Themes For Westralian Histories:

Reading the Loved Land

A new approach to exploring the stories and legacies in Western Australia's National Trust Estate

Bruce Baskerville

The loved land will not pass away.
World has no life but transformation.
Nothing made selfless can decay.
The loved land will not pass away.

Randolph Stow,
'From the Testament of Tourmaline | Variations on the Themes of the Tao The Ching'
Perth 1966

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Bruce Baskerville

National Trust of Western Australia
Perth

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Font Garamond 10 and 12 point

The National Trust of Western Australia acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the land and waters on which the National Trust properties sit and respects their continuing cultures and the contributions they make to the life of Western Australia. We pay our respects to their Elders, both past and present

Objects of the National Trust Western Australia

(k) To awaken, encourage and stimulate appreciation, enjoyment and respect by members of the public for places and things of national or local importance as aforesaid.

National Trust of Australia (WA) Act 1964, Schedule
13 Eliz II No 85

National Trust of Western Australia

Extract from the

STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO INTERPRETATION

The principal aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation. The place should be presented as a space for public discourse and invite the visitor to share the excitement of thinking about the past, the present and the future. The visitor experience should thus be one of discovery or inspired insight. The local visitor should experience a degree of self-revelation while those from further afield should enjoy a richer insight into the place, the State and the country.

Interpretation should aim to present the whole rather than a part. It should resonate with voices that encourage open-minded consideration of different perspectives. The interpretation should celebrate the significance of the place by promoting the exploration of knowledge and ideas and by providing a dynamic forum for discussion and reflection. When challenging convention and encouraging debate, the interpretation may sometimes be controversial but never dull.

Interpretation is not mere information - it is revelation based upon information. But the information upon which it is based must be thematically organised, based on rigorous research and specific to each place. The interpretation should aim to relate to the place being displayed to something within the visitor.

Mulloway Studio + Paul Kloeden 2005

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Foreword

Telling stories of people and place is central to the National Trust's drive to awaken the community to the value of heritage. Storytelling is our way of understanding the complex ecology of lived experiences, of intersections between people, how they lived on country, responded to colonisation, and how out of colonial contact and conflict emerged the landscape and society of today. Stories help us listen to the past to make sense of our identity and our place in today's world.

The National Trust of Western Australia tells the stories of the cultural landscape, colonial contact and the evolution and growth of Western Australian society through its remarkable collection of properties. In what at first glance appears a seemingly diverse and unrelated collection, Dr Bruce Baskerville guides us with insight, common sense and inspired reflection to find new ways to interpret the connections between people and place. And, in so doing, takes a refreshingly new approach to reading Western Australian history.

In this ground-breaking and thoughtful approach Dr Baskerville assesses existing uses of themes and proposes a new model to illuminate connections between the National Trust's properties and people.

Our thanks and appreciation to Dr Baskerville and to the staff of the National Trust who conceived the need for a new thematic approach and whose brief inspired Dr Baskerville.

Julian Donaldson
Chief Executive Officer
National Trust of Western Australia

1. Introduction

The Themes For Westralian Histories (TFWH) is a matrix for story-telling developed by public historian Bruce Baskerville for the National Trust of Western Australia.

The TFHW acknowledges and celebrates the underlying Aboriginal cultural and spiritual custodianship of the Trust Estate. *Koorah, Nitja, Boordahwan* – the Noongar phrase for Past, Present, Future.

1.1 The Brief

The brief from the Trust required a survey and assessment of existing uses of the Australian Historic Themes Framework (AHTF) by the Trust, which were thought probably to be limited. The brief then sought a new approach to using thematic histories that would, among other things, allow for insights into the complex, often subtle, connections between, and networks linking, properties and communities within and across times, and into the long historical continuities obscured by individual site-based approaches. The is especially apposite for an estate largely acquired serendipitously, and the new approach (the TFWH) identifies six historical forces derived from Western Australian history that individual places within the Trust Estate have a capacity to illustrate or represent. The TFWH are named to give expression to certain imaginative and emotive relationship s between places and peoples that are significant in Western Australian history. They differ from the usual descriptive names typically used for historic themes in the heritage field.

The TFWH provides for the creation of story-telling spaces for exploring affirming and dissenting expressions of historic themes in ways that can facilitate new narratives of historical acknowledgement and future healing. It allows for the development of shared story-telling between local community associations with places and the Trust's stewardship of those places. It prioritises and promotes the role of the Trust as a steward of a holistic heritage estate, and concepts of domain-wide stewardship, in place of the idea of the Trust as an owner or manager of a collection of properties.

The TFWH is intended to provoke visitors to think about ideas of legacies, and ponder what legacies they may themselves leave. It seeks to develop a continuing capacity to question and interrogate the histories presented in Trust properties, and to move to more multi-layered storylines and themes that include, for example, spiritual and emotional experiences and expression.

In a pragmatic sense, the TFWH emphasises the importance of evidence in supporting the historical interpretations of Trust properties, including material or environmental evidence, and can assist the Trust in building sustainable visitation to the places in its stewardship.

1.2 The Times

As we enter the 2020s and then the second-quarter of the twenty-first century, the capacity for people to comprehend the significance of places becomes more urgent. The demolition of a site is now rapid, violent and total, leaving no traces in the environment. Fundamental environmental changes seem to be unfolding ever-more quickly and devastatingly. Rapid changes in technologies and communications can feel overwhelming and seemingly devoid of ethical considerations. Old verities seem to be breaking down, with the shared and the social being replaced by the atomised and the material. Within such a context, the once overarching historical themes of economic or political or social history have been under challenge for some time. Great narratives such as nation or empire or class that once seemed so certain, so 'concrete', are everywhere being questioned, their legitimacy subverted and their legacies clouded.

The challenge is not to shy away from this new world but to engage with it, no matter how tentatively. This is especially critical for enduring institutions like the Trust, institutions from which a sense of deeper continuities can be sensed, understood and appreciated in the broader society, and that can contribute to maintaining a sense of social cohesion and stability. In times that can seem confusing and overwhelming, these are opportunities for the Trust to use its estate to help society navigate to a safer harbour. The TFWH can help chart that course.

1.3 Acknowledgements

Julian Donaldson, Sarah Murphy, Kelly Rippingale, Anne Brake and the staff at the National Trust headquarters in the Old Observatory have provided guidance and access to the Trust's archives and collections, while always allowing for the project to proceed in an uncensored way. Trust members and volunteers at various properties provided physical access and informed discussion, always in a courteous and encouraging manner.

The participants in the two roundtables (one academic and the other industry-based) organised by the Trust provided valuable feedback on drafts of the document that have helped shape its final content.

2. The National Trust Estate and its Curtilage

While historical forces and themes are fluid and ever-changing, the places within the Trust Estate can be anchored to an underlying continuity which, in this study, takes the form of the cadastral land districts. These were originally termed counties, a designation they retain elsewhere in Australia. Once established, the counties or land districts have remained stable entities, to which are linked many archival and land records, in an otherwise continually changing administrative environment. The map below shows the land districts, with those districts shaded red being the location of Trust places and forming an associated historic curtilage for story-telling.

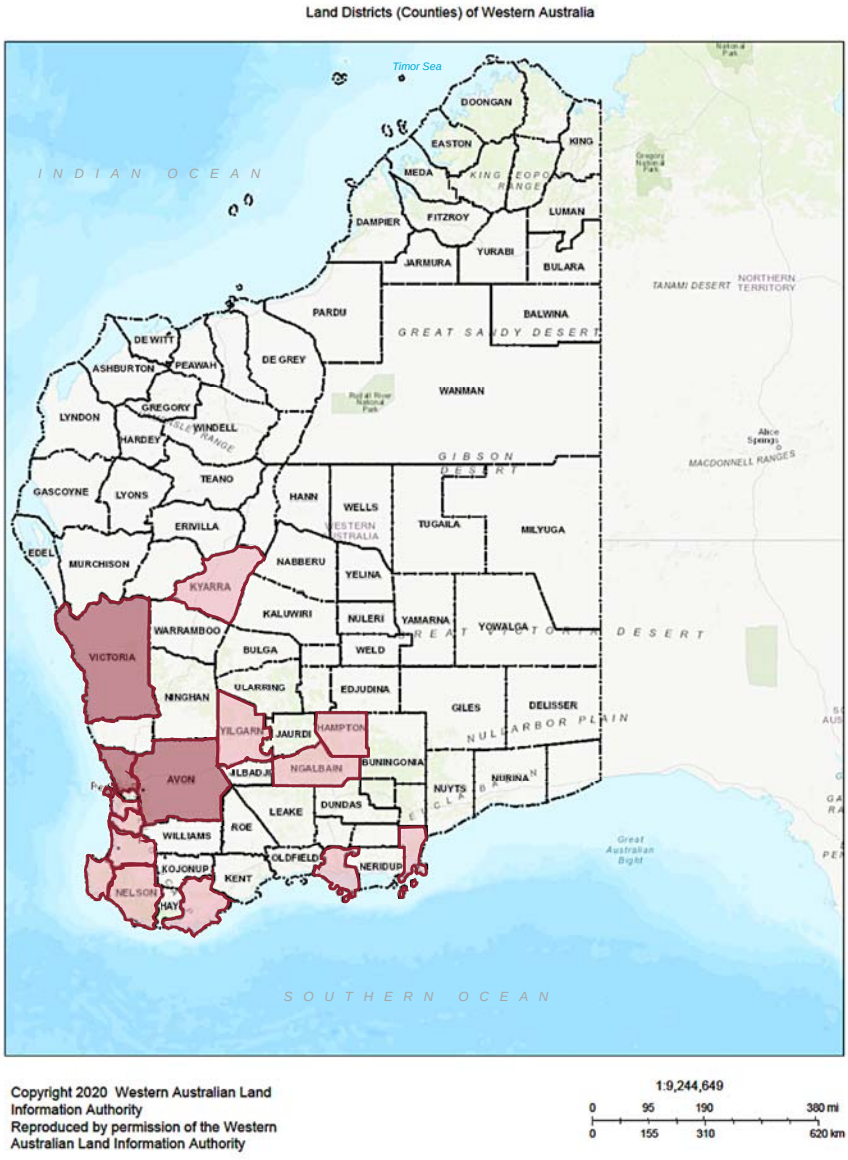


Fig 2.1 | Land Districts (Counties) containing National Trust properties, pink 1-5 properties, magenta 10-19 properties

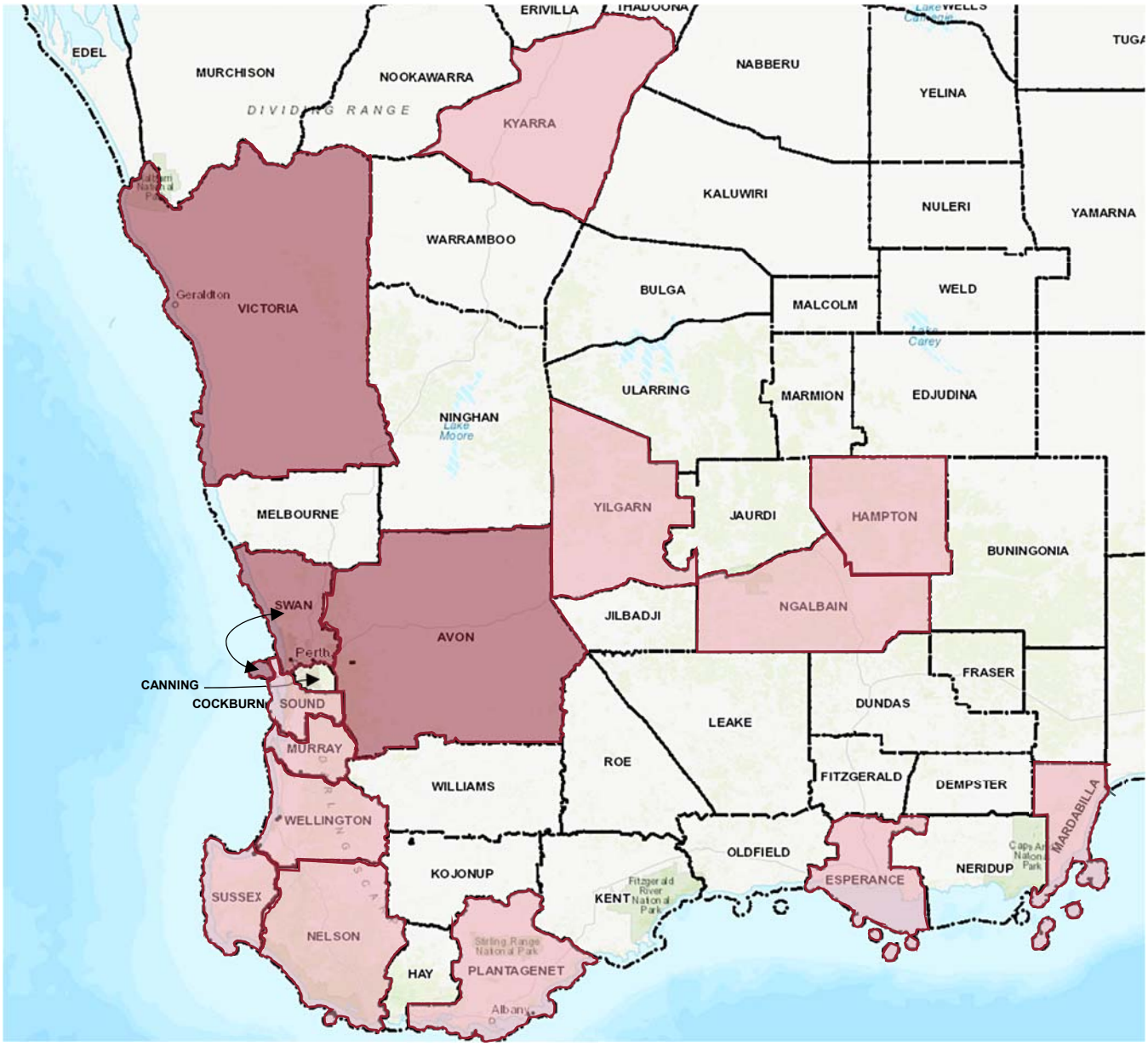


Figure 2.2 | Detail of Land Districts (Counties) containing National Trust properties in the South-Western, Murchison and Goldfields Divisions

3. Executive Summary

3.1 The Problem

As anticipated in the brief, there was some application of the Australian Historic Themes Framework (AHTF) themes to the Trust places during the early 2000s, after the Framework was published by the now-defunct Australian Heritage Commission in 2001. However, despite an initial enthusiasm for their use in conservation and interpretation planning documents, this was not sustained, and usage since 2005 has been rare. At the same time, some place-specific thematic frameworks were developed in some planning documents, but again, their use has not been sustained. The AHTF has not been critically developed further since 2001, and now nearly 20 years later, a timelier approach is proposed in this study.

3.2 A Solution

This study sets out a rationale for the TFWH scheme. Whereas the AHTF is based upon an organising principle of the human activities that produced places that are now valued, the TFWH is based upon an organising principle of state-wide historical narratives that are expressed to an engaging degree in Trust places. It seeks to illuminate the *genius loci*, or spirit of place, within Western Australian history and especially within the Trust Estate and its component places.[1]

The TFWH posits six stories or themes of significance in Western Australian history that can be experienced through the Trust estate, and through which the world views and emotions of peoples past, the people who made and remade these places and wrote their histories as they did so, can be encountered and comprehended.

Some readers may find the TFWH challenging, some may find it confusing or not 'scientific' enough, or just plain irritating. Others may find it validating, or pleasurable, or thought-provoking, but none should be left cold-hearted. Western Australia's patrimony has been created and curated by generations of dedicated women and men driven by passion, courage and dynamism. The TFWH is dedicated to them and the land they love.

[1] For some discussion of the idea of spirit of place in a heritage context, see the Québec Declaration of 2008

4. The National Trust Estate and the AHTF

The brief required an analysis of how the AHTF is currently being used in the management of the Trust Estate. Properties were classified as High, Medium or Low priority for purposes of the study, with the classification mainly relating to their degree of accessibility by the public.

Fifty-three management documents were surveyed for 62 properties. These were a mix of conservation (management) plans and interpretation plans, with some heritage assessments and similar documents for places for which such plans do not exist. They ranged in date from 1992 to 2017, with more recent documents more likely to be for High or Medium priority places.

4.1 Usage of the AHTF

The results of the document survey are shown in **Figure 4.1** below.

Priority	With AHTF	With other place-specific themes	Proportion with some sort of thematic framework)
High (19 places)	26% (5)	26% (5)	52% (10)
Medium (10 places)	20% (2)	40% (4)	60% (6)
Low (33 places)	3% (1)	0% (0)	3% (1)
ALL (62 places)	13% (8)	14.5% (9)	27% (17)

Several observations can be made.

Firstly, the AHTF has been mainly used for High and Medium priority places, which are those most likely to be open to public access and have organised interpretation programs and events.

Secondly, a similar number of places have plans or assessments using place-specific themes that are not linked with the AHTF or any broader National Trust or other thematic frameworks.

Thirdly, the AHTF purpose is "to assist in identification, assessment, interpretation and management of heritage places". These findings suggest the AHTF is only being used for interpretation purposes, for places already in the Trust portfolio, and not to identify places for acquisition or disposal.

Fourthly, the actual use of the AHTF in the planning documents is as tabular annotations. That is, the document will contain a section that lists the historical processes associated with the place, and which is annotated with the relevant themes, but after which is rarely referred to again. This suggests the actual use of the AHTF in place planning and management is very limited. Neither the AHTF nor the

place-specific themes are being used as the organising principle to structure place histories or whole-of-estate histories, or within comparative analyses or in assessments and statements of significance, or to formulate or influence conservation policies.

4.2 AHTF Weightings

Notwithstanding these observations, which AHTF themes are being selected to illustrate the historical processes and activities that have shaped the places and the Trust Estate? **Figure 4.2** below shows the distribution of the themes within each of the priority categories, with those for Peopling, Economies and Towns most often used, and those for Environment, Working and Educating the least used. This might seem counter-intuitive, given the Trust's conservation and educational roles. However, as only a small number of the analysed documents reference the AHTF, this should not be conflated with accurately reflecting the story-telling capacities of the Trust estate.

FIG 4.2 | AHTF THEMES IN EACH PRIORITY CATEGORY

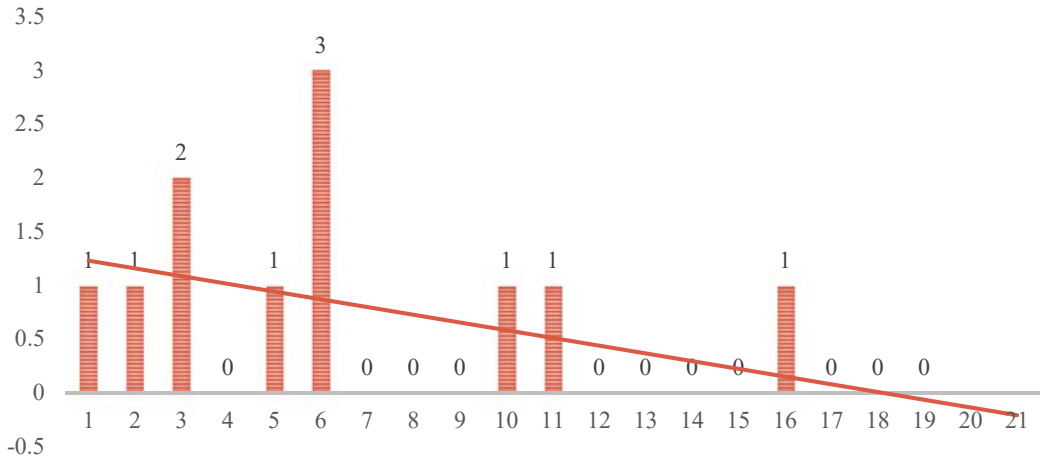
As well as AHTF themes being overwhelmingly used for High priority places, and those themes being weighted towards three themes in particular, theme usages also have a temporal dimension.

4.3 AHTF and other themes across time

Themes were used for High priority places fairly regularly between 2000 and 2015, for Medium priority places between 2002 and 2010, and the sole Low priority place use was in 2002 (see **Figure 4.3**). An initial enthusiasm for themes in the early 2000s gradually lessened, and was restricted to

places of high public usage with a need for interpretation and story-telling. This correlates with reasonably regular use of the Western Australian Register of Heritage Places Criteria (which are not themes) for assessing places between the late 1990s and early 2000s – that is, before the AHTF became publicly available.

FIG 4.3 | NUMBER OF THEME APPROACHES USED BY YEAR (2001-2018), AND TREND LINE



The trend suggests a high degree of interest in using the AHTF and experimenting with other thematic approaches in trying to locate individual places within larger narratives around the turn-of-the-century, but the trend since the mid-2000s indicates this has not been sustained.

4.4 Themes for place management

Historic themes have only been used in a quarter of all Trust places, about half being AHTF themes and half place-specific themes. Three-quarters of places have not been the subject of any thematic framing. This low-level of use has certain consequences, such as inhibiting their use as a database tool to thematically link places across the Trust Estate. The place-specific themes, especially those without clear correlating AHTF themes (the majority) make this development even less-likely. Place-specific themes can imply that a place has somehow developed outside contextualising historical processes, which apart from being highly unlikely, is not desirable when developing estate-wide historical themes to enhance understandings and interpretations of individual places within multiple contexts.

4.5 Conclusions

The analysis of the planning documents for over 60 places clearly shows an initial surge in using themes from 2001 that, however, was not sustained. Where themes were used, they tended to be restricted to places of high visitation, and focused on economic and associated migration and urban

settlement stories, themes that reflect key twentieth-century historical narratives and seek to contextualise the presence or absence of physical fabric at places subject to management planning.

There will be many explanations to this and other trends evident in the documentary analysis. Some practitioners may have found the AHTF too complex or overly detailed, or conversely lacking themes relating to particular historical activities and processes. Perhaps the descriptive character of the theme and sub-theme names appeared prosaic and uninspiring to some? Maybe writers have found it difficult to conceptualise local place histories as sites within a continental hierarchy of places and stories (although the AHTF was not intended to be hierarchical)? None of the examples analysed had used the themes beyond tabular annotation, meaning their potential envisaged in 2001 has not been realised. Without further research, these explanations can only be speculative, but the evidence clearly shows that, whatever the reasons, the use of the AHTF and/or place-specific themes was a feature of a particular period that has now passed.

5. Themes For Westralian Histories

The Themes For Westralian Histories (TFWH) is like a map, revealing networks of places to which the imagination can travel and ask questions of our pasts, questions to help illuminate the present and signpost ways ahead. The TFWH is an expression of the heritage trilogy of inheriting-valuing-bequeathing (or *Koorah, Nitja, Boordahwan*).

5.1 The art of history

The early eighteenth-century Neapolitan historian and philosopher Giambattista Vico argued that the histories of all human societies, while differentiated by local climate, landscape, conflict and other factors, are cyclical and could be described in successive ages.[2] The 'Age of Poetry' is a founding and decisive age, when people have a strong sense of the imaginative and seek to explain their world through shared stories, myths and strong spiritual beliefs. The rise of materialistic and sensory ages, he argued, then leads to the loss of imaginative abilities, to spiritual doubt and moral corruption, and then to conflict and selfishness and a return to self-centred brutishness with the individual favoured over community. The study of history, he contended, provides insights into the ideas that shape contemporary times, and this self-knowledge is important to avoid collapsing into a pre-poetic barbarism. People make their own history, and civil society is made by people, and their actions can be understood through studying the past because of the common humanity of historian and subject. Societies can co-exist, not because one copies or imitates the other but because of the creative power of the human mind to imagine, and bring into being such co-existence. Through history we can understand that stories and legends (and cultures and landscapes) are not fanciful or false, but embody beliefs and world views. Historical truth is found in the study of languages, traditions and rituals because they indicate how people feel and think about their world. Vico argued that what motivates people to live in justice and civility is emotion, imagination and tradition. The 'truths' in life and history are more cultural than natural, more communal than personal.

Fig 5.1 | Giambattista Vico, 1668-1744
Image: Wikipedia

Considering Vico's scheme, Western Australian society and its history is, in the long run of human histories, still in its founding stages, still 'poetic' and seeking common sensibilities. However, every

[2] This discussion is mainly derived from Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *Fifty Key Thinkers on History*, Second Edition, Routledge, London and New York 2008: 375-380 and Joseph Mali, 'Vico', in Aviezer Tucker (ed), *A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography*, Wiley Blackwell, Chichester 2011: 446-454

day it interacts with and draws upon much older histories, both those that have come in the invisible baggage of migrant-settlers and those that have been embedded for eons in Aboriginal Australia. The entangling is uneven and conflicted, the spiritual and the material, the poetic and barbaric, hubris and nemesis rubbing against each other, but from those frictions common futures envisaged by creative minds can one day emerge. The Trust Estate can be thought of as a seedbed in which these new common histories can grow.

The TFWH does not try to co-opt or merge Aboriginal histories and non-Aboriginal histories, but instead respects those histories as expressions of autonomous and self-governing peoples. It seeks to find common grounds where settler and indigenous histories can meet as partners, appreciating the study of history as fundamental to all cultures, and in the spirit of co-existence articulated in the Uluṟu Statement from the Heart:

> *Sovereignty is a spiritual notion, the ancestral tie between the land, or mother nature, and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who were born therefrom … it has never been ceded or extinguished, and co-exists with the sovereignty of the Crown. How could it be otherwise?*[3]

The Statement locates this spiritual notion within a threefold calendar, connecting times and spaces to create places, in which human actors and their actions engage in imaginative histories and story-telling.

> *This our ancestors did,*
> - *according to the reckoning of our culture, from the Creation;*
> - *according to the common law, from time immemorial; and*
> - *according to science, for more than 60,000 years.*[4]

5.2 Representing the TFWH

TFWH can be understood as a network or lattice or Venn diagram or set of six Borromean rings rather than as a hierarchy (see **Figure 5.2**), and in that sense is unlike the *Australian Historic Themes Framework* (AHTF) with its over-arching national themes encompassing regionalized and localized sub-themes.[5] The TFWH does not try to identify all the major historical processes that have shaped Western Australian history, but like the AHTF it can help visitors and place managers think more widely about historical processes in assessing heritage values, and emphasises the historical values that have shaped a place, or which a place has shaped, rather than focus mainly on built

[3] Uluṟu Statement from the Heart, paragraph 2, released at Uluṟu on 26 May 2017. The ṟ is underlined to indicate it is a retroflexed consonant that is pronounced like a standard r in English language, as is the convention in written Aṉangu dialects: https://parksaustralia.gov.au/uluru/discover/culture/language/ , accessed 24 October 2019
[4] Uluṟu Statement from the Heart, paragraph 1
[5] 'Introduction', *Australian Historic Themes: A framework for use in heritage assessment and management*, Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra 2001: 2-3

fabric as the only evidence of a place's history. The TFWH is similarly unlike the *Burra Charter*, and its standards of professional practice, although it is consistent in its emphases on understanding a place's significance before making changes to the place, working in an orderly sequence of researching and analysing information before making decisions about work, and in using the definitions in Article 1 of the *Charter* where such technical terms are needed.[6] The TFWH is also consistent with the spirit of the *Charter's* rationale for conservation: "Places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experience. They are historical records."[7]

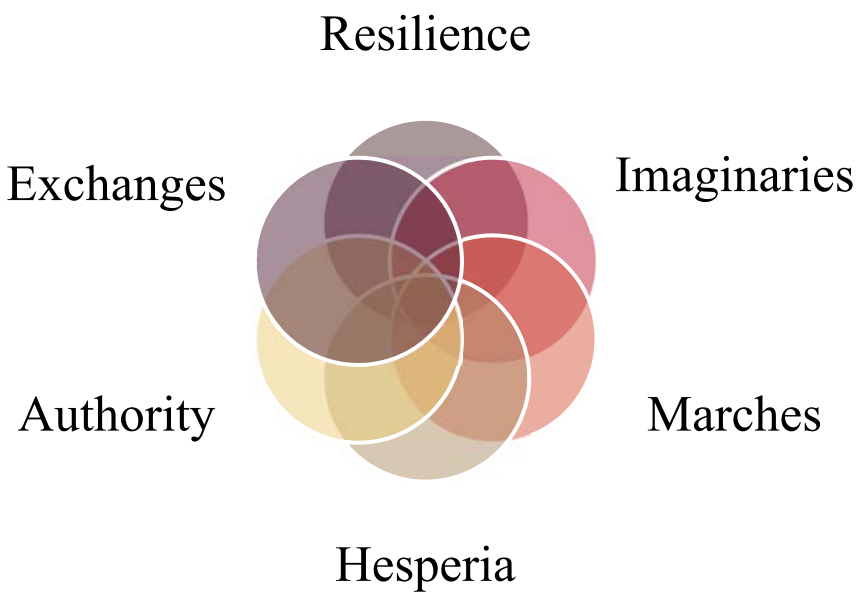


Figure 5.2 | A visual representation of the Themes For Westralian Histories and their many possible relationships

The idea of places as historical records allows the Trust Estate to be thought of as an open-air archive.[8] The places or environmental records in this archive need to be conserved and curated, and made accessible to the story tellers of today and tomorrow. These include historians, conservators, curators, artists, writers and communities. The themes then act as 'finding aids' to these places/records, but rather than each theme being named for the physical characteristics of the

[6] Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*, Deakin University 2013
[7] *The Burra Charter*, 2013: 1
[8] Bruce Baskerville, *The Open-Air Archive or, the adventures of a hapless historian trying to apply 'archivist-think' to some outdoor records*, presentation to Australian Society of Archivists (NSW Branch), Sydney, Wednesday 18th February 2015; Bruce Baskerville, 'Introduction - The Open-Air Archive', in *Green Plaques | Local Communities*, RAHS/NSWOEH, Sydney 2018: 1-4 (online only)

documents, or the human activities that have produced the document, they are named for emotive responses to and entanglements with places that are discernible through the 53 analysed documents and other Trust place histories. The overlapping of themes provides numerous spaces to express multiple place-specific fusions of stories.

The spirit of place is a 'language' of feelings that encourages some feelings and discourages others, and gives rise to distinctive emotional cultures in particular places and times. These cultures, however, are never fixed or constant, and are shaped by local conditions and events that lead to transformations and reformations (i.e. historical change) of a greater or lesser degree. The stories of places are transmitted, and often subtly changed in their transmission, by many people through many different media and across generations. Seeking a *genius loci*, or spirit of place, underpins the themes and their uses, with their capacity to provide spaces for feeling and telling stories about, and exploring understandings of, places that are both connected with other places and that also have their own distinctive characters. They revel in diversity and differences while at the same time esteeming and being rooted in underlying continuities that give cohesion and coherence in times of change and uncertainty, and encourage the search for deeper continuities. Inheriting-Valuing-Bequeathing | *Koorah, Nitja, Boordahwan.*

5.3 The Themes For Westralian Histories

With the preceding discussion in mind, it can be seen that the purpose of the TFWH is not to try and identify every theme for every place, or pick the best themes that a place can represent, but conversely to identify coherent stories across the whole Trust Estate in which various places will have a certain capacity to illustrate a story and its nuances.

The Trust Estate can be represented as an open-air history of Western Australia contained in six chapters. The places are the records in the open-air archive that evidence the narratives, and are used for researching and presenting the story, and as such the chapters are not about each place or 'record', but about the story told in each chapter that can be illustrated by the places or 'records'.

After much deliberation, including consideration of the histories in the 53 analysed documents, six themes have been developed that function as the chapters in this Western Australian history. These are shown in **Figure 5.3**, along with a characterisation and several lens or prisms through which each might be explored.

Figure 5.3 | TFWH characterisations and prisms through which they can be explored

Theme	Characterisation	Prisms
Resilience	A capacity to cope with unexpected changes and challenges and successfully adapt to new situations, whether in restored, naturalised or new forms.	Exploring Environmental Change Learning Wellbeing
Imaginaries	Intellectual faculties for creating images and ideas about non-sensory things or things that are not physically present, but through which a person or group makes sense of and defines the significance of the world around them.	Spirituality Ethnicities Creativity Identities Folklore
Marches	Constantly shifting geographical and cultural 'in between' spaces where Indigenous and colonial societies meet and interact, often characterised by violence, killing, dispossession and disease, as well as resistance, survival, renewal and reinvention, and the complex and continuing creation of new fusion cultures, social relations, languages and landscapes.	Indigeneity Borderlands Migrations Languages
Hesperia	Aspirational visions of the future for, or in, a land looking west, a land framed by the Indian Ocean, and political, cultural and social negotiating of tensions and divergences around such visions.	Home Landmarking Town and Country Land and Sea
Authority	Persons and institutions in a society that have a legitimate right (through the law or tradition) to make decisions that affect others, and to ensure that their decisions are enforced, as well as exert influence over the thoughts and actions of others, formally and informally, and dissent and resistance to such a right	Class Work Institutions Governance Convict
Exchanges	Producing, providing, conveying or supplying goods and services, especially food, drink, shelter and other necessities that sustain life and communities, and the skills and knowledge about, and relative abundance or lack of such goods and services, as well as means of exchange and communication	Provisioning Producing Household Life Communications Transport Building

Our old people rise from graves of ash,
They delight again in contest
And in challenge,
Shoulder to shoulder we stand
The ancestors and us;
We stamp our feet.
We beat our palms,
We voice a sound that lives;
A crowd, reborn
'Kaya',
Kim Scott, 2016

They came from the sea

Francisco Pelsaert was a resilient man. He captained a longboat with 48 crew and passengers from the shipwrecked East Indiaman *Batavia* on a hazardous voyage from the Abrolhos Islands to Batavia (Jakarta) during the winter of 1629, returning in the *Sardam* four months later, overcoming and dispensing rough justice to the murderous mutineers and hanging their leaders. The leader of the loyal soldiers, Wiebbe Hayes, built a fort and fought-off the mutineers three times, for which he was honoured by Pelsaert. Lesser mutineers Wouter Lous and Jan Pelgrom de By were marooned on the mainland with some supplies, a boat and instructions to "make themselves known to the folk of this land."[9] They became the first emigrant New Hollanders, but their fate is unknown. Wiebbe Hayes disappeared from history on his return to the Indies, but his statue today graces the Geraldton foreshore, in the vicinity of Rosella House and the Bill Sewell Centre.

