

History. Inestimable.



Loading Railway Sleepers on the 'Bellinger' at Quarantine Bay, Eden. Image: National Library of Australia, nla.obj-148645344-1

A Brief History of Eden (N.S.W.)

It has long been imagined that Eden would become a major port town – but that major port has never materialised.

The first Europeans documented to have visited the area were the survivors of the *Sydney Cove* that had been wrecked on what was to become known as Preservation Island in Bass Strait just north of the north-east tip of Tasmania. They had then used a longboat to sail across Bass Strait to the middle of Ninety Mile Beach in Gippsland Victoria, and then set out to walk about 700 kilometres to Sydney. As they passed Twofold Bay at the end of March

1797 or in the first few days of April 1797, they would not have been much concerned about the potential for the area – they were simply walking to survive! (The story of their remarkable journey is vividly told in Mark McKenna's *'From the Edge: Australia's Lost Histories*'.)

It is possible that whalers had previously visited the area, because they are recorded to have been operating along the NSW South Coast as early as 1791, but no detailed records of their activities have been located.

George Bass is recorded as the first European to have shown a real interest in Twofold Bay. On the return leg of

This issue of Recollections is dedicated to the memory of Norm Moore (1930–2022) who enthusiastically and doggedly promoted the Moruya district's local history, and who was ever willing to share his extensive knowledge about mining in the area.

Fantastic Reads A Brief History of Eden— page 1 'Curly' Annabel— page 5 Murcutt's 'Tent'— page 8

Book Reviews:

'Power and Dysfunction' – page 17 *'Petticoat Parade' & 'The Women of Little Lon'* – page Capture of Clarke, the Outlaw, and His Brother – page 18 a voyage from Sydney to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), he took shelter in (and named) Snug Cove. That was in February 1798.

Later, in September that same year, he returned with Matthew Flinders and the pair spent four days surveying the bay while waiting for favourable weather so they could continue their voyage south to circumnavigate Van Diemen's Land. They also made contact with the local Thawa Aboriginals.



The SS Merimbula at Eden Wharf, c. 1930.

The first European to settle in the area was Captain Thomas Raine. In 1828 he established the first shore-based whaling station on the Australian mainland at Twofold Bay.

In 1834, Doctors Alexander, George and Peter Imlay set up a whaling station at Snug Cove. Nearby they built a small slab and bark hut. This was to be the first-known building erected in what was to become the township of Eden.

That same year, government approval was given to establish a township at Twofold Bay, *The Australian* recording on June 3, 1834:

'Twofold Day, it is understood, is to be forthwith colonized, the officials being employed to make a survey of the harbour with the view of fixing upon the site of the projected settlement. Captain King, the Australian circumnavigator, goes in the Man-o-War, and will lend the aid of his experience in selecting the most eligible spot for the commencement of a town, which we may venture to prophecy will be one of the most important on the eastern coast of Australia. It has been a matter of surprise that Twofold Bay has not long since been formed into a station under Government, if not public settlement. It

possesses numerous advantages in itself, as well as forming a half-way house between Sydney and Van Deimen's Land (sic); it is a safe and accessible harbour, although confined; there is plenty of good wood and water in the immediate vicinity; there is also good land and pasturing; it is the entrance of the finest grazing country in Australia, towards which the communication by water extends a considerable distance; it is situated in the most delightful latitude, so very picturesque in its adjacent scenery, and when steamboats begin to ply

along our coast to Van Deimen's Land (which will no doubt soon happen), Twofold Bay will be the most important situation on our coast after Port Jackson.'

It was not until 1842 that the survey was made of the proposed town by the Government Surveyor, Thomas Townsend. The town itself, and the County in which it is situated, were named after the British Secretary for the Colonies, George Eden, 1st Earl of Auckland. Imlay Street (the main street of the town) was named after the Imlay brothers; Flinders and Bass Streets after the pioneering explorers; Victoria Terrace and Albert Terrace after the thenreigning monarch and her consort; Calle Street and Cocora

Street are derivations of Aboriginal words; Chandos Street is believed to be associated with an English family at the time the survey was undertaken.

In 1843 the first sale of land was authorised. Early purchasers included Benjamin Boyd, Jas. Kirwan, W. Hirst, J. P. Robinson, Thos. Aspinall, Lewis Gordon, T. A. Townsend, and S. Clinton.

Meanwhile, entrepreneur Benjamin Boyd (see Recollections 25, available at www.bit.ly/Recollections25), who was also impressed by Twofold Bay's 'capabilities as a Harbour and site for a town', decided to establish a centre elsewhere. He purchased land on the southern shore of Twofold Bay for his extensive whaling, shipping and pastoral interests, and erected a house there in 1842. Other buildings in 'Boydtown' were subsequently added; the Seahorse Inn and a Church, most notably, now survive.

However, Boyd's financial situation worsened and Boydtown declined in importance, providing a boost to the development of nearby Eden.

The discovery of gold at Kiandra in 1859 then resulted



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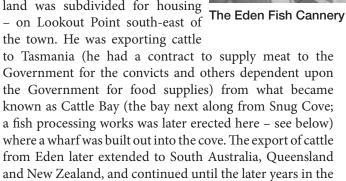
Past issues are at bit.ly/RecollectionsX where X is the issue number (1 to 31, except issue 3 which is 3- and issue 10 which is 10-)



in a more rapid growth of Eden hundreds of gold-seekers landed at Twofold Bay, purchased supplies in Eden and then trekked to Kiandra...only to return later when winter blizzards swept through that area and the Kiandra goldfields worked-out. By the late 1850s/early 1860s these were four hotels in Eden. A post-office (which opened in 1847) and a government school (established in 1857) were also operating in the town. At one stage Eden supported a population of 4,000 - but the envisioned port still failed to be developed. (Eden's population is now around 3,150.)

Peter Imlay had been grazing cattle on land adjacent to Snug Cove and until 1853 - when Eden township was extended and the land was subdivided for housing

1890s.



Eden's transportation lifeline was provided by regular steamer services operated by the Illawarra and South Coast Steam Navigation Company and the companies that preceded it. This company provided Eden with a link, for both passengers and cargo, to other South Coast towns and to Sydney, Launceston and Hobart, and New Zealand...at least until 1928 when the Merimbula ran ashore on Beecroft Head (see Recollections 31 at www.bit.ly/Recollections 31), after which its ships servicing the South Coast no longer carried passengers.

If there was an era in which the Eden port (and therefore Eden township itself) could have been massively developed, it was this era of the steamships. Roads to and from Eden were rudimentary, so for most people travel by ship was the only feasible way of getting to or from the area. However, little port infrastructure was added, and insufficient industry or primary industry was developed in or around the town to attract any large number of ships.

