned to South Australia in 1861 to look after Rachel's father. Mackie was only to make one more missionary tour to Calcutta in 1862 before he died in 1893 aged 81.[5]

Travelled with fellow Quakers Robert and Sarah Lindsey. Lindsey began his ministry in 1844, visiting Friends in neighbouring communities to his home town in England, and then extended his 'concern' to visit the Friends meetings in North America and Australasia.

c1858 ***Edward Wilson (1813-1878) Newspaper Proprietor, Philanthropist***

Wilson was born in London, the third son of a linen merchant. He emigrated to Victoria Australia in 1841, where he tried sheep farming before buying the Angus Newspaper, and became editor. He took on various causes; in 1849 the movement to prevent the landing of convicts, in the 1850s the goldminers' cause, campaigned against pastoralists' monopoly of the land, supported manhood suffrage and direct taxation, and condemned British treatment of the Indigenous people. He lost control of the Argus in 1852 and retired to Kent, England in 1864, where he still represented Australian concerns: for example he protested against continuing transportation to Western Australia.[6] Wilson only passed through King George Sound.

Aug 1859-Jan 1860 ***Henry Richardson (1817-1885) Surgeon***

Dr Henry Richardson was the son of a Berwick printer and publisher. He studied in the 1830s at Edinburgh High School and the College of Edinburgh with the intention of becoming the Editor to the 'Berwick Advertiser'. But in 1837, after two years in the office, he returned, somewhat reluctantly, to Edinburgh to study medicine. He graduated M.D. at Edinburgh University, and in 1841 entered the Royal Navy, attaining the rank of Fleet-Surgeon before he retired in 1869. He then married and appeared to have settled in Berwick. He had become proprietor to the Berwick Advertiser in 1861 with Alexander Paton as manager, replaced by his nephew Henry Richardson Smail. He was the Surgeon Superintendent responsible for the health of the convicts being transported to Western Australia on the ship 'Sultana'.[7]

Dec 1863-1869 ***Mrs Edward Millett, Author, Chaplain's Wife***

Mrs Janet Millett's husband was appointed an Anglican chaplaincy in York, Western Australia, where he hoped for relief in the warmer climates from a painful neurological disorder *douloureux,* which caused convulsive

[5] Mackie, *Traveller under Concern*, intro.
[6] H. C. G. Mathew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.27, Oxford University Press, 2004, p.521.
[7] Richardson, *Diaries*, see accompanying papers Battye Library, ACC 3481A/3-11.

face-twitching. His health did not improve and they left after a five-year stay. Having written her book after she had returned to London, Mrs Millett wrote without the gaze of an emigrant, but one of a traveller, initially having planned their visit to Western Australia as a sojourn. She wrote an explanation about why she published her experiences:

> The following pages do not pretend to the character of either a guide or a history of the colony. They are simply, as their name implies, sketches of the writer's own experiences as a chaplain's wife during five years spent in a country where English colonists of a past generation were disappointed because their ignorance respecting it had induced them to cherish hopes which could never attain fruition but where modern emigrants may find substantial good if they will confine their expectations to what the land is really capable of producing.[8]

1867 ***Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Baronet (1843-1911) MP, Author, Traveller***

Dilke was born into the aristocracy in London, the eldest son to a wealthy writer and publisher father who moved within Queen Victoria's circle. Dilke studied law at Cambridge, proving to be brilliant in his examinations. Prior to entering politics—for which he showed the ability to be a future Prime Minister—at the age of twenty-two he travelled around the world. He mainly visited the lands taken possession of by the British Empire, hence his book's title *Greater Britain*, which turned out to be a best seller and was released in multiple editions. After his travels he took his seat in the House of Commons from which he advocated radical views. However, after an alleged affair with a fellow member's wife his career in higher office was terminated, although he remained a 'fine' parliamentarian.[9] Dilke only spent a few days in Albany, continuing his journey to India via King George Sound.

May – Jun 1868 ***Frederick A. Edelsten, Merchant***

Edelsten was from Twickenham, Middlesex, England. His diary recorded his travels from 1867-1868. He arrived in Adelaide from England on 14 October 1867 aboard the *City of Adelaide*. He travelled around the south-eastern district of South Australia and then made a return journey to Perth, travelling by ship from Adelaide to Albany, and then by coach to Perth. In August 1868 Edelsten returned to England via Albany and Ceylon, where he stayed a short while. The firm of Edelsten, Kingsborough and Pearson operated a Manchester warehouse in Pirie Street, Adelaide.[10]

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[8] Millett, *An Australian Parsonage,* p.vi.

[9] Blainey (ed.), *Greater Britain,* foreword. See also Roy Jenkins, 'Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Second Baronet (1843–1911)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edn, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32824, (accessed 8 Mar 2010).

[10] Edelsten, *Diary*, see SLV Biographical/Historical note, http://search.slv.vic.gov.au/primo_library/libweb (accessed 12 Aug 2009).