Long, long before Pelsaert and the infamous voyage of the *Batavia*, the Abrolhos archipelago had been the 'Abrolhos Hills', coastal features on the wide Sahul plain that skirted the Westralian interior between 50- and 150-kilometres westwards of the current shoreline. Other features of that great plain were Rottnest Hill, the Monte Bello Hills in the north-west and the Recherche Ranges on the south coast. Between 8,000 and 5,000 years ago, at the end of last ice age, sea levels rose rapidly, flooding the plain and isolating the high hill tops to form today's islands. As the land flooded, Aboriginal

[9] Francisco Pelsaert 'Journal of Francisco Pelsaert', in Henrietta Drake-Brockman (ed) and E. Drok (trans.) *Voyage to Disaster*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1983: 122–254

territories disappeared beneath the waves and communities retreated to an inland that soon became the new coast.

At the same time as the Sahul plain was drowning, far to the north the plains of Sunda were also drowning, pushing people to the highlands of the East Indies that we now know as the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian islands. Similar events on the other side of the world saw the gradual, and then rapid, inundation of Doggerland as new shorelines became established in north-western Europe. Communities that would one day be known as English and Dutch formed on either side of that lost land. This was a universal experience for humanity, and everywhere people had to adapt to new landscapes, new domains, new ways of doing things, guided by their experiences of living in the old world of Sahul, Sunda, Doggerland and many other places with invented names that are absent from atlases and charts.

> *An ocean rising engulfs an intaglio of footprints*
> *Stepped out there when the world was soft,*
> *Before the land became the sea,*
> *Before the dead were reborn as helical shells.*
> 'Swan River Canyon',
> Nandi Chinna, Perth 2014

Histories of these territories of old Sahul, and their loss, are told in the dreaming stories of coastal peoples today. George Fletcher Moore recorded one Whadjuk story in the 1830s that described the thick forest that had shaded the plain around the Wadjemup (Rottnest), Ngooloormayup (Carnac) and Meeandip (Garden) hills but which caught fire and burned with such intensity that the ground split and the sea rushed in, drowning the fire and permanently separating these old hills/new islands from the new mainland.[10] These histories are enriched by an open-air archive of archaeological relics recovered from hilltops-become-islands.[11] Rottnest's Noongar-Whadjuk name is Wadjemup, or 'spirit place over the water', and after the flood the island became, in the Whadjuk cosmology, a resting place for spirits of the dead until they were ready for their final journey to Kooranup, the spiritual paradise

[10] George Fletcher Moore, 'Descriptive Vocabulary in 2 Parts, Part I Australian and English', in *Diary of ten years eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, 1884, facsimile edition, UWA Press, Nedlands 1978: 8. Moore includes this story to illustrate the definition of the word 'bidjigurdu', meaning an island, which he also lists as gurdubidji, a backformation combining the words for 'heart' and 'land' to form 'island' as one of a number of emotive words expressive of feelings.
[11] Ben Marwick, 'An Eocene fossiliferous chert artefact from Beacon Island: first evidence of prehistoric occupation in the Houtman Abrolhos, Western Australia', *Records of the Western Australian Museum*, No 20, 2002: 461–464; Patrick A Hesp, Collin V Murray-Wallace and CE Dortch, 'Aboriginal occupation on Rottnest Island, Western Australia, provisionally dated by Aspartic Acid Racemisation assay of land snails to greater than 50 ka', *Australian Archaeology* No 49, 1999: 461-464; Peter Veth, 'The Aboriginal Occupation of the Montebello Islands, north-west Australia', *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, No 2, 1994: 39–50; Stan Shaw, 'Isolated cave system off Esperance reveals vibrant underwater world and ancient Aboriginal history', ABC News, 14 June 2016 Esperance

over the western horizon.[12] The Whadjuk people's ancestors during this time of huge and often dramatic climate change had continually to adapt to changing landscapes and seascapes, adaptations they recorded in the oral histories of the dreaming that embody the world-view, beliefs and emotions of a people and time. The islands off Perth are today visible from several Trust places, including Samson House and Curtin House, and the Recherche Archipelago sits on the horizon out from Israelite Bay Telegraph Station and Moir Homestead. The Abrolhos, however, are no longer visible from the mainland, indicating the width of the lost plains.

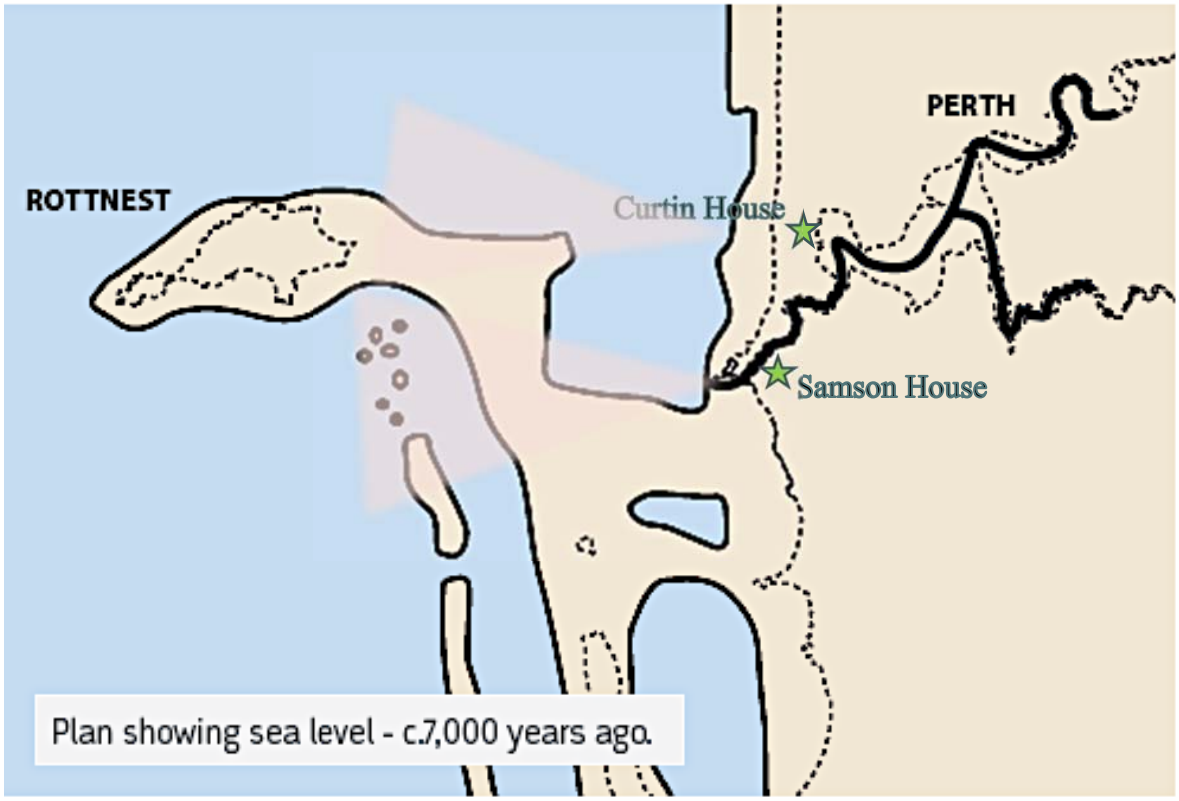


Figure 5.4 | The 'Wadjemup hills' c7000 years ago, marked with sites of Trust properties having views over the hills-now-islands
Base map: *Rottnest Island/Wadjemup Cultural Landscape Management Plan*, May 2015: 6
Courtesy Rottnest Island Authority

Willem de Vlamingh, who in 1696 sailed along the west coast and made the first known maps of many of today's well-known islands and coastal landmarks, was also a resilient man. Like Pelsaert, he was Dutch, a native of Vlieland, the sandy, wind-blown islands that looked over the rough sea covering old Doggerland. In the early summer of 1696 de Vlamingh captained the *Geelvinck* (Goldfinch) and two other VOC (Dutch East Indies Company) ships, with crews that included three multilingual 'Indian

[12] 'Aboriginals on Rottnest Island | A long connection with Wadjemup', Rottnest Island Authority, accessed 22 January 2019

convicts' (that is, convicts transported from the Dutch Indies, or Indonesia) from Capetown, sailing to the west coast in search of a lost VOC vessel. The first landfall they came upon was Wadjemup. De Vlamingh was enchanted by the island, writing "I believe that of the many people who seek to make themselves happy, there are many who would scorn the fortunes of our country for the choice of this one here, which would seem a paradise on earth".[13] He named it '*t Eylandt 't Rottenest*, or 'Rats Nest Island' for the quokka.

Several parties from de Vlamingh's fleet then landed on the coast opposite '*t Eylandt 't Rottenest* and explored what turned out to be an extensive river estuary. They established a rendezvous camp, probably at Matilda Bay, from where they made several overland and river journeys passing the future site of Gallop House. They observed numerous signs of the local *Zuydlandter* (Southlanders), including camps, huts, wells, rising smoke plumes, night fires and footprints, but as much as they tried to make contact the Southlanders remained withdrawn. They saw numerous fish and birds, including black swans of which they captured four to take back to Batavia, and from this the name *Swane Rivier* (Swan River) was applied to the waters the elusive Southlanders called Derbal Yerrigan. They explored around the broad waters of the estuary between the river mouth and their camping site, and would have been clearly visible in their comings and goings on the water from the site of Gallop House. How far de Vlamingh's parties ventured upriver remains debatable – according to their own reckonings they reached the Middle or Upper Swan, in the vicinity of Woodbridge, but later scholars estimate their true limit was the natural shallow causeway in the serpentine reaches between present-day East Perth and Burswood, closer to Peninsula Farm.[14] It was there they caught their only glimpse of two Southlanders, but the Indonesian convict translators never had a chance to test their language skills. In the distance they could see a 'mountain range', and from the density of footprints pointed eastwards and the numerous smoke plumes they concluded that the main area of Southlander settlement was at the foot of the ranges.[15]

Why did the Southlanders avoid contact with the Dutch and their Indonesian interpreters? Playford argues they believed the pale skinned beings were *jangga*, ancestral spirits returned from Kooranup.[16] That the three ships, with billowing sails, were no doubt observed from the shore appearing from out of the west on a clear summer's day and then moored off Wadjemup, the gateway to Kooranup, may have confirmed this fearful thought. However, try as the Dutchmen might, the Southlanders evaded their capture at every turn. Knowledge of country, constant observation and adroit tactics of elusion (and possibly earlier experience with passing or wrecked ship crews) aided them as much as fear of

[13] Quoted in Philip Playford, *Voyage of Discovery to Terra Australis by Willem de Vlamingh in 1696-97,* Western Australian Museum, Perth 1998: for the 'Indian convicts', p14, for the quote, p29
[14] Philip Playford 1998: 31-42
[15] Philip Playford 1998: 41-42
[16] Philip Playford 1998: 41. Several other sources outline a similar set of beliefs about the dead.

ghosts.[17] They may have breathed great sighs of relief when the ships finally departed, but they had also led the outsiders on a merry chase and learned something of their ways, including a temperament for taking things like black swans without reciprocating.

Figure 5.5 | Contemporary view from Peninsula Farm across the Swan River towards Ascot
The Interpretation Plan for Peninsula Farm identifies this location as a potential area for interpreting the Noongar history of the site, which could include the story of de Vlamingh's expedition up the river, and the Noongar response.[18]
Image: Sabine Albers, 10 May 2017, courtesy National Trust WA collections

The *Geelvinck* and its companion vessels sailed northwards along the coast, with de Vlamingh noting the high sandhills were "like those on the Vlie", and the occasional larger hills that looked like English and Dutch coastal forts as well as the 'treeless desert' of the northern sandplain.[19] They made regular expeditions ashore, and on the 21 January a party from the *Nyptangh* (Nipper) explored a large, deep brackish pool teeming with fish today known as the Greenough River estuary, the shores of which were heavily imprinted with the 'tracks of tigers and other wild beasts' (the tiger tracks were probably

[17] See, for example, Rupert Gerritsen, *And Their Ghosts May Be Heard*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle 1994
[18] Mulloway Studio + Paul Kloeden, *Interpretation Plan: Peninsula Farm [Tranby House]*, June 2005 :22
[19] In Philip Playford 1998: 45

dingo prints).[20] The estuary pool stretches up to Bootenal Spring, which can be seen on the horizon from atop Clinch's Mill on the Greenough Flats.[21]

After two days, the ships sailed on without having seen any people, although foot prints, huts and other evidence of people continued to be recorded at landing places and smoke and fires observed all along the coastal littoral. They sailed northwards, past the flat-topped hills that looked like 'the Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope' and onwards to the Hutt River estuary where they did see two Southlanders on the beach but they fled inland when approached. Again, just a glimpse. Back at the deep pool of fish, it is very likely that the *Nyptangh* party was closely observed from the safety of the thickly wooded river banks by the local Southlanders, who knew Bootenal Spring as *Boolungal*, or the pelican place. Possibly they already knew of their uninvited visitors, tentatively wandering beside the pool's edge, from their own earlier experiences of shipwrecked mariners and from having heard of the black swan stealers from their cousins to the south.

Several generations later in 1848, another party of outsiders with more possessory intentions were reconnoitring in the same Boolungal-Greenough area when they came across "…some natives, who appeared friendly…", but the next day beside the Irwin River they encountered 70-80 native men who had been tracking them, unobserved, for some distance through their territory.[22] No women or children were seen. As they set up a night camp on the river flat, the Gregory brothers were joined by "A few of the natives [who] spoke a little English, having been for a short time in the settled districts". The frontier was then some 270 kilometres to the south. During the night a scout from the Irwin men was intercepted trying to slip into the Gregory's camp. There could be no mistake: the Irwin men knew they were not ancestral ghosts. Lessons had been learned and transmitted across the Noongar realms, and now there was no more remaining sequestered but instead, in the as-yet unoccupied territories, an open assertion of native sovereignty and defensiveness. The Gregory brothers left early the next morning and rapidly headed southwards.

In less than a generation, many of the Greenough and Irwin men would be resisting those who pushed the frontier northwards into their countries. This was marked by the Battle of Bootenal Thicket in 1854, where the brackish waters of the estuary into which Bootenal Spring flowed began to taste of the tears of the dispossessed. The Greenough Courthouse and Jail is a living testament to both the resilience of the defenders for several more decades after 1854, and to the tragic heft of invasion.

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[20] In Philip Playford 1998: 45

[21] Palassis Architects, *Historic Greenough District Conservation Masterplan*, Vol. 1, unpub MSS, National Trust of Australia (WA), December 1995: 1, 80

[22] AC Gregory and FT Gregory, *Journals of Australian Explorations 1846-1858: The settler's expedition to the northward from Perth under Mr Assistant-Surveyor AC Gregory, 1848*, Government Printer, Brisbane 1884, facsimile edition Hesperian Press, Victoria Park 1981: 27-28

Figure 5.6 | The upper reaches of the Greenough River Estuary, where it meets the waters of Bootenal Spring
Image Bruce Baskerville 25 August 2017

A changing land

Phillip Playford, citing environmental historian George Seddon, noted in 1998 that de Vlamingh's excursion in January 1698 had recorded a wetter, more thickly vegetated and watered, and cooler Southwestern Western Australia than experienced today. This was during the Little Ace Age (c1250-c1850), a phenomenon whose impacts have been studied in Europe and North America but are little understood in Australia.[23] The environment encountered by Stirling in his March 1827 expedition was described (and depicted by watercolourist Frederick Garling) in terms of fresh water, green shrubs, grassy meadows, fertile soils, average 22˚C temperatures and beautiful scenery. As with de Vlamingh's descriptions, these seem unlike the hot dry summer landscapes of today, and have been ascribed by some historians to Stirling's overly-optimistic conjecturing.[24] However, just as the Noongar peoples had been adapting for millennia to their changing environment, so to the colonists had to contend with a variable and changing environments here just as they had to in their old countries. The real change that came with colonisation was, from the early twentieth century onwards, a capacity to make huge and rapid changes to environments. The most outstanding example of this was the creation of the wheatbelt between about 1900 and about 1975, which involved the destruction of vast swathes of woodland and forest and its replacement with a landscape of open cropping and grasslands overlain by a network of connecting roads, railways, new towns and water pipelines.

[23] Phillip Playford 1998: 34-35, and footnote 50
[24] For one example see BK de Garis, 'Political Tutelage', in CT Stannage (ed), *A New History of Western Australia*, UWAP Nedlands 1981: 297-298

Surveyor-General Roe lead a party to the north-east of Toodyay in 1836, and on 25 October that year camped at Mangowine Spring, in the vicinity of which he noted grasslands and other springs.[25] This was country in the marches of the 'circumcision line' between the Noongar-Balardong and Noongar-Njaki Njaki to the south-west and the Kaprun-Kaalamaya to the north-east, with widespread gnamma, or covered water holes, in the granite outcrops across the landscape.[26] Surveyors followed again in the 1860s, and from 1867 a family group of shepherds under Charles Adams began herding sheep through the area. By 1876 Adams held the land on a lease (which eventually became Avon Location 972), after building a stone and mud brick house with a reed-thatched roof, now called Mangowine Homestead. Situated on the slopes of a prominent peak, the homestead had "… sweeping views across the belts of forest and scrubby plains".[27] The description of the local woodlands landscape (part of the 'lost' western half of the Great Western Woodlands pre-dating the wheatbelt) can be deepened by considering the harvesting of sandalwood that took place there and in the wider area during the 1880s, a practice engaged in by Adams and other colonists.

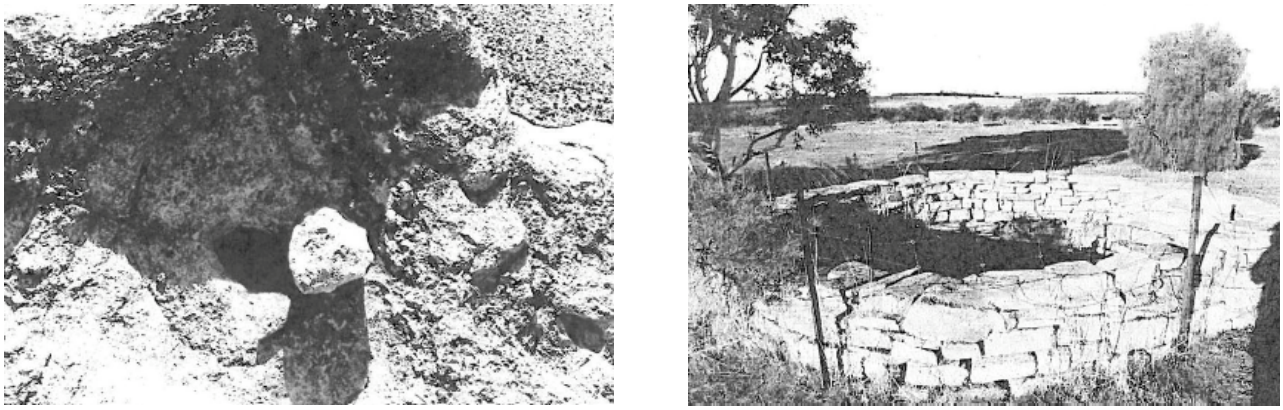
By that time, local Aboriginal families were working on the property shepherding, gardening and cleaning sandalwood, and did so into the early twentieth century. The site views also had strategic value, as Mrs Adams recalled in 1934 "my husband was often away from home for lengthy periods, during which I was left on my own and unprotected. The natives were very troublesome in robbing the shepherds' camps, so much so, that the authorities appointed my husband a special constable to deal with them".[28] The theme of Marches explores this sort of story a little further.

The presence of gnamma, and the use of reeds for thatching points to a key issue in Mangowine's history, the presence or absence of water, whether from gnamma, springs, soaks or wells.[29] In 1887 Jane Adams began recording the daily rainfall at Mangowine, a practice that continued until 1951, establishing a record series that could chart one aspect of environmental change during that 64-year period. Charles Adams won several contracts in the 1870s to establish wells for travellers and stock along the eastern road running past the homestead. The discovery of gold and the proclamation of the Yilgarn Goldfield in 1888 brought a great increase in road traffic and the need for reliable water as prospectors travelled past the homestead, and Mrs Adams began operating an inn on the property. As

[25] Kelly Aris *et al*, *Mangowine Homestead Nungarin Conservation Plan*, National Trust WA, 2000
[26] Maxine Cornish, *A Piece of String: Stories of the Nungarin District*, Shire of Nungarin 2010; the 'circumcision line' is said to distinguish Noongar, who did not practice circumcision (to its west) from other Aboriginal peoples to its east who did practice circumcision – see Kingsley Palmer, *Noongar People Noongar Land: The resilience of Aboriginal culture in the South West of Western Australia*, AIATSIS Research Publication, Canberra 2016
[27] Kelly Aris *et al* 2000: 5
[28] Quoted in Maxine Cornish 2010: 36
[29] A gnamma is a cistern, usually in or near a granite outcrop, that captures rainwater runoff. It was usually covered to prevent evaporation, with mud and debris cleaned out on a seasonal basis. The word is understood to be of Noongar origin: see PR Bindon, 'Aboriginal people and granite domes', *Journal of the Royal Society of Western Australia*, No 80, 1997: 173-179; also 'gnamar' in Peter Bindon and Ross Chadwick, *A Nyoongar Wordlist from the South-West of Western Australia*, WA Museum, Welshpool 2011 edition

the colonial population rapidly increased, the Kaprun-Kaalamaya were being forced out of the area due to the demand for water from the incomers. People were captured and sometimes tortured to reveal the location of gnamma and soaks, which were also fenced-off to prevent access by wild animals and people, forcing the Kaprun-Kaalamaya ever-eastwards until, from the 1890s, they became concentrated in camps on the outskirts of large towns like Kalgoorlie, either dependent on whatever water supplies they could obtain without cash, or doomed to death from thirst and starvation.[30]

Figure 5.7 | Pre-water scheme water supply at Mangowine, without rain water tanks



(left) gnamma with stone cover, and (right) stone lined and edged well
Images Arris *et al* 2000: plates 28 and 26, pages 63 and 64

Perhaps in hindsight, one of the more significant travellers during this period was James Mitchell, manager of the Northam branch of the Western Australian Bank, who in 1892 inspected the area as part of the colonial government's development of a policy to encourage agricultural occupation in the greater Avon district. One outcome of Mitchell's investigations was new legislation that allowed farmers to occupy, and eventually receive freehold title to, farms provided they performed certain 'improvements', notably clearing the natural vegetation and fencing the property. One effect of that requirement was to further force the Kaprun-Kaalamaya out of the district. Mitchell eventually became Minister for Agriculture with responsibility for this transformation on a massive scale. By 1910 this system was in operation around Mangowine when the area was connected to the railway network. Road travellers dwindled to passing locals, and the inn closed, but demand for water did not decline. In 1928 part of the Adams' estate was resumed by the Crown to build water reservoirs for the North Eastern Districts (or Barbalin) Water Scheme, fed by springs and rain. The scheme eventually supplied water to three railway stations, seven towns and 322 farms over an area covering over 202,000 hectares, facilitating the further expansion of the north-eastern wheatbelt over the Kaprun-

[30] 'Kaalamaya Migration', Kaalamaya, Goldfields Aboriginal Language Centre, accessed 8 April 2019; see also Griffiths Architects 2016: 28-34

Kaalamaya domain. In 1937 the Scheme was linked to the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme, making more water available, and extended to cover more farms and towns.[31]

The story of the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme is reasonably well-known as a political and engineering feat and facilitator of gold mining.[32] Its role in the transformation of the woodlands into wheatlands is a lesser-known story, but perhaps a story that ultimately will have greater resonances. The pipeline engineer, CY O'Connor, stressed in 1896 the importance the pipeline could have in agricultural development.[33] A branch line was open in 1907 to the Tammin area that demonstrated its value to farmers for stock and household supplies, followed in 1910 by statutory amendments allowing the pipeline to be used for agricultural purposes. By 1928 over 404,000 hectares were being serviced by localised water schemes fed by the pipeline when it reached capacity. The new limits on connecting to the pipeline can be seen in the Barbalin Scheme near Mangowine, which had to restrict its water supply in 1940 because of water shortages due to large numbers of stock now being watered by the expanded water supply.[34] Far more stock such as sheep could now be carried than the natural local water supply would have supported, but a new limit was reached. The Commonwealth agreed to financially support the State in 1948 to develop the Comprehensive Agricultural Areas Water Supply Scheme that increased the reticulated water supply from the pipeline to towns and farms over a 1.6 million hectare area by raising the wall of Mundaring Weir by ten metres. That trebled the dam capacity, and required a substantial upgrade of the pipeline. The scheme continued to be expanded until 1974.[35] In the 1979 sesquicentenary atlas, the State government blithely claimed that 80% of the 'useable water resources' of the South West Division remained undeveloped.[36]

Historian Tony Hughes D'Aeth quotes a 1990 EPA survey, only about ten years after seven decades of expansion, that within the wheatbelt only seven percent of the pre-colonial vegetation and its associated animal species still survived, generally as islands within a sea of huge paddocks and fields.[37] The boundaries of the wheatbelt, now starkly visible on the weather maps of evening television news programs, are reminiscent of the hard boundary lines of the Roman or Chinese empires (now World Heritage sites), but can also be seen as a hard limit north and east of which agriculture could not exist. South and west of that hard line is the wheatbelt, or to think of it in another way, the 'lost districts' of

[31] 'The Barbalin Scheme | requests for extension', *West Australian*, 13 February 1937: 15
[32] Research Institute for Cultural Heritage Curtin University, *Conservation Plan for Goldfields Water Supply Scheme*, Vol. 1, National Trust WA 1999; Spellbound Interpretation *et al*, *Golden Pipeline Interpretation Plan*, 2001; Griffiths Architects, *EPBC Heritage Management Plan, Goldfields Water Supply Scheme, Main Conduit, Western Australia*, Water Corporation of WA, 2016
[33] Summarised from Griffiths Architects 2016: 27-28
[34] 'Water Supplies | Action on Barbalin Scheme | Immediate Restrictions', *Kalgoorlie Miner*, 13 September 1940: 4
[35] For more detailed history of the schemes and their impacts, see Ruth A Morgan, *Running Out? Water in Western Australia*, UWAP, Crawley 2015: Chapter 3 'A Million Acres a Year' *passim*
[36] *Western Australia: An Atlas of Human Endeavour 1829-1979*, Government Printer, Perth 1979: 72
[37] Tony Hughes-D'Aeth, *Like Nothing on The Earth: A literary history of the wheatbelt*, UWAP Crawley 2017: 2

the Great Western Woodlands.[38] Seen from a place-centred perspective, that loss took just eight decades or two generations. The problems experienced by the Barbalin scheme near Mangowine in 1940 indicate one of the costs, overstocking under the illusion of being freed from the environmental constraints of a limited local water supply. In 1941 Australia's sheep population reached a record 123 million, attributed to increased water supplies and pasture improvements, but it was unable to be sustained.[39] Both stock numbers and the rural population began to decline in 1941/42.[40] Farmers had to learn to adapt to some highly artificial and paradoxical conditions created by seemingly unlimited water in a naturally water-limited environment. There were limits to the environment, and those who could successfully adapt to it would be the consolidators of neighbouring farms with their own expanding estates. Those who did not migrated to the towns. Between 1947 and 1971, Western Australia's agricultural workforce fell from 18 percent to 9 percent of all workers, and by 2018 to three percent, while the urban workforce rose in areas such as wholesale and retail, construction and community services.[41]

Another environmental impact of the pipeline was the harvesting of wood to fuel the steam-operated pumping stations along its route, as well as the woodlines that radiated out from the Goldfields cities of Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie. This railway system could move up to 1,200 tonnes of wood per day for use in the mines (for support beams, etc), the railways and water desalination plants, and it is estimated that over 65 years 30 million tonnes of wood was cut down and removed from some four million hectares of woodlands.[42] Unlike the wheatbelt, many of these and other 'disturbed' areas of the Great Western Woodlands are slowly regenerating, such as Karalee Rocks water reservoir and water works, expressing a natural resilience that matches that of some of the land's inhabitants.

Increasing mechanisation after World War Two saw farms start to be consolidated into larger holdings, with consequent population decline through urban migration. Mangowine was left vacant between 1963 and 1970, slowly falling into ruin. But in that slow decay, it became one of those little island remnants surviving in the ever-larger paddocks, and in 1968, an Adams' descendant and steward of the estate, granddaughter Miss Olive Warwick, decided to donate the empty homestead and 5.6 hectares of surrounding land to the National Trust as a wildflower sanctuary or flora reserve.[43] Perhaps she was influenced by her auntie Mary Annie Adams, who had collected wildflowers on the

[38] For an understanding of the Great Western Woodlands, see WA Department of Environment & Conservation, *A Biodiversity and Cultural Conservation Strategy for the Great Western Woodlands*, the Department, nd but c2010
[39] 'Record Sheep Population', *Avon Argus & Cunderdin-Meckering-Tammin Mail*, 2 August 1941: 4
[40] 'State Population | Decline Outside City', *West Australian*, 2 June 1941: 2
[41] RH Ghosh, 'Economic Development and Population Growth in Western Australia since 1945', in CT Stannage (ed), *A New History of Western Australia*, UWAP Nedlands 1981: Table 8.8, page 284; 'Research Topics – Western Australia – Employment', ABARES, accessed 9 April 2019
[42] 'From the Roaring 90s to the Present Day', Great Western Woodlands Culture and Heritage, Gondwana Link, accessed 8 April 2019
[43] Kelly Arris *et al* 2010: 10

estate for Baron von Müeller, and he in turn had named the rare Barbalin Boronia, *Boronia adamsiana,* in her honour in 1890, as well as the formation of the Wildflower Society in 1958 and the debates throughout the 1960s on protecting our 'glorious wildflowers'.[44] Mangowine's story had come full circle from the initial clearing in the woodlands for the earliest colonial outpost in the area in 1874 to a regenerating island of woods and wildflowers some ninety years later at the peak of the wheatbelt's water-powered growth. It was the belated recognition of the natural values of the place that prompted it becoming the first private donation of a property to the Trust. It had taken three generations, but Miss Warwick by her action showed the resilience built over the years within one family from clearing the 'scrub' to appreciating the wildflowers, and to seeing in the Trust a successor which would ensure the survival of this place, simultaneously relict and also renewing.

Resilience takes many forms, not all of which fit a narrative of success. Simply to stay alive many of the Kaprun-Kaalamaya were forced to migrate eastwards to the Goldfields, leaving behind their homeland-marches places like Mangowine (although not their sense of belonging). There are limits to resilience, such as the urban settler's inability to adapt to the conditions of the attempted draining of Herdsman Lake in the inter-war years, and then the abandonment of the scheme, evident in Herdsman Settlers Cottage.[45] There are failures of resilience, such as the impacts of the creation of Wellington Dam in 1933 that watered many southern towns until its water became too saline from land clearance in its catchment, also ending a tentative move beyond coal fired electricity generation after just 23 years of operations with the Wellington Hydro Power Station between 1953 and 1976.[46] The residents of Whitby Falls Hostel, sequestered out of sight in the foothills for most of the twentieth century, caught in a complex web of trying to live with or adapt to social expectations within a society unwilling to extend much tolerance let alone acceptance to people with mental health and other disabilities, allow another story of resilience and its limits to be told.[47] The physical environment is one lens for telling stories of resilience, provided it is framed within an understanding of an environment that has been changing throughout all of human habitation in Western Australia, whether naturally or human induced, as well as societies that are always changing.

The stories that can be told through Trust properties are not so much about the mechanics of those bigger changes *per se*, but more about the human causes, responses and adaptations, and their limits, to such changes. To paraphrase Tony D'Aeth, these can be stories drawn from 'inner-events', exploring what it means to be a participant in the founding and then unfolding of new landscapes, what insights

[44] Lise Summers, 'Wildflower Season: The Development of Native Flora Protection Legislation in Western Australia, 1911-1975', in Andrea Gaynor and Jane Davies, *Environmental Exchanges: Studies in Western Australian History*, No 27, 2011: 42-44; Maxine Cornish 2010: 31
[45] Heritage & Conservation Professionals, *Herdsman Lake Settlers Cottage Conservation Plan*, Department of Planning & Urban Development, unpub MSS, 1992
[46] Wellington Hydro Station Classification, National Trust WA, July 2018; Ruth A Morgan 2015: 79-80
[47] Griffiths Architects with Kirsty Bizzaca, *Whitby Falls Hostel Conservation Plan*, National Trust WA, unpub MSS, 2013

this gives into the character of those involved, whether they knowingly or unknowingly realise they entered a world that seemed so sure and permanent and then erased and replaced it with another order also striving to invoke feelings of certainty and continuity using a language of progress and inevitability. Resilience may take the form of triumph, or of loss, but it may also leave a long residue of melancholy. Neither should be ignored in telling the story.