In August 1891 three Josephite nuns arrived in Eden to establish the Convent of St Joseph and a Catholic school. This fulfilled a promise by Sr Mary MacKillop (later Saint Mary MacKillop) whose mother was drowned when the Ly-ee-moon ran aground near Green Cape in 1886. The convent and school rapidly became part of the social fabric of the town. (Further information is available at www.bit.ly/ begahh84) St Josephs Primary School operated until 2011.

Just after Federation in 1901, Eden was seriously assessed



to become the site for the new Australian capital - the thennew hotel in town even being optimistically named the Hotel Australasia in anticipation of this happening. Its (relatively undeveloped) harbour was (once again) promoted to be one of its major assets, but its continuing remoteness and lack of transport links to major centres, including Sydney and Melbourne, militated against Eden's selection. (The need for Eden to have better transport connections has long been

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The Cannery and Wharf in Cattle Bay

recognized - in Eden! Various attempts at various times to connect Eden by rail with Bega and to the Monaro have been advanced, as outlined in Recollections 2 [www.bit.ly/ Recollections2], but the economic benefits of building rail lines to or within the area simply cannot be established.)

The timber industry and the fishing industry have historically provided the mainstays to the town, although more minor industries such as dairying, brickmaking and small ship building have operated around the town from time to time.

Wattle bark (used for tanning) was exported to Sydney

from the 1830s until at least the 1950s. From 1903 to 1954 sleeper cutting was a profitable and important industry to the town. Sawlogs, firewood and pulpwood (wood chips) have more recently been taken in significant quantities from surrounding forests. The Harris-Daishowa woodchip storage and exporting facility on the southern end of Twofold Bay has operated since 1971.

From 1940 to 1999 (initially at Curalo, just north of Eden, and from 1948 on the shores of Cattle Bay) canneries have operated processing local-caught salmon and tuna. These employed about 150 locals and provided employment on up to 40 tuna boats. In the early 1970s, Eden was also the largest supplier of fresh fish to the Sydney Fish Market and was a major supplier to the Melbourne Fish Market.

Domestic tourism, particularly more recently, has also provided a steady income to the town. It was hoped this would be significantly increased by the opening, in August 2019, of a major extension to the Eden Wharf that enabled large cruise ships to dock there – but bushfires in early 2020 and then Covid-19 have, to date, ensured that any expected tourism growth to the town has yet to be realized. R

Sources: Wikipedia; aussietowns.com.au; Eden Timeline at www. eden.nsw.au/eden-timeline; H.P. Wellings, 'Eden and Twofold Bay. Discovery, History and Points of Interest. 1797 – 1953'



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'Curly' Annabel

Newspaper Editor and Tireless Promoter of the NSW South Coast

Talter Bruce 'Curly' Annabel (1907–1999) was the Proprietor and Editor of the *Bega District News* from 1946 to 1969.

He 'operated his newspaper more as a public service than as a business. He pursued excellence well ahead of profit. He believed that personal popularity or pecuniary gain should always be second to public benefit. He believed the Rotary motto, 'Service Above Self' was a fundamental practical principle, not an airy ideal'.

Whilst editing the *Bega District News*, Curly won 17 NSW Country Newspaper Awards – four for Editorial leadership and 13 for 'distinguished production' of the paper. His efforts were recognized with Life Membership of the NSW Country Press Association and with the title 'Elder Statesman of Country Press'...and, eventually in 1996, with an Order of Australia Medal.

In 1968, Curly led the first-ever group of country editors, as accredited war correspondents, on a tour of Vietnam. At Nui Dat they met with Prime Minister John Gorton.

Curly was a keen sportsman. He played Rugby Union for Manly from 1926 to 1939 and he was a champion swimmer who won, as an example, the Andrew 'Boy' Charlton Trophy in 1928 for being the best swimmer over 220 yards, 440 yards, 880 yards and 1,500 yards. (He only gave up swimming as a sport in 1967 when he found he was being beaten by his sons Bruce and Roderick, but then took up running each day around the Bega Recreation Ground... until, after wearing a track around the ground, he was asked to run elsewhere and eventually moved to an open space behind the Bega Primary School, where his daily runs resulted another track being formed!).

His greatest sporting love, though, was skiing. He was an exceptionally good cross-country skier and ski jumper, and he became a member of the NSW Ski Team in 1932. He was a member of the first Australian ski team to compete overseas in 1936, and he captained the Australian team in 1945.

Curly was passionate about Bega, the Bega community, and the NSW South Coast generally. He tirelessly promoted the area and was instrumental in founding a number of local clubs and introducing a number of major internationally-recognised events to the area.

Within six months of having moved to Bega in 1946, Curly had helped form a Bega Fine Arts and Crafts Society. He initially became its Publicity Officer and subsequently its President – a position he held for 13 years. Among his achievements in this capacity was securing a \$500,000 Australian Bicentennial grant to enable an art gallery to be included in a new Bega's civic centre building.

For 12 years from 1949 he served as President of the Tathra Surf Lifesaving Club. In 1961, when the Club had about 20 active members, it hosted the first of two State Title Surf Carnivals (the second was in the 1970s) that attracted over 2,000 competitors.

In 1954 he helped establish the Bega Rotary Club. In 1983 he became the Club's first Paul Harris Fellow (the highest honour that Rotary can bestow).



'Curly' Annabel at Government House, Canberra in 1996 when he received his Order of Australia Medal

Curly was instrumental in establishing a Bega Demonstration Dairy Farm, fought successfully in the early 1970s to have Bega milk accepted into the Canberra market, and was successful on two occasions in having Australian Gas Conferences held in Bega.

The 1954 NSW Country Press Association conference included the screening of a short film, 'Small Town Editor' about Houston Waring and his newspaper, the Littleton Independent. 'Struck by the similarity between Bega and Littleton [Colorado, USA], and the roles of their newspaper editors, WBA contacted the US Information Service. In 1954 he wrote to Houston Waring, and a lifetime friendship began'.

In 1960, Curly visited Littleton and a Bega-Littleton Citizens Exchange, headed by Curly, developed from this. (The Exchange includes delegations from each town visiting the other town every five years to stay with host families, so personal contacts between the two towns occur at two-and-one-half yearly intervals. The Bega group trips usually coincide with Littleton's Western Welcome Week, and the Littleton group normally visits Bega in autumn. In Littleton, Rio Grande Park was renamed Bega Park, and Bega acknowledges its sister city through Littleton Gardens and Littleton House, a former mayor's residence in Bega Street that became a hostel for girls attending local schools. Curly

acted as something of a 'house father' to these girls.)