Mar 1872 Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) Novelist, Civil Servant

Anthony Trollope was born in Russell Square, London. He was the son of Thomas Anthony Trollope, a lawyer, and Frances, a novelist and well known woman traveller. Trollope was educated at Winchester College and Harrow School, he became a clerk in the Post Office in 1834 and was transferred to Ireland as post-office surveyor in 1841. In 1843 he began writing novels to supplement his income; he retired from the Post Office in 1868. In 1871 Trollope and his wife Rose visited their son Frederick who had settled on a sheep station, *Mortray*, near Grenfell, New South Wales. Interested in the problems facing the British Empire, Trollope had a contract with his publishers for a book on the Australian colonies. A welcome celebrity, he embarked on a year's intensive travelling with numerous public engagements, including attending parliament, and lecturing on English prose fiction. On his return to London, Trollope was able to give publishers Chapman and Hall 1100 hand-written sheets, and his *Australia and New Zealand* publication appeared in 1873. Trollope re-visited Australia in 1875 and wrote twenty letters for the *Liverpool Mercury*, which were republished in B. A. Booth's *The Tireless Traveller* (Berkeley, 1941). He used his Australian experiences in two novels: *Harry Heathcote of Gangoil* (1874) and *John Caldigate* (London, 1879).[11]

Feb 1873 Rosamond (1825-1902) and Florence (1828-1919) Davenport Hill, Social Reformers

Born in Chelsea, London, Rosamond and Florence were the eldest daughters of a family from a long line of social reformers. Rosamond and Florence were interested in education, penal and poor law reform, as well as the reform of the treatment of juvenile delinquents. While they espoused conventional Victorian roles and responsibilities for women, they still developed independence of mind and valued their own capacities for serious work, as well as supported women suffrage. In 1873 they visited their aunt and cousin in Australia (who were also interested in child welfare reform), calling into King George Sound in both directions. Rosamond was a founding women member on the school board of London, and Florence promoted the boarding out system for poor orphans rather than the workhouse system.[12] They were also celebrated woman travellers.[13]

Apr 1876 Henry Taunton, Seafarer

Taunton was a seafarer who arrived in the Swan River to meet an old comrade who had emigrated earlier. He then worked as a Jackaroo on the Victoria plains in Western Australia droving cattle, and then worked his way around the north-west coast pearling for eleven years.[14] He eventually

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[11] R. B. Joyce, 'Trollope, Anthony (1815 - 1882)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol.6, 1976, pp.303-304.
[12] Mathew and Harrison (eds), 'Hill, Davenport, Rosamond and Florence', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* vol.27, pp.181-183.
[13] W.H. Davenport Adams, *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, Dutton, 1903.
[14] Taunton, *Australind*, papers.

published his journal in 1903. The original handwritten manuscript was used in this thesis.

Jan – Apr 1877 ***Alfred Wood C.B. (1836-1906) Royal Navy***

Wood entered the Royal Navy in 1855, and retired in 1896. He was Chief Inspector of Machinery until 1889.[15] According to Wood, he travelled to Western Australia in the interests of his 'health amid new scenes'.[16]

Jun 1878 ***Henry Cornish (1837-1915) Journalist, Lawyer***

Henry Cornish was born in Madras, India, the son of a British army officer and an Indian mother. In 1864 he became a journalist on *The Madras Times*, and later found *The Madras Mail*, which became one of India's leading journals. He visited Australia in the late 1870s to recuperate from illness. He was so impressed with the booming nation that he wrote his book *Under the Southern Cross* as a survey of Australia's social, political and commercial affairs, in the hope of expanding trade between Australia and India. He only called into King George Sound on the monthly steamer on his way to the eastern colonies. After his visit to Australia in the late 1870s, he studied law, and became a counsel of the English Bar in Madras in 1882. He died in Surbiton, England in 1915.[17]

Nov 1880 ***Marianne North (1830-1890) Botanical Painter, Traveller***

Marianne North was born at Hastings, and was the daughter of Frederick North MP. She had little formal education, but enjoyed music. When her contralto voice failed she turned to painting, specialising in flowers. She travelled extensively with her family on numerous occasions, and accompanied her father on his travels after her mother passed away. After her father's death in 1868 she revived an old dream of going to the tropics to paint its peculiar vegetation in its natural setting. She received support and recognition in her travels by her father's many influential friends, several whom were successive directors of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. From 1871 to 1879, encouraged by Kew and armed with introductions from her own and her father's friends, Marianne visited Canada, the United States, Jamaica, Brazil, California, Japan, Borneo, Java, Ceylon and India. On her return she designed, furnished, and financed a gallery at Kew to be built for display of her paintings. In 1880, while this was being built, she took Darwin's advice and sailed via Borneo for Australia and New Zealand. She returned to England via California in 1881 and, after a year's work arranging the pictures and compiling the catalogue, the gallery opened on 9 July 1882. To fill gaps in the collection she went to South Africa and the Seychelles, and her last journey was in 1884–85 through the Straits of Magellan to Chile to paint the monkey-

[15] *Who Was Who 1897-1916: A Companion to Who's Who Continuing the Biographies of Those Who Died During the Period*, London, A & C Black Ltd, 1920, p.777.
[16] Wood, *A Sea Voyage*, preface.
[17] Cornish, *Under the Southern Cross*, Editors note.

puzzle tree in its natural surroundings. North travelled alone, laden with palettes and easels, sometimes staying at government houses and embassies, sometimes fending for herself. Marianne's main preoccupation was painting rather than travelling. According to her biographer Dorothy Middleton, she was not much interested in the people or living conditions in the lands she visited. She was apparently complacent about the lot of domestic slaves and the plight of dispossessed indigenous peoples of the countries she passed through, only 'revelling in the botanic gardens she found on her way.' She was also a botanist with six species registered in her name. Marianne's health was severely damaged on her last two journeys, and in 1886 she retired to Mount House, Alderley, Gloucestershire, where she died on 30 August 1890.[18]