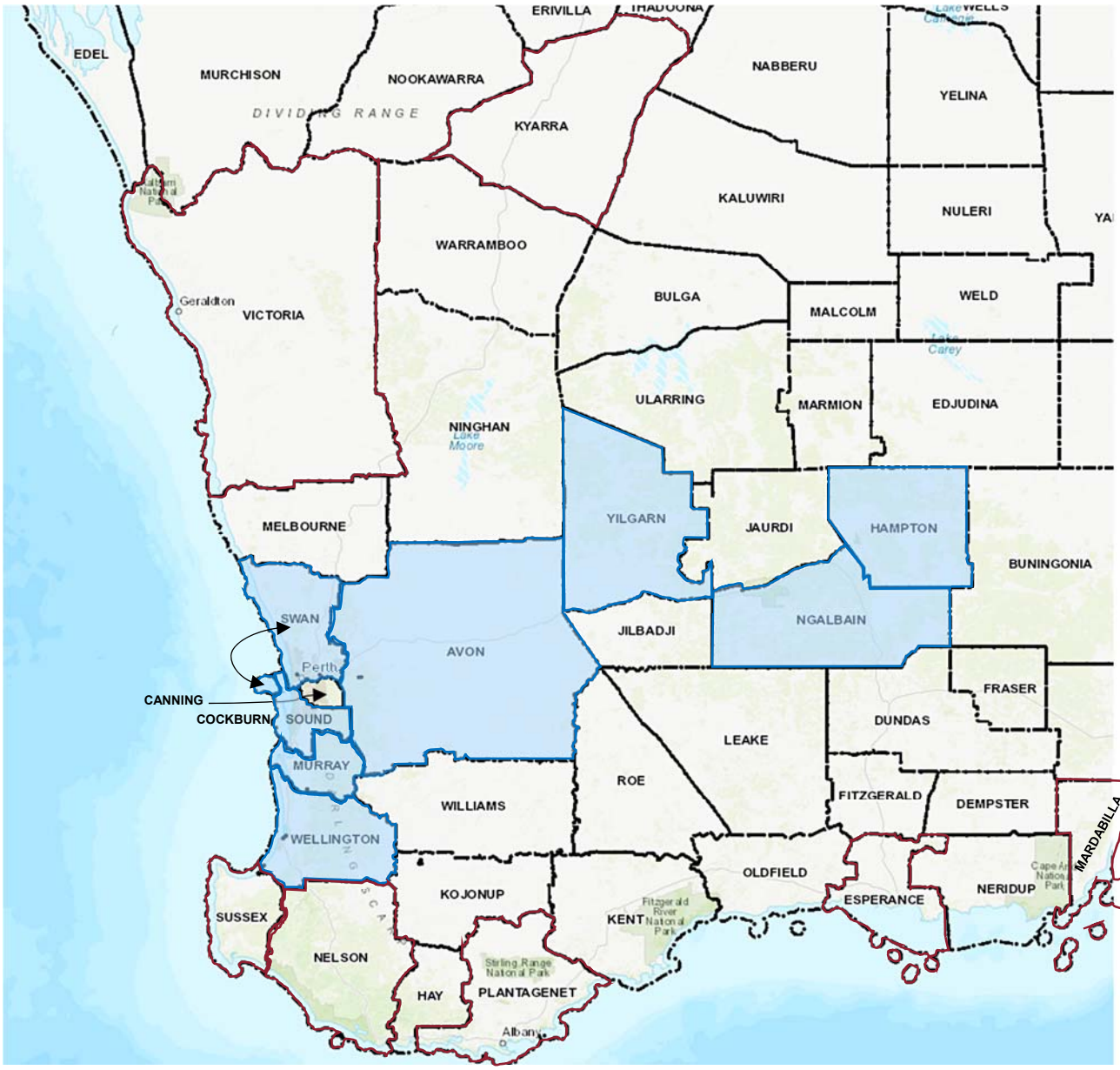


Figure 5.8 | Districts with Trust Estate places that can illustrate a theme of water and environmental change

Places

(H) Avondale, Golden Pipeline Precinct/No 1 PS/No 3 PS/Karalee Rocks/Mt Charlotte, Greenough Hackets, Greenough Flats Precinct, Mangowine, Woodbridge (M) 57 Murray Street, Gallop House, Jarrahdale Heritage Park, Luisini Winery, RPH Complex, Whitby Falls (L) Bill Sewell Complex, Bridgedale, Golden Pipeline PS4/PS8, Greenough Stone Barn, Greenough Clinch's Mill, Hydro Power Station, Rosella House, Herdsman Settlers Cottage

(for H, M, L codes see page 8)

TFWH | Imaginaries

Pale Ghosts! of fragrant things that grew among
The woods and valleys of my native land …
And the forget-me-not – all faint and pale
As those dim memories of home that haunt
The exile's wistful heart in banishment.

I look around and see
A thousand gayer tints; the wilderness
Is bright with gorgeous rainbow colouring
If flowers that have no dear familiar names …

But in my hand these frail memorials
Lie closely pressed …

'On Receiving from England a Bunch of Dried Wild Flowers',
Deborah Brockman, 1915

'Imagining' is a term used in this theme with a quite specific meaning, influenced by the work of philosopher Kathleen Lennon.[48] Lennon argues that the *imagination* refers to a personal capacity to create *images* and forms in the mind, and the *imaginary* refers to the ways in which those images are linked through emotion and desire to capture or understand the significance of the world, or things and events within it. The imaginary is not the opposite of the real, but an aptitude or mental faculty through which the world is made real. *Imaginings* are, therefore, the intangible, felt ways in which people make sense of the tangible, material world around them. They are not illusions, but rather that by which the real is made available or tangible in contrast to the fictional or illusory. This concept of imagining, therefore, moves beyond ideas of absolute truths or falsehoods to providing insights into the capacity of people to experience their world in certain ways.

On 19 May 1970, vicereine Lady Mary Kyle unveiled a plaque on the verandah of the Greenough Courthouse and Jail. It reads, in part, "The Opening of the Greenough Historical Hamlet … Commemorating a Restoration Project by the National Trust of Australia (WA)". A few metres down the hill from that building sits St Catherine's Church of England, inside of which a small plaque beside a pentagonal-shaped brick protruding from the west wall of the nave reads "Roman Brick from St

[48] Kathleen Lennon, *Imagination and the Imaginary*, Routledge, London and New York 2015

Pancras Church, Canterbury, England. AD 601." There are 1,369 years separating the events marked by these two plaques, although only 45 years separate the construction of each building, and the imaginings they represent.

Figure 5.9 | Two plaques at Greenough, monuments to secular and religious imaginaries that help their readers make sense of the world around them
Images Bruce Baskerville, 25 August 2017 and 26 March 2014

The Trust Estate contains several places of worship and associated religious buildings, constituting about fourteen percent of Trust properties. These are all Christian places, roughly half Protestant half Roman Catholic. The Protestant sites are all churches, while the Roman Catholic sites are more diverse although mostly concentrated in one location forming a small precinct in Central Greenough. This overall group can be extended a little by including the Christian denominational, Jewish and Chinese sections of East Perth Cemeteries, and the Royal Perth Hospital Complex (RPH) Chapel. It is important to note here that the experiences of religious worship and belief beyond the Christian in Western Australia's history will tend to be downplayed in this study simply because of the absence of places in the Trust Estate associated with other beliefs and practices, including Aboriginal spirituality.

Imagining the afterlife

East Perth Cemeteries is highly significant in Western Australia's history for being the earliest formal cemetery, the longevity of its use, the large number of important historical figures interred there, and the overall 'slice' of Perth's colonial population of all classes represented in the burials. It consisted, at its 'peak' of Anglican (Church of England), Wesleyan (Methodist), Congregational, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Christian cemeteries as well as a Hebrew or Jewish cemetery and a Chinese

cemetery.[49] Each of the cemeteries, in its layout, planting patterns and styles of grave markers and furnishings, gives insights into particular denominational beliefs and viewpoints. The Anglican cemetery displays an orderly and hierarchical secular pattern of graves as might be expected from the quasi-establishment church, with the graves of the wealthy and gentry the focal point.[50] The Wesleyan and Presbyterian cemeteries are similarly laid-out, and marked their boundaries with pine trees, but the grave patterns in the Congregational, Jewish and Chinese cemeteries were less distinct and trees were rarely planted. The Roman Catholic cemetery, in contrast to the others, displayed a relatively elaborate layout with clergy graves in the centre surrounded by the laity, hierarchical but also including sections for 'innocent children' and an un-consecrated area for 'the unbaptised and impenitent' in which grave markers were forbidden. With its church-centred hierarchy protected by the encircling laity, this represented a much more complicated social and theological order than the Protestant cemeteries. Roman Catholic authorities planned for a central chapel but it was never built, although a charnel house (for bones removed from grave sites) was constructed, whereas the Anglicans never planned for a chapel but eventually managed in 1871 to fit one among existing graves, almost absent-mindedly. Historic tree and ornamental plantings reflected late Victorian sentiments around death, such as the upright pencil pines among the Anglicans, and weeping Busselton Peppermints elsewhere, imparting a sombre and melancholy atmosphere. Many graves were planted with annual bulbs such as freesias and belladonna lily, both South African species suited to dry areas and able to impart soft colours and a sense of renewal after death. The headstones, monuments, vaults and other markers display an elaborate language of bereavement once familiar to grave and cemetery visitors.

Perhaps a most eloquent story can be developed around the mid-late twentieth century fate of the cemeteries when many of the grave markers were vandalised, stolen or moved, civic improvers converted parts of the cemeteries to parklands with layouts that obliterated the older cemetery patterns, and other parts were transferred to the Perth Girls High School and the Police Department and paved-over for sporting grounds and car parks. It is as if consciously modern city-dwellers and authorities of the period wanted to remove reminders of mortality and death from their midst, as if progress and modernity had to triumph over the emotional and romantic with a very obvious show of disrespect to confirm that shiny new imagining. In the 1990s, in response to adjacent urban re-development, work began on 're-presenting' the cemeteries in a way that interpreted the historic layouts as aesthetically-pleasing landscapes when viewed from the new developments and could function as 'borrowed' green spaces for passive recreation. East Perth Cemeteries, and indeed all cemeteries, burial grounds and lone graves within or associated with the Trust Estate can provide a locus for stories of how humans have experienced death and bereavement, and develop insights into

[49] Fiona Bush, Philip Palmer and Ron Bodycoat, *Conservation Plan East Perth Cemeteries*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2005

[50] For discussion of the Church of England's status in Western Australia, see Rowan Strong, 'Church-state relations', and 'Spirituality and religion', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds), *Historical Encyclopedia of Western Australia*, UWAP Crawley 2009: 194-196, 831-835

how they have sensed or developed and displayed beliefs about an afterlife, and how these universal experiences have changed over time.

Figure 5.10 | East Perth Cemeteries and imaginings of bereavement and remembrance
Images (L) grave of Jane Pearson, photo Eva Fernandez 2016; (R) Rest 2019, accessed 15 April 2019, both courtesy National Trust WA collections

The location of the RPH Chapel is not particularly clear in the site conservation plan, although at some stage, possibly c1957, it was relocated from an earlier space to the old surgery in C Block, also known as the Soldiers Ward, and at some later stage moved again to a space in B Block.[51] The assessment of social significance for the whole hospital complex states "The chapel and bereavements in the hospital hold some religious significance for those who have been involved", suggesting the chapel's significance lies only in its bereavement use, and is important only to those experiencing death in a hospital.[52] Whether that is so is not clear, and this story could be developed further by connecting it generally with the East Perth Cemeteries (and perhaps Old Greenough and Jarrahdale cemeteries) and understandings of the emotional experience for family and friends in the time between a death and a burial, and perhaps of the time leading up to an expected death, especially in the institutional setting of a public hospital rather than the intimacy of a home. Stories could explore the experience of mourning and loss in such an ecumenical space, how mourners draw upon (or perhaps question or are even numb to) their spiritual and religious values to guide them along possible pathways through this most intimate yet universal experience.

Religious imaginings of pathways to truth

Stories of spiritual imaginings associated with churches in the Trust Estate could be used to explore the more-worldly nature of the sectarianism that riddled much of colonial and twentieth century world-views and ways of seeing, and also the less well-known cleavages and schisms within

[51] Considine & Griffiths Architects, *Royal Perth Hospital Precinct Conservation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 1995
[52] Considine & Griffiths 1995: 99

denominations, and as well as their opposite, the searching for ecumenical forms to bridge denominational differences. A significant range of imaginings and beliefs could be revealed within Western Australia's past, as can be illustrated by a story of the high church – low church tensions within the Church of England. St Peters at Gilgering and St James at South Greenough can stand for the low church, St Catherine's at Central Greenough for the high church. Low church (or Evangelical) and high church (or Anglo-Catholic) are shorthand expressions for differences within Anglicanism that, during the colonial and early twentieth century, were distinguished by, on the one hand, simple forms of worship, minimal ritual and an emphasis on personal faith and biblical authority, and on the other, a revival of pre-Reformation ritual and forms, episcopal authority and an emphasis on theology. During the late nineteenth century the high church became associated with movements for social change among the disadvantaged, taking forms such as Christian Socialism or the re-formation of religious orders.[53] Low Church Anglicans at Greenough often shared church services with Wesleyans and other Protestants, or would occasionally attend an Anglican service and then a Methodist service, and Wesleyans attended Anglican services and contributed to Anglican church building funds.

St Peters Gilgering and St James South Greenough were constructed a decade apart in 1858-1860 and 1868-1871 on land donated by adjoining landowners and both consecrated by Bishop Mathew Hale. One of Hale's biographers wrote of him as "Although never profound, he remained a disciplined and serious scholar and his conservative theological views were respected more for their wisdom than for their originality."[54] That suggests Hale was more high than low church, but in 1874 he investigated the high church Anglican minister at Albany to see whether his theology was compatible with Anglican standards.[55] The low church is represented by the modest 'Romanesque' styling of St James South Greenough and the simple Gothick forms of St Peters Gilgering, their interiors free of decoration, all plain walls and sobriety.[56]

[53] One order that came to Western Australia at the invitation of Frederick Goldsmith, Anglo-Catholic Dean of St Georges Cathedral was the Community of the Sisters of the Church, known as the Kilburn Sisters: see Vera Whittington, *Sister Kate: A life dedicated to children in need*, UWAP, Nedlands 1999

[54] A. De Q. Robin, 'Hale, Mathew Blagden (1811–1895)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hale-mathew-blagden-3689/text5771 , published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 12 April 2019.

[55] Colin Holden, *Ritualist on a Tricycle Frederick Goldsmith: Church, nationalism and society in Western Australia 1880-1920*, UWAP Nedlands1997: 6

[56] Ronald Bodycoat, *St Peter's Church Gilgering Western Australia Conservation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2002; Eastman Poletti Sherwood Architects, *St James' Church South Greenough Western Australia Conservation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2006

Figure 5.11 | St Peter's Gilgering (L) and St James South Greenough (R)
Images courtesy National Trust WA collections

Hale's third successor, COL Riley, Bishop of Perth during a time of conflict between low and high church in Western Australia just before the Great War, was evangelically-leaning but strove to balance the two forces in his See.[57] The Anglo-Catholic leaders in Perth and Bunbury presented a history of the church in which England's pre-Reformation history, Roman Catholic and primitive (by which they meant ancient), was part of the inheritance of Westralian Anglicans. Anglo-Saxon saints were presented as models of a 'fresh branch' of the church free of State control, a church whose inheritance included a right to self-governance. This became a highly charged issue in 1911 when the Privy Council ruled that English laws concerning the Church in England also applied to the Anglican church in Australia. Low churchmen supported this ruling as a means of containing Anglo-Catholicism, but Riley was indignant, and St Catherine's Central Greenough symbolises this way of imagining and experiencing Anglicanism in Western Australia. Riley laid the foundation stone on 22 November 1913, the eve of St Catherine's feast day, the stone is inscribed in a medievalesque typeface, and the early-Gothic styled church is dedicated to the martyred patron of learning who had a great following in medieval England. When completed, the interior shone with stained glass windows. The Roman brick (see fig. 5.9), placed in the west wall by the font, had been re-used in a Kentish Anglo-Saxon church in 601 and re-used again in Westralian Greenough in 1913. It was a relic that authenticated the new church, explicitly and emotionally linking it to high church claims to Anglican legitimacy deep in pre-Reformation antiquity and local church autonomy. St James South Greenough and St Peter's Gilgering are local churches within (especially St James) broader stories of Protestant ecumenicalism,

[57] Colin Holden 1997: Chapter 7 'Nationalism, Autonomy and Churchmanship: Perth Synod 1899 and General Synod 1900' *passim;* Riley was universally referred to by his initials rather than his first names, Charles Owen Leaver – see Peter Boyce, 'Riley, Charles Owen Leaver (1854–1929)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/riley-charles-owen-leaver-8213/text14371 , published first in hardcopy 1988, accessed online 24 October 2019

whereas St Catherine's clearly connects to older stories, and taken together the three churches present an opportunity to develop insights into the imaginings of Western Australians navigating between denominational and religious differences.

Figure 5.12 | St Catherine's Central Greenough, with foundation stone
Images Bruce Baskerville, 25 August 2017

Central Greenough also contains the only Roman Catholic precinct in the Trust Estate, consisting of the Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent, Greenough Presbytery and St Peter's School, which are associated with St Peters Church. As a group, these buildings were constructed between the 1890s and early 1900s, instigated by the planting of sisters from the Dominican Order, who were shortly after succeeded by Presentation Sisters. The precinct is centred upon the church, the last building completed in 1908, up the hill from the site of an older St Peter's Chapel built in the 1870s. At one level the precinct reflects the growth of the Roman Catholic church in Western Australia during the 1890s, apparent in the separation of the Diocese of Geraldton in 1897. Part of that story is Bishop Kelly's welcome to a number of religious orders who opened and operated schools, such as at Greenough, after the end of state aid to religious schools in 1895.[58] In another sense, Central Greenough's Roman Catholic precinct provides opportunities to develop stories relating to the experiences of women and men within organised religion (separately and jointly), to the shaping of and contribution to Westralian culture and identity by Irish migration (not all of which was Roman Catholic) as part of colonisation[59], and to experiences of religious education and its shaping of future citizens compared to the secular education provided in Central Greenough School and Old Perth Boys School. The precinct also offers a pathway into the religious imaginings and experiences of Roman Catholics from Asian countries who migrated to Western Australia from the later twentieth century

[58] Kevin Long, 'Catholic church', and Geraldine Byrne, 'Catholic lay societies', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard 2009: 171-175
[59] See *The Irish in Western Australia, Studies in Western Australian History*, No 20, Centre for Western Australian History UWA 2000

and actively participated in the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, perhaps especially poignant when located at Central Greenough, a village in obvious demographic decline across that period.

Away from the formal religious places, people's experiences and understandings of their world through spiritual beliefs and practices is also evident in the Trust Estate. The 1994 study of the Noongar significance of Wonnerup identified the place for its special significance to Noongar women.[60] The name 'wonnerup' refers to a place for women's digging sticks, or *wonna*, and a later proposal brought this out with local Noongar women's ideas of developing the place as an interpretive centre focused on Noongar women and children, reproduction, food and medicines.[61]

There is no record of private chapels in the homes in the Trust Estate, but religious devotions and worship within private homes are recorded. Charles Harper, son of an Anglican clergyman, observed daily devotions in Woodbridge for his family and household staff.[62] Joseph Hardey, founder of Methodism in Western Australia, regularly conducted services in Peninsula Farm as well as other places prior to the arrival of a clergyman. There are likely to be more examples of homes and perhaps other places in which spaces, or certain furnishings or decorative elements, can be attributed to uses for private services and devotional purposes, whether on occasional or more regular patterns, that will provide insights into personal and familial imaginings of the spiritual world and their place within it.

Folk magic and ritual imaginings of the supernatural

An even more sequestered area of spiritual rather than religious experience is folk magic rituals and the customs of concealing objects in, and inscribing apotropaic markings on, buildings. Folk magic was practiced up to the 1930s and has been extensively researched by Ian Evans.[63] One Trust property, Old Perth Boys School, has been shown to have inscribed markings in the form of six concentric circles inscribed on a roof truss at the point where it is susceptible to failure and has been strengthened with a large bolt. The mark looks eye-like, and is intended to avert evil. It was probably inscribed by carpenter Thomas Smith in 1854 when the roof was constructed. Carpenters are known to have been involved in ritual concealments and markings, and this example points to the potential for more evidence to be found of folk magic and rituals across the Trust Estate.

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[60] Len Collard 1994: 25, 35, 64-65
[61] Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory 2010: 309-311
[62] FR Mercer, F. R., *The Life of Charles Harper of Woodbridge*, Westralian Farmers' Co-operative Printing Works, Perth 1958: 50

[63] Ian Evans, *Touching Magic: Deliberately concealed objects in old Australian buildings and houses*, PhD thesis, University of Newcastle 2010; 'The Absence of the Document: Discovering Concealed Magic in the Antipodes', in Ronald Hutton, *Physical Evidence for Ritual Acts, Sorcery and Witchcraft in Christian Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2016; *Defence Against the Devil: Apotropaic Marks in Australia*, Academia.com, 2013; *Mysterious Magic Mark Found in Western Australia*, Academia.com, 2016

Other known examples are boots found in the roof of Woodbridge, a spoon in the roof of Old Farm Strawberry Hill, and an Enrolled Pensioner Force steel badge found under the floor at Gallop House. In each case the artefact had been deliberately placed and concealed, pointing to its use as a device to protect the house and its residents from harmful supernatural forces.

If explored further, this aspect of the Imaginaries theme would provide compelling insights into imaginings and folk practices transmitted across multiple generations that survived the traumas of migration and colonisation but have remained largely undocumented.

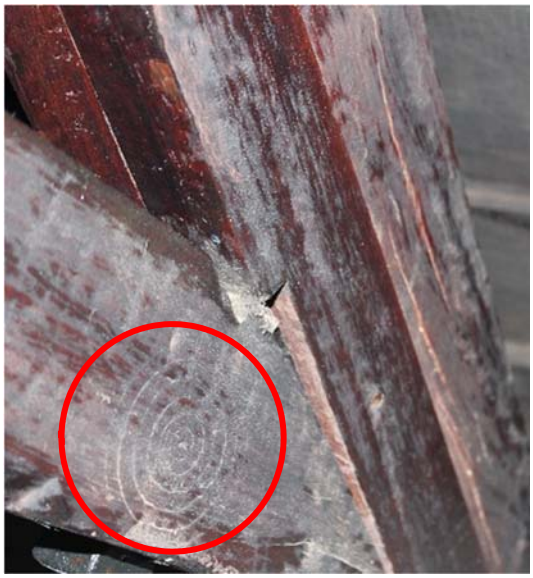

Fig 5.13

'Magic mark' on Old Perth Boys School roof truss (circled), labelled to show the structural problem and attempts to secure the join. The mark is to ward off evil spirits who may attempt to cause the join to fail.

Image courtesy National Trust WA collections

Ghosts and ghost stories are another element of folklore worth exploring. Typically associated with specific locations and accounts of traumatic events in the past, they have largely been reduced in recent times to tourist-fare 'ghost tours/stories', which obscures their role in understanding the emotional and inter-generational impacts of emigration and colonisation.[64]

Secular imaginings of pathways to truth

Apart from religious and spiritual practices, imaginings of the world and the human place within it can also be glimpsed in some more secular places within the Trust Estate. Greenough Temperance Lodge, although operated by Wesleyans, very much aimed to influence the behaviours and ideas of a much wider section of the community by ending, or at least reducing, addiction to alcohol and channelling behaviours to more socially productive ends. The Cue Masonic Lodge reflects a number of fraternal organisations of the colonial and later periods that promulgated principles of morality but which were not religious as such. Freemasonry requires its members to believe in a 'supreme being', but the forms

[64] Joseph Christensen, 'Ghosts', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard 2009: 413-414

of belief it leaves to individuals, and it could perhaps be thought of as a 'philosophical companion' to religion. It makes use of allegory, ritual and symbols to explore the divine, and at its most fundamental, freemasonry seeks to practice brotherly love and charitable action. As with the temperance movement, and the charitable elements of organised religions discussed earlier, there are opportunities for some complex stories to be developed around these places and the ways Western Australians have imagined contemporary social problems and ways to ameliorate them through often divinely inspired social movements.

A rather more secular cosmological imagining could be told through the Old Observatory, which housed both the residence and the offices of the Government Astronomer. On the laying the foundation stone in 1896, Sir John Forrest said "we were trying to elevate and improve the public mind and to do something for the encouragement of the arts and sciences … this Observatory would remain for all time evidence of a liberal-minded and enlightened people … anxious to promote and encourage intellectual pursuits".[65] Although actual scientific buildings, such as the observatory with its 'astrograph dome', the transit circle building and the meteorological station were demolished in the 1960s, Forrest's stated aim of 'elevating' public consciousness through science and intellectual endeavour provide a clear distinction to the more private, interior and emotional imaginings of consciousness considered through the religious places. In 1907, after making an important contribution to the International Star Cataloguing and Mapping Program, the Observatory published a *Catalogue of 420 Standard Stars* that could be seen from its location high on the ridge where it crowned westerly views from the city. With Federation in 1901, the Observatory's meteorological functions were gradually transferred to the Commonwealth, and the State government vacillated for some years over transferring the actual site to the Commonwealth before, in 1928, finally deciding to retain it because, according to its conservation plan, of "strong anti-Federal sentiment".[66] Part of any story developed around emotive and intellectual imaginings of the world that connects an Old Observatory story with the stories of the religious buildings could not ignore this brief, apparent triumph of the former, placed closer to the heavens than any of the cathedrals below it, before more worldly and mundane imaginings of political contest and State authority subverted this 'evidence of enlightenment'.

Imagining self-governing communities

The 'anti-federal' sentiments in which the observatory site was caught in the 1920s point to another story that can be developed within the theme of Imaginings. The ideas of self-government so important to the Anglo-Catholics discussed earlier, while explored more fully in the theme of 'Hesperia', can also lead, via the secular and State institution of the Observatory, to one of the few

[65] Quoted in Palassis Architects, *Former Government Astronomer's Residence and Offices, Perth Observatory*, Conservation Plan, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2003: 14
[66] Palassis Architects 2003: 24

local government places in the Trust Estate, the Old Greenough Road Board Office at Central Greenough. Completed in 1905, the public debates around the location and the building of this quite small office, on a hill side below the State complex of the Greenough Police Station & Jail on the crown of Stony Hill, and as it subsequently turned-out not long after its opening, also below the level of St Catherine's Church of England, reveal diverse imaginings of just how autonomous a locally self-governing community could be, both in its aspirations and in its resources.[67] The building of the Office was enmeshed in class and geographic conflicts within the district that point to highly localised ward identities with their own microhistories that invites questions to be asked about the ways in which people at that time imagined their own autonomy as individuals and as communities. Samson House in Fremantle was the mayoral residence of three members of the Samson family: William Samson 1893-1893, Michael Samson 1905-1907 and Michael's son William Frederick (Fred) (1951-1972).[68] On the death of Fred's wife Daphne in 1953, his sister Rita Laurie assumed the role of mayoress. Fred was made a Knight Bachelor in 1962 and Rita was made an Officer in the Order of the British Empire in 1967, both for community and municipal service. Rita Laurie, as mayoress, entertained many local residents and groups as well as visiting dignitaries at Sampson House, a status for the house signified by an entrance hall lined with mayoral memorabilia including a signed letter from the Queen. As a mayoral residence, Samson House has the capacity to illustrate a broader imagining of the self-governing community through familial leadership and a blending of domestic and public spaces to create distinctive local identities within a larger and more amorphous metropolitan landscape.

Revealing imaginings through styles and ruins

The Central Greenough conservation plan of 1995 assesses many of the buildings constructed at Greenough around the turn of the twentieth century in colonial Georgian and Gothic revival styles as "old fashioned" or "too old" or "out of date" when built, which it claims indicates Greenough's physical and cultural "isolation from other parts of Australia".[69] This assessment appears to be derived from using the guide, *Identifying Australian Architecture*, published in Sydney in 1989, which leads to the 'old fashioned' characterisations.[70] However, if questions are asked about what was in the minds of the people who chose to design and build in these styles at the time they did, then by looking at their relevant social and cultural contexts, at what in their imaginings would make sense to them and their communities, different stories become possible beyond the 'unfashionable'. The Roman Catholic precinct may seem architecturally 'old fashioned' from a late twentieth century Sydney viewpoint, but

[67] Bruce Baskerville, *Felon to Farmer: Thomas Harrison and his family of Greenough Western Australia*, unpub MSS, 1984: 69-72. This MSS has been cited in Palassis Architects 1995.
[68] National Trust WA, *Samson House Fremantle, Conservation Management Plan*, National Trust WA, September 2015: 5
[69] Palassis Architects 1995: Volume 2, Section 5 'Architectural style notes', pages 111-185
[70] Richard Apperly, Robert Irving and Peter Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and terms from 1788 to the present*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1989

its layout harks back to very old practices in the group-arrangement of religious buildings that Greenough's Roman Catholics would have comprehended, and the architecture, much of it vernacular, expresses what they understood to be appropriate and within their means. They were not 'old fashioned' but 'of their time', a time that needs to be investigated on its own terms rather than be peered at through the lens of later generations' rather arbitrarily imposed views.[71] Social and cultural institutions, in being transplanted to new colonial societies, do not remain frozen imitations of 'home' but become dynamic institutions in their own ways. The imaginative needs of the colonists shape them as they adapt and fuse them so they acquire their own localised characteristics, and one medium in which this becomes evident is in architectural and landscape styles. This discussion could be developed to a much greater depth through stories across the whole Trust Estate, exploring, for example, the uncritical use of architectural style guides in ways that obscure rather than enlighten.

The Trust Estate contains a number of outstanding examples of ruins.[72] Ruins can speak, or rather, in ruins can be read, of the passing of time, of a presence of the past, of living in an 'old country', imaginings important to colonists, blind to Aboriginal histories and antiquities, trying to make sense of a 'new country' and make it 'home'. They can provide to their viewer an imagined journey to a past time and place not otherwise accessible, a window into the soul of how Westralians might see and sense their pasts. A ruin, in its visible signs of decay, is a 'dialogue with the forces of nature that is alive and dynamic', and it is that dynamism that can provoke the imagination and embody imaginings. The contrast and the fusion between the cultural and the natural creates unique landscapes with space for day-dreaming, for inspiration, for the solitary, for encountering a sense of mystery and the weathered beauty of the picturesque. To experience a ruin can also be to imagine failure, change, impermanence and transience, to be confronted by a sense that nothing stays the same, that seemingly rock-solid continuities can decay and crumble. A ruin is so much more than a pile of stones needing to be tidied up or restored or demolished. Key ruins in the Trust Estate are the Moir Homestead, Israelite Bay Telegraph Station, Greenough Temperance Lodge, Goldfields Pipeline Karalee Rocks, as well as Greenough Wesleyan Church, Clinch's Mill and parts of East Perth Cemeteries. Stories of imaginings and imagination can, through photography and other visual arts, poetry and other media, or rambling (or as Perth poet Nandi Chinna says, 'poepatetics'), connect the ruins in the Trust Estate in ways that can extend storytelling into pasts and futures as yet unimagined.[73]

[71] Or, as the great English historian EP Thompson put it, "the enormous condescension of posterity": EP Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1980: 12 (original Victor Gollancz, London 1963)
[72] Key references for this discussion are Christopher Woodward, *In Ruins*, Vintage, London 2002 and Jeremy Musson, *English Ruins*, Merrall, London 2011
[73] Nandi Chinna, *Swamp: Walking the wetlands of the Swan Coastal Plain*, Fremantle Press, Fremantle 2014

Figure 5.14 | In Ruins: Israelite Bay Telegraph Station and Karalee Rocks Aqueduct
Images (L) Phil Penalurick, ABC Open; (R)Roger Groom, AstroPhotography Australia 2015, accessed 15 April 2019

Figure 5.15 |
Districts in the Trust Estate that could illustrate stories using ruins and imaginative provocation

Places

(H) East Perth Cemeteries, Greenough St Catherine's, Greenough Presbytery, Greenough St Josephs, Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent, Greenough Flats, Old Blythewood, Peninsula Farm (M) 57 Murray Street, Curtin House, Gallop House, Luisini Winery, Old Observatory, (L) Cue Masonic Lodge, Greenough St James, Greenough Temperance Lodge, Greenough Wesleyan, Greenough Walkaway cemetery, Herdsman Settlers Cottage, St Peters Glebe, Hermitage Geraldton

(for H, M, L codes see page 8)

TFWH | Marches

Only I, riding the flat-topped hills alone,
Feel in the inland wind the sing of desert,
And under alien skin the surge, the stirring,
A wisdom and a violence, the land's dark blood.

'There was a Time | the Youth',
Randolph Stow, 1965

A march is a transitional space between states or territories, a sort of borderland or buffer in between the centres of states. Some of the laws and customs of each state might apply in a march, and it can have varying degrees of autonomy. Marches are often in a state of continuing change as cultures meet and entangle, engaging in both destructive and constructive ways. A march occupies a geographical territory but its actual boundaries are usually fluid and difficult to define. New languages and societies can develop in marches so that, in time, they may become distinctly different to the original cultures and states. A march can also be understood in a literal sense to refer to cultural and emotional spaces in which change and transition to new forms is a defining element. In the British cultures of the early colonists the Welsh Marches and Scottish Borders and their 'marcher lords' were familiar examples of marches, and the blurry overlapping boundaries in the 1996 Horton map of Australian Indigenous languages groups could also be understood as a visual representation of marches.[74]

Figure 5.16 |

Map showing the indistinct and overlapping territories of various authorities and dynasties in the Welsh marches of the thirteenth century.
Image *Philip's Historical Atlas, Ancient Medieval and Modern*, George Philip & Son Ltd, London 1938, plate 35a

[74] The concept is culturally widespread, as reflected in the German toponym 'mark', Norwegian 'marka', Finnish 'markku', French 'marche', Italian and Spanish 'marca', Russian 'krai', Japanese 'ezo' and historical Chinese 'jùn' and Roman 'limes'; David R Horton, creator, *The AIATSIS Map of Indigenous Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press/AIATSIS, Canberra 1996

It should come as no surprise that marches develop in colonial societies, although they may not be specifically named as such. The 1827 expedition to the Swan River under Captain James Stirling was a reconnaissance mission with a view to a later invasion and occupation of the country. Stirling's principal biographer has noted that, as his party was passing the site of present-day Claisebrook, he saw the local Noongar people for the first time. He wrote that their stance was defensive, they were armed, and they "…seemed angry at our invasion of their Territory."[75] A decade later in 1837, long after that initial scouting party, the colony was well-established but the Noongar people remained defensive (as in intending to defend and protect) and angry.