Pan-Am Airways then flew Houston Waring and his wife, Irene, to Australia in early 1961 so they could attend the Bega Show, and the first delegation from Bega to visit Littleton occurred in August that year. It received personal greetings from U.S. President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.



Hous Waring and Curly Annabel at the Bega District News office in early 1961

In August 1979 Curly was made an official 'Kentucky Colonel' in recognition of his service to the international Sister-City movement.

The other major event with which Curly is associated is the George Bass Surf Boast Marathon, normally held every two years (the 2020 Marathon was called off mid-way because

of the devastating bushfires along the NSW South Coast; the 2022 Marathon has been postponed until 2023 because of the Covid-19 pandemic.) The story of its introduction is told in the adjacent article. Details of a plaque, presented to Curly Annabel around 1983 by the NSW State Surf Life Saving Association Far South Coast Branch, in appreciation of his outstanding contribution to the race, are at www.bit. ly/begahh32

Curly was married twice – first in 1948 to Edna McKee who had been Matron of Bega Private Hospital and, following her death 18 months later, in 1950 to Edna's close friend Eletha McGrath who was Matron of Camden District Hospital at the time and had, from August 1945 to March 1948, been Matron of Bega District Hospital.

Source: Material held at Bega Pioneers' Museum; Rod and Bruce Annabel.



This feature has been made possible through the Essential Energy Community Choices program

In 1973 Curly Annabel was worried the South Coast was not being promoted properly.

He feared that each individual area was looking after their own well-being as opposed to joining forces and telling the world about the beauty of the coastline from Batemans Bay to the Victorian border.

Having been involved with surfboats at the Manly Surf Club since 1924, Curly set about finding an event that was unique, interesting and appropriate for tourist promotion of the area.

The idea immediately spread into Curly's head to follow George Bass's oarstrokes and hold

a commemorative marathon of surfboats racing from Batemans Bay to Eden.

It was a new type of sporting event which would promote interest in the entire South Coast.

The race was to see surfboats row 166 kilometers over seven days.

'The positions of the towns on the coastline made it feasible for crews to have somewhere to stop overnight,' Curly said.

'In my mind there was no doubt that the race could be a goer.'

The Commonwealth Bank showed immediate interest in the race when they were first approached and financed the



event to the tune of \$2,000.

Despite the bank's assistance, Curly not only had to devote all his time to the marathon, he also found himself paying for the trophies.

'Being out of pocket did not worry me at the time,' the former newspaper proprietor said.

'I knew it would all be worthwhile in the end.'

Curly's optimism must have been wavering with a week to go before the first marathon, as he had only received one official entry.

However, with less than three days to go,

surfboats began to arrive in Batemans Bay out of nowhere.

In all 11 boats arrived, three from Victoria, one was a visiting Wales team from the United World Atlantic College and the rest were from NSW.

The 1975 event proved to be a huge success and with encouragement from the Commonwealth Bank, Curly began to organize another marathon for 1977.

Likewise the marathons in 1979, 1981 and 1984 attracted more enthusiasm from businesses in the area and surf boat teams from further away.

After deciding to delay the 1983 marathon a year to ensure the marathon would fall on the [1988] bicentennial year, the profile of the race has changed remarkable.

Television stations have become engrossed with the idea of

covering the event and an international element has been firmly established with New Zealand crews competing in their second marathon in 1990 and two British crews will make their first appearance in the [1990] George Bass.

The prizemoney has grown to \$80,000 and there is every possibility a surf marathon series will be established with the George Bass as the blue ribbon event.

—Bega District News, 5th January 1990.

SPEAK CLEARLY, PLEASE ... Bega District News Editor Curly Annabel preferred advertisements for his newspaper to be submitted in writing. However, pressure from regular customers virtually forced his acceptance of telephone ads. On one memorable publication day, just before the paper went to press, an advertisement for the sale of TWO THOUSAND LETTUCE attracted cadet journalist Sue Brown's attention. Puzzled, Sue phoned the advertiser. 'Is this correct? Are you actually selling two thousand lettuce?' 'No,' the advertiser replied. 'But I did phone through an advertisement for TWO SOWS IN LITTER.'

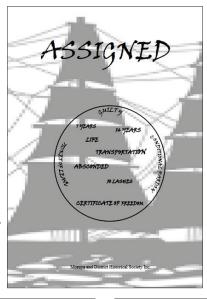
NEW

The Moruya and District Historical Society has just released 'Assigned', a book of stories about the convicts who were assigned to work in the Moruya-Broulee district in the 1830s and 1840s. It's a comprehensive study and, as the Society explains 'we now know more about the convicts than their masters.'

It includes some interesting details about the convicts. Here's one convict's story (summarized from details in 'Assigned'), chosen at random:

James Gee, described as 'a well-known thief', was age 14 when found guilty of Housebreaking and sentenced to seven years transportation. He arrived in Sydney in 1833 – a Protestant, single, able to read,

'Assigned'



no previous convictions, 4' 11" in height, light brown hair, brown eyes, tattoos on both arms – and was assigned to Carters' Barracks in Sydney where he became a Government Apprentice Blacksmith.

He was later assigned to John Hawdon, a pioneer settler in the greater Moruya area and the original landholder at Bodalla.

Gee received his Certificate of Freedom on 7th November 1839, by which time he had grown to be 5' 6¼" tall. The next year he married Janet McKinnon – and over the next 20 years they had 10 children.

He became a blacksmith in Moruya – obviously successfully, as he bought and sold numerous blocks of land in the town.

Some time after 1860 he moved to Bega.

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Two months later, the following appeared in the Bega Gazette:

NOTICE

I hereby caution John Miller, and his wife, also all members of my wife's family (the McKinnons) from entering my house or land, from this date, as I will prosecute them for trespass.

James Gee Rose Vale, Bega

'Assigned' is available from the Moruya and District Historical Society for \$25 in PDF version or \$35 in combbound print version.

HERITAGE LISTED

Murcutt's 'Tent'

The Magney House, Bingie Point, Moruya

agney House at Bingie Bingie Point is acclaimed as one of Australia's most influential and inspiring examples of residential architecture.

It's therefore hardly surprising to learn, now it is available as a holiday rental, it is probably the most sought-after coastal 'getaway' among architects anywhere in Australia.



Photograph courtesy Michael Nicholson

Magney House was designed by the acclaimed Sydney architect Glenn Murcutt and was built as a holiday house for the Magney family between 1982 and 1984. (One end of it was repurposed and extended in 1999, without detracting

from the original design, making it a more practical house for larger families and two-family use.)