May 1883-1889 ***Lady Mary Anne Broome (1831-1911) Author, Governors Wife***

Mary Anne Broome was born in Spanish Town, Jamaica, where her father, Walter George Stewart, was the last island secretary. Her maternal ancestry stemmed from a Scottish baronet, a Jacobite and buccaneer. She was educated in England. At 21 she married Captain George Robert Barker, promoted Colonel during the Crimean war and knighted in 1859 for distinguished service during the Indian mutiny. He died in India in 1861 and Lady Barker returned to England with her two sons. In 1865 she married Frederick Napier Broome, and sailed with him for New Zealand where he bought a sheep run of 9700 acres. Life on this station was described in her first book, *Station Life in New Zealand* (London, 1870). After a disastrous season the Broomes returned to England in 1868. In London they took up journalism for a living. Mary Anne wrote articles for magazines, edited travel books (for example she edited Annie Brassey's book), and published eight books of her own under the name of 'Lady Barker'. In 1875 her husband was appointed Colonial Secretary in Natal, and in 1877 Lieutenant-Governor at Mauritius during the Zulu wars. In 1882 Frederick Napier was appointed Governor of Western Australia. The Broomes arrived there with their younger son Louis in 1883, their elder son Guy remaining in England at school. Mary Anne accompanied her husband on tours of the settled parts of the colony, and her accounts of their travels were sent home to her son. Later she was to edit them in one of her most successful books, *Letters to Guy* (London, 1885). Governor Broome was created K.C.M.G. in 1884. He was sometimes a difficult character, and had disagreements with several prominent colonials. Lady Broome was credited with being the power behind the throne. At the expiration of his office in 1889, Frederick pressed hard for responsible government for the colony. Lady Broome had to remind the colonial government of this when asking, after his death in 1896, for a pension for herself. Her last post as 'Governor's Lady' was in Trinidad in 1891, where the Broomes remained for five years. After the death of her husband she

[18] Dorothy Middleton, 'North, Marianne (1830–1890)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edn, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20311, (accessed 5 Jul 2007).

was left badly off and resumed her journalistic labours in London. Her last book, *Colonial Memories* (London, 1904), is autobiographical.[19]

Mar 1886 Hume Nisbet (1849-1923) Author, Artist

James Hume Nisbet, was born at Stirling, Scotland. At sixteen he spent seven years travelling around the South Sea Islands. He found various jobs including a stint acting at the Theatre Royal in Melbourne. Returning to Britain in 1872, Nisbet studied art in London, worked as a scene-painter in Edinburgh, then was appointed Art Master at Watt College Edinburgh. He painted in oil and water-colour and exhibited with the Royal Scottish Academy. Commissioned by Cassell & Co., Nisbet visited Australia (only passing through King George Sound) and New Guinea in 1886, contributing articles and sketches to Cassell's *Picturesque Australasia* (1887-89). Living in London in financial difficulty, he started publishing novels, many set in Australia and the Pacific. He described his adventures in *A Colonial Tramp* (1891) and the part-autobiographical novel *Ashes* (1890). In 1895 he again visited Australia. Nisbet wrote 46 novels, using at times sensational plots, with Aboriginals, 'Kanakas', bushrangers, gold diggers, convicts and squatters filling their pages. He was outspoken on social issues, criticising racial prejudice, social hypocrisy and inequality, although not always consistently according to his biographer Peter Cowan. *The Swampers* (1897), was withdrawn in Australia when J. F. Archibald threatened legal action for his criticism of the *Bulletin*. Nisbet also published poetry, art, short stories, and travel books. He illustrated his own and other writers' works. According to his biographer Peter Cowan, 'Nisbet's independent views, his awareness of social issues and his willingness to write on unpopular themes give his novels a striking individuality in Australian writing of the 1890s. His ideas made him unpopular in Australia and his humorous and at times effective satire was often missed by reviewers.'[20]

May 1887 Lady Anna Brassey (1839-1887) Author

Anna, better known as Annie, was born in London, daughter of John Allnutt. In 1860 she married Thomas Brassey (who became Baron Brassey in 1886), liberal politician and writer on naval affairs. Thomas's love of the sea saw the family cruising in his yacht the *Sunbeam* as often as they could. The Brasseys had one son and four daughters. They lived near Hastings, and then in Sussex. Lady Brassey helped manage the estate, performed good works in the neighbourhood, and was a leader of society. She made her name as a travel writer with accounts of their journeys in the Mediterranean and to North America. The Brasseys embarked on a circumnavigation of the globe in 1876 on their 531 ton, three-masted, topsail schooner *Sunbeam*, with its 350 horsepower steam engine, which had been launched in 1874. They were forty-four on board: the Brasseys and their children, a dog, three birds, and a kitten, a

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[19] Alexandra Hasluck, 'Broome, Mary Anne (1831 - 1911)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol.3, 1969, pp.250-251.