Stirling advised his Executive Council that year that the acquisition of the colony would never have been contemplated if "…the future intercourse between the invaders and the invaded" could not be regulated for the mutual benefit of both sides.[76] Stirling was then arguing for the establishment of a colonial police force, which was opposed by the Executive Councillors. Statham Drew argues that Stirling's use of the language of territory and invasion shows he understood that the land did, in fact, belong to the Noongar, that it was their country. But, he also understood from his own military experience that invasion could lead to the transfer of sovereign authority.[77] Statham Drew's argument could be read as referencing the idea of conquest, for the acquisition of sovereignty over the Noongar domains by *force majeure*, or overwhelming force, an argument that some legal scholars today assert should prevail over notions of settlement:

> *Australia [has] not been acquired by the British Crown, and in turn the Australian Crown, by peaceful settlement, but by conquest …. The classification of the acquisition of the Australian Continent [i.e. as settlement or conquest] continues to be a matter of great importance to the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. It continues to determine their rights to land, their personal status as "British subjects" or aliens, and whether they can be considered sovereign nations either domestically or internationally. Ironically, had the acquisition of Australia been classified as a 'conquest' and the Aboriginal peoples of Australia regarded as 'conquered' then, despite the negative connotations seeming to flow from these terms, they might historically have been considerably better served. … in law 'conquest' does not necessarily mean the extinguishment of pre-existing customary law, nor Aboriginal customary rights. Thus, conquest would have provided an alternative ground for recognising Aboriginal rights. Moreover, if the linguistic groups occupying Australia were seen as sovereign politiques, conquest might also have provided for the more effective recognition of the status of Aboriginal peoples under national and perhaps even*

[75] Quoted in Pamela Statham Drew, *James Stirling: Admiral and Founding Governor of Western Australia*, UWA Press, Crawley 2003b: 74
[76] In Pamela Statham Drew 2003b: 323
[77] At this time, the methods in European-minded countries by which State sovereignty could be transferred was by succession (as agreed between old and new sovereigns), election (as chosen by subjects) or conquest (by force).

> *international law … The notion of 'settlement' remains the very antithesis of Aboriginal sovereignty and its reversion.*[78]

Stirling, in his choice of language, was not claiming the land is *terra nullius*, but instead that, by military might, he was conquering the Indigenous countries. As a consequence, sovereignty has passed, or was passing, from the Noongar realms to the British Crown. As the Crown's representative it was now Stirling's role to regulate relations between all the Crown's subjects, both Noongar and colonist, for their mutual benefit and for the creation of a new polity that, by the nature of conquest, would have roots (and futures) in the histories, customs and rights of both peoples.

By 1837, Stirling had already symbolically impressed these concepts into the landscape by creating the Town of Guildford and his adjoining manor-like estate of Woodbridge. In doing so, he planted a new history in the upper Swan Valley, in the very country de Vlamingh had assessed 125 years earlier was the heartland of the Southlanders who had so consistently evaded his gaze. Stirling's naming of Guildford and Woodbridge imagined a newly-ancient landscape with a history readable by the colonists. They knew these places, the home of a settled county gentry, a medieval town with an established social order in Surrey. But Stirling's newly ancient Guildford also, either unwittingly or by the affective power of a *genius loci*, overlaid the existing and ancient landscape of the Noongar locality of Mandoon.[79] Stirling's power to do this came from his status as invader and conqueror, but conquest could not deprive the Noongar of their own power through their histories about this historical landscape. They constantly give voice to their prior and underlying tenure over the land. The fractious entangling of these histories, evident all around the Mandoon-Guildford district in the middle Swan Valley, would be played out with greater affinity with Trust properties further southwards.

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[78] Julie Cassidy, 'The Impact of the Conquered/Settled Distinction Regarding the Acquisition of Sovereignty in Australia', *Southern Cross University Law Review*, Vol 8, 2004: 1-50. The concept of conquest is implicit in histories such as John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars 1788-1838*, UNSW Press, Sydney 2002, and more explicit in Nick Brodie, *The Vandemonian War: The secret history of Britain's Tasmanian invasion*, Hardie Grant, Richmond 2017; Stephen Gapps, *The Sydney Wars: Conflict in the early colony 1788-1817*, NewSouth, UN SW 2018

[79] For discussion of this concept, see Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History*, Faber & Faber, London 1987

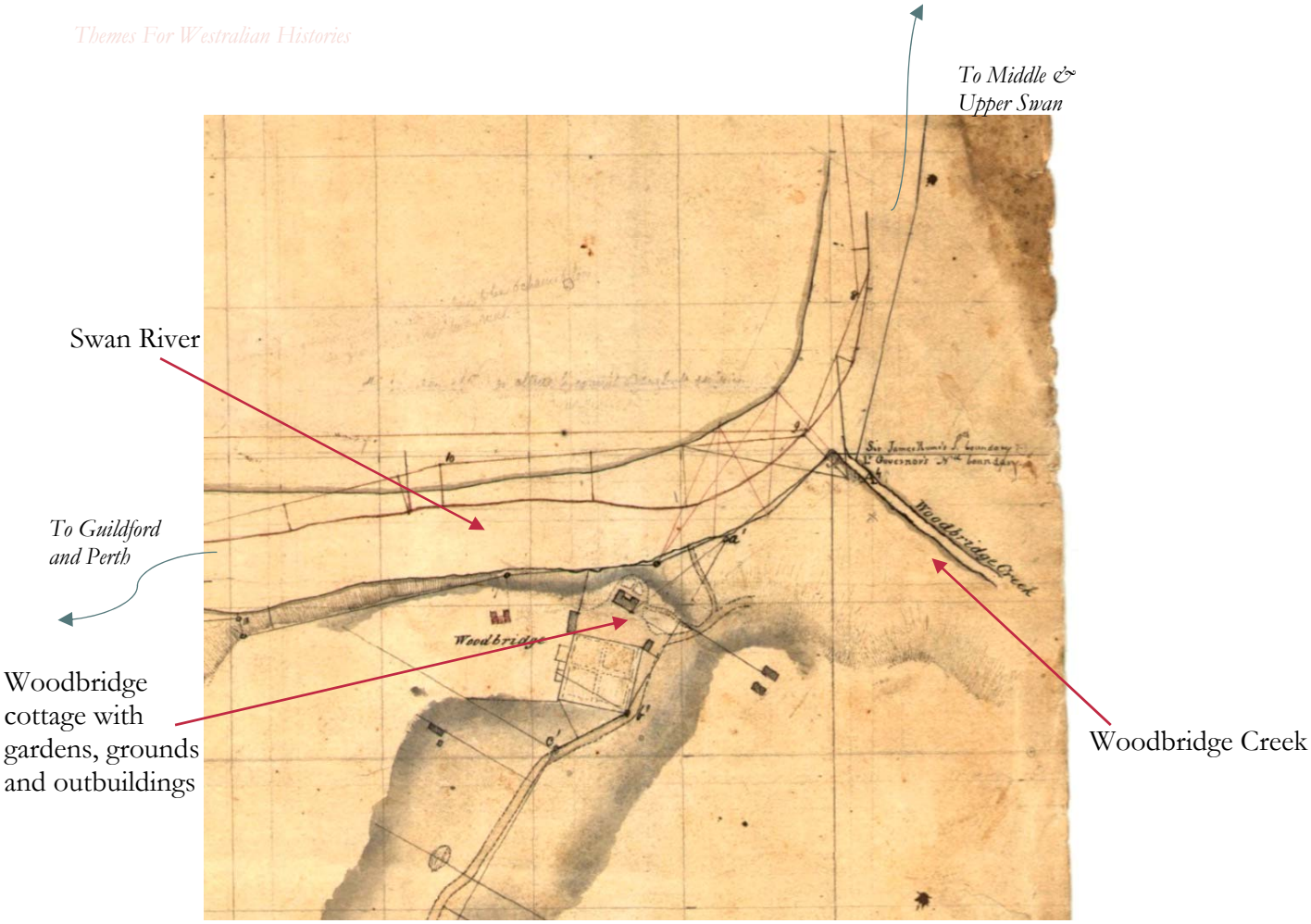

Figure 5.17 | Annotated plan of Stirling's Woodbridge Estate in 1831: a strategically placed old domain overlooking the upper reaches of the Swan River
Detail from 'Swan River', Sheet 8, Woodbridge and Helena River, by Raphael Clint and George Smythe, 1831
courtesy State Records Office of Western Australia, AU WA S234-cons3844 012

Statham Drew examined the armed conflict that took place at Bindjareb or Pinjarra on 28 October 1834 between a force of 60-70 Noongar warriors lead by Kalyute and a mixed party of 25 soldiers, officials and settlers under Stirling's command with Captain Meares of the Guildford Police.[80] Bindjareb-Pinjarra is about 100 kilometres south of Guildford on a fordable bend in the Murray River, because of which it had been designated a site for a garrison town on the road to Albany. There is ongoing contest to this day about the numbers of Noongar killed, whether they were all warriors or also included their families, and whether the conflict was a massacre or a battle. The term Battle of Pinjarra was coined shortly afterwards, superseding the initial descriptions of an 'encounter' at Pinjarra.[81] Statham Drew concludes that Stirling's use of the term 'battle' is consistent with his belief in the morality of conquest and an insinuation of equality between opposing armed forces. In battle, the

[80] Pamela Statham, 'James Stirling and Pinjarra: A battle in more ways than one', in Christine Choo and Shawn Hollbach (eds), *History and Native Title: Studies in Western Australian History*, No 23, 2003a: 167-194
[81] 'Manners and Habits of the Aborigines of Western Australia', *Perth Gazette*, 5 November 1836: 793; 'Encounter with The Natives in the Pinjarra District', *Perth Gazette*, 1 November 1834: 382

colonisers prevailed (due to chance more than tactics, and despite defensive valour) and claimed victory in the Noongar-Bindjareb domains. They prevailed through conquest, and by might imposed their sovereignty over the Bindjarep territories.

At this point, it is salient to consider terminology and its use in this theme, especially the binary terms battle/massacre and settlement/conquest. Noongar historian Len Collard refers to 'the event' and 'the attack' at Pinjarra, and argues 'the carnage' was later dignified with the name of the Battle of Pinjarra.[82] Noongar cultural custodian George Walley refers to the "attack on Noongar campers that has since been defined as a massacre", and has spoken of a short battle of a few minutes in which colonial and Noongar-Bindjareb warriors fought each other, followed by a longer massacre of an hour or so in which women, men and children were indiscriminately killed by the colonial force.[83]

The Colonial Frontier Massacres project defines a colonial frontier massacre as "the indiscriminate killing of six or more undefended people".[84] Professor Lyndall Ryan, the project's lead researcher, adds to that core definition several other factors: a massacre is planned not spontaneous, its purpose is either to restore something lost or is a reprisal, it is secret and shrouded in a code of silence by participants for many years after, and when settlers are involved they usually know the people killed, often after an early period of colonising.[85] The Pinjarra killings, and others discussed in this theme, meet the core definition and many of the other factors, keeping in mind Ryan's caution that "every massacre has its own story".

Names and terminology are very important for indicating the positions or points of view of those speaking or writing, in both historical and contemporary times. Whether an event or longer process is named a battle or a massacre, a settlement or a conquest, it matters for cultural and political reasons in the past and in the present. Exploring both narratives, and how they change over time, is a capacity inherent in a theme of marches. Whadjuk Noongar-English-Irish man and Aboriginal Heritage Officer on Wadjemup Rottnest Island, Ezra Jacobs-Smith, says that "neither [colonists or Noongar] understood nor recognised the legitimacy of each other ... [but] … this is everybody's history, not just Aboriginal history".[86] The theme of marches is a space in which understanding and legitimacy can be explored in ways that can move towards a common or 'everybody's' history and future.

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[82] Len Collard, 'Massacre, Pinjarra', in Gregory and Gothard 2009: 561-562
[83] George Walley, 'Hotham Valley Tourist Route | Pinjarra - Our Land, Our People and Our Cultures', interpretation sign, Lions Park, Pinjarra, 2010, and spoken presentation to tour group at massacre memorial, 'Aboriginal Heritage: A personal perspective', State History & Heritage Conference/Mandjoogoordap Dreaming, 28 April 2019
[84] Colonial Frontier Massacres in Central and Eastern Australia 1788-1930, Centre for 21st Century Humanities, University of Newcastle: https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/introduction.php , accessed 13 August 2019
[85] Lyndall Ryan, 'Massacre Sites and Heritage', keynote speaker, State History and Heritage Conference, Perth 30 April 2019
[86] Ezra Jacobs-Smith, 'Wadjemup Aboriginal Burial Ground | Truth-telling, healing and reconciliation', State History and Heritage Conference, Perth 29 April 2019

Stirling recognised during his viceroyalty that Aboriginal people were losing property to the colonists, but, argues Statham Drew, he never really understood just how devastating this was on Noongar food harvesting methods and cycles and distribution customs, a devastation that could not be compensated by access to some (imported) colonial foodstuffs and other materials. He wanted to establish a colonial police force to manage relations between Noongar and colonists, rather than allow *ad hoc* parties of colonists to undertake their own unrecorded 'policing'. A police force would have maintained and deepened the conquest behind frontiers defined by serial military skirmishes and battles, ideally managing an orderly transition from Noongar to colonist ownership of the land. Stirling had some misgivings about military behaviour, especially when he learned upon returning from an absence in London in 1832-33, that the Acting Governor, Commandant Irwin of the 63rd Regiment, had rather too heartily sided with the colonists in persecuting the Noongar resistance around Perth. Irwin outlawed the warrior-leaders Midgegooroo (whom he had executed) and Yagan (who was killed by colonist bounty-hunters). Stirling preferred a colonial police force under direct viceroyal control because, if left to the settlers and occasional supportive military officers like Irwin, he worried there would be "…a fearful Struggle between the Invaders and the Invaded, which will not Cease until the Extermination of the latter be accomplished, to the Discredit of the British Name."[87] Military commandants and regiments continued to be rotated by London through the colony somewhat independently of viceroyal authority, maintaining a tension between military and policing actions and consequences, and differing ideas in the colony of British honour.

Captain Meares's son Seymour was also a member of Stirling's party at Bindjareb-Pinjarra, and in 1868 he described in the press the battle in which he participated 34 years earlier. In 1831, well before the conflict, Captain Meares had been assigned 2,472 hectares of land (later designated Murray Location 3) about a kilometre south of the future battlefield and massacre site.[88] From 1836, after a garrison was stationed at Bindjareb-Pinjarra, Seymour Meares and his brother Peyton began developing the property as a farm. Ronald Richards says that an advantage of the site was Noongar aversion to being near the battlefield and massacre site, but nevertheless recurrent guerrilla activities seemed to continue. A hamlet called Meares's Town developed on the high river banks overlooking the river flats, with the principle structure being a long mud brick building surrounded by timber slab outbuildings.[89] By 1840, Meares' had spent £380 (A$70,000) developing the property and obtained title to the land. He then unsuccessfully tried to sell it, after which it was left uninhabited for some years, possibly in response to the ongoing local resistance. In 1856 the property finally sold to John McLarty who developed the 'Pinjarra Inn' on the site facing the road to the Vasse. Meare's mud brick building then became the kitchen for the Inn. Conflict with the Noongar had subsided by the 1850s, and McLarty re-named the

[87] Quoted in Statham Drew 2003a: 194
[88] Ronald Richards, *Old Blythewood Historical Research Report, Preliminary Draft*, February 2000, unpub MSS: 2-4
[89] John Pidgeon and Oline Richards, *Conservation and Management Plan for Old Blythewood, Pinjarra*, 1993, MSS, National Trust WA: 18-23

property Blythewood.[90] Old Blythewood, as the property is now known, has intimate connections to the Binjareb-Pinjarra conflict through both geographical proximity and historical associations. It is a key property in the story of Western Australia's marches.

Fig 5.18 | Views from (L) and to (R) Old Blythewood kitchen, high above the Murray River flats, conveying a sense of Meares' strategic positioning of the homestead after 1836, and across which the flight of the defeated and traumatised Noongar-Bindjareb people in the late autumn of 1834, and their subsequent guerrilla warfare, can be imagined
Images courtesy National Trust WA collections

Stirling's party had travelled overland from the Swan River to The Murray in 1834, but the 'road' went no further. In 1830 a second beachhead had been established from the sea further south at Augusta, which lead overland to the Vasse in the Sussex district.

Establishing serial beachheads from the sea was part of a general strategy of empire building. From such beachheads sea routes could be controlled, and imperial influence projected into hinterlands. This did not lead Stirling to the formal partition of the Noongar domain, as happened under Governor Arthur in Van Diemen's Land, but as in that colony resistance was expected. Nick Brodie defines a multifaceted pattern of imperial invasion: curiosity, conflict, cohabitation, collaboration, avoidance and adaptation.[91] In such ways the invaders and the invaded engaged in mutual learning, interacting with each other and changing each other in different ways.

George Layman, a settler at Augusta from Van Diemen's Land, claimed land at Wonnerup in 1831, and the next year moved as part of the Bussell migration from Augusta to the Vasse. However, he was unable to take up the land (later designated Sussex Locations 3 and 4) because of resistance from its

[90] Museum Studies Consulting, *Old Blythewood Interpretive Plan*, November 2000, MSS, National Trust WA; 'Old Blythewood', *InHerit*, State Heritage Office Place 01763, accessed 22 March 2019
[91] Nick Brodie 2017: 6, 10-11

Noongar owners.[92] Layman attempted to travel overland from Augusta to Perth in September 1834, just a few months before the Bindjareb massacre, when he was speared in the hip about 60 kilometres south of Pinjarra.[93] The spearing may have been punishment for taking animals without permission, and then refusing to share with a party of Noongar men they had met on the track.[94] It is tempting to consider whether Layman harboured any particular Vandemonian attitude towards Aboriginal people, and the significance of his spearing in justifying the clash at Bindjareb. The published 1834 account of the Pinjarra massacre by 'a Gentleman' concludes the Binjareb-Noongar, a "complete nest of hornets", had bought the killings on themselves through their killing of several colonists and their "almost successful attempts on the lives of Jenkins, Barron, Layman, etc".[95] A Gentleman attributes a calculating terror to the Bindjareb Noongar defenders, and names Layman as one of their victims for whom retribution had been extracted.

In December 1836 Lieutenant Bunbury and a small party, with a Noongar-Whadjuk guide, travelled overland from Bindjareb-Pinjarra to the Vasse, claiming to be the first white or Noongar people to ever do so.[96] After examining the lay of the land and the military situation in the district, Bunbury built a temporary Barracks at Wonnerup on Layman's grant close to the southern boundary of Stirling's large Geographe Bay estate, with a smaller Barracks in Busselton.[97] Layman and his family grew potatoes and had a dairy herd there for butter making, selling produce to passing coastal ships for on-selling at Swan River or King George's Sound.

Resistance from the local Wonnerup Noongar-Wardandi under their leader Gayware grew with the Bussell migration as the colonists took more of their land and resources. Conflict throughout the Sussex District grew, increasingly restricting Layman's activities. Ships refused to call-in, and he lobbied for more soldiers to be garrisoned at Wonnerup. However, in 1839 the barracks were moved closer to Busselton, which was now growing as the settler village while Wonnerup stagnated. Noongar resistance continued until, early in 1841, after an argument over, according to one account, flour and tea Laymen was withholding from the local Noongar as payment for their labour on his farm, and according to another because Layman had restrained Gayware's wife in his kitchen as a hostage, Gayware speared Laymen in the kitchen doorway and killed him. A party of colonists under the Government Resident, retired army officer Captain Molloy, with soldiers from the Busselton Barracks engaged in a bloody retaliation. Gayware and between five and 'many' Noongar, including women and

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[92] There is good coverage of this resistance in Len Collard, *A Nyungar Interpretation of Ellensbrook & Wonnerup Homesteads*, Part 1, unpub MSS, National Trust WA: 55-65
[93] 'Journey from Port Augusta', *Perth Gazette*, 20 September 1834: 359
[94] See 'Native Corrobora & Fight', *Perth Gazette*, 28 March 1835: 467, which states that spearing in the leg was the appropriate punishment among the Swan and Murray Noongar for unlawfully taking food animals.
[95] 'Encounter with the Natives in the Pinjarra District | On the banks of the Murray', *Perth Gazette*, 1 November 1834: 382
[96] HW Bunbury, *Early Days in western Australia, being the Letters and Journal of Lieut HW Bunbury 21st Fusiliers*, (1836-1837), Oxford University Press, London 1930: 66
[97] Bunbury 1930: 121-122

children, were hunted and massacred among the swamps and waterways of Wonnerup and the Vasse estuary, "until the river was red with blood".[98] Only those who had a settler father or were otherwise fair-skinned were spared. The kitchen is which Layman was speared is reputed to be Building B1, or the 'old house', at Wonnerup.

Figure 5.19 | B1 or the 'old house', Wonnerup. The central rooms are reputed to be the old kitchen in which Gayware speared George Laymen in 1841, after several years of simmering discontent and guerrilla warfare, which in turn sparked the massacre of the Noongar-Wardandi. Like Old Blythewood, Wonnerup is a key site in the Trust's marcher estate
Images courtesy National Trust WA Collections

After the bloody conflicts in the Murray and Sussex marches, a different aspect of the marcher experience can be found at the Old Farm, Strawberry Hill in Albany.

Stirling had planned for Pinjarra to develop as a town on the highway to King George's Sound, but instead it became an important stop on the road to the Sussex District. The King George's route became needed after the transfer of the district from the jurisdiction of New South Wales to Western Australia in 1832. Stirling re-named Frederick Town, the seat of government in the newly-acquired district, Albany, sealing an important marker of the district's incorporation into the colony.[99] The transfer prevented the de-facto partition of the Noongar realm from persisting, and the symbolic renaming of the town was celebrated with a visit to Perth, under Stirling's auspices, of Menang-Noongar men Manyat and Gyallipert who met with the Whadjuk-Noongar people first at Keiermulu Lake Monger and then in a formal 'corrobory' in Perth where they painted each other's breasts and

[98] GW Webb, 'History of Wonnerup Aboriginals', 1989, in John Pidgeon *et al* 1995, Appendix 2; see also Len Collard, *A Nyungar Interpretation of Ellensbrook & Wonnerup Homesteads*, Part 1, unpub MSS, National Trust WA: 55-65
[99] 'Government Notice', *Perth Gazette*, 14 December 1833: 197 (describes new boundaries of the 'Town-site of Albany in the county of Plantagenet').

shared several dances. Yagan was master of ceremonies, with Stirling and several ladies as guests.[100] This exchange, it was hoped, would lead to the "establishment of an amicable intercourse with the original possessors of the country, throughout the Colony, a result most sincerely to be desired."[101] However, despite the optimism, the history of Noongar-colonist relations in King George's Sound would not set a template for a colony-wide 'amicable intercourse'.

Statham Drew argues that the King George's Sound colonists had a much less impact on Noongar food and harvesting because the density of settlers was much lower than at Swan River, which resulted in a more pacific history in the Plantagenet District. A government farm was established in 1827, on an estate owned by the Noongar-Menang man Nakinah and his brothers Mokare, Tarapan and Mollian and their sister Mullet, who had inherited it from their father.[102] It gradually expanded over the next few years to 2.4 hectares of vegetable and fruit gardens. The parcel of land for the farm included Barmup, a Noongar-Menang camp site.[103] After the transfer in 1832, Stirling appointed Alexander Collie as the Government Resident, and the farm cottage became the official residence. Collie cultivated strawberries on the farm, and it became known as Strawberry Hill. In 1833 Captain Sir Richard Spencer RN was appointed Government Resident, and he purchased the land from the Crown and constructed the present Old Farm, Strawberry Hill buildings. The sale was made without reference to Nakinah and his family, although their ownership was well-known, as acknowledged by the last New South Wales administrator of King George's Sound, Captain Collet-Barker, who wrote in 1830 of Nakinah as "… head of the family whose land [Barmup] we occupy, [so] one must be indulgent to him".[104]

Spencer employed Noongar-Menang people to clear trees and bush, and plant and harvest crops on the farm. They continued to camp at the Barmup site, adjacent to the new house Spencer built, where at least one child, Wandinyil, possibly a son of Mullet and an heir to the estate, was born in c1828 and visited the place until his death in c1903. Wandinyil helped Spencer plant a Norfolk Island Pine near the house in 1833, which still stands today. There are records across the nineteenth century of Noongar people camping at Barmup, affirming a continuing connection to the place. However, over time, their numbers decreased, which Roger Logan and Shirley Gollagher both attribute to a combination of a wider loss of access to their land with consequent loss of hunting grounds and loss of cultural and spiritual activities, the cumulative effects of introduced illnesses (often fatal) such as influenza, measles, whooping cough and sexually transmitted diseases, increased reliance on a limited

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[100] 'Native Corrobory at Perth', *Perth Gazette*, 16 March 1833: 42
[101] *Perth Gazette*, 19 January 1833: 10
[102] Roger Logan, 'The Menang of the Albany region and their links with Barmup (Strawberry Hill and Old Farm) since 1827', 31 May 1998, Appendix 1 in Shirley Gollagher, *Towards a Noongar Interpretation of the Old Farm at Strawberry Hill, Albany WA*, Vol. 1., National Trust WA, nd but c1997: 3
[103] Shirley Gollagher, *Towards a Noongar Interpretation of The Old Farm at Strawberry Hill, WA*, Vol.,1, 1996, MSS, National Trust WA: 9
[104] Quoted in Roger Logan 1998: 3

range of low-nutrition settler foodstuffs, and enforced mixing (sometimes violently) with 'foreign' Aboriginal peoples (i.e. non-Noongar-Menang) as their countries were also invaded and occupied. Spencer died in 1839, but his widow continued to run the farm until her death in 1855. The place was then neglected by the Spencer heirs until they sold it in 1886 to the architect Francis Bird, who with his family moved into the Spencer house. Members of the Bird family recall Noongar people still visiting Barmup until about the time of the Great War, and Mrs Bird was able to record some of the Menang place names told to her by the older women.

The Noongar-Menang also compiled their own records of the invasion and occupation. In 1908 Daisy Bates spoke with Nebinyan of Yilbering, then an old man, who sang of his experiences working on whaling vessels many years before.[105] In doing so, he was continuing a tradition from the earliest days of contact when a visit by Matthew Flinders in 1801 was marked by a party of marines undertaking a drill exercise in full dress uniforms on the shore for the Menang. Six generations later, a dance in which the men painted their bodies in the style of the uniforms and performed a dance that imitated the drill was still known to Menang men.[106] Just as the Noongar-Menang sought to incorporate the colonisers into their world view on their terms through ritual and performance, they also developed a transitional 'zone' through pidgin, a language that incorporates words and grammar from both English and Noongar (and other) languages to enable communications. Daisy Bates pronounced the demise of the Noongar-Menang in 1903, but the continuity of families with both Noongar and coloniser ancestries reveals the limits of Bates' understanding of Aboriginal family networks and extended lineages, with her refusal to acknowledge people of Aboriginal and colonist ancestries as genuinely indigenous.[107] Some written examples of these pidgins survive, pointing, like the dances and the Noongar-Menang people of diverse ancestries, to the mixing and fusing of people characteristic of marches.

These stories from the Westralian Marches have led through the Swan, Murray, Sussex and Plantagenet districts, illuminating a short period of the first ten years in the invasion and occupation of the Noongar realms. From the present-day, these stories might seem to have a character of inevitability about them, of the sheer numbers of colonists and weapons and vehicles such as horses simply overwhelming and crushing the Noongar defence of their homelands. However, there was no sense of such inevitability at the time. At first, Noongar peoples sought to share their land with the people they perceived to be the ghosts of returning ancestors. Once it became apparent that the 'ancestors' appetites were gluttonous, and seemingly indifferent to the needs of their 'descendants', they began to resist. Colonists lived with fear, trying to fraternise with the people whose lands they were occupying while constantly alert to the dangers in every encounter. Their claims to the land were

[105] See Roger Logan 1998: 6
[106] Shirley Gollagher 1997: 16-17
[107] Shirley Gollagher 1997: 44-46

tenuous and could be lost without ongoing vigilance. It is hard not to imagine the words of Captain Irwin whispering in their hearts: "…the settlers, and the nation to which they belong, [are bound] in deep and lasting responsibilities … the strongest ties of moral obligation to assist the natives in accommodating themselves to the great changes they have to undergo".[108] The colonist's Britishness as an identifying value and source of honour was constantly tested. Their responses to Noongar resistance varied from place to place: around the Swan Valley and its estuary the language of English law and policing imparted a civilised veneer to arrests and trials and executions under vice-regal authority; on the Murray the conquering force was more obvious in its military tactics and choice of a theatre of war with a decisive outcome; the swamps and marshes of the Sussex, however, far from the seat of colonial authority, obscured a bloody and terrifying outburst of mass murder by the colonists and soldiers; while at King George's Sound a more subtle but slow moving conquest gradually displaced the local people until one day they just seemed (to the colonists) to fade away.

We know these stories today partly because the colonisers recorded some of them, partly because the Noongar did not disappear at all. Instead, they also recorded them, whether in dance and ritual or inscribed artefacts or the oral histories passed down through the generations. In the telling of these stories not only was an archive created, but a new people gradually arose in the marches. By the end of the 1830s it was clear to the invaded and the invader, as Stirling termed it, that neither could go back to a pre-colonial time. Their journey forward would be haunted by the memories of their creation, a creation in many cases that included the fusing of long Noongar lineages and newly-landed coloniser ancestries. As the narrator of the Wonnerup massacre stories, a descendant of a local Noongar woman and a bigamist colonist who came to Wonnerup via Augusta, said in 1989

> *I believe my grandmother before the white man's story … her tellings have been told a lot to us noongars, it means a lot to us that we still belong to this beautiful land, and I hope that we never die out so that we can keep our legends intact.*[109]

Like all marcher lands, these stories are great in their diversity and caution against applying a single monolithic narrative. The Trust Estate can continue the marches stories through the Greenough Courthouse & Jail, where from the 1860s onwards Aboriginal men from the Greenough Flats and far inland alike were imprisoned, sometimes after a trial, before being transported to Rottnest Island[110]; and through the York Courthouse Complex with its detailed records of the abject spirit-breaking degradation Aboriginal men and women suffered in its cells, often a prelude to their transportation[111]. Ellensbrook at Mokidup moves the story on to the children taken from Aboriginal families across the

[108] Quoted in Shirley Gollagher 1997: 26
[109] GW Webb, 'History of Wonnerup Aboriginals', 1989, in John Pidgeon *et al* 1995, Appendix 2
[110] Simon Forrest and Michelle Green, 'Aboriginal presence in the Greenough area', in Palassis Architects, *Historic Greenough District Conservation Masterplan*, Vol 1., National Trust WA 1995: 78-94
[111] Roger Logan, *A Noongar History of York Gaol and its Region*, 1998, unpub MSS, National Trust WA: 22-25

State. Here early twentieth century paternalism and philanthropy saw 27 'destitute and half-caste' women and children from the North West between 1899 and 1917 accommodated and given basic schooling.[112] It is a microcosm of the early years of the stolen generations.

Figure 5.20 |

Lizzy Taylor, Dora Hest of Roebourne and Ivy Hadji of Carnarvon, at Ellensbrook in 1904

Image courtesy State Library of Western Australia, Prinsep Collection, SLWA BA1423/1172

By the mid-twentieth century, pseudo-sciences such as phrenology and eugenics influenced public policy in what was by then called Native Administration. The horrors of its banal superintendence by the Protector between 1922 and 1945 from his office in the comforts of 57 Murray Street, Perth have now been exposed as conquest's nemesis, hubris, but at the time were applied with a heartless rigour in the cause of 'science'.[113] The long inter-generational consequences of conquest and settlement, philanthropy and pseudo-science bring the story to a less tangible but just as real marcher land, the ironically-named Stirling House in North Fremantle and its largely ignored history as a bail hostel and training centre between 1968 and 2002. Here traumatised men, many of them Aboriginal, attended Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and awaited trial on criminal charges. In 2002 the old school became a boarding house for boys from the Clontarf Aboriginal College, and with it an opportunity to commence another story of a new generation.[114]

There is a close connection between the Trust Estate and the Westralian Marches that provides unique opportunities to explore this theme within geographical and temporal limits. New South Wales' Wiradjuri man and well-known journalist Stan Grant recently wrote, in response to proposed enlargements of the National War Memorial in Canberra,

> *A nation [is] not defined by race or religion or language or borders; it [is] a collective will. A nation is ultimately a story; a story that binds people in ways that law cannot.…let's recognise the conflicts in our history that still*

[112] Len Collard, *A Nyungar Interpretation of Ellensbrook & Wonnerup Homesteads*, Part 1, unpub MSS, National Trust WA: 72-79
[113] National Trust WA, *Perth Medical & Health Department Office (fmr), 57 Murray Street Perth, Conservation Plan*, National Trust WA 2013: 39-41, 86-90
[114] Palassis Architects, *North Fremantle Primary School (fmr), Conservation Plan*, for Landcorp, December 2010: 25-29

> *largely go unspoken. Let's think about how we can acknowledge the wars fought on our soil when courageous Indigenous patriots defended their lands from the British. The frontier wars are our story – all of us. They should form the story of Australia just like Gallipoli, Tobruk, El Alamein, Kokoda. We still shy away from what the Australian anthropologist, Bill Stanner, called the "secret river of blood" consigned to the "locked cabinet of Australian history". It need not be this way. This does not need to be a "black armband" litany of horror, but a truth telling that sets us all free. It must not be about clinging to vengeance and resentment but acknowledging a shared history that could – told honestly and well - bring us closer together, just as the story of Gallipoli has fostered friendship between Turkey and Australia. I have been reminded again just how far we are from telling the story of our nation: this "spiritual principle", this "thing of the soul".*[115]

The Trust Estate, through this theme, can be a serial-site for the truth-telling to which Grant refers. For instance, stories of the lost burial sites of Bindjareb-Pinjarra and the Vasse locate them within the vicinity of Trust properties and close associations with those properties. The Barmup ground can offer more melancholy, but no less devastating, insights.