It is located on an exposed, windswept, rugged 33-hectare site bordered by Eurobodalla National Park and the Pacific Ocean. For many years this had been a family camping site so, when they felt a more permanent structure was needed, the family specified they wanted a simple design that met their practical needs and included two separate areas – one for the parents, the other for children, family, and friends – plus a building that would reflect the lightness of a tent and be appropriate to the surrounding area.

Murcutt had an established reputation for designing buildings with a distinctive Australian character and with environmental sensitivity (his motto is 'touch the earth lightly'), so he was ideally qualified to design this house – a house of simple

design, set in rough and remote terrain where advantage could be taken of northern light and the incredible distant views.

Architecturally Magnay House is a pavilion – an inviting, large, light, airy 'garden room' with a high roof that resembles the canopy of a tent. At its centre is a loggia (a room or gallery which has one side open to the garden) containing a gas barbecue and long dining table. Set to one side of this is the parents' area; on the other side is the family area. Both have 'day spaces' (kitchens, living and dining areas) adjacent to the loggia and then, further away from the loggia, private 'night spaces' (bedrooms, bathrooms and, in the parent's area, a study). Because both end of the house are self-contained, either can be locked up when not being used.

The internal 'repetitive bay structure' was reputedly inspired by a row of shipping containers. However, there the similarity ends, because the solid internal walls of each room rise less than two metres and are topped by glass dividing panels, allowing natural light – reflected by the unusual and somewhat-sculptural curved ceiling – to permeate throughout the whole house.

The roofline silhouette is one of the most iconic ever created. But it is practical as well. A water catchment system is part of the roof, with the dip in the roof being



an oversized gutter that connects at each end with two large single downpipes draining into underground tanks. Similarly, solar panels are included on the roof.

Magney House is particularly noted for the way it controls the heat load (surrounding temperatures range from 5°C in winter to 40°C in summer) and internal temperatures.



The northern and eastern walls are entirely glazed and sit under a high eave. This encourages winter sunlight to penetrate the interior living spaces and warm the internal mass. In summer, operable aluminium venetian blinds on the exterior can block light from entering and allow the insulated concrete floor and internal brick walls to keep the interiors cool.

The largely closed south-facing wall, offering protection against fierce southerly winds, is a reverse brick veneer wall (the bricks are on the inside providing thermal mass to the interior of the house, then there is a cavity filled with *Insulwool* insulation, then there is the corrugated aluminium exterior cladding). This is 'lined' internally by services (bathrooms, toilets, kitchen benches and cupboards, etc.) that provide an extra layer of insulation to the living areas of the house.

In 1985 the innovative design of Magnay House received Australia's highest residential design honour - the Robin Boyd Award for Residential Architecture - and has since been nominated by the Australian Institute of Architects for inclusion on the International Union of Architects' World Register of Significant 20th Century Australian Architecture. Murcutt himself was awarded the 2002 Pritzker Architecture Prize ('the Nobel Prize of Architecture'; the 2003 recipient was Joen Utzon) and the 2009 American Institute of Architects Gold Medal for his design of Magnay House and other similarly distinctively-Australian buildings.

There are numerous architectural contemporary and traditional, to be found along the NSW South Coast. Glen Murcutt's Magney House in Bingie Bingie, however, must surely be the most widely-acclaimed of them all. R

Sources: www.area-arch.it; arkmuirarchitect.com; 'The Architecture of Glenn Murcutt'; wikiarquitectura.com

Other examples of significant South Coast architecture previously featured in 'Recollections' include 'Baronda' (at www.bit.ly/Recollections23), Innes' Boatshed and Jetty (www.bit.ly/Recollections24), the Old Pambula Court House (www.bit.ly/Recollections25), 'Ocean View House' (www.bit.ly/Recollections26), Eden's Hotel Australasia and 'The Black Dolphin' (www.bit.ly/Recollections28), 'Edrom Lodge' and Eden's Log Cabin (www.bit.ly/Recollections29). We welcome suggestions for other local heritage listed buildings that you would like us to feature in future issues of 'Recollections'.





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Power and Dysfunction: The New South Wales Board for the Protection of Aborigines 1883-1940

by Richard Egan

n June 1883 the NSW Government established a Board for the Protection of Aborigines which was given responsibility for the Aboriginal population within the colony of New South Wales. It initially met one afternoon each week.

By that time, the Aboriginal population in the state was

estimated at 8,091, a mere fraction of the population a century earlier when the First Fleet had arrived (it has been estimated to have then been around 48,000, and possibly as many as 160,000). Diseases such as smallpox, measles, the flu, syphilis and tuberculosis had resulted in most deaths; some Aboriginals had been killed in so-called Frontier Wars: starvation from the loss of traditional hunting grounds had also taken a toll.

The prevailing attitude (reflected in the views of those appointed to the Board) was that the Aboriginal population was destined to die out completely; 'it was the 'natural process' that the 'fullblood' population would

disappear and that 'half-castes' would soon be 'lost in the complete dilution of the superior race'. This would be of little consequence because Aboriginals 'were entirely governed by fear and self-interest, passion and indolence, and they had no innate conception of any moral responsibility whatever'.

The Board (eventually) 'acquired extraordinary powers over Aboriginal people. It could direct any Aboriginal person on or off a reserve or station; remove any Aboriginal child from their family into an institution or into service; collect the wages of 'any Aborigine' and hold them in trust; authorise the medical inspection of any 'Aborigine'; order any 'Aborigines to move from their camp to another camp-site, or from towns and townships'; and prevent any Aboriginal person from leaving New South Wales. No other member of the Australian community was dealt with in this fashion – Aboriginal people had been singled out as special subjects of intensive state control.'

In its early years (up until around 1897) the most influential Board member was Edmund Fosbery, the Inspector-General of Police. 'With Fosbery at the helm, it was unsurprising that the Board would very quickly defer to the network of the New South Wales Police Force to carry out its operations. The police became a permanent crutch for the Board; their presence among Aboriginal communities was pervasive. In a sense, the police 'became' the Board' and this early involvement of police 'ensured that the New South Wales Police Force would be inextricably involved with Aboriginal people of New South Wales for the next 60 years'.

Additionally, 'more Aboriginal people were presenting at reserves and stations, which strained Board finances. The Board was forced to build more Aboriginal schools because Aboriginal children were excluded by white parents from attending public schools. Furthermore, the composition of the Aboriginal population was changing, with a significant decrease in the 'full-blood' population and an increase in the 'half-caste' population.'

The Board 'proposed a somewhat idyllic regime whereby willing Aboriginal parents could establish 'a quiet and comfortable abode', preferably by the 'coast or on the banks of main rivers', to live with their children and that persons of

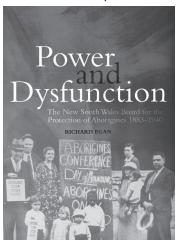
> 'good character' would supervise these homes and schools for the children. Aboriginal people would be encouraged to live in separate reserves away from towns and cities...There was an expectation that all able-bodied men and boys should maintain themselves by 'labour on the station or at neighbouring homesteads' and 'children could attend the nearest public school, provided they were 'habitually clean, decently clad, and that they conduct themselves with propriety both in and out of school."