[20] Peter Cowan, 'Nisbet, James Hume (1849 - 1923)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, vol.11, 1988, pp.30-31; *Who Was Who 1916-1928*, London, A & C Black Ltd, 1929, p.779.

small party of friends, a professional crew, and a complete domestic staff. The voyage made Lady Brassey a celebrity with her book about the adventure, *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'* published in 1878. There followed less popular writings that described voyages to Cyprus, Constantinople, West Indies and Madeira although they still had a wide circulation. During her voyages Lady Brassey collected natural and ethnological curiosities, which she displayed at exhibitions in England. She left England on 16 November 1886 in the *Sunbeam* on her last voyage, undertaken for the sake of her health. She visited India, Borneo, and Australia, but died of malaria seven days out of Port Darwin on 14 September 1887. An account, edited by Lady Broome, *The Last Voyage*, was published in 1889. Her husband wrote in the preface of *The Last Voyage*, 'the voyage would not have been undertaken and assuredly it would never have been completed without the impulse derived from her perseverance and determination'. In 1895 her husband, Baron Brassey accepted the position of Governor of Victoria, arriving in Melbourne in the *Sunbeam* on 25 October with his new wife and daughter. He travelled within Victoria, visited other Australian colonies including Western Australia where he owned land.[21]

1888 ***Gerrit Verschuur, Author.***

A Dutch national, traveller Verschuur wrote a series titled *The Earth and its Peoples,* with two major publications: *Reis naar de Fidsji-eilanden De Aarde en haar volken,* 1892 (translation - 'Travel to the Fiji Islands'), and *Pondichéry, hoofdstad van Fransch-Indië De Aarde en haar volken,* 1906 (translation - 'Pondicherry, the Capital of French India'). He departed from Marseilles, France in 1888 to undertake a tour of a selection of colonies in the Southern Hemisphere, resulting in the publication *At the Antipodes: Travels in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji Islands, The New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and South America 1888-1889,* translated by Mary Daniels in 1891. Verschuur only passed through King George Sound.

Oct 1888 – Mar 89 ***Frederick G. Ayres***

Ayres accompanied his father to Western Australia. They were from Meningie, South Australia, which is near freshwater lakes that support large flocks of water birds. They collected birds and specimens for the Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide Museums. After their expedition to Western Australia Ayres' father left him to go to Victoria, and Frederick commenced an adventure of his own undertaking in northern Western Australia. He wrote a collection of diaries for his brother, telling of his adventures, schemes and hopes, many which did not come to fruition.

[21] E. H. Marshall, 'Brassey, Anna, Lady Brassey (1839–1887)', in Dorothy Middleton (rev.) (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006, online edn, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3288, (accessed 5 Jul 2007).

Jan 1889 – 1890 ***Sir (Horatio) Gilbert George Parker, Baronet (1860-1932) Novelist, Journalist, Politician***

Born in Ontario, Canada, the oldest son of an Irish immigrant soldier who became a wealthy merchant. Parker trained as a teacher, and then in 1883 began a divinity course at Trinity College Toronto, where he became professor of elocution. In 1886 he abandoned thoughts of the ministry and left on a trip to Australia. He became associate editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, and began a literary career. He left Australia in 1889 for Britain where he became a prolific writer, and also an MP for Gravesend (1900-1918). He earned a knighthood in 1902 for his contribution to Canadian literature. He was a staunch supporter of the Empire and promoted colonial interests in parliament. His contribution to the war effort of publishing British propaganda was rewarded with a baronetcy.[22] His book *Round the Compass in Australia*, is made up of articles appearing in *Harper Weekly, Sydney Morning Herald, St. James Gazette, The English Illustrated Magazine, Black and White,* and *The Illustrated London News.*

Oct – Dec 1889 ***Thomas Ward, Farmer, Naturalist***

Thomas Ward was a Queensland stock farmer. He travelled around Australia with interests in the fauna and flora, and considered himself a naturalist. He arrived in King George Sound in October 1889, and the Swan River in December 1889, with the view of prospecting the country for the suitability of starting a cattle farm. Paul Fountain was a writer who edited his journal for him and arranged to have it published.[23]

Sep 1892-1894 ***Hon. David Wynford Carnegie (1871-1900) Explorer, Author***

Carnegie was born in London, the youngest son of the 6th Earl of Southesk, an old noble family seat at Kinnaird Castle, Brechin. He arrived in Australia in 1892 with his friend Lord Percy Douglas and explored and prospected throughout Western Australia. In between times he worked as an engine driver in Kalgoorlie. Carnegie returned to England in 1898, and received a medal from the Royal Geographic Society after an expedition in Northern Western Australia, which was financed from a successful gold strike at Lake Darlot. He was appointed Assistant Resident and Magistrate in Northern Nigeria in 1899, and died from a wound caused by a poisoned arrow in 1900.[24]

1892 – 1893 ***Norman Kenneth Sligo (1866-1941) Prospector, Dredge Master***

Sligo was born in Ballarat, Victoria. He went to Dunedin, New Zealand in 1880, attended the Normal School, and trained as a boilermaker and iron

[22] Damian Atkinson, 'Parker, Sir (Horatio) Gilbert George, Baronet (1860–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p.673-674.
[23] Ward and Fountain, *Rambles of an Australian Naturalist*, intro.
[24] Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand*, front page; *Who Was Who 1897-1916*, p.120.