Statham Drew has outlined the main historiographical arguments around the Pinjarra conflict, including those about the numbers killed and the inability to locate their burial sites.[116] The official interpreter Adam Armstrong, one of Stirling's key advisors, wrote in 1836 that one of his Noongar interpreters had a throwing stick engraved with a depiction of what Armstrong called the 'battle of Pinjarra', showing in outline the river banks, the footprints of men and horses, and the graves of the slain as drawn by a 'Murray River artist'.[117] Similarly, there are contemporary press reports from settlers who observed the burials or the grave sites, and the reminiscence of Seymour Meares who recalls the graves close to his (by then, former) home at Old Blythewood.

The 1994 Wonnerup Conservation Plan tells of burial pits in the Tuart Forest at Wonnerup and the sandhills at Minninup containing many bodies of those massacred in 1841, and a plea from the Noongar elder relaying this information: "One day I hope to find this burial site and claim it as Aboriginal heritage. The white people do not know the history of Busselton people and think that there were no aboriginal people here at all.". Yet, these sites remain elusive.

Whether these burial sites that could so shockingly illustrate the Westralian Marches will ever be found remains a matter for the future. However, these accounts can be understood as emotional and intellectual attempts to come to terms with colonial conditions and the experience and remembrance

[115] Stan Grant, '$500 million war memorial upgrade should recognise unspoken conflict', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 March 2019
[116] Statham Drew 2003a: 184-189
[117] 'Manners and Habits of the Aborigines of Western Australia', *Perth Gazette*, 5 November 1836: 793;

of dispossession.[118] The loss of these burial sites, or at least, the loss of the knowledge about their locations, form a 'narrative of grievance', which attributes that loss to the self-interests of the colonists themselves and their descendants in maintaining a silence, purposely or otherwise, about how they acquired their estates. Archaeologists and others have tried to find the missing burial sites, but the importance of continuing to claim their lost existence legitimates and even compensates to some degree for their immateriality. The missing-graves stories reveal an understanding of the ways in which Noongar peoples have discursively created these intangible memorials that, by evoking their loss, sustains claims to occupied countries. The stories of the lost burial sites are, in a sense, the monuments and deeds to lost lands, just as real as the throwing stick described by Armstrong in 1836 which can be imagined but which also no longer materially exists.

Len Collard gives another insight into the marches when he describes multiple connections and interactions in the Sussex district after the massacres, and in doing so highlights another element of truth-telling.[119] Third and fourth generation settlers of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appear to have an emotionally-charged relationship with local Noongar people, offering little resistance to their moving back and forth across their farms, camping at favoured places, occasionally working in their gardens and fields, not unlike Strawberry Hill Old Farm. The old Layman sisters at Wonnerup in the inter-war years welcomed local Noongar women to pick mulberries for their families, and "would do anything for the Nyungar people in the area when they were alive". Edith Bussell at Ellensbrook at Mokidup wrote in 1907 "there is always a great deal of talk of our duty to the Aborigine, but I don't think they are treated quiet fairly or wisely". Collard recounts a significant illustration of life in the marches in his description of the collection of Aboriginal artefacts compiled by George Layman at Wonnerup, second son of the speared George Layman. George junior grew up under the influence of Noongar teachers, learning the local language and many customs, and assembled a huge collection of artefacts from all over Western Australia, while Noongar people continued to work on the property.

Despite, or perhaps because of, their shared and violent history, later generations have tried to make some reparation and passively seek some common ground. Noongar people have tried to respond by guiding the settlers to better know and understand their country. It is hard not to sense, in these later marcher settler reflections, a pervasive and shared understanding of what had happened, a sense of longing, of regret, of hoping that they were somehow atoning for a past that could not be changed and which, to them if not to the writers of school text books, could not be erased or silenced. Was it a form of, paradoxically, unspoken and even unconscious 'truth telling'? They seem to be both seeking

[118] For a more detailed exploration of this concept of responding to 'missing records', see Maria Nugent, 'The queen gave us the land': Aboriginal people, Queen Victoria and historical remembrance', *History Australia*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2012: pages 182-200

[119] Len Collard, *A Nyungar Interpretation of Ellensbrook & Wonnerup Homesteads*, Part 1, unpub MSS, National Trust WA

and sensing the 'wisdom and violence, the land's dark blood' of which Randolph Stow was conscious in the 1960s in the table-topped hills behind Greenough. Conquest it had been, and conquerors they were, and the price would be long, very long in the paying before the wisdom of the marches reveals itself.

The Trust's Westralian Marches illustrate a range of historical borderlands and their continuing emotional resonances. Battles, massacres, co-existences, hybridisations, all are complicated stories, with wide regional variation in experiences, and factors affecting that variation. By understanding these regional variabilities, interpretive approaches can move beyond representations of a simple and monolithic Aboriginal history. Through the Trust Estate, questions can be explored around how they can be sites for truth-telling in ways that move everyone to new pages in an 'everyones', or common, Westralian history-future, how the properties can inform the massacre/battle and conquest/settlement debates, how they can consider this 'thing of the soul' evident since Stirling and Irwin's concerns for the fate of British honour in the colony, how they can be a venue for the critical evaluation of Stirling's legacy. This may mean not so much Stirling the historical man, but Stirling the metaphor for all Western Australians today.

Artist Mathew McAlpine, in a 2018 exhibition titled *Hesperia: Land Looking West*, sought to critique the celebration of Stirling's legacy which, he argued, "contributes to the ongoing concealment of Indigenous experiences and versions of history."[120] This theme of Marches raises questions of who is celebrating, and what they imagine they are celebrating. As the theme suggests, that may be very different to what Stirling actually believed and said he was doing. This is a conversation that will continue for many years, and the Trust Estate can be an important stage for fostering and articulating and performing that conversation by drawing upon the storytelling potential within ideas of marches.

You don't want to talk about
Treaties or invasion of this land
It's a shared true history – let's heal
You don't want to talk about
Past injustices, cultural cruelty, cultural genocide
It's a shared true history – let us heal
'Don't Want Me To Talk',
Charmaine Papertalk-Green, 2015

[120] Matthew McAlpine, Portfolio: Hesperia: Land Looking West, accessed 4 March 2019

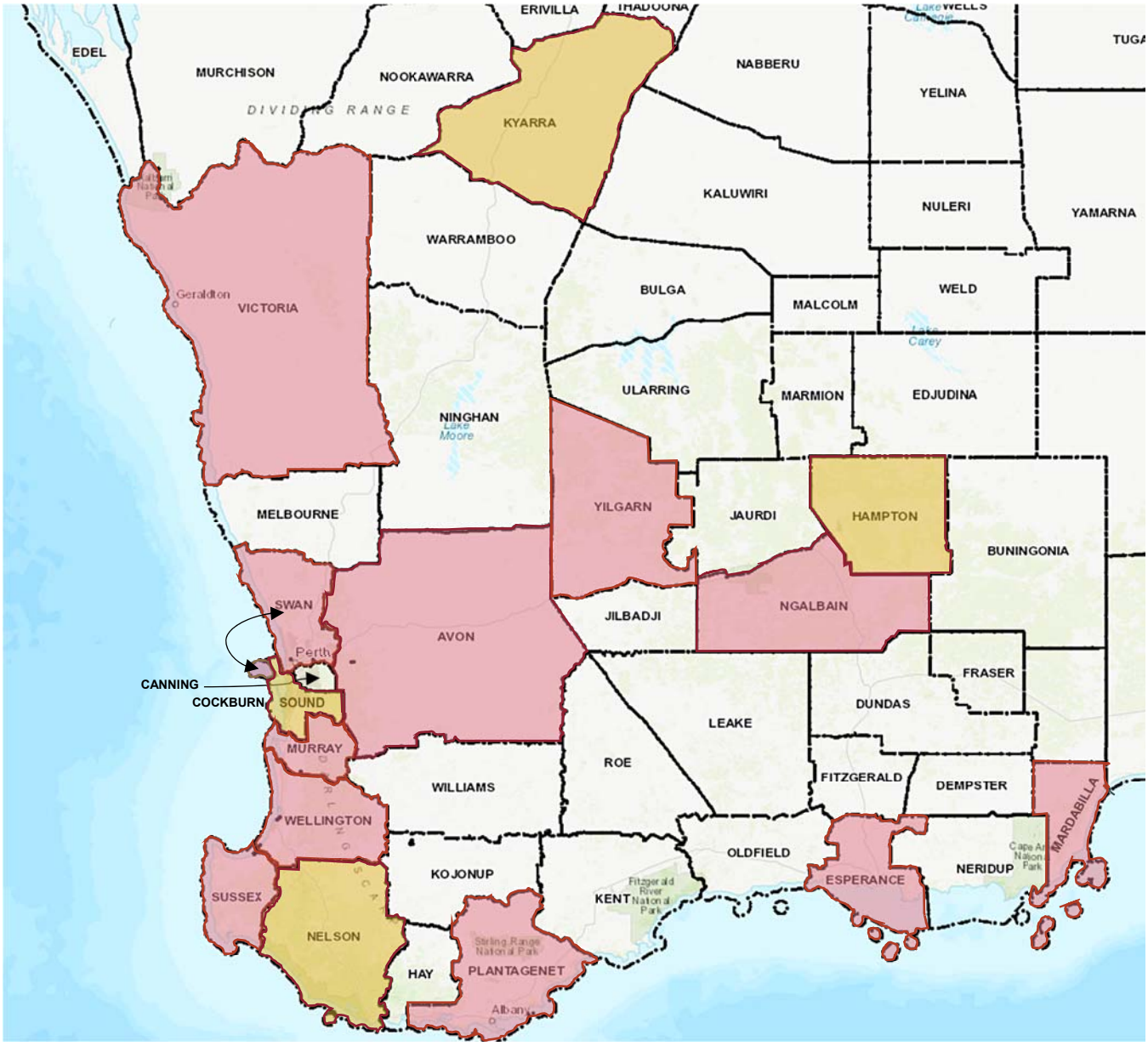

Figure 5.21 | Districts within the Trust Estate with known sites in the Westralian Marches (red) and with potential for sites (gold)

Places

Ellensbrook at Mokidup, Golden Pipeline Karalee Rocks, Greenough Central, Greenough Police Station & Jail, Greenough Flats, Mangowine, Old Blythewood, Strawberry Hill, York Courthouse Complex (M) 57 Murray St, Artillery Hall Fremantle, Luisini Winery (L) Beverley Police Quarters, Bill Sewell Complex, Israelite Bay Telegraph Station, Moir Homestead, Stirling House

(for H, M, L codes see page 8)

TFWH | Hesperia

And therefore I have sailed the seas and come
To the holy city of Byzantium. …
set upon a golden bough to sing
Of what is past, or passing, or to come.
'Sailing to Byzantium',
William Butler Yeats, 1928

Hesperia. A land looking west, looking to the setting sun, looking to the Indian Ocean. Hesperia, the name chosen by Captain James Stirling for, according to some writers, the whole western coast of New Holland, according to others, the earliest occupied areas around the Swan River, or according to yet others, his intended name for Boorloo, the site of the chief town and seat of government in the new colony.[121] Stirling had been schooled in the classics, and knew the ancient Greek references to Italy, Spain, the Atlas Mountains coast and Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar), and the mythic Hesperides, nymphs tending a blissful garden in the far west in which golden apples grew and over which Hesperus, the evening star and planet Venus, illuminated twilight skies .

Figure 5.22 | 'Hesperus as Personification of the Evening Star' by Anton Raphael Mengs, 1765.

Image: Wikipedia

[121] For western New Holland, see Pamela Statham-Drew, *James Stirling and the Birth of the Swan River Colony*, Pandorus Publications, Swanbourne 2004: 18; for the early Swan River colony, see David Whish-Wilson, *Perth*, NewSouth, Sydney 2013: 25; for the site of Perth, see anonymous, 'What's In A Name', LifeOnPerth.com, 2007 (http://www.lifeonperth.com/name.htm accessed 28 February 2019)

These romantic allusions suited Stirling's need to persuade his superiors in London that their imperial and commercial ambitions for the Indies could be supported, as the romanticised classical role models of the period had done in the Mediterranean, by a strategic garrison and naval outpost to 'command India, the Malay Islands, and all the Settlements in New Holland', lands as storied as the classical Mediterranean.[122] His allusory language is couched in a romanticism that might appear obscure today, but which reveals the geo-political narratives of a Great Britain expanding around the globe in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. This new Hesperia would not be bounded by its sandy shores but connected by maritime highways to Penang and Madras and Mauritius and Cape Town, the metaphoric Italy, Spain and Atlas littoral of the south, as well as China to the north and New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Spanish America to the east.

Stories of the aspirations in this new Hesperia permeate places such as Samson House and Gallop House and are represented by grave inscriptions in East Perth Cemetery, such as that of the young Jane Pearson and her infant son John, wife and child of Captain James Pearson of the India Service, who died in 1839.[123]

Figure 5.23 | the belvedere ('beautiful view') tower, Samson House, Fremantle, located to take advantage of scenic views looking to the west, taking in the sunsets and the rising evening star over the Indian Ocean[124]
Image courtesy National Trust WA collections

[122] Ruth A Morgan, 'Western Australia in the Indian Ocean world - a land looking west?', *Studies in Western Australian History*, No. 28, 2013: 1-11.
[123] Grave 423, Church of England Section, East Perth Cemeteries, https://www.eastperthcemeteries.com.au/ , accessed 28 February 2019
[124] See also *Samson House Fremantle, Conservation Management Plan* page 31 for views from the belvedere, or 'turret' as it was known in the Samson family

Westralia

Westralia is Hesperia's child and companion. Invented in the late 1880s, the word from the beginning had strongly emotive tones, especially when used by Western Australian nationalists, and was quickly adopted by sporting groups and retailers.

A Trove search suggests the earliest use of the word was in 1888, when "Westralian-bred fillies and geldings" were invited to enter the "West Australian Derby" at the" Western Australian Turf Club" annual race meeting, thus also getting all three variants on the name in one reference[125]. By 1890 the word had acquired a patriotic meaning, with 'Rouse Thee Westralia' becoming the slogan of those campaigning for self-government, and a verse that begins

> *Rouse thee, Westralia! awake*
> *From thy "Swan's nest among the reeds";*
> *Cast thy broad shadow on the lake,*
> *And strongly glide where Fortune leads!*
> 'The Western Australian Constitution Movement',
> *West Australian*, 7 October 1890: 3

The new word was instantly controversial, but quickly gained wide usage, and in 1897 local journalists were charging t'Othersider *Bulletin* writers with stealing the word and claiming they had invented it. This contraction of Western and Australia originally dates from telegraph usage when telegram costs were charged per letter or word. Westralia, and the demonym Westralian, has been frequently used from the late nineteenth- century onwards, both as a source of local pride, along with some occasional use of a feminine form Westralienne, as well as used as a pejorative by T'Othersiders frustrated with local people and conditions.

The movement towards federation in the 1890s was resisted by the National League of Western Australia. The League's imagined nation was not continental Australia but Hesperian Westralia. A leading figure in the movement and League president was Charles Harper of Woodbridge, and Richard Pennefather, MLA for Greenough who gave a long anti-federation speech at St Catherine's Hall Greenough to a large and 'most enthusiastic crowd'.[126] League branches were established in country and suburban areas, including the Mundaring Weir Village. League leaders, such as Edward McLarty MLC of Old Blythewood argued against federation, or at least for not entering the federation at that time, citing economic arguments such as antipathy to tariffs and inhibitions on local industrial development, and 'sentimental' reasons such as maintaining the independence Western Australia had

[125] 'Racing, Etc', *Daily News*, 10 August 1888: 4
[126] 'Federation | Address by Attorney General', *West Australian*, 19 June 1899: 2; for location of address, see 'Greenough Farmers Club', *Geraldton Advertiser*, 17 July 1900: 2

gained in 1890.[127] Members of the Federal League campaigned for federation, and had a particularly strong presence on the Goldfields where Warden John Finnerty presided over several large public meetings favouring federation.[128] The results of the federation referendum, conducted on 31 July 1900, show an interesting correlation between the distribution of Trust properties and the outcomes, with the Greenough electorate's 95% 'No' vote against federation the largest recorded anywhere in Australia.[129]

Figure 5.24 | St Catherine's Hall, Central Greenough, site of a large anti-federation National League rally in June 1899. Meeting places varied from Cottesloe Beach to the Northam Mayor's Office to Perth Town Hall, some meetings were for women only, while the League executive met at the Palace Hotel in Perth
Image Bruce Baskerville 25 August 2017

[127] 'Mr George at Pinjarrah', *Western Mail*, 23 June 1899: 18
[128] 'Federation | Address by Mr EA Harney | An Eloquent Speech', *Coolgardie Pioneer*, 20 May 1899: 32; 'Ministers on the Goldfields', *The Inquirer*, 4 May 1900: 13
[129] The Australian Federation Referenda, http://pappubahry.com/pseph/federation/ , accessed 10 March 2019

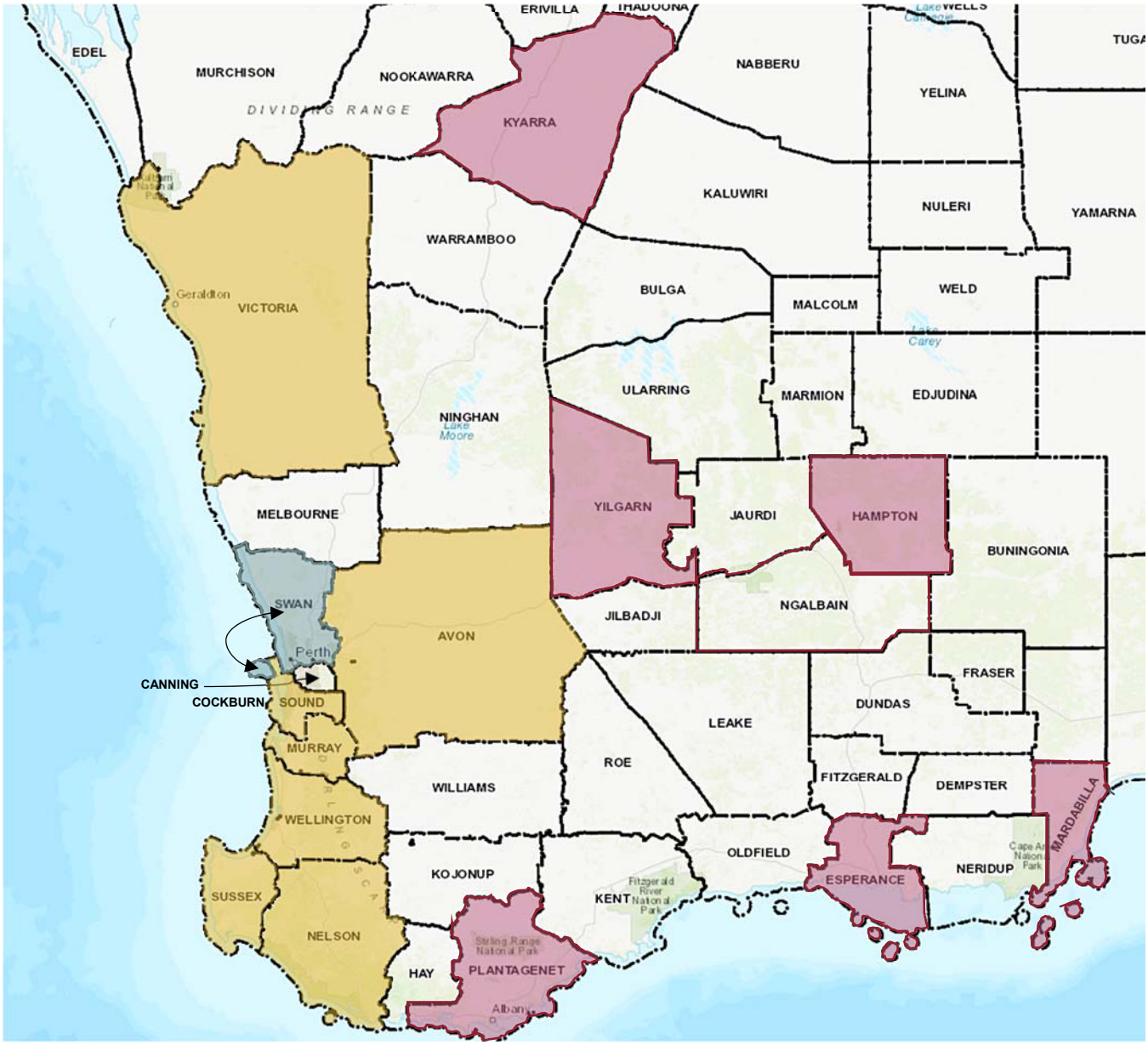

Fig 5.25 | Land Districts with Trust properties, Federation referendum results 1900, showing majorities against (gold), for (purple) and roughly evenly-split (green)

Source: The Australian Federation Referenda, http://pappubahry.com/pseph/federation/ , accessed 10 March 2019

The 1930s secessionist movement was formally named the Dominion League of Western Australia. Their aim was independence as a dominion within the British Empire, on an equal footing with Australia, Canada, Eire, New Zealand and other dominions as well as with Britain and what they believed was the coming dominion, India. They frequently used the term Westralia(n) to evoke their emotional and cultural distinctiveness from Australia(n), invoked in their slogan "Westralia Shall be Free", although they never proposed that their new country be called Westralia. Their favoured terms were the Dominion of Western Australia or the Free State of Western Australia. Many older secessionist leaders such as Edith Cowan had been active in the National League, but the chief leader of the secessionist cause was the youthful Keith Watson, with others including Norbert Keenan KC, Chief Secretary 1930-1931 with offices at 57 Murray Street. The secessionists main adversary was John Curtin, who was both federal MP for Fremantle and an editor of the anti-secessionist *Westralian Worker* newspaper during this period with his residence in the Curtin Family Home.

The League overwhelmingly won the secession referendum in 1933, but their objective was ultimately thwarted in 1935 by interests in Canberra and London.[130] Even more so that in the 1900 federation referendum, there is a noticeable correlation between the distribution of Trust properties and the distribution of secessionist electorates. The spirit of Hesperia shone brighter and further westwards by 1933, and Greenough had to content itself with being only the second-most separatist area in the State with a 78% vote for independence. It was equally beaten by the 83% Yes votes of the Sussex and Mt Marshall electorates, but ahead of the third-most secessionist area, South Fremantle on 74%.[131] A State election was held in conjunction with the referendum, from which the new member elected for Sussex, Edmund Brockman (Nationalist Party WA) was a grand-nephew of Alfred Bussell, through his niece Capel Carter, of Ellensbrook at Mokidup. In his maiden speech to Parliament Brockman spoke movingly on the widespread poverty in his electorate and the importance of secession in removing tariffs to alleviate their poverty, and thanked Norbert Keenan for his work in implementing the referendum outcome.[132]

Dominion of our dreams
We shall heal thy wrong
By a justice strong,
And our victor song
Westralia shall be Free!
'Westralia Free', lyrics Bertram Pratt, music George Webster, 1933

[130] Bruce Baskerville, *The Chrysalid Crown: An un-national history of the Crown in Australia, 1808-1986*, PhD thesis, unpub MSS, University of Sydney, 2017: Chapter 5 'Black Swan Dreaming' *passim*
[131] 'Secession Referendum | Counting Completed | Two to One in Favour', *Western Mail*, 27 April 1933: 18
[132] 'Address in Reply | Mr Brockman', *Hansard*, Legislative Assembly, 27 July 1933: 149-151

Hesperia's light, however, only just reached into the eastern goldfields, and the heartland of the Federation movement a generation earlier. By then, Warden Finnerty's Residence in Coolgardie had long been leased to a private owner, and in 1933 lost part of its grounds for railway expansion associated with new gold workings made profitable by the Depression.[133] Like Cue Masonic Lodge to the north, and Moir's Homestead and the Israelite Bay Telegraph Station (already a ruin by 1933[134]) to the south on the coast, these were districts in which the view, once so firmly looking east, was now turning westwards. Only around the Mt Charlotte Reservoir, at the end of the Goldfields Pipeline, was Hesperia's light still outshone. Comparing the maps in figures 5.22 and 5.24 shows the depth and spread of this change.

[133] Kelsal and Viska, *Warden Finnerty's Residence Conservation Plan*, Considine & Griffiths, Subiaco 1995
[134] 'Israelite Bay Post & Telegraph Station', InHerit, State Heritage Office, Perth, accessed 21 March 2019

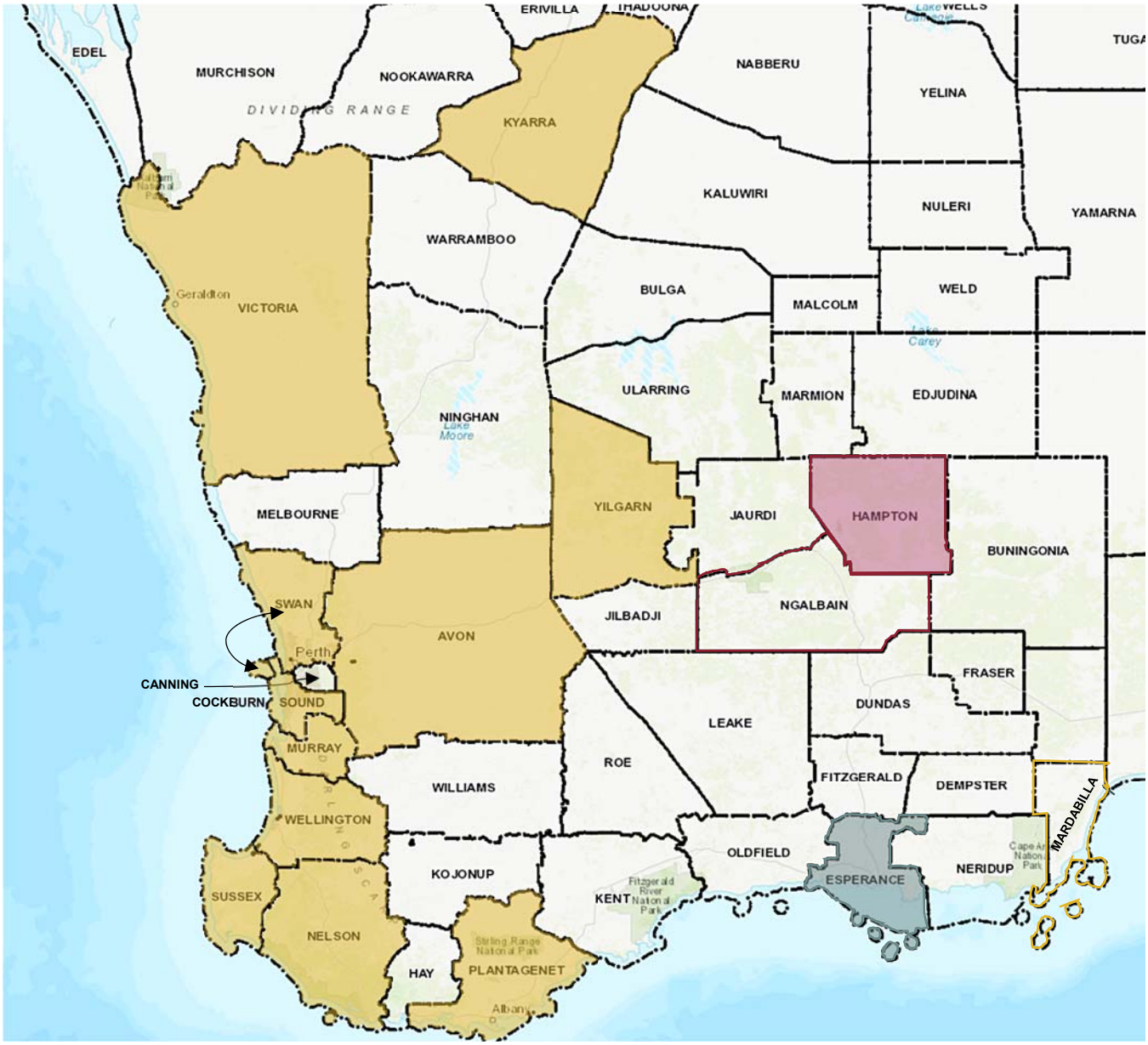

Fig 5.26 | Land Districts with Trust properties, Secession referendum results 1933, showing majorities for (gold), against (purple), roughly evenly split (green)

Sources: 'Secession Referendum | Counting Completed | Two to One in Favour', *Western Mail*, 27 April 1933: 18; 'Latest Goldfields Figures | Kanowna', *Western Argus*, 18 April 1933: 13. Mardabilla Land District is unable to be determined as there were no polling stations within the district, although the relatively nearby polling stations along the Esperance-Kalgoorlie road all voted Yes.

Fig 5.27 | Inter-war Westralia idealised and embodied:
State cricketer Ernie Bromley and Miss Westralia Rose Lewis
Images (L) *The New Call*, 19 October 1933: 5; (R) *Western Mail*, 2 June 1932: 33

By the 1960s, Westralia was perhaps a less nationalistic version of Hesperia so youthfully depicted in Figure 5.26, but still undoubtedly patriotic. With the beginnings of the modern built heritage conservation movement, the preface in a seminal local publication, Ray and John Oldham's *Western Heritage* captured the spirit in the prefatory sentence "Western Australia still wears many of these things [loved old buildings] that make her 'Westralia' and not just the west of Australia".[135] This was reinforced with section headings such as 'WA history unlike other States' and 'Right sort of patriotism'.

In her introduction to *Sandgropers*, a 1973 anthology of local poetry, poet-editor Dorothy Hewett, wrote

> *We only joined Federation because the t'othersiders on the Goldfields voted us in, and there is nothing quite like the tone in which a bred and born West Australian of my generation says 'eastern-stater' … Old enough, too, to*

[135] Ray and John Oldham, *Western Heritage: A study of the colonial architecture of Perth, Western Australia*, Lamb Publications, Perth 1967 edition

> *remember the celebratory bunting strung high across St George's Terrace with SECESSION in big brave capitals. … this anthology does not seek to parade 'write Westralia' deliberately across its pages, but I do think there are certain themes and preoccupations that do engage writers living in this part of the continent … some of our eastern [States] brothers have an idea that writers in Western Australia live in some kind of Arcadian innocence … [but] like an anachronism we remain, a white chauvinist outpost closer to South-East Asia that to the rest of Australia.*[136]

Ironically, Hewett lived much of her adult life in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney, a favoured location for the Westralian cultural diaspora.

The formal *Case for Secession* adopted by the parliament in 1934 stated that secession did "… not mean any lessening of the intense loyalty and affection which the people of Western Australia entertain towards the Crown and the Person of His Majesty the King".[137] None of the secessionist movements, up to the WSM and beyond, made any claim to republicanism. They have been more likely to invoke a particular imagining of Westralian Britishness as an antidote to 'eastern stater' Australianness. There was never a likely 'Republic of Westralia', as a recent Sydney writer suggested.[138]

The 1970s secessionist movement took the formal name Westralian Secessionist Movement (WSM), and fielded candidates in State and senate elections as well as creating a network of local branches before it was abandoned by its principle supporter, mining magnate Lang Hancock. The secessionist itch was being scratched again in the early 2010s, and one Adelaide commentator described it as a coalition of billionaire miners and xenophobic libertarians:

> *That's the thing about the Westralia dream: it is mostly about money … the Scots have a few things going for their campaign that are kind of important, like an actual national identity forged over centuries, and a history of conflict with other areas of the UK.*[139]

Typical T'Othersider' might be the likely Westralian dismissal of that sort of condescension! However, Hancock's casual abandonment of the WSM around 1978 points to a certain chauvinism in the more money-minded stream of Westralianess, a characteristic that might be discerned within Stirling's original romanticised imperial designs.

However, the romantic and political, sometimes chauvinistic, character of Hesperia's face in not a historical quirk. A recent program for the 2019 Perth Festival included a map of festival venues

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[136] Dorothy Hewett (ed), *Sandgropers: A Western Australian anthology*, Fellowship of Australian Writers WA Section and UWA Press, Nedlands 1973
[137] 'The Case for Secession', insert in *The West Australian*, 27 March 1934
[138] Such a claim was advanced in Jan Tent, 'I am, You are, We are …', *Placenames Australia, Newsletter of the Australian National Placenames Survey*, March 2019: 8-9, 12
[139] Max Opray, 'If At First You Don't Secede: the Push for Westralia', *Vice*, 18 September 2014, accessed 4 March 2019

around the metropolitan area, with the empty fringes of the map labelled 'Greater Westralia'. It was produced just a few months after the closure of inner-city hipster bar, 'Dominion League', 1935 redux.[140] . There are at least three Westralia streets in Perth, and more in country towns. There is also one in Darwin, named for the coastal steamer Westralia rather than any irredentist claim to the old 135th meridian border. These recent examples indicate Westralia's continuing usage in popular culture, and also complicates its many layers of meaning. The word remains much more than a simple contraction of two nouns, serving as both demonym and adjective, but inflected with a quietly subversive quality that speaks to an idealised Hesperian identity.

Figure 5.28 | early twenty-first century Hesperianism, as displayed in patron's images posted to the The Dominion League (whisky bar) Facebook page, 2016-2018
Image copyright holders unable to be traced, see note p4

'Hesperianism' is reflected in other elements of the Trust Estate that will allow the Trust to extend this story across many other properties. East Perth Cemeteries contain two graves, the sites of both now lost but still evident in the cemetery registers, for the infants Ivy Perth Goodall and Frederick Perth McGrath. Ivy died in 1898 aged 2 years, and is buried in the Anglican section, while Frederick died in 1899 aged 10 months and is buried in the Roman Catholic section.[141] They both died in East Perth from gastro-intestinal illnesses, victims of the insanitary conditions of the gold rush period when one of the suburb's thoroughfares was commonly known as 'fever drain'.[142] Their parents were likely emigrants drawn by gold fever to Perth where, despite the dreadful living conditions, their hope and belief in the promise of Westralia was expressed in giving their new-borns the middle name 'Perth'. This wasn't a common practice, with Perth M Scott (1906), Pertha Morgan (1908) and Perthina Anderson (1909) the only other similar names recorded between 1890 and 1910.[143]

[140] See Dominion League Facebook page, and press report on closure, both accessed 4 March 2019
[141] Grave sites unknown, Church of England Section and Roman Catholic Section, East Perth Cemeteries, https://www.eastperthcemeteries.com.au/explore/burial-search.html , accessed 5 April 2019
[142] CT Stannage, *The People of Perth: A social history of Western Australia's capital city*, Perth City Council, 1979: 251-255
[143] WA Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Historical Indexes, search https://bdm.justice.wa.gov.au/_apps/pioneersindex/default.aspx , accessed 5 April 2019. There may be more examples, but the Registry indexes only use the initial of middle names.