> The appointment to the Board in 1897 of a zealot with a seemingly-questionable background by the name of George Ardill

brought a distinct change in its focus and activity. He spearheaded an attempt (which, in the end, was unsuccessful) to relocate Aboriginals from a long-established community in La Perouse in Sydney and move them to Wallaga Lake where 'huts would be erected, clothing and rations provided and that the 'young females, will be better under control... and the children also will be more carefully attended to' as there was an excellent school there'. And he instituted a policy of removing Aboriginal children from their parents and communities and placing them in homes (some of which were run by Ardill), even though the Board initially had no specific legal power to do so.

The failure of the Aboriginal Protection Board's efforts to remove the La Perouse Aboriginal community to Wallaga Lake New South Wales prompted renewed moves to secure some legal control over NSW Aboriginal people, which ultimately led ('in the best interests of the aboriginal inhabitants of the State') to the passing of the Aborigines Protection Act 1909 and the Aborigines Protection (Amending) Act 1915 that enabled the Board to remove Aboriginal children (especially girls) without court approval and legitimized the activities of Robert Donaldson, an Inspector for the Board, who as the 'Kid's Collector' became widely 'feared and hated among Aborigines'.

In 1916 the Board was transformed with senior public servants becoming Board members. This allowed Donaldson, a second Inspector whose name was A.L. Swindlehurst, and a Miss Alice Lowe (whose job it was to be 'homefinder' for as many young Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal girls as possible) to effectively 'become drivers of the Board's agenda.' They were abetted by Arthur Pettitt who had become Secretary to the Board and, as a result, 'the removal of girls from the camps became the primary focus of the Board. The effects were devastating for hundreds (if not thousands) of Aboriginal families across New South Wales.' The removal of



all part-Aboriginals from Aboriginal Reserves also became a key objective and a widespread practice.

William Ferguson and Jack Patten, seasoned campaigners for Aboriginal rights, published a pamphlet in 1938, 'Aborigines Claim Citizens Rights', that says a great deal about the policies and practices of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines:

By your cruelty and callousness towards the Aborigines you stand condemned in the eyes of the civilised world... If you openly admit that the purpose of your Aborigines Legislation has been, and now is, to exterminate the Aborigines completely so that not a trace of them or their descendants remains, we could describe you as brutal, but honest... You hypocritically claim that you are trying to 'protect' us; but your modern policy of 'protection' (so called) is killing us off just as surely as the pioneer policy of giving us poisoned damper and shooting us down like dingoes.'

The Board for the Protection of Aborigines was, after a damning NSW Legislative Assembly Select Committee inquiry into the administration and practices of the Aborigines Protection Board, replaced in 1940 by an Aborigines Welfare Board. However, 'the demise of the Board did not see the lives of Aboriginal people fundamentally change. Despite the groundswell of Aboriginal activism and humanitarian agitation, it was still considered best practice to forcibly move Aboriginal people onto the stations and reserves; Aboriginal children were still excluded from public schools and many remained in segregated station and reserve schools; young Aboriginal girls and boys continued to be removed from their communities and apprenticed in far-flung parts of state...

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Tragically, Aboriginal people would have to wait until 1969, another 29 years, when the Aborigines Welfare Board was disbanded, before they would be finally released from special legislation and control that set them apart from other Australians.'

This is a superb history, explaining how and why many of the practices of the Board of Protection of Aborigines occurred – practices that, today, are considered horrific. And, from the detail provided, it is easy to understand why many affected Aboriginals then carried significant chips on their shoulders for the remainder of their lives. (However, I'd hasten to suggest that does not automatically entitle more recent generations of Aboriginals to continue to carry those same chips on their shoulders or to be entitled to receive compensation for perceived wrongs to their distant forebears.)

This is also a particularly interesting history from a NSW South Coast vantage point. Two South Coast Members of Parliament (William Millard and John Henry Bate) were, at different times, members of the Board (as was Begaborn Commissioner of Police, Walter Childs), South Coast Aboriginal communities were affected (for example, the author suggests that 39 Aboriginal girls and 5 Aboriginal boys from the South Coast were removed and placed into apprenticeships or service between 1916 and 1928), and because records from the nearby Shoalhaven Aboriginal District are often used to illustrate numerous practices cited by the author.

'Power and Dysfunction' is available in print form for \$70. It can also be freely obtained from ANU Press as a PDF file from https://press.anu.edu. au/publications/series/aboriginal-history/power-and-dysfunction.

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The Petticoat Parade: Madam Monnier & the Roe Street Brothels

by Leigh Straw

The Women of Little Lon: **Sex Workers in Nineteenth-Century Melbourne**

by Barbara Minchinton

wo books on Australian red-light districts (although the term 'red light districts' was not used in Australia during much of the time that these books examine)

were released late last year: 'The Petticoat Parade' about the Roe Street district in Perth and 'The Women of Little Lon' about the Little Lonsdale Street district in Melbourne.

These histories have a lot in common. Their authors describe areas in which businesses (the brothels in these areas were, quite simply, businesses) were successfully run by women which benefited women employees. They were (as successful businesses do!) meeting a public demand. They were operating on the fringes of the law - whilst not illegal, the brothel madams/ owners and their 'employees' (i.e. the girls who worked in the brothels) could easily be charged with and convicted of any number of 'public nuisance' offenses such as disorderly conduct, loitering, being idle and disorderly, being rogues and vagabonds, having no lawful means of support, or acting in a

riotous or indecent manner. The police and health authorities were, generally, happy to allow these businesses to operate within these areas, knowing it was preferable to be able to keep watch on them there and knowing that, if they were closed down, the trade would simply relocate elsewhere...but were forced, when complaints were received, to investigate these businesses and to - occasionally - lay charges. And 'private detectives worked the late shift, looking for stray husbands and collecting evidence for divorce cases' (in an era when evidence of unfaithfulness was a requirement to obtaining a divorce).

The biggest threat to these businesses, however, were the 'do gooders'. This extract is from 'The Petticoat Parade':

'While the police might tolerate the brothels as a lesser evil to street prostitution, those in the religious establishment were unimpressed with the professionalism of prostitution. Five years after she set up her business on Melbourne Road and added another place on Roe Street to her brothel cache, Annie McKenzie came under fire from the Reverend Dean Henry Guy

Dampier Latham in October 1910. Though his residence at the Deanery, next to St Georges Cathedral on St Georges Terrace, was across the other side of town from Annie's place, the

Reverend Dean had to take action in matters of public decency. He wanted something done about the house on the corner of Roe and Melbourne streets...