ship builder. He subsequently worked at Mort's Docks, Sydney, and with other firms in South Australia. Sligo then worked on the West Australian goldfields for six years, (one year on the Eastern Goldfields) and then prospected in the north of South Australia. He returned to New Zealand, and with five partners, he built and worked the Tuapeka dredge, and the Macraes dredge. He then became inspector for the Otago Gold Prospecting Syndicate, and nine months later accepted a similar position for the Zealandia Syndicate. He was then dredgemaster successively for a number of other dredges in New Zealand.[25]

1892,93-4 Jesse Ackermann, National Women's Temperance Union President

Jesse Ackermann, an American, had visited Australia four times, and Western Australia three times. About 1890 she first travelled around the world in her profession of 'literary work'. In addition to her work she represented the National Women's Temperance Union of the United States. It was her hope to establish it in the various countries she visited. She met with a hostile reception in Australia generally, as she said speaking in public was 'something of a shock to conservative ideas', and ministers refused to open their churches to a woman, especially the pulpit. On planning her trip to Western Australia she received a letter from a leading Christian worker advising her not to come as the community was not prepared for a woman appearing upon the 'public platform'. She replied to the letter saying that it was a divine call to visit the colony, and was much surprised to be met in Albany by the MP she had corresponded with, to personally escort her by special train to Perth. In Perth she was met by 'hundreds of citizens' and a band of music, an address of welcome, and was to lay the corner-stone to a coffee-palace about to be constructed. She delivered a course of lectures over three weeks, on social, religious, industrial and economic questions, saying that hundreds were turned away nightly. She founded the National Women's Christian Union of Australasia.[26]

Jun? 1895 - Jan? 1896 Julius Mendes Price (d.1924) Artist, Author, War Correspondent

Price was born in London, the son of a merchant. He became special war artist-correspondent for the Illustrated London News. He served in South Africa 1884-85 as a journalist/trooper. He traversed Siberia and Mongolia, the Gobi Desert, and Northern China 1890-91. He visited Western Australia in 1895, as a Special Artist Correspondent sponsored by the *Illustrated London News.* His letters, sketches and drawings were published in London. Price joined the Greek Army as correspondent for the Graeco-Turkish War in 1897. He then went on an expedition across Northern Canada to Klondike in 1897, was in the Russian Army in

[25] *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Otago & Southland Provincial Districts],* online edn, Christchurch, The Cyclopedia Company Limited, 1905, http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc04Cycl-t1-body1-d7-d100-d30.html, (accessed 13 Nov 2009).

[26] Ackermann, *Australia from a Women's Point of View*, intro; 'Miss Jessie Ackerman: an Interview', *The West Australian,* Thu. 28 Jul 1892, p.2; 'The Rechabite Order. A Coffee Palace for Perth. Laying of the foundation stone', *The West Australian,* Tue. 17 Aug 1892, p.2; 'Miss Ackermann at Fremantle', *The West Australian* Wed. 3 Jan 1894, p.2.

Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese War 1904-05. As artist for both *The Illustrated London News* and *The Daily Telegraph* he served on the French Front and later Italian Army in World War I, and earned the Italian military medal in 1918. He was then Lecturer in the British Army of occupation 1919. He wrote numerous books and articles, all which were fully illustrated, as well as presented his work in various exhibitions.[27]

Aug 1895 - Mar 1896 ***Robert Emeric Tyler (d.1908) Architect, Chairman and Director of Mines, and his son Bobby***

Robert Emeric Tyler was a leading London architect. He was the chairman of the South Londonderry Gold and Exploration Ltd, its mine in Western Australia proved worthless and its manager prosecuted. Tyler then purchased the First Find Mine just west of Coolgardie, operated by the First Find Consolidated Gold Mines, of which Tyler was Director. He was also a director of the Murchison Gift Goldmining Company with a mine in the Cue-Day Dawn area. On 1 August 1895 Tyler and his nineteen-year old son Bobby travelled to Western Australia. Their intent was to visit the Coolgardie and Murchison goldfields with a view to purchasing a mine or mines on behalf of an English syndicate. They recorded their journey in letters to Emma, Robert Tyler's wife, and Lulu, his daughter back in England. They included press clippings, maps, photographs and sketches they thought would be of interest to the family back home. They returned to England on 7 March 1896. After studying mining engineering in London Bobby returned to Day Dawn near Cue, Western Australia, as manager of the Murchison Associated Goldmines Ltd. Robert senior and his wife Emma visited Bobby and his new wife Bessie in 1904.[28]

Nov 1895– Jan? 1896 ***Albert Frederick Calvert (1872-1946) Author, Traveller, Mining Investor, Explorer***

Calvert was born in England. His father was a mining engineer, and his grandfather was a gold mining expert. Calvert achieved eminence as an authority on Australia in the 1890s, based on accounts of his travels in Australia. In the company of his Grandfather, and maybe his father, he went on three unsuccessful gold seeking expeditions in the North West of Australia, financed by the General Exploration Company, as well as inspected mines for the British and Australian Exploration Company. On returning to London he founded the *Western Australia Review* and simultaneously floated enterprises on the stock exchange. By 1895 he had become a celebrity in his business career. He held fellowships for such societies as the Royal Geographical Society, and the Royal Geological Society. His publication of *My Fourth Tour of Western Australia*, (1897), with a map, illustrations, photographs and sketches by the artist Walker Hodgson, was the hallmark of his publications.[29] On his fourth tour in 1895 he travelled with his 14 year old brother Leonard, two servants, a doctor, a journalist, an artist, a private secretary and a mining Engineer.