Considering Westralia's children leads the story to the Old Perth Boys School in Saint George's Terrace.[144] Many of the school's alumni who graduated between 1853 and 1896 went on to become significant figures in Western Australian life. They were taught in the colony's first State school, built in an ecclesiastical Gothic revival style reflective of other significant public buildings of the period, and intended to impart a sense of colonial Britishness drawn from supposed medieval characteristics of tradition, picturesqueness and human scale. It gave Westralianness an imagined historical depth, inculcating into the school's pupils a sense of destiny as future leaders within long continuities, a sense of permanence and presence in a rapidly changing colonial setting. In 1977 the building was transferred from the Crown to the National Trust to hold as a part of Western Australia's valued inheritance. After 1986 the voluminous Westralia Square development spread around and above the old school with sleek, late twentieth century internationalist and modernist steel and glass towers. The evocative name, when applied in such a way, seems intuitively un-Westralian compared with the School. The Central Greenough School (1865-1938), preparing its pupils for a life as loyal subjects and good Westralian citizens, can be seen as a rural counterpart to the Old Perth Boys School of the town, its Georgian simplicity intended for graduates destined for the cottages and farms of the surrounding countryside. Old Perth Boys School and Central Greenough School, taken together, point to an implicitly hierarchical and gentryist social order that brought to Hesperia's rising generations the seemingly inherent stability and continuities of 'old ways' in an inherently disorderly and often transient colonial society.

Fig 5.29| Central Greenough School 1922: Making Westralians
Courtesy State Library of Western Australia, 88500P

Central Greenough School 2017: Revealing the Making
Image Bruce Baskerville 25 August 2017

Herdsman Lake Settler's Cottage leads the story to another aspect of Hesperia, attempts to remake the land into an imagined utopian landscape of self-sufficient communities. Serial schemes and attempts

[144] National Trust WA, *Old Perth Boys' School, 139 St Georges Terrace, Perth, Conservation Plan*, 2010; Mulloway Studio + Paul Kloeden, *Interpretation Plan, Old Perth Boys' School*, 2005

to drain the great swamp from 1848 to the 1960s had varying degrees of success and failure, but the most ambitious scheme to develop the marshlands occurred during the inter-war years when small lots with cottages were sold-off to settlers seeking an idealised life on a small-holding growing fruits and vegetables in rich peaty soils. It was a vain attempt to transplant the idea of closer settlement from the country to the town, and could not be sustained. The soils turned out to be sandy and acidic rather than rich and peaty, the land too expensive, and conflicts arose between the settlers. It became "just one of many unfulfilled promises made with the spirit of optimism, 'boomed up' in the context of its time".[145] The deeper Hesperian ideal at Herdsman Lake came to found in recognising the beauty and richness of the rehydrated wetlands and the return of its wildlife, a metaphoric golden apple orchard more hesperianesque than any actual market garden.[146]

Looking west has meant, for many Westralians, peering around the curve of the globe across the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean to England, or at least, to an idealised 'Olde England', as is evident in The Hermitage in Geraldton.[147] Built in 1936 in an inter-war adaptation of Arts & Crafts styles, The Hermitage's Anglo-Catholic architect Monsignor Hawes blended ecclesiastical Romanesque with the tradition and picturesqueness of the Gothic through a hand-crafted aesthetic, utilising modern Westralian materials such as jarrah, Bootenal bricks and fibrolite (asbestos cement) sheeting, in a tiny little gem of a building intended as a residence for the nearby hospital chaplain.[148] Hawes had planned to assume the chaplain's office and live in the romantically-named Hermitage but instead another chaplain was the first occupant until 1943, followed by years of neglect and vandalism before it was acquired by the Crown and vested in the National Trust in 1986 as a 'historical site'.[149]

Unlike the urbane Britishness of the Old Perth Boys' School Gothic revivalism, The Hermitage reaches back to a rural and Roman Catholic England pre-dating Henry VIII and the Reformation. Comparing the two places reveals old competing currents and claims to cultural legitimacy within a Hesperian world that reaches, through both time and space, far beyond Western Australian shores.

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[145] Heritage & Conservation Professionals, *Conservation Study Herdsman Lake Settlers Cottage*, for Department of Planning & Urban Development, unpub MSS 1992
[146] N Evans, *Herdsman Lake Settlers Cottage: An overview of the plant heritage of the site*, National Trust WA, unpub MSS 2004
[147] 'Western Australia and Federation | 1890', State Library of Western Australia, https://www.slwa.wa.gov.au/federation/fed/009_1890.htm accessed 20 March 2020
[148] John Taylor, *Conservation Plan for The Hermitage (1936), Geraldton, WA*, National Trust WA, unpub MSS 1999: 7
[149] Control of The Hermitage recently reverted to Roman Catholic authorities.

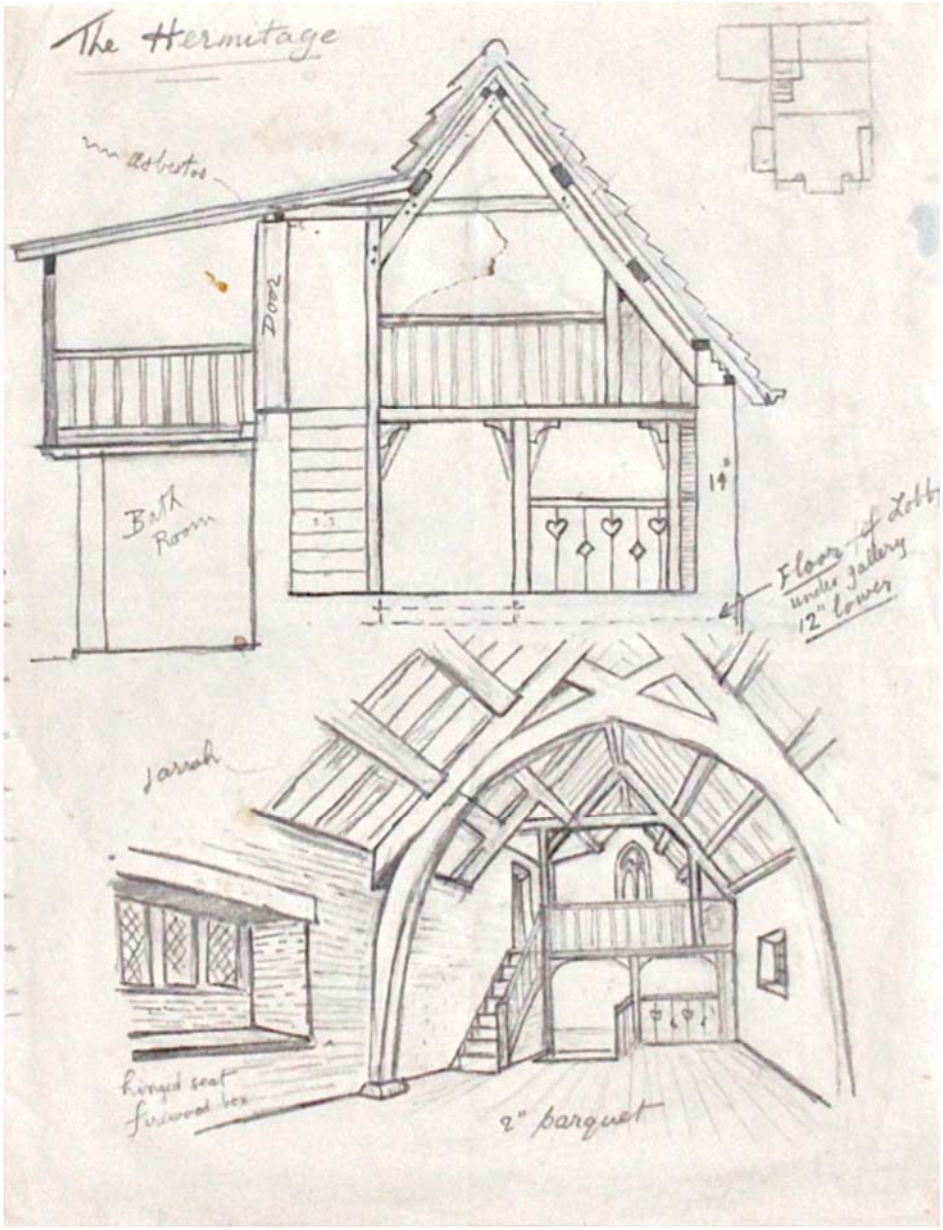

Figure 5.30 | Sketches by Hawes, showing the great scissor truss and rustic medievalist styling of the interior achieved with modern Westralian building materials, c1935
Image used with the permission of the Diocese of Geraldton Archives, © Roman Catholic Bishop of Geraldton

However, like Herdsman Lake, like Secession, like the National League, like the Dominion League and the Dominion League Whiskey Bar, The Hermitage also illustrates a refractory face of Hesperia. Aspiring to look west illustrates the depth and persistence of a Westralian romanticism that has constantly been rebuffed and turned away by the harshness of the rational and the empirical, but which nevertheless remains an enduring cultural presence and emotional force.

Places

(H) East Perth cemeteries, Ellensbrook at Mokidup, Greenough School, Greenough St Catherine's, Greenough Flats, Samson House, Woodbridge (M) Curtin House, Gallop House, Old Observatory, Old Perth Boys School, (L) Bridgedale, Cue Masonic Lodge, Israelite Bay Telegraph Station, Herdsman Settlers Cottage, Hermitage Geraldton

(for H, M, L codes see page 8)

TFWH | Authority

Have you ever been ordered to strip
Before half a dozen barking eyes
Forcing you against a wall –
Ordering you to part your legs and bend over?

Have you ever had a door slammed
Locking you out of the world,
Propelling you into timeless space –
To the emptiness of silence?
'Solitary Confinement',
Robert Walker, 1981 (died aged 25 in Fremantle Prison 1984)

The word 'authority' brings to mind institutional hierarchies and rules, especially those charged with law and order or military purposes. However, in terms of the Trust Estate, it is a story that can cover also more intimate forms of authority within the home, within schools, as well as the more intangible authority of expertise and the subtle presence of obscured authority. It also refers to the Trust's authority to decide on the stories it tells and projects about the places within its estate.

Authority and convict men

The transportation of convicts from Britain and the Empire ('Imperial convicts') to Western Australia is usually a story restricted to the period between 1850 and 1868, but the story of King George's Sound from 1826-1831, the Parkhurst Boys of 1842-1843, and the long history of internal transportation of Aboriginal men to Rottnest between 1838 and 1931 give the convict transportation story a much longer history spanning some 118 years. Perhaps that has something to do with the observation by Bob Reece in 2006 that "Convictism is one of the dark secrets of Western Australia's history that has not yet been properly faced: a kind of general amnesia has buried it from public view until now".[150] Historians have debated the question of *cui bono* - who benefits from that amnesia, with various culprits identified including the old (pre-convict) gentry and their historians, archivists keeping records closed, the presumed very low number of ex-convicts who married and had families (and of those that did, their ashamed descendants), the lack of a distinctive convict sub-culture in the historical record, the seamless transition of convict facilities to local jails and lock-ups, a lack of convict tourism

[150] Bob Reece, 'Writing About Convicts in Western Australia', in Jacqui Sherriff and Anne Brake (eds), *Building a Colony: The Convict Legacy, Studies in Western Australian History*, No 24, 2006: 98

and trails, the location of convict places in new development areas, municipal resistance to spending on old buildings, and a failure of the convicts to be sufficiently romanticised as had been done in the Eastern States.[151] Reece identifies a further denier, continuing social prejudice about convictism, and cites examples from as recently as 2000.

But what of that amnesia itself? The word refers to an individual's loss of memory, but is often used to refer a form of communal authority, giving those confronted by unwanted stories a capacity to avoid seeing that which they do not want to see. Reece concludes, in relation to amnesia around convict history, that "there is a moral challenge of assisting a society to come to terms with its past, to accept its history. No self-respecting community can allow this kind of self-induced amnesia about the past to be perpetuated."[152]

As a counterpoint to this view, the philosopher David Rieff argues that questions of historical memory are vexed, that binaries such as truth *versus* lie, or concealed *versus* revealed, do not take us very far, and poses the question of "What do we mean by historical remembrance and collective memory?"[153] They cannot be, he says, collective memories of a lived experience, as only individuals can have memories. Referring to a historical memory as a collective memory means it has been passed down through stories, schools, commemorations and so on. A collective memory is therefore a metaphor for a mode of transmission, rather than a collectively remembered experience, and should not be conflated with individual memory. Individual memory informs personal morality, but collective memory shapes political action. Rieff reminds his readers of Nietzsche's (cynical?) remark "Whichever interpretation prevails at a given time is a function of power, not of truth", which emphasises the role of the story-teller rather than the story.[154]

With this discussion in mind, how can the Trust Estate be positioned within a story of Authority using Western Australia's convict history and its contemporary presence as a lens to address Reece's concerns? How can that story move beyond binaries of forgetting or remembering, truth or fiction, or accusations of collective amnesia? Through this study, the Trust has the authority to interpret such a story through several properties, notably Old Farm, Strawberry Hill, Greenough Flats and Central Greenough, Bill Sewell Complex, York Courthouse Complex, and Old Blythewood. Convict stories have not been a feature in the Trust's presentation of its properties or its campaigns, and in its earlier years there was some antagonism to displaying such 'historical blemishes'.[155] Perhaps the Trust's most notable early campaign was, between 1961 and 1966, the campaign to save the Pensioner Guard

[151] Bob Reece 2006: 103-110, also Martin Gibbs, 'The Convict Places of Western Australia', in Jacqui Sherriff and Anne Brake (eds), *Building a Colony: The Convict Legacy, Studies in Western Australian History*, No 24, 2006: 98
[152] Bob Reece 2006: 113
[153] David Rieff, *In Praise of Forgetting: Historical memory and its ironies*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 2016: 73
[154] David Rieff 2016: 67
[155] Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory, *From the Barracks to the Burrup: The National Trust in Western Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney 2010: 170

Barracks in Perth from demolition. Clearly this was a major piece of convict system infrastructure but the arguments for its conservation were almost entirely about the building's aesthetic and landscape values and an imagined sense of 'ancient' historical continuities in its Tudoresque styling.[156] Convictism *per se* was not being validated as a founding myth.

Old Farm, Strawberry Hill was not built by convicts. It is, instead, located on a site initially created by convict labour under the direction of a commanding officer in the convict management system. That officer was there, with authority over those men, in an outpost established by the New South Wales authorities some 4,000 kilometres west of Sydney. It was a largely symbolic garrison-town marking British claims to sovereignty over New Holland to deter any similar claims by, in particular, France. Upon the transfer of King George's Sound to the Western Australian authorities in 1831, the whole convict establishment was withdrawn to New South Wales. The commandant's cottage then briefly became the residency for the new authority, until it was sold to Government Resident Sir Richard Spencer RN, a man with the means to have the present building constructed on the site. His formal authority derived from his wealth, his official position, his personal charm, his naval career and his status as a Companion of the Bath and a Knight Commander of Hanover.[157] The role of the former convict station had been essentially geopolitical, projecting British imperial power at a time of intense imperial competition, a story that can act as a bridge to Spencer's naval exploits in the West and East Indies and the Mediterranean. That is a story that can be further connected to the themes for the World Heritage listing of the Australian Convict Sites and the role of convicts in imperial expansion, especially the theme 'Transportation as a strategic tool to expand spheres of influence' and the comparative typology of 'Use of transportation to expand spheres of influence'.[158] It can recover any 'forgetting' of convict King George's Sound.

Greenough allows the Trust to explore a very different aspect of the convict story, located in what is possibly the most extensive landscape reflecting the convict experience in Western Australia. Convicts and pensioner guards rate only the occasional passing mention in the conservation plan history for the Greenough Flats, and rarely appear in site-specific conservation plans.[159] The Greenough properties were acquired by the Trust in the later 1970s, and the precinct was initially envisaged as an open-air museum modelled on Sovereign Hill in Victoria, before in the 1980s shifting to a 'social history/living heritage' model, then a focus on education, but the role and significance of Greenough in the story of Westralian convictism remained obscure.[160] Simon Stevens' 2006 study of convictism in Greenough is

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156 Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory 2010: 94, 239-246

157 Robert Stephens, 'Spencer, Sir Richard (1779–1839)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/spencer-sir-richard-2685/text3731 , published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 10 April 2019

158 Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, *Australian Convict Sites World Heritage Nomination Dossier*, the Department, Canberra 2008, Parts 2B and 3, accessed 9 April 2019

159 Palassis Architects, *Historic Greenough District Conservation Masterplan*, Vols. 1 and 2, National Trust WA, unpub MSS, 1995

160 Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory 2010: 187, 192-200

perhaps the first to challenge that obscurity.[161] Stevens outlines the development of Greenough between the 1850s and 1880s with convict labour, either through road gangs or private ticket of leave labour building both public and private buildings and infrastructure, and explores the differences in working conditions under a pastoralist (bad) or a (usually) Wesleyan businessman (good). He looks at the influence of Wesleyanism on the moral shaping of the local community that came to include a mix of convicts, pensioner guards and free colonists among whom the next colonial-born generation fairly easily intermarried (which is characteristic of marches). He raises questions around the difficulties experienced in expecting reasonably literate urban men to perform unskilled agricultural and pastoral work, and gives an indication of the significance of the pensioner guards and their 'village' in creating a new community. He also considers the spectrum of convict experiences, from those who regularly appeared before the magistrate in the Greenough Police Station & Jail on thieving, drunkenness and other offences to those who became successful members of and even leaders in the community. Trust properties associated with the Wesleyans and convicts include at least Gray's Store, Clinch's Mill, Greenough Hotel and the Temperance Lodge, as well as the public structures such as Greenough Police Station & Jail. There are others outside the Trust Estate including Maley's Bridge, Rock of Ages and the Victoria Mill. The Pensioner Guard allotments, like much of the earliest cadastral layer, remain evident in the landscape. Linking the story of convictism at Greenough through the Trust properties with the other non-Trust places that have convict associations can reveal a startlingly intact historical cultural landscape that long post-dates the carceral phase of convictism. One of the last convicts to die was buried in the Old Greenough Cemetery in 1931.[162] Referring back to the earlier observation of a 118-year history of convictism suggests that date range verges on contemporary times – which perhaps points to another response to Reece's concerns. The Greenough Flats and Central Greenough story is consistent with the World Heritage nomination theme of 'Transportation to reform the criminal elements of humanity' and comparative typologies of 'Use of transportation for the reformation of convicts' and 'World Heritage properties for other forms of forced migration'. The depth and extent of a historical theme of Authority applied to convictism and Greenough is barely hinted at in this brief discussion.

Stevens' inclusion of the Pensioner Guards extends the story to the Bill Sewell Centre in Geraldton, at the core of which is the Geraldton or Champion Bay Depot, from which convict labour could be hired between 1856 and 1864 (after which it gradually transitioned to a colonial prison, obscuring its convict history).[163] The Depot was staffed by and under the authority of the pensioner guards until 1874, and other places associated with the guards also survive in Geraldton. The practice of charging ticket-of-leavers for various minor infractions of their conditions, such as being out after the 10pm curfew in

[161] Simon Stevens, 'Convictism in Greenough', in Jacqui Sherriff and Anne Brake (eds), *Building a Colony: The Convict Legacy, Studies in Western Australian History*, No 24, 2006: 48-61
[162] Babette Smith, *Australia's Birthstain: The startling legacy of the convict era*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest 2008: 5
[163] Philip Griffiths Architects with Robin Chinnery, *Bill Sewell Complex Conservation Plan*, Department of Housing & Works, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2007

towns like York, meant they were confined to cells there before being sent back to Fremantle, a practice evident in the York Courthouse Complex, where convict labour was also used in 1852 to build 12 new stone cells and a police station within the existing courthouse complex.[164] Further exploration of the role of convict labourers under the authority of private employers, beyond the pastoralist-Wesleyan dichotomy outlined by Stevens, can be undertaken at Old Blythewood, as might some understanding of their importance as patrons of inns that made many publicans licences in out of the way locations profitable.[165] The use of convict labour under Crown authority to construct an important public building is well-evidenced in the old Colonial Hospital, built between 1853 and 1855, within the Royal Perth Hospital Complex.[166] Finally, convictism was not universally welcomed or supported among the free colonists, and Peninsula Farm, the home of leading anti-transportationist Joseph Hardey, who laid the foundation stone for the Wesley Church, Greenough, and is buried in the East Perth Cemeteries, has a capacity for exploring the motives and fearful language demonstrated by what New South Wales convict historian JB Hirst termed the 'enemies' of a convict society.[167]

Figure 5.31 |York Courthouse Complex
Corridor to twelve cells built in 1852, constructed with convict labour, used to incarcerate imperial and colonial convicts, and colonial and Aboriginal prisoners.
Image courtesy National Trust WA collections

[164] 3-D Exhibitions, *York Police Station, Courthouse & Gaol Complex Interpretation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2001
[165] Ronald Richards, *Old Blythewood Historical Research Report, Preliminary Draft*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2000
[166] Considine & Griffiths Architects, *Royal Perth Hospital Precinct Conservation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 1995; Martin Gibbs 2006: 93-94
[167] Mulloway Studio + Paul Kloeden, *Interpretation Plan: Peninsula Farm [Tranby House],* unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2005; East Perth Cemeteries, Wesleyan Section, Grave 71, accessed 10 April 2019; JB Hirst, *Convict Society and its Enemies: A history of early New South Wales*, George Allen & Unwin, North Sydney 1983

Both Greenough Police Station & Jail and York Courthouse Complex have a capacity to extend the story of convict transportation through the judicial and carceral authority executed within their walls to lock-up, bring to trial, and sentence some of the 3,676 Aboriginal men transported to Rottnest Island. A quick review of entries in the biographical dictionary of Aboriginal prisoners transported to Rottnest gives a salient insight.[168] York is identified as one of the main towns to which Aboriginal prisoners were sent for trial before transportation, confirmed by a selection of biographical entries in the dictionary for the random letters A, M and Y showing 53 men sentenced in York Courthouse, compared to 5 for Greenough. From these same letters there was at least one death on Rottnest from each courthouse (Malbung, sentenced at York in 1863 to six months for stealing, died 26 December 1863; and Mormon Charley, sentenced at Greenough in 1871 to two years for assault, died 31 December 1876. Both are among the 371 men known to be buried on Rottnest.) The numbers sentenced at Greenough are much lower than at York, but that may be partly explained by the York-like numbers sentenced and transported from Geraldton and Dongara, either side of Greenough and each also in the small group of 'main towns to which Aboriginal prisoners were sent for trial before transportation'. Many of the men were distressed at being separated from their country and families, some spending much time sitting on the island shores gazing forlornly at the distant mainland. Perhaps this explains the name of one of the York transportees, Melancholy, sentenced at York in June 1860 to 18 months for spearing. He was discharged on March 1861 after nine months, and there is no further record of him in the island prison. These cameos are enough to point to a more complex story of Aboriginal transportation within the larger story of transportation, and the capacity for at least two sites in the Trust Estate to illustrate that aspect of a theme of Authority.

Authority and women at home and in the community

Convict stories are, in Western Australia, so often men's stories but the Trust Estate has a similarly expansive potential to explore stories of authority wielded by women in the more informal setting of the home. Poor roads and other transport routes meant that travel could often take days or weeks in the colonial period, and even when relatively faster train travel became more commonplace in the early twentieth century there were still lengthy periods when wives, mothers and daughters had to manage households and businesses and develop their own forms of private authority.

Jane Adams of Mangowine was widowed in 1895 at the age of 46, and then had to manage a relatively large series of pastoral leases, and a public inn (the Pioneers Inn), for many years as well as raise nine young children. The children were organised into a workforce, with the boys shepherding and the girls growing vegetables for sale to railway workers. One of her daughters died of typhoid the next year, and Jane was ill for an extended period, but in 1897 she won the fortnightly Kellerberrin-Wilgoyne

[168] Neville Green and Susan Moon (eds), *Far from Home: Aboriginal Prisoners of Rottnest Island 1838-1931, Dictionary of Western Australians*, Vol. X, UWA Press, Nedlands 1997

mail contract, which took a week to traverse and was worked by her son Charles (aged 15). By the turn of the century the Adams' were running a large annual picnic race meeting and dance at Mangowine. Jane Adams was a capable businesswoman in her own right, and several of her daughters, also widowed young, returned to Mangowine to help run the property as a family enterprise. In 2003, Jane Adams was inducted into the Western Australian Agricultural Hall of Fame.[169]

The interpretation plan for Peninsula Farm identifies one of the key interpretive themes for the place as 'a reflection of the women – wives, daughters and workers – who spent most of their time there and were responsible for its operation.'[170] Joseph Hardey, founder of Methodism in Western Australia, and his wife Ann had six daughters and one son. Earlier interpretive and educational programs have tended to focus on presentations of interior rooms such as the kitchen, cellar and bedrooms as spaces in the presumed style of the 1830s-1850s (pre-convict) period, dominated by women's household work. However, artifacts with a Hardey provenance are limited to a brass four poster bed, a sewing machine, a medicine chest and an inscribed packing case lid that was used as a door. The sewing machine, in particular, reflects the activities of the Hardey daughters, and prompts questions of whether their sewing was a pastime or a necessity, or both. Did they sew for pleasure, or was it part of their 'training' as a future wife and mother, or did they earn some income?[171]

The Bussell women of Ellensbrook at Mokidup are identified as a significant group in the State heritage listing for the place.[172] These include the Augusta-born Ellen Bussell, née Heppingstone, the original chatelaine who raised seven daughters and two sons there from the 1850s to the 1880s and managed the estate during her husband's absences in Perth and elsewhere; her eldest daughter Frances (Fanny) Brockman who managed the pastoral and dairying business from 1871 to 1877 and had to finance her husband's failed trading endeavours; Ellen's second daughter Edith Bussell who succeeded her sister managing the pastoral and dairying enterprises from 1878 to the 1920s as well as developing tourist accommodation and operating Western Australia's first official government home, from 1899 to 1917, for removed Aboriginal children of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry; and Ellen's fifth daughter Grace who with Noongar man Sam Isaac rescued survivors from the shipwrecked 'Georgette' in 1876 and became a colonial celebrity, later marrying businessman John Winthrop Hackett, one of the founders of the University of Western Australia. The Bussell women's authority came not from an absence of men but from their own character as leaders and innovators, qualities that ensured the property remained within the family for a century.

[169] Maxine Cornish 2010: 21-37
[170] Mulloway Studio + Paul Kloeden 2005: 27
[171] James Broadbent, *The Interpretation and Furnishing [of] Peninsula Farm, Perth*, National Trust WA, April 2016
[172] Ellensbrook at Mokidup, Registration Documentation, State Register of Heritage Places, accessed 10 April 2019

Figure 5.32 | The Bussell Sisters, left to right, Elizabeth (Bessie), Edith, Violet, Charlotte, Grace, Filomena and Frances (Fanny)
Image in Gina Pickering 2017, courtesy National Trust WA, undated

The McLarty sisters of Old Blythewood, Margaret, Elizabeth and Mary Ann (Polly) along with their bachelor brother Duncan inherited the estate from their mother in 1896 and lived in the homestead until their deaths between 1922 and 1946. In the 1880s they were operating a mixed farm, raising sheep, beef and dairy cattle and chickens and growing wheat and barley. They sold butter and eggs in Perth, and the sisters were members of the local Murray Horticultural Society which focused on raising standards in fruit, vine and flower growing. After the death of the last sister, Polly in 1946, the house was left vacant until 1974 when two of their great-nephews donated the place to the National Trust. The Trust decided to recreate the interiors as they were known to the three sisters in the 1890s, as well as focus on recreating their extensive flower gardens, consciously creating "a memorial to the McLarty women who worked so hard to ensure that colonial living could include some civilizing comfort and beauty".[173] The ways in which the McLarty women used their inherited and personal authority to bring about that 'civilising' and 'beauty' would add depth to such approaches.

Stories about the authority of women in the homes in the Trust Estate can also be found in urban places, such as the Curtin Family Home in Cottesloe. Elsie Curtin, née Needham, was not from one of Westralia's 'old families'. She, like her husband, was a Victorian and came with him to Western Australia in 1917 when he accepted a position as editor of the trade union newspaper the *Westralian*

[173] Ronald Richards 2000: 19

Worker. In 1924 the Curtin's built their Cottesloe bungalow. Elsie's authority within the home was demonstrated from the start when her wish for a verandah on three sides won out over her husband's desire for an all-round verandah on which he could walk and prepare speeches. When the Curtin's moved in, Elsie's aging mother Annie Needham came with them, which immediately required internal alterations to accommodate her as well as their two children, including enclosing part of the verandahs. From 1928 to 1931, and then from 1933 until his death in 1945 Curtin was the Federal Member for Fremantle and spent long weeks and months away, suffering loneliness and drinking excessively. Elsie ran the household, and developed her own interests that supported her husband's work, being on the committee that built the Cottesloe Infant Health Centre, and was a member of the Fremantle Labor Women's' Organisation. She was also a member of the Subiaco Choral Society, which perhaps offered some relative privacy apart from being a rising politician's wife. Her autonomy was evident in the family house being registered in her name, and her management of the family finances. She also purchased a nearby rental property in her own name. In October 1941 John Curtin became prime minister, when he wrote "for eighteen years I have lived in Cottesloe with my wife and family … to me it is and I believe it will ever remain home". As a prime minister's wife, Elsie's support work increased, becoming state president of Western Australian Labor Womens' Organisation, patron of Cottesloe Ladies' Surf Life Saving Club and serving on the central committee of the Red Cross. Elsie was able to occasionally join her husband in Canberra, but also maintained the Cottesloe household with her daughter Elsie. John Curtin died in Canberra in July 1945, and the funeral procession for his state funeral left their Cottesloe home for Karrakatta Cemetery. In 1948 Elsie transferred ownership of the house to her daughter but continued to live there. She received numerous honours after the war, including appointment as a Justice of the Peace in 1955 and as a Commander of the British Empire in 1970 with the citation "For the encouragement that she gave Mr Curtin during the difficult war years despite her awareness of his failing health". Elsie died in the winter of 1975, and her husband's ADB entry says "There were many good reasons why, by mutual agreement, she did not move to Canberra, despite her husband's loneliness. Elsie was a well-read Labor woman, musical, outspoken and unguarded in public, who had a nice turn of phrase in bringing her husband or anyone else down to earth". In 1999 the Commonwealth and State governments jointly purchased the property.[174]

There are without doubt many more stories of women with authority, not only in the home, that can be accessed across the Trust Estate. The significant role women have played in the Trust itself, several in positions of great authority, add to this depth. Questions that could be explored in telling such stories will include whether these women are outstanding exemplars or typical of their time and place,

[174] Research Institute for Cultural Heritage with Philip Griffiths and Robin Chinnery, *Conservation Plan for John Curtin's House*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2000; Geoffrey Serle, 'Curtin, John (1885–1945)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/curtin-john-9885/text17495 , published first in hardcopy 1993, accessed online 11 April 2019; 'Widow of Wartime PM dies', *Canberra Times*, 26 June 1975: 1

whether they are from social strata more like to be recorded than others, and whether a theme of Authority can be used to develop more nuanced approaches to exploring gender through Trust properties.

There is a notable aspect to the stories recounted here, that of the inter-generational characteristics of each household, perhaps more notable in a society in which inheritance is assumed to pass along male lines. Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory's 2010 study of the Trust as an organization discusses the interpretation of local house museum collections, as in some Trust properties, as being dominated by local genealogies, as dynastic, unconsciously seeking to reinstate and bolster family dynasties within a community.[175] That discussion implies this is undesirable as it causes an 'interpretation crisis' and makes the houses incomprehensible to outsiders. On the other hand, will viewing these stories through a theme of Authority suggest other ways to understand dynasticism as a broader, more communal, more enduring and more inclusive process, and perhaps in effect the more traditional genealogy, that challenges ideas of narrow male-line primogeniture? The private authority of all of the women in this theme has almost effortlessly extended into social and community relationships. It is useful to recall, and explore the possibilities within, Edith Bussell's relationships with her Aboriginal wards, with many of whom she established long-lasting familial ties based on a 'genealogy' of affection and proximity in a shared household.

Authority and schooling children

Displays and performances of authority in schools and the teaching of children can be explored through a number of Trust properties. The Central Greenough School with its small enrolments, single room and single teacher can be used to look into not only the ways in which a single teacher exercised authority in a class room across a range of ages and levels, but also the competing authority of parents and their needs in a rural community for children to be absent from school at particular times in the farm calendar, and ultimately the challenge to single-teacher schools that came with the arrival of motor vehicles, especially school buses (in this case, in 1938) that could transport children over longer distances to larger more centralised schools and education opportunities.