Reverend Latham was known for his community work and aiming to impress on young people a godly life...But Reverend Latham was not agreeable to all members of the community, especially the people in the Melbourne Road brothel. The Town Clerk informed the reverend that Annie McKenzie was the owner and occupier of 'Nera', and then wrote to the Police Commissioner requesting that the occupants of the brothel be removed.

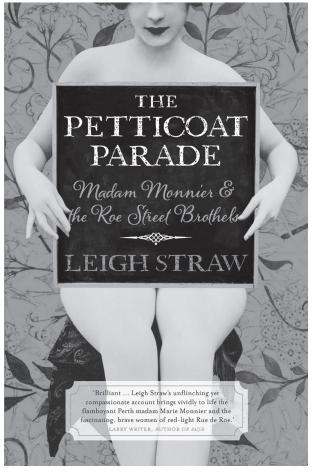
It didn't quite play out how Henry Latham had wanted. The brothel women could be moved on but it was only temporary. A year later, Reverend Latham was no longer the dean of St Georges Cathedral but Auntie McKenzie was back working out of 'Nera'. She went on to own and occupy

the house and brothel for many years to come, along with another brothel at 216-218 Roe Street.

Another brothel scandal also broke out in October 1910 involving a religious person but this time the man of god found himself in the dock.

Police had been keeping a close eye on 66 Roe Street and neighbouring houses, keen to build a case against a number of 'foreign bludgers' who were suspected of living off the proceeds of prostitution...

One of the bludgers, Phillipo Ampo, was charged with having no lawful means of support in November 1909 and he and other men were run out of the area. It happened to also be revealed that a churchgoing, Scottish Presbyterian justice of the peace, William Nicholson, had unwittingly rented out 66 Roe Street to a woman who was using it for prostitution. Nicholson claimed he had no idea the house was being used as a brothel and no charges were laid. But he was brought before the courts in October 1910, charged again with renting his house out to a known prostitute...Ada (a prostitute and police witness in the case) confirmed that William Nicholson



had been at the house and knew she was a prostitute. He had asked her to make him an offer so she would be able to stay in the house. Two days later, they came to an agreement and Nicholson was set to make money from the brothel earnings...

'Truth' (the newspaper) was scathing, pointing out the hypocrisy of a man they called a 'Presbyterian bible-banger'. Only a year before, during the mayoral elections, Nicholson

had publicly stated the city needed more 'moral men' in its government.'

I don't know if Leigh Straw had more information to work with, was a better researcher, or simply was a better story-teller, but 'The Petticoat Parade' was, to my thinking, the far better and the far more interesting of the two books.

The title of the book is taken from the practice of prostitutes working in the Roe Street district to parade in their petticoats on the verandas of the houses in which they worked, to attract clients. This generated complaints because the girls could also be seen from railway carriages that travelled alongside 'Rue de la Roe' (and, it was then argued, children should not be exposed to such unseemly views) and because train schedules were

disrupted because drivers slowed as they passed along this section of track.

Madame Marie Monnier, who was more widely known as Josie de Bray, owned most of Roe Street from World War I up until the 1940s. She was French and would regularly travel

home to France where she would recruit girls to work with her in 'a business surrounded by secrecy and silence. These working women were the keepers of secrets and they lived in a town that preferred they were kept secret too...Many of the clients were married and some of the prostitutes and madams concealed their work from their families. Aliases were important to protecting identities...Marie came to know

the secrets of the city, but in return for not rattling 'skeletons in many cupboards' of the high-profile people of Perth, she was afforded some privacy.'

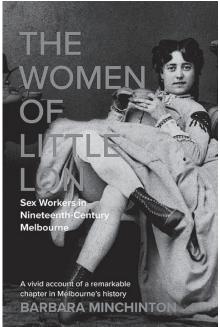
Leigh Straw does a remarkably good job – and pens a very readable account – in now sharing those secrets and documenting exactly who operated and worked in those businesses, what those businesses offered ('the notorious Josie de Bray was particularly known for her parties and side business in sly grog. She sold sex and booze and made a fortune. Josie recognized that her customers wanted somewhere to escape from day-to-day life and let down their guard, as much as they wanted sex'), how those businesses operated, the challenges they faced, the profits they generated.

'The Petticoat Parade' is a captivating

and fascinating business history.

'The Petticoat Parade' is available from around \$27 in paperback; 'The Women of Little Lon' is also available from around \$27 in paperback.

Reviews by Peter Lacey



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HISTORY - AS IT IS WRIT

Newspapers, in times gone by, presented incredibly detailed reports of contemporary historic events. Later histories of these same events invariably are less detailed, so revisiting 'history as it was originally writ' is always a rewarding experience. Here's an interesting newspaper report of the events surrounding the capture of the South Coast's most notorious gang of bushrangers that was published in the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 16th May 1867:

CAPTURE OF CLARKE, THE OUTLAW AND HIS BROTHER

LARKE, the bushranger, leader of the gang known as the Jingera mob, has at length fallen into the hands of justice, after one of the most desperate careers known in the annals of crime.

He was known for years as a petty depredator, but it was only since his escape from Braidwood gaol, about two years ago, that his hands became imbued in the blood of his fellows. For months he and his gang have laughed at the police, and it was feared that the Government would again have to meet the parliament of the country with the old story, we expect that they will shortly be in the hands of justice. On the 26th ult., a proclamation appeared in the Government Gazette, offering £1000 reward for Tommy Clarke, and £500 for his brother John, but ere news of the additional incentive for their arrest became generally known, they were in the toils of the officers of the law.

On the 26th ult., a party of police, consisting of senior constable William Wright, constables Walsh, Egan, Lenehan, James Wright, and a black tracker, picked up the tracks of the bushrangers about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and followed them till dusk, when all further attempts were useless. The tracks were distinct from the softness of the ground. From the direction of the tracks, they had suspicions of Thomas Berry's, a settler's residence about two miles away, where they arrived about 8 o'clock. They proceeded to a haystack in front of the house, between it and Jinden Creek, and waited there till the moon rose. At about 1 o'clock the officer in charge proceeded quietly and found two horses at the top of the paddock near the hut. Upon examination they were found to correspond with the description of the animals which the bushrangers were in the habit of riding. After a consultation that it would be the most prudent course to postpone the attack on the hut till morning, the horses were led to a part of the paddock at which the bushrangers would be necessitated when they came out to catch them, to pass close to the haystack, behind which the police could surprise them at close range.