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[27] *Who Was Who 1916-1928: A Companion to Who's Who Continuing the Biographies of Those Who Died During the Period*, London, A & C Black Ltd, 1929, p.855.
[28] Tyler, *My Dear Emma*, introduction, p.247.
[29] H. C. G. Mathew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies*, vol.9, Oxford, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966, p.570-572.

Whilst on the expedition Leonard died of Typhoid in January 1896. In 1896 Calvert was publicly derided for a failed expedition to both search for Leichhardt and open a stock route from the Northern Territory to the Western Australian goldfields. Not only was he unable to finance it, but it also led to the deaths of two men. This, distaste for Federation, management difficulties, bankruptcy caused by publication of his journal, and poor horseracing bets, caused him to lose interest in Australia.[30] The next twenty years saw him became an expert on Spain for which he was awarded royal orders. Amongst other published books he edited 19 volumes of the *Spanish Series* 1907-1921, published *Nigeria and its Tin Fields* 1912, and a couple of books on the salt industry, five books on German and African Colonies, and some 16 publications on Freemasonry, and a book *Daffodil Growing for Pleasure and Profit* in 1920, demonstrating his wide interests. Thirty petitions of bankruptcy, the last being in 1921, and a law-suit had been filed against him, but he had never been 'adjudicated bankrupt'. Little is known of him after 1929 seemingly with no further publications, but there is some evidence he was assisted by the masons before his death in 1946.[31] Calvert stated in his preface to *My Fourth Tour of Western Australia* that he had confined his narrative to personal experiences and impressions whilst travelling throughout Western Australia, rather than composing a collection of information for reference purposes. 'I claim no serious merits for my book—my purpose is to interest and amuse.'

May 1896-Jun 1896 ***Catherine Bond, (b.1839) Writer***

The 1891 Census shows that Catherine Bond was married to Francis (Frank) Walters Bond and had six sons. They lived in a house called *The Croft* in Wargrave at the time. Listed were eight servants, including a butler, housekeeper, lady's maid, needlewoman and housemaid, evidence of their wealth and status. They later lived at Wargrave Court - a large house close to the church and river Thames, and their son Henry Coulson Bond subsequently occupied the house. (Henry was educated at Rugby and was a High Sheriff Carmarthenshire and President of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers.[32]) Frank had also purchased the manor and rectory in 1891 and sold it again in 1898. Catherine and Frank were born in Cornwall. Catherine's father, Charles Read, was a draper with his own business employing six assistants as well as apprentices. He died in 1852, and Catherine's mother, Mary, then continued to run the drapery business. Catherine and Frank married in Helston in the late summer of 1863. Frank Walters Bond's (1838-1912) family home was Grove House in Falmouth. His father, William Henry Bond, was in the Royal Navy. Frank was educated at the Royal Naval School in Greenwich, and became a 'merchant and metal broker' in the City of London, and in 1900 was High Sheriff of Berkshire. In Wargrave

[30] Wendy Birman, 'Calvert, Albert Frederick (1872 - 1946)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7, Melbourne University Press, 1979, pp. 528-529.
[31] Mathew and Harrison (eds), 'Calvert, Albert Frederick', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biographies,vol.9,* p.572.
[32] *Who Was Who 1929-1940: A Companion to Who's Who Continuing the Biographies of Those Who Died During the Period*, *III*, London, A & C Black Ltd, 1947, p.132.

he was also a DL and JP. He died in Devon in 1912 and there is a terracotta memorial plaque for him in Truro Cathedral.[33]

1896 Raymond Radclyffe, Journalist

Radclyffe was a journalist for the *London Financial Times.* He was a well-respected financial advisor and had written many articles, and had also published *The War and Finance: How to Save the Situation* (1914). He was possibly a member of the aristocratic family Radclyffe of Lew, listed in *Burke's Heraldry* is a Raymond Augustus Edward Radclyffe 1878-1914, who fits his description.[34] Radclyffe travelled through the goldfields of Western Australia and New Zealand between 1896–1898.[35]His financial and investment recommendations regarding the leading mines in both Australia and New Zealand were appended to his book *Wealth and Wild Cats*, thus indicating the purpose of his travels.

1898–1901? Jonathan Ceredig Davies (1859-1932) Traveller, Genealogist, Folk

Davies was born at Llangunllo, Wales, the son of a landed proprietor in the parish of Llanddewi-brefi. In 1875, at the age of sixteen, Davies went to the newly-founded Welsh colony in Patagonia. He returned to Wales and in 1892 was editor of *Yr Athrofa*, in which was published *Adventures in the Land of Giants.* In 1898 he visited Western Australia for four years to further the spiritual and cultural movements among the English and Welsh colonists. He returned to spend most of his remaining years in Wales, devoting himself entirely to the study of Welsh history, folk-lore, and genealogy. Davies works were very informative on the folk-customs of many countries, 'but his conclusions must be accepted with caution', wrote his biographer. His last book *Life, Travels, and Reminiscences of Jonathan Ceredig Davies* (1927) was written, set up, printed off and published by himself. His biographer William Williams wrote, 'Apart from the mechanical aspect of its production the book bears the impress of a man who had travelled much, read widely, and was possessed of much courage and tenacity of purpose'.[36]