Even more isolated than such single teacher schools was the classroom at Ellensbrook at Mokidup in which Aboriginal children were taught to a basic curriculum, by their 'step-mother', that allowed plenty of time for also learning the more pragmatic skills of domestic and rural labouring as well as childhood exploration of the surrounding countryside. Both contrast strongly with the Old Perth Boys School and its (despite an unstable first few years) more formalised and ritualised approaches to teaching boys expected to become the next generation of leaders. In each of these three cases, the authority of the teacher derives from somewhat different sources and is performed differently, which can lead to

[175] Andrea Witcomb and Kate Gregory 2010: 152

developing stories around the different expectations of, and outcomes actually realised in the longer term, for children educated through these different schools as analogues for the broader school system, and how teachers are trained and otherwise produced and how their career paths did (or did not) unfold in each scenario. It would add depth to such stories to consider within this theme the early development of Guildford Grammar School within the private household of the Harper's at Woodbridge. An apposite example is that of Deborah Drake-Brockman, a grand-daughter of Alfred and Ellen Bussell and niece of Edith Bussell of Ellensbrook at Mokidup, precocious and talented and enrolled in the school while it was still largely a boy's school because it was expected to provide the best opportunities for her educational attainment, opportunities apparently not considered available at a girl's only school.[176]

Authority for the common good

Expertise within a particular field of knowledge imparts authority to its practitioners, and at least two examples within the Trust Estate can allow the theme of Authority to be explored through the expertise needed for the functioning of Western Australia's public service in two significant fields, agriculture and public health.

The Avondale Research Station near Beverley was established as a State farm in 1919, and quickly became a location for experimentation and development of new agricultural methods and techniques to foster the development of agriculture across the State, especially in the expanding wheatbelt. The first notable experimental function was the building of a silo and a silage making demonstration in 1928, although experimentation with the use of superphosphate on wheat seedlings began two years earlier. This work institutionalised earlier private experimentation and advocacy of superphosphate by Charles and Walter Harper of Woodbridge.[177]

In 1930 a field laboratory and staff quarters (partly funded by community donations, partly by the CSIRO) were built to investigate Braxy-like disease, an often-fatal infection of sheep. Within a year the cause had been identified and a vaccine developed, and further study and experimentation around sheep health and production followed. The development of new wheat and barley strains commenced in the 1930s, as did experiments in soil conservation through contour banking, the first such work in the State. By 1957 there were 18 research stations across the State, modelled on Avondale, and research continued into clover diseases and their effects on sheep. Flax and opium poppy crops were trialled until the early 1970s when plant breeding work was discontinued in favour of sheep meat

[176] Alexandra Hasluck, 'Hackett, Deborah Vernon (1887–1965)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hackett-deborah-vernon-6513/text11179 , published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 11 April 2019.
[177] John Sandford, *Walter Harper and the Farmers*, Westralian Farmers' Co-operative Limited Printing Works, Perth 1955: Chapter 5 passim

quality trials and researching cashmere fibre from feral goats. During the 1980s research focused on herbicide trials and another soil conservation technique, minimum tillage. In 1990 the heritage significance of the place was first recognised, and several historical practices, such as ploughing by Clydesdales, that were temporarily reinstated in 1979 (and opened by Prince Charles) were permanently continued. The scientific work undertaken at the research station is associated with several outstanding agricultural scientists whose influence has had long lasting effects, including Dr Eric Underwood, who went on to become the first chair of the School of Agriculture at the University of Western Australia in 1938, and Dr Harold Bennetts, whose work included solving three major diseases in sheep, scientifically describing and understanding wild Western Australian plants toxic to sheep, and developing concepts around the relationship between sheep diseases and trace element deficiencies.[178] These scientists, and others, used their authority to integrate scientific research into agricultural expansion, which in turn further enhanced their authority as scientists, and shaped the expansion of the wheatbelt especially into the sandplains and other low-nutrient soil districts.

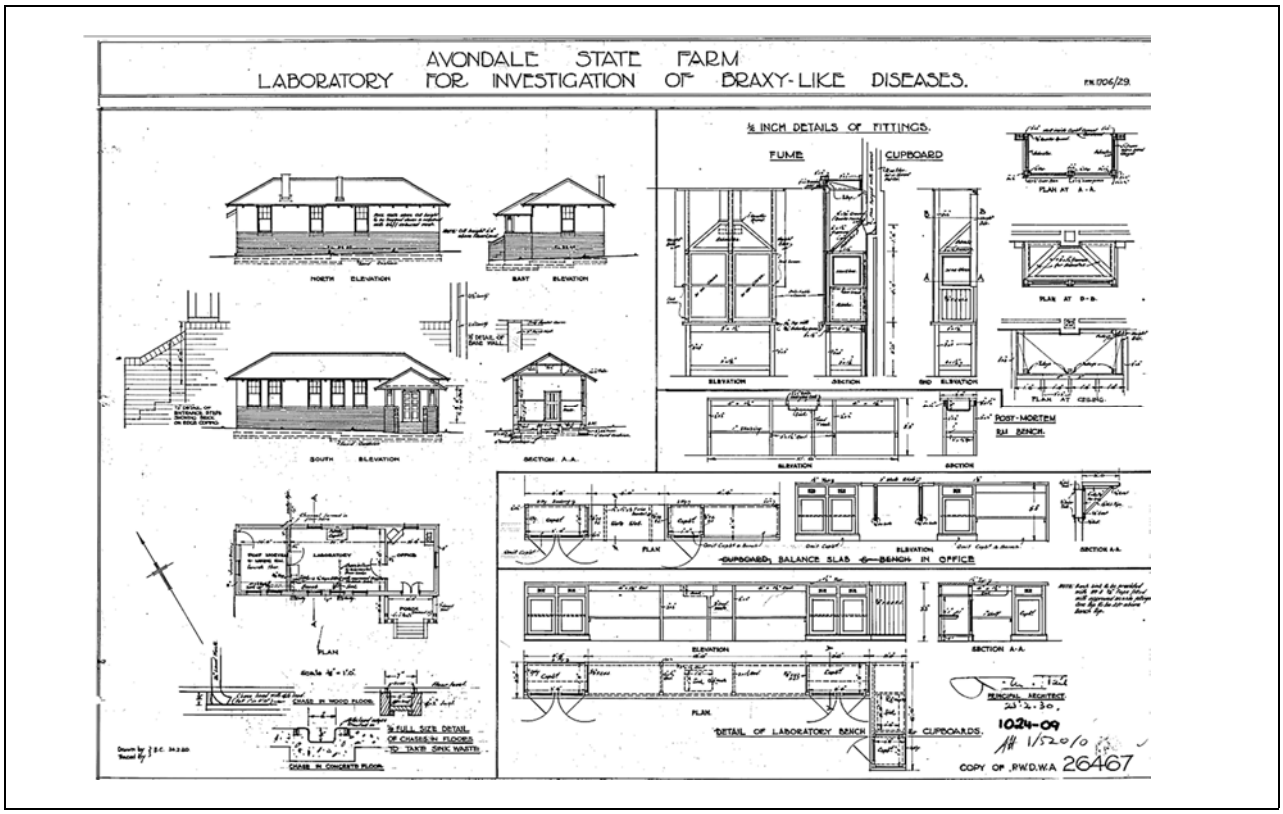

Figure 5.33 | Plans for Avondale laboratory building, with internal details including post-mortem slab and asbestos and glass fume cabinet, by PWD Principal Architect, 1930[179]
Image courtesy WA Department of Finance, Building Management and Works

[178] Palassis Architects, *Avondale Research Station Beverley Conservation Plan*, Department of Agriculture & Food, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2009

[179]

57 Murray Street was built in 1912 as the offices of the new Public Health and Medical Department, and in 1921 the offices of the Minister for Health relocated to the building with a number of other State agencies.[180] By 1937 the building housed the Health Department, the School of Hygiene, the Royal Sanitary Institute, the Nurses Registration Board and the Midwives Registration Board, as well as other agencies including the Fisheries & Aborigines Department. By 1977 occupants of the building included the Department of Health as well as the Occupational Health, Clean Air & Noise Abatement Division. In 1992 the EPA's Pollution Control Division was relocated, being the last State agency to occupy the building. This brief recital of occupants underplays the significant role of developing medical expertise and public health programs that took place there across the twentieth century. Expertise was developed on the site through training lectures, libraries, a museum, medical photographic services, vivisection facilities, and a repository for medical records, as well as through the various types of professional registration that required certain standards and qualifications to be achieved and maintained. In its final public phase, the building accommodated developing expertise in managing environmental pollution, a then-new area of public regulation, but related to more traditional understandings of public health. All of these agencies and functions had a degree of authority derived from their role as State agencies implementing and enforcing statutory requirements, but they also developed further layers of authority by the types of administrative activities that developed across time, and their successes or failures in doing so. Any story developed around this area of expert authority could also consider how that may have influenced the pseudo-scientific views and practices undertaken by the Protector of Aborigines who also had offices in the building, and so surrounded his practices in an aura of objective and learned authority, or rather 'stolen authority' that was, in fact, cruel and baseless.

Others sites of official authority within the Trust Estate would include the Goldfields Water Supply Scheme offices and pumping stations accommodating engineering expertise, the Fremantle Artillery Drill Hall and its projection of military authority, and Pinjarra Courthouse with all the accoutrements of judicial authority in the mid-twentieth century.[181]

Authority obscured

And what of the suppressed or obscured expressions of authority? There are a number of places in the Trust Estate through which this theme could be explored, of which single-sex environments including the Greenough Presbytery, The Hermitage in Geraldton, the Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent and the Cue Masonic Hall are examples. In each of these places revolving around small communities of similarly-minded groups the dynamics and expressions of authority played out in quite

[180] National Trust WA, *Perth Medical & Health Departmental Offices (former), 57 Murray St Perth, Conservation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2013

[181] Heritage & Conservation Professionals, *Artillery Drill Hall Fremantle Conservation Plan*, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2005; Palassis, *Pinjarra Court House, George Street Pinjarra, Conservation Plan*, Landcorp, unpub MSS, National Trust WA 2004

complex combinations of elaborate ritual practices and personal behaviours and politics, often remote from the central authorities responsible for these institutions. Any such story could be explored through numerous lenses, such as Father John Hawes's apparently casual deferral to his 'good friend' Father Prendergast in 1936 to allow Prendergast to take both the position as hospital chaplain and occupy The Hermitage. Hawes had devoted considerable resources (including his personal finances) and his expertise as an architect in creating an almost magical place in which he would spend a quiet retirement as hospital chaplain, and his claimed 'delight' at this sudden turn of events could be productively questioned to reveal the actual exercise of authority that took place. It does not seem coincidental that Hawes afterwards exiled himself to The Bahamas.[182]

Figure 5.34 | Shadowy interior of Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent Chapel, 2006
Image Bruce Baskerville, 25 August 2006

The theme of Authority, when applied to the Trust Estate, reveals a number of strong storylines that could be made explicit in storytelling and interpretation of properties on an estate-wide basis. There are two most-developed stories in this study. One concerns convicts, or rather convictism in its broader sense of transporting people convicted of criminal offences across the sea for either punishment or reformation, or more usually a combination of both, and the exercise of authority, not just by 'the Establishment' but also by the convicts themselves and the degrees of autonomy they could create. The other relates to the authority of women in households, which in this case has been

[182] John Taylor 1999: 18; A. G. Evans, 'Hawes, John Cyril (1876–1956)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hawes-john-cyril-6601/text11367 , published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 11 April 2019.

shown to be less an individual experience and more of an inter-generational and familial experience that can almost imperceptibly merge into broader community relationships and shape and influence those broader stories. As a story within the theme of Authority, this points to different ways to conceptualise the meanings within presentations of houses as house museums, ways with a potential to connect with the broader communities associated with such properties. There is also overlap between these two stories, not really explored here, that could allow further stories to be developed of the authority of women in households in which the principal male is a former convict, and conversely of the ways in which authority was exercised by convict men assigned 'women's work' within convict-only households (such as country depots and later the Old Men's Home under Mt Eliza).

Several other stories within the theme of Authority are covered rather more briefly, but each indicates the potential for developing stories and presentations and modes of engagement across thematically-linked properties. Ideas for developing stories around obscured or suppressed expressions of authority holds potential, not just for understanding single-sex institutions (of which Westralian history contains numerous examples), but also for engaging with questions raised at the beginning around amnesia and its beneficiaries, denialism, trust and power, all questions of relevance today. Clearly, there are further stories not touched upon here that could be developed, notably one concerning authority in the workplace given the number of agricultural, household, administrative and industrial workplaces within the Trust estate.

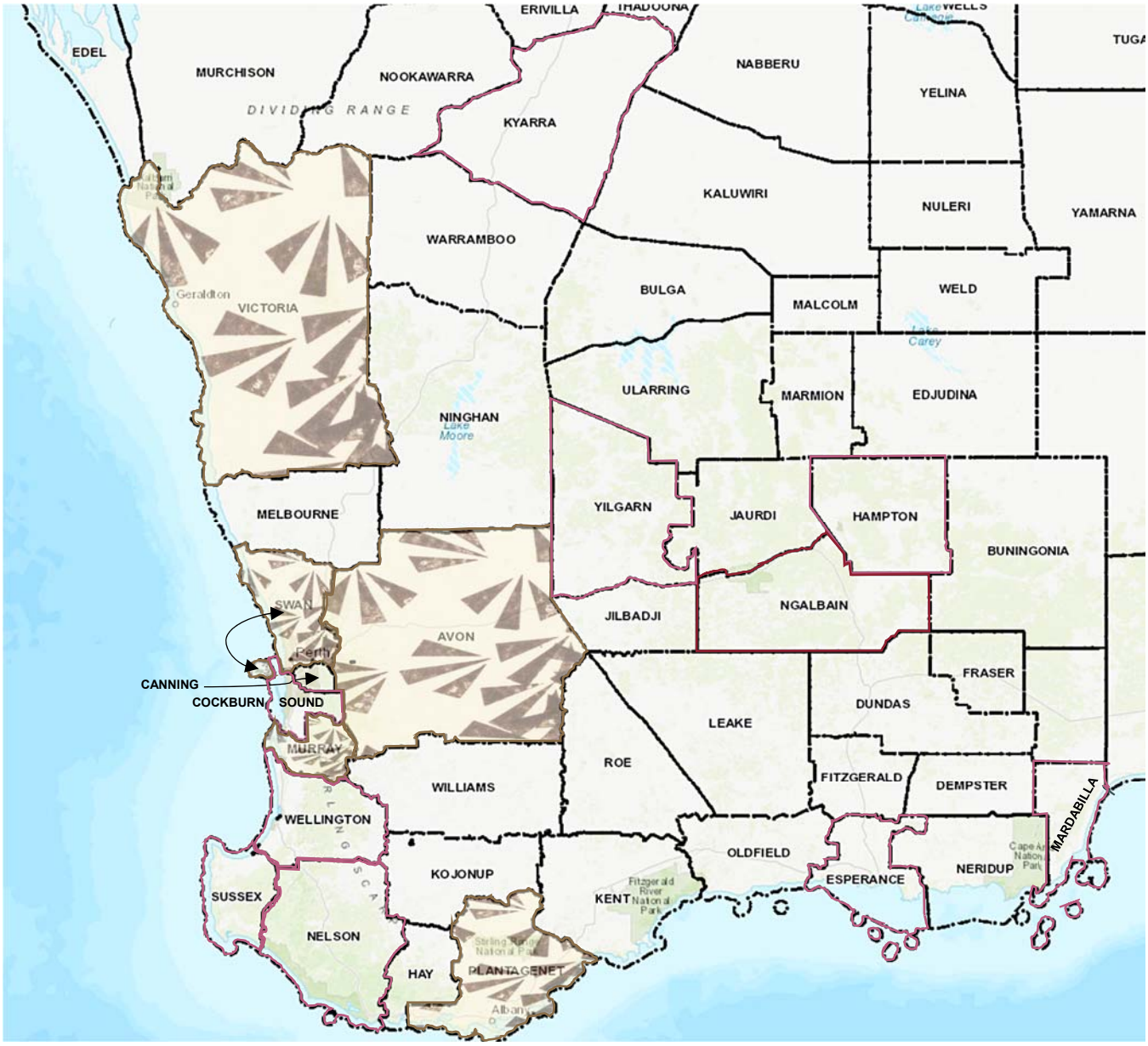

Figure 5.35 | Districts in the Trust Estate with a strong capacity for exploring themes of convict transportation and authority

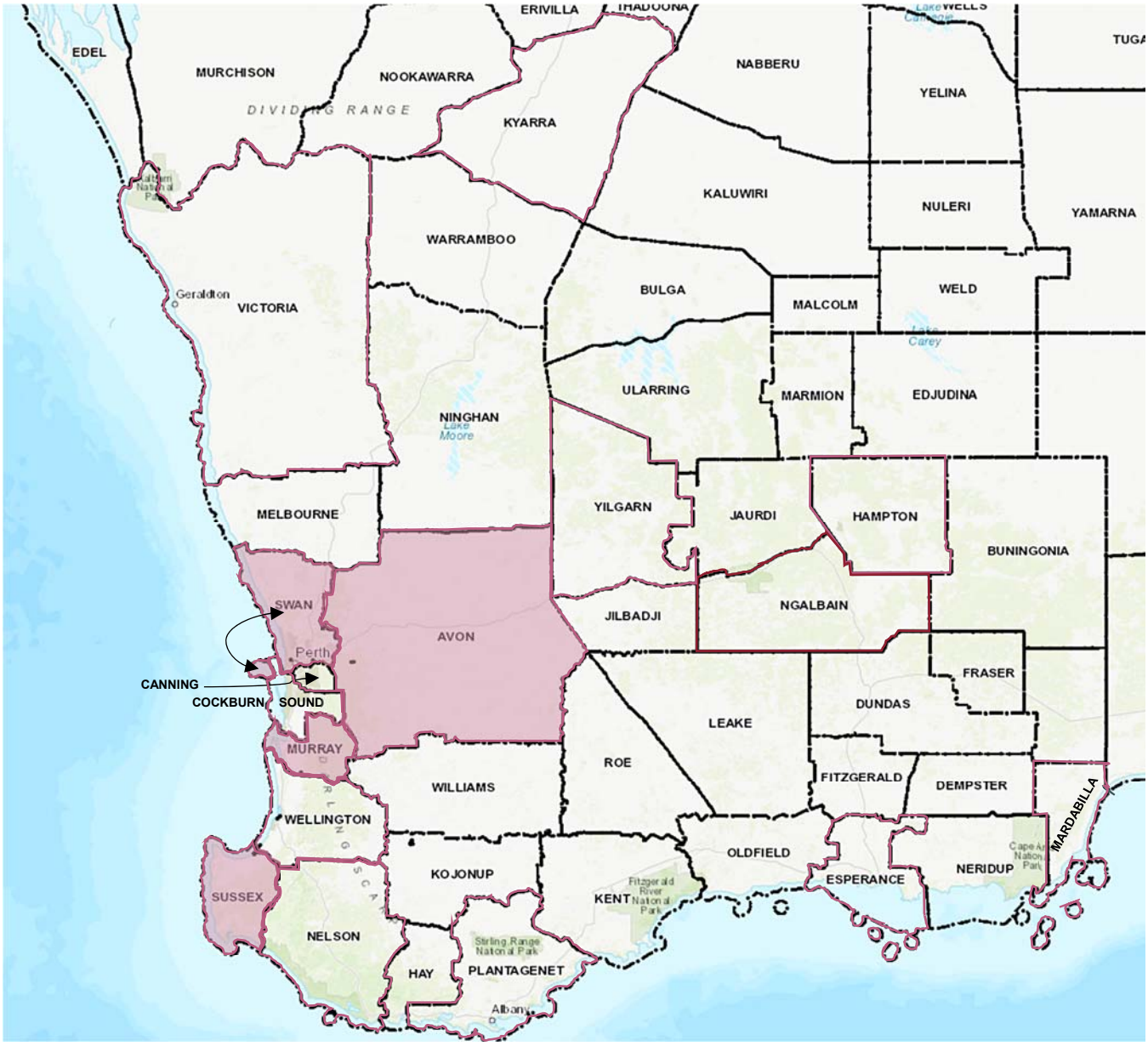

Figure 5.36 | Districts in the Trust Estate with a strong capacity for telling stories of women and authority

Places

(H) Avondale, Ellensbrook at Mokidup, Golden Pipeline Precinct, No1PS/No3 PS/Mt Charlotte, Greenough Central, Greenough Police Station & jail, Greenough School, Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent, Old Blythewood, Strawberry Hill, York Courthouse Complex (M) 57 Murray St, Artillery Hall Fremantle, Curtin House, Jarrahdale Heritage Park, Old Observatory, Old Perth Boys School, RPH Complex, Whitby Falls (L) Beverley Police Qtrs, Bill Sewell, Cue Masonic, Gingin Railway Stn, Greenough St James, Greenough Wesleyan, Greenough Cliff Grange, Pinjarra Courthouse, Rosella House, St Peters Glebe, Stirling House (for H, M, L codes see page 8)

I love the Terrace and its way,
Its moments tense with business rife -
The Forum of the city's life,
Where Commerce holds its kingly sway.
'The Terrace',
WC Thomas, Perth 1931

Noongar mandura

Len Collard's 1994 history of Noongar material culture and the exchange of goods around Wonnerup describes a complex system of trading between Noongar groups at a central *mandura* at the Peel Inlet estuary in the Murray District, and from which Mandurah takes its name.[183] A *mandura* was a gathering or fair where goods were exchanged, with particular groups producing certain types of goods that could be taken to a *mandura* to exchange with other groups who also produced a predictable range of goods. The predictability of each group's specialisation was an important component of the exchange system. GF Moore described the exchanging process at a *mandura* or *mandjar*, as he recorded the term, and Collard adds to Moore's list of products from the Noongar-Juat (Melbourne District), Noongar-Pindjarup (Murray District) and Noongar-Whadjuk (Swan District) with a list from the Noongar-Wardandi of the Sussex and Wellington Districts between Talanup-Augusta and Koombanup-Bunbury, as shown in **Figure 5.34** below.

Noongar-Wardandi	Noongar-Bindjareb	Noongar-Whadjuk	Noongar-Juat
Wonna – woman's digging stick	*Nulbarn* – possum hair rope wound around the waist for carrying tools	*Kodja* – stone hammer or axe	*Kylie* – hunting boomerang
Wunda – men's sheoak shield	*Burdun* – light, flexible gidgee	*Bo-ye* – grinding stones for working stone blades	*Dowak* – hunting stick
Different types of spears, including *gidgee* (for fish)	*Tabba* – a quartz-bladed knife	*Boka* – kangaroo skin cloak	*Wirba* – a heavy club

[183] Len Collard 1994: 30-33

Noongar-Wardandi	Noongar-Bindjareb	Noongar-Whadjuk	Noongar-Juat
Tangul – kangaroo skin scraper	*Durda-dyer* – dingo tail skin (head dress)	*Kunyi* – possum-hair head band	*Miro* – gidgee throwing board
Weja – emu feathers for decoration	*Wilgi* – ochre for ceremonial body paint, also skin protection (came from the Murchison)	*Wunda* – long c60cm wooden shield with carved back handle and decorated front	*Gidgee* – hunting and fish
Boka – kangaroo skin cloak	*Ngow-er* – tuft of feathers attached to a stick (head dress)	*Bu-yi* – zamia nuts	*Borryl* – quartz for gidgee tips
Choota – woman's possum or kangaroo skin bag	*Niggara* –human hair rope used as a belt	*Dardak* – white clay used for body paint	*D-yuna* – a fighting stick

From these lists it can be seen that the exchange (or export) products of each of four territories fall into several main types: weapons, tools, ritual and decorative accoutrements, cloaks and one specialised food. Each are derived from the distinctive geology and fauna of each country, or its location on an exchange/trade route. The specialisations seem to be women's tools (Wardandi), decorative and ceremonial insignia (Pinjarup) and hunting weapons (Juat), with more diverse offerings from the Whadjuk. The extent of women's goods is consistent with Wonnerup's status as a women's place where, it would seem, the production of export goods was a significant industry. This *mandura* is also linked into a broader network of fairs as indicated by the *wilgi* that has come from the Wajarri territory in the Kyarra District far beyond the Noongar realms, and the *kodja* that may have come from the Noongar-Kaniyang territory in the Kojonup District. Other places in the Trust Estate are likely to be able to show similar links to exchange markets and the associated *bidi* (main paths) and *kungo* (tracks) that linked them that could, in turn, lead to exploring stories around the production of specialised exchange goods in Aboriginal countries that now host Trust properties, and the means of transport and exchange between these fairs.[184] This could provide insights into pre-colonial economic activity, and the continuities of such activities and *bidi* networks among later generations, and ways in

[184] George Fletcher Moore, *Diary of Ten years of an Early Settler in Western Australia*, Walbrook, London 1884, facsimile UWAP, Nedlands 1978: 'Descriptive Vocabulary'

which they have informed and shaped contemporary trade routes and intra-state (or inter-district) economic and social activities.

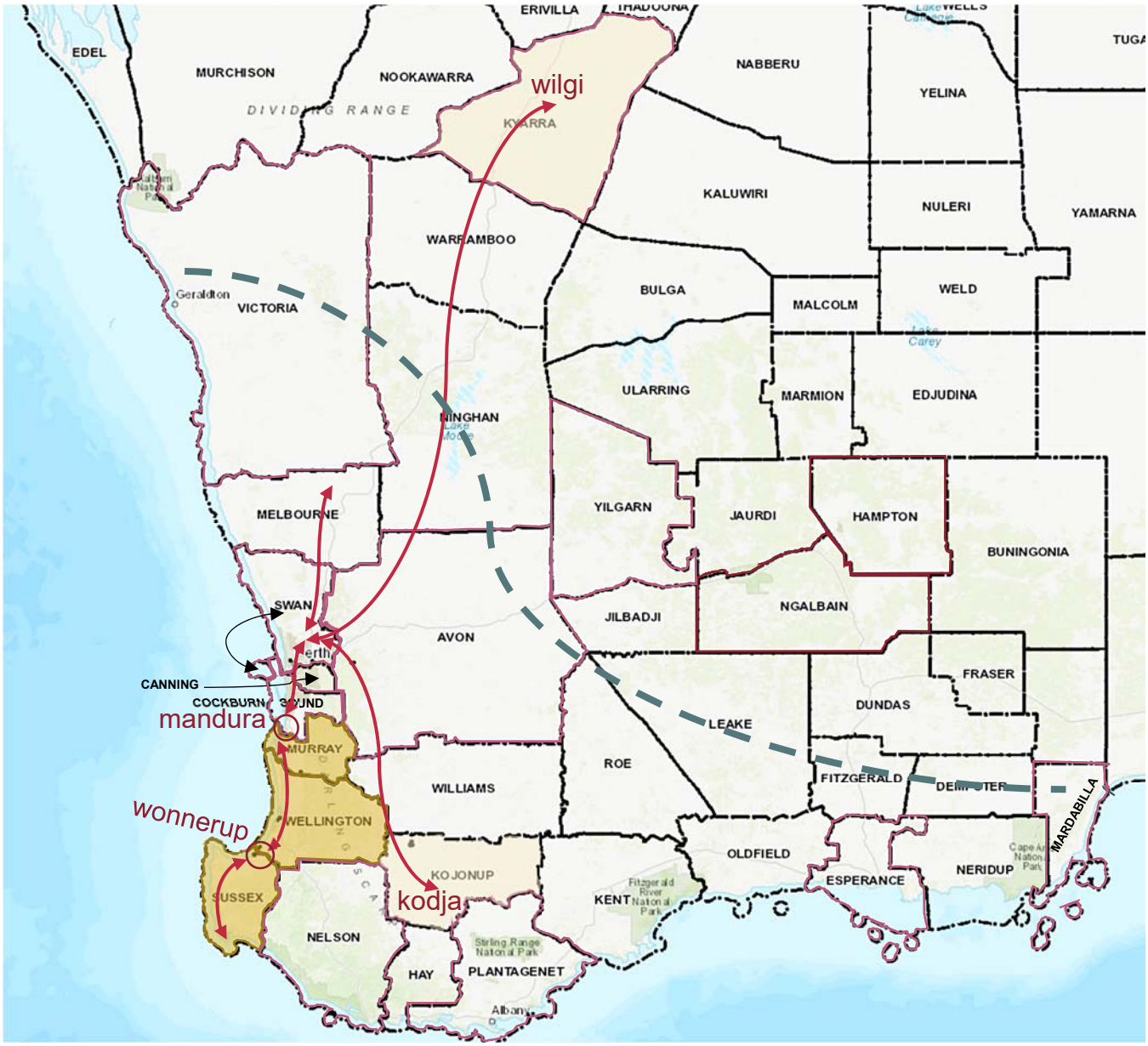

Figure 5.37 | Potential exchange routes associated with the *mandura* discussed by Collard, and broken line indicating approximate eastern marches of the Noongar realms

Colonisation bought new imperatives in the exchange of goods, services and trades. Initially these were limited to the King George's Sound hinterland but after 1829 they sprawled across the catchment of the Derbal Yerrigan/Swan River and then out into the broader Noongar domain. How much these exchange routes followed existing *bidi* and *kungo* remains a moot point, but the routes indicated in

figure 5.35 suggest they are an important element underlying the creation of at least some colonial highways and main roads.

Maritime exchanges

As indicated earlier, colonisation proceeded, in its earlier phases, not by overland routes but by seaways, with new outposts leapfrogging around the coast and establishing beachheads into Noongar (and later other) domains. These maritime routes were a colonial invention and they linked their beachhead outposts by barque and schooner with both each other and with the much larger imperial maritime trade routes of the Indies, China and the Pacific and ultimately with Western Australia's 'antipodes' in Britain and the north Atlantic.

Although wool was the colony's earliest export trade to develop, the early exploitation of marine resources, and engaging in maritime trade, is better represented in the Trust Estate.[185] In the 1830s the Layman's at Wonnerup were growing potatoes and making butter that they sold to coastal shipping traders who in-turn on-sold the produce in Fremantle or King George's Sound.[186] Whaling vessels first arrived in New Holland in 1800 when the *Elligood* and *Kingston* visited King George's Sound.[187] The Sound, managed under the authority of penal commandants then government residents based in Old Farm, Strawberry Hill between 1826 and 1836, became something of a base for whaling vessels and later whale processing factories up to 1978.

Two whaling companies were established in Fremantle in 1837 to fish in coastal waters (known as 'bay whaling'), leaving the deeper waters to American whalers. The Western Australian Whaling Company was formed in Perth with Lionel Samson one of the committee members elected to prepare a prospectus.[188] At the same time, Samson was elected a director of the newly formed Bank of Western Australia.[189] The Bank was backed by the Fremantle merchants such as Samson who were benefitting from an increasing trade in imported manufactured goods financed by wool exports. The bank had a policy of not lending against export bills of lading, which effectively reserved that business to merchants such as Samson. He continued to advance credit against wool exports, and two years later opened large new salerooms in Perth for auctioning consignments of imported goods including English-made clothing, Chinese fabrics, Indian rice, Java sugar and Cape wines.[190] Whale products (oil and bone) were the second most valued colonial export after wool in the early 1840s until overtaken for second place by sandalwood.[191] Although the industry rose and fell in value for some time after, it

[185] Pamela Statham, 'Swan River Colony 1829-1850', in CT Stannage (ed) 1981: 181-210
[186] John Pigeon and Craig Burton 1995: 14
[187] Heather Jaeckel, 'Whaling', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds) 2009: 926-927
[188] 'Another Whaling Company', *Perth Gazette*, 15 July 1837: 936
[189] 'Bank of Western Australia', *Perth Gazette*, 20 May 1837: 904
[190] Pamela Statham 1981: 195
[191] Pamela Statham 1981: Table 5.4, 204

never regained the eminence it attained in this period. However, whale bones were salvaged from carcasses washed ashore and traded as novelty furnishings and curiosities for many years. Whale vertebrae were still being used as stools and side tables on the verandah of Wonnerup (Building B2) in the mid-twentieth century.[192]

Aromatic sandalwood was a more enduring and valuable trade for the colony, and several Trust properties are associated with the trade. A cargo of sandalwood was exported to Bombay in 1845 on the colonial schooner *Champion* and realised £10 per ton (A$2,150 in 2019 values). A similar price was raised in Mauritius, then it became clear that double the price could be raised in China. By 1848 the trade was worth £13,000 (A$1,805,000).[193] This stimulated the local boat building industry, and also created opportunities for lucrative self-employment. The exploitation of the sandalwood copses east of the Darling Range created a road network linking the Avon Valley to Fremantle, and a need to pay for making and maintaining the new roads. A 10 shillings per ton toll was imposed on sandalwood to fund the roads. Lionel Samson was one of the leading sandalwood exporters who claimed the toll was excessive and threatened to halt the export trade unless it was lifted.[194] He was, uncharacteristically, not successful, despite supportive criticism in the local press who deplored Acting Governor Irwin's failure to give credit "to the accounts of the most eminent commercial houses of Singapore". The sandalwood trade thrived for several decades, and forty years later was still the second or third-most valued export after wool, until finally overtaken by pearl shell, jarrah and guano in the mid-1880s.[195]

The sandalwood cutters acquired a reputation as hard living, hard drinking men. In 1861 there was a brawl that resulted in a death in McLarty's 'Pinjarra Hotel' at Old Blythewood. The trouble was attributed to sandalwood cutters who frequented the hotel after solitary weeks cutting and pulling sandalwood, and is a reason given for locating the hotel separately from the main house.[196] By the 1880s, sandalwood cutters had exhausted the sandalwood copses closer to the coast and were venturing further inland. The capacity for the industry to provide additional income is evident at Mangowine, where pastoralist Charles Adams at first sunk wells for sandalwood cutters heading further eastwards and then began cutting and cleaning the timber himself. During the early 1880s Adams made twice-yearly trips into Toodyay and Guildford to sell sandalwood and purchase building materials. The sandalwood trade financed the construction of sheds, a barn and a horse works at Mangowine.[197]

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[192] John Pigeon and Craig Burton 1995: 41
[193] Pamela Statham 1981: 207-208; Pamela Statham, 'The Sandalwood Industry in Australia: A History', *Proceedings of the Symposium on Sandalwood in the Pacific April 9-11, 1990, Honolulu, Hawaii*, USDA Forest Service General Technical Report, PSW-122, 1990: 26-38
[194] 'Editorial', *Perth Gazette*, 13 May 1848: 2
[195] 'Trade and Commerce', *Year Book for 1886*, Government Printer, Perth 1887: 17
[196] John Pigeon 1993: 10
[197] Kelly Arris *et al* 2000: 5

Merchants and merchandise

The importance of Samson House in the story of exchanges cannot be understated. Lionel Samson and his son Michael operated the merchant house Lionel Samson & Son from 1863. In 1875 Michael Samson travelled to China on the barque *Yarra* with a cargo of sandalwood. He spent some time travelling and working in China (apparently coming within the Imperial circle as a financial advisor to the Dowager Empress Cixi). He was recorded in Shanghai, Singapore, Batavia and Fremantle, all important centres in the sandalwood trade. The Samson House collections include a *Xiangqi* (象棋) or Chinese chess set said to have been given to Michael Samson as a gift from the Empress.[198] As a game of strategy and tactics, it is the perfect metaphor for the life of Michael Samson, sandalwood trader, merchant, politician and man who had Samson House built in 1889.