Soon after daylight the two Clarkes were discerned washing themselves in front of the hut, and soon after came out with their bridles, and proceeded in the direction of their horses. When they had come within about one hundred yards of the stack, and fifty yards of the horses, one of them was heard to tell the other to look out, there was a man behind the stack, whereupon they both turned immediately to run away. Mr. Wright stepped out and summoned them to stand, the whole party at one word levelling their rifles at them and firing. Both the bushrangers had revolvers, and pulled them from their belts, but without using them.

Tommy turned round for an instant and then ran till he reached the rails. Johnny fired several times in the course of his retreat, none of his shots, however, taking effect.

Upon getting through the rails, they confronted constable Walsh, who had run along the fence of the paddock. Both returned Walsh's fire and succeeded in regaining the hut, Johnny having been hit just above the right breast, the ball entered just by the socket of the arm, brushing his shoulder blade, making its exit from his back, without having touched a bone. Walsh received a slight graze on the hip from a shot from their revolvers. The hut, which was built of hardwood slabs well lapped, gave good shelter to the desperadoes, who having barred the door, commenced firing with the revolving rifles which formerly belonged to Carroll's party, and thus kept their assailants at bay. Sergeant Wright, seeing the aspect of affairs, arranged his men so as to cut off the outlaws' retreat, deemed it advisable to send for reinforcements to the Ballalaba station, and Constable Walsh was accordingly despatched about 7 a.m.

Sergeant Byrne, the officer in charge of Ballalaba station, accompanied by a party of six or eight troopers, returned with Walsh, and on arriving at 12 or half past 12, joined constable Wright, with whom a short consultation took place. Walsh called out, Tommy, you had better surrender, or you will get stormed out of the house." The bushranger thus summoned, came out, and said he would surrender. He threw up his arms in token of submission, and called out his brother Johnny, who did the same. Both gave themselves up, unarmed, to Constable Wright, who had in the interim joined Walsh, Lenehan, and Egan. The bushrangers, seeing the remainder of the police rushing up, appeared afraid of them, and were assured they had no occasion to fear.

The bushrangers were taken to Fairfield, where Sub-inspector Stephenson and eight men joined them. They reached Stony Creek about 7 o'clock, and met Superintendent Orridge and a number of police, with Dr. Pattison, who attended the wounded men – Johnny Clarke and the black tracker – the latter of whom had a ball in his wrist. The party stopped for the night at the public-house of M. O'Connell.

On Sunday the 28th, about half-past 2, the police and their prisoners arrived in Braidwood, upwards of five hundred persons following the procession. Johnny Clarke rode first with a constable on each side of him and Tommy next, similarly guarded, a large body of police riding two and two following. Both prisoners were handcuffed, and Johnny, who, notwithstanding the wound in his shoulder, sat his horse firm and erect, had his coat merely buttoned over his shoulders with the sleeves dangling about minus his arms. Upon their reaching the gaol they both dismounted. Johnny, who went in first, stood within the gate waiting for his brother, and, in place of retiring from observation, he faced the crowd without the slightest trace of either boldness or dejectedness. The gate closed upon them, and the crowd dispersed. The tracker's wound has necessitated

the amputation of his arm.

It was intended at once to remove the prisoners to Sydney, where they are to be tried, along with O'Connell, late postmaster of Oranmore, and a fellow named Griffin, an accomplice of Clarkes, and the person who held the bushrangers' horses while the two Clarkes and Scott shot down Carroll's party. It is said that Griffin will be produced as Queen's evidence, and that he has already divulged the facts of the case to the authorities.

Johnny Clarke's wound proved rather a serious affair, and necessitated his being kept quiet for a time.

Country correspondents have sent the following to the *Herald*: "From an early hour on Sunday many were anxiously looking for the culprits to enter the town, some more anxious than others took to their horses and galloped out to meet the escort in charge of the two men who had put this district in such dread for a length of time. The excitement was intense when the police were seen coming into town, about half past two o'clock. Wallace Street was thronged with spectators.

"Johnny Clarke appeared care-worn and extremely pale, possibly from the fact of losing a great deal of blood from the gun-shot wound in his left shoulder. Tommy, on the contrary, appeared to consider that the number who were waiting to get a glimpse of him was a mark of respect to him, and treated it as a hero would by a triumphal march into a city after some great exploit of valour. He recognised one or two of his former associates by an inclination of the head. When he had reached as far as the Joint Stock Bank, a woman, who was standing opposite, threw up her hands, and set up a most hideous yell – whether it was in exultation at the capture of these men, or execration of the

police for having so successfully captured the miscreants, it was more than any one can tell, nor possibly could the woman, for she had been imbibing of the rosy goddess; but the circumstance highly pleased Tommy Clarke, who laughed at the eccentricities of the woman. On their being taken to the gaol they were securely ironed. A person of the name of Berry, who was found in the hut after the Clarkes surrendered, was taken into custody and brought into town with them. After the surrender Tommy was very communicative, and spoke of the many hair-breadth escapes he had had with particular gusto, and this man's mind and feelings are so deadened that he looked upon the awful position he had been, and was then in, as a piece of by-play. Johnny, on the contrary, was extremely morose, and it was with some difficulty that he would allow Dr. Pattison to dress his wound, which is a very bad one, the shot having taken a piece of his shirt into the orifice. The doctor had to probe the wound, at which Johnny called out lustily. The ball passed right through the top of the left arm.

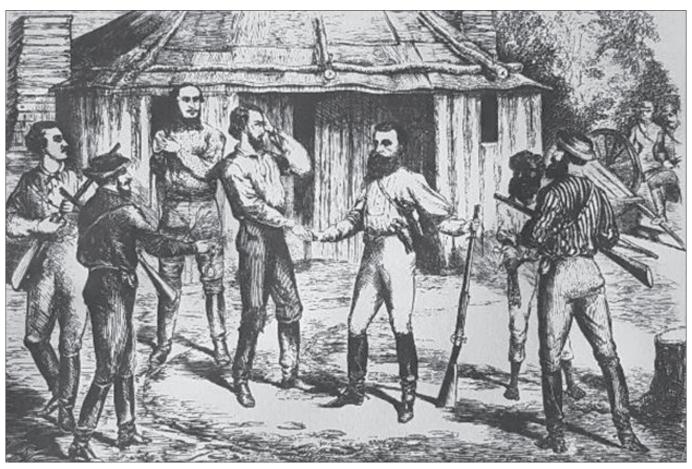
Sir Watkin, the black tracker, was shot by Tommy Clarke from the window of the hut, the ball striking him above the wrist of the left arm, splintering the bone very much, taking a zig-zag direction, and lodged in the elbow. After Tommy Clarke was handcuffed, Sir Watkin went up to him, and said "Tommy, you shot me cowardly." "No," said Clarke, "I merely shot you in defence: you wanted to take my life." "Well," said Sir Watkin, "I forgive you; shake hands." Tommy raised his manacled hands, which Sir Watkin heartily clenched and shook cordially. Sir Watkin is now under the medical care of Dr. Pattison in the Braidwood hospital.