1899 Harry Furniss (1854-1925) Artist, Illustrator

Furniss was born in Wexford, Ireland, the son of an English engineer. He worked as an artist in Ireland but in 1876 he moved to England and found work with the *Illustrated London News* developing a reputation as an outstanding draughtsman. In 1884 he joined the staff at *Punch.* For the next ten years he illustrated the *Essence of Parliament*. He also supplied

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[33] Assistance from Peter Delaney, Secretary of Wargrave Local History Society is gratefully received. See Census 1841 and 1891. Catherine's birth certificate reference is Catherine Read - June qtr of 1839, Helston district, vol. 9, p.130. The Bond's marriage certificate was September qtr of 1863, Helston district, vol. 5c, p.336. See also 'Parishes: Wargrave', *A History of the County of Berkshire,* Vol. 3, 1923, pp. 191-197, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43203, (accessed 28 March 2010).

[34] *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, *3* 18th edn, Burke's Peerage Ltd. , 1972, p.743.

[35] Radclyffe, *Wealth and Wild Cats*, overview.

[36] William Williams, 'Welsh Biography Online', <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-DAVI-CER-1859.html>, (accessed 14 Nov 2009)

articles, jokes, illustrations and dramatic criticisms for other sections of the magazine. A staunch Unionist, Furniss often represented MPs in images that caused physical assault and threats, but his work was extremely popular with the British public and this enabled him to tour the country giving lectures on subjects such as *The Frightfulness of Humour,* and *Humours of Parliament*. Furniss also illustrated books including those by Lewis Carroll, Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray. He left *Punch* in 1894 having found they had sold the copyright of one of his drawings to Pears Soap for advertising, and started his own cartoon magazine, *Like Joka*. The magazine was not a financial success and he moved to the USA where he worked in the film industry with Thomas Edison. In 1914 he helped pioneer the animated cartoon film.[37] Furniss only called in briefly to King George Sound.

c1899 May Vivienne (1857-1926) Writer, Singer

May Vivian Rayner used May Vivienne as her pen name. She was born in Ballarat c1857 and died in Adelaide in 1926. She spent her childhood on a sheep station. A musical career took her on a tour as a singer around Australia and England. She married in 1876, was widowed and remarried in the 1880s. She also wrote *Sunny South Australia* and *Broken Hill.*[38] Vivienne toured through the South-West and the Eastern goldfields of Western Australia in about 1899. She wrote of prolific wealth in WA and encouraged people to settle in the state.

1901 Charles H. Hawes

This thesis used information from a letter written on Hawes tour to India, Australia, China, Japan, and Siberia, which commenced 22 October 1900, and was included amongst his diaries held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The fourteen months journey was undertaken after his fourth year at college, with some idea of entering parliament on his return to London.[39]

1906 Leopoldo Zunini (1868-1944) Diplomat

Zunini was born in Savona in Liguria, North West Italy. He graduated with a Bachelor degree from the University of Turin in 1890 in judicial matters. He entered the diplomatic service in 1896. Zunini was appointed to Western Australia in November 1902 as Italian Vice Consul, gaining First Class status after seven years service in the field.[40] The Italian Diplomatic Agency in Rome originally posted him to Albany believing it to be the most important port for European shipping in Western Australia, which had meanwhile been replaced by the new port in Fremantle. Zunini quickly realised Perth was the social, political and economic centre of Western Australia and arranged to have the consulate moved to Perth in March

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[37] *Spartacus Educational* <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Jfurniss.htm>, (accessed 14 Nov 2009)
[38] Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.IV
[39] Hawes, *The Diaries of Charles H. Hawes,* misc. papers.
[40] Universita Degli Studi Di Lecce Departimento Di Scienze Storiche E Sociali (ed.), *La Formazione Della Diplomazia Nazionale 1861-1915,,* Repertorio Bio-Bibliografico Dei Funzionari Del Ministero Degli Affari Esteri, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca Dello Stato, 1987, pp.763-764.

1903. He returned to Italy in September 2005, then revisited Western Australia with a farming delegation from the Emilia region in Italy on 21 August 2006. Zunini then toured the southern portion of Western Australia recording land usage and productivity. He was interested in land suitable for a migration scheme for Italian settlers, of which he failed to accomplish, probably owing to opposition from a prevalently prejudiced Western Australian society. The party travelled in spring when the weather, scenery and produce were at their best, generating an enthusiastic attitude in Zunini's book, which he published in 1910. Richard Bosworth believed Zunini 'was sympathetic, optimistic, expansive and probably, on occasion, somewhat misled by those he met'.[41] Zunini's enthusiasm for Western Australia and the establishment of an Italian farming community was at a time when the new nation of Italy was establishing its presence in the world. The creation of the Italian state in 1861 was followed by Italy's quest for the trappings of a great power; a large navy, colonies, and world trade.[42] The earlier years of Liberal Italy had seen political and social crises in the international arena, and in its domestic politics. But finally the period 1903 to 1914 saw the economy begin to grow with industrialisation. Under a more flexible administrative system practiced in Prime Minister Giolitti's policies, a greater possibility of social justice was offered.[43] Zunini was proud of what he deemed his nation's progress and was anxious to urge Italy on to further international development and success. Accordingly Zunini announced that the intention of his book was to persuade his fellow citizens of the great advantages of developing economic relations by opening up new avenues and establishing some influence in a country where it had none.[44] After Western Australia, Zunini enjoyed a distinguished career in the consular service in Europe, Africa, England and the USA, rising to the rank of Consul-General First Class. He retired in 1928 and died in his homeland of Liguria in June 1944.[45] This study finds that Zunini was typical of the travelling writers visiting Western Australia, and his observations show remarkable similarities with upper-middle and upper-class British travellers' impressions.