Michael Samson succeeded his father in Samson & Son, and like his father he took an interest in colonial politics. He worked with another merchant, Henry Gray, to organise a petition seeking representative government in the colony. Their campaign was the subject of some satirical coverage from "Sandal-Wood Cutter" in the Fremantle *Herald*. In 1868 'sandal-wood cutter' had mused that in an elected colonial government Gray would be Colonial Secretary (akin to prime minister) and Samson Private Secretary (akin to cabinet secretary or special minister of state).[199] Two years later, 'sandal-wood cutter' proclaimed, "It's a coming!!",

> *Not the milineum, not the happy times when there'll be no more rows, when soldiers 'll be diggin' potatoes with their bay'nets and reapin' corn with their swords. Equality? No, not the time so long looked for by costermongers, mill-hands and bricklayers labourers, when the Duke of Edinburgh won't be a bigger bug that Mick Noolan the hodman – Not the happy period when women will take their seats in the House of Commons, while men stays at home to do the washin' and tidy the house – No; these things aint comin' yet … Why the cryin' ravens is about to be fed – the children are to have what they've long been askin' for, and which they couldn't live much longer without. Representative Government!*[200]

[198] National Trust 2000: 17-19
[199] 'Chips by Sandal-Wood Cutter | Last Interview with Mr H', *The Herald*, 31 October 1868: 3
[200] 'Chips by Sandal-Wood Cutter | It's a Coming', *The Herald*, 23 April 1870: 3

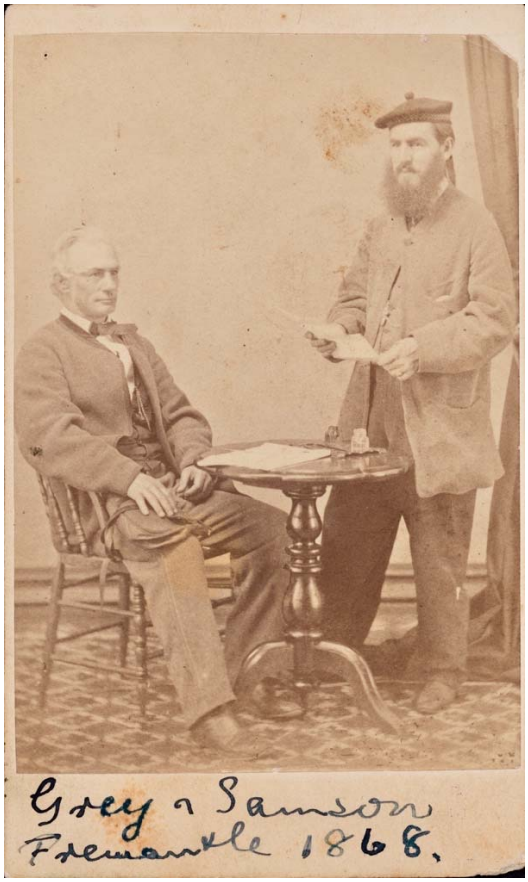

Figure 5.38

Michael Samson (seated) and Henry Gray (wearing tam o'shanter) while petitioning for responsible government in 1868

Courtesy State Library of Western Australia, 952B

Henry Gray, like the Samsons, was a merchant dealing in sandalwood and other goods from several premises including Gray's Store at Greenough. Gray entered the sandalwood business in the late 1840s as a carrier, moving cut logs from Guildford to Fremantle by ferry, and was an agent for his brother-in-law, Captain Thomas, who shipped sandalwood to Singapore and Hong Kong. In 1846 Gray was a crewman on the barque *Paul Jones* as it was returning from Hong Kong with a cargo of tea when a mutiny broke out. Gray eventually subdued the chief mutineer and the vessel was rescued by the whaler *Brothers* near Dutch Timor.[201] The sandalwood had received £30 per ton in Hong Kong, and the mutineers, after killing the captain, had seized gold bars and gold coins from his cabin.[202] Gray arrived in Geraldton in 1857 as manager of George Shenton's store through which extensive business interests operated including the export of sandalwood. Gray opened his own store at Greenough in 1861, probably built with convict labour.[203] He later acquired other stores in Geraldton, including an

[201] *Perth Gazette*, 23 January 1847: 2
[202] *Perth Gazette*, 20 February 1847: 2
[203] Palassis Architects 2000: 9-12

auction rooms, and was also involved in the export of horses to India.[204] In 1875 he moved into Geraldton and placed a manager in the Greenough store, which continued to operate until c1897.

Perhaps Gray's most celebrated commercial exchange involved a transaction of red herrings in 1875. He was charged and fined in the local court with avoiding paying customs duties on eight cases of red herrings (i.e. tinned smoked kippers) by describing the consignment as 'herrings in oil'. Gray appealed the decision in the Supreme Court, and emerged victorious.[205] The case was something of a local *cause célèbre*. As a sign of his victory, Gray "of Herring fame", had his stores complex in Geraldton "covered with elaborate streamers surmounted by a scarlet banner, announcing to the astonished natives that the herring conviction of the Magistrates had been quashed with costs … to the intense satisfaction of the proprietor".[206] Despite constant press lampooning over 'red herrings', Gray's victory over the magistrates, with whom he maintained a running battle for years, was still evoking satisfaction in 1880 when Gray's Store at Greenough was painted dark red with bright red and bright yellow trimmings.[207] Gray was, at the time, engaged in a battle with the local *Victorian Express* newspaper who he believed had insulted him with an implication that his credit was not good enough to be able to open an account on the new railway line.[208] Press lampooning in 1875 had referred to Geraldton as the "land of Railways and Red Herrings", and perhaps Gray still keenly felt the barbs, especially when the *Express* cast some aspersions about the humourlessness of certain "Scotchmen".

One of the exports that eclipsed sandalwood from the mid-1880s was pearls, and more so, pearl shell. Pearl shells were widely traded in the Noongar economy, brought down from the North West along traditional paths and exchanged in fairs. The Woodbridge collections include a number of pearl shells collected by Charles Harper. Harper first went to Roebourne in 1866 with an intention to establish himself in the sheep pastoralism, but soon turned his attention to pearling, or impressing local Aboriginal people to gather pearl shell from the beach. He decided that the sea rather than the land held more potential for creating wealth, and had a boat built to harvest pearl shells. He also studied the pearl oyster and argued the pearl shells could be cultivated in Exmouth Gulf rather than harvested from the wild. In the long term, Harper's pastoral interests in the North West prevailed over his pearling interests, but Woodbridge's pearl shells remain as evidence of Harper's role in establishing that industry, and point to the establishment of colonial trading routes between the north and south of the State. How much these routes traced Aboriginal tracks is not known.

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[204] Some detail of this trade is given in 'Supreme Court – Civil Jurisdiction | H Gray v W Padbury', *Perth Gazette*, 7 September 1866: 2-3

[205] 'Supreme Court', *The Inquirer*, 11 August 1875: 3; 'Messers H Gray & Co and Customs Duties', *The Inquirer*, 19 May 1875: 3, 'Supreme Court', *The Herald*, 7 August 1875: 3: 'Correspondence', *The Herald*, 16 October 1875: 3. There are numerous press reports and satirical pieces on the 'red herring affair' in 1875.

[206] 'Country News', *Western Australian Times*, 24 August 1875: 2

[207] Palassis Architects 2000: 12

[208] 'Mr Henry Gray and the Victorian Express', *Victorian Express*, 23 June 1880: 3; Under the Verandah', *Victorian Express*, 30 June 1880: 3

Land-based exchanges

Cattle, rather than sheep, became the dominant form of pastoralism in the north. As in the south, beachheads were established, initially at Tien Tsin (now Cossack) in 1863 in Yaburara country. Harper was involved in establishing a number of stations in the De Witt and Ashburton districts (see map, p6) before he moved back south to Beverley in 1878.[209] The wealth from his northern interests flowed southwards, and financed the building of his mansion, Woodbridge, at Guildford in 1885. Metaphorically, the overland route to the south was charted by Harper in 1867 when he led a relief party of two other settlers and a Noongar man overland to Geraldton from Roebourne following the loss, during a cyclone, of two ships bringing in stores. One of the lost ships was the *Brothers* that had rescued Henry Gray years earlier. Harper was elected to the Legislative Council for the North District in 1878 (although after 1880 he held other seats), and remained in parliament until 1906, just two years after selling his northern pastoral interests. He remained a strong advocate for northern development throughout his parliamentary career.

The McLarty's of Old Blythewood also illustrate the north-south connection and exchange routes. In the early 1880s brothers Edward, John and William McLarty, as shareholders in the Kimberley Pastoral Company, acquired a million acre (404,685 hectare) pastoral lease named 'Liveringa', near Derby in the Fitzroy District in the Kimberley. The McLarty's managed the station, and first ran sheep but switched to cattle, which were transported southwards annually to Blythewood and other properties around Pinjarra for fattening before being sold. There was resistance from the local Nyikina people to the occupation of their country, with several bloody encounters in which one of the Pinjarra men, Anthony Cornish, was killed. Given Old Blythewood's associations with the Bindjareb-Pinjarra massacre site, it seems a perverse decision by the McLarty's to send George Winjan, one of their Noongar-Bindjareb stockmen at Blythewood and a son of a former local Bindjareb leader, to Liveringa despite his objections. At the same time there is a history of Aboriginal people from Liveringa being sent to Blythewood for various periods, although little is known of this exchange.[210] Liveringa cattle were apparently transported to Pinjarra mainly by sea, and later driven to Perth or Robb's Jetty for sale.[211] The semi-wild cattle were held in holding yards behind Edward McLarty's homestead of 'Edenvale', rather than Blythewood, in operations that continued into the 1960s.

The initial transporting by Harper and the McLartys of sheep to the north was soon replaced with cattle. Their choice had been determined by wool being the colony's principal export at the time, but a switch to cattle was initiated when the Duracks successfully overlanded beef cattle in 1882 from Queensland to the Kimberley. Sheep farming, however, remained predominant in the south and with

[209] FR Mercer, *The Life of Charles Harper of 'Woodbridge' Guildford Western Australia*, Westralian Farmers' Co-operative Printing Works, Perth 1958
[210] Ronald Richards 2000: 11-12
[211] More research on whether the cattle were sent by ship, or overland, or both, is needed.

the development of the wheatbelt it became integrated with wheat growing into 'mixed farming'. The key exemplar of the sheep farming industry in the Trust Estate, which just pre-dates the wheatbelt, is Mangowine homestead, or rather, its rural setting. Raising sheep for wool was the principal industry on Mangowine from the 1870s onwards.[212] After the death of Charles Adams in 1895, Jane Adams managed the estate with care of the sheep delegated to her sons. Charles Adams' father Thomas Adams was an inspector of sheep for scab in the Nungarin area, indicating the wider family involvement in sheep farming. The management of the sheep has received some attention at Mangowine. Flocks were divided into rams, wethers and breeding stock and kept in folds or temporary pens at night. In autumn they were all moved into folds near the homestead to accumulate their manure, after which they were further afield and the land was ploughed and planted with crops. It is not clear how long this system operated, but archaeological evidence of its workings remains *in situ*. The role of Avondale in the scientific study of sheep diseases and sheep husbandry as part of a larger effort by the State to promote the planned development of the wheatbelt and mixed farming revolved around the exchanges of ideas within the agricultural sciences and public policy, and between State-employed scientists and private farmers who benefited from their research. Apart from improving sheep production, Avondale also facilitated the development of the wheatbelt through its experimental work on developing new or pure grain seeds, the storage of fodder in silos, the use of fertilizers such as superphosphate, the development of veterinary sciences, and investigation of alternate crops such as flax, opium poppies and cashmere goats.[213] Avondale, through its work, helped make the wheatbelt viable in the sense of producing sheep meat and grains that could be marketed to urban (and interstate and overseas) consumers, and bring incomes to local farmers and their communities.

The scientific study and development of agricultural and horticultural production and marketing of produce was also a key element of the co-operatives movement. Woodbridge was the centre of the development of co-operative philosophies and practices from the 1890s to the 1950s under the leadership of Charles Harper and then his son and heir Walter Harper.[214] The extensive orchards that once occupied the flats to the south of the mansion were the scene of extensive horticultural research into improving fruit varieties and methods of production in the early twentieth-century. This was itself part of the development of co-operation in the fruit and vine growing sector. Walter Harper was a founder of the Co-operatives Federation of Western Australia in 1919, an organisation he then chaired until 1952, and also chairman of Westralian Farmers' Co-operative Ltd (Wesfarmers) from 1921 to 1953. Harper, Wesfarmers and the Co-operatives Federation were pivotal in the success of the wheatbelt, economically through co-operative stores and co-operative bulk handling of grain, amongst

[212] Kelly Aris 2000: 75
[213] Palassis Architects 2009: 17-25
[214] Bruce Baskerville, *Let the Co-operative Spirit Stand: A centenary history of resilience and adaptation in the Co-operatives Federation of Western Australia 1919-2019*, Centre for Western Australian History, Crawley 2019

other things, and socially with the creation of viable towns and communities that supported the overall transformation of the woodlands into farmlands.

An older form of co-operation can be found in the commons and commonage systems that were once a key feature of colonial and early twentieth century rural landscapes. These were spaces in which the exchanges between commoners, or people who had commonage rights, were also based on reciprocity and mutuality. The Greenough Road Board Office, and before 1905 the Greenough Courthouse where the Commonage and Roads Boards met, was the place from which the once extensive Greenough Common was managed and from which, in the mid twentieth century, its enclosure was facilitated and planned. The Greenough Common, gazetted in 1862, was the first specifically created and named common in Western Australia and yet it vanished with barely a whisper. It is an uncommon reminder of this little-researched aspect of Western Australian history.[215]

The horticultural expertise developed at Woodbridge by the Harpers can also lead to other stories of exchange, such as the vineyards of Luisini Winery, the institutional produce gardens at Whitby Falls Hostel and the failure to develop orcharding and horticulture in the vicinity of Herdsman Settlers Cottage. All these places are located within the Swan and Cockburn Sound districts, in areas once on the metropolitan periphery, with opportunities to develop a historic 'food trail' storyline to connect them and expand upon this aspect of exchanges.

The jarrah forests of the South West became a significant source of export income for the colony. After some experimental shipments, the sale of jarrah sleepers for the Indian railways in 1848 initiated an increasingly lucrative trade. The granting of timber concessions in the northern jarrah forests in 1870 brought entrepreneurs and the development of the logging industry.[216] Within a decade, the value of exports had quadrupled and in 1900 surpassed the value of wool exports.[217] Jarrahdale Park, or No 1 Mill and Jarrahdale village, dating from the early 1870s, and its regenerated forest setting, with evidence of the former railway that linked to place directly to Rockingham for timber exports as well as the timber mill and infrastructure for workers accommodation and social life directly attests the harvesting, processing and export of this major resource.[218] Although jarrah was used for large scale infrastructure such as railway sleepers and street pavers, it was also used as a building and cabinetmaker's timber, and there may be opportunities to develop further storylines through Jarrahdale Park to link with other Trust properties associated with traditional trade skills in building, including shingling, and timber furniture making.

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[215] Bruce Baskerville, 'The Common Lands of Irwin', in *Creating Arcadia? A history of nature conservation in colonial Western Australia 1870-1914*, History Honours Dissertation, UWA MSS 1992: 43-55
[216] Jenny Mills, 'Timber Industry', in Jenny Gregory and Jan Gothard (eds) 2009: 872-874
[217] JS Battye, *Western Australia: A history from its discover to the inauguration of the Commonwealth*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1924, facsimile UWA Press, Nedlands 1978: Statistics 1829-1900 foldout, inside back cover
[218] Arbor Vitae, *Jarrahdale Park Heritage Interpretation Plan*, Shire of Serpentine Jarrahdale/the Trust, June 2005

All the natural and introduced resources that formed the basis for various exchange patterns identified so far in this theme were eclipsed after 1893 by gold. While the Trust Estate contains no gold mines as such (actual or metaphorical), it does include a range of places that illustrate the greater complexities and environmental and social impacts of gold mining from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that the mere extraction and processing of gold ores. The outstanding precinct is the linear 550 kilometre water supply pipeline to the Goldfields, currently denominated the Golden Pipeline, opened in 1903 and still in operation, with its Mundaring Weir village at one end, the pumphouses along its route, and the Mt Charlotte Reservoir at the other. The precinct speaks to the huge public investment made at the time in the development of an industry that funded the development of Western Australia for several decades and implanted mining as the principle source of export income and, to some extent, local identity. Warden Finnerty's House at Coolgardie brings to the story insights into the level and means of public administration required to manage the Goldfields as a place and as a major economic driver. Mangowine attests to the opportunities for pre-gold colonists to capitalise on the boom by providing accommodation and other services to miners. Cue Masonic Lodge reminds us that the miners and mining communities had more than material needs, and engaged in social and cultural activities that connected them with much larger networks of cultural exchange on continental and global scales. Samson House provides another insight into the social complexities of the gold rushes with the rise of a 'tent town' across the street, the access given to Afghan cameleers to use the house well for water, and the wealth generated in the wider community that enabled the extravagant and ornamental style of Samson House to be built, a style that demarcates the period from the pre-gold simplicities of vernacular and Georgian building. For many attracted by golden dreams, however, the exchanges of an old life for a new did not have a happy ending. East Perth Cemeteries record in monuments and records the fate of many for whom the dream ended in fatal illnesses, suicide, neglect and a sense of hopelessness. Taken together, this set of places within the Trust Estate can be harnessed to stories of greater complexity and nuance than the simplicities of 'gold rush'.

The Golden Pipeline conveyed what is perhaps the most precious resource, clean drinking water, and made it accessible to people in ways the previous methods on the Goldfields could not. As discussed earlier, it also made the development of the wheatbelt possible. Water, however, is also evident at other Trust places. The Wellington Hydro Power Station represents an attempt to develop a water-powered energy generation system in Western Australia, and the former Ellensbrook water mill represents an even earlier attempt.[219] The rainwater tanks at places such as Central Greenough, and the wells and gnamma at Mangowine, can further deepen this story of the many attempts to find, to conserve and to use water, sometimes with disastrous outcomes, that have played a much larger role in Western Australia's history than often acknowledged.

[219] National Trust WA, 'Heritage Assessment - Wellington Hydro Electric Station', MSS July 2018

Moving goods and services overland has left some traces in the Trust Estate. Gingin Railway Station and the Jarrahdale Park timber railway speak to a discrete aspect of Western Australia's railway history, that of the private railway. Gingin was one of the earliest stations built for the Midland Railway Company, and a model for other Midland railway stations (of which few now survive).[220] Edward Keene, a key figure in the Midland Railway Company and its financing, was also one of the timber barons, and together with the Jarrahdale-Rockingham railway, which was used exclusively for transporting timber, these two places could allow the stories of the private railways and their impacts to be brought into the bigger history of Western Australian railways. The Golden Pipeline pumping stations provide points at which the railway story can be linked to the Western Australian Government Railways (WAGR) story and their role in developing the wheatbelt and the transcontinental railway. Bridges and bridge building have been significant in enabling the exchanges of good and services, and Bridgedale at Bridgetown, named for the adjacent bridge over the Blackwood River, provides a setting in which the development of bridge-building technologies could be explored.[221]

A unique place in the Trust Estate is the Israelite Bay Telegraph Station. Although a ruin with its former telegraphy equipment no longer in place, there are opportunities to develop stories around the exchanges of information facilitated by the Station and the development of telegraph lines and the creation of new areas of work in operating and maintaining a telegraph system. The social impacts of the telegraphy could also be explored, with the sudden speeding-up in the transmission of information for businesses, governments and families.

The theme of Exchanges, as indicated by this chapter, contains many possibilities for thematic linkages and stories across the Trust Estate. They emphasise, inherently within such a theme, not individuals or 'great men' but the exchanges and connections between people and groups. They may be producers and consumers, they may be the middlemen between them, but the theme brings a focus to the interactions and transactions between them rather than to each party to the interaction. This allows for more attention to be paid to the dynamics of human interactions, to groups of people and to prepare stories for people as members of groups with common interests.

The theme also indicates the possibilities for exploring linkages between either the whole Trust Estate or groups of places within the Estate and places frequently mentioned in the text such as India, Mauritius, Indonesia, Singapore, Hong Kong and China. The trading world for Western Australia during the colonial period in particular was very Indian Ocean/East Asia centred, and developing more connections within such a framework could be aligned with tourism and educational opportunities for people from that region. In a similar vein, the potential for exploring the

[220] Rosemary Rosario Pty Ltd., *Gingin Railway Station and Quarters Conservation Plan*, Gingin/Chittering Lions Club, April 2013

[221] National Trust WA, *Bridgedale Conservation Plan* (revised ed), the Trust, January 2013

connections between Aboriginal trading routes and later colonial routes, some of which are flagged, would open up opportunities for connections with Indigenous historians and communities as well as add greater temporal depth to some of the linkages between Trust places and within broader Western Australian history.

The theme has also made clear just how much of Western Australia's economic development has been based upon exploiting natural resources. To a degree, this has been presented as uncomplicated and progressive, although the discussion at several points in the study concerning water has identified a number of consequences, mostly unintended, that have had significant environmental and social impacts. This suggests that a number of other areas could be fruitfully explored through the Trust Estate to bring historical perspectives and historical depth to contemporary debates on climate and environmental change, and in particular distinctions between natural and human-induced changes, as well as local conservation issues such as managing sandalwood habitat.

Figure 5.39 | Districts that can illustrate maritime and land-based exchange routes and National Trust places (routes indicative only)

The theme will have some value in considering the broader settings and landscapes in which Trust properties are located, particularly isolated buildings or complexes that have become disconnected from older landed contexts. This theme would allow for such settings to be reconnected through interpretive approaches. This might be especially apposite with maritime links and routes and Trust properties that retain a coastal connection.

Places

Avondale, Golden Pipeline Precinct/Karalee Rocks, Greenough Central, Greenough Wainwrights Store, Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent, Greenough Flats, Mangowine, Peninsula Farm, Samson House, Woodbridge (M) Gallop House, Jarrahdale Heritage Park, (L) Bridgedale, Cue Masonic Lodge, Golden Pipeline No 4PS/No 8PS, Gingin Railway Station, Greenough Greenough Hotel, Greenough Stone Barn, Greenough Clinch's Mill, Greenough Gray's Store, Hydro Power Station, Israelite Bay Telegraph Station, Moir Homestead

(for H, M, L codes see page 8)

Recommendations

Recommendations arising from the TFWH approach and research.

Using and implementing the TFWH

I. **Adopt the TFWH**: The Trust should consider adopting the Themes For Westralian History as an approach to interpreting and presenting the Trust Estate, and properties within the estate, including the underlying concept of Trust places representing and illustrating aspects of Western Australian history.

II. **TFWH should be an additional not replacement approach**. A TFWH approach should not displace site-specific interpretation, but add another layer of interpretive 'provocation' and discovery for the visitor (whether on site or electronic).

III. **Develop the TFWH further**: The Trust could develop the themes and framework further, but should resist making them too rigid and developing complex levels of sub-themes. The approach is intended to encourage practitioners to take imaginative and creative approaches within the framework, to push the boundaries and develop more complex and engaging stories.

IV. **Engage with historians**: In developing the TFWH further, the Trust is strongly encouraged to engage actively with historians in developing and applying this approach, especially historians experienced in (or wanting to learn) multi-disciplinary work, and historians experienced in various fields of Aboriginal history.

The Trust Estate

V. **Rethinking the Trust Estate**: The Trust Estate could be conceptualised through TFWH as a network of campuses, a sort of 'Academy of Westralian History', in which learning can include experiencing places in which historical themes and stories of Western Australia are evident. This will help to overcome any sense of the estate as a series or collection of disconnected sites.

VI. **Defining the Trust Estate of the future**: the TFWH can be used as a framework for making decisions about future acquisitions for and divestments from the Trust Estate, perhaps with a general criterion of 'does/will a place enhance the interpretive and recording capacities of the TFWH', or a particular theme with the TFWH. It would encourage identifying places on the basis of their significance to Western Australian history, and looking to develop under-represented themes and historical experiences (for instance, the absence of religious places from religions other than Christian).

VII. **Place Naming Protocol**. The Trust could consider adopting a general naming protocol for all Trust properties based on that developed for Ellensbrook at Mokidup. This is a toponymic

model that acknowledges the significance of the place (Ellensbrook) within a named cultural landscape (Mokidup). As outlined in the Ellensbrook at Mokidup Interpretation Plan, this overcomes the privileging of built structures as buildings alone, and instead acknowledges they are situated within and shape and are shaped by a broader cultural landscape. All Aboriginal place names must be agreed with the broader Aboriginal communities associated with a place and the relevant Aboriginal language authorities. In some in cases a dual name approach might be considered, such as 'Woodbridge at Mandoon and Guildford', to acknowledge the historical layering and associational complexities within a cultural landscape.

Opportunities for collaboration

VIII. **Position the Trust Register as an adjunct to the Trust Estate**: Stories developed from the TFWH can be extended through narrative connections with places included in the National Trust Register of Classified Places & Objects, and the National Trust Register of Significant Trees, and potentially places included in the Register of State Heritage Places, Local Heritage Lists and Municipal Inventories or Local Heritage Surveys. This has the potential to engage more sites and their associated communities with the Trust.

IX. **Encourage bilingualism**: The Trust could consider adopting as a default policy that all welcoming and function signs at Trust properties will be bilingual (English and the relevant local Aboriginal language), and where possible further interpretive materials will also be developed in bilingual formats. All such uses must be agreed with the broader Aboriginal communities associated with a place and the relevant Aboriginal language authorities. Some Trust places may be suitable locations for the teaching of local Aboriginal languages (which could be compatible with recommendation V). In some cases, consideration may be given to trilingual usages where a third language is known to be associated with the cultural significance of a place, such as Italian for the Luisini Winery at Kingsley, Cantonese for Gray's Store at the Greenough Flats or Latin for the Greenough (Holy Rosary) Convent at Central Greenough.

X. **Develop World Heritage connections**: The Greenough Flats and Central Greenough precincts together form what is probably the largest and most cohesive and comprehendible convict landscape in Western Australia, covering all post-incarceration aspects of the convict experience from ticket-of-leave to pardon to freedom through to the intergenerational transmission of stories reflected in the buildings and cadastral layout of the area. It could be considered as a 'companion site' for the world heritage listed Fremantle Prison, and opportunities explored with local partners and the Australian Convict Sites World Heritage Committee for including Greenough within its promotion of world heritage companion sites.

XI. **A place of learning**: it may be useful to consider engaging with teachers and students in a different or more indirect way to position the Trust Estate within the materials developed for school curricula. This could focus on the tertiary sector, especially the training and production

of teachers, who will in turn engage with and influence school students and curricula. That may be able to be pursued through or linked with academic institutions in disciplines such as history, archaeology, architecture, and languages as well as teaching, perhaps through the development of industry partnership ARC research projects.

XII. **Being in the neighbourhood**: the TFWH can provide a basis for collaboration with adjacent property holders and other organisations associated with properties in the Trust Estate, especially for places that have become estranged from historical and landscape contexts, such as rural homesteads, perhaps through collaboratively-developed interpretive approaches like maintaining view lines or managing countryside fencing styles, tree species and planting patterns.

Opportunities to engage wider audiences

XIII. **Develop an appropriate architectural style guide**: The Trust could consider commissioning, perhaps with partners such as the Western Australian Chapter of the Australian Institute of Architects, a companion volume to the standard *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture* (1989). This is to overcome the eastern states biases in the standard Guide, and could accurately and authoritatively identify and date Western Australian architectural styles for consistent description, assessment and interpretation of architectural styles and periodisation across the Trust Estate. These are important, not so much in themselves, but for comparative analyses and database purposes, and the insights they can give to later generations of the thinking and worldviews of their predecessors. Perhaps such a companion volume could be made available to the wider public, possibly within a strategy for having it accepted as the definitive standard for use in Western Australia. Ideally, it should include guidance on pre- and post-colonial Aboriginal built structures and styles, and include the Indian Ocean Territories.

XIV. **Publication of this study**. The Trust could consider publishing this study, either in full or in an abridged and reworked form focused on the thematic histories without the introductory and concluding sections. Ideally, the report itself would at least be made available to the Trust's in-house officers and contractors working on research, planning, interpretive and educational programs. Publication could be in either hardcopy or virtual formats, with an ISBN and the lodgement of legal deposit copies.

Appendix One | National Trust Places and the TFWH

The table identifies coherent stories across the whole Trust Estate in which certain places will have a better capacity to illustrate a story and its nuances. It is not intended to identify every theme for every place, or pick the best themes that a place can represent, but rather show the places that can best represent or illustrate a theme or aspect of a story.

The table represents, in a graphic form, the history of Western Australia in six chapters, with the places being the records in the open-air archive of the Trust Estate used for researching and presenting the story.

Priority	Place	Resilience	Imaginaries	Marches	Hesperia	Authority	Exchanges
H	Avondale						
H	East Perth Cemeteries						
H	Ellensbrook at Mokidup						
H	Golden Pipeline (Precinct)						
H	Golden Pipeline – No 1 Pump Station (Mundaring)						
H	Golden Pipeline – No 3 Pump Station (Cunderdin)						
H	Golden Pipeline – Karalee Rocks						
H	Golden Pipeline – Mt Charlotte Reservoir						
H	Greenough Central (Precinct)						
H	Greenough Central – Police Station & Jail						
H	Greenough Central – School						
H	Greenough Central – Wainwright's Store						

Priority	Place	Resilience	Imaginaries	Marches	Hesperia	Authority	Exchanges
H	Greenough Central – St Catherine's Hall						
H	Greenough Central – Hackett's Cottage						
H	Greenough Central – Presbytery						
H	Greenough Central – St Peter's School						
H	Greenough Central – Holy Rosary Convent						
H	Greenough Flats (Precinct)						
H	Mangowine						
H	Old Blythewood						
H	Peninsula Farm						
H	Samson House						
H	Old Farm, Strawberry Hill						
H	Wonnerup						
H	Woodbridge						
H	York Courthouse Complex						
H = 25	Subtotals for 'High' places	11	9	10	7	13	11
M	57 Murray Street (Chief Secretary's Building)						
M	Artillery Drill Hall Fremantle						
M	Curtin Family Home						
M	Gallop House						
M	Jarrahdale Heritage Park						
M	Luisini Winery						
M	Old Observatory						

Priority	Place	Resilience	Imaginaries	Marches	Hesperia	Authority	Exchanges
M	Old Perth Boys School						
M	Royal Perth Hospital Complex						
M	Whitby Falls						
M = 10	Subtotals for 'Medium' places	6	5	3	4	8	2
L	Beverley Police Quarters						
L	Bill Sewell Complex (Victoria Hospital)						
L	Bridgedale						
L	Cue Masonic Lodge						
L	Golden Pipeline – No 4 Pump Station (Merredin)						
L	Golden Pipeline – No 8 Pump Station & House (Coolgardie)						
L	Gingin Railway Station						
L	Greenough Flats – Greenough Hotel						
L	Greenough Flats – St James Anglican Church						
L	Greenough Flats – Stone Barn & Cottage						
L	Greenough Flats – Temperance Lodge						
L	Greenough Flats – Wesleyan Church						
L	Greenough Flats – Cliff Grange						

Priority	Place	Resilience	Imaginaries	Marches	Hesperia	Authority	Exchanges
L	Greenough Flats – Clinch's Mill						
L	Greenough Flats – Gray's Store						
L	Greenough Flats – Walkaway Cemetery (part)						
L	Hydro Power Station (Wellington)						
L	Israelite Bay Telegraph Station						
L	Moir Homestead (nr Esperance)						
L	Pinjarra Courthouse						
L	Rosella House (Geraldton)						
L	Settler's Cottage (Herdsman)						
L	St Peter's Glebe, Gilgering						
L	Stirling House (Fremantle)						
L	The Hermitage (Geraldton)						
L	Wanslea (Cottesloe)						
L	Weir Village Road Houses (Mundaring)						
L = 27	Subtotals for 'Low' places	10	8	5	5	13	11
62	Totals	27	22	18	16	34	25

Appendix Two | Thematic Correlations

The current themes used in the Commonwealth and State jurisdictions are itemised below, with a table indicating potential correlations between the TFWH and these officially-adopted thematic frameworks.

Australian Historic Themes Framework (AHTF), in use since 2001

1. Tracing the evolution of the Australian continent
2. Peopling Australia
3. Developing local, regional and national economies
4. Building settlements, towns and cities
5. Working
6. Educating
7. Governing
8. Developing Australia's cultural life
9. Marking the phases of life

Western Australian Heritage Council Heritage Themes, commencement date unknown

1. Demographic settlement and mobility
2. Transport and communications
3. Occupations
4. Social and civic activities
5. Outside influences
6. People
7. Other

Tentative correlations between TFWH and official themes

HCWA ↓↓	AHTF ↓	TFWH →	Resilience	Imaginaries	Marches	Hesperia	Authority	Exchanges
Tracing the evolution of the continent			✓			✓		
Peopling Australia			✓		✓			
Developing economies								✓
Building settlements						✓		
Working							✓	
Educating							✓	
Governing							✓	
Cultural Life				✓				
Phases of Life				✓				
Demography					✓	✓		
Transport & communications								✓
Occupations							✓	
Social & Civic						✓		
Outside influences					✓			
People			✓					
Other				✓	✓			

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