On Friday evening, when Tommy and Johnny Clarke made for Guinea's hut, in which resided Thomas Berry,



junior, and his wife, they shortly after their arrival laid down to sleep. About daylight, on Saturday morning, Tommy awoke first, calling Johnny, saying, "Johnny, I've had a dream that Byrnes (a senior sergeant stationed at Ballalaba) has trapped us." Johnny exclaimed, "All nonsense." "Well," said Tommy, "this day will tell something." This was related

by Tommy Clarke while Dr. Pattison was dressing the wound of Johnny. After Sir Watkin and Johnny's wounds had been attended to, Tommy pulled up his trousers to show a wound he had received in the affray - a flesh wound in the back caused by a slug from Sir Watkin's gun. While he was stripping to show his wound, Tommy pointed out



The Surrender of the Bushrangers Clarke to Wright's Party of Police (from Illustrated Sydney News, 16.5.1867)



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two bullet-wound marks he had received in his legs, one on his left shin, and the other on his right. He said the one on his right leg had been very bad, so much so that he could scarcely at one time raise it to get into his saddle. This fact tallies with what had been stated that he had been wounded and walked very lame.

Guinea's hut, as it is called, where this affray took place, is about two miles distant from the spot where Carroll and his party were barbarously murdered – a circumstance which is now fresh in the recollection of every person. In the hut the police found a quantity of ammunition, and a breechloading rifle supposed to belong to Carroll. It seems from circumstances that the dream that Tommy had, being fresh in his mind, must have somewhat cowed him, for had he made a bolt out of the hut, by removing a slab or otherwise, there might have been a possibility of escape; for when Walsh left for Ballalaba for reinforcements, there were only three police and the tracker to guard, and the latter wounded.

"It is not at all unlikely that the remains of a man lately found at Manar are those of Scott, probably dispatched by the Clarkes on account of his intemperate habits, as they were likely to lead them into 'trouble,' as was lately the case at Bungendore. Mr. Williams, of Boro, is almost positive that the trousers found on the remains are the same that Scott wore when they paid his house a visit.

"It appears that when Carroll's party came to the place where they were murdered, Thomas Clarke, his brother John, and the bushranger Scott, with some others, were hid amongst the branches and behind the trunks of two very large trees. When Carroll's party came just opposite to them, some of Clarke's gang came out from their cover, and called upon the police to surrender. The detectives attempted to get out their revolvers to fire, but, before they could do so, the robbers fired a volley at them, when Fegan and M'Donnell both fell. Fegan, however, still continued to show fight when surrounded by the murderous gang, until a second shot put an end to his sufferings. Before the whole gang could get down from the trees, Carroll and Kennagh had managed to make their way to a hut, occupied by a free selector, named M'Nally; and there they kept their assailants at bay as long as their ammunition lasted. When they had fired their last cartridge they surrendered, and Thomas Clarke took their arms. He told Carroll to prepare for death. Carroll asked for mercy, and begged to have his life spared, when Clarke asked Carroll if he had shown any mercy to his (Clarke's) mother and sisters. He said as his time had come to have his revenge on him, he would allow nobody to carry it out but himself and then he shot his unfortunate victim through the heart. During this terrible scene Kennagh was a spectator - defenceless, but still undaunted. Clarke, addressing him, when he had shot Carroll, said, "I suppose you also are going to ask for mercy and for your life?" "Not from such villains as you," was his fearless answer, "do I ask or expect for mercy. May God look upon my poor wife and children. Shoot me if you like; I am ready to die." "I am sorry to have to do it," said Clarke, "as you are such a plucky fellow." And so, without another word, he fired into the throat of his second victim at arm's length.

"Thomas Clarke is about five feet nine inches high, and 27 years old. He is a native of Jingera, where his parents resided



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for about thirty years. About three years ago he married the daughter of a small freeholder, and by her has a little boy. From many of his neighbours he procured shelter, provisions, and horses, with very little trouble or persuasion. The 'run' of the robbers extended for a distance of at least fifty miles, over a continuous length of ranges, from Bungendore to the Turon River. Harbourers and abettors swarmed everywhere in Braidwood, in Araluen, in Queanbeyan, in Bungendore, in the large sheep stations, and out in the wilderness. When Carroll began to arrest these rascally confederates, Thomas Clarke - to free them from suspicion - built some huts for himself in very scrubby and out-of-the-way places – such as the one in which he was caught. As an additional precaution, it is also understood that he used to kindle his fire and have his meals at about half a mile from such hut, generally on the opposite side of the range.

"About two years and a half ago a warrant was taken out against Thomas Clarke for stealing a horse and assaulting a Chinaman, but he managed to escape into Queensland, until he heard that some of the Jingera mob had stolen his racehorse Boomerang. He then came back. Being hotly pursued by the police, he gave himself up, and was committed for trial, bail being refused. Eventually Clarke

escaped from custody, and at once took to the roads. The first capital crime in which he was engaged was the murder of Noonang, a blackfellow; numerous mail and station robberies followed, and then the gang murdered Constable O'Grady near the Gulf. Proclamation of outlawry followed. A heavy reward, offered for the arrest of the gang, induced Carroll to undertake their capture, but the man appears to have been by far too communicative, and thus defeated his object and lost his life.

"Patrick Connell, uncle of the Clarkes, who was shot by Constable Kelly, took the leadership of the gang, which was composed of Pat Connell, Tom Clarke, and Tom Connell. The last-named of these is now a convict for life. After Patrick Connell was shot, John Clarke, who at that time was a bush telegraph, took openly to the road. At about last Christmas Bill Scott joined the gang, and shortly afterwards the murder of the detectives took place. It is surmised that he has been put out of the way by Thomas Clarke, but his fate is not yet fully known. John Clarke, the brother of the outlaw, is quite a young man, about six feet high, with light hair and complexion, and a by no means disagreeable countenance." R



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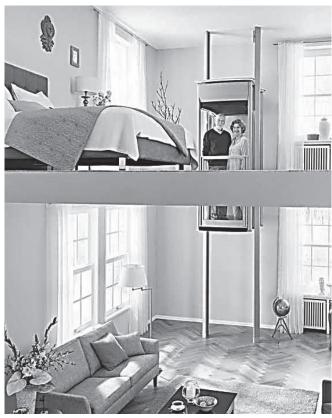
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