Nov 1907 Freidrich Macimilian Hochberg (Count Fritz Von) 1868-1921, Traveller, Botanist

Hochberg was from Niederschlesien (Lower Silesia)[46] and was possibly a member of the aristocractic German family bearing the title Graf von Hochberg.[47] This is assumed because in his book he referred to a fellow passenger on the steamer *Bremen* addressing him as 'Seine Hoheit' (Serene Highness) on account of having been listed as such on the pasenger list.[48] The head of the von Hochberg family normally bears this title in German society. He was also asked to dine next to the Captain in

[41] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.xiv.
[42] Roslyn Pesman-Cooper, 'Some Italian Views of Australia in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol.70, pt 3, 1984, p.174.
[43] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, pp.13-15.
[44] Pesman-Cooper, 'Some Italian Views of Australia in the Nineteenth Century', p.177; Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.189.
[45] Zunini, *Western Australia as It Is Today*, p.xv.
[46] Carl-Henrik Berg, <*Carl-Henrik.Berg@Telia.Com*>, email communication 01 Mar 2010.
[47] Hochberg PleB, <http://www.angelfire.com/realm/gotha/gotha/hochberg.html>, (accessed 1 Mar 2010).
[48] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.7.

the place of honour, which he objected to because of the 'proper pomposity' in German society. His excuse though was that he was in deep mourning, which suggests perhaps he had recently inherited this title.[49]

An article in *The New York Times* reviewing his book described him as a pessimistic traveller. 'He writes as one who has travelled and seen much, though with ideals of European capitals and polite drawing–rooms always in mind. One feels that he is in good company-even though the narrator himself be sensitive to a fault and a pessimist. … But how much of this is raillery and how much is truth?' The article questioned his pessimistic judgment regarding Americans, particularly since he had never visited America, and wondered if the book ceased to be a book about travel and became an 'amusing fiction'.[50] My research concludes that Hochberg was a botanist, because of his interest in flora on his travels, but also because of the following references made to him. A pink-blend hybrid tea rose was named after him in 1904.[51] And in 1913 he founded a Japanese garden in Wroclaw, Poland, to commemorate his Japanese interests for the World Expo, when it was exhibited in the category of Artistic Gardening. He had commissioned Oriental landscape authority Mankichi Arai.[52]

c1912 *Mary Hall*

Mary Hall is recognised as a lady traveller who also wrote *A Woman's Trek from the Cape to Cairo*. On this trek she was the first female tourist to journey around Africa in 1905. Although she claimed that she travelled 'alone', she was accompanied by two or three interpreters and up to forty porters and bearers. However, as researcher Patricia Romero pointed out, bearing an arrogant imperial attitude she would have dismissed them as insignificant. Romero described her as a demanding narcissistic woman.[53] Her later book also emphasised her gender, *A woman in the Antipodes, and in the Far East*, and includes a brief tour from Fremantle to the goldfields.

l 1914 *Edwin (1866-1950) and Marion (1866-1942) Sharpe Grew, Writers Edwin - Geologist, Editor.*

Edwin, with a BA and MA from Cambridge majoring in mathematics, became a Geologist. He joined the staff of *The Educational Times* in 1889, *The Daily Graphic* in 1890, and then became editor of Illustrated Scientific News in 1901. In 1903 he became editor of *Knowledge*. Both Edwin and Marion (a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society) were very productive in their writing. Among his many publications Edwin has written *The Growth of a Planet*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911, and *The Romance of Geology*, London, Seeley & Co, 1911, and *Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener: His Life And Work For The Empire*, 3 vols. Marion has written *The English Court in Exile: James II at Saint-Germain*, Kessinger

[49] Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.3.
[50] 'A Pessimistic Traveler: Count Fritz von Hochberg's Eastern Voyage Marred by American Tourists', *New York Times,* Mar 12, 1911, section: Review of books, p.BR141.
[51] http://www.helpmefind.com/gardening/l.php?l=2.25980.0, (accessed 8 Mar 2010). This site describes him as a famous Japanologue, which explains his travels to, and interest in Japan.
[52] http://www.wroclaw-life.com/play/entertainment_details/253-Japanese_Garden, (accessed 8 Mar 2010
[53] Patricia W. Romero (ed.), *Women's Voices on Africa: A Century of Travel Writings,* Princeton, Markus Wiener Publishing, 1992, pp.72-73.

Publishing, 1911. Together they have written *The Court of William III*, Kessinger Publishing, 1910, as well as the book featured in this study.[54] According to the first chapter of *Rambles in Australia*, Edwin was on a 'scientific mission'. This mission was not mentioned again in the book.

[54] *Who Was Who 1941-1950: A Companion to Who's Who Continuing the Biographies of Those Who Died During the Period*, *IV*, London, A & C Black Ltd, 1952, 'Biographical Register', <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/bowler/Bowler_ancillary_biographical_register.pdf>, (accessed 8 Mar 2010)